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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

ON 13 June 1979 the death occurred of Professor Sidney Smith, the doyen of British Near Eastern studies. His early career was particularly associated with the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities at the British Museum which he entered in 1919. His first love was Egyptology, but, as Budge and Hall were both Egyptian specialists, he concentrated on Assyriology. Subsequently he served as an epigraphist with Leonard Woolley at Ur and as Director of Antiquities in Iraq from 1929 to 1931. On Hall's sudden death in 1931 he was appointed Keeper of the Department, a post he held until 1948. During this period he was a member of the Committee of the EES for four years (1931-4). He taught Akkadian in his spare time as an Honorary Professor at King's College, and was the first (honorary) Professor of Western Asiatic Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology. He resigned from the British Museum in 1948, and accepted the Chair of Comparative Semitics at the School of Oriental and African Studies which he held until his retirement in 1955. There he taught Akkadian, Aramaic, Ugaritic, and South Arabian, and had several distinguished Egyptian students. He was the author of the immensely important *Early History of Assyria* (1928) as well as chapters in the *Cambridge Ancient History* (vol. iii). He also contributed to many learned journals including *JEA*. He was appointed editor of the revised *Cambridge Ancient History* with his friend Stephen Glanville, and was largely responsible for the plan of this work. It may fairly be said that few scholars of his generation made so significant a contribution to our understanding of the Ancient Near East.

Over the last year the Society has maintained its archaeological activities in a number of areas. As usual it received the unstinted co-operation of the Egyptian Antiquities Service to which it extends its warmest gratitude. At North Saqqâra Professor H. S. Smith continued his work on the Anubieion during the 1978-9 season. The results may be summarized as follows:

Excavation of the temple-town of Anubieion at the bottom of the Serapeum Way in the Memphite necropolis was resumed on 16 September 1978, and continued until 19 December.

The completion of the excavation of the settlement (Area 5) behind the sanctuaries of the central temple within the West Wall of 'Anubieion' was the main work undertaken. This has yielded a fairly complete stratigraphic history of the usage of the Memphite necropolis in the Teti Pyramid area. Destruction of the Teti Pyramid mortuary temple over a long period was followed by the terracing of the detritus to support tomb-chapels probably of Ramesside date. During the interval between Ramesside and Ptolemaic times at least two, probably three, separate deposits of stone chip and sand were laid over the site, perhaps during stone- and tomb-robbing operations. Burials were found throughout these deposits. When the 'Anubieion' temple complex was founded, the foundation trench for the great enclosure wall was cut down through these cemetery levels and the underlying stone break-up. In the course of work on this complex two early phases of occupation were identified. Of particular interest was a pottery jar found in association with the later of these phases. This contained a hoard of 456 Ptolemaic bronze coins which, when cleaned, proved to be in splendid condition. Though yet to be analysed, they may be of early Ptolemaic date, and will serve not only

to date the founding of the settlement but to resolve some of the outstanding problems of Ptolemaic currency. Some time at the end of the Ptolemaic or beginning of the Roman Period the site was again abandoned and became partially ruined, roofs and parts of walls falling in. But it was reoccupied and partially rebuilt with floors overlaying the previous buildings at a time (still to be closely defined) in the Roman Period, as an important sounding, not yet quite complete, in the northern part of Area 5 has now shown.

Humble though the character of this settlement-site was, it was an organic part of the temple complex which formed the main administrative centre of the Memphite necropolis in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period; its detailed stratigraphy and large yield of coins should make it the type-site for the stratigraphy and history of Late Period Memphis.

Dr G. T. Martin's work on the Memphite tomb of Horemheb also continued in 1978-9. He writes as follows:

The final season of work (January to March 1979) in the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb has been one of study and consolidation. Apart from a final collation of the drawings the epigraphic work and photography are now completed. With the kind co-operation of Dr Muhammed Saleh I was able to locate in the reserves of the Cairo Museum the long-lost text known as the 'Hymn to Rē', originally in position in the First Courtyard of the tomb, last seen and copied by de Rougé (*Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, pls. CIV-CVI; Hari, *Horemheb*, 70, 98-100). The early copyist was remarkably accurate, though some broken lines at the top of the stela were not recorded. Work has been completed on the descriptive recording of the architecture of both the superstructure and the substructure in preparation for one of the volumes of the final publication. The New Kingdom pottery found *in situ* and most of the intrusive Coptic ceramics have been studied for publication. The hieratic material was likewise dealt with, and we were fortunate to have the collaboration of Dr E. Strouhal (Náprstek Museum, Prague) for the study of the skeletal remains.

Work on behalf of the Saqqâra Epigraphic Survey was resumed during 1978. Dr 'Ali el-Khouli provides the following account:

The season extended from 1 July to 10 September 1978, and involved clearing the two remaining shafts, those of Khui and Wer-nu. These tombs form part of a group of Sixth Dynasty mastabas north of the tombs of Kagemni and Mereruka in the Teti Pyramid cemetery. The burial shaft and chambers of Wer-nu were tackled first. A number of limestone fragments, some inscribed, were found. The burial chamber contained a large limestone sarcophagus, the contents completely robbed in antiquity. A large number of objects was recovered in the shaft and burial chamber of Khui, which had been robbed as usual, but which had been reused in the Late Period. The objects found are all of faience, except for the pottery. Some inscribed fragments were also found.

Mr Barry J. Kemp contributes the following report on recent work at El 'Amarna:

The expedition, working from 24 January to 30 March, excavated in the workmen's village, concentrating on two areas outside the walled village. In the main grid of five-metre squares which covers the principal area of extra-mural deposit a sector was opened beside the south-eastern corner of the walled village. One part of this area was occupied by the front of a chapel belonging to a row lower down the hillside than the group excavated in 1921. The entrance had been laid out like a miniature temple approach, with a T-shaped basin cut in the ground and a block of stone representing a quay flanked on each side by tiny flights of steps moulded in plaster, bearing the name Amen-Rē. Below this chapel it was found that the ground in front of the village had been plastered.

Only a small area has been exposed and the floor has not yet been reached, but the existence of a deeper level of structures greatly enhances the potential of this part of the site. The second area, outside the main grid and numbered XI, covers the main approach to the village. Excavation here was concentrated on a building overlooking the path to the village. It was found to consist of three groups of brick rooms lying behind the remains of small terraces of stones. One group, which produced a small number of mud seal-impressions and mud models of meat joints, may perhaps have been administrative in use, but the central group had evidently been used for keeping animals. In addition, a specimen house within the walled village was cleared, no. 6 in Long Wall Street. Despite the fact that this part of the site can now be seen to have been illicitly excavated, a detailed architectural study was carried out, with particular reference to the types of building materials used. Their disposition prompted the theory that, whilst the government had been responsible for laying out the main lines of the houses, each household built its own house with such materials as lay at hand. The finds included basketry and a Mycenaean sherd.

Professor Ricardo Caminos has continued his epigraphic survey at Gebel es-Silsilah :

The staff of the expedition consisted of Professor Dr J. Osing (epigraphist), Dr D. Johannes (photographer), and Professor R. A. Caminos (field director and epigraphist). The expedition encamped at Gebel es-Silsilah, Western Desert, from 1 February to 2 April, 1979. The object was to finish completely the epigraphic survey of Silsilah West. All the major monuments of the site had been fully recorded in previous seasons; the team now concentrated upon putting on record all the lesser ancient remains scattered on the *gebel* and on the cliffs edging the river. In addition it checked and collated against the original records all the still unpublished drawings, field-notes and collation sheets made by Mr T. G. H. James and Professor Caminos in 1955 (see *JEA* 41, 54 f.). The expedition also completed a sketch map of Silsilah West showing the exact location of all the material. An exhaustive photographic record of the inscribed remains was made by Dr Johannes. In sum, the objective set for the present season was accomplished in full.

The Society owes an enormous debt of gratitude to the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, whose Director, Professor Dr W. Kaiser, kindly consented that their talented photographer Dr Johannes should join the expedition, and moreover generously contributed all the requisite photographic equipment and materials. Heartfelt thanks are also tendered to Dr and Mrs L. Bell for their friendly hospitality at Chicago House, Luxor, and to the Smithsonian Institution of Washington D.C. for the substantial grant which enabled the survey to continue its work at Silsilah this season.

The editor has been asked to deliver two appeals for assistance.

Mr T. G. H. James of the British Museum is endeavouring to trace the whereabouts of a small, fragmentary document, known to the late Professor J. Černý as Papyrus Greg. It was copied by Černý in 1938 when it belonged to Sir Walter Wilson Greg. In 1963 Černý wrote that it was then in University College London. All efforts to trace this papyrus, which is of interest for the study of the administration of the necropolis workers of Deir el-Medîna, have proved unsuccessful. It is made up of three large and three small fragments, measuring approximately 34 cm by 34 cm over all, and is probably between glass. If any reader of *JEA* has any information about it, would they kindly write to Mr James at the British Museum or to Dr J. J. Janssen at Noordeindeplein 4-6, Leiden, Netherlands.

Miss Margaret S. Drower is engaged on a biography of Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie and is anxious to receive letters, personal reminiscences, or other information about him

which might be of use. If anyone has such material, she would be very grateful if it could be sent to her at University College London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT. Due acknowledgement will be given for any such material used, and every effort will be made to return material promptly.

Finally, it is our particular pleasure to congratulate our predecessor Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths who retires at the end of October 1979 from the staff of the Department of Classics and Ancient History of the University College of Swansea after long and distinguished service. He joined the department in 1946 and his career has been one of consistent academic productivity. His research, characterized as it is by a broad and profound scholarship, has been dominated by an interest in Ancient Egyptian religion, particularly in its later manifestations. In this field his many articles and, in particular, his books *The Conflict of Horus and Seth* (1960), *The Origins of Osiris* (1966), *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (1970), and *Apuleius of Madauros: the Isis Book* (1975), have won him an international reputation and are acknowledged as pioneering works of permanent value to all subsequent scholars working in this field. His distinction has been recognized by his election as a Corresponding Member of the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin (1966), his appointment as Guest Professor of Classics and Egyptology at Cairo (1965–6), a Personal Chair in Classics and Egyptology at the University College of Swansea (1973), and a Visiting Fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford (1976–7). He has also lectured widely on the Continent as well as in this country, an activity to which he has brought the intense commitment, delight in the spoken word, and subtle humour of the Welsh tradition of oratory in which he was nurtured. In recent years he and his wife, Dr Kate Bosse-Griffiths, have been responsible for the acquisition of a substantial part of the Wellcome Collection of Egyptian Antiquities which is now on permanent display at the University College of Swansea. He has also been a member of the Committee of our Society for many years and edited this journal from 1970 to 1978. On behalf of the EES and as a token of our personal gratitude and esteem we should like to extend to Professor Gwyn Griffiths and his wife our very best wishes for a long, happy, and fruitful retirement.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EL-'AMARNA SURVEY, 1978

By BARRY J. KEMP

THE work of the expedition began in the field on 4 March and ended on 5 April, a total of thirty-three days. The expedition consisted of Barry J. Kemp, accompanied again by Mohammed 'Abd el-Aziz, Inspector of Antiquities, whose diligence in making the necessary local arrangements, especially those connected with the rebuilding of the old southern dig house near the village of El-Hagg Qandil, contributed greatly to the successful pursuit of the archaeological work. As in the previous year, accommodation was provided at the clinic in El-Amariya by kind permission of the mayor of Deir Mawas, who also facilitated the purchase of building materials for the house. Gratitude is also due to the Higher Committee of the Antiquities Department for granting permission for the survey, and to Dr 'Abd el-Kader Selim, Director-General of the Antiquities Service and Mahmoud Hamza, Chief Inspector at El-Minya, for greatly facilitating the work.

The archaeological survey of the remains of the city of Akhenaten was begun this year in the North City, at the northernmost limits of ancient occupation. From here the mapping was pursued southwards until it linked up with the surveying points of last year, so providing a framework on which excavated and unexcavated details of the whole city can be drawn out to the common scale of 1:2500. In the North City itself a certain amount of additional planning and measurement was done to increase the stock of information on several structures excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society in the 1920s and 1930s, but still not published in full. Principally this consisted of a 1:1000 scale map of the sector covering the North Riverside Palace and excavated houses lying to the east; an elevation and section of the large gateway in the North Riverside Palace enclosure wall, incorporating the results of a small test pit dug at one of the gateway corners which revealed the edge of a stone threshold below the level reached by the previous excavation;¹ a profile down the slope of the large administrative building at the northern end of the North City as well as a block diagram showing the relationship of the plan made by H. B. Clark to the series of terraces on which the building stood;² a large series of levels at the North Palace to assist in a more detailed architectural presentation of this important building. A further test pit was also dug along the wall of the North Riverside Palace to verify the existence of a secondary gateway in the wall indicated as a revision in one of the surviving plans made in the 1930s.

Around the central part of the city the scanty remains of buildings and large areas covered with sherds to the north of the Great Temple were mapped in outline. The

¹ For a view of the gateway immediately after excavation, see *JEA* 18 (1932), pl. xiii. 4.

² See *JEA* 12 (1926), pl. vi, and pp. 10-12.

ground at this part of the site is very sandy and has suffered considerable disturbance from the gradual extension of the modern cemetery and from the local custom of digging small pits (*hammam ardi*) in which the villagers squat for a few days during the hottest part of the summer as a health cure. The amount of undisturbed archaeological material that is left is probably quite small, but its extent is itself an indication that the North Suburb continued beyond the wadi which marked the southern limit of previous excavation and climbed the slope towards the Great Temple, though narrowing in width as it did so to leave a triangular area free in front of the so-called Hall of Foreign Tribute which straddles the Great Temple enclosure wall.³ To the south of the Great Temple a small number of unexcavated features was noted, the most important being a large well with surrounding enclosure wall and associated brickwork which lies adjacent to the Military and Police Quarters⁴; and a building mound with the line of an enclosure wall visible, situated behind, i.e. to the east, of building R.42.3. This building would have helped to produce a street frontage between the Military and Police Quarters and the group R.43.2, 3.⁵ An interesting discovery concerns the building block called the 'Temple Magazines' or 'Magazines south of the Great Temple' in *The City of Akhenaten*, III.⁶ The pottery, which lies very thickly over the still unexcavated parts and on the desert behind in the form of broad shallow dumps, consists almost exclusively of broken bread-moulds. When considered together with the fact that most of the excavated sample of 'magazines' contained ovens, the conclusion seems inescapable that this building housed a great central bakery for the city. A small selection of sherds from here, with a discussion on their broader significance, is presented in a short appendix to this report.

Some preliminary recording was also done along the sides of the storm-water channel dug some years ago from the desert to the river bank just to the north of El-Till village. Most of the sediments exposed in the channel sides, and in more recent diggings in the bottom, are, as might be expected, of desert origin, consisting of clay and pebbly sands. But along much of the lower end, at a depth of between 1.5 and 2.00 m below the present ground level, there is a distinct horizon of dark alluvium associated with 'Roman' remains, in the form of fragments of red bricks, ribbed sherds, and the base of an amphora. At one point the channel has actually been cut through a rough stone wall (see pl. I). Clearly in 'Roman' times the floor of the wadi sloped down more steeply than it does now, and was evidently under cultivation. This horizon is presumably associated with 'Roman' remains found around the North Suburb,⁷ including an extensive cemetery excavated by the Antiquities Department in the 1960s. There is no trace of an equivalent Eighteenth Dynasty level below, but whether this is because all trace of a continuation of the North Suburb across the wadi floor was eroded anciently

³ Fairman's doubts as to the identification of this structure straddling the temple enclosure wall with the Hall of Foreign Tribute depicted in the tombs of Huya and Meryrē II are, in my opinion, entirely justified; see J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III, 208-10.

⁴ It is clearly visible in the aerial photograph published in Pendlebury, *op. cit.* pl. xxiv, towards the top left corner.

⁵ *Ibid.* pl. xxii, the unexcavated building adjoining R.43.3 on the left, i.e. north side.

⁶ *Ibid.* 29-32, pl. xii.

⁷ H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, II, 66-7, 69, 80-1.

or because it lies still below the material so far exposed can only be resolved by cutting exploratory trenches into the bottom of the channel. These observations agree with some made last year in a drainage canal side just to the south of El-Amariya, where a small patch of red bricks at a similar distance below the modern ground level was noted. Since knowledge of the ancient topography of the site is essential for understanding how the city extended beneath the modern cultivation, these observations, particularly in the El-Till storm-water channel, deserve eventually to be pursued by further field-work.

Appendix: bread-moulds from south of the Great Temple

Of the block referred to as 'Magazines south of the Great Temple' or simply 'Temple Magazines' in *The City of Akhenaten*, III, only a sample of the narrow parallel chambers in the two northern rows has been excavated. The unexcavated chambers still lie buried in a thick accumulation of sand and sherds. The sherds seem mostly to come from thick-walled cylindrical vessels, relatively rough on the outside but with a smooth, soft, and fine fired clay lining. This accords with the statement in the excavation report that this part of the site produced 'several' and 'many' specimens of, respectively, pottery types XV.22 and XV.23, which are, indeed, vessels of basically cylindrical shape.⁸ In a separate statement the words 'an extraordinary quantity' are used.⁹ The accumulation of sherds of this type does not end with this particular building, however. They also form the bulk of an extensive ancient dump on the desert behind, clearly visible in the published aerial photograph of the central part of the city, and distinguished by an irregular trench dug across it in some former time.¹⁰ Pendlebury's statement that the section of the trench 'shows merely an accumulation of sand' is rather misleading for this is sand which has simply been blown against the trench side.¹¹ The dump actually seems to consist of sherds mixed with ashy earth and charcoal. Thinner deposits of sherds from the same kind of vessels mixed with ashy earth and sometimes bone fragments extend even behind this main dump, as far as the large unexcavated well enclosure immediately to the north of the Military and Police Quarters. A small surface collection of sherds was made to illustrate the distinctive character of the pottery in this whole area, and these are illustrated in figs. 1 and 2.

All have the same fabric: basically, a soft brown, slightly micaceous one containing chopped straw and numerous calcareous particles ranging up to pieces about 0.5 cm across, or pieces of broken quartz pebbles. No. 3 contained pieces of charcoal mixed into the clay. Irregular heating has produced grey areas, or turned parts of them to a purplish-brown. Nos. 1 and 5 to 7 to 9 also had, either clearly or only slightly visible, the remains of a lining of very soft and fine brown micaceous fired clay which readily turns to powder. As will be argued in the next paragraph, these are bread-moulds. No. 6 is a type found elsewhere on the site and already identified as a tray on

⁸ Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 32. The types are illustrated in Frankfort and Pendlebury, *op. cit.* pl. liii.

⁹ Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 236.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pl. xxiv, near the middle of the left-hand edge of the photograph.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 32.

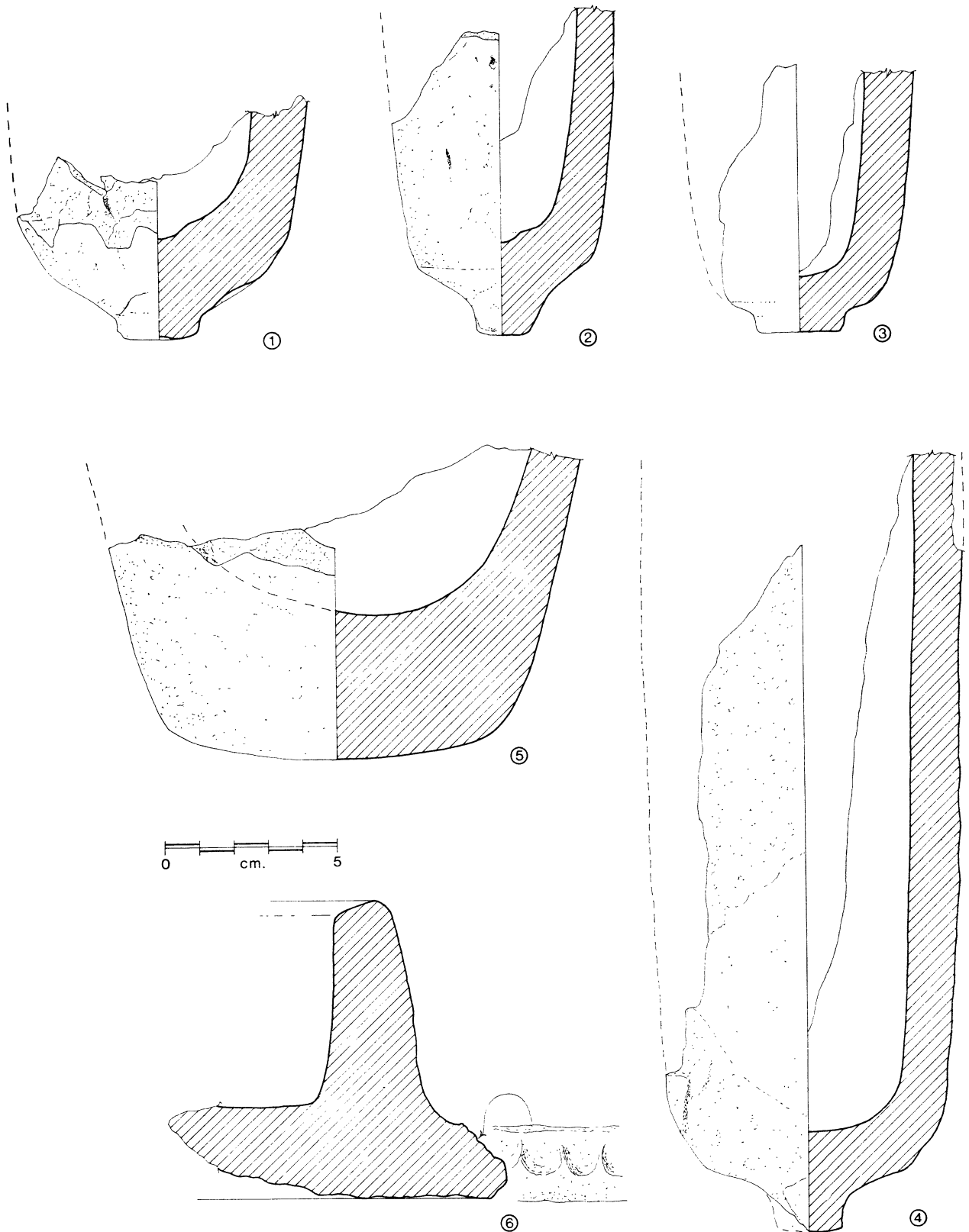


FIG. 1. Sherds from the bakery south of the Great Temple.

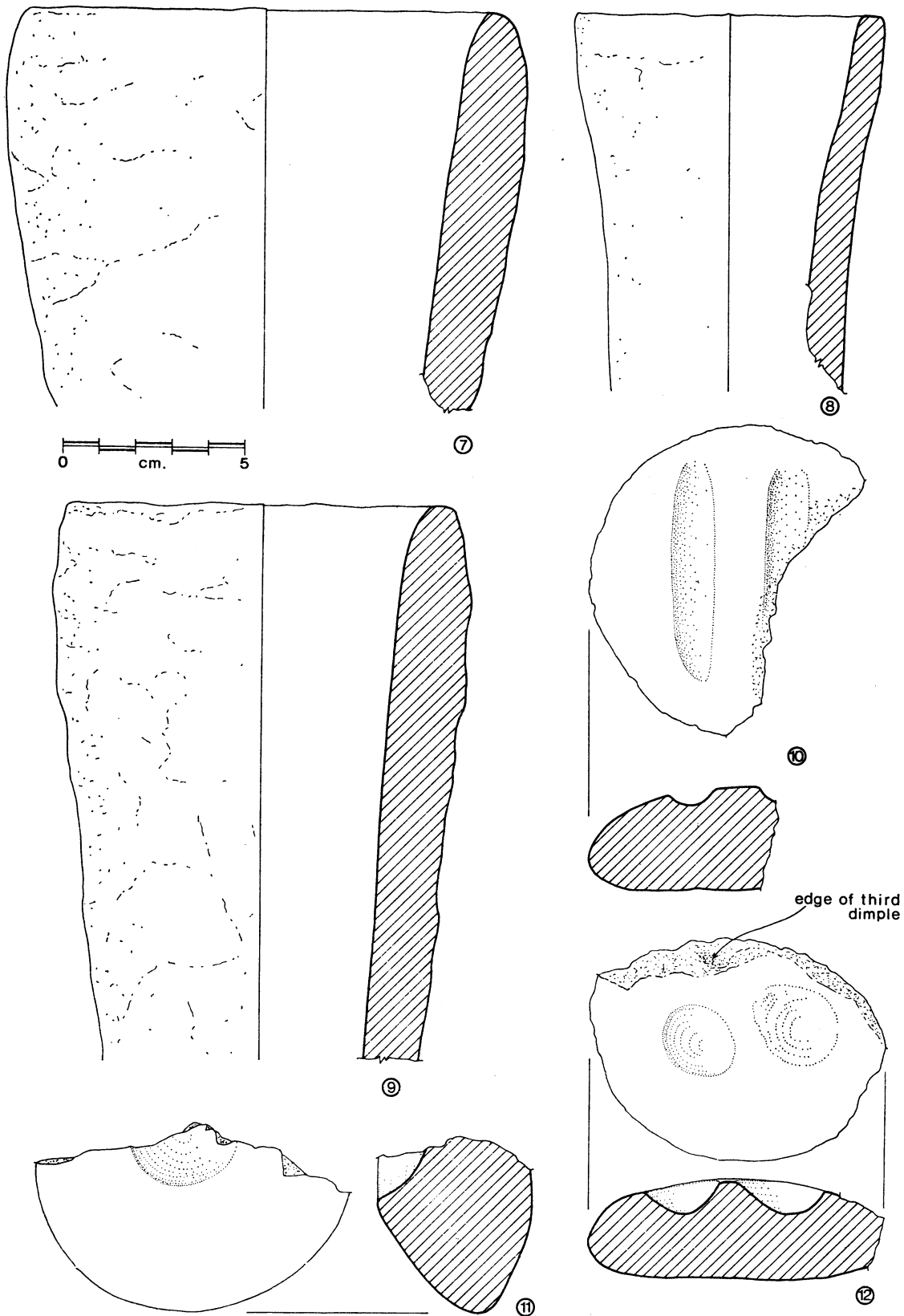


FIG. 2. Sherds from the bakery south of the Great Temple.

which flat loaves could be placed for baking, but this still requires verification.¹² As for nos. 10 to 12, the thick circular discs with grooves or dimples on the convex side, as a tentative explanation I would suggest that they were used to close the small circular hole which was always left at the bottom of an oven, and they would therefore have served to cut off the draught once the fire inside was properly alight. The ovens in the building under consideration were set in a rough brick bench, with this aperture at the back of a short tunnel. It may have been necessary, therefore, to prop up the discs against the aperture with a stick, and the grooves and dimples may have been intended to facilitate this. There is one possible tomb-painting illustrating this, though from an earlier period, from the tomb of Intefiker at Thebes.¹³

Of this group of sherds nos. 1 to 4 and 7 to 9 belong to types XV.22 and XV.23 of the El-'Amarna pottery corpus, and no. 5 is evidently a broader variant. That these are bread-moulds can be shown from two considerations. In the first place they are descended from a long tradition of pottery bread-moulds which first, during the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, produced rather broadly based and squat conical loaves from heavy moulds which retained on their base the impression from having been manufactured on the palm of the hand,¹⁴ and then, apparently at the end of the Old Kingdom or during the First Intermediate Period, developed into narrow cylindrical shapes.¹⁵ Their function as bread-moulds is made clear from tomb pictures and models.¹⁶ They always display a contrast between a roughly fashioned exterior and a smooth interior. The ones from El-'Amarna are somewhat broader than the average Middle Kingdom type, although no. 8 is very close, and are distinguished by the flat projection on the base. This leads to the second consideration. In a scene of bread-making in the Theban tomb of Kenamun (*temp.* Amenophis II) two moulds filled with dough are given this same projection on the base.¹⁷ One could scarcely wish for more explicit proof.

The majority of the ovens in the 'Temple Magazines' had either groups of ovens against their back walls, or showed traces of burning on the walls at this point. On the published plan not all of the internal details of these chambers are in fact shown, and even the list of features in the text is not complete. Although the chambers are now

¹² T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, pl. xlvi, nos. III/1020 and 1020A are the types, identified as 'Platters for bread-baking' on p. 137, and further described on p. 64. Cf. also G. Nagel, *La Céramique du nouvel empire à Deir el Médineh*, I, 152-3, type I, pl. i.

¹³ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. xi.

¹⁴ The type is exemplified by G. A. Reisner, *Naga-ed-Dér*, III, 84-5, type XXIX; cf. also A. Eggebrecht, *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 174-6.

¹⁵ Examples are cited in *JARCE* 13 (1976), 28, n 6. Examples which are probably of the First Intermediate Period are R. Engelbach, *Harageh*, pl. xxxi. 21; Sir F. Petrie and G. Brunton, *Sedment*, I, pl. xxx. 34. The former and one of the latter (from Sedment tomb 415) are in the collection of University College London, Department of Egyptology, nos. 17988 and 17999.

¹⁶ E.g. Davies, *op. cit.* pls. xi, xib, xii, and references cited there, p. 15, note 1; J. H. Breasted, *Egyptian Servant Statues*, pl. 37a, p. 39; pl. 38b, p. 39; pl. 39b, p. 39; pl. 40b, p. 41; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, I, 87a, no. 2b; *ASAE* I (1900), 159, fig. 15, is a drawing of one such model of a stack of bread-moulds of Old Kingdom type. In H. E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt*, pls. 64, 65, object no. 12 is a basket stacked with moulds of cylindrical type standing in the bakery model.

¹⁷ N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-amun at Thebes*, pl. lviii, p. 51.

partly filled with debris it is still possible to see that in the middle row all of the first nine chambers at the west end show traces of burning in the south-west corner, in no. 3 a fragment of oven is visible, and in no. 7 there is a thick bed of ashes at the back. When one considers that the whole building was found almost buried in fragments of bread-moulds, which also thickly cover the desert behind, it must be accepted that the building was in fact a great bakery. One of the sculptured blocks from El-'Amarna re-employed at Hermopolis seems to come from a scene depicting just such a building: with separate baking-chambers each with an oven, having vaulted roofs, and in one case showing a row of round loaves laid out, and in another bread being made in cylindrical moulds.¹⁸

Several points are raised by this interpretation. In the first place, since the greater part of this building is still awaiting excavation, there is a chance that careful excavation of a further sample of baking-chambers might clarify ancient baking practices. For example, tomb pictures and models usually show bread-moulds stacked over the ovens and not inside them, but whether this is a true reflection of normal practice or an artistic convention is hard to tell. In the second place, mould baking must have become, by this time, a specialized and somewhat restricted activity. No example of this type of bread-mould occurs in the pottery corpus of *The City of Akhenaten*, I;¹⁹ the two types XV.22 and XV.23 appear in the corpus of *The City of Akhenaten*, II, but, since there is no reference to them in the lists of pottery found in individual houses, one might judge them to have been very rare in the North Suburb. In the Central City, however, they are said to have occurred profusely in a block adjacent to the smaller Aten temple which, with ovens in narrow chambers, is presumably a smaller counterpart to the large bakery under consideration beside the Great Temple.²⁰ In the New Kingdom a range of loaves was apparently formed by hand, sometimes into fancy shapes,²¹ whilst it has also been suggested that the flat pottery trays with raised sides, as exemplified by our no. 6, were also used for baking flat round loaves. The absence of bread-moulds from most of the city implies that these were the normal domestic practices, with mould-baking restricted to state bakeries operating on a large scale.

In his discussion of the topography of the Central City, Fairman suggested that jar labels found on the site might be taken to indicate that the whole block of what can now be identified as a bakery, together with the adjacent buildings to the south, possessed two names at least: *šnc n wr-dfꜣw* and *šnc n kꜣ-n-ꜥnh-rꜥ*.²² The fact that the labels from the bakery part derive from meat jars, and in one case each from wine and honey jars, must mean that they have found their way from some other part of the building

¹⁸ J. D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections*, 73-4, no. 46.

¹⁹ The one possible exception is on pl. i, no. XXX/1041, of which only a single specimen seems to have been found, at one of the chapels beside the workmen's village, no. 523, see p. 103.

²⁰ Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 100-2, 104-5, pl. xvi.

²¹ For general accounts see M. Währen, *Brot und Gebäck im Leben und Glauben der alten Ägypter* (Bern, 1963); W. J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui, and L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (London and New York, 1977), II, Ch. 12; also Wreszinski, *ZÄS* 61 (1926), 1-15; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 68 (1932), 73-9. The Hermopolis block referred to above shows round loaves laid out in a row as well as baking by moulds.

²² In Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 211-12.

lying to the south.²³ Bread making itself did not produce vessels bearing inscriptions of any sort, which might have provided a counterbalance in the inscriptional picture. But there is clear external documentary evidence that a part at least of a large palace bakery could be called a *šnr*. This emerges from the court administrative records from Memphis dated to early in the reign of Seti I.²⁴ The buildings at El-'Amarna between the Great Temple and the King's House help one to visualize such a place: in part given over to baking, in part to preparing other foodstuffs, including, as the jar labels imply, meat. The translation of *šnr* as 'kitchens' may in some cases be the most appropriate. It is perhaps not coincidence that one object found in the bakery was a stone weight bearing a line of inscription which gives the name of an official who was an 'overseer of the *šnr* and overseer of the chapel (?) of the Aten in the House of Rejoicing of the Aten'.²⁵

One further consequence of identifying the primary purpose of the long chambers of the 'Magazines south of the Great Temple' as the actual places where bread was made is that the area of storerooms or magazines in the Central City is thereby reduced; quite considerably, in fact, for the same bakery identification must also be applied, as noted above, to the 'magazines' immediately to the south of the smaller Aten temple. In the Central City, if one excepts likely magazines attached to the Military and Police Quarters, significant bulk storage was present only in the block Q.41.9 ('Magazines between the Royal Estate and the Great Temple'), and at the King's House itself. Of the two the latter is the larger, and emphasizes the central role which this building may have had in the affairs of the city, equipped as it may have been with the instrument for a distribution ceremony, in the form of a Window of Appearance.²⁶

²³ The jar labels are listed on *ibid.* p. 221. Honey, however, was itself used as an ingredient in the making of bread.

²⁴ Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, pl. iiii, lines 7-17, pp. 10-11; cf. Helck, *Materialien* (640).

²⁵ Pendlebury, *op. cit.* 187, pls. lxii. 4, ciii. 49. Fairman transcribed the first title as *imy-r rwy*, but *imy-r snr* seems a far more natural reading. Hari's hieroglyphic rendering of the title in his *Répertoire onomastique amarnien* (1976), no. 72, appears to be a conversion into hieroglyphic of Fairman's transcription and bears little relationship to the facsimile of the original.

²⁶ See the discussion by Kemp, *JEA* 62 (1976), 81-99.



The north side of the storm-water channel to the north of El-Till village. The 'Roman' rough-stone wall cut by the channel is immediately to the left of the ranging rod

EL-'AMARNA SURVEY, 1978

EXCAVATIONS AT THE MEMPHITE TOMB OF
 HOREMHEB, 1978:
 PRELIMINARY REPORT

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

THE fourth season of excavations opened on 11 January 1978, and work continued until the end of March. The staff comprised Dr G. T. Martin (University College London, Field Director), Mr K. J. Frazer, M.C. (surveyor), Mr C. J. Eyre (Liverpool University, photographer), Mr D. A. Lowle (Liverpool University), Mr R. van Walsem, Mr E. W. M. Rodrigo (Leiden University), and Mr W. P. Schenck (draughtsman). Miss J. D. Bourriau (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) was at the site for two weeks to continue work on the pottery corpus. As usual we are indebted to friends and colleagues in Egypt for valued help and co-operation, including Dr Victor Girgis, Dr 'Aly el-Khouli, Mr Ahmed Moussa (Chief Inspector, Saqqâra), Mr Said el-Fikey (Inspector of Antiquities, Saqqâra), and Dr and Mrs F. Leemhuis (Netherlands Institute, Cairo).

This season we have successfully completed the excavation of the subterranean parts of the tomb, and have made preparations for a study season at the site in 1979. Our main gains this year have been architectural and ceramic. The full extent of the rooms and passages opening off from the main Shaft IV may be seen in fig. 1.¹ The burial complexes of Shaft IV are two, and these were doubtless originally designed for Horemheb and his wife. The smaller (F) was investigated in 1977.² Here fragments of limestone shawabtis with faint traces of ink inscriptions were found, but the name of the owner (the non-royal wife of Horemheb?) was not recovered.

The principal burial complex is 'royal' in plan. Whether this was the original plan conceived by Horemheb as Regent or whether it was a subsequent enlargement or adaptation is as yet uncertain. Entrance to it is gained via Pit D, which contains much of its original blocking of limestone slabs, a sufficient number of which were removed by the robbers to gain access to Room H by way of a short corridor. Room H is decorated with shallow recessed panels in the manner of a palace façade, with false doorways to north and south (see pl. II, 1). The decoration on the walls is carried out in red and black, which are the favoured colours throughout the subterranean parts of the tomb. A flight of stairs (I) in the north-west corner descends steeply to an antechamber (J) painted with the same pigments, and with a barrel-vaulted ceiling. Just inside the entrance, to right and left, are two deep embrasures cut in the walls. The one on the

¹ The planning of the entire subterranean area was completed this season, but for reasons of economy only the principal burial complex of Shaft IV is dealt with and illustrated in the present report. A summary of the dated material from the shafts is provided at the end.

² *JEA* 64 (1978), 8. A general account also appeared in *ILN* 6954, vol. 266 (Jan. 1978), 51.

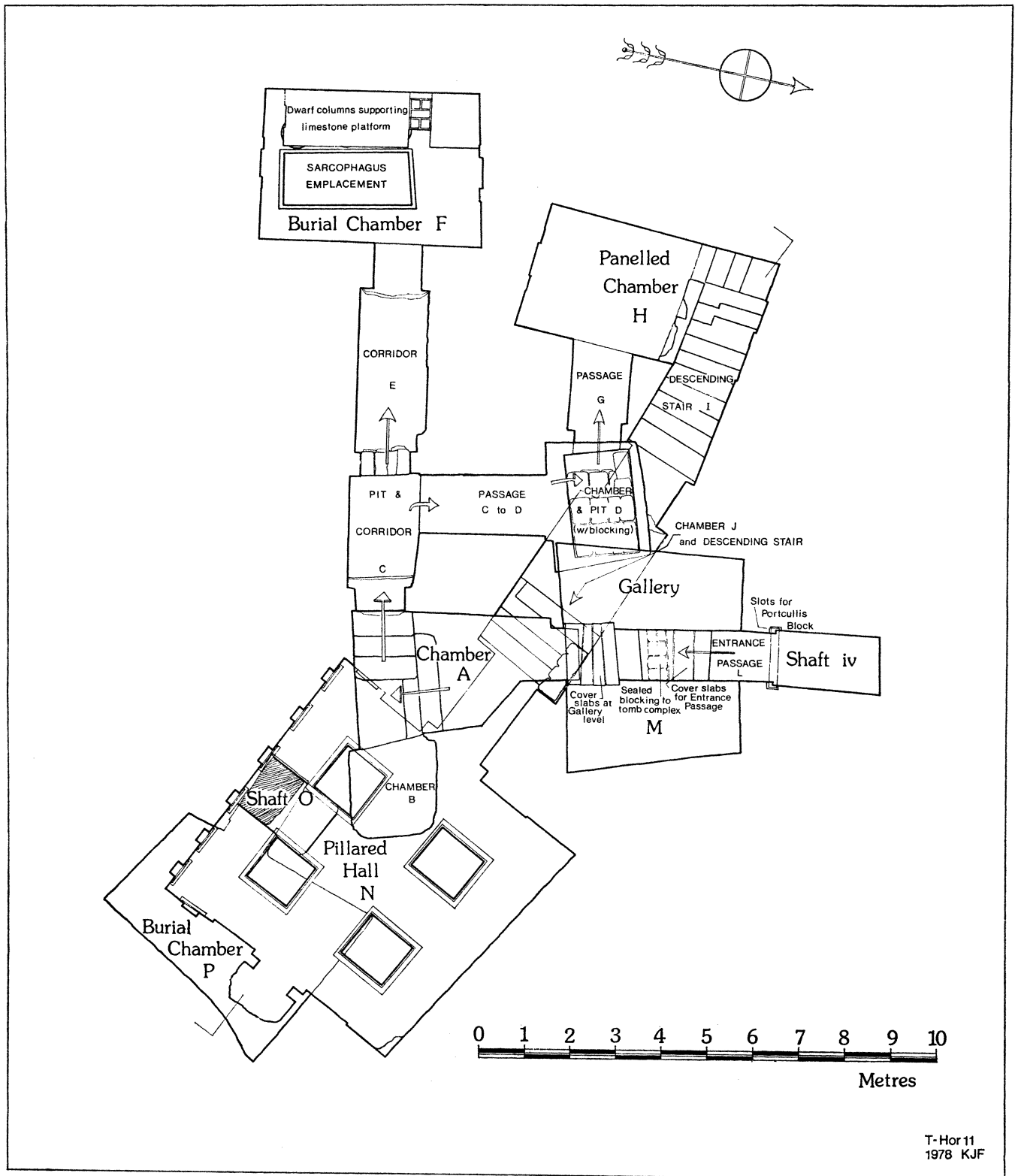


FIG. 1. Tomb of Horemheb, plan of Shaft IV.

north still retains much of its blocking of stones, plastered like the walls of the ante-chamber itself. Its location was thus disguised. Both emplacements perhaps originally contained objects or texts intended to protect the burial, like the magical bricks which were a feature of New Kingdom royal interments. Both I and J were almost completely filled with limestone chippings, which originally blocked the entrance to the innermost parts of the tomb. This blocking had been tunnelled and partly redistributed by the robbers. Some of the spoil was found heaped up in the south-east corner of Room H, above.

On the east side of J is a doorway, the tympanum of which (see pl. II, 2) is carved in the soft *tafl* rock, and painted in red and black. Another corridor, found choked with chippings, leads directly into hall N (see pl. II, 3) with four squat and massive pillars carved in the natural rock. Red and black are again the colours used, this time to decorate the ceiling as well as the cavetto cornices of a series of niches or 'windows' carved in the walls of the southern half of the hall. In the debris a number of dolerite pounders, discarded by the ancient workmen, were recovered. An unfinished doorway to the east would presumably have led to the sarcophagus chamber proper. As it is, the primary burial was in a rough-hewn and unfinished room (P) at the bottom of a shaft sunk in the floor of the pillared hall. This burial chamber was full of chippings and large pieces of rock, doubtless partly from the fill of the shaft, and contained quantities of smashed pottery, now in process of reconstruction and study. This is the largest corpus of datable New Kingdom material from Saqqâra. No trace was found here of other items of burial equipment, which must have been removed *in toto* by the plunderers and broken up nearer the surface. Bones, doubtless from the primary burial, were found in the pillared hall, and these will be examined next year. Mixed in with the fill of chippings were quantities of charcoal: over three and a half kilogrammes were collected from the hall alone. Whether this was deposited during the burial or during the subsequent spoliation is as yet uncertain.

Many of the sherds from burial chamber P are from large storage vessels and amphorae. Two of the latter are virtually complete, and bear hieratic docketts of great interest. One (see pl. III, 1) has the prenomen, Djeserkheperurē, of ḤoremḤeb. Another (see pl. III, 2) is dated to 'Year 13, third month of the Inundation', and contained 'very good quality wine from the vineyard of the estate of ḤoremḤeb beloved of Amūn, l.p.h., in the house of Amūn'. Apart from the controversial year 27³ the docket provides the highest known year-date for ḤoremḤeb. Aside from the chronological implications, which cannot be developed here, the text gives a welcome clue to the date of the primary burial,⁴ which may have been that of Queen Mutnodjmet. Comparatively little evidence survives concerning the burial arrangements for queens and minor royalties in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The Valley of the Queens apparently was not inaugurated before

³ The problems are summarized by E. F. Wente and C. C. Van Siclen in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 231-2.

⁴ Assuming the wine was a year or two old before it was used one might postulate a Year 14 or 15 for ḤoremḤeb. The long-term ageing of wines and the degree of porosity of amphorae (as well as the reuse of the latter with or without their original docketts) are all problems calling for further study. On wine in Ancient Egypt see now L. H. Lesko, *King Tut's Wine Cellar* (Berkeley, 1977).

the Nineteenth Dynasty. Before this it is probable that most royal tombs, other than those provided for reigning sovereigns, were little more than simple unmarked shafts and chambers hewn in the rock. The quantity of funerary objects in such burials was thus limited, even though their quality might be high.

Although there is no evidence to suggest that Horemheb was a physical ancestor of the Ramesside royal house, his tomb was nevertheless the *locus* of his cult at Saqqâra in the Ramesside Period, and at least one Nineteenth Dynasty princess was buried in it. Adjacent is the tomb of another Ramesside princess, and one wonders if the tomb of Horemheb will prove to be the focal point of a Memphite Ramesside royal necropolis.

At the end of the season a final clearance was made at the bottom of the main shaft IV, when a miniature stela of King Ay (see pl. III, 3), similar to one found in 1977, came to light.

The datable material from the shafts, found in 1977-8, may be summarized as follows:

FIRST COURT

Shaft I, upper level, Ramesside: shawabtis of *sꜣt nsw Bꜣnt-ꜥnt*, heart scarab of *ꜥꜣ-iniꜣ* and *bꜣkt n(t) ḥkꜣ Bꜣkt-n(t)-Stḥ*.

Probably used for the first time in the Ramesside Period, even though the shaft was part of the original architectural design. Mycenaean sherds found here.

Shaft I, lower level, Old Kingdom: sarcophagus of *sꜣb Ḥwy-wr*.

The original burial shaft of the mastaba demolished by Horemheb to provide space for his own tomb.

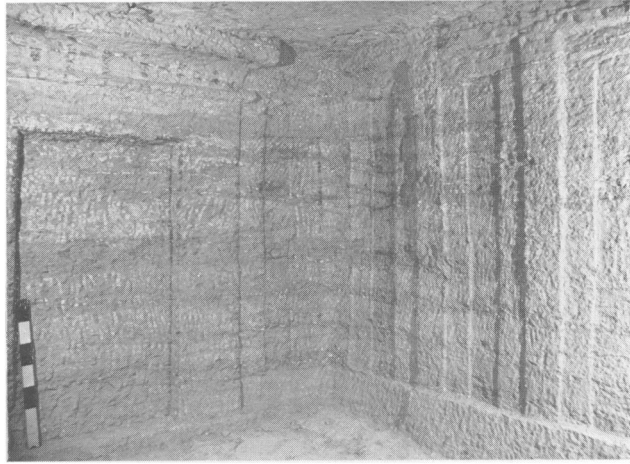
SECOND COURT AND ADJACENT CULT CHAPEL

Shafts II and III, Dynasty XXX to early Ptolemaic Period: shawabtis, inscribed and uninscribed.

These shafts appear to be part of the original architectural plan, but were subsequently used for intrusive burials. No trace of any original interments.

Shaft IV, late Dynasty XVIII: vase of Amenophis III, seal impression of the Aten temple at Heliopolis, dockets of Horemheb as Royal Scribe (Year 2 of unnamed king), miniature stelae or plaques of Ay, statue and alabaster fragments naming Queen Mutnodjmet, dockets and seal impressions of Horemheb as king (one of the former dated to his Year 13).

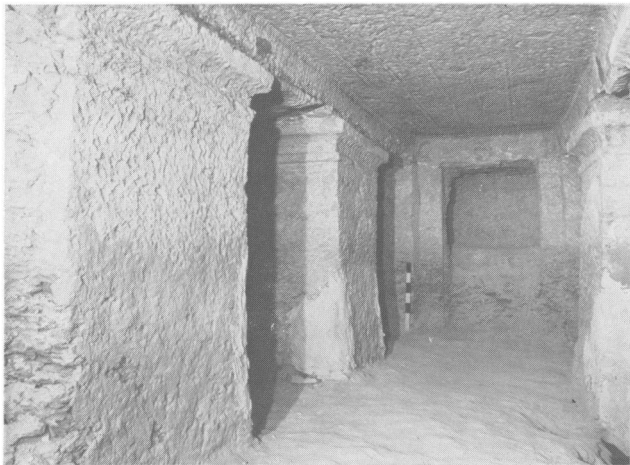
Most of this material was found in the corridor leading off from the bottom of the shaft, in the shaft itself, and in the robbers' tunnel connecting Shafts III and IV. Doubtless these objects were originally part of the funerary furnishings of the two interments in Shaft IV. No Mycenaean material was found here.



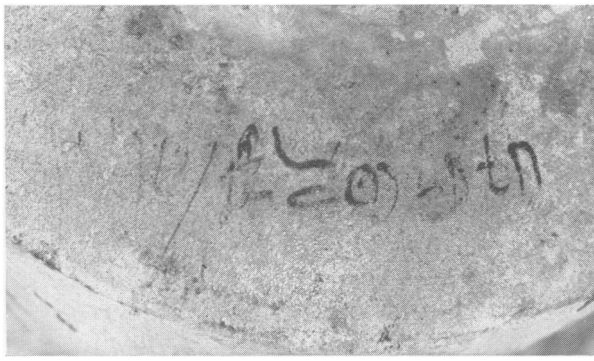
Room H, showing panelled walls and south false door



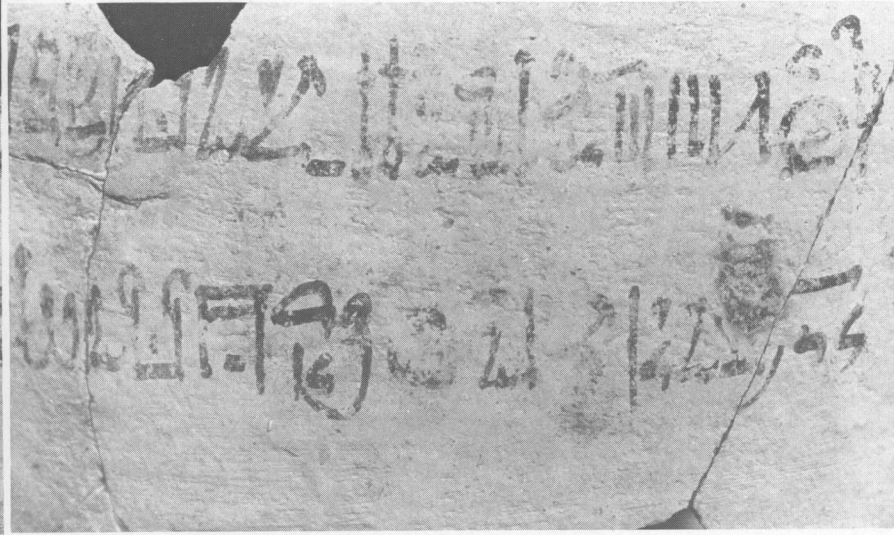
Room K, east door. Height of tympanum 0.92 m



Pillared hall (N), looking east



1. Hieratic docket of Ḥoremḥeb from burial chamber P. Shaft iv



2. Hieratic docket, year 13 of Ḥoremḥeb, from same location



3. Miniature stela of King Ay. Height 5.0 cm

THE ANUBIEION, NORTH SAQQÂRA

PRELIMINARY REPORT, 1977-1978

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

IN 1976-7 the Temple Town Survey at North Saqqâra had produced a contoured survey map of the brick-walled enclosure at the foot of the Serapeum Way and the larger enclosure to the south of it.¹ Preliminary clearance and trenching in numbered areas had established the presence of a central temple in the northern enclosure [Areas 12-14] and of administrative quarters [Area 5] within the west wall of this enclosure, probably Anubieion, the embalmers' quarter of Memphis.² Accordingly, in 1977-8 the Society excavated these areas.

Camp was opened on 18 September 1977, and closed on 7 January 1978. Forty men were initially employed, rising to 150 towards the end of the season. The Society's staff were: H. S. Smith, Mrs H. F. Smith, K. J. Frazer, D. G. Jeffreys, P. G. French, Miss L. L. Giddy, J. M. Murphy, Miss D. el-Khatib, and C. J. Bridger. The Society's chairman, Professor E. G. Turner, and Mrs Turner joined the camp for ten days in December, as did Miss J. D. Bourriau. Mr Said el-Fikey, Antiquities Inspector for North Saqqâra, worked with the Society throughout the season, and we are deeply grateful to him for his unfailing help and courtesy. At the Antiquities Service, Dr 'Abd el-Kader Muhammad, Dr Victor Girgis, Dr 'Abd el-Kader Selim, and Dr 'Ali el-Khouli helped the Society in obtaining the necessary permissions to undertake the work, while the Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Saqqâra and Memphis, Dr Ahmed Moussa, kindly assisted with administrative details at the site. To all these, and other members of the Antiquities Service, and to Dr Dia Abu-Ghazi and Dr 'Ali Hassan at the Egyptian Museum the Society offers its grateful thanks.

The site

The numbers of the areas excavated refer to those of last year's survey season (*JEA* 64 (1978), 14, fig. 1). Three-dimensional recording was based on 10-m squares subdivided into metre intervals; individual deposit designations follow the practice widely used on British sites; and absolute spot heights were tied in to the 1976 survey datum.

Area 5 lies immediately west of the modern road leading to the offices of the Antiquities Service. In the Late Period it stood within the south-west quarter of the enclosure. A grid 10 m² was initially laid out aligned with the west wall of the enclosure and eventually extended to cover an area 30 m east-west by 22 m north-south. In the grid references eastings are placed first.

¹ H. S. Smith and D. G. Jeffreys in *JEA* 64 (1978), fig. 1.

² A. Mariette, *Le Serapeum de Memphis* (Paris, 1882), 72 ff. and pl. i.

NORTH SAQQARA

ANUBIEION Area 5

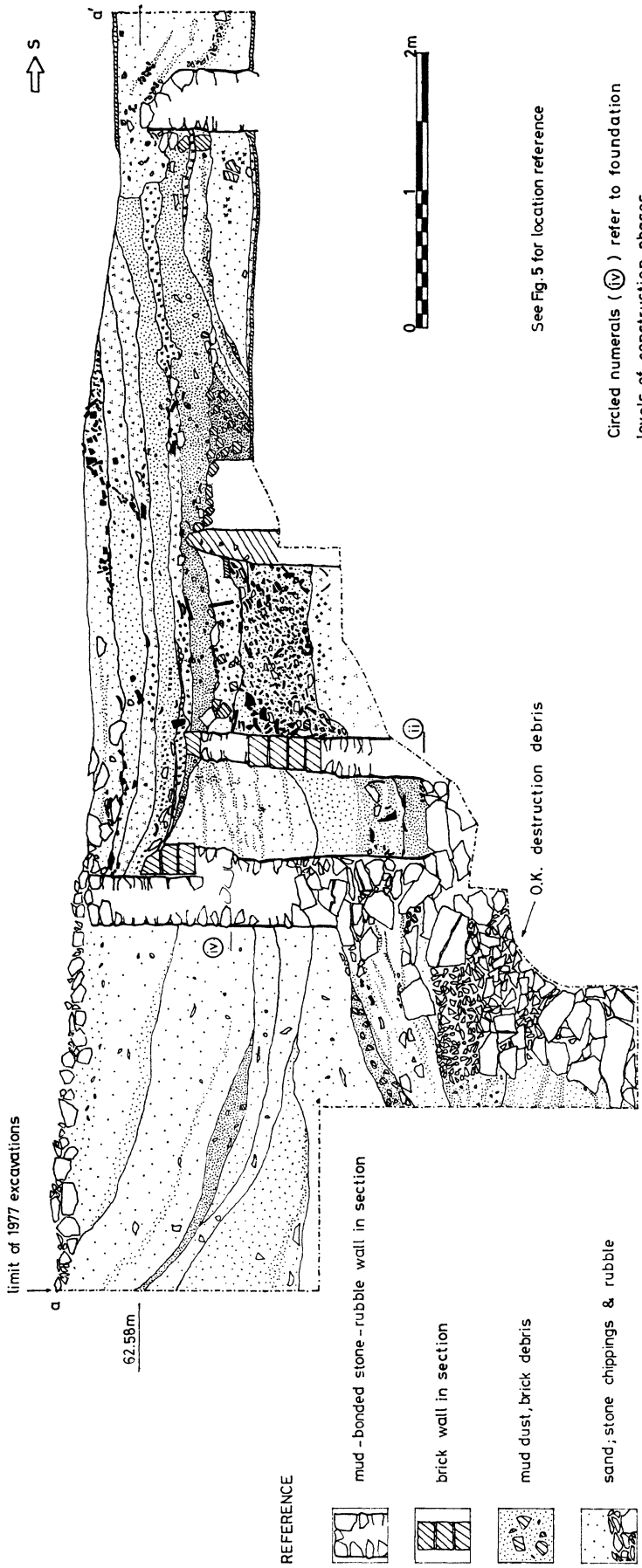


FIG. I.

The following major construction and occupation phases of post-Old Kingdom date were isolated:

(i) A series of stone-lined tomb shafts had been sunk through the Old Kingdom levels. Three shafts were located, sunk into the bedrock beneath. Absolute levels show that the shafts were cut from approximately the same level as that of the Nineteenth Dynasty tomb of Akhpet and others which clearly were part of a necropolis maintained over the Teti Pyramid temple area during the New Kingdom. However, the absolute level from which shafts were cut in this period may have varied over such a wide area.

(ii*a*) A phase of construction in brick and in mud-bonded stone rubble was distinguished in parts of Area 5 during test trenching. Investigation of this phase will have to await the removal of phase-iv structures above, since in all cases the later buildings have been founded directly on the line of the earlier ones (see fig. 1). These were clearly already partly eroded, but may have been further dismantled to form a platform. Due to extensive pitting in ancient times no contexted occupation material has been recovered from this phase, and its date and longevity are unknown as is its relationship (if any) with the enclosure-wall.

(ii*b*) A series of walls similar in construction to those associated with the phase-i tomb shaft was noted. They may belong to tomb chapels(?) not at present located. Their precise relationship will be examined next season, although on a comparison of foundation levels they appear to post-date phase ii*a*. The facing of the rebuilt phase-ii*a* walls in Chamber 11 with gypsum plaster may also belong to this phase (see fig. 1).

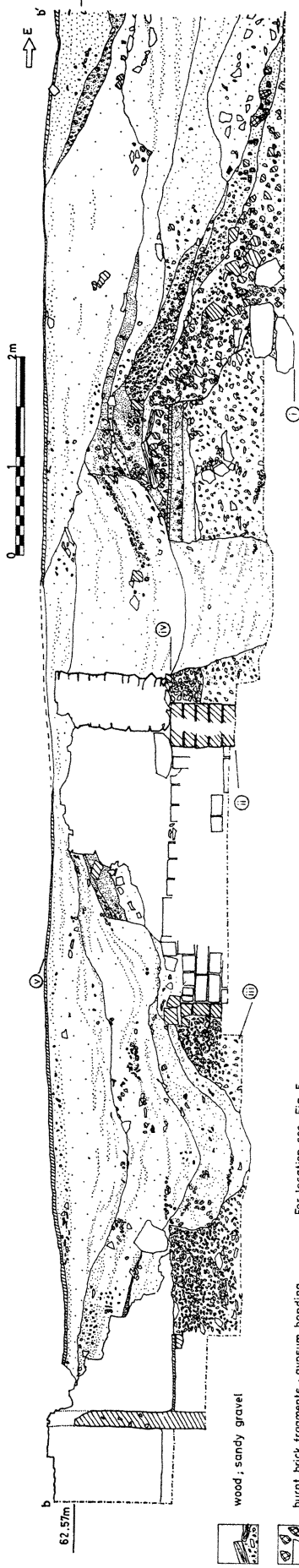
(iii) Subsequent to the destruction or erosion of the phase-ii*a* and ii*b* walls a large part of the area around the phase-ii*a* buildings had been covered with a mixed deposit of sand, gravels, and crushed *tafl* fragments (see fig. 2), which had been laid in two separate operations. Inhumations had been made in each of these spreads; some were simply surface burials, but several were encased in 'sarcophagi' of plastered and painted mud. It is probable that more of these graves exist beneath the earliest phase-iv structures. Those so far recorded suggest a pattern of rows of burials running north-south, similar to that of the cemetery near the Serapeum Way.³ At least one of the phase-i shafts (GR 02.00-S.01.00) had been reused, apparently as part of the cemetery; this is clear from the fact that the kerb wall at the top of this shaft had been set down into the lower of the two gravel deposits.

The construction of the west enclosure wall probably predates phase iii; for material from the lower gravel deposit had been thrown against the east face of the wall (see fig. 3). It was certainly completed by phase iv.

(iv*a*) A series of walls built both of mud-brick and of mud-bonded stone rubble had been founded directly over the later of the two gravel spreads, which was apparently raked over to form a level building platform. During this process a number of the burials appear to have been broken up. A curtain wall of double thickness (0.90 m) originally surrounded the precinct and may have been the earliest feature, but only the south-east corner and a short stretch of the east wall remain (see fig. 5). A threshold

³ Quibell and Hayter, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries, North Side*, pl. 6, 1.

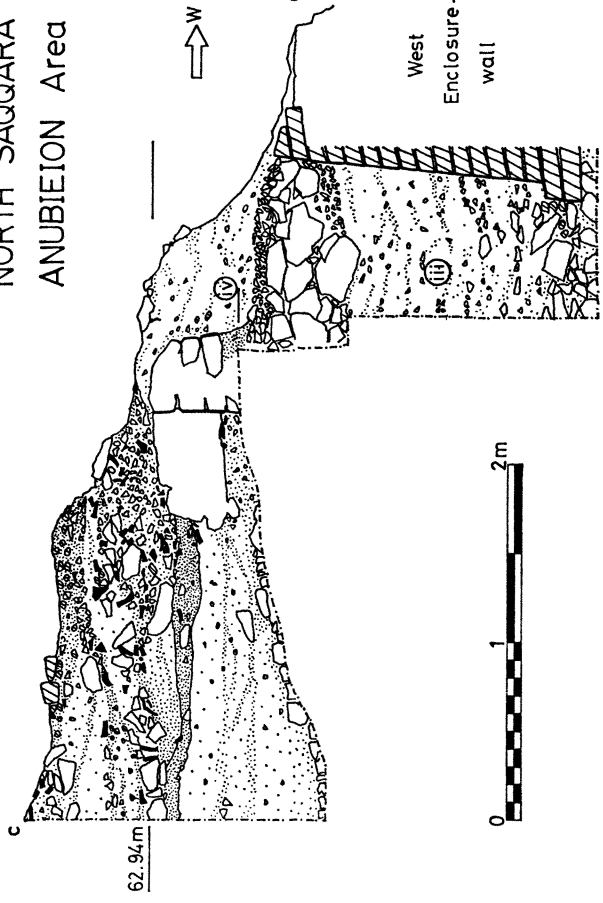
NORTH SAQQARA ANUBIEION Area 5



For location see Fig. 5

FIG. 2.

NORTH SAQQARA ANUBIEION Area 5



For location see Fig. 5

FIG. 3.

in the east wall (GR 23.30-00.00) faced a narrow corridor, probably roofed, across a small courtyard or antechamber (1). Long, narrow chambers opened off both sides of the corridor. That on the south side (3) had been partitioned at the east end, to provide a storage bin (5), and two further compartments (6, 7), perhaps also for storage, had been added. On the north side the corridor led through two doorways to a long room (2) with brick supports for benches (?) lining the walls. An enclosed area (8) at the end of the corridor seems from its internal appointments (stone press or mortar, plaster-lined storage pit) and consistent ash spreads to have been a cooking area throughout phase iv. Room 2 adjoining it may then have been used as a communal eating room. A windowless vaulted brick chamber (11) with a cupboard-niche at its west end, built over a phase-ii wall and abutting the north wall of room 2, may have been a sleeping cell. Further outlying buildings to the north may also have been part of a dormitory block, or used for storage. Owing to post-occupation disturbance little of their ground plan was recoverable.

(ivb, c) represent modifications of, and additions to, the basic plan. In b two more rooms (9 and 10) were added, abutting a rebuild of the north wall of rooms 2 and 8. Early in this sub-phase the more westerly of these (9) was raised on a gravel fill (see fig. 4), and served for a while as a storeroom, communicating with the adjoining rooms by means of staircases.

By (ivc) a sequence of floors of beaten earth had accumulated within room 9, which had ceased to be a storage area. Late in this sub-phase a partition wall was added which bisected its floor space. Only the footings of this wall survive, but a *terminus post quem* is provided by a well-contexted coin deposit from beneath them (see below). A lime-kiln just outside the entrance in the east precinct-wall may belong to this phase, but it can only be related stratigraphically to late ivc, and may even belong to v, when building-stone from this area was perhaps being slaked for use elsewhere on the site.

Evidence suggests settled habitation in this area, though in strict terms the finds are as yet insufficient to determine its character. Provision for grain storage, the probable presence of a cooking area, other localized ash deposits, and food residues (e.g. figs, dom-palm nuts, egg-shell, date-stones, etc.) point to meals being regularly prepared upon the site. Deposits of feathers, both from fallen roofing material and from floors, indicate that in all probability fowl were kept. A large proportion of the pottery found must be classified as domestic. The frequency of finds of coins and the presence of some papyri and ostraca show that normal business life was carried on. The discovery of phallic figurines of types similar to some of those found in Sector 7 of the Sacred Animal Necropolis may, however, suggest that the inhabitants were connected with votive or cult activities in the temple.⁴

The plan appears to show a fairly symmetrical arrangement of small rooms surrounding long chambers, possibly used for communal messing. The access was by narrow east-west passages, with a main east-west street within the south curtain wall. No certain north-south street has so far been identified, though one may have existed at the east end of the excavated area (see fig. 5). This plan is somewhat reminiscent of an

⁴ G. T. Martin in *JEA* 59 (1973), 5 ff.

area of 'Graeco-Roman' stone buildings outside the north gate of the Serapieion enclosure, which the excavator, Macramallah, interpreted as being a quarter for priests or for the accommodation of pilgrims.⁵ The buildings of Area 5 also, considering their position behind the sanctuaries of the temple, might well have served for temple servants or the lower ranks of priests, or indeed, in view of the figurines, for pilgrims.

(v) Major building activity seems to have ceased at the end of ivc but on the evidence of coins, pottery, and Greek papyrus fragments, occupation continued until the mid-first century AD. Floors within room 9a continue, the latest of them sealing the partly dismantled south wall. There is some evidence for half-timbered structures; roofs were certainly of simple reed or thatch. Two major features of this phase are a stone-rubble surface, which seals the ruined phase-v walls of rooms 13 and 14, and a well-consolidated mud surface laid over collapsed material (fig. 2) within the axial east-west corridor (in oo.oo) subsequent to initial pitting and robbing of phase-iv structures (see fig. 5). This surface is interpreted as a through road over the last occupation debris of phase iv, although the latest occupied floor of room 9a is probably contemporary. There is no evidence at present for reoccupation during the Coptic Period.

(vi) Occupation of Area 5 was followed by a period of pitting and stone robbing. Most of the pits had been left open and had been filled by weathering of the pit sides and deposits of windblown sand.

(vii) Following the cutting of the latest pits there had been extensive robbing of bricks from the enclosure wall, which may have caused the collapse of brickwork which sealed the west half of Area 5. The debris from the collapse lay close to the surface and was sealed in the east only by drift sand and modern surface dumping. The date of the collapse is thus uncertain, since brick-robbing has continued into recent times.

Areas 12, 13, and 14 were partly cleared during 1976-7. Further excavation was undertaken this season which has thrown doubt on the interpretation of some features. The sequence now proposed is as follows:

(i) Remains of a brick *mastaba* tomb of probable Old Kingdom date lay beneath the north-west corner of the phase ii-iii 'courtyard' in Area 13. The east side of a second structure of large stone blocks in stepped courses, probably a *mastaba*, lay beneath the east wall, but in neither case was a complete ground plan recoverable.

(iia) Brick and stone rubble together with overlying sand deposits had been raked away from the ruins of these tomb structures. Against the embankments so formed and directly upon the *mastabas* were founded the retaining walls of the long 'courtyard'. This wall had a true face on the interior only (see fig. 6). Outside the north wall of the 'courtyard' two tiers of brick buttress walls had been raised to consolidate the foundation fills (see fig. 7). A small brick building founded immediately outside the north-east corner of the embankment was perhaps a workman's shelter, although no occupation debris of any kind was retrieved from within.

(iib) Construction was interrupted before the retaining walls had been completed. The small brick building was dismantled down to its foundation courses and remained

⁵ R. Macramallah, *Le Cimetière archaïque de la classe moyenne du peuple à Saqqara* (Le Caire, 1940), pls. i-ii, lii.

buried beneath a deep deposit of apparently wind-carried drift sand, which also covered part of the east wall of the court. This deposit was cut through when building was resumed in order to relocate the line of the wall. The finished wall seems to have served no other purpose than to contain the sand fill upon which the phase-iii walls and floor were founded.

In either phase *ii a* or *ii b* a brick platform was raised screening the rock face of the escarpment west of the 'courtyard'. Initially a core of bricks, moulded from crushed

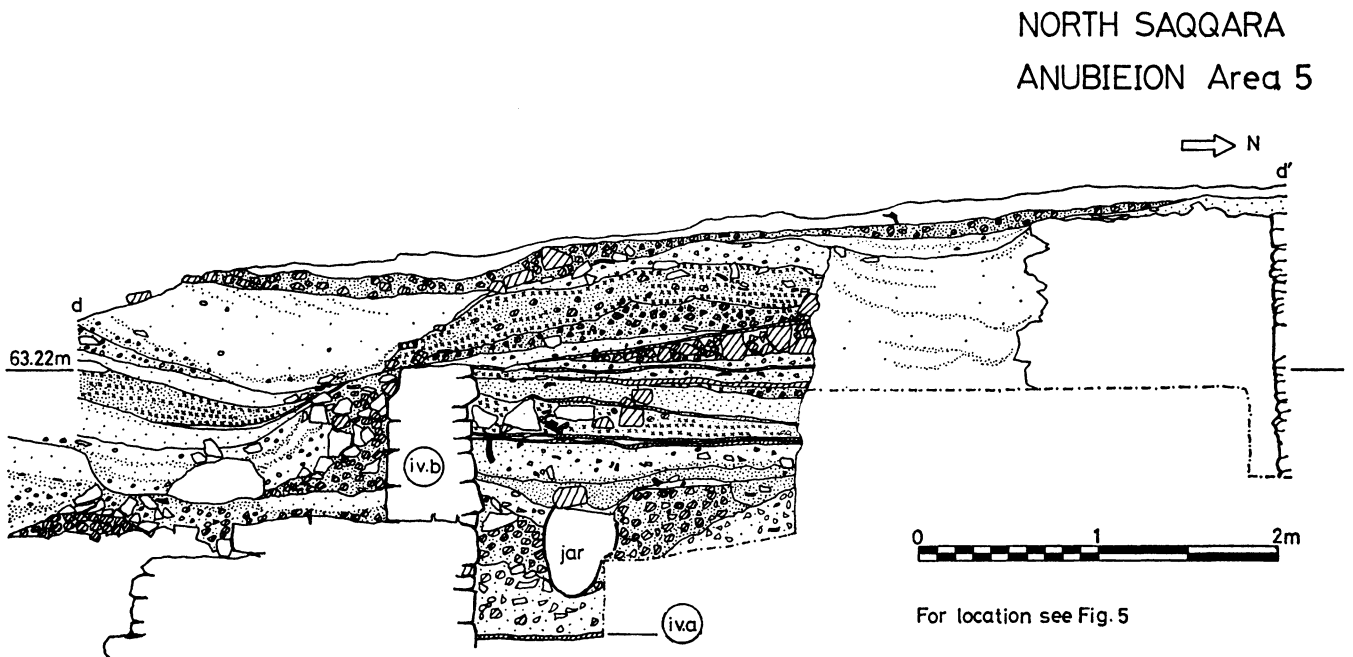


FIG. 4.

gypsum and bonded with mud mortar, was built, and packed around with the same gravels and building rubble that were used to bank up the courtyard. The brick platform was then founded on this base, probably as part of the same building process. How far this platform extended to north and south is unknown, since it lies under modern dump in the south and was cut through by the foundation trench of the phase-iv wall in the north.

An additional wall of crude stone masonry built against the west wall of the courtyard certainly post-dates the screen wall and may belong either to phase ii or iii. An opening in this wall is aligned with a break in the west courtyard-wall and with the gate on the cliff top in Area 14, suggesting a ramped approach from the lower to the upper terrace in phase iii.

(iii) This is the earliest major temple phase. It includes the final plastered wall

surrounding the courtyard, the well-fitted stone-flagged floor within these walls, and a similar pavement of cruder technique outside them to the west.

In view of the evidence for an approach to the west through the court it is probable that some building had by this time been completed on top of the plateau. The irregularities of the rock surface there had been levelled out and a stone pavement run out east of the gate over the top of the brick platform. The bedding for the terrace west of the gate shows that several fragments of New Kingdom relief work from decorated tombs were reused (see p. 27). No firm dating evidence for the earliest construction here was recovered, but a date in the Saïte Period is not ruled out. All structures cleared in Area 14 had been robbed down to, or below, floor level, and reconstruction of the ground plan is possible only where a few setting lines have survived.

In Area 12 to the north traces of a processional way were uncovered which must correspond to part of the Serapeum dromos recorded by Mariette as traversing the 'Greek Serapeum'. An early phase of this way—a simple brick ramp with stone chocks set in it at intervals—was certainly capable of bearing bull mummies on their sleds, but hardly of supporting the stone sarcophagi. This ramp, and a further structure of brick which may be a later raising of the road, must pre-date the first phase-iv construction.

(iv) The stone stereobate reported last year and wrongly assumed to pre-date phase ii was further investigated, and found to have been raised over the ruined north wall of the phase-ii courtyard. The stereobate continues downwards for 7.80 m, but the base course was not reached. The return at the north end was traced westwards and found to abut the cliff face. The foundation trench for this return had cut through the north end of the phase-ii platform and the gravel fills retained by it. A further cutting through them just beneath the gate in Area 13 is on the approximate line of the proposed causeway of phase iii. In phase iv also, then, a stone-founded ramp or stair may have led up to the upper terrace, with perhaps a colonnade or hypostyle west of the gate but slightly off its axis. East of the courtyard, brick compartments were constructed and filled with stone chips from the break-up of the phase-iii courtyard pavement. On these were laid the rough stone slabs of the underlay and the dressed paving slabs of a large courtyard at the level of the top of the stereobate.

In Area 12 two stages in the construction of the Serapeum Way post-dating the stereobate were distinguished. Both these phases show mortar bedding for stone flags laid over a make-up fill of brick rubble and gravel. None of these flags remain *in situ* and it is not known whether they belonged to a ramp or stair or a combination of the two.

(v) Further traces of reoccupation during the Coptic Period were recovered. In Area 14 several storage bins had been built on the terrace pavement. Since robbing of this pavement avoided the bins it is certain that the robbing post-dates their construction and may even be later than the occupation itself. These bins were of plastered brick and pisé, and are likely to have kept grain, though the fills, of which samples were taken, are not likely to represent the original contents. More structures of a domestic nature were discovered within the angle of the north and east phase-iv walls and over the phase-iv paved terrace to the east.

limit of 1977 excavation

NORTH SAQQARA

ANUBIEION Area 5, phase iv.c

REFERENCE



mud-banded stone-rubble wall



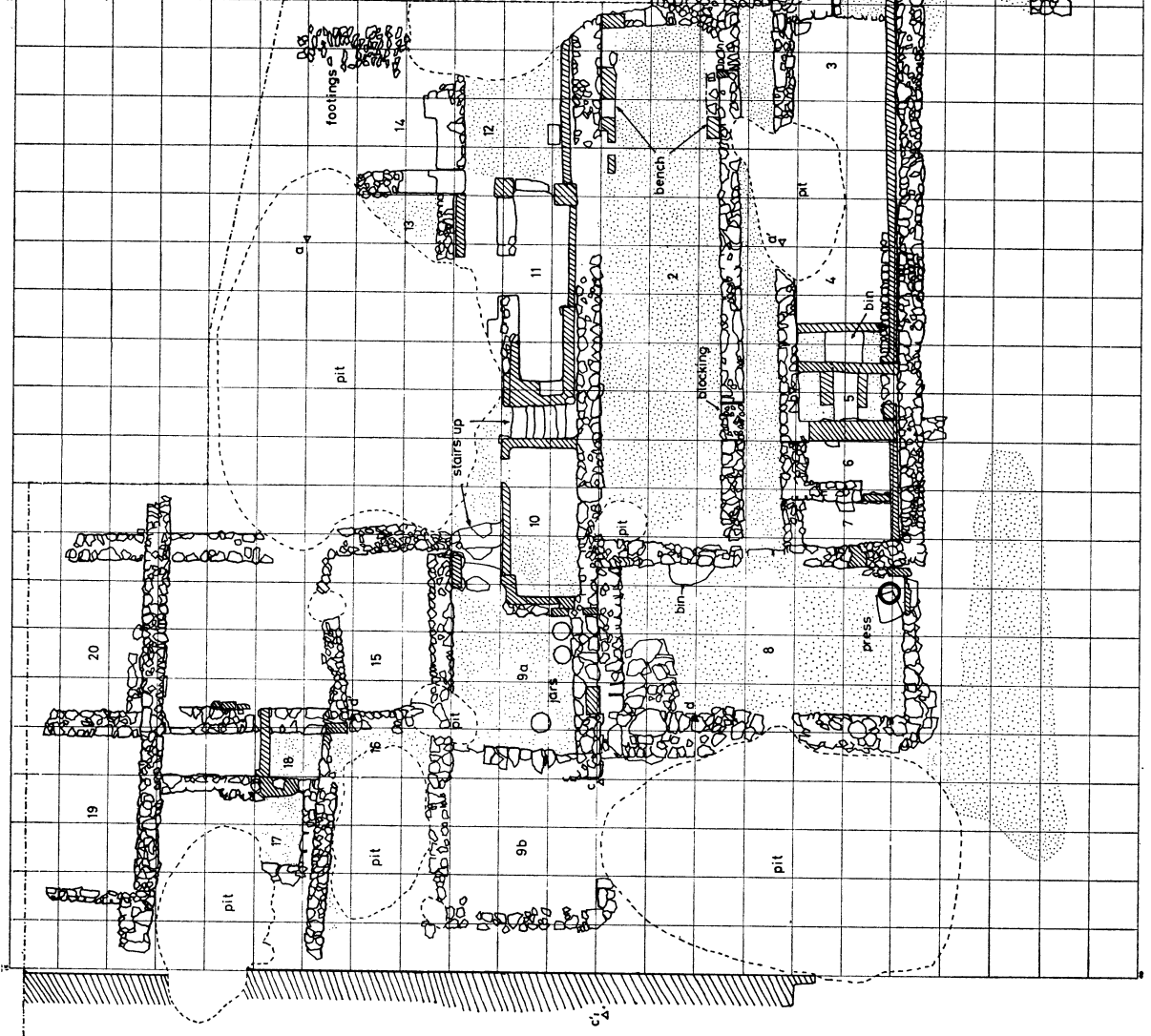
brick wall, beaten-earth floor



burnt brick



later disturbance



West

Enclosure-wall

SECTIONS

aa': Fig.1

bb': Fig.2

cc': Fig.3

dd': Fig.4

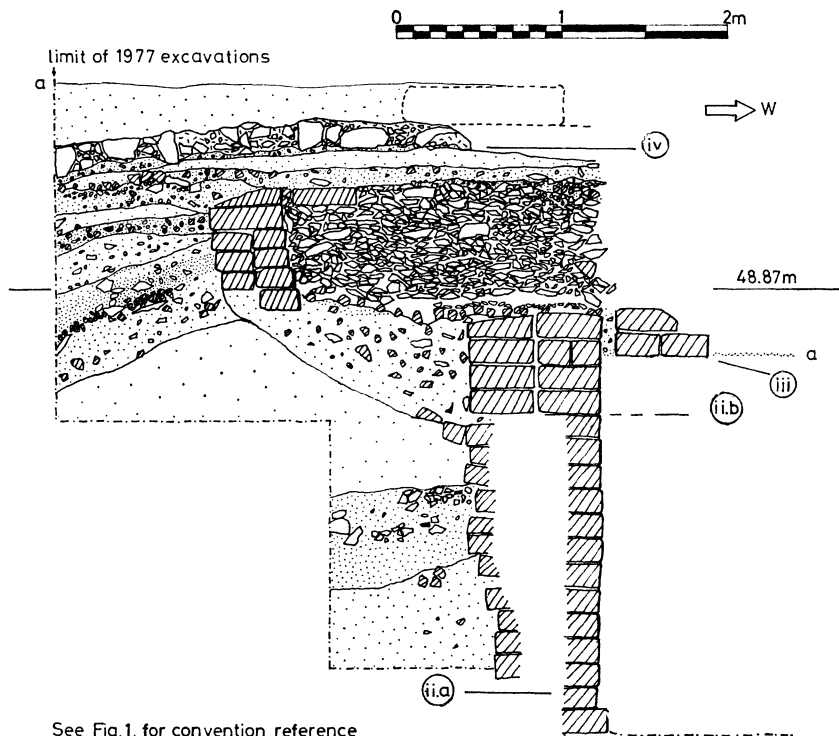
FIG. 5.

The inscriptions and objects found

AREA 5

Fragments of Greek papyri (N. Saq. 77/8-317/321) found in the uppermost occupation level (phase v) were dated by Professor Turner on palaeographic grounds to the first century AD. Demotic ostraca mostly yield a few traces only, but N.Saq. 77/8-139, from the collapse over the phase-iva floor in room 2, and 77/8-261, from a phase-ivb reflooring, are probably of Ptolemaic date. An ostracon bearing three Aramaic letters

NORTH SAQQARA
ANUBIEION Area 13



See Fig.1. for convention reference

FIG. 6.

(N. Saq. 77/8-235) is provisionally dated by Professor J. B. Segal to the late sixth or early fifth century BC. Four demotic mummy labels originating from the phase-iii burials (N.Saq. 77/8-140, 229/231) cannot be more closely dated than fourth–second century BC. Hieroglyphic inscriptions belong to fragments of much earlier tomb-scenes from the Old and New Kingdom necropolises.

Objects found in Area 5, apart from the coins, were not very helpful in characterizing or dating the site. Stone dummy shrines of the type found lining parts of the Serapeum Way were unearthed both in debris and built into rebuilt phase-iv walls, presumably reused. Shawabtis, mostly uninscribed, some faience figurines of deities, faience

amulets, and fragments of wood most probably came from disturbed phase-iii burials. Fragments of faience vessels may, however, be part of the occupation debris, and some wooden fragments were certainly structural. A crude stone statue of Anubis found broken, the head separate from the body (N.Saq. 77/8-148), emphasizes the connection with the temple and the probable dedication of the complex, as do finds of miniature figurines of Anubis and possibly also a fragment of a limestone pyramidion bearing his name (N.Saq. 77/8-162).

AREAS 12-14

On the underlay of the phase-iv stone pavement of the eastern courtyard was found a cornice block bearing the prenomen *Wsr-k3-rꜥ* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Though the block had no strict stratigraphic context, it seems probable that it came from the destruction of the temple of phase iv, and, if so, might give a date for the final phase of temple construction. If so, then it would appear likely that the block found at the south end of Area 13 in 1976-7 showing Ptolemy V Epiphanes worshipping Anubis probably came from the temple to the south in Area 17 excavated by Quibell, having slid down with dumped debris. A small stone base in the form of a stairway and platform with a hole on the upper surface, presumably designed to bear an image (N.Saq. 1977/8-149), had a Greek dedicatory inscription which Professor Turner tentatively dates to the first century AD; it was found on the top of the escarpment. Relatively few demotic ostraca were found.

Otherwise, objects from the temple area were mainly relief, inscribed, and statue fragments from earlier tombs. The majority of these belonged to the New Kingdom. A group of minute rectangular plaques of garnet, lapis, carnelian, gold, and faience from a piece of jewellery (N.Saq. 77/8-142) were found below pavement level on the upper temple terrace. Two bore cartouches of the Saïte King Amasis (Aḥmose-si-Neit). A black granite funerary scarab of normal Late Period type mortared on to a limestone base (N.Saq. 77/8-130) had been mortared direct to the rock surface near by.

The pottery

Stratified and levelled pottery was collected from Area 5 by Mr French. Very few whole pots were obtained, but the sherd material from phases iv and v (which alone have been fully investigated so far) is rich and, in general, homogeneous. Providing that a sufficient number of strata prove to be firmly datable on coin evidence, the material should help elucidate some of the problems of dating the native wares of the period. The majority of the pottery is domestic in character, and does not correspond closely with the material found on the Sacred Animal Necropolis site. A proportion of the sherds from the upper levels may be dated to the first century AD.

The coins

Dr Martin Price of the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum has most generously examined casts and photographs of those coins found which could be

NORTH SAQQARA
ANUBIEION Area 13

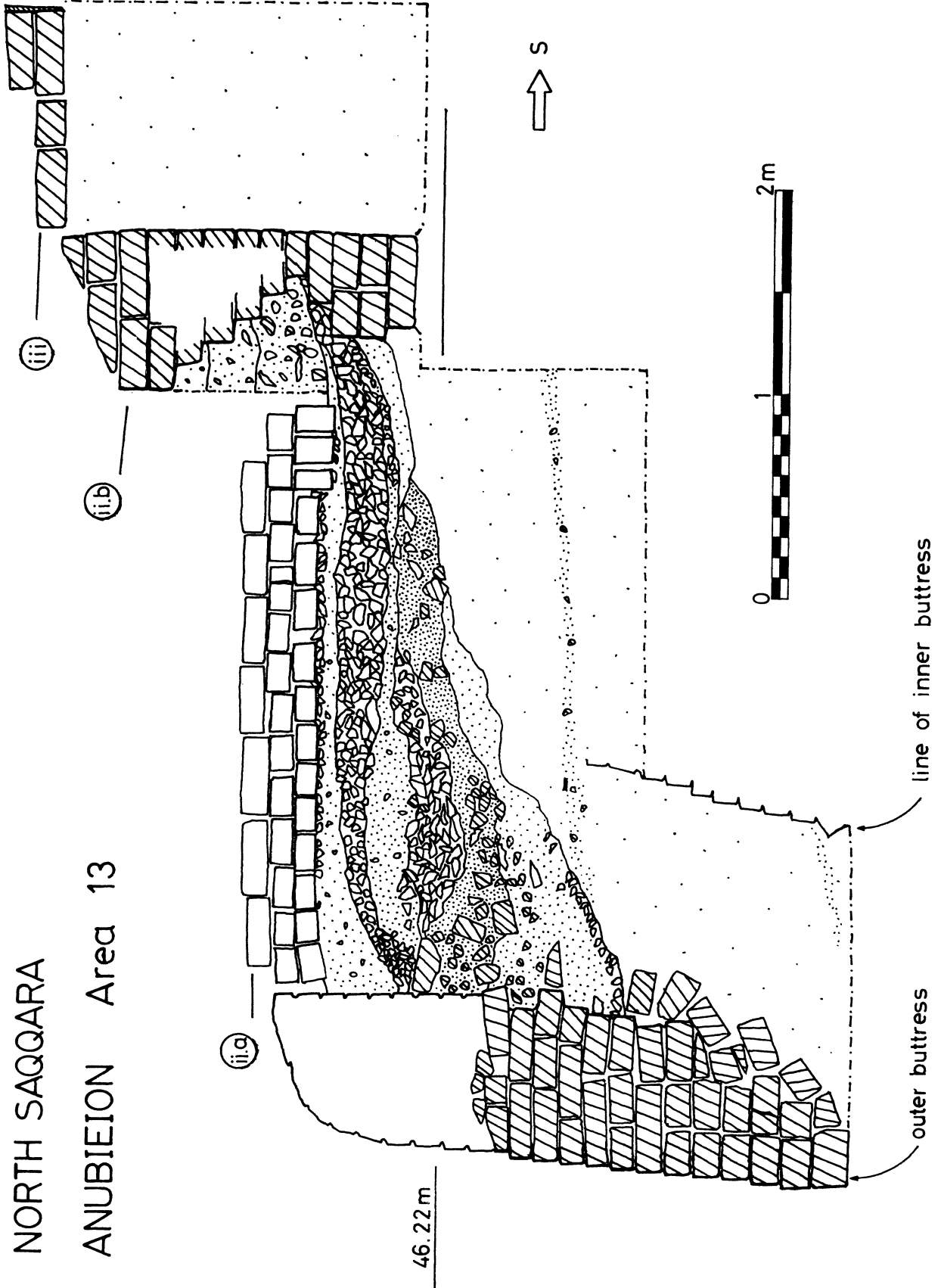


FIG. 7.

cleaned on site. Exact identification is often very difficult, but Dr Price's results are revealing.

From the temple site, seven coins from debris levels associated with Christian structures date to Theodosius I, Anastasius, Justin II, and Heraclius (four coins), thus giving a span for the settlement from Theodosius's edict against paganism to the Muslim conquest. The remainder of the coins from this site are imitations of Roman coins of Egyptian origin dating from the fourth–fifth centuries AD, apart from three Ptolemaic coins which bear witness to the Ptolemaic date of phase iv of the temple site.

From the settlement site (Area 5), six of seven coins found under the base of a reconstructed wall of phase *ivc* are of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 BC), and one is doubtfully assigned to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283–245 BC). Thus phase *ivc* must have been founded in the reign of Philopator or a little later. A coin of Ptolemy I or II was found in rubble from a lining wall of the phase-*iva* structures, and two more, probably of Ptolemy II, were found on or immediately above phase-*iva* floors. While other phase-*iva* deposits showed contamination with 'Late Roman' coins, an early Ptolemaic horizon is attested by nine coins of Ptolemy I or II. Altogether thirty-one dated Ptolemaic coins ranging from Ptolemy I Soter to Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II (305–116 BC) have been listed, as well as twenty-four illegible coins of Ptolemaic date, so that the general Ptolemaic date of the phase-iv structures is confirmed. The finding of a coin of Livia (AD 17) and two of year 2 of the first Jewish Revolt (AD 67) in destruction levels may support a first-century AD date suggested for (at the latest) phase v on the basis of lamps and pottery. A large number of fourth–fifth-century AD Egyptian imitations of Roman Imperial coins, terminating in an issue of Heraclius dates the final destruction of the settlement to the period of Christian occupation.

Relationship of Area 5 with Areas 12–14

The excavation of an east–west trench linking the stratigraphy of the temple to the settlement area has proved impracticable, but the coin evidence allows a provisional correlation of phases. The Christian occupation of the upper temple terrace coincides with the destruction of the Area 5 settlement. In broad terms, phase iv of the temple might then correspond with at least some part of phase iv on the settlement site. The hiatus in the history of the settlement represented by the phase-iii burial ground would then correspond with the destruction and abandonment of the phase-iii temple, apparently of some duration. The earlier phases (*ii a–b*) of the settlement site, which have so far yielded no coins, may then turn out to relate on further excavation to the earlier history of the temple.

QAŞR IBRÎM 1978

By R. D. ANDERSON, W. Y. ADAMS *et alii*

As in the previous season, the 1978 expedition to Qaşr Ibrîm was equipped by the Antiquities Service with the houseboats *Zoser* and *Gerf Hussein*, and with the barge *Medhat* for the 103 workmen from Quft under Reîs Bashir Mahmud Ali. The team consisted of Dr W. Y. Adams (site director), Mrs Adams (camp manager and textile assistant), R. D. Anderson (administrative director and epigraphist), R. C. Allen (excavation assistant), Miss E. G. Crowfoot (textile expert), P. G. French (object registrar), S. Garfi (surveyor), Dr P. M. Gartkiewicz (surveyor of the Cathedral and Church 2), with Dr O. Dearlove as medical officer. For the last month the expedition was joined by Y. le Clézio, who worked on the Arabic documents, and Mrs le Clézio (Miss A. J. L. Smith), who assisted with object registration and copied the Meroitic inscriptions. For the previous two months Ernest Adams contributed valuably with object drawing, while Edward Adams had helped with surveying. The Antiquities Service was represented in the earlier part of the season by Osiris Ghabriel, in the latter by Alfy Henry. To both the Society owes its gratitude, as also to the two inspectors at Aswân, Abdine Siam and Sayed Mustafa el-Zairy, who gave generously of their help in setting up the expedition. For courteous assistance throughout all negotiations the Society would wish to thank the acting chairman of the Antiquities Service, Dr Victor Girgis; the director of inspectorates, Dr 'Ali el-Khouli; the director of the Cairo Museum, Dr Dia Abu-Ghazi, and her successor, Dr Hasan el-Ashiri. Through their agency many administrative details were smoothed and the Society was granted a division of the 1974 and 1976 finds from Ibrîm.

The season began on 15 January and excavation continued till 30 March, when the Quftis left for Aswân. The team remained on site till 15 April. As there was still recording to be done when the houseboat reached Aswân, Professor Adams, Mr Allen, and Mr French continued on board till 1 May. Work was on a larger scale than in previous seasons thanks to a generous subvention from the Smithsonian Institution of the United States. Much material was generously loaned or provided by the University of Kentucky and by the British Museum. Excavation was concentrated in three main areas: the plaza west of the Taharqa temple, the south bastion and southern fortifications, and a large sector west of the Cathedral. Dr Gartkiewicz recorded in detail the architecture of Church 2 and the Cathedral. A BBC television team was in residence for a fortnight during March, filming many aspects of the Society's work.

The Napatan/Meroitic Temple Complex

By W. Y. ADAMS

THE small mud-brick temple of Taharqa first came to light in the excavations of 1972.¹ Since then we have discovered that it is the centre of an extensive complex of religious buildings added to the original nucleus at various later times. The excavations of 1974 revealed a cluster of massive-walled brick magazines on the south side of the temple,² while the 1976 excavations uncovered part of a stone-flagged court, with four column bases, to the south-west of the original nucleus.³

In 1978 we removed all of the remaining Early Christian and X-Group deposits and structures from the area to the west of the Taharqa temple (previously designated West Piazza⁴), and found beneath them the remains of a fairly large stone-built temple which had been erected adjacent and contiguous to the Taharqa temple either in late Napatan or in early Meroitic times. This later addition, which is considerably larger than its brick predecessor, has been designated Temple 4. It has a north-south orientation, in marked contrast to the east-west orientation of the Taharqa building (see fig. 1). Although very largely destroyed by quarrying and pit-digging in Early Christian times, enough of Temple 4 remains to show that it had an open courtyard at the north, perhaps flanked by small pylons. To the south was a much narrower middle chamber with (putatively) two columns, then a small hypostyle hall with eight columns, and finally one or more sanctuary chambers, although almost nothing of these remained except the doorways. The small court with columns discovered in 1976 was, we now reckon, the western half of the hypostyle hall.

The northern courtyard as well as the whole interior of Temple 4 was floored with an irregular stone flagging, of which considerable portions remain *in situ*. The flagstones in the courtyard and in the adjoining middle chamber exhibit a large number of pilgrims' graffiti in the form of stylized footprints, identical to those familiar from the Podium area further north.⁵ As in the Podium pavement the footprints enclose inscribed names both in Greek and Meroitic; in one example the name ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙ can be clearly read.

It was from a portion of the Temple 4 paving, in the hypostyle hall and in one of the sanctuary chambers, that large caches of Late Roman and Early Byzantine coins were recovered in 1974⁶ and 1976.⁷ These provide a *terminus ante quem* of perhaps AD 100 for the stone-flagged portion of the temple, while a rough *terminus post quem* is provided by the finding of several reused Taharqa jambs and lintels in the foundations of Temple 4.⁸ Presumably these had been taken from the adjoining, and evidently much older, brick building to the east. We are dealing, therefore, with a late Napatan or an early

¹ See *JEA* 60 (1974), 228-32.

² *JEA* 61 (1975), 17-19.

³ *JEA* 63 (1977), 40-2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 41-2.

⁵ *JEA* 60 (1974), 40 and pl. x.

⁶ *JEA* 61 (1975), 16-17.

⁷ *JEA* 63 (1977), 43.

⁸ Cf. *ibid.* 41-2.

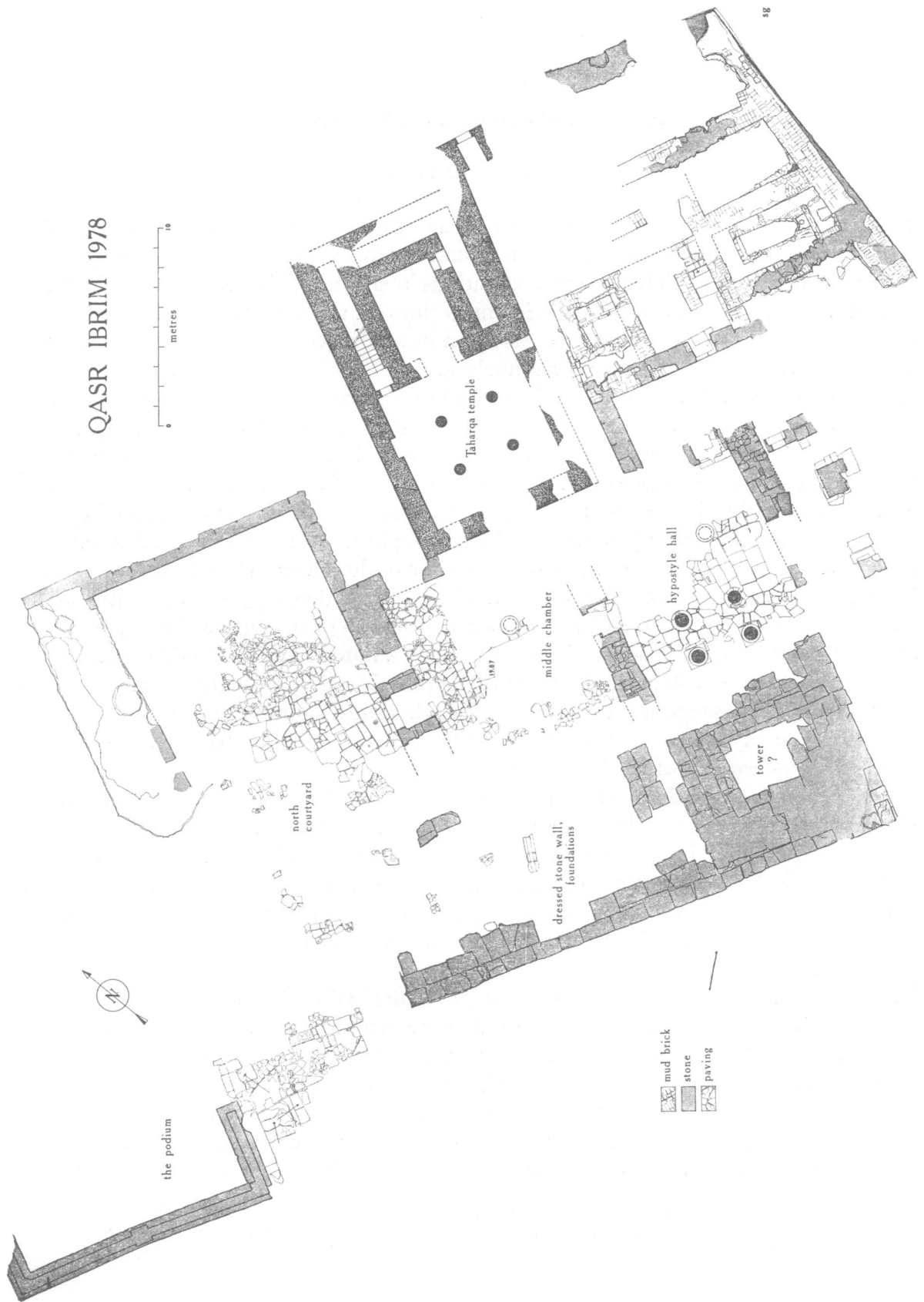


FIG. 1. The Meroitic Temple complex and the massive stone wall to the west of it (composite plan).

Meroïtic addition to Taharqa's original temple, but no very secure dating is possible on the basis of the scanty remains uncovered so far.

Of equal interest with the temple itself is the remnant of an exceptionally massive, carefully dressed, stone wall which had once paralleled the western side of Temple 4 (see fig. 1 and pl. V, 1). Only the foundation blocks remain *in situ*, the overlying stones having been quarried away at or before the beginning of the Christian Period. The wall, as far as we have uncovered it, ran southward from the Podium until it terminated in a solid, nearly square, tower or pylon of stone masonry measuring more than 11 m on a side (see fig. 1).⁹ That the wall originally connected with, and was integral with, the Podium¹⁰ is indicated by the facts that the blocks in both structures are of comparable size, both are of carefully selected pink sandstone, and both the wall and the exterior facing of the Podium have an identical orientation of 300° N. magnetic. While the purpose of the newly uncovered wall and tower are as yet unclear, we have at least now demonstrated what has been intuitively obvious for a long time: that the Podium itself is only a small part of a much larger architectural complex.¹¹ The full extent of that complex, which may extend to the north as well as to the south of the Podium, will only be revealed by many years of additional digging.

The Fortifications and South Bastion

By W. Y. ADAMS

On first approaching Qaşr Ibrîm in 1978 we were aware that the action of wind and waves had wrought considerable damage to the outer defensive wall since our previous visit. Once again, therefore, the investigation of the surviving fortifications became an urgent priority. What we discovered cannot here be described in any detail, for the history of the defences proved to be far more complex than we had previously suspected.¹² There were, we now know, not two but at least five major episodes of building and rebuilding.

Prior to the building of the earliest continuous girdle-wall, the southern extremity of the Qaşr Ibrîm mountain top was dominated by a free-standing bastion of mud-brick, with markedly battered sides (see fig. 2). This, in turn, enclosed an older round tower of stone with a solid core of stone rubble. Neither the date nor the purpose of these structures has thus far been revealed by our very limited excavations, but they rose to a height of at least 8 m above the *gebel* surface. The general character of the construction looks markedly un-Egyptian, and in particular bears no comparison to the Nubian brick fortresses of the Middle and New Kingdoms (see pl. IV, 3).

At some time after the construction of the South Bastion, the mountain top at Qaşr Ibrîm was enclosed within its first continuous girdle-wall. This was a relatively insubstantial structure having two sloping stone faces and an earthen core. It was

⁹ A few of the blocks at the north-east corner of the tower were uncovered in 1976. They are shown in *JEA* 63 (1977), fig. D, far left.

¹¹ *Ibid.* 49.

¹⁰ Cf. *JEA* 60 (1974), 30-59.

¹² See *JEA* 63 (1977), 37-9.

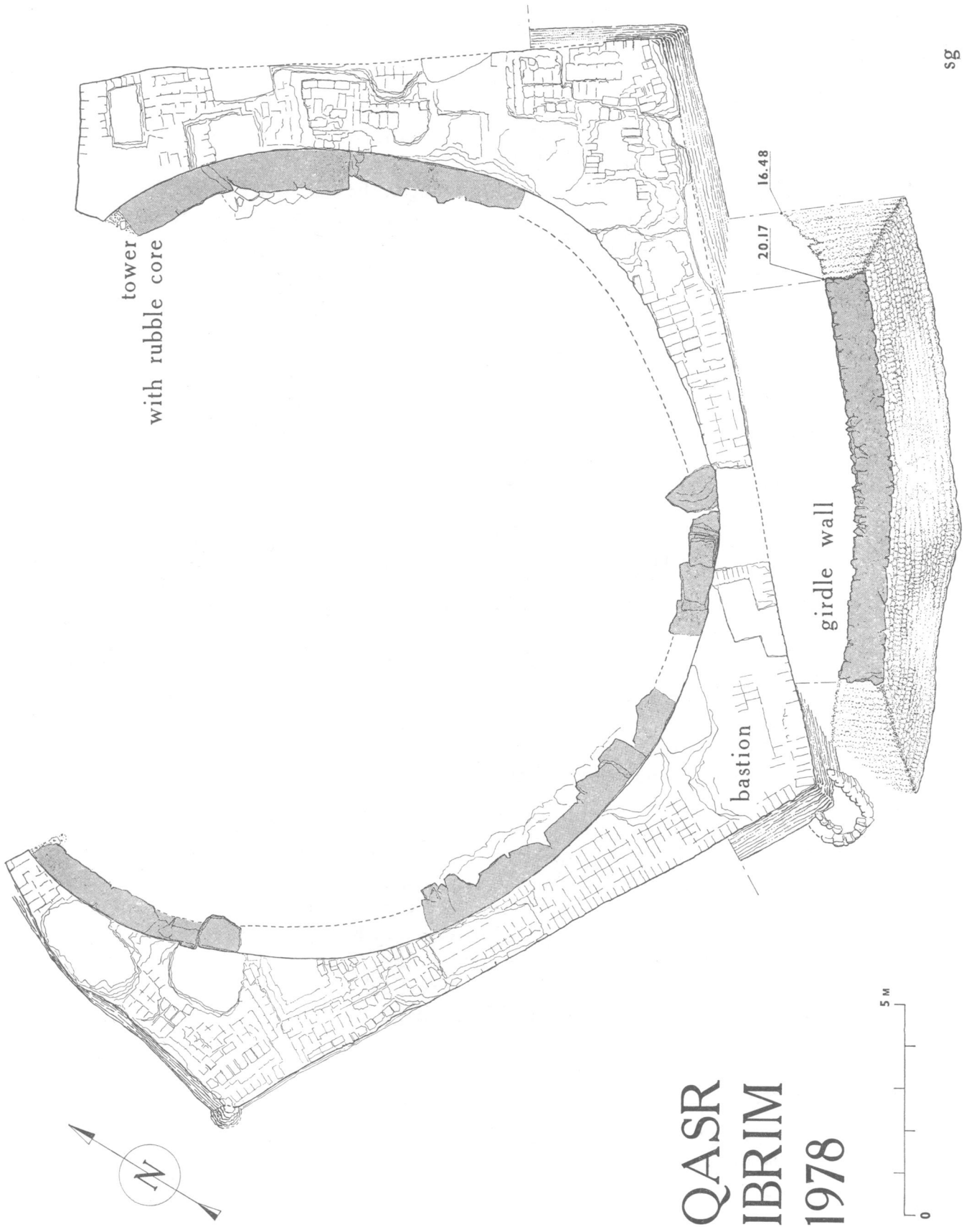


FIG. 2. The South Bastion and adjacent fortifications (composite plan).

situated so as to leave an open walkway (*pomoerium*) between the inner face of the girdle-wall and the outer face of the older brick bastion (see fig. 2). In due time the original girdle-wall suffered considerable dilapidation, and in the course of rebuilding it was made thicker and higher than the original. At this point in the story we are for the first time in a recognizable historical context, for the walkway between the rebuilt girdle-wall and the South Bastion was found to contain a dense accumulation of refuse of almost purely Roman type, including pottery, lamps, shoes, coins, and even Latin papyri. It is, therefore, tempting to associate the rebuilding of the wall, or the period immediately following, with the historically documented Roman occupation of 23–21 BC.

Following this episode there is no evidence of further work on the fortifications for more than a thousand years. By X-Group times there were evidently gaps in the walls, resulting from natural collapse or deliberate dismantling, and the process of decay proceeded much further during the earlier half of the Christian Period. Then, at the beginning of the Late Christian Period, there was a general renewal of the girdle-wall around the whole perimeter of the site. The rebuilding followed in nearly every case the alignment of the earlier walls, but the new construction involved a solid mass of roughly fitted and irregular stones rather than a rubble-filled structure with a facing of squared blocks. It was the Late Christian rebuilders (not the Bosnians as we had previously supposed¹³) who made extensive use of palm logs as tie-timbers. Logic suggests that the refortification may have been a consequence of the raid of Shams ed-Dawla in AD 1172/3, although the associated pottery actually indicates a slightly earlier dating.

The last restoration of the fortifications was undertaken early in the Bosnian Period, some time after AD 1550. The Bosnians repaired a number of breaches in the Late Christian wall and also added one or two metres to its height along the western and southern reaches of the site. The Bosnian construction is comparatively insubstantial in comparison to that of earlier periods, and lacks the characteristic tie-timbers of the underlying Late Christian wall.

Bosnian Remains

By R. C. ALLEN

The opening of a new excavation area north of the Podium trench and west of the Cathedral entailed the excavation of a relatively large number of Bosnian structures. They included some fourteen individual houses of various sizes, and four streets. Their excavation provides a considerably more complete picture of the latest occupation at Qaşr İbrım than had been available before, though much still remains to be learned.

In general, the Bosnian remains excavated in 1978 were similar to those encountered in previous seasons.¹⁴ The walls consisted of roughly dressed stone set in moderate amounts of mud mortar. Most rooms encompassed only one or two floors and a relatively small amount of occupation refuse. Preservation was generally good, with walls

¹³ See *JEA* 63 (1977), 37.

¹⁴ Cf. *JEA* 61 (1975), 13.

standing in some places to over 3.5 m in height. Doors, windows, and wall niches were found in a number of instances and mud wall-plaster, occasionally whitewashed, was a common feature. Internal features included storage pits, fire hearths, ash deposits, and subfloor storage jars. A dome-shaped oven or bin was also encountered in one room.

Two characteristics differentiated the Bosnian remains of this season from those encountered in the past. First, the structures tend to be more elaborate than those located further south. This is evident in the somewhat more substantial construction of the walls and, more especially, in internal features. Fine compacted stone-chip floors were found in a number of rooms. They seem always to date from the early rather than the late phases of Bosnian occupation. A number of rooms contained stone-lined mastabas and wall whitewashing occurred frequently. In one room a whitewashed wall had been decorated in red with a frieze consisting of a boldly executed nested-diamond design. This is the first occurrence of Bosnian wall-painting so far found on the site.

The second unique feature of this year's excavations was the finding of Bosnian remains under other Bosnian structures. Earlier, our evidence for the length of the post-Christian habitation of the site had come chiefly from the observation of horizontal growth rather than from stratified deposits. However, in the north-east section of the excavation area it was found that Bosnian structure B1-1 had been intentionally destroyed to permit the overbuilding of Unit B-17. The presence of a section of characteristic stone-chip floor indicated that B1-1 was an early Bosnian construction.

More substantial evidence of rebuilding was encountered in the south-west portion of the excavation area. Here more than 1.5 m of deposit covered a five-room structure (Unit B1-2) which had, after some period of use, fallen partially into ruin and then had been rebuilt in a somewhat different form.

Christian Remains

By R. C. ALLEN

Below the Bosnian levels in the area west of the Cathedral we encountered substantial deposits and structures dating from the Classic- and the earlier Late-Christian periods. They comprised a series of domestic structures, several of which faced a street (see pl. IV, 1), and the northern section of the same open plaza whose southern portion had been cleared in previous seasons.¹⁵

The Late Christian structures were, in general, of rather flimsy construction and made of roughly cut stone set in small amounts of mud mortar. The walls were in a poor state of preservation, averaging between 50 and 70 cm in height. They had suffered heavily from Bosnian pit-digging and several had been intentionally dismantled.

At least three well-preserved Classic Christian structures were encountered along the west side of a street paralleling the front of the Cathedral (Lower Cathedral Street). Each involved the extensive modification of an earlier structure, dating from Early

¹⁵ See *JEA* 63 (1977), 41-2.

Christian or X-Group times, and together they represent the first substantial evidence of Classic Christian domestic occupation at Qaşr İbrİM. Combined with the Late Christian structures, they show a north-to-south sequence of construction in the west side of the site during this period.

Across from the Classic Christian houses, the east side of Lower Cathedral Street was formed by a long, straight wall built in three stages, all during the Early Christian Period. Together, these form a retaining wall for the platform on which the Cathedral is built.

The best preserved of the Classic Christian structures, CC₁₋₆, is a five-room house containing four rectangular storage crypts. It had apparently developed out of an older X-Group structure which was very well preserved. The original doorway to this house, including the lintel, remained intact. By Classic Christian times the threshold level was more than 1 m below that of the adjoining street, so that it was necessary to approach the house by means of a set of descending stairs (see pl. IV, 2). Within the house were two rooms, which at the beginning of the Classic Period were used as a stable for goats or sheep. They were subsequently burned and deliberately filled with refuse to a depth of about 1.5 m, bringing their level up to that of the street. The house was then rebuilt and three rooms were added, which continued in use throughout the Classic and early Late Christian occupation of the site. Several of the decayed walls were finally used as foundations in the Bosnian structures.

To the south of CC₁₋₆, three additional structures were built during the early Late Christian Period. From north to south they were added progressively later. Two southern structures (LC₁₋₁₈ and LC₁₋₂₀) apparently represent the first domestic encroachment upon what had long been an open plaza. They were rough-stone buildings with thin, flimsy walls, and their construction blocked the street that had formerly entered the plaza.

Late Christian houses LC₁₋₁₈ and LC₁₋₂₀ overlay a deposit of rubble containing innumerable manuscript fragments, bits of decorated wood and bone, and Classic Christian pottery. The religious nature of the texts and the presence of several fragments of stone carved in canonical styles suggest that this deposit originated from a destroyed church on the site as did similar deposits at two other localities.

The Cathedral and Church 2

By P. M. GARTKIEWICZ

These buildings are part of an ecclesiastical complex at İbrİM in the nature of a 'Christian acropolis'. Its known boundaries are Podium Street to the south, Cathedral Street to the west; to north and east further excavation is needed before the limits can be defined. As emerged from the 1972 and 1976 seasons, the Cathedral was built on the site of an earlier church (now known as the Old Church or Church 4). Evidence for this structure has been found beneath the walls and stone pavement of the Cathedral. The remains of two sacristies on either side of the apse have been discovered, and it is

clear that the crypt staircases belonged to the Old Church and were originally twice as wide as at present. To the west of these stairs were two stone walls with doorways into the aisles. Beneath the western part of the Cathedral there appear to be foundations probably belonging to the Old Church. The evidence suggests that the older building had main dimensions very similar to those of the Cathedral, but a different plan, and one new to Nubia.

For the Cathedral itself detailed documentation has been prepared, and the decorative motifs on more than 150 blocks have been copied. The crypts, pavement, and surviving walls have been planned, and preparations made for photogrammetric elaboration. Important questions concerning the building of the Cathedral have now been answered. It is clear, for instance, that there was rebuilding after a fire, when some arches and wall sections collapsed; a number of inscriptions mentioning the name of a bishop Miel may point to the builder of the Cathedral.

The site director's decision to dismantle Church 2 provided an opportunity to examine the types of brick used, and each phase was carefully recorded. The church rested partly on *gebel* and partly on earlier Christian occupation levels. There were also found remains of Meroitic and X-Group houses that previously covered the 'acropolis' area. There were two main building periods in Church 2, the interior being partially remodelled during the latter. An interesting fact previously unremarked in Nubian church-architecture was the use of specially prepared bricks and stones to mark the main outlines of the ground plan. It was found that the same method had also been followed in the Cathedral.

An examination of the rock-cut tombs along the western edge of the 'acropolis' suggests that they may have originated before the Christian Period and were reused and rebuilt twice during it. Two levels of stone pavement appear to have covered this area at different periods and traces remain of the original tomb superstructures.

The Small Objects

By P. G. FRENCH

Besides pottery, textiles, and inscribed material, some four thousand other objects were recovered, almost all of them dating from the Meroitic and post-Meroitic periods. Especially attractive or interesting pieces include a fine, small head of Amūn in gold (Meroitic, see pl. V, 2), two well-preserved iron padlocks with chains attached (see pl. V, 3), and a large fragment of fishing-net with its lead weights (all X-Group), an elaborate copper or bronze standing lamp (Early Christian), and a small bronze cannon (Bosnian).

However, it is the humbler objects which, by reason of their number, may make the major contribution to our understanding of life at Qaṣr Ibrīm. The favourable conditions have preserved almost all domestic articles used on the site, only the largest wooden objects being generally lacking. Smaller wooden objects abound, including locks and keys, boxes and lids, pegs, wedges, spoons, combs, pins, spindle-whorls, barrel-staves, and bucket fragments. The abundant leatherwork awaits future attention,

but a collection of some 240 shoes and sandals (see pl. V, 4), complete or fragmentary, of leather or palm fibre derives from the 1978 season alone. Baskets and mats, of many shapes and sizes, occur in profusion, and a representative selection of the more complete specimens was catalogued. Metal articles range widely, from household objects such as knives, nails, cosmetic spoons, and tools to arrowheads of several types. Warfare and hunting are also represented by sling bullets and a probable sling fragment and by a small wooden dart complete with wooden flights. More peaceful pursuits are demonstrated by fragments of Bosnian pottery smoking pipes and by dice and gaming pieces of various materials, types, and periods. Among likely imports may be mentioned beads and fragments of glass vessels and glass bracelets.

Study of this wealth of material should yield a detailed picture of local crafts and industries and of patterns of trade. Stylistic differences, taken with the stratigraphic evidence, should permit us to range many of the objects in chronological order. A clearer understanding of the sub-phases of, for example, the Meroitic, X-Group, and Bosnian Periods at Qaşr İbrîm may result. Above all, a comprehensive picture of life on the site should gradually emerge.

Textiles

By ELISABETH CROWFOOT

During the season thousands of fragments of textile were examined. It soon became obvious that it would be impossible to keep such a quantity, often from very similar and highly deteriorated fabrics. A great mass of the material, therefore, had to be catalogued briefly—fibre, spin, weave, grade, colour, borders, and other details—and then discarded, but should still provide valuable statistical evidence. The more interesting fabrics were cleaned and catalogued fully, a study collection being preserved as well as numbered pieces possibly suitable for museum exhibition.

Useful chronological evidence was provided by textiles found in a very large Roman dump, dated by pottery to c. 50 BC–AD 25, clearly in part the refuse left by Petronius's occupying force, and the publication of the Scandinavian Joint Expedition's *Late Nubian Textiles*, where the finds, coming from burials dated by pottery, give valuable corroboration of the suggested dating of some other İbrîm material.

The earliest group contains typical Roman provincial weaving.¹⁶ Naturally, from an army used to carrying its own provisions there is a mass of sacking, poorly retted flax basket and tabby weaves; rather better warp-face flax tabbies, including a small sack shaped to tie and carry on the shoulder, perhaps the equivalent of an army knapsack; fragments of fine woollens with blue and purple stripes, and with 'gamma' symbols, early examples of a decoration that seems to have had a long popularity;¹⁷ and

¹⁶ R. Pfister and L. Bellinger, *The Excavations at Dura-Europos, IV, Pt. II, The Textiles* (Yale, 1945); J. P. Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge, 1970); Y. Yadin, *The Finds from the Bar Kochba Period in the Cave of Letters* (Jerusalem, 1963).

¹⁷ Pfister and Bellinger, op. cit. 10, 11, figs. 3–5, pls. 10–13; Yadin, op. cit. 227 ff.; I. Bergman, *Late Nubian Textiles, Scandinavian Joint Expedition to Sudanese Nubia 8* (Lund, 1975), 47 f., figs. A3A, A3B, pls. 60–3, 74; *JEA* 63 (1977), 46.

woollen twills, including one checked fragment probably brought from service in the Northern provinces.¹⁸ The quantity of rubbish suggests the Roman presence was of some duration, and includes cotton fragments of obviously local manufacture, one perhaps made to order, part of a large cloak or coverlet, decorated with two 'notched bands',¹⁹ but narrower than usual, and in the centre of the cloth.

X-Group woollens were found made by a strange method of weaving where most of the wefts turn back short of the selvedge, forming small 'wedges' or weft gores, named 'tabby with wedges' by Dr Ingrid Bergman in her textile report for the Scandinavian Expedition.²⁰ Ibrim fragments, though few and small, agree with her conclusion that 'the turning wefts do not represent attempts to straighten an uneven shed, but are part of an intentional weaving technique.'²¹ Other useful comparisons include pile weaves and many details such as borders.²²

Among this season's Meroitic finds were fragments of tapestry in blue and white cotton with Egyptian symbols, sometimes with peculiar versions such as double-ended 'ankhs', and a long embroidered strip with neck opening in the centre, suggesting a straight full-length robe, in addition to under-kilts, and fringe fragments as in previous seasons.²³ A wide variety of imported material again included fine fragments with Islamic inscriptions (see pl. V, 5), Coptic two-faced weaves, and small scraps of printed cottons.

The most remarkable find was a magnificent silk with *ikat*-pattern from a disturbed burial outside the Cathedral south door, perhaps, from its decayed areas, an outer wrapping or pall. 'Two-metres' length was preserved, the estimated width being c.1.25 m; the colours—red, blue, black, yellow, with a little pale green and blue and white—are strong, and the *ikat*-patterns very regular. As silk *ikats* are known from Egypt from about the tenth–eleventh century, a Christian date seems possible, but so far nothing has been seen recorded very close in style and colour to this fine piece—wide dark-blue and black bands at the edge, and the centre filled with panels of alternate narrow lines and zigzag flashes in pale green, yellow and white on dark red, separated by narrow red and blue bands.

Textual finds

By R. D. ANDERSON

Inscribed material this season exceeded all expectation. Among the more interesting sandstone blocks have been the stela of an army commander, Nefer'ankh(?), and a number of fragments clearly emanating from private tombs, probably of Late New Kingdom date; stelae in Greek and Coptic, more or less damaged and with no surviving date, also occurred frequently. The largest cache of papyrus and parchment came

¹⁸ Wild, *op. cit.* 96.

¹⁹ Yadin, *op. cit.* 221 f.; Bergman, *op. cit.* 46.

²⁰ Bergman, *op. cit.* 16 ff.

²¹ Bergman, *op. cit.* 21.

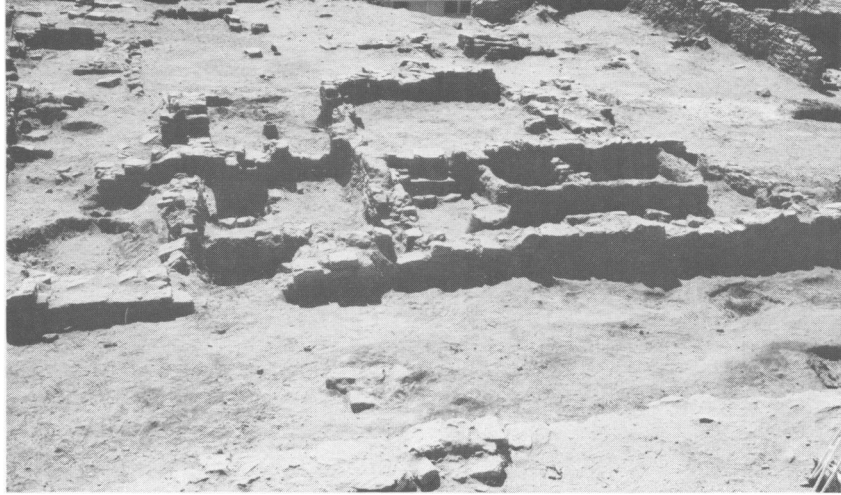
²² Bergman, *op. cit.* 21 f., borders A5, B5, B7, B9 (with fringe instead of cord), C1, C2.

²³ *JEA* 63 (1977), 46.

from the same area as the trial trench dug in 1972²⁴ to the south-west of the Church-2 altar. The language was mainly Coptic, and there were considerable extracts in one hand from the Old Testament (some Genesis, Deuteronomy, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, and Daniel); New Testament fragments also occurred. From the area west of the Cathedral came scattered finds including extracts in Coptic from Psalms 16 and 17; a number of charred wooden tablets, all in Greek (save one in Old Nubian), the best preserved of which treats of St. Peter; and three sheets of parchment in small characters, an interlinear version in Greek and Old Nubian of five psalms (see pl. VI, 1), the sixth side as yet unidentified. From the southern part of the site came a papyrus inscribed with part of a liturgy in Greek on one side, a Coptic legal document on the other. Dating perhaps to the seventh century AD, the Greek text mentions an important ecclesiastic, the emperor and his brothers. From the space between the southern girdle wall and adjacent structures a layer of refuse produced Latin papyri, the most fascinating apparently part of a book of verses making mention of Augustus and the post-Actium situation.

There was much material in Old Nubian, a number of fine letters on paper addressed to the eparch of Nobadia being of importance for the future history of the site. Of the Meroitic documents Mrs le Clézio notes that two appear particularly interesting. One, a wooden tablet, seems to have been used on one side as a writing board with certain words and phrases repeated in varying forms (see pl. V, 6). On the reverse a text, seemingly economic in content, contains groups of words which occur also on a number of sherds (see pl. VI, 3). Although the orthography of the two texts indicates that they were probably contemporary, the spelling of individual words differs. Mr le Clézio points out that the season yielded about fifteen-hundred Arabic MSS, some fragmentary, others in good preservation. Among the earliest are bilingual texts, Old Nubian on one side, Arabic on the other. The dated documents range from the beginning of the sixteenth century AD to the last days of occupation at Qaşr Ibrîm. They are of many sorts: religious texts (excerpts from the Quran), cabalistic texts often contained in amulets, letters, contracts (see pl. VI, 2), and accounts, many referring specifically to the citadel (rather than the town) of Ibrîm. Their contents will be invaluable for the reconstruction of life within the walls of Ibrîm before the site was abandoned.

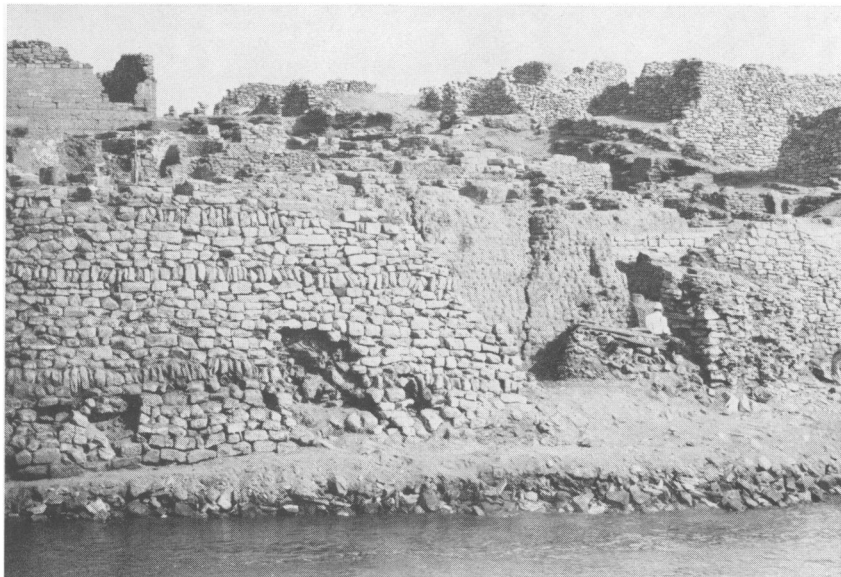
²⁴ *JEA* 60 (1974), 214.



1. Excavated Christian houses west of the Cathedral



2. Stairway in Lower Cathedral Street leading to blocked Christian doorway (House LC1-17)



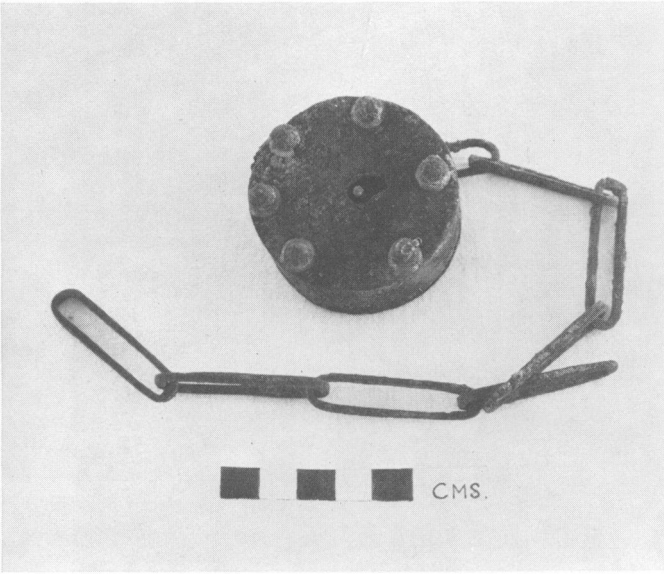
3. Brick facing of the South Bastion (Unit R) seen through a break where the stone girdele wall has fallen



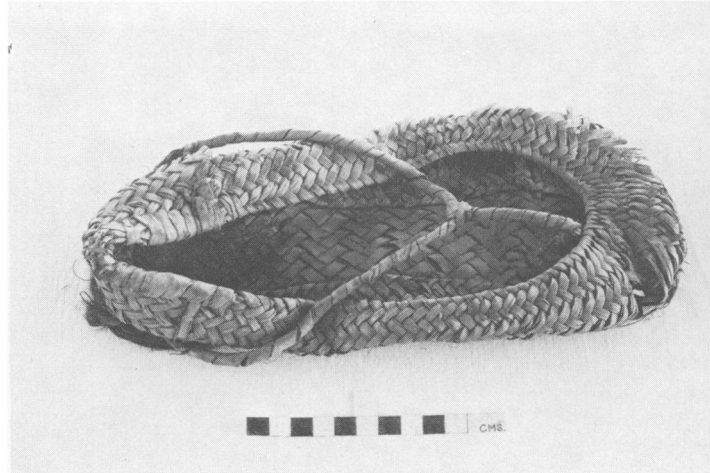
1. Looking towards the South Gate, with the heavy cut-stone wall of Meroitic Temple 5 on the left



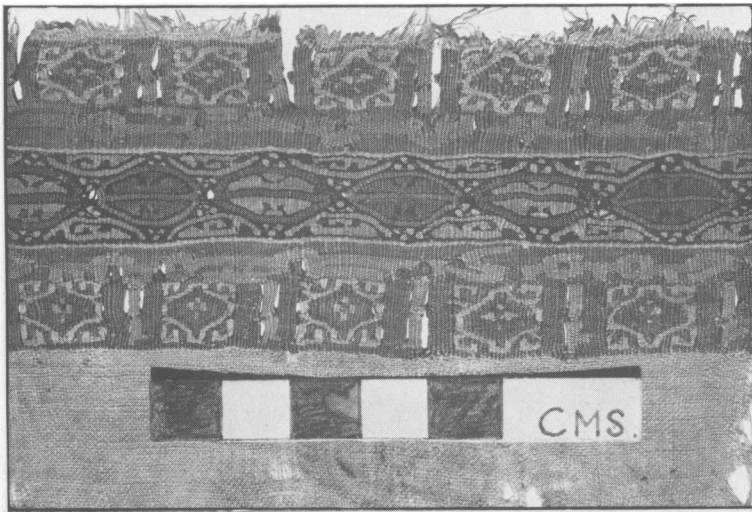
2. Gold head of Amun. Meroitic Period



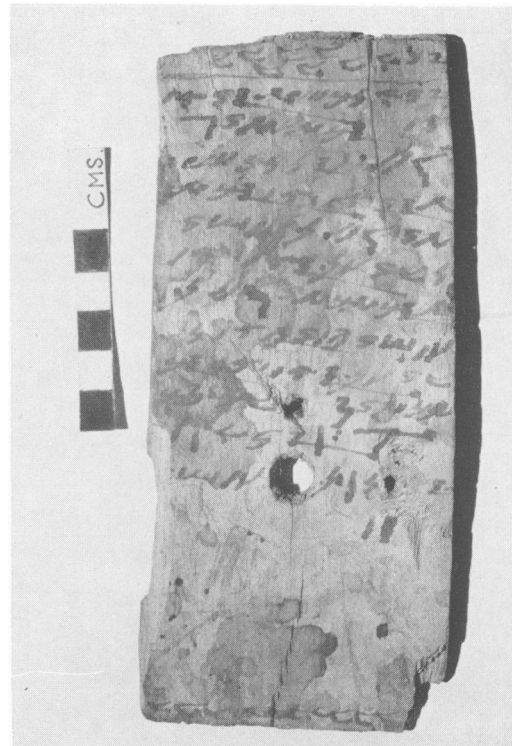
3. Iron padlock. X-Group



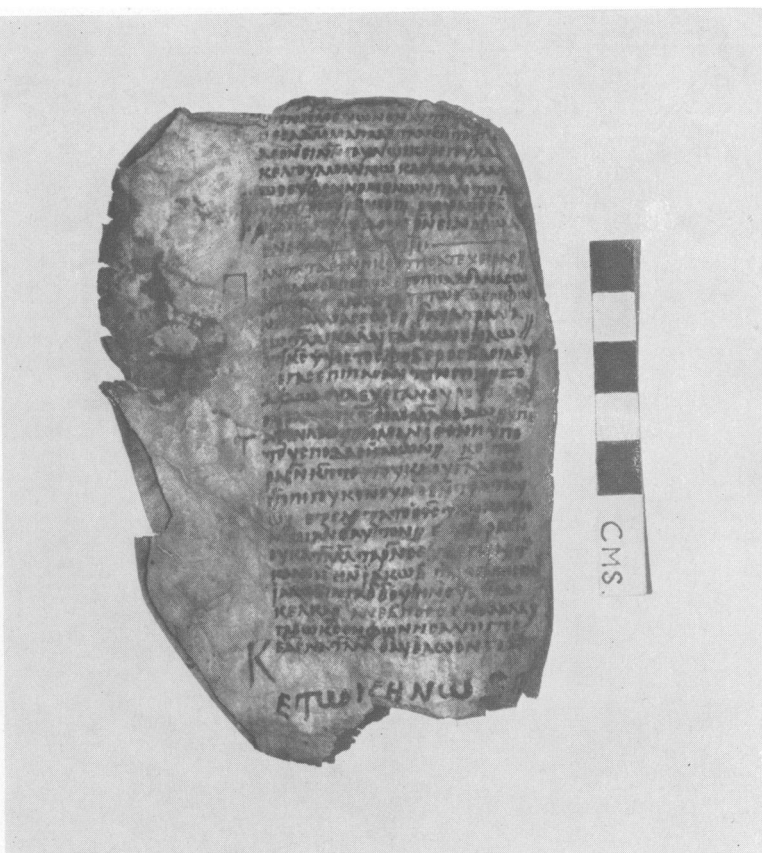
4. Palm-fibre sandal



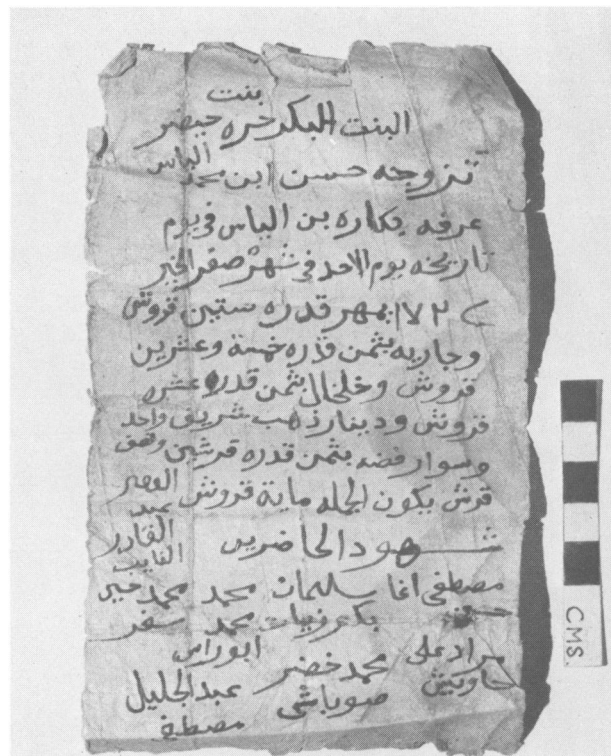
5. Silk tapestry band with inscription (*tiraz*). Fatimid. Early twelfth century A.D.



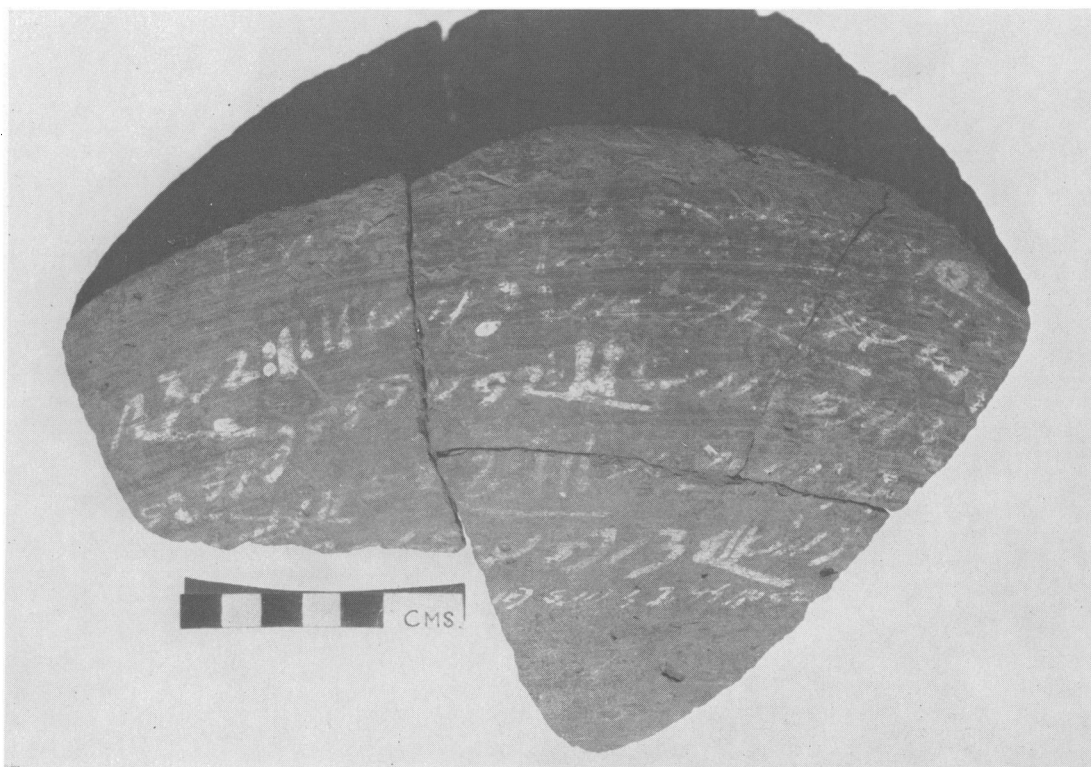
6. Wooden board with Meroitic text



1. Bilingual version of part of Psalm 47 in Greek and Old Nubian



2. Marriage contract written in Arabic and dated to the 11th month of Šafar, 1132 A.H.



3. Group of ostraca bearing a text in Meroitic

QAŠR IBRÎM, 1978

from D 13; *Ph-n-w(i)-kꜣ(i)* may not yet have attained that distinction when the false door was made.

2. The date of the earlier *Mry* at Hagarsa

Those who are interested in the provinces of Egypt at the end of the Old Kingdom will not fail to have been intrigued by a fragmentary inscription in the tomb of the earlier *Mry* at Hagarsa, which mentions Phiopts II. As the Porter–Moss *Topographical Bibliography* has noted, the words ‘under the Majesty of *Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*’ seem to date this tomb to the reign of that king.¹¹ Only the top of this inscription was preserved, however, when Lepsius recorded it (see fig. 3),¹² and it was apparently no longer to be seen when Petrie cleared the tomb some sixty years later. The words in question are, therefore, isolated, and unless one can determine the preceding context it is difficult to assess their chronological value.

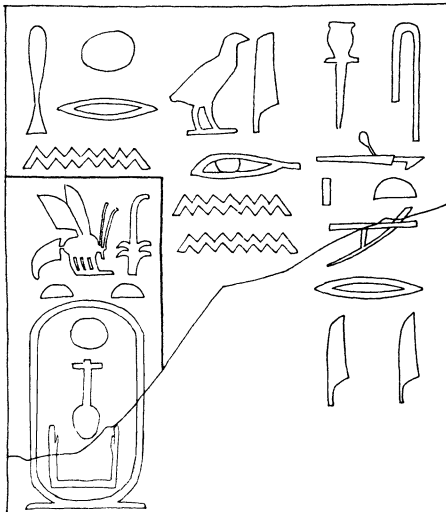


FIG. 3

I believe that the use of $\overline{\text{𓄿}}$,¹³ at the top of the preceding line, may provide a solution to this problem. The second $\overline{\text{𓄿}}$ militates against the possibility that the speaker says ‘I performed (the office of) . . . under the Majesty of King *N*’; for it is unlikely that he would claim a title beginning with *n*; indeed, he seems to have claimed no titles whatever except *smr-wꜣty* and *hry-tp nswt*,¹⁴ both of which are exceedingly common in the Upper-Egyptian provinces at the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁵ The group $\overline{\text{𓄿}}$ might also, in theory, mean ‘I made myself [this, the tomb, or the like]’. But the use of the reflexive dative, while common enough in Twelfth Dynasty texts,¹⁶ does not seem to be attested in those of much earlier date. In Old Kingdom tradition the tomb-owner consistently says *ir-n-i (nw)* ‘I made (this)’.

One might, alternatively, consider the possibility that the inscription contains a dedication, in which a son of *Mry* says *ir-n(i) n it(i)*, etc., ‘I acted for my father’. Although the sign 𓄿 in column 1, which certainly belongs to a personal name, does

¹¹ Vol. v, 35. ‘Mery II’, so designated by Petrie, is clearly earlier than his ‘Mery I’ (ibid. 34), whose tomb is definitely later than the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 130 n. 574. Here it may also be desirable to correct Porter and Moss’s notation of the wife’s name as $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓄿}}$. This should be $\overline{\text{𓄿}} \overline{\text{𓄿}}$; the first two signs belong to the preceding epithet *imhwt*, as suggested in *LD Textband*, II, 160 n. 2.

¹² *LD* II, pl. 113 (f).

¹³ The reversal of the first sign, if accurately transcribed, is probably not significant, but represents a case like the last of those discussed in my *Egyptian Studies*, II: *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, I, § 38 (c, d).

¹⁴ Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 12.

¹⁵ For *hry-tp nswt* compare Fischer, *Dendera*, 109, but here the addition of *pr* 𓄿 is common.

¹⁶ e.g. *ir-n-i n-i mihꜣt tw*, Garstang, *El Arábah*, pls. 4–5 (= Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, 82 [20]); Cairo CG 20497 (e, 1). Also *ir-n-i n-i is*, *Urk.* VII, 9 (18).

not fit any of the names that are given to *Mry*'s first three sons,¹⁷ it could be that the name of *Mry* himself is followed by that of a son or funerary priest: *Smr-wcty Mry*, *ss:f NN* or *Smr-wcty Mry*, *ny-dt:f NN*. It seems highly doubtful, however, that such a dedication would refer to the reigning king.









On the other hand, it is fairly usual, in tomb inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, for the deceased himself to acknowledge the king's benefactions. It therefore seems most probable that the subject of  is *nb(i)*, 'my lord', in the statement  'my lord made this for me as befits my state of reverence', which is attested elsewhere.¹⁸ The length of this restoration would allow for the completion, in the preceding column, of the owner's name and *dd:f* 'he says'. In the third and last column it will be noted that the name of the king is separated from the rest of the inscription by a rectangular frame; this doubtless represents the customary combination of two \uparrow -signs, supporting \Rightarrow and resting upon \Leftarrow , as it twice occurs in the columnar biography of *Wni* the Elder.¹⁹ In both these occurrences the frame encompasses the formula \uparrow , and it doubtless does so in the present case. These restorations are presented in fig. 4:



FIG. 4

'The Sole Companion *Mry*, [he says]: "[My lord] made [this] for me [as befits my state of reverence] with the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Nfr-k3-Rc*, [may he live forever!]"'


The sense of the restored text is paralleled by a statement in another Sixth Dynasty tomb, where *hm* and *nb* are similarly combined, although in reverse order:  'His Majesty made this for [him] as befits his state of reverence with his lord'.²⁰ It cannot be doubted that *hm* and *nb* are equated here, because the same individual says elsewhere:  'It is his lord who made this for him'.²¹ Another

¹⁷ Petrie, *Athribis*, pl. 10. The first is difficult to recognize, but is certainly different:  (?) (Petrie, p. 4, reads 'Mery . . . mut', but the first part of this belongs to the epithet *mry:f*); the second is  *Sppi* (cf. *LD Textband*, II, 160); the third  *Nnwi*.

¹⁸ A. Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux à l'est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh*, 21, fig. 12. For the translation of *r imh(i)* see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* § 760 (f); the correctness of his interpretation is confirmed by a passage in A. Badawy, *Tombs of Iteti, Sekhemankh-Ptah and Kaemnofert*, fig. 19, *ir-n(i) iz pn r imh(i) n irt(i) m3ct* 'I made this tomb as befits my state of reverence and because of my doing right'. Also cf. *n imh f* 'because of his great state of reverence', after an invocation of funerary benefits, Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara*, III, fig. 17 (b), p. 30 (left).

¹⁹ *Urk.* I, 105 (12), 109 (10).

²⁰ Boston MFA 13.4352; for the tomb (G 2184) see Málek, Porter-Moss *Top. Bibl.* III², I, 80-1.

²¹ Wreszinski, *Atlas*, III, pl. 69. In the offering niche (Reisner, *ASAE* 13 [1914], pl. 7 [b] to p. 250) is yet another variation of the same statement:  'His Majesty made this for him as befits his state of reverence'. Here the writing of *imh* again bears out the fact that this is a noun; cf. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, I: *Varia*, 51-3, and note that the same is true in a case cited on p. 52 n. 7.

WALL PAINTINGS FROM THE WORKMEN'S VILLAGE AT EL-'AMARNA

By BARRY J. KEMP

DURING 1921 and 1922 the Egypt Exploration Society cleared thirty-seven houses, almost exactly half the total number, in the workmen's village at El-'Amarna. In the course of so doing various traces were found of internal painted wall decoration, but the publication in *City of Akhenaten*, I, did not extend to a full presentation of all of the details. Fortunately, amongst the photographic archives of the Egypt Exploration Society are two fine half-plate glass negatives of what were most likely the most important of these murals. Prints of these are now published here, with the permission of the Egypt Exploration Society, together with ink copies. In both cases the designs are in white on an untreated mud-plaster background. Some pale marks are evidently smears from rainwater, or pieces of stone mixed in the plaster, or just patches of reflected light. Here and there it is difficult to distinguish such accidental markings from the painted lines. Nevertheless, the main figures can be identified with some certainty. The paintings were found in the front rooms of Main Street House 3 and Long Wall Street House 10.¹

Main Street House 3 (pl. VII and fig. 1)

The painting occupied the full width of the north wall of the front room of the house. Both corners are visible at the edges of the photograph, and the lower edge gives the impression of being close to the floor. The plan of the house shows that the wall must have been about 2·80 m wide, and thus its preserved height would have been about 1·00 m. Some of the gaps in the plaster reveal an underlying coat of whitewash, as described in the report.² There are traces, too, of a triple line running along the bottom in a darker colour, possibly red. The scene consists of a group of dancing Bes-figures. The two best-preserved ones were photographed separately, and the result published in the final report.³ A third Bes-figure follows on the right, and then the tail and buttocks of a fourth. The spacing between the figures varies and may imply that their arms and perhaps heads as well were in different attitudes, for which several possibilities are suggested by the figures on the carved panels on the chair of Princess Sit-Amūn from the tomb of Yuia and Tuiu.⁴ In the right-hand part only a few mainly disjointed

¹ See T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 75, 84, for the published description, and pl. xvi for plan. The negative numbers are 1921/48 and 1922/15 respectively.

² *Ibid.* 59.

³ *Ibid.*, pl. xviii, 3.

⁴ T. M. Davis *et al.*, *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, figs. 2, 3 and pls. xxxiii, xxxiv. For a recent summary of the various forms and functions of Bes see V. Wilson, 'The iconography of Bes with particular reference to the Cypriot evidence', *Levant* 7 (1975), 77-103. Bes at El-'Amarna has been dealt with by K. Bosse-Griffiths, 'A Beset amulet from the Amarna Period', *JEA* 63 (1977), 98-106. An important additional occurrence is an ostrakon from the Royal Tomb, see G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at el-'Amarna*, I, 75, no. 272, pl. 49.



FIG. 1

lines survive, but at the edge they can be resolved into the figure of the goddess Thoëris. The principal clue is the vertical braiding from the mane at the right-hand edge; the curving line of the belly on either side of the wrist also fits well the profile of Thoëris, which is, too, an appropriate counterpart to the Bes-figures, occurring also in conjunction with them on the panels of Sit-Amūn's chair. In the panel on the chair-back and in panels from a bed from the tomb of Yuia and Tuiu the figures of Thoëris hold the 'sa'-symbol and a pair of knives, and it is just possible that the traces in the El-'Amarna house-painting can be resolved into these shapes. They have been included in the restored outline. This leaves a number of lines between Thoëris and the fourth Bes-figure. Since the variety of postures adopted for Bes-figures is fairly wide, it cannot be excluded that there was a fifth here, but this must remain conjectural.

Long Wall Street House 10 (pl. VIII and fig. 2)

The excavation report describes the painting thus: '*Front Hall*.—North and west walls mud-plastered over painted decoration. The decoration is roughly drawn in lines of heavy white lime on a slate-grey mud surface very thinly applied to wall face. Design (very much damaged), within a frame of two lines at sides and three below,



FIG. 2

human figures alternately large and small advancing right.⁵ The photograph published here as plate VIII is clearly of the west wall, with traces of the continuation onto the north wall just visible at the right-hand edge. A direct indication of scale is given by the tape measure suspended from the top of the wall at the left-hand edge. This reads 80 cm from the top of the wall at that point to just below the base of the painted area, implying a width of something like 1.80 m. In fig. 3 an attempt has been made to reconstruct the appearance of this house when excavated, using the published plan and enlargements of two expedition negatives.⁶ When the outline of the painting is plotted onto the wall, it is seen to occupy only half of the width of the wall. Thus, although the scene, as the photograph shows, continued uninterruptedly around the corner, this cannot be explained as a consequence of lack of space, but must be a deliberate arrangement, focusing attention on this corner of the room. Below the painting, in the corner, there stood the remains of a 'square bin originally 0.75 m. high'.⁷ Its focal point might imply that it was more than a bin, perhaps the base for a little offering-table, but there is no way of verifying this from the published evidence.

The figures depicted in the painting begin as three women wearing long fringed

⁵ *The City of Akhenaten*, 1, 84.

⁶ Nos. 1922/32 and 1922/62.

⁷ *The City of Akhenaten*, 1, 84.

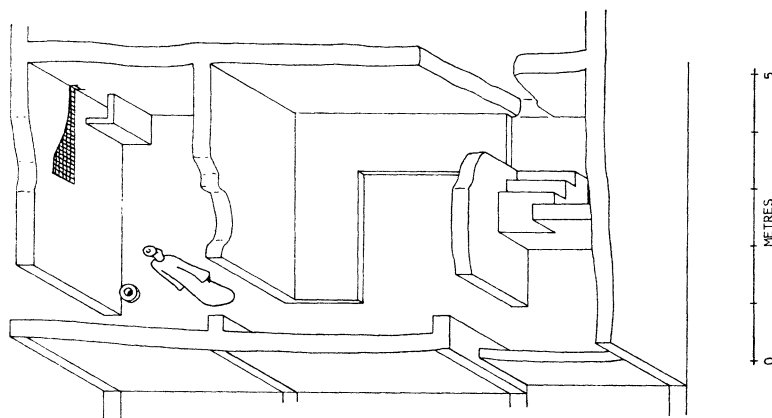


FIG. 3

robes, separated by two girls, that on the left apparently naked, her counterpart on the right wearing a long flowing robe without fringe. Further to the right the traces of figures are reduced to fragments at foot level, but seem none the less to indicate that the third adult was not followed by a third child. Of the fourth adult, lines from the heel and upper part of a foot placed flat on the ground are clearly discernible. But behind these lines are two others which must derive from another foot not placed flat but with rising heel. This points to the figure having been in a dancing pose. When one looks back at the other figures, the very first adult, on the left of the picture, also seems to have had her heel raised, though only slightly, and it is just possible to discern in the lines of her legs a slight flexing of the right one. If these figures are in fact a group which includes musicians or singers or dancers, it then becomes particularly hazardous to try to reconstruct other shapes only partially visible. These consist of a group of lines between the first girl and second woman, two or more lines descending in front of the second woman, and a line rising from the toe of the more advanced foot of the third woman, which does not seem to be placed appropriately to form the hem of an outer robe. It could be the base of a lyre, but this is too adventurous a suggestion to include as a reconstructed element in the picture. If one seeks parallels, one can find groups of rejoicing women, often including some with heels raised from off the ground, and alternating with one or two children, in scenes which occur in several of the rock-tombs at El-'Amarna, and elsewhere, as, for example, in the near-contemporary tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes.⁸ In these groups the instruments are percussion only. Occasionally one of the figures will be waving a leafy branch, and this might just explain what the first of the two young girls in our painting was carrying.

For both of the paintings, the only New Kingdom parallels in a similar domestic context come from Deir el-Medīna. Although both villages probably served the same purpose, that of housing the workmen and artists engaged in making the royal tomb, the significance of the paintings in terms of the unusual status of their owners should

⁸ N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, I, pls. ix, xiii; II, pls. xi, xviii, xxxvi; VI, pl. xx, also pl. v, an outline of a much more vigorous group; N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes*, pls. xvii, xviii. See also E. Brunner-Traut, *Der Tanz im alten Ägypten*, 68-9.

not at this stage be pressed.⁹ For the workmen's village at El-'Amarna is probably the only collection of smaller houses in the whole city whose walls were preserved to a significant height. Elsewhere at El-'Amarna, as far as one can tell from what is visible now on the ground, both excavated and unexcavated, and from what can be seen in the photographs taken by various expeditions in the past, the walls of smaller houses had almost invariably collapsed down to the last few courses. Yet the houses in the workmen's village, preserved to a much greater degree because of their unusual situation in a hollow liable to rapid sanding-up, show that for wall-paintings to be preserved the walls would need to stand with their surface intact to a somewhat greater height than that normally attained. It is therefore just not possible to know if these paintings at El-'Amarna were confined to the workmen's village.

The Deir el-Medîna house-paintings, which belong, of course, to a somewhat later period, fall into two categories of subject-matter: figures of Bes and representations of women.¹⁰ That Bes was here thought of primarily as protector of women in childbirth is much strengthened by the inclusion of Thoëris in the equivalent El-'Amarna scene. The meaning of the second category at Deir el-Medîna is less obvious. However, one of them, though badly damaged, is of particular significance because it appears to exemplify a scene—of a woman seated on a couch, nursing a child, and waited upon by female attendants—which occurs frequently in figured ostraca from the site.¹¹ The meaning of this theme has been elucidated by E. Brunner-Traut.¹² They are to be understood as commemorating childbirth and the immediate post-parturition period within a special lightly constructed building, room or canopy, a *Wochenlaube*, birth arbour, or maternity bower,¹³ in which may possibly be seen the origin of the mammisi of Graeco-Roman temples. Whether they were actually constructed separately, say on the roof of the house, or fitted within an existing room, or indeed existed in the cases of poorer families only in pictures, is not at all clear. Characteristically the supports for the bower are shown festooned with trailing leaves in the shape of convolvulus. It is perhaps worth noting that one of the El-'Amarna workmen's village houses had had a pilaster in the main room, or perhaps more likely a plastered ceiling beam, painted with the design of a long and many-leaved plant stem, though ending in a lotus flower.¹⁴

⁹ Cf. B. E. J. Peterson, 'Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt', *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 7-8 (1973), 37-8.

¹⁰ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1934-1935), III, le village, etc., 93-150 for general discussion of themes, and 255, fig. 131; 257, fig. 133; 259, fig. 136; 273, fig. 145; 286, fig. 157; 305, fig. 172 (the figure of a child); 311, fig. 182; 330, fig. 202; id., 'Un fragment de fresque de Deir el Médineh', *BIFAO* 22 (1923), 121-33, with plate; J. Vandier d'Abbadie, 'Une fresque civile de Deir el Médineh', *RdE* 3 (1938), 27-35.

¹¹ The scene was first published by Bruyère, *BIFAO* 22 (1923), 121-33, but the reconstruction of the full scene made by E. Brunner-Traut, see the next note, is to be preferred. The most important group of ostraca are in J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh* (nos. 2256 à 2722), pls. I-liv, the two examples on pl. xlix being also probably related; Peterson, op. cit. Tafeln 69-72 are further examples. Bruyère, *Rapport*, 131-2, offers some discussion, as also does E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder*, 67-72, commenting that this is the most important motif on ostraca next to depictions of animals, and illustrating a selection on Tafeln iii, xxv, xxvi.

¹² E. Brunner-Traut, 'Die Wochenlaube', *MIO* 3 (1955), 11-30.

¹³ The translation used in S. Wenig, *The Woman in Egyptian Art*, 26-7.

¹⁴ *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 59-60, 80; pl. ix, 2. This is probably also a stylized representation of convolvulus leaves from a stem twining around a lotus plant, see L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten*, 45, 179.

It is just within the bounds of possibility that another house in the workmen's village at El-'Amarna contained a wall-painting of this particular subject. In the front room of Long Wall Street House no. 7, at the west end of the north wall, and 0.80 m from the ground, there was: 'a decorative panel in black on whitewashed ground, 1.63 m. long by 0.73 m. Design practically unrecognisable owing to condition of plaster: along the top, a band of lotus-petals, points downwards; the left half of the panel taken up with two offering-tables, whereon lotus leaves, etc. (?)'.¹⁵ Unfortunately, no photograph was taken, and there is, therefore, no way of checking on the arrangement, or indeed the correctness of the identification, of the 'offering-tables'. Were they perhaps wooden stands for jars, an example of which occurs in a Deir el-Medîna house-painting which also depicts a kneeling woman with pendent leaves behind her?¹⁶ But the 'band of lotus-petals, points downwards' along the top of the painting is certainly suggestive of some variant of this subject.

In the second of the El-'Amarna scenes under consideration we are unfortunately deprived of knowing what was the object of the jubilation expressed by the line of women and girls; this lay on the north wall where no record, and possibly nothing significant of the original painting, has survived. But in view of the comparative material from Deir el-Medîna, already exemplified at El-'Amarna by the painting of the Bes-figures, it must be counted as likely that this second painting celebrated childbirth. It will not have escaped notice that, as at Deir el-Medîna, the paintings were in the front room of the house. At the latter site they were also associated with a prominent altar (Bruyère's 'lit clos'), a feature which goes back to at least the later Eighteenth Dynasty, though not normally present in El-'Amarna houses in this form.¹⁷ The front rooms in the houses of the El-'Amarna workmen's village contained various fittings, some for craft industries carried on in the room, but not necessarily all. As noted above, there appears to have been some sort of stand or bin in the very corner of the room containing the second of the two paintings (cf. fig. 3). Further excavation in the village might possibly clarify this aspect.

The celebration of childbirth in the Deir el-Medîna paintings and ostraca, and also by close association in the El-'Amarna workmen's village paintings, seems clear enough. But it has also been argued that there is a further element present, namely erotic symbolism. In a recent article on this subject, Derchain, following Herrmann, argues for the presence of an erotic meaning: 'on ne peut refuser à ces représentations un caractère érotique et voluptueux'.¹⁸ He goes on to chide Brunner-Traut for overlooking this aspect, 'et transposer arbitrairement en Egypte ancienne les contraintes sexuelles du judaïsme et du christianisme'. This androcentric interpretation, however, appears strange when a wider frame of reference is considered. The seclusion of a woman at

¹⁵ *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 83.

¹⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport*, 311, fig. 182.

¹⁷ U. Hölscher, *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty (The Excavation of Medinet Habu, II)*, 68-70, figs. 54, 56, is the late Eighteenth Dynasty example. But the form is also essentially that of J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, III, 26-7, fig. 6; *JEA* 13 (1927), 211-13, fig. 2, pl. xlvii in the house of Panehsy beside the Great Temple.

¹⁸ P. Derchain, 'La perruque et le cristal', *SAK* 2 (1975), 55-74, especially 65-6 n. 35.

the time of childbirth and for a period thereafter is mentioned frequently in anthropological reports. The seclusion is in some cases effected by a specially built hut, which serves to emphasize that the woman is passing through a phase of uncleanness which may need to be terminated by a rite of purification. Sometimes birth is followed by exclusive mother-child sleeping arrangements.¹⁹ The Egyptian *Wochenlaube* scenes are an apt portrayal of this associated nexus of practices. Indeed, the anthropological material suggests a possible explanation for scenes where the woman is presented with a drink or with a mirror: this may perhaps be the final rite of purification itself. As for the duration of this period in ancient Egypt, the Westcar Papyrus, in its tale of Red-djedet, gives her only fourteen days for her purification, but her case is so exceptional, Red-djedet being the mother of divinely fathered children, that this figure may not have been the normal one. Societies which have followed customs of this kind also normally recognize a strict sex taboo during this period, and may extend it for a year or more, although if Red-djedet's case was typical one would have expected such a thing in ancient Egypt to have been of quite a short duration, too.²⁰ Childbirth is a time of danger and of major disturbance to routines. The *Wochenlaube* scenes imply that the Egyptians, like many other peoples, reinforced and at the same time regulated its dramatic impact on a woman's life with a specific set of observances which followed a widely attested pattern. That it should have been used at the same time as a form of erotic encouragement seems both strange and unlikely.

If one accepts the explanation which I believe to be correct, that these paintings and ostraca are essentially prophylactic, illustrating either a successful termination to childbirth and its ensuing period of uncleanness or the deities who would ensure this (Bes and Thoëris), then one has an important reflection of New Kingdom attitudes. For this would make the mural decoration of the houses at both Deir el-Medîna and the El-'Amarna workmen's village largely female-oriented, though one cannot doubt that it was executed by male artists. It might be expected that childbirth would be surrounded by customs and observances wholly the prerogative of women; what is particularly noteworthy is the status accorded to this aspect of life by the community as a whole.

¹⁹ Many examples are cited in H. Webster, *Taboo; A Sociological Study* (London, 1942), 70-7. Listings of occurrences can be found in G. P. Murdock, 'Ethnographic atlas: a summary', *Ethnology* 6 (1967), 160-1, col. 36; R. B. Textor, *A Cross-cultural Summary* (New Haven, 1967), 134-6, sections FC 290, 291, 298-301, 315-16. See also C. S. Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, 32) (New Haven, 1945), 55.

²⁰ See J.-F. Saucier, 'Correlates of the long postpartum taboo: a cross-cultural study', *Current Anthropology* 13 (1972), 238-49; and more particularly, J. W. M. Whiting, R. Kluckhohn, and A. Anthony, 'The function of male initiation ceremonies at puberty', in E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, *Readings in Social Psychology*, 3rd Edn. (New York, 1958), 365, table 1.



Main Street: House 3

WALL PAINTINGS FROM THE WORKMEN'S VILLAGE AT EL-'AMARNA



Long Wall Street: House 10

WALL PAINTINGS FROM THE WORKMEN'S VILLAGE AT EL-'AMARNA

HARFNERLIED UND HORUSSÖHNE

ZWEI BLÖCKE AUS DEM VERSCHOLLENEN GRAB DES
BÜRGERMEISTERS AMENEMHËT (THEBEN NR. 163) IM
BRITISCHEN MUSEUM

Von JAN ASSMANN

IM Britischen Museum befinden sich zwei längliche Sandsteinplatten mit Darstellungen und Inschriften in versenktem Relief, die man bislang für die Längsseiten eines Sarkophags hielt.¹ Sie wurden von Sir E. A. Wallis Budge 1913 in Luxor gekauft; mehr war über ihre Herkunft nicht bekannt. Bei einem Besuch im Britischen Museum 1971 zog vor allem der rechte der beiden Blöcke (55337) meine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich, weil er ein Harfnerlied enthielt, das als 'Verklärung' (*Sḥw*) überschrieben war.² Bei meiner Arbeit über die Gattung der 'Verklärungen' war mir bereits aufgefallen, daß diejenigen unter den Harfnerliedern, die im Gegensatz zu den 'make-merry'-Liedern eine positive und 'fromme' Darstellung der Jenseitsexistenz geben,³ der Gattung der Verklärung zumindest sehr nahestehen: hier war nun ein Harfnerlied dieses 'frommen' Typs, das explizit als Verklärung überschrieben ist. Darüber hinaus ist die Gattung der Harfnerlieder noch so verhältnismäßig spärlich vertreten, daß jeder neue Beleg unsere Beachtung verdient.⁴

Drei Jahre später stieß ich dann in den Archiven des Griffith Institute, Oxford, auf eine Reihe von Papierabklatschen, die Spiegelberg im Jahre 1899⁵ in einigen Gräbern von Dra' Abu-'l-Naga abgenommen hatte, darunter auch im Grabe des Bürgermeisters von Theben (*ḥtj-ꜣ n nḥwt*) und Rindervorstehers des Amün Amenemhët (*Imn-m-ḥt*) Nr. 163, das heute verschollen ist.⁶ Einer dieser Abklatsche enthielt denselben Text wie der Block BM 55337. Auch die Szenen des anderen Blockes BM 55336 waren unter den Abklatschen vertreten. Ein Vergleich von Pausen der Abklatsche mit dem Original im Britischen Museum erbrachte die Gewißheit, daß die Londoner Blöcke mit den

¹ Den Direktoren der ägyptischen Abteilung des Britischen Museums, Dr J. E. S. Edwards und Mr T. G. H. James M.A. habe ich nicht nur für die Genehmigung zu danken, die beiden Blöcke in dieser Zeitschrift bekannt zu machen, sondern auch für die Unterstützung, die sie mir in der Vorbereitung dieser Studie zuteil werden ließen.

² Dieser Aufenthalt wurde von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft finanziert im Rahmen eines der Gattung der 'Verklärungen' geltenden Arbeitsprogramms.

³ Zum Verhältnis der beiden thematisch entgegengesetzten Typen von Harfnerliedern s. J. Assmann, 'Fest des Augenblicks — Verheißung der Dauer: die Kontroverse der ägyptischen Harfnerlieder', in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, R. Grieshammer (Hrsg.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur. Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 55 ff.

⁴ Vgl. J. Assmann, 'Harfnerlieder', in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II (1977), 972–82.

⁵ So von Spiegelbergs Hand auf der Mappe mit den Abklatschen; in Porter–Moss, *Top. Bibl.*², I, 1, 276 als 1895 angegeben.

⁶ Vgl. Porter–Moss, aaO., 276. Eine Reihe von Blöcken und Architektur-Fragmenten aus dem Grab des Amenemhët sind heute in Grab 161 sichergestellt.

Vorlagen der Spiegelberg-Abklatsche identisch sind und aus dem verschollenen Grab Nr. 163 stammen.⁷ Aus den Abklatschen ergaben sich ferner wichtige Aufschlüsse für die Lokalisierung der Blöcke in dem verlorenen Grab, die offenbar Pendants gebildet haben und sich als Unterszenen zu Anbetungsszenen auf den beiden Wandungen eines Durchgangs gegenüber gestanden haben müssen, und zwar so, daß Block 55337 zu der (vom Eintretenden aus gesehen) linken, Block 55336 zur rechten Wandung gehörte (zur Begründung dieser Lokalisierung, die sich aus der Art der Anbetungsszenen darüber ergibt, s.u.). Diese Lokalisierung, die über die räumliche Beziehung hinaus auch auf thematische Beziehungen schließen ließ, empfahl es, die Bearbeitung nicht auf das Harfnerlied zu beschränken, sondern auch Block 55336 in die Untersuchung einzubeziehen, zumal auch seine Darstellung, die bisher fast nur von spätzeitlichen Denkmälern bekannt war, einiges Interesse verdient.

Was die Datierung angeht, läßt sich einstweilen kaum über die mittlere bis späte XIX. Dynastie hinauskommen.⁸ Der Stil ist etwas grob und summarisch, was aber auch mit dem kleinen Maßstab und dem untergeordneten Rang der Szenen zusammenhängt. Der stilistische Gesamteindruck der Londoner Blöcke ist allerdings durch ungeschickte Ergänzungen beeinträchtigt. Wir haben deshalb den Fotografien⁹ Faksimiles beigelegt, die von Frau Dr. Aleida Assmann auf der Grundlage der Abklatsche angefertigt wurden.

DIE BLÖCKE

1. BM 55337 (Taf. IX)

Maße: 36,5 × 129 cm

Bruchstellen: zusammengesetzt aus 6 Werksteinen. Obere Lage: Höhe 25 cm; Breite (von links) 25 cm, 52 cm, 50,5 cm. Untere Lage: Höhe 11,5 cm; Breite (von links) 43 cm, 48 cm, 38 cm. Die Fugen sind modern vergipst und restauriert.

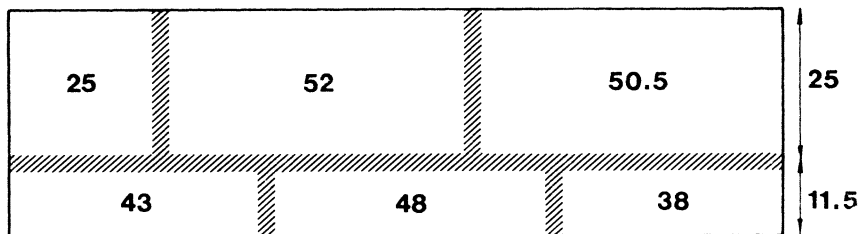


ABB. 1

Farbspuren: Opfertisch rot. Brote blau. Gewänder weiß (bei Amenemhät mit blauem Halskragen). Perücken blau. Zelte und Zeilentrennungslinien rot. Hieroglyphen blau über ocker Grundierung.

⁷ Ich danke Miss Helen Murray und Dr. Jaromir Málek für das freundliche Entgegenkommen, die genannten Abklatsche mehrmals (in den Jahren 1974, 1975 und 1976) studieren zu dürfen. Zu ganz besonderem Dank bin ich Dr. Málek verpflichtet für seine sorgfältige Kollation unserer Zeichnungen mit den Abklatschen.

⁸ Vgl. Grab 23 aus der Zeit des Mineptah, das übrigens auch Sandstein als Verkleidung verwendet.

⁹ Aufnahmen BM Reg. Nr. 009342 und 009343.

Registerhöhe: 35–35.5 cm

Kontext und Lokalisierung: oben schloß eine Darstellung des Grabherrn in $\frac{2}{3}$ Lebensgröße an,¹⁰ nach l. gewendet mit einem Hymnus zum Sonnenaufgang.¹¹ Nach einer in thebanischen Gräbern streng befolgten Regel¹² kann es sich dabei nur um die linke Wandung eines Durchgangs handeln, wofür entweder der Eingang des Grabes oder der Durchgang von der ersten zur zweiten Kammer, d. h. vom Quer- zum Langraum, in Betracht kommt.

2. BM 55336 (Taf. X)

Maße: 42 × 130 cm

Bruchstellen: zusammengesetzt aus 6 Werksteinen. Obere Lage: Höhe, 20 cm; Breite (von links) 35, 49, 44 cm. Untere Lage: Höhe 21 cm; Breite (von links) 47, 50, 31 cm.

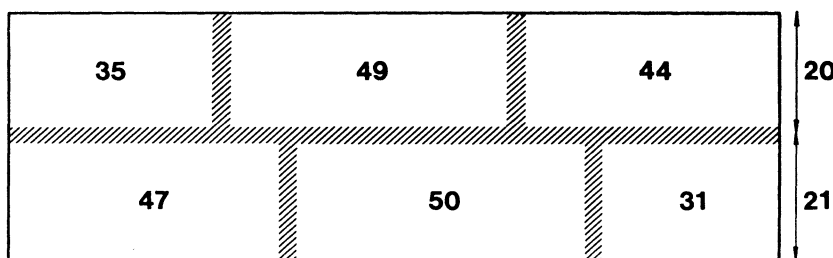


ABB. 2

Farbspuren: Hautfarbe rot. Perücken blau (schwarz-blau). Gewand des Paares weiß. Stühle rot. Hieroglyphen ocker grundiert, blau übermalt.

Registerhöhe: 35–35.5 cm.

Nach oben anschließend Darstellung des Grabherrn und seiner Gemahlin, nach links ($\frac{2}{3}$ Lebensgröße: Länge der Füße 23 cm), nach Ausweis der Abklatsche mit einem Hymnus an Osiris.¹³ Aufgrund der erwähnten Regel (s. Anm. 12) muß es sich hier um die rechte Wandung eines Durchgangs handeln und aufgrund der Entsprechung in Abmessungen und Proportionem mit BM 55337 um die diesem Block gegenüberliegende Wandung.

INSCRIFTEN UND DARSTELLUNGEN

Linke Wandung, Unterszene (BM 55337): Harfner mit Lied vor zwei in Lauben sitzenden Paaren

Inscript

Umschrift und Übersetzung

- (2) *s3ḥw-Wsjr-ḥ3tj-cj ʃmn-m-ḥ3t* Eine Verklärung^a des Osiris Bürgermeister Amen-
 (2) *m3r-ḥrḥw n-njw3t* emhēt, gerechtfertigt, von Theben:^b

¹⁰ Anschluß gesichert durch Spiegelbergs Abklatsche.

¹¹ Publikation vorgesehen in Assmann, 'Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Privatgräbern', Nr. 162 (in Vorbereitung).

¹² Vgl. die Lit. bei Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester (ADIK VII)*, (1970), 15 m. Anm. 1.

¹³ Nur geringe Reste erhalten, Bestimmung ganz unsicher. Beschriftung rechtsläufig wie auf der gegenüberliegenden Wandung, sodaß hier (im Gegensatz zu dort) die Schriftzeichen ins Grab hinein blicken.

- (3) *wṭz-tw, ḏmn-m-hṣt mṣr-hrw* 'Erhebe dich,^c Amenemhēt, gerechtfertigt!
 (3) *ntrj-k m-pt hr-Rcw* Mögest du göttlich sein im Himmel bei Rēc,
 (2) *mṣr-hrw-k hnc-Wsjr* mögest du gerechtfertigt sein bei Osiris,
 (2) *ḏd-tw hnc-Wnn-nfrw* indem du dauerst bei Onnophris.^d
- (2) *shj-tw-k m-bṣh-Rs-wḏj* Möge man deiner gedenken vor dem Heil-
 Erwachenden,
 (3) *njs-tw-k r-pt (j)n-Rcw* mögest du berufen werden zum Himmel durch Rēc!^e
- (2) *cnh-hcw-k rwd-mtw-tk* Möge dein Leib leben, deine Gefäße fest sein,^f
 (2) *wsr-bṣ-k m-ḏwnw-šmꜣw* möge dein Ba mächtig sein im südlichen Heliopolis,^g
 (3) *jrjj-Rcw shnw hr-jzjk* möge Rēc sich niederlassen auf deinem Grabe,^h
 (2) *Wsjr-ḏmn-m-hṣt [mṣr-hrw]* Osiris Amenemhēt gerechtfertigt.
- (2) *[nwk]-ḏt-k-mḥtj mḥtj* Dein *dt*-Leib gehört dir, gefüllt, gefüllt,
 (2) *cwt-k-tmmw r-jrt-sn* deine Glieder sind vollzählig bei ihrer Funktion,ⁱ
 (3) *dj[.tw]-n-k ḥṣw hr-kṣ-k* man möge dir Vermehrung geben auf deinen Ka
 (= Opferspeisen),
 (2) *htpwt-k mjtt-Zkrj* indem deine Opfer wie (die des) Sokaris sind.
- (2) *[n]-kṣ-n-Wsjr [Hṣ]t* [Für] den Ka des Osiris [HḤ]t
 (3) *jn-ḥsw n-ḏmn [. .]* seitens des Sängers des Amün [. .].^j

Kommentar

(a) 'Verklärung' (*sḥw*) nennt der Ägypter eine Gattung von Sprüchen, die eine Darstellung der erwünschten jenseitigen Daseinsformen des Toten (eine 'Status-Charakteristik')¹⁴ in Form einer an ihn gerichteten Rede¹⁵ geben.¹⁶ 'Verklärungen' werden vor allem¹⁷ vom 'Vorlesepriester' (*hrj-ḥbt*) bei der bzw. im Anschluß an die rituelle Totenspeisung rezitiert,¹⁸ deren 'Sakramentale Ausdeutung'¹⁹ sie darstellen. Der Empfang der Opferspeisen wird dabei als Restitution der leiblichen Integrität²⁰ und Aufnahme in die Gemeinschaft der Götter 'verklärt'.

In der Tradition dieser Thematik steht auch das vorliegende Harfnerlied, ebenso wie die anderen Harfnerlieder des 'frommen' Typs, die man zur Gattung der Verklärungen rechnen muß.²¹ Die

¹⁴ Zu diesem Begriff s. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich und München, 1975), 33-45.

¹⁵ In den Pyramidentexten sind auch Verklärungen in der 1. und 3. Ps. häufig. Der Du-Bezug bildet sich erst vom mittleren Reich an als konstitutives Merkmal heraus. Vgl. hierzu Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott* (*MÄS* 19) (1969), 359-63.

¹⁶ S. Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung im Alten Ägypten* (*UGAÄ* XV), (1945), 46 ff.; J. C. Goyon, in *Textes et Langages de l'Égypte pharaonique* III (Kairo, 1974), 78-81; Blackman-Fairman, in *JEA* 32 (1946), 81 Anm. 21.

¹⁷ Eine andere typische Verwendungssituation von Verklärungen bildet die Toten- oder Stundenwache in der Balsamierungskammer, vgl. hierzu Assmann, *Das Grab der Mutirdis* (Mainz, 1977), 101 f, vgl. ders. in *MDAIK* 28, 2 (1973), 127-39.

¹⁸ Zum Ritus *šdj sḥw cṣw*, 'Rezitieren vieler Verklärungen', im Totenkult vgl. W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (*Äg. Fo.* 24), (1968), 29 m. Anm. 13; 40 m. Anm. 1 usw. s. Index, S. 355, s.v. *sḥ* und 305 f. 'Bitte 26'.

¹⁹ Zu diesem Begriff s. Assmann, 'Die Verborgenheit des Mythos in Ägypten', in *GM* 25 (*Gedenkheft für Siegfried Schott*) (1977), Spez. 15-23.

²⁰ Vgl. hierzu Assmann, in *MDAIK* 28, 2, 122 f.

²¹ Assmann, in *LÄ* II, 977-9.

Verwendung von Verklärungen als Harfnerlieder geht bis ins mittlere Reich zurück,²² scheint also sehr viel älter zu sein als die Verwendung weltlicher Gelage-Poesie, die erst nach der Amarnazeit als Harfen- oder Lautenlied auftaucht.²³ Der vorliegende Text ist aber das einzige Harfnerlied des verklärenden Typs, das explizit als 'Verklärung' überschrieben ist.²⁴

(b) Die Wendung *n njwt*, 'von Theben', ist zu verstehen entweder als Bestandteil des Titels *ḥstj-ḥ n njwt* oder als Zusatz zum Namen: 'Amenemḥet aus Theben', vgl. ähnlich die Namensbeischrift zum Vater im zweiten Zelt: *ḥstj-ḥ ḥmn-ḥtp n njwt*. Im ersten Zelt wird Amenemḥet *ḥstj-ḥ n njwt ḥmn-m-ḥst mḥ-ḥrw* genannt.²⁵ Aber auch die Möglichkeit einer Beziehung zum Epithet *mḥ-ḥrw* ('ein Gerechtfertigter von Theben') ist nicht ganz auszuschließen, obwohl sich derartige Wendungen in der Regel der Präposition *ḥr* bedienen.²⁶ Häufig finden sich in ramessidischen Inschriften Beiworte wie: *gr n Wst ḥzjj n ḥpt-swt*, 'wie getan wird) einem Schweiger von Theben, einem Gelobten von Karnak'.²⁷ Sie bringen eine besondere Verbundenheit des Verstorbenen zu der Stadt, in der er gelebt hat, zum Ausdruck, ein Thema, das die biographischen Inschriften der Spätzeit breit ausführen.²⁸ Der Zusatz bekommt dann den Charakter einer Verbundenheitsaussage mit der 'Heimat', die auf der Wünschbarkeit eines 'Todes in der Heimat', dem Thema eines Kapitels im P. Insinger, beruht.²⁹ Derartige Konnotationen mögen auch hier mit gemeint sein, obwohl die Bezeichnung *njwt* für Theben (und nicht *wst*) zeigt, daß in erster Linie an einen Bezug zum Titel gedacht ist.

(c) Die Anrede *wtz tw*, 'Erhebe dich', bildet die ursprünglichste und vielleicht in vorgeschichtliche Totenbräuche zurückreichende Aufforderung des 'Sohnes' an den 'toten Vater',³⁰ sich 'von seiner linken Seite zu erheben' und sich auf die 'rechte Seite' umzuwenden,³¹ seinen Schlaf abzuschütteln,³² seine Glieder zusammenzuraffen³³ und sich zum Empfang des Totenopfers zu beleben.³⁴

²² z. B. Leiden, Stele v 71 mit *Pyr.* 612 a–b, s. M. Lichtheim, in *JNES* 4 (1945), 189 f.

²³ *LÄ* II, 972–7; Assmann, in Assmann, Feucht, Grieshammer (Hrsg.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 55 ff.

²⁴ Im Unterschied zu Hymnen sind Verklärungen, mit wenigen Ausnahmen in den Sargtexten und späten Papyri (hierzu J. C. Goyon, s. Anm. 16), im Allgemeinen nicht als solche überschrieben.

²⁵ Vgl. H. Grapow, in *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 50–3, der S. 50 als Beispiel anführt: *ḥstj-ḥ Mḥ n Nfrwsj*, var. *ḥstj-ḥ n Nfrwsj Mḥ*. Ein neues Beispiel aus der Zeit Amenophis' II. publizieren A. und A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni (AV 19)* (1977) 68 f. m. Anm. 392–3. Vgl. weiter Tübingen Nr. 471; Kairo CG 28010 (XI. Dyn.); P. Moskau 127 (Literarischer Brief); *TT* 409 s. Abd el-Qader Muhammad, in *ASAE* 59 (1966), Tf. XLVIII; *Wb.* III, 406.6, vgl. ferner H. Brunner, in *LÄ* I, 17 s. v. Abstammung, D und J. Osing, in *LÄ* II, 1103 f. s. v. Heimatgebundenheit, z. S. jetzt auch P. Posener-Kriéger, *JEA* 64 (1978), 85(b).

²⁶ z. B. Kitchen, *RI*, I, 287, 6; 297, 15–16; 299, 5 (mit *ḥzjj n ntr ḥmj-s*); 306, 14; 307, 2; 310, 7, 10.

²⁷ Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.* I, Tf. XI 'B', Kalksteingruppe des Ḥornakht im Louvre; vgl. eine unv. Inschrift in *TT* 68: *gr mḥ n Wst qj-jb n ḥpt-swt qb srf n pr ḥmn tmm-r; n njwt*, 'Ein wahrer Schweiger von Theben, ein Rechtschaffener von Karnak, ein Selbstbeherrscher des Amuntempels, einer mit vollkommenen Mund von Theben' (*Wb.* IV, 196, 10; *Belegstellen*, IV, 50).

²⁸ E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954), 88 f., vgl. besonders Kairo CG 42210 (Legrain, III, 27 f.) und aus dem neuen Reich z. B. Turin 912: 'Er möge das Alter empfangen in seiner Stadt Theben, indem er frei ist (*wḏ*) von dem, was sein Gott verabscheut. Er möge den Segen (*ḥzwt*) erhalten in Karnak mit den Opferspeisen des Gotteshauses.'

²⁹ P. Insinger, 28, 1–29, 22.

³⁰ Vgl. hierzu Assmann, in H. Tellenbach (Hrsg.), *Das Vaterbild in Mythos und Geschichte* (Stuttgart, 1976), 33–41.

³¹ z. B. *Pyr.* 1002 b, 1003 b; 1047 usw. s. Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung*, 47.

³² z. B. *Pyr.* 721 d.

³³ z. B. *Pyr.* 654 a–d.

³⁴ z. B. *Pyr.* 1007 a–b, 1976 a–b, Spruch 373 usw.

Im Zusammenhang des Osiris-Mythos wird diese Aufrichtung mythisch ausgedeutet im Sinne einer 'Auferweckung' des Toten zu neuem Leben in der Gemeinschaft der Götter und daher von der 'Opfersituation' ausgedehnt auf die 'Balsamierungssituation'.³⁵ Die Nachtwache an der Bahre wird zum Ritual dieser Auferweckung,³⁶ dessen Rezitationen das 'Erhebe dich' litaneiert wiederholen.³⁷ 'Aufrichtungen' (*stꜣw*) und 'Verklärungen' (*sꜣhw*) sind mit Bezug auf diese 'auferweckenden' Sprüche synonyme Ausdrücke.³⁸ Daher erklärt sich die ungewöhnliche Häufigkeit dieser Anrede in Verklärungen.³⁹

(d) In Gegensatz zu der üblichen Form dieses dreifachen Wunsches, in der er auf der Grundlage der Vorstellung eines dreigeteilten Kosmos 'Verklärtheit' (*ꜣh*) im Himmel bei Rēꜥ, Macht (*wꜣr*) in der Erde bei Geb und Rechtfertigung im Jenseits (*hrt ntr*) bei Osiris' umfaßt,⁴⁰ sind hier Geb und die Erde ausgelassen und das Jenseits dafür aufgeteilt in die Aspekte 'Rechtfertigung' (in der Gerichtshalle) bei Osiris und 'Dauer' (im Grabe) bei Onnophris. Der Wunsch, 'göttlich' (*ntrj*) zu sein dagegen bezieht sich auf die Existenz als Ba in Gemeinschaft des Sonnengottes.⁴¹ Gerade dem Ba wird in Verklärungen seit dem neuen Reich, die Eigenschaft der Göttlichkeit gewünscht.⁴²

(e) In Totentexten, besonders Verklärungen und Jenseitswünschen zur Opferformel, ist oft davon die Rede, daß der Tote 'gerufen' (*njs*) werden möge. Dabei hat man wenigstens theoretisch drei Formen und Situationen solchen Rufens zu unterscheiden:

1. Der Ruf zum Empfang des Totenopfers (*prt hr hrw*) 'Herauskommen auf die Stimme'⁴³: *njs n wꜣh jht*, 'Ruf zum Niederlegen der Opfergaben',⁴⁴ *njs jht*, 'Ausrufung der Opfergaben'.⁴⁵

³⁵ Die beiden häufigsten 'Verwendungssituationen' von Verklärungen, vgl. o. (a) m. Anm. 17.

³⁶ Belegt seit CT, vgl. einige Sprüche in Übers. bei M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reichs* (MÄS 11), (1968), 33–8 und allgemein 24–60.

³⁷ Im Osiriskult s. z. B. Litaneien, Mariette, *Dendérah*, IV, 64–5, 67–8 und Junker, *Die Stundenuachen in den Osiris-Mysterien*. (Denkschr. des Kais. Ak. d. Wiss. Wien, 54) (1911), 40–5, im Totenkult das chapitre supplémentaire 168 des Totenbuchs (P. Bargaet, *Le Livre des Morts* [1967], 246–9) sowie Assmann, *Das Grab der Mutirdis*, 98 ff. Text 105. Vgl. auch E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zürich und München, 1972), 395 f. (Höhlenbuch) und 468 (Buch von der Erde).

³⁸ z. B. CT III 88 f–g.

³⁹ Über 100 Belege. Einen Eindruck der Häufigkeit dieser Formel allein in den Pyramidentexten gibt S. A. B. Mercer, *The Pyramid Texts* (New York, 1952), IV, 298 s. v. 'raise thyself up'.

⁴⁰ Vgl. hierzu W. Barta, *Opferformel* (Anm. 18), 77 usw. (Bitte 7) und Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa* (AV 6) (1973), 62 f. mit 63 (a). Die Formel *ꜣh-wꜣr-mꜣ-hrw* ist ab mittleren Reich bezeugt, die Götternamen kommen ab Dyn. XVIII hinzu.

⁴¹ Vgl. z. B. Kairo *Wb.* Nr. 421 (Dyn. XXII): *jn Rꜣw m pt snꜣr-f bꜣk*, 'Rēꜥ im Himmel ist es, der deinen Ba vergöttlichen wird'. S. allg. L. V. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (SAOC 34), (1968), 126–31.

⁴² Vgl. S. Morenz, 'Zur Vergöttlichung in Ägypten', *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 132 ff., wiederabgedr. in *Religion und Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Weimar, 1975), 263 ff., bes. 268–9; Žabkar, a. a. O. 129 m. Anm. 25; *Wb.* II, 364, 9: füge zu den Belegen noch Mariette, *Monuments divers*, Tf. 61 = Piehl, *Inscript. hiérog.* XLIV; TT 259 (unveröff.); Kairo CG 6134 (unveröff.) *Urk.* IV, 114. = *Urk.* IV, 1218, 11 = Hermann, *Stelen*, Tf. 43⁺.

⁴³ *Urk.* IV, 1519, 13–16: *prt hr hrw hft njsf*, 'Herauszukommen auf die Stimme, wenn er gerufen wird'. Vgl. zu *prt hrw* J.-J. Clère, *Mélanges Maspero*, I (1935–8), 153–97; Ders., *RdE* II, 158 f. Barta, *Opferformel*, 298–300. Vgl. auch *Urk.* IV, 1453: *njs sꜣh jnj r šbwf*, 'das Rufen des Verklärten, indem er zu seinen Opfergaben gebracht wird'.

⁴⁴ z. B. Barta, a. a. O. 95 Bitte 115b; 123 Bitte 124a (= Legrain, *Stat.* I, 77); Turin 104; Kairo CG 42126; *Urk.* IV, 430, 9–11. Vgl. auch das Harfnerlied (Simpson, *JARCE* 8 (1969–70), 49–50): *njs-twꜣk jn hrj-hꜣbt hrwꜣw n wꜣh jht*, 'Du mögest gerufen werden durch den Vorlesepriester am Tage der Opferdarbringung'.

⁴⁵ z. B. Barta, a. a. O. 95 Bitte 134 (TT 100, Davies *Rekh-mi-Rēꜥ*, Tf 114); Grabwand des *Imn-m-njt*, München (B. Löhr, *Pantheon* 28(6) 1970), fig. 1).

2. Der Aufruf des Namens auf einer Liste von Festteilnehmern,⁴⁶ zur Teilnahme am festlichen Götterkult und Gottesopfer im Tempel sowie an Prozessionen (u. a. der *nšmt*-Barke nach *w-Pqr*).⁴⁷
3. Die Berufung in die jenseitige Gemeinschaft eines Gottes⁴⁸ oder einer Gruppe von Ausgewählten;⁴⁹ vor allem — wie in unserem Text — zum Sonnengott am Himmel.⁵⁰

Allerdings könnte man im Hinblick auf andere Harfnerlieder des Verklärungstyps erwägen, ob nicht gelesen werden müßte: *njs}{tw}·k r pt n Rcw*, 'mögest du rufen zum Himmel, zu Rē'; vgl. *TT* 158, ed. Seele, *Tomb of Tjanefer (OIP 86)*, 1959, Tf. 12:⁵¹ *č·k r Rcw sdm Hprj wšb n·k jtmw*, 'wenn du zu Rē rufst, möge Khepre (dich) hören and Atum dir antworten'.⁵² Hier haben diese Verse deutlichen Bezug auf den Anbringungsort des Textes als Unterszene zur Sonnenanbetung.

Interessant ist, daß fast in allen Harfnerliedern des Verklärungstyps⁵³ das Ruf-Thema in der

⁴⁶ *gmj rn*, 'den Namen jmds. finden', sc. auf einer (Berufungs)Liste, vgl. denselben Sprachgebrauch für die 'Berufung' eines Beamten: H. Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung* (Wiesbaden, 1957), 22; *Wb.* v, 167, 30. Vgl. auch *Urk.* iv, 1072, 1074 u. A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber (Äg.Fo. 11, 1940)*, 136 f.

⁴⁷ z. B. *TT* 49 ed. Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, Tf. 59: *njs-tw rn·j gmj-tw·f hrw w sčr Dd m Ddw*, 'möge man meinen Namen ausrufen, indem er (auf der Liste) gefunden wird am Tage des Aufrichtens der Djedpfeilers in Busiris'; *TT* 51 ed. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Tf. 19 (und viele ramess. Parr.): *njs-tw rn·k gmj-tw·f m hbw nbw rcw nb*, 'möge man deinen Namen rufen, indem er gefunden wird an allen Festen und Tag für Tag'; Louvre C66 (ed. Pierret, *Inscr.* II, 9) ähnl. Leiden K 9 (s. Kitchen, *RI*, I, 361, 15): *njs-tw hr rn·k gmj-tw·k dj·k r W-Pqr*, 'möge man deinen Namen rufen, indem du gefunden wirst, sodaß du überfährst nach *W-Pqr*'; *TT* 389 usw., ed. Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, 64: *njs-tw·k m šmsw nšmt m dj·s r W-Pqr*, 'mögest du gerufen werden im Gefolge der *Nšmt*-Barke, wenn sie überfährt nach *W-Pqr*'.

⁴⁸ *TT* 41 (7)+(21) (unveröff.): *njs-tw rn·j gmj-tw·f m-bi·h wd mšct*, 'möge mein Name gerufen werden, indem er gefunden wird vor dem, der die Ma'at entscheidet (Osiris als Totenrichter)'; *TT* 259 (unveröff.): *njs-tw·k m-bi·h Wnn-nfrw mj šmsw-Hrw wstn·k mj wrcw jm·sn*, 'mögest du gerufen werden vor Onnophris wie die Gefolgsleute des Horus, mögest du frei ausschreiten wie einer von ihnen'; Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.*, I, 18: *njs-tw[·j] m-bi·h n ntrw nhh*, 'möge ich gerufen werden vor den (die) Götter der Ewigkeit'. Meist ohne Erwähnung des Gottes, als '*njs m bi·h*' (*Wb.* II, 204, 5-6): *TT* 23, *TT* 68 (unveröff.): *njs-tw·k m-bi·h rcw nb hr zš n Pnpn*, 'du mögest täglich gerufen werden vor (den Gott) auf der Schrift des *Pnpn*'. Die 'Schrift des *Pnpn*' scheint eine Liste zu bezeichnen, die den Namen des Toten enthält.

⁴⁹ Mit Beziehung zum diesseitigen Königsdienst: BM 488(1012): *njs-tw·k m-m sčw wnnjw m šmsw njswt*, 'mögest du gerufen werden unter den Verklärten, die im Gefolge des Königs gewesen sind'; vgl. *TT* 135 (unveröff.): *njs-tw bi·k hnc šmsw*, 'möge dein Ba gerufen werden zusammen mit den Gefolgsleuten'; *Urk.* iv 1932: *njs-tw·f hft mšctw jmjw-bi·h m-Wnn-nfrw*, 'möge er gerufen werden wie die Gerechten, die vor Onnophris sind'. Besonders häufig als Berufung in die Mannschaft der Sonnenbarke: *TB* 15 f, *Urk.* iv, 1819 usw.: *jrj-tw n·k hknw m wj njs-tw·k m mšndt*, 'man möge dir Loblieder anstimmen in der Barke, du mögest gerufen werden in der (in die) *Mšndt*-Barke'; *TT* 23 (10) w *TT* 68 (unveröff.): *hnm·k wj r njs-tw·k m-bi·h rcw nb h tjjst-Rcw*, 'mögest du einsteigen in die Große Barke und vor (den Sonnengott) gerufen werden (vgl. Anm. 48) Tag für Tag im Gefolge der Mannschaft des Rē'.

⁵⁰ Vgl. schon *Pyr.* 804 b; *CT* iv 359; *CT* vii 196; ähnl. *Pyr.* 1016 c. Vgl. Kairo JdE 36994, ed. Kees, *ZÄS* 83, 129 ff.: *dd 'r q hr ntr' jn Rcw m pt sntr·f bi·k jtmw hntj hwot-Bnw hwj·f dt·k*, 'möge gesagt werden: "Tritt ein zu Gott" von Rē im Himmel, möge er deinen Ba vergöttlichen, Atum vor dem Phönixhaus möge deinen Leib schützen'.

⁵¹ Vgl. Varille, in *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 154-7; *LÄ* II, 977, Text 15 (H_{1a}).

⁵² Ähnlich *TT* 373, *LÄ* II, 977, Text 14 (H_{1c}), und *TT* 208, Text 13 (H_{1b}). Vgl. *TT* 159 (*LÄ* II, 977, Text 5(H_{2d})) und *TT* 178 (*LÄ* II, 978, Text 16 (H_{2e})): *č·k r pt sdm-tw hrw·k wšb n·k jtmw*, 'wenn du zum Himmel rufst, möge man deine Stimme hören und Atum möge dir antworten'. Ähnliche Wendungen auch in anderen Texten, z. B. *Mythol. Pap.* Nr. 10, ed. Piankoff: *č·j r pt sdm* [. .] [. .] *n Dhwtj*, 'wenn ich zum Himmel rufe,

Rē[mich hören] und Thoth möge [mir] antworten', und *Balsamierungsritual*, II, 11: *č·k r šst sdm Wsjr hrw·k jj n·k Jnpw hr njs·k*, 'wenn du zu Isis rufst, möge Osiris deine Stimme hören, und Anubis möge zu dir kommen auf dein Rufen'.

⁵³ Ausnahme: *TT* 331, *LÄ* II, 978, Text 17 (I).

einen oder anderen Form vorkommt.⁵⁴ In unserem Text zeigt aber der Parallelismus mit Vers 5, der mit dem ‘Gedenken’ des Toten ‘vor’⁵⁵ *Rs-wd* (Osiris) ebenfalls Grundbegriffe der Beamtenlaufbahn ins Jenseits überträgt, daß das Thema der ‘Berufung’ gemeint ist.

(f) Das Thema der leiblichen Wohlbehaltenheit erscheint in Verklärungen sehr oft in ähnlicher Form, vgl. z. B. *rwđ jwf-k ndm mtwt-k*, ‘möge dein Fleisch fest sein, deine Gefäße wohlbehalten’;⁵⁶ *cnh b:k wsd* (var. *rwđ*) *mtwt-k*, ‘möge dein Ba leben, deine Gefäße gedeihen (var. fest sein)’;⁵⁷ *rwđ mtwt-k ih b:k*, ‘mögen deine Gefäße fest, dein Ba verklärt sein’.⁵⁸ Ähnlich, und unserer Stelle am nächsten kommend, in einem Sonnenhymnus: *cnh jwf-k rwđ mtwt-k*, ‘möge dein Fleisch leben, deine Gefäße fest sein’.⁵⁹

(g) Das Thema vom Wohlergehen des Ba im Tempel bezieht sich meist — auch in Texten thebanischer Provenienz — auf den Tempel von Heliopolis.⁶⁰ Deshalb ist hier, wo es mehr auf den Tempel der Heimatstadt ankommt, Theben oder Karnak als ‘südliches Heliopolis’ bezeichnet.⁶¹ Als Aufenthaltsort des Ba erscheint im neuen Reich auch Abydos, an dessen Festen (‘Mysterien’) ‘teilzunehmen ein zentraler Totenwunsch ist,⁶² in der Spätzeit dann daneben auch Ra-setau (Sokarfest)⁶³ und Busiris⁶⁴ u. a.⁶⁵ Dabei scheint es zum einen um eine ähnliche Vorstellung zu gehen, wie sie oben (e) zu *njs* dargelegt wurde: um die Zugehörigkeit des Toten zu einer Versorgungsgemeinschaft, die ihr Zentrum im Tempelkult eines Gottes hat (wobei der Kult von Heliopolis auch sonst in der Totenliteratur für die Versorgung des Toten eine bevorzugte Rolle spielt).⁶⁶ Zum

⁵⁴ Vgl. noch *TT* 158 (Text 12): *njs-tw-k r dd sprwt n Wr*, ‘mögest du gerufen werden um dem Großen Bittgesuche vorzutragen’; *TT* 263 (Text 19): *sdm sprwt-k njs-tw-k* [. . .] *prj b:k hr hrw hm-k:k r šzp jht w:h(t)w:f*, ‘mögen deine Bitten erhört werden, wenn du gerufen wirst [. . .] möge dein Ba herauskommen auf die Stimme deines Totenpriesters, um die Opfer entgegenzunehmen, die er niedergelegt hat’.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Anm. 48.

⁵⁶ *Urk.* IV, 114, 15–16, 149, 9–10; 497, 2–3; 1219, 6–7.

⁵⁷ R. Engelbach–B. Gunn, *Harageh* (London, 1923), Tf. 79 u. zahlr. Varr. (der verbreitetste Verklärungstext des neuen Reichs); Hermann, *Stelen*, 47*, 17. Mit *rwđ*: A. Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-ankh-Amon* (*MIFAO* 72), Tf. XII; Kairo CG 29301, Maspero, 63; Kairo CG 42126.

⁵⁸ P. Skrine, ed. Blackman, in *JEA* 4 (1918), Tf. 24, 8–9, p. 124; Boeser, *Beschr.* . . . *Leiden*, x, S. 4 Abb. 8.

⁵⁹ P. Berlin 3050, vgl. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 191 f. Anm. 4; P. Berlin 3055, XII, 10 (Spruch zur Räucherung).

⁶⁰ Vgl. z. B. *TT* 57, ed. V. Loret, *Mém. Miss.*, I, 130; *šzp-k wwt-k m hwt st htp b:k m hwt-Bnw*, ‘mögest du deine Darreichungen empfangen im ‘Großen Haus’, möge dein Ba sich niederlassen im Phönixhaus’; Kairo CG 41042, Gauthier, 15: *ih b:k m jwnw*, ‘möge dein Ba verklärt sein in Heliopolis’; Kairo CG 28301, Maspero, 28: *šzp b:k zmnw m hwt st*, ‘möge dein Ba Opferspeisen empfangen im Großen Haus’; Kairo CG 29305, Maspero, 207: *b:k cnhw hnc b:rw jgrw hr šms ntr st hwt-Sr*, ‘dein Ba lebt in Gemeinschaft der untadeligen Ba’s im Gefolge des Großen Gottes im Fürstenhaus’.

⁶¹ Vgl. R. Stadelmann, in *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 173–6 mit weiterer Lit.

⁶² BM 155 (NR), ed. Edwards, *HT* VIII, Tf. 39: *hntj b:k r šbdw wsh n:f st m nšmt*, ‘möge dein Ba südwärts fahren nach Abydos, möge ihm der Sitz breit sein in der *Nšmt*-Barke’; *Bals. Rit.*, v, 22: *ntrj b:k m-hnw n šbdw*, ‘möge dein Ba göttlich sein in Abydos’.

⁶³ *LD* III, 271d (Dyn. XXVI): *b:k cqrw R-stšw*, ‘dein Ba ist eingetreten in Re-Setau’; Kairo CG 29301, Maspero, 32: *prj b:k hnc b:rw ntrw šms-k nb t-dsr hnd-k R-stšw*, ‘möge dein Ba herauskommen in Gemeinschaft der Ba’s der Götter, mögest du dem Herrn des abgeschiedenen Landes folgen und Rosetau betreten’.

⁶⁴ BM 967, Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.* III, 43; *zmw b:k hntt b:rw jwnw jwf mš-hrw m Ddw*, ‘möge dein Ba sich gesellen zu den Ba’s von Heliopolis, indem er gerechtfertigt ist in Busiris’. Buch vom Atmen ed. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l’ancienne Égypte* (1972), 222, § 10 (Louvre 3284, III, 21): *jw-k m b: ntrj m Ddw*, ‘du bist ein göttlicher Ba in Busiris’.

⁶⁵ Ein *pr Gbb* erwähnt das Buch vom Atmen P. Louvre 3284, I, 22 (Goyon, a. a. O., 218): *ntrj b:k m pr Gbb*, ‘möge dein Ba göttlich sein im Hause des Geb’.

⁶⁶ Vgl. z. B. die von A. de Buck im III. Band seiner Coffin-Texts-Edition zusammengestellten Sprüche zur Ernährung des Toten.

anderen wird hier ein Gedanke greifbar, der in dem spätzeitlichen 'Buch vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit' seine ausführlichste Darstellung erfährt: die Teilnahme des Toten in Gestalt des Ba am Kult und an den Hauptfesten der religiösen Zentren Ägyptens.⁶⁷ Als Ba kommuniziert der Tote u. a. mit dem Sonnengott, und zwar nicht nur im Himmel, in der Sonnenbarke,⁶⁸ sondern auch in seinem Tempel auf Erden.

(h) In der Formulierung am nächsten kommt dieser Aussage ein Vers aus der Sargdeckelinschrift des Merenptah: *jrj·f* (sc. *Rcw*) *šnw hr tjt·k*, 'möge er (Rē^c) sich auf deinem Bild niederlassen'.⁶⁹

Die Vorstellung des über dem Grab 'aufgehenden' Sonnengottes findet bildlichen Ausdruck in der Vignette zu *TB* 92 sowie in einer Passage des 'Buches vom Atmen': *wbn Rcw hr hwt·k*, *Wsjr, sns·k rnh·k m t·w·f*, 'möge Rē^c aufgehen über deinem Haus (= Grab), Osiris; mögest du atmen und leben von seinem Hauch.'⁷⁰ Diese Aussagen entspringen dem Wunsch des Toten, auch im Grabe das Licht der Sonne nicht entbehren zu müssen. Wenn man von seit dem frühen neuen Reich ungemein häufigen Aussagen wie *wbn Šw hr šnt·k*, 'möge Schu aufgehen über deiner Brust',⁷¹ absieht, so ergibt sich, daß vom Grab — und zwar vom Grabeingang — zum ersten Mal in der Amarnazeit die Rede ist: *m·k stwt Rcw wbn·n·f šd·f r r· n jzj·k*, 'mögest du die Strahlen des Rē^c sehen, wenn er aufgegangen ist, möge er leuchten am Eingang deines Grabes';⁷² *dj·k wbn n·j n·j·k stwt n(wt) r r· n jzj·j*, 'mögest du geben, daß deine schönen Strahlen für mich aufgehen am Eingang meines Grabes'.⁷³

Wenn die Beschreibung realen diesseitigen Geschehens — wie die Sonnenstrahlen im Grabeingang — hier an die Stelle symbolischer und jenseitiger Vorgänge und Begriffe tritt (wie *dst*, *jmht*, *hrt·ntr* usw.), so hat man das natürlich im allgemeinen Rahmen der Amarna-Religion zu sehen, die das 'Jenseits' und die darin angesiedelte Götterwelt leugnet. Später werden diese Vorstellungen aber nicht als 'häretisch' verketzert, sondern in den Rahmen eines gewandelten Jenseitsglaubens integriert, vgl. z. B. den Sarg Cairo 6002 aus der Zeit der XXI–XXII Dyn.: *psd·k r r· n jzj·j wrh·k jwf·j m jnw·k*, 'mögest du erglänzen am Eingang meines Grabes und mein Fleisch salben mit deiner Farbe'.⁷⁴ Meist wird aber der Begriff 'Grab' mit Ausdrücken umschrieben die einen, 'jenseitigen Klang' haben wie z. B. *jst*, 'Stätte, Hügel',⁷⁵ *qrrt*, 'Höhle',⁷⁶ *dbst*, 'Sarg',⁷⁷ *st hrt*, 'Stätte des Leichnams',⁷⁸ *štjst*, 'geheimer Ort'⁷⁹ u. a.⁸⁰

⁶⁷ Assmann, in *LÄ* II, 54–5.

⁶⁸ Vgl. Žabkar, *Ba Concept* (s. Anm. 41), 126 f.

⁶⁹ Assmann, in *MDAIK* 28, 1 (1972), 52 f. Vers 56 mit S. 63 (Nr. 29) u. Anm. 59. Zu *jrj šn* s. *Wb.* IV, 253, 13–16–254. 1–4.

⁷⁰ Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, 221, § IX.

⁷¹ z. B. *Urk.* IV, 117. 4 usw.

⁷² M. Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten*, 100 (Grab des Eje).

⁷³ *TT* 49, ed. Davies, *Nefer-hotep*, Tf. 34. Ähnl. auch Tf. 36 (Zeit des Eje).

⁷⁴ E. Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (CG XLIV)* (1909), 6 oben.

⁷⁵ Vgl. z. B. die auf sehr vielen Särgen der Spätzeit aufgezeichnete Rede der Isis an den Toten: *wbn Šw m-hnw jst·k*, 'möge Schu aufgehen im Innern deines "Hügels"', CG 41004 (Moret, 79–80); CG 41009 (Moret, 123); 41013 (Moret, 155); 41017 (Moret, 180); 41044 (Gauthier, 71); 41047 (Gauthier, 136); 41048 (Gauthier, 156 f); 41056 (Gauthier, 282); 41057 (Gauthier, 310); Bologna 1957 (Catalogo, 222); sowie in einer ausführlicheren Fassung: *wbn Šw hr jst·k jrj(t)·k sgn·k m stwt·f d·j·j·f štjst·k mj hrt*, 'möge Schu aufgehen über deinem "Hügel", den du angelegt hast, mögest du gesalbt werden mit seinen Strahlen, möge er deine *štjst* durchziehen wie den Himmel', CG 41058 (Gauthier, 341); 41053 (Gauthier, 282); 41062 (Gauthier, 293).

⁷⁶ z. B. *Urk.* IV 1819. 13–15 = P. Skrine, ed. Blackman, in *JEA* 4, 1918, Tf. XXVI = Leiden, Boeser, *Beschr.* x, 8, fig. 25: *m·k jtn wbg·f hr dww stwt·f tks qrrt·k hpr j·hw·f hr šnt·k*, 'mögest du die Sonne sehen, wenn sie über den Bergen leuchtet, indem ihre Strahlen eindringen in deine Höhle, möge ihr Lichtglanz an deine Brust gelangen' *TT* 158, ed. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer (OIP 86)*, 1959, Tf. 12 = *TT* 208 und *TT* 373 (Harfnerlieder, Texte 12–14 bei Assmann, in *LÄ* II, 977): *psd jtn hr šnt·k h·j·j·f qrrt·k*, 'möge die Sonne erglänzen auf deiner Brust, möge sie deine Höhle bestrahlen'.

In all diesen Stellen geht es zum einen um jene Beziehung des Grabes zum Sonnenlicht, wie sie in den Sonnenanbetungsszenen im Grabeingang,⁸¹ den Riten im offenen Vorhof⁸² und vor allem in der Bauform der Pyramide mit Stele und Pyramidion zum Ausdruck kommen, zum anderen aber auch um die Gemeinschaft mit dem Sonnengott und die Wiederbelebung des Leichnams durch das Licht, wie sie dann in spätzeitlichen Bestrahlungsriten (*hnm jtn*) greifbar wird.⁸³

(i) Die Ergänzung *mnk* ergibt sich aus den Spuren von *nk* sowie aus dem Umfang der Lücke, wenn man davon ausgeht, daß oben in Z. 6 noch *mꜣꜥ-hrw* ergänzt werden muß. Ohne diese Annahme wäre z. B. auch [*jw*]*n·k* oder [*dj*]*tw n·k* denkbar; gegen *dj·tw n·k* spricht allerdings das Gesetz der Variation, vgl. Vers 15.

mḥ·tj, 'angefüllt', bezieht sich wohl weniger auf die Versorgung mit Speisen (das Thema des letzten Verspaares), als auf die Einbalsamierung als 'Anfüllung mit Zauber'.⁸⁴

(j) Dieser Vers stellt eine Formel dar, die das *Wb.* zwar erst ab gr. Zeit belegt,⁸⁵ die aber mit leichten Variationen schon im neuen Reich vorkommt.⁸⁶ Verse 13 und 14 nehmen das Thema der leiblichen Unversehrtheit wieder auf, das schon in Vers 9 angeklungen war, s. dazu (f).

(k) *Kꜣ* hat hier eindeutig den Sinn 'Nahrung, Opferspeisen',⁸⁷ vgl. z. B.: *jw [kꜣ]·k mnw hr ḥtp·f*, 'dein "Ka" dauert auf seiner Opferplatte',⁸⁸ oder: *kꜣ·k mnw wšhw n dt m ḥwt·k n(t) mꜣꜥ-hrw*, 'dein Ka dauert, niedergelegt für die Ewigkeit in deinem Hause der Rechtfertigung'.⁸⁹

Das Thema der kultischen Versorgung des Toten mit Opferspeisen im Grabe spielt nun gerade in Harfnerliedern eine besondere Rolle. Schon eines der frühesten Harfnerlieder aus dem mittleren Reich ist diesem Thema gewidmet und verbindet mit diesem Aspekt der Jenseitsexistenz des Toten den Begriff *Ka*:

mn-wj tw m st·k nt nḥḥ 'wie bleibend bist du in deiner Stätte der Ewigkeit,
mḥꜣt·k nt dt deinem Grab der Dauer!

⁷⁷ *TT* 194 (unveröff.): *wbn Šw hr ḏbꜣt·j ḥsr·f kkw n hr·j*, 'möge Schu aufgehen über meinem Sarg, möge er die Finsternis vertreiben von meinem Gesicht'.

⁷⁸ *TT* 158, ed. Seele, Tf. 40 = *TT* 32 (unveröff.): *wbn Šw hr st n(t) ḥꜣt·k phrr·f m Nnw kꜣ nḥs ḥꜣw·k hr nfrw·f stwt·f sšꜣt·s* [. . .], 'möge Schu aufgehen über der Stätte deines Leichnams, wenn er den Nun durchläuft, dann werden deine Glieder erwachen durch seine Schönheit, seine Strahlen, sie machen [deinen Leib] geheim'.

⁷⁹ P. BM 10209, I, 41-2, ed. F. M. H. Haykal, *Bibl. Aeg.*, XIV (1970), 30: *jꜣꜣ n·k ḥtn jmj·wrt m ꜣq: n šꜣꜣꜣt·k pšꜣꜣ·f n·k stwt m jmḥt wbn·f m šw hr tp·k*

⁸⁰ z. B. CG 41042 (Gauthier, 14, 20-1): *wbn Rꜣw m ḥꜣꜣ·kḥꜣꜣ stwt·f m bw hr·k*, 'möge Rēꜣ dir gegenüber aufgehen, mögen seine Strahlen dorthin gelangen, wo du bist'.

⁸¹ Vgl. o., Anm. 12.

⁸² Vgl. A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber*, (*Äg.Fo.* 11) (1940), 99 f.; Assmann, in *MDAIK* 28, 2 (1972), 126 f.

⁸³ z. B. S. Sauneron, *Les Fêtes religieuses d'Esna (Esna v)* (Kairo, 1962), 150 ff., Žabkar, *Ba Concept* (Anm. 41), 40.

⁸⁴ z. B. *Pyr.* 397b; *CT* I 90-91b; 118a; 137d; 149b. Hier allerdings wie auch sonst im Zusammenhang der Topik vom 'einverleibten Zauber' (vgl. *Pyr.* 411b; *CT* VI 182c; *CT* Sprüche 453 und 454; *TB* 89-90) immer mit *ḥt*, 'Leib'.

⁸⁵ *Wb.* v, 303. 15.

⁸⁶ Apisstele der XIX. Dyn.: *RT* 21 (1899), 72; *TT* C. 1 (4) s. A. Hermann, *Stelen*, 18 und 47⁺: *ꜣwt·k nb(t) r ḥꜣ·sn*, 'alle deine Glieder sind an ihrer Stelle'; CG 42167. Legrain, *Stat.*, II, 34 ff.: *ꜣwt·k n·k ḥꜣw·k tmmw hr jrt ḥnt·sn*, 'deine Glieder gehören dir, deine Organe sind vollzählig und verrichten ihre Funktion'; vgl. ferner P. Berlin 3057, XII, 63 und XIV, 22-3, s. dazu Goyon, in *Studia Aegyptiaca I (Fs. Wesetzký)* (Budapest, 1974), 122, l. 91-2. Ähnlich Leclant, *Montouemhat*, 201, l. 27.

⁸⁸ *TT* 279 (8), Zeile 3 (unveröff.).

⁸⁷ *Wb.* v, 91 f.

⁸⁹ Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-anekh-amon (MIFAO 72)*, Tf. XIIIb = XVI (Rede des Anubis *Ḥntj-zh-ntr*).

ju-s mh-tj hr htpwt dfw Es ist erfüllt mit Opfern und Speisen,
crf n-s bw nb nfr alles Gute ist in ihm versammelt.
ks-k hnc-k n ts-f jr-k Dein Ka ist bei dir und trennt sich nicht von dir.⁹⁰

(D) Dem Vergleich der Opferspeisen mit denen des Sokaris scheint wohl ursprünglich der Wunsch nach Teilhabe am Sokaris-Opferkult (im Sinne des 'Opfer-Umlaufs') zugrundezuliegen. Aussagen wie *drp-tw n-k m hwt Zkrj*, 'möge man dir opfern im Haus des Sokaris';⁹¹ *qbh n-k m qbh Zkrj*, 'möge man dir libieren mit der Libation des Sokaris';⁹² *t hnqt m hwt Zkrj hr wdhw-f rcw nb*, 'Brot und Bier im Haus des Sokaris'⁹³ auf seinem Opfertisch Tag für Tag'⁹⁴ legen diese Vorstellung nahe. Sie erklärt sich aus der Rolle des Sokaris als Nekropolengott von Saqqara; im neuen Reich ist auch in Theben-West ein Sokaris-Tempel bezeugt.⁹⁵

Thematische Kohärenz und Progression

Der Text entfaltet zwei Paradigmen: *A.* Götternamen als Bezeichnung der sozialen Sphäre, in die der Tote aufgenommen werden soll, wobei die fünf Namensnennungen sich auf nur zwei Götter beziehen, Rē^c (zweimal genannt, Vers 4 und 8) und Osiris (Verse 5–7 in drei verschiedenen Namen); *B.* Körperteile, Aspekte und Personkonstituenten des Toten. Aus dem stilistischen Prinzip des *Parallelismus membrorum* ergeben sich in der Besetzung der Verb-Positionen sekundäre Paradigmen. Dabei gehören *ntrj*, *msc-hrw* und *dd* eng zusammen, ebenso sind *shj* und *njs* semantisch benachbart, und das Gleiche gilt für *cnh*, *rwq*, *wsr* einerseits und *mh* und *tmm* andererseits:⁹⁶

Paradigma A				Paradigma B			
Vers	Götter		'du'	Vers	Personkonstituenten		'du'
	I	II			I	II	
	Namen	Verben			Konstituente	Verben	
4	<i>Rcw</i>	<i>ntrj</i>	+	9a	<i>hrw</i>	<i>cnh</i>	+
5	<i>Wsjr</i>	<i>msc-hrw</i>	+	9b	<i>mtwt</i>	<i>rwq</i>	+
6	<i>Wnn nfr</i>	<i>dd</i>	+	10	<i>bj</i>	<i>wsr</i>	+
7	<i>Rs-wdjt</i>	<i>shj</i>	+	11	<i>jzj</i>		+
8	<i>Rcw</i>	<i>njs</i>	+	13	<i>qt</i>	<i>mh</i>	+
				14	<i>cwt</i>	<i>tmm</i>	+
				15	<i>ks (ks)</i>		+
				16	<i>htpwt</i>		+
				12			N

ABB. 3

Charakteristisches Merkmal der sprachlichen Form des Textes ist der Umstand, daß der Bezug zum Hörer in jedem einzelnen Vers durch Namensnennung (Verse 3

⁹⁰ T. E. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos*, II (London, 1914), 117 Abb. 80, Tf. 23 Abb. 5.

⁹¹ Barta, *Opferformel*, 80.

⁹² CG 41067, ed. Gauthier, p. 467 f.

⁹³ Zum Haus des Sokaris vgl. schon *Pyr.* 2069a sowie den in theb. Spätzeitgräbern verbreiteten Verklärungstext bei Assmann, *Grab des Basa*, 63 sowie 110 Abb. 38: *jrj-tw st-k m hwt Zkrw*, 'man möge dir einen Platz bereiten im Haus des Sokaris'.

⁹⁴ *TT* 279 (13), Zeile 5 (unveröff.).

⁹⁵ Vgl. z. B. Kitchen, *RI*, I, 326 (*hwt Zkrj*).

⁹⁶ Zur Methode der Paradigmenbildung und den Kriterien semantischer Verwandtschaft s. Assmann, 'Wort und Text. Entwurf einer semantischen Textanalyse', in *GM* 6 (1973), 9–32; vgl. ferner R. Kloepfer-Ursula Oomen, *Sprachliche Konstituenten moderner Dichtung* (Bad Homburg, 1970), 92–104; H. Weinrich, *Sprache in Texten* (Stuttgart, 1976), 14–17.

und 12) und/oder pronominalen Bezug hergestellt wird, ein 'ich' des Sprecher aber an keiner Stelle hervortritt.⁹⁷ Diese Form ist für die Gattung der Verklärung typisch, die ja ursprünglich von einem (anonymen) Vorlesepriester außerhalb des dramatisierten Rituals — also nicht in Götterrolle — gesprochen wird.⁹⁸

Die Paradigmen, deren semantische Kohärenz die Kohärenz des Textes stiftet, bezeichnen zugleich auch seine Gliederung.⁹⁹ Paradigma *A* wird in der ersten Strophe zu 6 Versen (+ 2 Verse Überschrift), Paradigma *B* in der zweiten Strophe zu 8 Versen behandelt. Die beiden Paradigmen = Strophen entfalten den übergeordneten Begriff der 'Einbezogenheit' des Grabherrn als Inbegriff der Lebensfülle¹⁰⁰ in eine 'Sphäre des Seinigen',¹⁰¹ die in einen 'äußeren' (Götter) und einen 'inneren' Aspekt (Person-Konstituenten) gegliedert ist. Begriffe wie 'Grab', 'Nahrung' und 'Opferspeisen' werden dabei auf eine Stufe mit Körperteilen und Personkonstituenten (wie *dt* und *b*) gestellt und bilden mit diesen zusammen die 'innere Eigensphäre' des Toten.¹⁰² An diesem Beispiel wird übrigens deutlich, daß solche Paradigmen-Bildung eine Sache des *Textes* ist, auch wenn derartige Paradigmen außerhalb des gegebenen Einzeltexts sowohl in der Begriffswelt einer *Kultur* als auch in Form eines Wortfelds ('semantic field', *champ sémantique*) in der *Sprache* existieren und dem Verfasser des Texts vorgegeben sind. Zwischen diesen drei Typen von Feldern bestehen Beziehungen, aber nie volle Deckung, so daß es sich empfiehlt, sie sorgfältig auseinanderzuhalten.

Die zweite Strophe ist zweigeteilt in 2 Versgruppen zu je 4 Versen, eine Gliederung, die durch die Namensanrede in Vers 12 markiert wird. Die thematische Entsprechung dieser Einteilung ist nicht sehr klar zu erkennen. Immerhin gibt die Verteilung der beiden Götternamen Rēc und Sokaris auf die beiden Versgruppen einen Hinweis. Rēc und die Erwähnung vom 'südlichen Heliopolis' (Karnak) in Verbindung mit dem Ba deuten auf ein Leben außerhalb des Grabes, Sokaris und die Opferspeisen in Verbindung mit dem Ka und dem mumifizierten Leichnam (*dt*) auf ein Leben im Grabe.

Das Sitzen in der Laube

Gegenüber dem Harfner und seinem Lied sind zwei Paare dargestellt, die jedes auf bequemen Stühlen in einem Zelt oder einer Laube sitzen und dem Lied zuhören. Das erste Paar sitzt vor einem Speisetisch mit stilisierten Broten, hinter dem zweiten Paar

⁹⁷ Im Unterschied zu den Harfnerliedern nach dem Vorbild weltlicher Gelagepoesie, in denen das 'Ich' des Sängers eine wichtige Rolle spielt, vgl. hierzu Assmann in Assmann, Feucht, Grieshammer (Hrsg.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 67.

⁹⁸ Schott, *Mythe und Mythenbildung*, 38: 'In den Hymnen mit der Namensformel sprechen nicht mehr die Götter, das heißt die im Festspiel ihre Rollen tragenden Personen, sondern jemand, der außerhalb des Kreises der mythischen Gestalten steht . . . vermutlich der Vorlesepriester.' Was Schott als 'Hymnen mit der Namensformel' bezeichnet, ist eine Untergruppe der Verklärungen, auf die Schotts Beobachtung insgesamt zutrifft (soweit sie nicht in 1. Ps. vom Toten selbst gesprochen werden).

⁹⁹ Das ist nicht selbstverständlich, vgl. den Unterschied zwischen semantischer und stilistischer Analyse, wie in *GM* 6, 28 und 30 f. (Nachtrag 3) skizziert.

¹⁰⁰ Entsprechend der sozialen Ausgliedertheit als Inbegriff äußerster 'Todesbefallenheit' im Sinne von P. Seibert, *Die Charakteristik* (Wiesbaden, 1967), 42–6.

¹⁰¹ Vgl. zu diesem Begriff Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder*, 339–52; ders. in *Saeculum* 23 (1972), 112–14; ders. *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, 43 ff.

¹⁰² Vgl. *Liturgische Lieder*, 345–9 ('innere Vielheit' vs. 'äußere Vielheit').

steht noch ein Mann in anbetender Haltung. Die Paare tragen die reiche Gewandung der Zeit. Die Männer halten das übliche Szepter in der rechten Hand, die Frau im ersten Zelt das sog. 'Menit'-Collier. Nur die Frauen haben auf dem Kopf einen Salbkegel mit Lotusblume.

Die Beischriften

1. Im ersten Zelt:

<i>htp nfr m st hzjjw</i>	“(Oh) schönes Ruhen ^a an der Stätte der Gelobten ^b
<i>sjp-kwj m z n msc-hrw</i>	anerkannt ^c als ein Mann der Rechtfertigung!” ^a
<i>jn hstj-cj n njwt</i>	Sagt der Bürgermeister von Theben
<i>ḫmn-m-hst msc-hrw</i>	Amenemhēt, gerechtfertigt.
<i>šmꜥjtt n ḫmn [Njwꜥt-]ndmt</i>	Die Sängerin des Amūn Nutnedjemet, gerechtfertigt.’
<i>msct-hrw</i>	

Kommentar

(a) Der übliche Ausdruck ist *ḫmsj nfr*, ‘schönes Sitzen’, vgl. Berlin 6910 (Rückenplatte eines Sitzbildes): *ḫjj pꜣ ḫmsj nfr*, ‘oh schönes Sitzen . . .!’¹⁰³ Das Verbum *htp* bezeichnet darüber hinaus noch die Begriffe von ‘Frieden’ und ‘Dauer’, wie sie mit dem Aufenthalt des Toten im Grabe verbunden werden, gibt also diesem ‘Sitzen’ eine spezifisch jenseitige Färbung.

(b) *st hzjjw*, ‘Stätte der Gelobten’, bezeichnet zugleich das Grab und die Nekropole, den ‘Westen’, in den nur der Gerechtfertigte Zugang hat.¹⁰⁴

(c) *sjp-kwj*, ‘indem ich anerkannt bin’: durch die 1. Ps. werden die beiden Verse als Rede des Grabherrn ausgewiesen; das *jn* in Vers 3 ist daher als ‘sagt er’ (*inquit*) zu verstehen und *htp nfr* in Vers 1 als Ausruf.

(d) *z n msc-hrw* steht hier für das übliche *z n msct*, vgl. *Wb.* III, 406, 2 (mit zahlreichen Belegen seit mittlerem Reich).

Die Ersetzung von *msct* durch *msc-hrw* weist in dieselbe Richtung wie die von *ḫmsj* durch *htp*: es geht nicht nur um das Tun oder Getanhaben der Maꜣat während des Erdenlebens, sondern vor allem um dessen ‘Anerkennung’ nach dem Tode durch Freispruch im Totengericht. Daher verlagert sich die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks auf das Dasein des verklärten Toten im Jenseits *nach* dem Freispruch im Totengericht.

2. Im zweiten Zelt:

<i>hzjj ʕꜣ n ntrw nbw Wꜣst</i>	‘Der große Gelobte aller Götter von Theben,
<i>itj n hstj-cj ḫst</i>	der Vater des Bürgermeisters ḫēt ^a
<i>hstj-cj ḫmn-htp n njwt</i>	Der Bürgermeister Amenhotep von Theben. ^b
<i>šmꜥjtt n ḫmn</i>	Die Sängerin des Amun
<i>wjꜣjj (??) msct-hrw</i>	Wiaii (?), ^c die gerechtfertigte.’

¹⁰³ Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Nr. 169 m. S. 604 f.

¹⁰⁴ Vgl. Assmann, in *LÄ* I, 1086–7 m. Anm. 23–5.

Kommentar

(a) Hēt ist Kurzform für Amenemhēt, den Grabherrn.

(b) Vgl. hierzu oben S. 58 (b) m. Anm. 25

(c) Die Lesung ist leider ganz unsicher, weil das entscheidende Zeichen (Barke?)¹⁰⁵ höchst undeutlich gemeißelt wurde. Als Begleiterin des als solchen identifizierten Vaters muß es sich um die Mutter des Grabherrn handeln.

3. Beischrift zum Stehenden: *hrj hm ntr(?) n pr jmn-m-jpt*, Oberster der Priester(?) im Tempel des Amenemope.

Gesamtbedeutung der Szene

Harfnerlied und Sitzen in der Laube gehören zusammen, indem die in ihren Lauben sitzenden Paare dem vor ihnen und für sie singenden Harfenspieler zuhören. Beide Komponenten der Szene, das Harfenlied und das Sitzen in der Laube, haben die Konnotation des Festlichen.¹⁰⁶ Harfnerlieder erklingen beim Fest, sei es im spezifischen Sinne eines bestimmten Götterfestes (*hwb*), wie des 'schönen Fests vom Wüstental', das in den Gräbern der XVIII. Dyn. dargestellt wird, sei es im allgemeinen Sinne des *hrw nfr*, 'des schönen Tags', auf den sich die 'make-merry'-Lieder der XIX. und XX. Dyn. beziehen. Da die Gastmahlsdarstellungen im gleichen Moment aus den Gräbern verschwinden, wo die 'Harfnerszenen' auftauchen, liegt es nahe, diese als eine 'Transformation' der älteren Gastmahls- und Talfestdarstellungen zu verstehen.¹⁰⁷ Auch die Anwesenheit weiterer Familienmitglieder, der Eltern und des ältesten Sohnes als 'obersten (Toten) priesters' (?) hängt mit dem festlichen Charakter der Szene zusammen. Eines der zentralen Ereignisse des Talfests bildet ja das Gastmahl, das die Familie um den Grabherrn versammelte.¹⁰⁸

Rechte Wandung, Unterszene (BM 55336) : Brettspiel- und Horussöhne-Szene*Szene I: Amenemhēt und Nutnedjemet beim Brettspiel*

In einer Laube oder einem Zelt entsprechend der gegenüberstehenden Szene sind der Grabherr und seine Frau vor einem Ständer sitzend dargestellt, der ursprünglich ein Spielbrett mit Steinen getragen haben muß, wie aus der Beischrift hervorgeht. Die waagerechte modern vergipste Steinfuge geht genau über die Zone hinweg, in der die Spielsteine auf dem Brett, dessen Unterteil noch erhalten ist, gestanden haben müssen.

¹⁰⁵ Ich verdanke die Lesung einem Vorschlag J. Máleks.

¹⁰⁶ A. Moussa und H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Ka-hay*, (AV 5) (1971), 25, Tf. 14.

¹⁰⁷ Assmann, in Assmann, Feucht, Grieshammer (Hrsg.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 61.

¹⁰⁸ S. Schott, 'Das schöne Fest vom Wüstental. Festbräuche einer Totenstadt' (AWLMainz, *Abh.* 1952.11, 1953), bes. 69–72.

Die Anbringung von Harfner- und Brettspielszene auf gegenüberliegenden Wandungen entspricht Grab 263 (3).¹⁰⁹ Die Verbindung kann auch sehr viel enger sein, z. B. indem der Harfenspieler vor dem Brettspielenden Paar singt.¹¹⁰ Auch als Unterszene zur Harfnerszene kommt die Brettspielszene vor.¹¹¹

Inscription

Umschrift und Übersetzung

hmsj m zḥ 'Im Zelt sitzen,
ḥbc znt ḥnc [snt-f mrjt-f] das Brettspiel spielen zusammen mit seiner geliebten Schwester
in jmj-r3 zḥwt n jmn jmn-m-ḥ:t seitens des Ackervorstehers des Amun, Amenemḥēt,
snt-f šmcjtt n jmn und seiner Schwester, der Sängerin des Amün,
Njwṯ-ndmt m3t-ḥrw Nutnedjemet, gerechtfertigt.'

Szene 2: Der Tote vor den Horussöhnen

Vier männliche Gestalten identischer Tracht und Aussehens, nur durch die Namensbeischrift vor ihren Köpfen als die vier Horussöhne gekennzeichnet, schreiten von links auf den rechts vor einem Opfertische knieenden Toten zu, der sie mit erhobenen Armen anbetet. Sie tragen in der linken Hand Symbole für Aspekte oder Personkonstituenten des Toten, während die Rechte grüßend erhoben ist. Amset, der erste, trägt das Herz, Hapi den Ba, Duamutef den Ka und Qebhsenuf die Mumie des Toten.

Darüber verläuft eine waagerechte Inschriftzeile mit rechtsläufiger Beschriftung, die die Rede des Amenemḥēt an die Horussöhne enthält.

Inscriptionen

Umschrift und Übersetzung

1. Zeile über den Horussöhnen:

j3w n k3-tn, nbw d3t 'Lobpreis Eurem Ka, Herren der Unterwelt,
šḥw nbw jgrt würdige Verklärte, Herren des Totenreichs!
mk-wj m b3-ḥ-tn, nbw nhḥ Hier bin ich vor Euch, Herren der Ewigkeit.
dj-tn n-j jb-j ḥr st-f Gebt mir mein Herz auf seinen Platz,
b3-j ḥr m33 jtn meinen Ba beim Anblick der Sonne!'

¹⁰⁹ Auch dort als Unterszenen zur Sonnen-(Brettspiel) bzw. Osiris-Anbetung (Harfnerlied), allerdings mit vertauschter Zuordnung.

TT 163				TT 263			
links		rechts		links		rechts	
Haupt-szene	Unter-szene	Haupt-szene	Unter-szene	Haupt-szene	Unter-szene	Haupt-szene	Unter-szene
Sonnen-anbetung	Harfnerlied	Osiris-anbetung	Brettspiel	Sonnen-anbetung	Brettspiel	Osiris-anbetung	Harfnerlied

¹¹⁰ z. B. TT 178 (2); TT 158 (3).

¹¹¹ TT 50 (3) III, Bénédite, Tf. II. Bei Porter-Moss nicht erwähnt. Ich verdanke die Kenntnis dieser Szene einem Hinweis von E. Pusch. Zur Brettspielszene vgl. allg. E. Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten* (im Druck).

2. Beischriften zu den Horussöhnen:

- (a) *ʒmstj: dj·f jb·k n·k ʒmn-m-ḥst* 'er gebe dir dein Herz, Amenemḥēt.'
 (b) *Hḫj: dj·f [bʒ]·k ḥr mʒʒ Rʕw, ʒmn-m-ḥst* 'er gebe dir deinen Ba beim Anblick der Sonne, Amenemḥēt.'
 (c) *Dwʒ-mwt·f: dj·f kʒ·k ḥnc·k m ḥrt-ntr ʒmn-m-ḥst* 'er gebe deinen Ka mir dir zusammen in der Nekropole, Amenemḥēt.'
 (d) *Qbh-snw·fʒ: dj·f ḥst·k mn <·tj> m ḥrt-ntr Ḥst mʒʕ-ḥrw* 'er gebe dir deinen Leich nam bleibend in der Nekropole, Ḥēt, gerechtfertigt.'

Kommentar

1. Zur sprachlichen Form

Den vier den Horussöhnen beigeschriebenen Wünschen liegt dasselbe Satzmuster zugrunde, das darüber hinaus lexikalisch in identischer oder semantisch verwandter Weise besetzt ist:

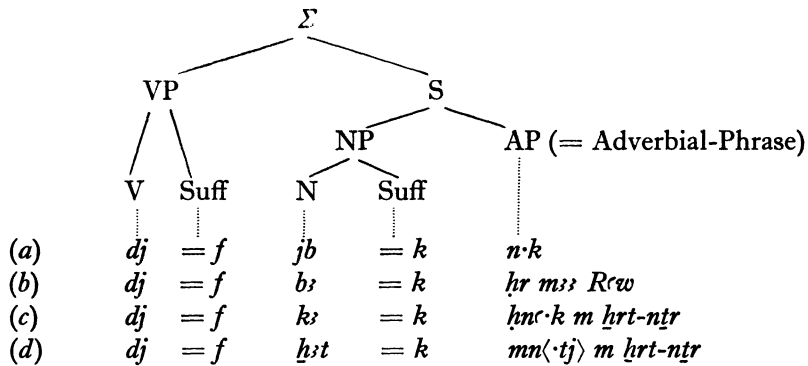


ABB. 4

Das führt in jedem einzelnen Fall zu syntaktischen Ungewöhnlichkeiten: bei (a) der Wortfolge, gegenüber 'normalem' *dj·f n·k jb·k*, bei (b), (c) und (d) der Konstruktion gegenüber 'normalem' *sdm·f* nach *rdj*, 'veranlassen'.¹¹² Diese Ungewöhnlichkeiten erklären sich daraus, daß *rdj* hier seinen eigentlichen Sinn von 'geben' beibehalten hat. Die in 'Objekt'-Position erscheinenden Person-Aspekte Herz, Ba, Ka und Leib gelten ja, wie es die Darstellung zeigt, als 'Gabe' der Horussöhne. Die Adverbialphrasen beschreiben diese Gabe, und zwar nicht im Sinne einer Eigenschaft, sondern im Sinne begleitender Zustände oder Handlungen, die in Form von ἀπὸ κοινοῦ konstruierten¹¹³ eingebetteten Zustandssätzen ausgedrückt sind:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(a) er gebe dein Herz
— (dein Herz) gehört dir —</p> | <p>(c) er gebe deinen Ka
— (dein Ka) ist bei dir in der Nekropole —</p> |
| <p>(b) „ „ deinen Ba
— (dein Ba) sieht die Sonne —</p> | <p>(d) „ „ deinen Leichnam
— (dein Leichnam) dauert in der Nekropole —</p> |

¹¹² Zur Adverbialsatz-Konstruktion nach *rdj* s. *Wb.* II, 468. 14 sowie Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 35 m. Anm. 8–9; speziell zu *hr* + Inf. nach *rdj* s. Erman, *Neuäg. Grammatik*, § 435; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, xxxiii, Nachtrag zu 228, § 404, 1; H. Jacquet-Gordon, in *JEA* 46 (1960), 20; E. F. Wente, in *JNES* 21 (1962), 126.

¹¹³ Vgl. Assmann, a. a. O. 35.

2. Inhaltliche Einzelheiten

Die vier Personkonstituenten oder Aspekte des Toten, die von den vier Horussöhnen dargebracht werden, scheinen keine traditionell kanonisierte Vierheit zu bilden, sondern vielmehr erst durch die Verbindung mit den Horussöhnen zustande zu kommen. Es handelt sich um vier für ein Leben nach dem Tode zentral wichtige Elemente der Person, wobei allerdings nur das vierte, *hꜣt*, 'Leichnam', als Teil des Ganzen betrachtet werden darf; bei den anderen drei Komponenten könnte man auch und vielleicht mit mehr Recht von 'Aspekten' des Toten reden, die ihn als eine Art 'zweites Wesen' (*alter ego*) jeweils ganz verkörpern. Für den Ka ist das — so problematisch dieser Begriff auch in vieler Hinsicht noch ist — seit alters *communis opinio*; für das Herz hat Spiegelberg¹¹⁴ und für den Ba unlängst Žabkar ein solches Verständnis aufgezeigt.¹¹⁵ Die begriffliche Differenzierung dieser vier Größen ist nur im Falle von *hꜣt*, 'Leichnam', unproblematisch; die anderen drei gehören alle in den Bereich des Geistigen und sind nur schwer gegeneinander abzugrenzen. Sie werden oft wie Synonyme behandelt und erscheinen in identischen Kontexten, z. B. als Varianten in Paralleltexten.¹¹⁶ Hier aber werden sie durch die adverbialen Bestimmungen jedenfalls andeutungsweise differenziert.

Beim Herzen geht es dabei um das Bewußtsein und damit um die personale Identität mit sich selbst: 'Dein Herz werde dir ins Innere deines Leibes gegeben, damit du wieder erinnerst, was du vergessen hast',¹¹⁷ und 'mein Herz, erhebe dich auf deiner Stelle, damit du erinnerst, was in dir ist.'¹¹⁸ Darum geht es, wenn es — wie in dem Wunsch der Horizontalzeile — heißt, daß das Herz 'an seinen Platz' oder 'seine Stelle'¹¹⁹ kommen soll. Ein Spruch im Verklärungsritual dient dazu 'dem Verklärten sein Herz zu bringen',¹²⁰ worin die uralten und oft zitierten Sätze vorkommen:

<i>jn<n-j> n-k jb-k m ht-k</i>	'Ich habe dir dein Herz in deinen Leib gebracht,
<i>rdj<n-j> sw m st-f</i>	ich habe es an seine Stelle gegeben,
<i>mj jnt jb n Hrw n mwt-f ʒst</i>	wie das Herz des Horus zu seiner Mutter Isis,
<i>mj jnt jb n ʒst n ʒʒ-s Hrw</i>	wie das Herz der Isis zu ihrem Sohn Horus gebracht wurde.' ¹²¹

Wie aus diesen und vielen anderen Stellen hervorgeht, ist für das Herz — im Gegensatz zu Ba, Ka und Leichnam — die Vorstellung durchaus geläufig, daß es dem Toten (wieder) 'gebracht', (zurück) 'gegeben' wird durch beistehende Gottheiten, vor allem Nut.¹²² Auch die bekannte Episode

¹¹⁴ W. Spiegelberg, 'Das Herz als zweites Wesen des Menschen', in *ZÄS* 66 (1931), 35–7.

¹¹⁵ Žabkar, *Ba Concept*; ders. in *LÄ* I, 588–90 s.v. Ba.

¹¹⁶ z. B. *Urk.* IV, 117. 14–15: *jb-k m-c-k nn bt-f tw dfw-k mnw rst-jrj*; 499. 17–500. 1: *ks-k m-c-k nn bt-f tw nn šw-k jm-f dt*; 1222. 1–3: *ks-k m-c-k nn bt-f tw dfw-k mnw r st-jrj*.

¹¹⁷ *CT* I 265 e–f.

¹¹⁸ *CT* VI 278 o–p.

¹¹⁹ Vgl. *Wb.* II, 161. 9. Einige Beispiele: *TT* 106, Deckeninschrift (unveröff.): *jb-j mnw hr mkt-f mj šhr-f n jmj hꜣt*, 'mein Herz bleibt an seiner Stelle, wie es seine Verfassung von vordem war'; *TT* 32 (unveröff.): *jb-k n-k [mn] hr mkt-f hꜣw-k tmmw m ht-k*, 'dein Herz gehört dir, befestigt an seinem Platz, deine Glieder stehen vollzählig zu deinen Diensten'; *Urk.* IV, 1911: *hꜣtj-j mnw hr mkt-f*, 'mein Herz bleibt an seinem Platz', ähnlich Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten*, 101–2; P. Louvre N. 3279, i, 12, ed. Goyon, 'Le pap. 3279 du Louvre', *BE* 42 (1966), 32 und 36 n. 1: *jrj-k n-j jb-j mnw hr st-f hꜣtj-j hꜣpw hr mkt-f*, 'mögest du mir mein Herz schaffen indem es auf seiner Stelle bleibt und mein *hꜣtj*-Herz, indem es auf seinem Platz ruht'; Barta, *Opferformel*, 101 Bitte 168: *jb n sꜣh [m] st-f ʕwt-f nbt r jrjꜣt-s*, 'Das Herz eines Verklärten an seiner Stelle, alle seine Glieder bei ihrer Funktion'.

¹²⁰ N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes* (New York, 1943), II, Tf. 76.

¹²¹ *TT* 100 Tf. 76, Pyr. 1640; *CT* I. 80, 1–n; H. O. Lange, 'Ein liturgisches Lied an Min', *SPAW* 28 (1927) = Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Nr. 212.

¹²² Sarg Louvre D 39A, Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.* I, xxv–xxvi: *jn-j n-k jb-k m ht-k*, 'ich bringe dir dein Herz in deinen Leib'; Särge Kairo CG 41044 (Gauthier, 33–5), 41048 (143), 41050 (192), 41057 (197, 214–15): *dj-s*

des Zweibrüdermärchens, in der Anubis seinem Bruder Bata dessen Herz einverleibt, so daß es an seine Stelle gelangt und dieser wieder zu Bewußtsein kommt, gehört in diesen Zusammenhang.¹²³

Anders als in Bezug auf das Herz und auch, wie noch gezeigt werden soll, auf den Ka steht beim Ba nicht der Wunsch nach Vereinigung, sondern umgekehrt nach 'Herausgehen' im Vordergrund, 'um' — wie es immer wieder heißt — 'die Sonne zu schauen'.¹²⁴ Der Ba ist mit der Oberwelt, dem Sonnenlicht und dem Himmel verbunden.¹²⁵ Der Tote wünscht sich nicht die Gemeinschaft mit seinem Ba, sondern als Ba die Möglichkeit anderer Gemeinschaft, vor allem die des Sonnengottes. Auch wo es um die Vorstellung des sich zeitweilig auf dem Leichnam niederlassenden Ba geht,¹²⁶ ist auf keinen Fall der Leichnam das 'Selbst' des Toten, mit dem der Ba sich vereinigt; vielmehr wäre der Ba als die aktive, nach außen gewandte Form seiner selbst zu verstehen, in der er 'selbst' das Grab verläßt, die Sonne schaut und am Götterkult teilnimmt. Während also der Ba für die 'äußere Kommunikation' zuständig ist, in die der Tote mit Göttern, anderen Bas und den Lebenden eintritt,¹²⁷ verbindet sich mit dem Ka die Idee einer 'inneren Kommunikation' des Toten mit sich selbst, vergleichbar den Vorstellungen, die das Herz betreffen. Dem ägyptischen Ausdruck für den 'seligen', d. h. durch die Riten 'verklärten' Toten als 'einen, der zu seinem Ka gegangen ist',¹²⁸ liegt die Vorstellung einer (Wieder?)-Vereinigung mit dem Ka zugrunde. Auch die Präposition *hnr*, die unser Text verwendet, bringt den Gedanken der erwünschten Gemeinschaft mit dem Ka zum Ausdruck.¹²⁹

Man wird die Vorstellung einer derartigen 'Konstellation' von Totem und Ka kaum trennen können von dem Gestus der Umarmung, den das Schriftzeichen darstellt. Der Sinn dieser Umarmung ist: (1) Schutz, der nach äg. Vorstellung von hinten ausgeübt wird — der Schützer tritt hinter den Beschützten — und (2) Nahrung bzw. durch Nahrung vermittelte Lebenskraft, die vor dem Toten niedergelegt wird. So verbinden sich in der Vorstellung einer Gemeinschaft mit dem Ka, wie sie z. B. Spruch 25 der Pyramidentexte ausmalt, die Konstellation des Schutzes (hinter

n-k jb-k m ht-k, 'daß sie dir dein Herz in deinen Leib gebe'; Särge CG 41046 (Gauthier, 86), 41053 (224), 41056 (271), 41065 (434): *jn-j n-t jb-t rdj-n-j sw hr st-f m ht-k*, 'Ich habe dir dein Herz gebracht und es an seine Stelle gegeben in deinen Leib'; ähnl. CG 41057 (Gauthier, 300-1); Rede des Qebehsenuf, Sarg des Nebseni, CG 61016 (Daressy, 23), Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.*, I, 74; *jn-j n-k jb-k dj-n-j sw hr st-f m ht-k* (= Piankoff, *Les chapelles de Tout-anekh-Amon*, Tf. XVI und XIIIb; CG 61004, 61010, 61016, Daressy, pp. 6, 12, 23; CG 29312, Maspero, 66).

¹²³ P. d'Orbiney 14. 2-4: *ju hstj-f hr r st-f juw-f hr hpr mj wnn-f*, 'sein Herz stand (wieder) an seiner Stelle und er wurde, wie er (vordem) gewesen war'.

¹²⁴ Sarg Kairo CG 29301, Maspero, 60: *prj b-(k) r m-s jtn hnr ntrw šmsw Rcw ntk pw w'w jm-sn prj b-k r wj- n Rcw šms-k jtmw hnr-sn rnpj h'w-k m stwt-f*, 'möge dein Ba herauskommen, um die Sonne zu sehen in Gemeinschaft der Götter, die Rē folgen, denn du bist einer von ihnen. Möge dein Ba herauskommen (aufsteigen) zur Barke des Rē, mögest du Atum folgen zusammen mit ihnen, möge dein Leib sich verjüngen durch seine Strahlen'. Viele ähnl. Stellen.

¹²⁵ Vgl. die Beziehung des Ba zum 'südlichen Heliopolis' im Harfnerlied (oben S. 61 m. Anm. 61) und die Beziehung des Ba zur Grabpyramide, z. B. im Text der Stele des Ptahmose im Vatican (Piehl, *Inscr. hiérog.* II, xxxi): *dj-f prj b-s šhn-f hr m-r-s m-n-f Rcw wbn-f*, 'möge er geben, daß ihr Ba herausgehe, um sich auf ihrer Pyramide niederzulassen und um Rē zu sehen, wenn er aufgeht'.

¹²⁶ Vgl. Žabkar, a. a. O. (Anm. 41), 106-10, 132-4, 146, 149 ff.

¹²⁷ Die Zuständigkeit des Ba für das Hervortreten nach draußen (oben) und die freizügige Bewegungsfähigkeit des Toten kommt auch in dem auf den Ba bezogenen Text der Varianten unserer Szene (s. dazu unten S. 74) sehr deutlich zum Ausdruck: (TT 157, Rede des Duamutef: *jn-j n-k b-k swwtw-f r-bw mr-n-k dj-j htp-f n-k dt*, 'Ich bringe dir deinen Ba, daß er sich begeben wohin du willst, und ich gebe, daß er dir ewig gnädig sei'.

¹²⁸ Vgl. Žabkar, a. a. O. 7 Anm. 15; dazu CT IV 355; VI 382 a-b, Titel zu Spruch 153; TT 57, ed. V. Loret, *Mém. Miss.*, I, 130; S. Schott, 'Kanais', *NAWG* 1961, 155, Tf. 19, Text C, Zeilen 14-15.

¹²⁹ Vgl. das auf S. 64 m. Anm. 90 zitierte Harfnerlied aus dem mittleren Reich sowie z. B. *juw-k w'w-tj hnr k-k*, 'du bist gereinigt in Gemeinschaft deines Ka': Davies, *Ramose*, Tf. xviii; Davies, *Puyemrē*, Tf. 53; TT 66 (1); TT 72 (2); TT 95 (1); TT 112 (3); TT 182; TT 99.

und der lebensspendenden Einverleibung (vor): ‘Der Arm deines Ka ist vor dir, der Arm deines Ka ist hinter dir, das Bein deines Ka ist vor dir, das Bein deines Ka ist hinter dir.’¹³⁰

Zur Gesamtbedeutung der Szene

Zur Form

Die Darstellung der Horussöhne mit beigeschriebenen Texten ist ein Thema der Sarg-Ikonographie. In Gräbern ist sie eher ungewöhnlich. Gerade im Vergleich zu den Särgen aber fällt eine Eigentümlichkeit in die Augen: was dort als direkte, an den Toten gerichtete Rede der Horussöhne formuliert ist, erscheint hier als zwar ebenfalls an den Toten gerichtete, aber von einem anonymen Sprecher ausgehende Rede, die über die Horussöhne in der 3. Ps. spricht. Die Horussöhne treten hier nicht wie auf den Särgen als selbst sprechende Wesen auf, sondern werden einem Text, der von ihnen handelt, mehr im Sinne einer Illustration (oder eines überdimensionierten Determinativs)¹³¹ beigefügt. Die Texte sind hier nicht den Darstellungen im Sinne von Beischriften, sondern umgekehrt die Darstellungen den Texten im Sinne von Illustrationen (Determinativen) untergeordnet. Der Text läßt sich unabhängig von den Darstellungen kohärent lesen und gehört sowohl nach seiner Thematik als auch und vor allem nach seiner eigentümlichen Redekonstellation¹³² zur Gattung der Verklärungen:

<i>ʃmstj dj·f jb·k n·k</i>	‘Amset, er gebe dein Herz dir (zurück),
<i>Ḥpj dj·f bʃ·k hr mʃʃ Rcw</i>	Ḥapi er gebe deinen Ba, indem (dieser) Rēc schaut,
<i>Dwʃ-mwt·f dj·f kʃ·k hnc·k m hrt-ntr</i>	Duamutef, er gebe deinen Ka, indem (dieser) mit dir zusammen ist in der Nekropole,
<i>Qbh-snw·f dj·f hʃt·k mn·(tj) m hrt-ntr</i>	Qebehsenuf, er gebe deinen Leichnam, indem er dauert in der Nekropole.’

Mit der sprachlichen Form dieses so rekonstruierbaren Textes läßt sich eine Passage aus dem verbreitetsten, in über 30 Varianten erhaltenen Verklärungstext des neuen Reichs vergleichen:¹³³

<i>Ḥcpj dj·f n·k mw</i>	‘Der Nil, er gebe dir Wasser,
<i>Nprj dj·f n·k t</i>	Der Korngott, er gebe dir Brot,
<i>Ḥwthr·w dj·s n·k hngt</i>	Hathor, sie gebe dir Bier,
<i>Ḥsʃt dj·s n·k jrtt</i>	Ḥesat, sie gebe dir Milch.’ ¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Vgl. die auf den Ka bezogene Amset-Rede in der Fassung unserer Szene von *TT* 157 (s. dazu unten S. 73): *jn·j n·k kʃ·k m bʃh·k kʃ·k m ht·k n hrj·f jr·k dt*, ‘Ich bringe dir deinen Ka vor dich, deinen Ka hinter dich, möge er sich nie von dir entfernen ewiglich’.

¹³¹ Vgl. Junker, *Giza*, VII, 204.

¹³² s. o. S. 65 m. Anm. 98.

¹³³ z. B. Engelbach-Gunn, *Harageh*, Tf. 79.

¹³⁴ Für ein weiteres Beispiel dieser Form vgl. (GC 29310, Gauthier, 48), zit. bei Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa*, 73; vgl. dort Text 25 (ibid., 72–3).

Varianten

Blickt man nun auf die nicht eben zahlreichen Varianten unserer Szene, die mir bisher bekannt geworden sind, so zeigt sich, daß diese determinativartige Unterordnung der Darstellung unter die Inschrift eine Eigenheit der Fassung von Grab 163 ist. Die Szene kommt sonst noch in zwei thebanischen Gräbern der Ramessidenzeit vor: in dem des Hohenpriesters Nebwennet (Nr. 157) und in dem des Amenmose (Nr. 373),¹³⁵ sowie in dem räumlich und zeitlich weit entfernten Grab des Petosiris in Hermopolis aus dem Ende des 4. Jh. v. Chr.¹³⁶ Häufiger findet sie sich dann auf spätzeitlichen Särgen.¹³⁷

Interessant ist nun, daß nicht etwa *TT* 163 und *TT* 157 + *TT* 373 als zwei ramesidische und thebanische (dazu fast benachbarte) Fassungen der Szene den spätzeitlichen und mittel- bis unteräg. Fassungen gegenüberstehen, sondern daß vielmehr *TT* 163 allein in drei entsprechenden Punkten von der Tradition abweicht, die von *TT* 157 + *TT* 373 bis Petosiris und den Särgen erstaunlich konform ist: 1. Die Formulierung der Inschrift als direkte Rede der Horussöhne (*jn·j n·k k·k*, 'ich bringe dir deinen Ka . . .' usw.); 2. Die Zuordnung von Horussöhnen und Person-Aspekten: Amset: Ka; Hapi: Herz; Duamutef: Ba; Qebehsenuf: Saḥ; 3. Die Ersetzung von *ḥt*, 'Leichnam', durch *śḥ*, 'Mumie'.

Die als Übergabe-Sprüche formulierten Beischriften lauten in *TT* 157, *TT* 373 und bei Petosiris folgendermaßen:

	<i>TT</i> 157, 373	Petosiris
1. Amset mit Ka:	<i>jn·j n·k k·k m-bḥ·k</i> <i>k·k m-ḥt·k</i> <i>n ḥrj·f jr·k dt</i> ¹³⁸	<i>jn·j n·k k·k</i> <i>nn ḥrj·f jr·k dt</i> <i>ḥtp·k ḥnc k·k</i> <i>wmm <f> ḥnc·k dt</i> ¹³⁹
2. Hapi mit Herz:	<i>jn·j n·k jb·k</i> <i>smn·j n·k sw m ḥt·k</i> <i>n tš·f jr·k dt</i> ¹⁴⁰	<i>jn·j n·k jb·k m ḥt·k</i> <i>n tš·f jr·k m bw nb dt</i> <i>ḥtp·k ḥnc jb·k dt</i> ¹⁴¹

¹³⁵ *TT* 157: Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 536 (oben) und 852, dazu *Wb.* Zettel (1152)–(1153); Abd el-Qader Muhammad, *The Development of Funerary Beliefs . . .* (Kairo, 1966), Tf. 70; Porter–Moss, *Top. Bibl.* I, 1², 267 (2); *TT* 373: Porter–Moss, 433 (2), III (unveröff.). Die Szene in *TT* 373 entspricht der in *TT* 157 in allen Einzelheiten.

¹³⁶ G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Kairo, 1923–4), II, 61; III, Tf. 29; ders. in *ASAE* 20 (1920), 227.

¹³⁷ L. Kákósy, in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine* (*Bibl. des Centres d'Ét. Sup. Spéc., Colloque Strasbourg* 1967) (Paris, 1969), 65–8. Kákósy's Wertung der Szene als Beispiel spätzeitlicher schöpferischer Umwandlung alten Traditionsguts wird jetzt nach Kenntnis der drei ramesidischen Belege natürlich hinfällig.

¹³⁸ 'Ich bringe dir deinen Ka vor dich, deinen Ka hinter dich; möge er sich nie von dir entfernen ewiglich.' Vgl. oben, Anm. 130.

¹³⁹ 'Ich bringe dir deinen Ka, nie soll er sich von dir entfernen ewiglich. Mögest du dich niederlassen zusammen mit deinem Ka, möge er mit dir zusammen essen, ewiglich.' Vgl. oben, Anm. 129.

¹⁴⁰ 'Ich bringe dir dein Herz daß ich es dir befestige in deinem Leibe; möge es sich nie von dir trennen, ewiglich.' Vgl. oben, Anm. 119–20.

¹⁴¹ 'Ich bringe dir dein Herz in deinen Leib; möge es sich nie und nirgends von dir trennen ewiglich, mögest du ruhen in Gemeinschaft deines Herzens ewiglich.'

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3. Duamutef mit Ba: | <i>jn·j n·k b·k</i>
<i>swtw·f r bw mr·n·k</i>
<i>dj·j htp·f n·k dt¹⁴²</i> | <i>jn·j n·k b·k m b·h·k</i>
<i>swtw·f m st·jb·f</i>
<i>htp·k hnc·f dt¹⁴³</i> |
| 4. Qebehsenuf mit <i>sch</i> : ¹⁴⁴ | <i>[jn·j n·k sch·k]</i>
<i>dj·j [. . .] šwt·k</i>
<i>hnp·s hddwt dt¹⁴⁵</i> | <i>jn·j n·k sch·k m b·h·k</i>
<i>mꜣꜣ·f Rꜣw rꜣw nb</i>
<i>wnm·f hnc·k dt¹⁴⁶</i> |

Die Zuordnung der Horussöhne zu den Person-Aspekten ist gewiß im Zusammenhang ihrer bekannten Zuständigkeit für die Eingeweide des Toten bei der Einbalsamierung zu sehen.¹⁴⁷ Sie ist aber alles andere als konventionell und scheint eine Besonderheit dieser Szene darzustellen. Die Horussöhne kommen auf Särgen seit dem mittleren Reich vor, vom frühen neuen Reich an auch mit längeren beigeschriebenen Texten, aber diese Texte lassen nirgends Andeutungen einer derartigen Zuordnung zu Person-Aspekten erkennen. Höchstens Qebehsenuf, dessen Zuständigkeit für *hꜣt* bzw. *sch* des Toten ja als einzige konstant bleibt, wird auch in diesen Texten regelmäßig mit der 'Gliedervereinigung', d.h. Einbalsamierung und Mumifizierung in Verbindung gebracht. Ich beschränke mich hier auf den ältesten und verbreitetsten Text:

jnk Qbhsnwꜣf jj·n·j r wnn m ꜣꜣ·k 'Ich bin Qebehsenuf. Daß ich kam¹⁴⁸ ist, um dein Schutz zu sein,
dmd·j n·k qsw·k um dir deine Knochen zu vereinigen
sꜣq·j n·k rwt·k und deine Glieder zusammenzufügen,
jn·j n·k jb·k um dir dein Herz zu bringen
dj·j sw n·k hr st·f m ht·k und es dir an seinen Platz zu geben in deinem Leibe,¹⁴⁹
srwd·j pr·k m ht·k um dir dein Haus (= deine Nachkommenschaft) zu
festigen nach dir,
cnhtj dt indem du lebendig bist ewiglich,¹⁵⁰

In diesem verhältnismäßig alten Text wird man wohl den Ursprung unserer Szene erblicken dürfen. Ebenso wie der thematische Rahmen erweitert wird um Ba und Ka, die in dem ursprünglichen Mumifizierungskontext keine Rolle spielen, wird auch der

¹⁴² 'Ich bringe dir deinen Ba daß er spaziere wohin du willst. Ich will veranlassen, daß er dir gnädig sei ewiglich.' Vgl. oben Anm. 127'.

¹⁴³ 'Ich bringe dir deinen Ba vor dich daß er spaziere wohin er wünscht. Mögest du ruhen zusammen mit ihm ewiglich.'

¹⁴⁴ Mumie mit dem Schatten-Symbol auf dem Kopf.

¹⁴⁵ 'Ich bringe dir deine Mumie; ich will veranlassen, daß [. . .] dein Schatten; möge er das Licht einsaugen ewiglich.'

¹⁴⁶ 'Ich bringe dir deine Mumie vor dich; möge sie Rēꜣ schauen Tag für Tag, möge sie mit dir essen ewiglich.'

In der Verbindung gerade der Mumie mit dem Sonnenlicht hat man eine Anspielung auf den seit dem neuen Reich bezeugten Ritus zu erblicken, die Mumie (*sch*) 'aufzustellen (*schꜣ*) für Rēꜣ in der *wshꜣt* (Vorhof) des Grabes', s. die Belege bei Assmann, in *MDAIK* 28, 2 (1973), 126 f. m. Anm. 58–9.

¹⁴⁷ Vgl. K. Sethe, 'Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern', *SPAW* 1934, XIII, 9 [217] f.

¹⁴⁸ 'Emphat. Form' im Sinne von Polotsky.

¹⁴⁹ Vgl. oben, Anm. 119–20.

¹⁵⁰ z. B. Kairo CG 61004 (Daressy, 6); 61010 (p. 12); 61016 (p. 23) aus der frühen XVIII. Dyn.; Tut'an-khamūn, ed. Piankoff, *MIFAO* 72, Tf. XIII b = Tf. XVI; Kairo CG 29312 (p. 66) aus der Ptol. Zeit.

Anbringungsort der Szene allgemeiner: statt der Sargwand die Grabwand, und zwar an zugänglicher Stelle. Sarg- (und Sargkammer)dekoration sind eng auf die 'Balsamierungssituation' bezogen,¹⁵¹ während in den zugänglichen Grabräumen der Bezugsrahmen der Dekoration sehr viel weiter und umfassender ist. Diese beiden Phänomene, die thematische Ausweitung der Zuständigkeit der Horussöhne von dem einzigen Leib-Aspekt auf die vier Person-Aspekte und die Übertragung ihrer Anbringung von der Sargwand auf die Grabwand hängen aufs engste zusammen. Daß dann später auch diese Szene wieder in die Sarg-Dekoration übernommen wird, hat seinen Grund darin, daß dies nun einmal der eigentliche Ort der Horussöhne ist und bleibt. Das Problem ist aber, was diese Szene im Rahmen der Grabdekoration bedeutet. Hierzu lassen sich einstweilen, solange *TT* 157 nicht veröffentlicht ist und der Zusammenhang der nur in einzelnen Abklatschen erhaltenen Fragmente aus *TT* 163 verloren bleibt, nur Vermutungen äußern.

Reintegration der Person als 'sakramentale Ausdeutung' des Totenopfers

Wenn man einmal, was im Rahmen dieser Studie natürlich nur in sondierendem und in keiner Weise exhaustivem Sinne geschehen kann, die Masse der Totentexte auf massierte Erwähnungen von Person-Aspekten durchschaut, wird man feststellen, daß die Vierheit unserer Szene so sonst nicht vorzukommen scheint. Am nächsten kommt der Anfang des späten 'Buches vom Durchwandeln der Ewigkeit':¹⁵²

<i>ꜥnh bꜣ-k m pt hr Rꜥw</i>	‘Möge dein Ba leben im Himmel bei Rēꜥ,
<i>ntrj kꜣ-k hntj ntrw</i>	möge dein Ka göttlich sein vor den Göttern;
<i>wꜣh hꜣt-k m dꜣt hr Wsjr</i>	möge dein Leichnam dauern in der Unterwelt bei Osiris,
<i>ꜣh sch-k hntj ꜥnhw</i>	möge deine Mumie verklärt sein vor den Lebenden.’ ¹⁵³

Aber man vermißt das 'Herz' (*jb* oder *hꜣtj*) bei dieser Aufzählung.

Einen Hinweis, der sich als recht ergiebig erwiesen hat, liefert jedoch der Verklärungstext, der bei Petosiris unterhalb unserer Szene und gewiß nicht ohne thematischen Bezug zu ihr angebracht ist.¹⁵⁴ Es handelt sich um den Schlußspruch des Mundöffnungsrituals:

<i>jb-k n-k m pr jbw</i>	‘Dein <i>jb</i> -Herz gehöre dir im Haus der <i>jb</i> -Herzen,
<i>hꜣtj-k n-k m pr hꜣtjw</i>	dein <i>hꜣtj</i> -Herz gehöre dir im Haus der <i>hꜣtj</i> -Herzen,
<i>šbn-k m ntrw pt</i>	du mögest dich unter die Götter des Himmels gesellen
<i>n tnj-k r wꜣ jm-sn</i>	und dich nicht unterscheiden von einem von ihnen.
<i>ꜣt-k ꜣw ꜣt,</i>	Dein <i>ꜣt</i> -Leib ist die <i>ꜣt</i> -Ewigkeit,
<i>ꜣtmw, ꜣt</i>	Atum, ewiglich.’ ¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ Vgl. Assmann, in *MDAIK* 28, 2 (1973), 127 ff.

¹⁵² Vgl. Assmann, in *LÄ* II, 54 f.

¹⁵³ Nach P. Leiden T 32, P.Wien 29, P.Berlin 3044 (s. die Literatur bei Assmann, a. a. O.) und Sarg des Imuthes, E. R. Ayrton, C. T. Currelly, A. E. P. Weigall, *Abydos III* (London, 1904), Tf. 25.

¹⁵⁴ Inschrift 82, 62–77, a. a. O. (Anm. 136).

¹⁵⁵ Mundöffnung Szene 72 B, s. E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (*Äg. Abh.* 3), (1960), I, 198, II, 163.

Die merkwürdige Formel vom 'Haus der Herzen', die aus *Tb* 26 bekannt ist¹⁵⁶ und auch sonst in zahlreichen Verklärungen meist in der 2.¹⁵⁷ aber auch in der 1.¹⁵⁸ und 3. Ps.¹⁵⁹ vorkommt, scheint nun ihren Ursprung in einem Spruch zum Totenopfer zu haben, der die gesuchte Vierheit der Person-Aspekte enthält:¹⁶⁰

*dj·tw n·k jb·k*¹⁶¹ *m pr jbw jb* 'Man möge dir dein *jb*-Herz geben im Haus der *jb*-Herzen

<i>hstj·k</i> ¹⁶² <i>m pr hstjw</i> ¹⁶³	<i>hstj</i> und dein <i>hstj</i> -Herz im Haus der <i>hstj</i> -Herzen.
<i>stp n·k hpš n kš·k</i> ¹⁶⁴	<i>kš</i> Man möge einen Schenkel auslösen für deinen Ka
<i>hstj n sch·k</i>	<i>sch</i> und ein Herz für deine Mumie.
<i>bs·k m pr</i> ¹⁶⁵	<i>bs</i> Dein Ba sei im Himmel,
<i>hst·k m dšt</i> ¹⁶⁶	<i>hst</i> dein Leichnam in der Unterwelt.'

Der 'Sitz im Leben' dieses Textes ergibt sich wohl am deutlichsten aus der Fassung im Grab des Rekhmirē. Dort erscheint er am Ende des Langraums, also an der Hauptkultstelle des Grabes¹⁶⁷ im Zusammenhang mit anderen Totenopferritten, die Titel tragen wie 'Das Herz bringen'¹⁶⁸ und 'Den Ba bringen'.¹⁶⁹ Ungefähr zur gleichen Zeit wird im Grab des Kornzählers Amenemhēt die Totenspeisung in einer ganz einzigartigen Form dargestellt. Der Tote empfängt dort die dargebrachten Nahrungsmittel in nicht vier-, sondern sechzehnfacher Gestalt, verteilt auf zwei Wände, wo jeweils er selbst mit Name und Titel sowie sein Ka einer Siebenheit von Person-Aspekten präsidieren: Südwand — *hr* (Stele), *j(zj)* (Grab), *Šjj* (Schicksal), *hrw* (Zeit), *mshnt* (Geburtsbestimmung), *Rmnt* (Entwicklung), *Khnum*;¹⁷⁰ Nordwand — *bs* (Opferstein), [. . .], *sh*, *hst*, (Leichnam), *šwt* (Schatten), *hprw·f nbw* (alle seine Erscheinungsformen).

Die Siebenheit der Nordwand kommt unserer Vierheit am nächsten; und gerade sie wird in dem abschließenden Wunsch mit Essen und Trinken in Verbindung gebracht: 'Ach möchten doch diese Götter <gewähren>, daß er Überfluß habe daran, daß er sich

¹⁵⁶ Vgl. Kákosy, in *ZÄS* 96 (1970), 110 m. Anm. 4.

¹⁵⁷ z. B. *TT* 298, ed. Kitchen, *RI*, 1, 370-1; BM 1215; Opfertafel Abydos (*Cem. of Abydos*, II, 118, fig. 81, Tf. 25 fig. 1).

¹⁵⁸ z. B. Kairo CG 41042 (Gauthier, 19); 41043 (Gauthier, 28); 41016 (Moret, 169 f.); P.Louvre 3279 I 11-13, ed. Goyon, *Bibl. d'Ét.* 42, (1966), 32, 35 m. Anm. 8.

¹⁵⁹ z. B. Kairo CG 41056 (Gauthier, 287-8).

¹⁶⁰ Varianten: A: P.BM 10819, iii, 4-6 (XVIII. Dyn.) 'Spruch zur Libation mit Wasser'; B: P.BM 10209, i, 25-6 (XXX. Dyn.) 'Spruch zur Opferdarreichung', ed. F. M. Haikal, *Bibl. Aeg.* XIV, i (1970), 28, II (1972) 17 und 28 n. 25; C: *TT* 100, ed. Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rer* (Anm. 120) Tf. 86, 'Spruch zur Opferung'.

¹⁶¹ A om. *k*.

¹⁶² A, B om. *k*.

¹⁶³ C und *TT* 298 (Anm. 157) fügen ein: 'du mögest dir das deine nehmen und es an seine Stelle setzen; möge es nicht von dir weichen.'

¹⁶⁴ A: *wdn·tw n·k sntr r rš n jzj·k hr·tw hpš n kš·k*, 'Man bringt dir eine Räucherung dar am Eingang deines Grabes, man fällt einen Rinderschenkel für deinen Ka'.

¹⁶⁵ So nach B. A und C: *r hrt*, 'nach oben'.

¹⁶⁶ So nach B. A und C: *r hrt*, 'nach unten'.

¹⁶⁷ Vgl. zu diesem Begriff A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber* (*Äg.Fo.* 11) (1940), 18-22.

¹⁶⁸ Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rer*, (Anm. 120), Tf. 76, p. 70 ff.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Tf. 96, p. 74 ff.; cf. P.Berlin 3055, xvii, 15 ff.

¹⁷⁰ Zu Khnum als Person-Konstituenten in Verbindung mit *Mshnt* und *Rmnt* vgl. Assmann, in *MDAIK* 28, 1 (1972), 61 m. Anm. 39.

damit vereinige, daß er davon esse, daß er davon trinke wie jene Vorfahren ewiglich.¹⁷¹ Ich möchte annehmen, daß in diesen Riten der Totenspeisung die (fiktive) Aufnahme von Nahrung durch den Toten ausgedeutet wird als die Wiederherstellung seiner personalen Integrität im Sinne einer (Wieder)-Vereinigung seiner Person-Aspekte.¹⁷²

Was nun diese älteren Inschriften und Darstellungen von unserer Szene unterscheidet, ist die Anwesenheit der Horussöhne, die in ihrer Rolle als Bewirker und Garanten dieser Wiedervereinigung an die Stelle der Totenpriester getreten sind. Es scheint sich demnach um die Transposition einer Rite des Totenkults in die Götterwelt zu handeln, ein Vorgang, der für die Geschichte der Grabdekoration von der XVIII. zur XIX. Dynastie insgesamt kennzeichnend ist.¹⁷³ Dieser Vorgang läßt eine doppelte Deutung zu: entweder wird später ganz in die Hände von Göttern gelegt, was früher Sache menschlicher Totenpriester war (Spiegel), oder aber — und diese Deutung erscheint mir plausibler — die Darstellung, die früher ganz auf die 'realweltlichen' Vorgänge bezogen war, bezieht sich später auf deren götterweltliche 'sakramentale Ausdeutung'.¹⁷⁴

Während also die Harfnerszene auf der südlichen Wandung der festlichen Unterhaltung (*shmh jb*) des Toten gewidmet und dementsprechend auf das Heraustreten aus dem Grabe, das diesseitig-oberweltliche 'Außen' bezogen ist, gilt die Horussöhne-Szene der rituellen Versorgung des Toten und ist auf das Eintreten ins Grab und das jenseitig-unterweltliche 'Innen' bezogen.

¹⁷¹ *Urk.* IV 1060-1.

¹⁷² Vgl. *MDAIK* 28, 2 (1973), 121-3.

¹⁷³ S. Spiegel, in *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 190-207.

¹⁷⁴ Vgl. hierzu meinen Beitrag 'Die Verborgenheit des Mythos in Ägypten', in *GM* 25 (1977).



55337

I. BM 55337
 Courtesy British Museum



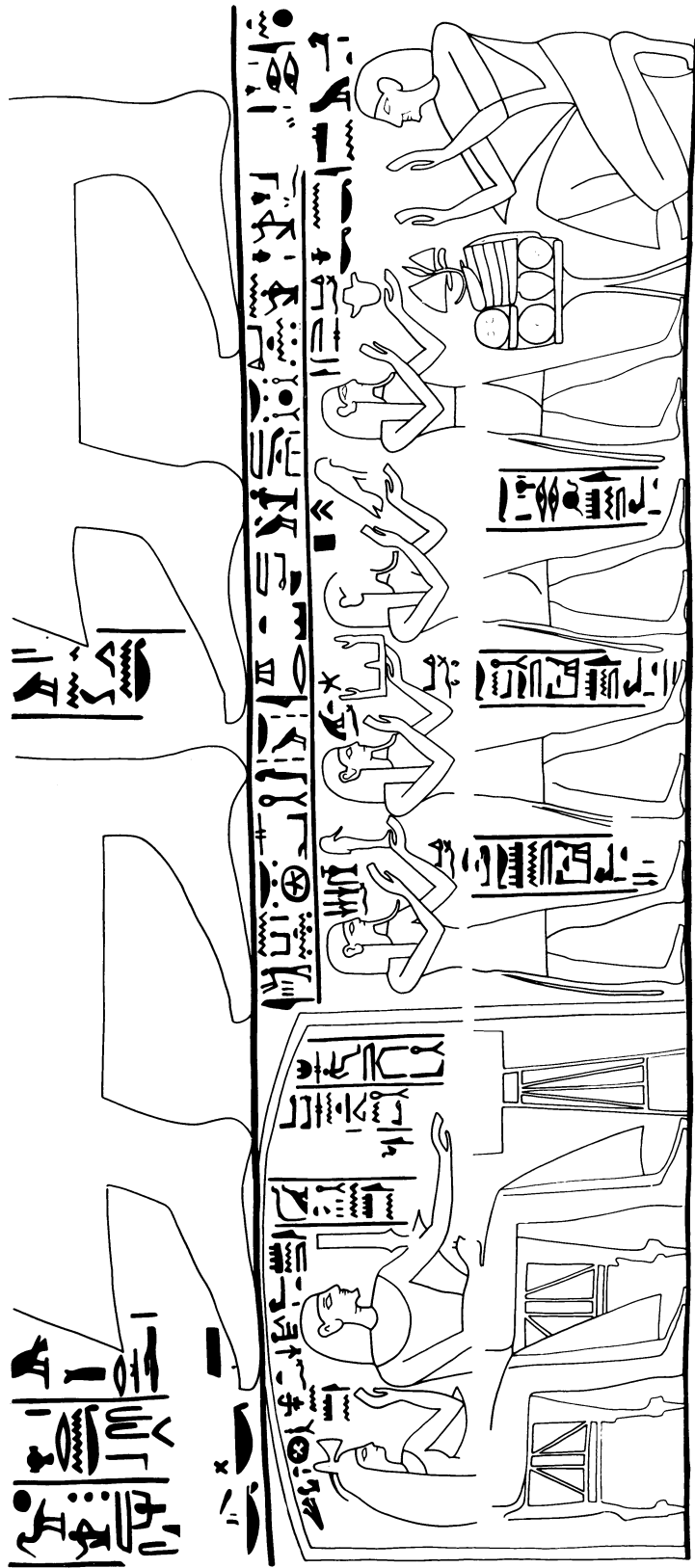
2. Spiegelberg's squeeze of the same scene from Theban tomb no. 163
 Courtesy Griffith Institute



55336

I. BM 55336

Courtesy British Museum



HARFNERLIED UND HORUSSÖHNE

THE CHESTER BEATTY PAPYRUS, NO. I,
RECTO XVI, 9–XVII, 13

By E. IVERSEN

IN his edition of the papyrus¹ Gardiner drew attention to the difficulties facing students of the small collection of poems found on the recto. Referring to the perplexing philological problems arising from the obscurity of the text and its presumed corruption, as well as its introduction of what he considered new and unknown words, Gardiner took some of the stanzas to be virtually untranslatable, declaring that when he nevertheless offered a rendering it was 'because the cause of future criticism is always best served if it has a definite butt to tilt at'. In no way, however, can this modesty alter the fact that any student of these verses must remain always directly dependent on Gardiner's solution of their basic problems. That after the lapse of nearly fifty years the prognosis should appear less pessimistic and the text less corrupt than was assumed in 1931 is mainly the result of the general progress of Egyptology, and the present study is, therefore, merely a modest attempt to add a few stones to the foundations laid by Gardiner.

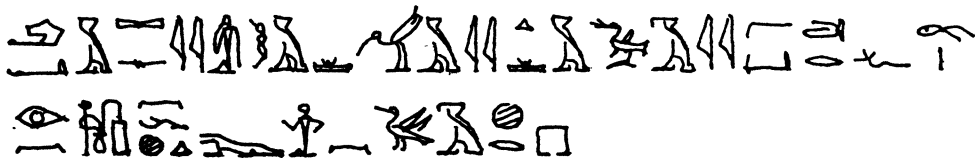


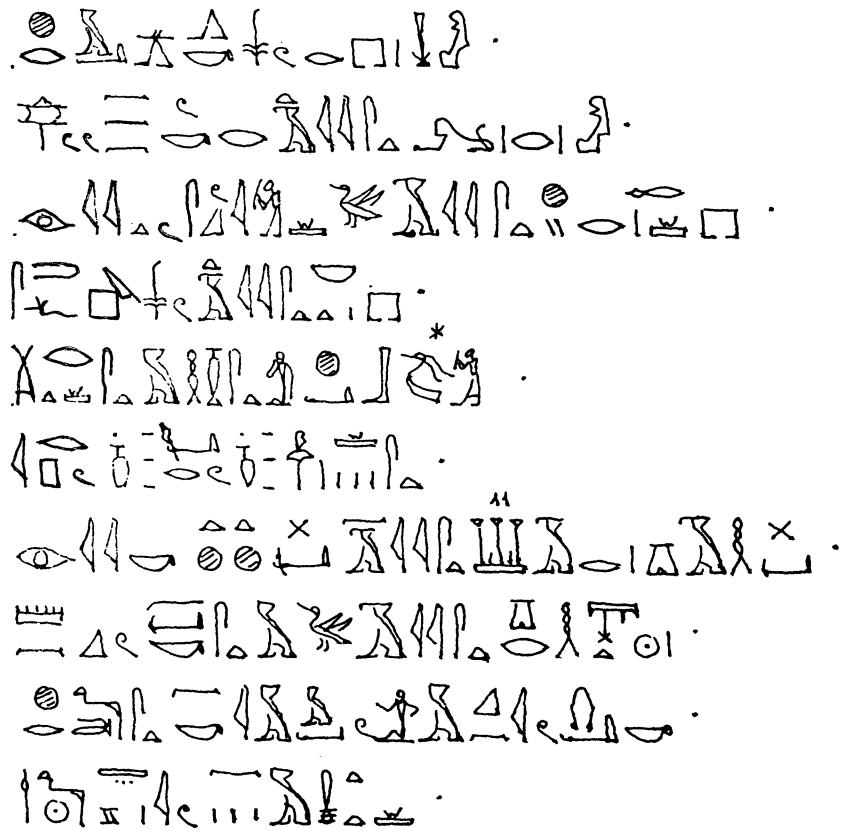
FIG. 1. P. Chester Beatty I, rt. XVI, 9.

Beginning of the pleasant verses found in a book case(1), and written by the scribe Sobeknakht from the necropolis.

(1). In the translation of the title the interpretation of the words *ḥꜥ* and *drf* has caused considerable difficulties, but, in the context, *ḥꜥ* is almost certainly the well-known word for 'a case' or 'a box' (*Wb.* v, 349, 5–8), and *drf* the ordinary word for 'written records' or 'documents' (*Wb.* v, 477, 111). In combination the two words must, therefore, mean a 'box or container intended to contain written material', that is, the narrow rectangular boxes in which papyri were kept for protection. None of these boxes seems to have been preserved, but they have been described and reconstructed by Borhardt in an article dealing with their faience lids and labels which occur in some numbers in various collections, and in some cases still carry an imprint of the circular cavity of the boxes (*ZÄS* 33 (1895), 72).

*When(1) you proceed to(2) the house of the sister,
storming to(3) her dīwan,
its door is made high,(4)*

¹ A. H. Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (London, 1931).




* 9. :  XVIII, 43.

FIG. 2. Rt. XVI, 9-11.

*its mistress purifies it,(5)
 providing it with the throat's delight,(6)
 choice wines which she has spared.(7)
 You confound her senses(8) (?);
 you restore (?)(9) her in her night,
 when she says to you, 'Take me into your embrace
 that in the morning we may still be thus'.*

(1). For similar constructions with *hr* and *iri* see Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 409, a: *c-cr-i mwt a hr iri-i rnpt X*, 'I died when I had lived *X* years', and: *a-cw-f šms p; ntr . . . a hr wcb-w s*, 'He served the great God . . . when they washed him'.

(2). Gardiner's translation 'you shall bring it', imputing an obscene reference to the pronoun, seems incompatible with the style of the poems. The reflexive pronoun after *msi* should have been *tw*, and the verb is, therefore, used non-reflexively, as in the examples quoted by Erman (*ZAS* 48 (1911), 38b). The following *sw* would, therefore, seem to be the particle *swt* introducing an independent statement (Gardiner, *Egn. Grammar*, 3rd. edn., § 254).

(3). The translation 'storm' is proposed by Gardiner. Cf. the use of Coptic $\pi\tau\epsilon$ when translating $\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$.

(4). Gardiner has: 'It is made like her . . . (?)', leaving the rest of the sentence untranslated, but the verb is certainly $s\dot{k}$ (*Wb.* iv, 302) 'to make high', and the object hbr is identical with $\dot{s}r$ (*Wb.* iv, 421 and 528) 'gate', corresponding to Hebrew רשע .

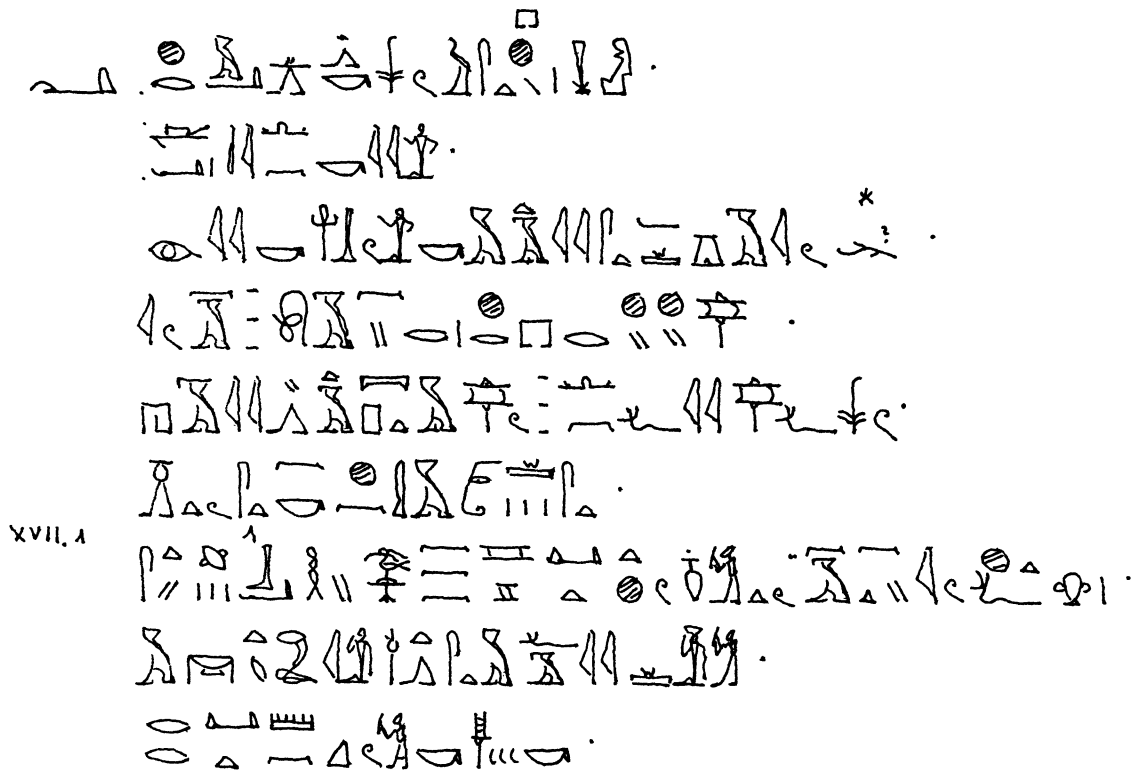
(5). Gardiner translates: 'A place of slaughter it is in her bower'; but for reasons of syntax and meaning it seems more natural, irrespective of the determinative, to identify the verb with stf (*Wb.* iv, 342) which, in Demotic and Coptic ($\epsilon\omega\tau\bar{\epsilon}$), is also used transitively with the meaning 'to clean' or 'to purify'. The following feminine pronoun refers to the feminine $rwit$ in l. 9.

(6). Gardiner's translation 'songs of the throat' seems rather far-fetched, especially in connection with the verb rpr . The natural translation seems to be 'what the throat desires', with reference to the choice wines mentioned in the following line. For a similar reference to the pleasures of the throat see the example quoted by Crum (*CD* 603a): 'when drinking, let not $\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\sigma\gamma\eta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\omega\psi$ $\epsilon\theta\omicron\lambda$ (like worldlings)'.

(7). Gardiner has 'for her protection', but 'to set aside, to spare' are well-established meanings of hw , see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 186.

(8). The word is found only here. The translation 'senses' is proposed by Gardiner as a guess.

(9). The translation of the verb and the pronoun depend on the meaning of $srg\dot{h}$. For mnk see n. 5, p. 81 below.



XVII. 1

* r ?

FIG 3. Rt. XVI, 11-XVII, 1.

*When you proceed to the hall of the sister,
 she being alone and unaccompanied,(1)
 you do as you please with its door-latch.(2)
 The hangings of the gate(3) flutter
 when heaven descends in wind,
 but it does not carry it(4) away,
 her fragrance, when she brings it to you,
 an overflow of perfume intoxicating those present.
 It is the Golden One who has sent her as a reward (?)
 to cause you to . . . your life.(5)*

(1). The verb *wc-ti* is probably 3rd person fem. rather than 2nd masc., referring to the sister and not to the lover.

(2). Gardiner leaves *hg:i* untranslated, but the word is well known in Demotic as *hgi* (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 334), and in Coptic as $\varrho\alpha\sigma\iota$ (S), $\varrho\alpha\alpha\iota$ (B). Its ordinary meaning is 'a snare', translating $\beta\rho\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$, but in other contexts it translates $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (Crum, *CD* 744a), one of the established meanings of which is 'door-latch', and this is almost certainly the word to which the present passage refers.

(3). Gardiner translates *wl-hr* as 'the porticoes', but the word is a compound of *hr*, 'gate', and *wl*, which is related to Coptic $\omega\lambda$, 'to enclose' or 'to cover' (Crum, *CD* 520a). In the present context the word, therefore, means 'the curtains' or 'coverings (of the door)', that is, 'the hangings of the gate' frequently mentioned in biblical texts. This translation is corroborated by the use of the verb *hili* in Demotic with reference to the spreading of sails in the wind (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 369 and 522).

(4). The first pronoun refers to *nfw*. In the second Gardiner would see an obscene reference, but there can hardly be any doubt that it anticipates the word *hnm* in the following line, a syntactic licence perfectly legitimate in a poetic context.

(5). In the obscure last line Gardiner would change *k* into *s* which seems unnecessary. He translates *mnk* as 'restore', referring to the use of the word in the Bakenkhonsu inscription where it is used in the following passage (*ZÄS* 95 (1969), 120), *mnk:f n-i cħc m nfr hr-s: rnpt IIO*, which Plantikow-Münster translates: 'Er (d.h. der Gott) möge mir eine Lebenszeit in Vollkommenheit vollenden nach 110 Jahren'. With the meaning 'to end', 'to cause to cease', the word has survived in Coptic $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\Upsilon\eta\bar{\kappa}$ (Crum, *CD* 175 a), but Crum makes a clear distinction between this $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\Upsilon\eta\bar{\kappa}$ and another $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\Upsilon\eta\bar{\kappa}$, $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\Upsilon\eta\bar{\kappa}$: $\epsilon\epsilon\omicron\eta\bar{\kappa}$ (ib. 174b), which means 'to make', 'to form', and, in the Demotic part of the Rosetta Stone, 'to restore'. This is obviously the verb to which Gardiner refers, but, as it is not identical with that used by Bakenkhonsu, it cannot be used in support of the translation 'restore'. On the other hand, it seems highly probable, since both Bakenkhonsu and the poem use the verb in connection with the word 'lifetime', that they are, in fact, referring to the same word. Since the Bakenkhonsu text seems quite clear, although it should probably be translated as a posthumous statement: 'The God caused life to cease for me after 110 years', this must necessarily be the verb 'to cause to cease', 'to end'. In the poem this leaves us with two possibilities, either to take *r* as *r* plus infinitive expressing intention, which would mean 'in order to make you end your life', and which would hardly make sense in the present context, or to take *r* as a conjunction followed by the passive *sdm:f* with *mnk* as subjunctive. This would translate: 'Until one causes you to end your life', which, as a pompous way

of expressing 'to the end of your days', would fit the context fairly well, and might even be supported by two examples of the use of the Coptic verb quoted by Crum (*CD* 175b, 119): ⲉϥ-ⲙⲟϥⲏⲚ ⲡⲏⲧⲉϥⲑⲟⲟϥⲉ (sc. in vanities), and ⲉⲧⲁϥⲙⲟϥⲏⲚ ⲙⲉⲡⲥⲱⲙⲉⲁ (sc. in sickness), but, even so, the evidence permits no clear or unambiguous interpretation, and the passage must remain *sub judice*.

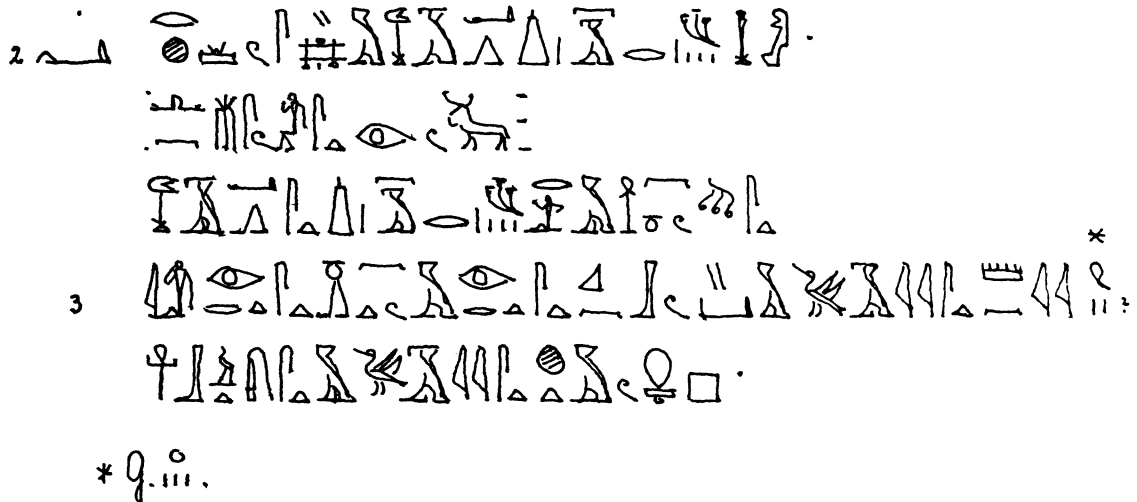


FIG. 4. Rt. XVII, 2-3.

How skilled is the sister in casting the noose.(1)
No cattle-breeder engendered her,(2)
but she casts the noose after me with her locks.
Having caught me with her eye, subjugated(3) with her hips,(4)
she brands with her seal.

(1) In his commentary Gardiner states his translation of *hꜣ iwł* to be 'quite uncertain', but it is certainly quite correct. *Iwł* is Coptic ⲁⲗⲱ, ⲉⲗⲱ (Crum, *CD* 5b), which means 'a snare' or 'a trap', translating βρόχος. It is used parallel with ⲑⲁⲥⲉ: ⲑⲏⲧⲉϥⲑⲁⲥⲉ ⲙⲉⲡⲧⲉϥⲉⲗⲱ (Crum, *CD* 5b), and is found in Demotic with the same meaning, as *il* (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 7).

(2). Gardiner has: 'she . . . eth not the cattle-inspector'. In the commentary he gives as the direct translation: 'she gives not birth to the cattle-inspector', but admits that this seems to give no sense. The meaning of *irw kꜣw*, however, would not be 'to inspect', but 'to breed' or 'rear' cattle, and in the examples quoted by Clère in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (1941), 455-66, it has, in a different context, the meaning 'to possess' or perhaps rather 'to keep cattle'. In the poem, 'cattle-breeder' or 'keeper' seems the obvious translation, and as the subject of *msi*—as in Coptic used with the meaning 'beget' of the father as well as the mother—gives perfectly good sense, adding rather a charming touch of irony to the text.

(3). For the verb *knb* see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 540, where it has the meaning 'to fetter'.

(4). Gardiner reads ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓ, 'ruddle', the obscene imputations of which are utterly impossible in the context. As a matter of fact, the determinative is not ⲟ, but ⲑ, and ⲓⲓ should probably be read instead of ⲓⲓⲓ. The word is therefore the dual of ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱ, 'thigh', written ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓⲓ in the BM Medical Papyrus, ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱⲓⲓⲓⲑ in Ebers (69, 4), and ⲙⲉⲧⲁⲧⲱ in *Amduat* (IV, 41). For other examples of dual words with the article *pꜣ*, see p. 84, note 5 below.

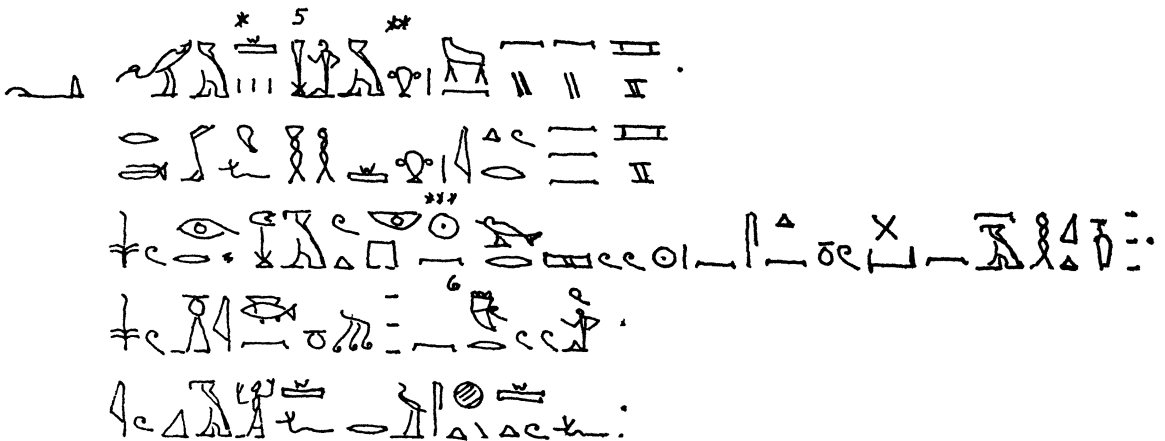


FIG. 5. Rt. XVII, 3-4.

*When you say to your heart:
Pursue her! to me belongs her embrace.(1)
By Amūn! It is I who come to you
with my tunic upon my arm.(2)*

(1). Explaining *n-i* as an ethic dative, Gardiner translates: 'Prithee, after her, that I may embrace her', but for reasons of syntax it is probably preferable to combine it with the following *kni-st*, as the well-known datival construction used to express possession. This also makes it unnecessary to emend the text by inserting a suffix after *kni*.

(2). A gesture of haste, corresponding to the biblical girding of loins and Latin *accingere* and *succingere*.



* :

** .

*** , cf. ^{o in} later in the line.

FIG. 6. Rt. XVII, 4-6.

I found the brother opposite the brook(1)
with his leg upon the river bank.(2)
He makes festival(3) *by spending the day keeping company with the beer-drinkers.*(4)
He brings colour to my cheeks(5)
by vomiting persistently.(6)

(1). Without being able to prove it, I strongly suspect words of this type to be diminutives, *nini* being the diminutive ending. In that case *hnnini* would be the diminutive of *hnrw*, ‘river’ (*Wb.* III, 173, 5–8). For the word see Gardiner, *AEO* A 31, 1, 7.

(2). For the translation ‘on the river bank’ rather than ‘in the river’, cf. the use of Coptic Ⲫⲁⲓⲟⲡ, which has become a noun with the meaning ‘bank’.

(3). Gardiner has: ‘He makes a day-time-altar’, but, like Coptic ⲡⲓⲱⲁ, *iri hrwt* must mean ‘to celebrate’ or ‘keep a festival’ rather than ‘to erect an altar’, and *wrs* means ‘to spend the day’ in a verbal sense, and can hardly be used adjectively with the meaning ‘of’ or ‘belonging to the day’, which would probably be *n(p) hrw*. At the end of the sentence Gardiner would change *stn* into *sin*, translating ‘waiting for beer’, but *stn* is Demotic *stnw* (ⲱⲟⲗⲏⲉ), ‘beraten’, which as a substantive means ‘a body of soldiers’, in fact, ‘a company’ (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 480).

(4). Gardiner takes *n* *hkt* merely as ‘beer’, but, in accordance with phrases such as *n t dmi*, ‘those of the village’, that is, ‘the villagers’ (*Wenamūn*, 2, 75), and the use of the Coptic possessive pronoun ⲏⲁ, it suits the context better to translate ‘those of the beer’, that is, ‘the drunkards’.

(5). Gardiner’s translation of the following line: ‘He taketh the skin of my sides’ does not seem to make very good sense. Moreover, *in n* must mean ‘to bring to’, rather than ‘to take from’, and although the words *iwn*, ‘colour’ (ⲟⲮⲁⲏ), and *inm*, ‘skin’ (ⲁⲏⲟⲗⲗ), are frequently mixed up in late texts, there is no reason to believe that the correctly spelled ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ should not have its ordinary meaning ‘colour’ here. There is the further point that *drw*, ‘sides’, is not used exclusively about the flanks, but in anatomical contexts also denotes the two sides of the face with the meaning ‘cheeks’. Such, for instance, is the case in the ritual of embalmment (Sauneron, *Rituel de l’Embaumement* (Cairo, 1952), 4, 13, p. 12, l. 9) where ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ, ‘the two cheeks’, are mentioned in connection with ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ, ‘the two ears’, ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ, ‘the nose’, and ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ, ‘the front’. Instead of ‘he takes the skin of my side’ the passage should, therefore, be translated ‘he brings colour to my cheeks’, with the obvious meaning ‘he makes me blush’.

(6). Gardiner reluctantly translated: ‘it is longer than it is broad’, a translation which is possible in theory, but must nevertheless be rejected, if for no other reason than its obscene imputations. Although fully aware that the translation offered above may also invite criticism I am nevertheless convinced that the verb *hr* is a late writing of the well-known verb *hr* ‘to vomit’, which, in accordance with a well-established phonetic rule, had lost its last radical *r*, and is, therefore, also written in other texts ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ or ⲛⲓⲟⲗⲗ (ⲱⲟⲗⲏⲉ) (ⲱⲟⲗⲏⲉ) (*Wb.* v, 7), corresponding to Coptic ⲏⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ, which has the same meaning. From reliefs we have ample evidence that, at Egyptian carousals, vomiting was as normal an occurrence as at Roman banquets.

(7). The word *wsht*, which Gardiner translates in its literal sense ‘breadth’, would here seem to have been used in its well-known meaning of ‘doing something ostentatiously or indiscreetly’, cf. *Wb.* I, 364, 15, and Crum, *CD* 504, where ⲟⲮⲱⲱⲱⲱ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ is quoted with the meaning ‘perversely persisting in doing something’.

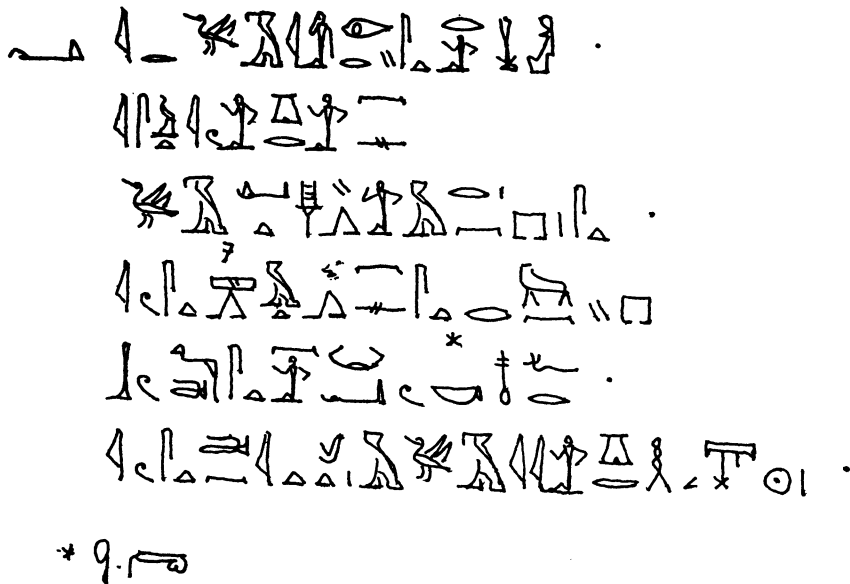


FIG. 7. Rt. XVII, 6-7.

*As for what she did to me, the sister,
 should I be silent for her sake,(1)
 that she let me stand in her doorway
 while she herself went in?
 She did not bid me welcome,(2)
 but stayed aloof(3) my entire night.*

(1). The preposition causes difficulties. If the meaning were 'shall I be silent about it', the preposition used would probably have been *hr*, and it cannot very well mean, as Gardiner has it, 'shall I be silent to her about it', but the translation given above is not very satisfactory either.

(2). Gardiner transcribes $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, translating: 'she did not grant me fair relief', stating in the commentary that this seems to be the only instance where the word *whr* is used for relief in a physical sense. A comparison with the writing of *ink* in l. 4 will show that the sign which he transcribed 𓂏 is in fact a *k*. The word is, therefore, used in its ordinary meaning of 'return' (*Wb.* I, 349, 10), especially of the return in the evening after work. The literal translation of the entire sentence is, therefore, 'she did not say to me, "Your return is good"', with the clear meaning: 'She did not welcome me'.

(3). Misled by the rendering of *whr* Gardiner translated 'sharing my night', but the meaning is obviously that the girl stayed away from the brother. The verb is consequently to be identified with *dni* (*Wb.* v, 464), 'zurückhalten', which here has the meaning 'keeping oneself away', that is, 'to stay aloof'. The writing of the word is curious, although undoubtedly derived from its graphic affinity with 𓂏 and 𓂏 . It almost looks as if the scribe intended to write *idi idn*, 'deaf of ear'.

*Passing her house when spending the night
 I knocked, but none opened to (me).
 Happy night to our door-keeper!
 Bolt, I will open.
 Door, you are my fate.
 Won't you be my own spirit(1)
 that our ox may be slaughtered within?
 Door, do not exert your power,
 that oxen may be slaughtered to the bolt,
 short-horn to the lock,(2)
 a fattened goose to the doorpost,(3)
 many, many,(4) to the threshold (?),(5)
 but, all the choicest parts of our ox,
 they shall belong to the carpenter's lad
 when he makes us a bolt of reed and a door of straw,
 that whenever the brother comes
 he shall find her house open,
 he shall find the bed laid with linen,
 and the beautiful girl as well.(6)*

(1). 𓆎 is probably a determinative, and not the adjective *špss*.

(2). *Wb.* v, 12, 2.

(3). *Wb.* I, 464, but see also the remarks in Gardiner's commentary.

(4). Gardiner translates 'tender meat' (?), referring to *LD* III, 200d, but the following sign of repetition seems to indicate that we are dealing with an adjective rather than a noun. I suggest that the word is quite simply *knw*, 'many' (*Wb.* v, 46), which in Demotic is also occasionally written with a *g* as *gn* (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 581).

(5). The translation 'threshold' is a mere guess.

(6). Gardiner considered the text corrupt, but it is perhaps possible to consider *r hnc·w* as an adverbial phrase with the meaning 'in addition' or 'on top of that', which would suit the context fairly well.

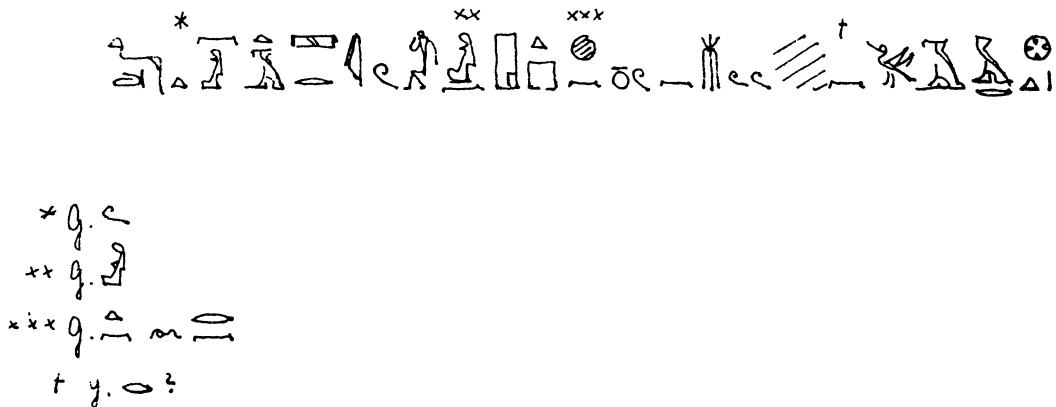


FIG. 9. Rt. XVII, 13.

She who sang to me was Tashere from the music hall of the children of the city-prefect.(1)

(1). Gardiner considered the last sentence of the page an integral part of the poem, translating: 'And the maiden shall say unto me, "This house belongs to the son of (?) the city-prefect" '. It will be seen, however, that it is rather difficult to reconcile this rather pedestrian passage with the rest of the verse which finds its natural climax and logical conclusion in the preceding strophe. The small emendations to the transcription of the hieratic text indicated in the notes suggest the true nature of the line, which has no direct relation to the poem as such, but is a colophon added either by the author himself or by the copyist. Considered in this light the grammatical structure becomes quite clear, *ḏdt* being an ordinary active participle in the feminine serving as the logical subject to a nominal sentence with the proper name Tashere as its logical predicate. The only difficulty is the suffix after the datival *n*, which, as already pointed out by Gardiner, should obviously be corrected into *ḏ*. Seen from this point of view, the passage adds a rather charming personal touch to the text, as one of the earliest literary references to a performing artist.

THE INSPECTION OF A TOMB AT DEIR EL-MEDĪNA (O. WIEN AEG. 1)

By L. M. J. ZONHOVEN

THE provenance of O. Vienna Aeg. 1 is Deir el-Medīna, as can easily be concluded from the proper names occurring in it. Of the history of the ostrakon nothing more is known than that it was acquired, together with almost all other hieratic ostraca in the Nationalbibliothek, by Hermann Junker in Egypt in 1911 for the K.u.K. Hofbibliothek.¹

The dimensions are roughly 30×25 cm. It is a potsherd of basically reddish-brown ware which is yellowish brown at the surface. Since the sherd is a very convex part of a pot, its photographs had necessarily to be taken from various sides in order to obtain a clear view of the inscription (see pl. XI). The condition of the inscription leaves something to be desired, since the central part of the convex surface is much abraded. The handwriting shows the irregular and cursive hand of a person forced to write in a hurry. Its authorship is most probably to be ascribed to Amennakhte, son of Ipy, the famous scribe from the period of Ramesses III and his immediate successors, since he is the only person qualified as a scribe among the people mentioned in the text and is himself the last witness, which seems normal in the case of a person counting and registering others.

The ostrakon was published by Goedicke² and was seen and transcribed by Černý in his notebooks, together with its missing part, the unpublished O. IFAO Inv. Nr. 628.³ In a lecture Černý had already indicated that he had seen the missing right-hand upper part, which contained, amongst other things, the beginnings of both the date and of the uppermost line.⁴ The facts that the second line starts with the date, which normally comes first, and that the uppermost line describes the final actions in drawing up the document—they are mentioned there owing to the lack of space at the bottom of the ostrakon—have led to the numbering of the uppermost line as 14, and the second as 1.

Translation

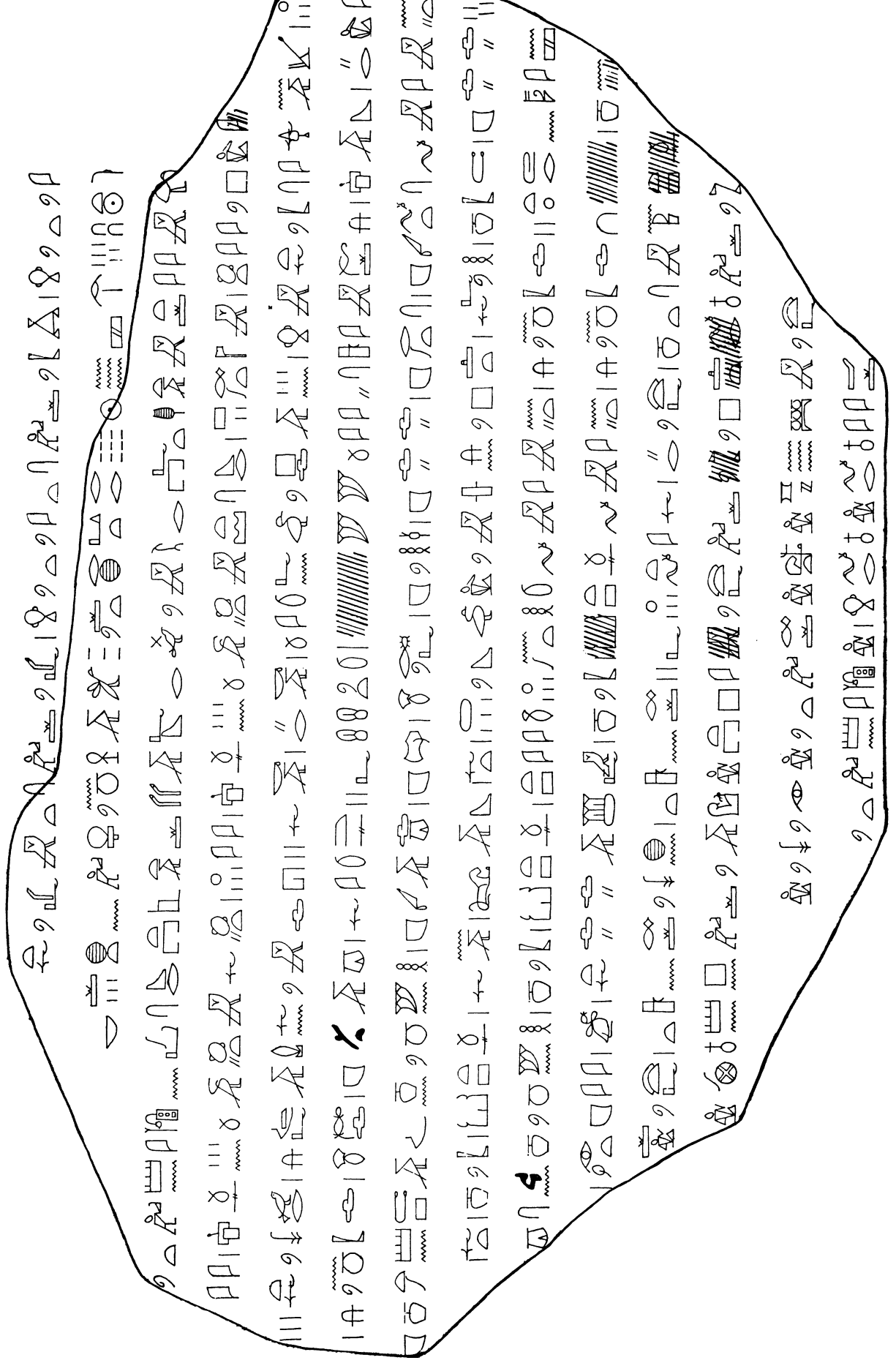
(1) [*Year 25, first month of summer, day*] 9. *Account of the survey of all things* (2) [*fou*]nd in the ruined tomb opposite the burial place of Amennakhte, (3) [*son of*] Ipy.

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to Mrs Loebenstein and her collaborators of the Papyrussammlung of the National Library in Vienna for their helpfulness. For the permission to check my transcription with that of Černý I thank Miss Helen Murray of the Griffith Institute, Oxford. W. V. Davies has been most helpful in correcting my English and discussing several words with me.

² Goedicke, *WZKM* 59/60 (1963/1964), 1-2 and pl. i, 1.

³ Černý, Notebook 114, 47-8, mentioning that the fragment measures 11 × 13 cm and was found by Bruyère at Deir el-Medīna on 19 January 1930.

⁴ Resumed without notes in *CdE* 6 (1931), 219-20.



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FIG. 1

One coffin of god's stone. One sarcophagus with a linen (?) pall. One coffin with a linen (?) pall. (4) One ebony folding stool with duck's heads, repaired. Two couches. One foot-stool of papyrus. Three head-rests. (5) One irks-basket filled with old cloth. Two pairs of sandals. One palette. One g3. . . One water bag. One dbw(?) -basket. (6) Contents: One knife. One pin. One bowl. One libation vase. One razor-case. One rotating razor. One scraping razor. Granite vessels. Five mnt-vessels. (7) One bowl. One t(3)b-vessel. One staff. One food basket [with] bread. One wooden krn. One alabaster k(3)b-vessel. Two wooden (8) nši-containers for medicine. One dbw(?) -basket. Contents: One faience amulet. One k(3)b-vessel. One hnw-vessel for unguent. (9) Ten . . . One dbw(?) -basket. Contents: One alabaster k(3)b-vessel. One comb. One eye tweezer. (10) One [alabaster] nmst-vessel. One h̄r. Two pieces of scenting material. The chief workman Khonsu. The chief workman Khew. (11) The district officer Neferhotpe. The district officer Khacemope. The guardian Penmennufe. (12) Khacemnun. Usihe. ʿOnakhte. Irsu. (13) H̄uynufe. Neferho. The scribe Amennakhte. (14) [It has been blocked and sealed] with a seal.

Notes on transcription

(Where Černý's (Č.) transcription differs substantially from mine this is indicated. When Goedicke (G.) is referred to, his transcription in the above-mentioned article is meant.)

1. 1 *šnw*: Č. reads *snw* instead of my proposal *šnw*. Möller, *Paläographie*, II, 422 (♀) seems more probable to me than Möller, II, 530 (♂). Č. originally read an adorned eye and has corrected this into the ♀ sign.
1. 3 G. reads *ʾIp̄y* at the beginning of the line.
1. 4 G. leaves the first part of the line a blank. Č. hesitantly read *t̄-c* instead of *hrw. cn* in *cn-ti* is only faintly legible.
1. 5 *g3. . .*: G. transcribes *g3wt*, but the supposed *wt*-sign does not resemble the others in l. 3 at all. Č. does not transcribe the sign(s ?) before the metal-determinative. There is a dot underneath the *b* in *dbnw*.
1. 6 *srt*: G. reads *srt*, Č. *sdt. wdhw*: G. reads *cnh. hcw*: G. reads *hck*, with a skin-determinative, Č. *h̄cw* with a metal-determinative. *hnw*: the form of the flower sign is unusual, but it occurs also elsewhere, when the sign is used as a phonogram (cf., e.g., P. Leopold II–Amherst, 2, 13 and 18 (Capart–Gardiner) and Černý–Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 26, 4, 1). Since the sign is always complemented by *h* and *n* there is less need to be precise. Cf. also *hnw* in l. 8. *m3t*: Č. reads *m3d*, with a sun-determinative, G. *m3t*, with a ∇ determinative.
1. 7 Č. reads *hrt* instead of *hcw. htp n wnmw ckw* is very faint in parts.
1. 8 G. leaves *phrt* a blank. *w3dyt*: Č. reads *w(3)dhw*, with a vase-determinative; G. reads *nfr . . . hd. hnw*: Č. does not transcribe the strange sign after the vase-determinative, above the *n*. The *g* in *sgnn* is abnormally formed owing to the edge of the ostrakon.
1. 9 The signs at the beginning of the line after the vase-determinative are too vague. *šst k3bw* is very faint, but still legible. Clearly *nty-im-f* instead of the expected *nty-m-im-f. t̄y-irt*: Č. reads *t̄ti-irt*.
1. 10 *itf*: Č. reads *idf*.

l. 11 Parts of the line are very faint. *Pn-mn-nfr*: Č. transcribes a pyramid-determinative instead of my oblique stroke + town-determinative.

Commentary


l. 1 *šnw*: the word occurs as a substantive in P. Ambras and the *Wisdom of Anii*,⁵ but there with the adorned-eye determinative. Peet connects the word with *šni*, 'examine', which fits here excellently as a derivative *šnw*, 'investigation', and Gardiner translates the word in the Anii-passage with 'list, inventory' or 'survey'.⁶ The seal-determinative here may refer to the official character of the inspection.

l. 2 *r-ws*: the *r*-prefix is a variant spelling of the prothetic *i*.⁷ The spelling stands for *wysi*, 'be ruined'.⁸

st-kr: the word *st-kr* can have the general meaning of 'burial place', as in P. Bulaq 10, 2 and 4,⁹ as well as a more specific one as in the Tomb-Robberies Papyri.¹⁰ The general meaning seems preferable to me here, since there is no question of an actually occupied tomb. It is either a place reserved for the tomb of Amennakhte or a tomb under construction or already finished without having an occupant. The owner, who is most probably the same person as the scribe of the present ostrakon, was still alive at that time. Černý assumes that Amennakhte son of Ipy died in year 6 or 7 of Ramesses VI.¹¹ The word *st-kr* is probably consciously contrasted with *ḥrt* in the same line.

l. 3 *wt* and *krst*: since two different words are used for what are obviously sarcophagi, there must have been a distinction between the two. For *wt* there exists ample evidence, documentary as well as archaeological, that it is the mummy-shaped sarcophagus (generally called coffin), which is normally made of wood.¹² One *wt* is said to be of some kind of stone and in the spelling actually lacks the wood-determinative. The other two are made of wood, as the determinative indicates. Thus, the material cannot be the distinctive criterion, which leaves us no other conclusion than to assume that the *krst* must be different in shape.¹³ It must be the box-shaped sarcophagus. The addition of the stone material in the case of the stone mummy-shaped sarcophagus is very relevant because of its rarity compared to wooden ones.

ḥt-ntr: the word may refer to some stone in general, which may be called 'god's stone' here, since it is used in this case for a religious funerary purpose. Possibly the stone looked precious but was too hard to identify for the scribe or his informant.¹⁴

⁵ P. Ambras 1, 1 = Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, pl. 38; P. Bulaq 4, 3, 5/6. Cf. *Wb.* IV, 496, 1, although written there with  determinative; Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 513.

⁶ Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 181 (Peet's alternative rendering *snw* seems less probable); Gardiner, *JEA* 45 (1959), 14–15 (in my opinion 'survey' fits better than 'list' in the present ostrakon, since *r-rdīt-rh-tw* also means 'list', and 'survey' conveys the notion of inspection). See also Parker, *Saite Oracle Pap.* 8 and pl. col. A, 3. As an infinitive in the sense of 'to investigate' cf., e.g., O. DeM 114, 5. Cf. also *Wb.* IV, 495, 8, 'to investigate officially'.

⁷ Korostovtsev, *Gramm. néo-ég.* 222, § 253; Černý–Groll, *Late Eg. Gr.* 162 (10, 5).

⁸ Gardiner, *ZAS* 41 (1904), 75–6. The borrowed *m* of *ḏm* can even appear in purely phonetic spellings, cf. Kitchen, *RI*, I, 1, 10, and P. Bulaq 4 (*Wisdom of Anii*), 5, 10.

⁹ Janssen–Pestman, *J. Econ. Soc. Hist. Or.* 11 (1968), 140.

¹⁰ Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 38 and 43 n. 8 (P. Abbott 3, 4) and 48 (P. Amherst 2, 1 = P. Leopold II–Amherst, 2, 10).

¹¹ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 344.

¹² Helck, *Materialien*, v, 913; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 212–13.

¹³ The *wt* is also contrasted with the *ḏbit* (P. Abbott 4, 3 and P. Amherst 2, 3 = Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 39 and 48). Winlock, *JEA* 10 (1924), 239 n. 2 deals with the etymology of the word *wt* and gives as the original meaning 'envelope'. See also Janssen, op. cit. 215.

¹⁴ Cf. the discussion of *ḥt* in Harris, *Lexicogr. Stud.* 21–2 (*ḥt-ntr* does not occur in Harris). O. Brussels E 305, vs. 2–3 gives a *wtyw n ḥt*, cf. Janssen, op. cit. 212 n. 32 and 232 n. 133.

wtyw: although *wt*, plur. *wtyw*, is usually translated with ‘mummy-binding(s)’, and in medical texts with ‘bandage’, *wtyw* can hardly mean such things here.¹⁵ If the words refer to the wrappings around the mummy, the mummy itself would, strangely enough, not be referred to, and in one case the *wtyw* are completely absent. Moreover, it is not likely that during this short inspection (to which the handwriting points) there was also an investigation into whether the sarcophagi held their usual contents. Therefore, the most likely object is one immediately visible to the eye, over or on the sarcophagi, which is related in function and meaning to the mummy-bindings: the pall or shroud.¹⁶ If the shroud can be brought into connection with the large pieces of linen which are used alternatively with genuine mummy-bindings in the mummification process,¹⁷ both called *wtyw*, then the use of one word for the two differently used pieces of linen would be more acceptable. This is possibly corroborated by the habit of sewing painted pieces of linen either on the chest of a wrapped mummy or on the linen palls hanging over the sarcophagi,¹⁸ and by the custom of writing on shrouds and mummy bandages.¹⁹ The three shrouds found round the three mummy-shaped sarcophagi of Tutankhamūn point also in that direction,²⁰ since the anthropoid sarcophagus is a representation of the mummified dead.²¹ Since both mummy- and box-shaped sarcophagus discharge essentially the same function, it is only a slight step to a pall hanging over a non-anthropoid sarcophagus. I propose to translate *wtyw* with ‘pall’ in this case.

ššy: the word *ššy(t)*, identical with *ššyt*, has been identified as a term for ‘green frit’.²² The problem in this case is that it indicates a mineral substance, which is hard to combine with the preceding word *wtyw*. *Wtyw* is determined by the cloth-determinative, but a translation of ‘cloth of *ššy*-pigment’ seems to be a contradiction in terms. If, on the other hand, the word *ššy* served to indicate the green colour of the pall, then it might be possible to translate ‘cloth of a green colour’, if it were not that the word *ššy* is not known to me as a word for ‘green’. The most appropriate suggestion for the translation of *ššy* is that it indicates the material, or the more specific quality of which the cloth is woven. The obvious word in this case is *šš*, ‘linen’, but it is hard to believe that a scribe as skilled as the famous Amennakhte, son of Ipuy, would have made such a mistake.²³ If *ššy* is a mistake for *šš*, ‘linen’, a possible explanation is that the homonymous word was used by another person who enumerated the objects in the tomb, while Amennakhte did not let their names penetrate into his mind, being too busy with registering.

l. 4 *šbw*: ‘folding stool’.²⁴

cn-ti: the word *cn* occurs in various spellings in the ostraca.²⁵ Janssen has recently suggested

¹⁵ *Wb.* I, 379, 4–6. For ‘bandage’ see also v. Deines–Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, I, 230.

¹⁶ Cf. [Schiaparelli], *Tomba intatta . . . Cha* (= *Relazione*, II), fig. 15 and pp. 15–16; Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 28 and 319; Carter, *Tomb of Tutankhamen*, II, 43 and pl. 56.

¹⁷ Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 420, s.v. ‘Leichentuch’.

¹⁸ Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 319–20 (fig. 202). Bruyère, *Rapport fouilles Deir el-Medineh* (1928), 47–8 and pl. ii, describes a pall with a loose piece of painted linen on it.

¹⁹ Ronsecco, *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1974), 149, 4.






²⁰ Carter, op. cit. II, 51, pl. 16; 72, pl. 22; 77–8, pl. 24.

²¹ Bonnet, op. cit. 659–60.

²² Harris, op. cit. 152–3. Note the spelling *šst* for *šs(y)t*, v. Deines–Grapow, *Wb. Äg. Drogenamen*, 504. It is noteworthy that *šst*, ‘alabaster’, is spelt *šs(y)(t)* in O. Cairo 25677, 22 and vs. 11.

²³ Note the very odd mistake in the Naunakhte Documents, IV, 5 (*JEA* 31, 1945, pl. 12), where what must obviously be the very familiar *hrw pn* is written *hrw n bn*, although this section of the documents cannot be ascribed to Amennakhte, son of Ipuy.

²⁴ Janssen, op. cit. 191–4; Harris, *Acta Orientalia* 37 (1976), 23–4 n. 11.

²⁵  HO 18, 5, 5; O. DeM 402, 7;  HO 50, 1, vs. 2;  O. DeM 295, 1, 5;  O. DeM 293, 5;  O. DeM 285, 7; O. DeM 51, 5. Possibly also P. BM 10068, rt. 1, 18 (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, pl. 9).

'mended' as a translation,²⁶ contrary to James who suggested 'decked with', when discussing this word in the *Heḫanakhte Papers*.²⁷ Janssen's suggestion seems the most plausible to me, especially since 'decked with' can hardly be combined with *tm*, 'mat', occurring in three instances.²⁸ The normal determinative is $\overline{\text{C}}$ or $\overline{\text{C}}^{\text{A}}$, in one case preceded by the borrowed determinative Δ . Another determinative is borrowed from the very common *rn* A , 'to be beautiful'. The use here of the cloth-determinative in this obviously rare word may be due to the material used for mending the legs of the stool, for example, wet straps of linen or even leather which may explain the instances having a skin-determinative.²⁹ In my opinion the basic meaning has to be sought in the element of repetition as is present in English 'to repair' and the Egyptian root *rn*, especially its derivative *rn*, 'again'.³⁰

krk: this word, identical with *krkr*, 'couch',³¹ has recently been discussed by Janssen.³² Although it is clear that it is some kind of (cheap?) bed, I have no suggestion as to the exact type of bed.

hdmw: 'footstool'. See the recent discussion by Janssen.³³

l. 5 *irks mh m isy*: the *irks*-type of basket, again recently discussed by Janssen,³⁴ is here filled with *isy*, which, to judge from the determinatives, are either made of cloth or vegetable material. Helck considers *isy* to be reed, but mentions also its use for mats etc., and wicks.³⁵ Janssen discusses a word *isw/isy*, which means 'old rags' and in the spelling of which the plant-determinative is present.³⁶ It is this *isw/isy*, 'old rags' that has to be brought into connection with *isy* used for wicks.³⁷ The double occurrence of the plant-determinative can be explained by the fact that this word can be used to indicate the two parts of Egypt.³⁸ The second plant-determinative cannot have been used as a material indicator for the sandals that follow, since in between there is a counting-stroke belonging to the words 'one basket filled with old cloth'.

c: 'pair', with sandals.³⁹

gy. . .: in spite of the illegible sign(s ?), is it the *gy* metal-bowl which is meant?⁴⁰

šd: 'leather bag for liquids'.⁴¹ The word occurs also in O. DeM 434, II, 5 in *šd(h) n mw*.⁴²

dbnw: since this word occurs three times in the present ostrakon (ll. 5, 8, and 9), while it does not seem to occur in other ostraca or Ramesside texts, it presents one of the major problems in this text. On the basis of the determinative it must be a basket. It is hard to accept that the word occurs

²⁶ Janssen, op. cit. 155.

²⁷ James, *Heḫanakhte Papers*, pl. 8, 6 and pp. 46 and 49 n. 13.

²⁸ O. DeM 293, 5; O. DeM 295, 1, 5; HO 18, 5, 5 (?).

²⁹ Janssen, op. cit. 155 considers $\overline{\text{C}}^{\text{A}}$ as a determinative borrowed from *rn*, 'baboon', which is equally plausible.

³⁰ For a different opinion cf. Osing, *Nominalbildung*, 594 n. 536.

³¹ For the loss of final *r* see Černý-Groll, *Late Eg. Gr.* 6.

³² Janssen, op. cit. 185 doubts the equation with Coptic $\sigma\lambda\sigma$, but see Černý, *Copt. Et. Dict.* 330.

³³ Janssen, op. cit. 185-7. Cf. also Osing, op. cit. 374.

³⁴ Janssen, op. cit. 149-50.

³⁵ Helck, op. cit. v, 812.

³⁶ Janssen, *Two Anc. Eg. Ship's Logs*, 31. Cf. also O. DeM 210, III, 7 (*šdy isw*); O. DeM 90, 5 (*šdy kn*) and 6 (*šdy isw*). For the readings in O. DeM 90, see Janssen, *Comm. Pr.* 257 n.c. For the opposition *kn*, 'strong', versus *isw*, 'worn out, old', see Janssen, op. cit. 274 n. 129.

³⁷ See O. Cairo 25613, 4; O. Cairo 25820, vs. 4; O. Toronto A 11, vs. 12 (= Gardiner-Thompson, *Theban Ostraca*, 16 n): *hbsw isw r h(b)sw*, 'old rags for the lamps'.

³⁸ Jéquier, *BIFAO* 19 (1922), 228. See also Capart-Gardiner-v.d.Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), 173: *is*, 'tomb', written with two house-determinatives.

³⁹ See Janssen, op. cit. 296-8.

⁴⁰ Cf. Janssen, op. cit. 426-8 and Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids*, 19 § 14.

⁴¹ *Wb.* IV, 560, 4-5.

⁴² For the error see *šdh*, 'drink', *Wb.* IV, 568, 12 ff.

nowhere else in the great multitude of ostraca, which so often contain other words for basketry, but should figure here three times in one and the same text. Therefore, I prefer to think of two possibilities, of which the first is that we are here confronted with a word so far only known from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the word *dbn*.⁴³ However, the most reasonable explanation seems to me that we may have to do with a corrupt spelling of *dbt/dbw*, a common word in the Deir el-Medina texts.⁴⁴ Janssen discusses the word under wooden containers,⁴⁵ but the basketry-determinative need not surprise us.⁴⁶ Whether this word *dbt/dbw* goes back to a Middle Kingdom word *dbn*, with loss of final letter *-n*, is undemonstrable and must remain an open question.⁴⁷

l. 6 *srt*: 'metal (hair?)pin'. It seems very plausible to me that the word *srt*, 'Dorn, Stachel',⁴⁸ has the extended meaning 'pin' since the latter is similar in form and differs only in material.⁴⁹ This suggestion is strengthened by the fact that the contents of the basket point to toilet articles.

dydy: 'flat dish or bowl'.⁵⁰

wḏḥw: 'ceremonial vessel'.⁵¹

ḥrw: Jéquier discusses the word *ḥr(w)* in his *Frisés d'objets*, citing it as a label applied to the depiction of an 'étui de rasoir', and considers it a corrupt spelling of *ḥḳḳw*, 'razor'.⁵² But the fact that *ḥrw* occurs again here, determined by the skin-determinative, casts doubt on his interpretation. Moreover, it cannot be here identified with the word for razor, which is *mḥḳḳ*, for the latter occurs, pictographically written, immediately after the present word in this same text. The most plausible explanation is that *ḥr* means 'leather razor-case'.⁵³

dgḥ: 'scraping razor'.⁵⁴ If we accept the equation: Coptic τΟΚ, Demotic *tk* and Egyptian *dgḥ*, further evidence as to the form of the *dgḥ* razor can be obtained from the Demotic Mag. P. London and Leiden, 21, 15,⁵⁵ where it emerges that the object is not exclusively used for shaving purposes, but

⁴³ *Wb.* v, 437, 16; Jéquier, *Frisés d'objets*, 248-9. I doubt the equation of *dbn*, 'circular chest' (*Wb.* iv, 437, 16) with the present word and Coptic S. τῆνλ as proposed in Osing, *Nominalbildung*, 202, 736-7. See also Westendorf, *Kopt. Handwb.* 545. For a different opinion of the ancestor of S. τῆνλ, see Černý, *Copt. Et. Dict.* 182 and 183.

⁴⁴ There is slight evidence for redundant *-mw* spellings, see Westendorf, *Gr. Med. Texte*, 29 § 45.

⁴⁵ Janssen, op. cit. 203-4.

⁴⁶ E.g., O. DeM 569, 1 and 4; HO 85, 1, 14; Will of Naunakhte, Doc. II, vs. 10 and 11 (*htp*) = Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), pl. x.

⁴⁷ For loss of final *n* see Černý-Groll, *Late Eg. Gr.* 5; Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* 23 § 47; Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 35 n. y. Can it be that *dbw/dbt* goes back to M.Eg. *dbn* in P. Bulaq 18, 15, III, 3; 33, 5; 43, 10-13, or even *tbw*: 15, III, 4 and 8; 33, 4 (= Scharff, *ZÄS* 57, 1922) ? In this connection see Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 38-9, where he stated that *dbt* is a Late Eg. spelling for *ḏbwt*, which word is still in common use as a word for sarcophagus in the New Kingdom, but compare now Černý, *Copt. Et. Dict.* 180, where *ḏbwt* and *dbt* are distinguished.

⁴⁸ *Wb.* iv, 190, 24 f. (I owe the suggestion to W. V. Davies). In Coptic cOḥpe means 'thorn, spike, dart', see Černý, op. cit. 161. Janssen kindly mentioned to me an occurrence of the word *srt* in the unpubl. O. Desroches 5, 4. See also Simpson, *Pap. Reisner II*, pl. B, 8 and p. 39 n. 21 on *sdt* or *srt*, an unidentified ship's part.

⁴⁹ For metal pins see Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, pl. 65. The hairpins described in Vandier d'Abbadie, *Objets de toilette*, 148-54, are all made of wood, bone, or ivory.

⁵⁰ Janssen, op. cit. 423-5.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* 432-3.

⁵² Jéquier, *Frisés d'objets*, 126 and 138. See also Montet, *Kémi* 4 (1931), 1933, 185. Another occurrence of *ḥr*, besides the one mentioned by Jéquier, can possibly be seen in Fischer, *Metropolitan Mus. J.* 6 (1972), 155 n. 9 and fig. 5, where, in a frieze from the tomb of Queen Neferu, Deir el-Bahari, the expected *ḳ* again seems to be absent in a word *ḥr*.

⁵³ As object see Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 64, fig. 33; [Schiaparelli], *Tomba intatta . . . Cha* (= *Relazione II*), 76 fig. 40.

⁵⁴ Recently discussed by W. V. Davies, *JEA* 63 (1977), 107-11. The word *dgḥw* with wood-determinative in O. Berlin 14214, vs. 7 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr. u. Pap.*, Tafelteil, pl. 19) seems not to have anything to do with the present word.

⁵⁵ Griffith-Thompson, *Dem. Mag. Pap. London and Leiden*, 136 and 137.

also for cutting. A razor of the rotating type is not suitable for such a task, while a knife-like scraping razor can be multifunctional.

mnt: a commonly used vessel.⁵⁶

1. 7 *ī(i)b*: a vessel.⁵⁷

hw: 'staff'.⁵⁸

hṭp n wnmw: 'food basket'.⁵⁹ *Hṭp*-baskets quite often contain food, in this case bread.⁶⁰

krn: the only other instance of the word *krn* is in the proper name *Pṣ-krn*.⁶¹ If it were certain that the Coptic proper name *πακαλελε* is the direct descendant of *Pṣ-krn*, Coptic could offer us a translation, or rather a suggestion for the meaning of the word *krn*. Since I hold the equation *Pṣ-krn* and *πακαλελε* to be possible, I cautiously suggest a weapon.⁶²

k(i)b: a vessel, probably never made of metal.⁶³

1. 8 *nšī*: although there are the words *nšw*, having the vase-determinative and in all our instances showing *w*,⁶⁴ and *nšīw*, twice attested in the Turin Papyri, once with a metal-determinative and an indication that the metal is 'bronze', and once with the harpoon-determinative, with the addition 'of copper',⁶⁵ the difference cannot be established from the texts. Helck classifies the bronze *nšīw* under bronze-vessels.⁶⁶ Here, as in the Turin papyri, we have a *nšī*, again without a vase-determinative, but explicitly stated to be of wood. The harpoon-determinative points, in my opinion, to an object originally made of bone or ivory.⁶⁷ My suggestion is that the *nšīw*, here meant for medicine, can be made of all these different materials and is too small to be regarded as a real container for liquids by the Egyptians. This would explain the absence of a vase-determinative.

mšddt: 'comb', to be equated with Coptic *ⲙⲩⲧⲱⲧⲉ*, '(weaver's) comb'.⁶⁸ The word may be related to the root *mšd*, the exact meaning of which is unknown, but which seems to have to do with carpentry in the *Giornale* and with the preparation of a coffin in O. Petrie 16.⁶⁹ If, on the other

⁵⁶ See Janssen, op. cit. *passim*; Helck, op. cit. *passim*. Contrary to Janssen, op. cit. 408 the *mnt*-vessel seems to be of metal here.

⁵⁷ Janssen, op. cit. 433-4.

⁵⁸ Ibid. 384-5. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe* (MÄS 33), 8 and 46.

⁵⁹ For a parallel see P. Harris, 17 b, 1 (Erichsen, *P. Harris*, 21). For the latest discussion of the *hṭp* basket see Janssen, op. cit. 160-1.

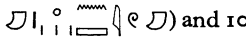
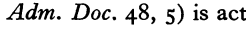
⁶⁰ See Helck, op. cit. II, 407, 430, 434; IV, 672; V, 758 and 806. Could the *hṭp* be the rather flat, dish-like basket so often containing food? This is supported by the use of the preposition *hr* in the unpubl. O. IFAO 1069: *hṭp ἰ n wnmw nty hrḥf*, followed by some kinds of food.

⁶¹ P. Abbott 8 (Dockets), a, 25 (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, pl. 23).

⁶² Crum, *Copt. Dict.* 103b. Cf. Osing, op. cit. 442; Westendorf, op. cit. 62 refers also to the agricultural tool *κλοολε*.

⁶³ P. Harris (Erichsen), 15 a, 12 and 14; 18 a, 10 and 12; 35 b, 5 and 7; 38 a, 11; 64 a, 4; 70 b, 13. The word does not occur in Janssen, op. cit. and Helck, op. cit.

⁶⁴ P. BM 10068, rt. 6, 24 (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, pl. 12); O. Cairo 25677, 16 and possibly also O. Cairo 25678, 20 and 28; P. Louvre 3170, II, 7 (Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, pl. 17); O. Turin 9639, 4 (unpubl., cf. Černý, *JEA* 23 (1937), 186 n. 3).

⁶⁵ P. Turin Pleyte-Rossi 102, II, 5 () and 104, III, 9 (). The *nšī* in the Turin Strike Pap. vs. 5, 17 (Gardiner, *Ram. Adm. Doc.* 48, 5) is actually to be read *pšī*, cf. Janssen, *JEA* 50 (1964), 178-9.

⁶⁶ Helck, op. cit. VI, 985. Cf. also Osing, op. cit. 169, 674-5.

⁶⁷ The harpoon-determinative occurs also in the verb *nšī* in the unpubl. O. Gardiner 183, cf. Janssen, op. cit. 217-18.

⁶⁸ Černý, *Copt. Et. Dict.* 97. If, in this case, a weaver's comb is meant, see Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 218, where New Kingdom weaver's combs are mentioned.

⁶⁹ Botti-Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 40, 8, 10; Burchardt, *Altkan. Fremdworte*, no. 516; O. Petrie 16 (= HO 21, 1), vs. 4 with the cloth-determinative.

hand, the *m* is instrumental, we might compare Demotic *štt* which is identical with Coptic ⲙⲣⲁⲩ and ⲙⲣⲁⲩ, 'weaver'.⁷⁰

tꜣy-irt: 'eye-tweezer'. Although the word *tꜣy-irt* is not known to me from the Ramesside Period,⁷¹ there occurs a word *tꜣt* determined by a tweezer or tongs in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Kawa texts⁷² and the combination of tweezer with eye is very plausible.⁷³

l. 10 *hcr*: the wood-determinative in the word differs too much from the word *hcr*, '(strap of) leather' with the skin-determinative to assume that they are identical objects made of different materials. In my opinion, the addition of the material indicates that the object is not exclusively made of wood, but what object may be meant is totally obscure.

itf = *stf*: 'scenting material'.⁷⁴

Hcw: this is an abbreviation for 'In-*hr-hcw*'.⁷⁵

l. 11 *stw*: in the past read *wrtw*.⁷⁶

As indicated in the introduction, the scribe of the ostrakon is most probably Amennakhte, an assumption which can be further supported by the fact that the officials are mentioned first before the ordinary workmen, as is usual in the ostraca (e.g. the *kenbet*), while normally Amennakhte, the great scribe of the tomb, would have been ranking after or even before the two chief workmen. This Amennakhte, son of Ipuw, is mentioned again in ll. 2–3, where it is stated that the tomb under inspection was situated just opposite his burial place. Unfortunately this provides no clue as to the exact position of our tomb, since the tomb of Amennakhte has never been found. Černý states that it has disappeared or is unidentifiable unless it is the tomb no. 1338 on the lower level of the necropolis of Deir el-Medīna.⁷⁷ The tomb of Amennakhte appears again in one of the Late Ramesside Letters, in which there is mention of certain documents of his family brought for safety reasons into his tomb, but again this gives no result.⁷⁸ It is to be feared that enough evidence will never appear to locate the tomb, especially since it was already in such a deplorable state during the late reign of Ramesses III that the controllers were not able to identify its owner.

The dating of the ostrakon has been facilitated by the fact that Černý was able to join to it a fragment containing the date. The year 25 must be that of Ramesses III on account of the high number and the persons involved. That this inspection was carried out officially may be concluded from the presence of the three leaders of the community and the other persons who sometimes occur elsewhere in a more or less

⁷⁰ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 530. See also Osing, op. cit. 297.

⁷¹ There are, of course, the more familiar words *tꜣy*, 'container of wood or basketry' (Janssen, op. cit. 204–5), or 'metal container' (Helck, op. cit. vi, 983).

⁷² Inscr. vi, 3 (Macadam, *Temples of Kawa*, I, 34 and 37 n. 10, and pl. 12). See also Leclant–Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 12, and Černý, *Copt. Et. Dict.* 41 s.v. ⲉⲣⲱⲟ. For an Eighteenth Dynasty reference containing the word see J. J. Clère, *RdE* 11 (1957), 157–8.

⁷³ For representations of tweezers see, e.g., Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 63, fig. 33; Petrie, *Tools and Weapons* pl. 62.

⁷⁴ *Wb.* I, 144 → *Wb.* I, 23, 7.

⁷⁵ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 137 and 306.

⁷⁶ Posener, *RdE* 15 (1963), 127–8. See also Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971), 31–3. Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 236 adheres to the reading *wrtw*.

⁷⁷ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 349–50.

⁷⁸ P. BM 10326, rt. 22 (Černý, *Late Ram. Letters*, 19, 1).

official status.⁷⁹ The almost complete absence of other documents concerning the inspection of tombs and their funerary equipment,⁸⁰ and the scarcity of the finds of intact tombs at Deir el-Medîna⁸¹ leave no alternative other than to admit that this ostrakon can do no more than contribute to our knowledge of the lexicography of objects of daily life.

An altogether different interpretation of the text as a reference to the inspection of an embalmers' store would emerge if we give the phrase *ḥt-nṯr*, the meaning 'la matière divine, amalgame épais et noirâtre', attested in late texts,⁸² and understand *wṯ m wṯyw n ššy*, as 'a coffin (filled) with bandages of (?) ššy-pigment',⁸³ but in view of the evidence discussed above this view seems most improbable.

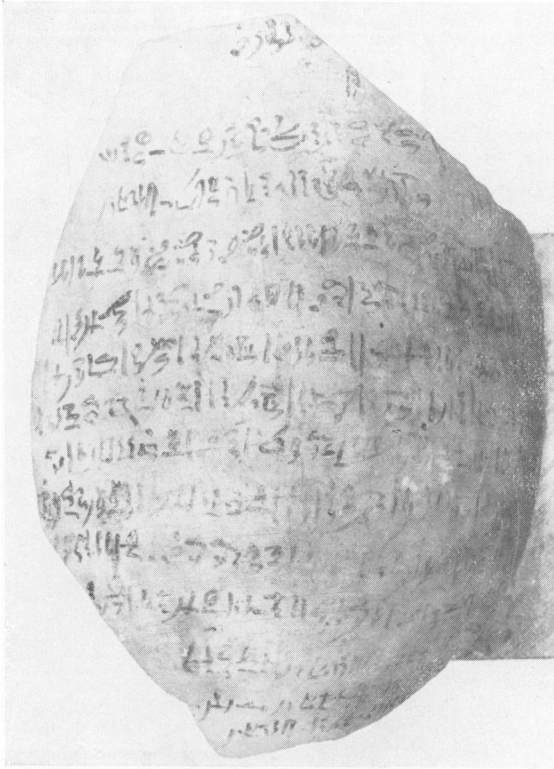
⁷⁹ It goes without saying that the names of the scribe and the two chief workmen occur very frequently in the ostraca, but for the other persons see O. Berlin 10655: *ṯw Ḥ(-m-ipt)* (y. 28); O. Bodleian Library 253 (HO 64, 2): *Nfr-ḥr. Ḥ(-m-nwn)* (y. 23); O. DeM 410: *šwṯy Pn-mn-nfr. ḥ(-nḥt. Wsr-ḥt)* (y. 26); O. Florence 2620: *ṯw Nfr-ḥtp. šwṯy Pn-mn-nfr* (y. 17); O. Gardiner 104 (HO 47, 3): *Nfr-ḥr* (y. 31); O. Gardiner 193 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostr. u. Pap.*, nr. 188): *Wsr-ḥt* (y. 25); O. Nash 5 (HO 53, 2): *ṯw Nfr-ḥtp. ṯw Ḥ(-m-ipt?)* (y. 20); P. Berlin 10496: *ṯw Nfr-ḥtp* (y. 21).

⁸⁰ I know of one other example of the inspection of a tomb in Deir el-Medîna, the unpubl. O. Mus. Madrid 16.243 (coll. Toda) = Černý, Notebook 23, 33, which reads as follows: (1) *ḥt-sp 4 ḥbd 4 prt sw 10 hrw pn špw t: ḥt n šwṯy* (2) *Imn-m-ipt r swd [st n?] rmt-št Mnṯ in p: 3* (3) *ḥwṯyw p: [ḥr-rdit-rḥ-tw?] ḥt nbt nty im:s* (4) *wṯ* (rest lost). The word *špw* is paralleled in the present ostrakon by *šnw*, for which compare P. Ambras (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, pl. 38), 1, 1 (*šnw*) and 1, 5 and 2, 4 (*šipt*). It is very dubious whether the figured ostrakon O. Leipzig 1657 vs. (Brunner-Traut, *Altäg. Scherbenbilder*, 124 no. 152) is a list of funerary equipment rather than an offering-list or the like.

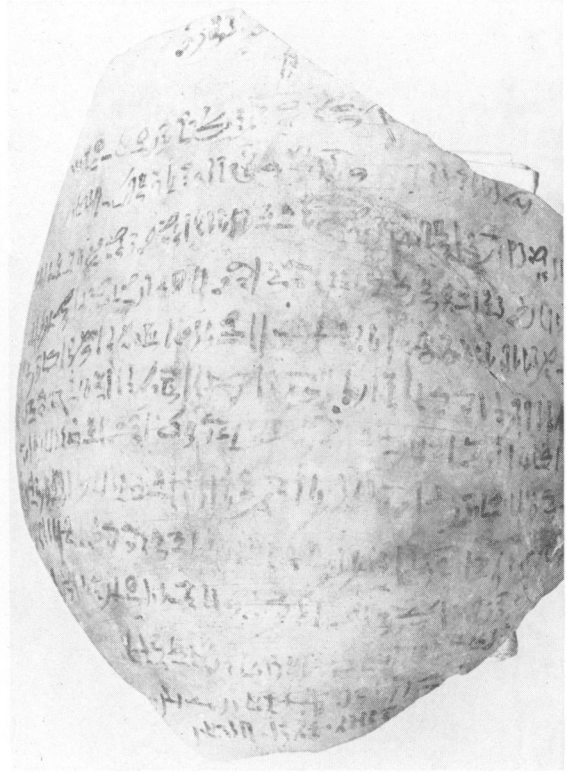
⁸¹ Apart from the relatively rich finds of the intact tombs of Sennudjem and the architect Kha there are only the rather poor contents of the tomb of Sennufer (no. 1159a) at Deir el-Medîna (Bruyère, *Rapport fouilles Deir el-Medineh* (1928), 40-72, pls. ii-xii), which remind us of the present list of objects.

⁸² See Sauneron, *Kêmi* 16 (1962), 38-9. Cf. also Derchain, *Pap. Salt* 825, 76 and 150-1.

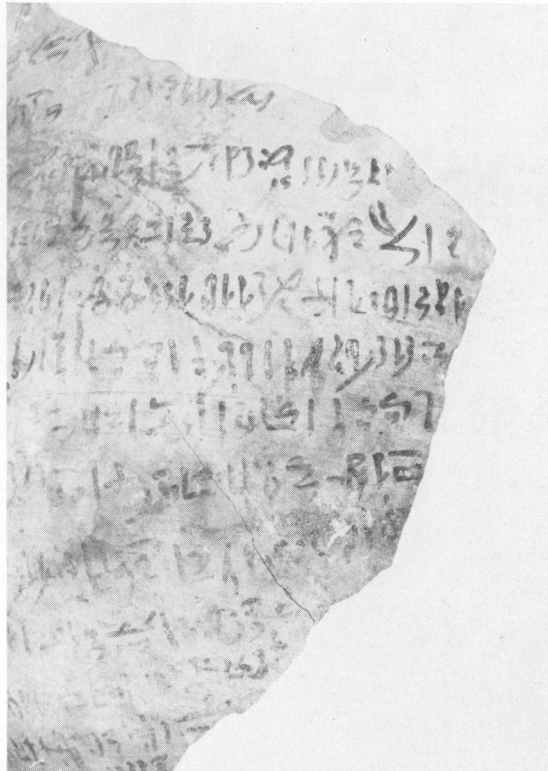
⁸³ See Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, 11, 6, where it is stated that the coffin of a *Nš-mnḥt-Imn* contained several hundreds of little bags full of nitre, which may indicate that it was used for storing embalmers' chemicals.



1.



2.



3.

THE PHOENICIAN ECSTATIC IN WENAMŪN

A PROFESSIONAL ORACULAR MEDIUM

By AELRED CODY, O.S.B.

Wenamūn 1, 38–40,¹ the section of the report in which the author tells how an oracular message was communicated to Zakar-Ba'al, the ruler of Byblos, through someone in his *entourage*, attracts special attention because of the light it sheds on oracular practice in the early part of Phoenicia's golden age.² The type of person through whom oracular communications are made in a given culture is always important for the historical study of religious practice, but in *Wenamūn*'s account the typological identification of the man seized by the god and put into the state of frenzy or ecstatic trance in which the divine message was communicated has not been determined to everyone's entire satisfaction.

The present state of the question

In the text of *Wenamūn* 1, 38 f. the ecstatic is said to be an *ṛdd* *ṛ* of Zakar-Ba'al's (several) *ṛddw* *ṛw*. In Late Egyptian itself there is, of course, a word *ṛdd* known to mean 'young person' and used at times to designate a student or a servant of some sort.³ To take the *ṛdd* of *Wenamūn* 1, 38 f. as the Egyptian word meaning 'young person', however, leaves some questions without really satisfactory answers. The partitive construction suggests that the *ṛddw* *ṛw* were a group, class, or circle of some kind, but was it to members of this group that oracular communications were normally made in Byblos, and, if so, why to them? Does the addition of the qualifying adjective 'big' (*ṛ*) to *ṛdd* produce some kind of technical expression not evident in the words taken at face value? And is there any significance in the fact that the god chose a young person of some sort to be the oracular medium?

The problems expressed in such questions have not escaped the attention of scholars faced with the task of translating the passage. In what can be called the common opinion, canonized by inclusion in Erman and Grapow's *Wörterbuch*, *ṛdd* modified by *ṛ*, at least in this context, is taken to designate a page.⁴ Such an interpretation is an

¹ Hieroglyphic transcription in A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles, 1932), 65, 2–6.

² K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1973), 251 f., arrives at a date c. 1076–5 for *Wenamūn*'s voyage.

³ *Wb.* 1, 242.

⁴ So, in addition to *Wb.* (the only example then known of *ṛdd* modified by *ṛ* being the one here in *Wenamūn*): G. Maspero, *Les contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*⁴ (Paris, n.d.), 220; A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Ägypter* (Leipzig, 1923), 228 ('einen von seinen grossen Knaben', practically the same as his earlier translation in *ZÄS* 38 [1900], 6, but here with the added remark in n. 2: 'd.h. etwa einen Pagen'); E. F. Wente in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, new edn. (New Haven and London, 1973), 146; H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore and London, 1975), 53. Both Wente and Goedicke refer courteously to the reinforcement given by Posener (see below, n. 9).

intelligent attempt to interpret the words taken as pure Egyptian. Others have expressed explicitly the idea of nobility seen in the added *ꜥ*, translating *wꜥ ꜥdd ꜥ nꜥyꜥf ꜥddw ꜥꜥw* as 'one of his noble youths',⁵ or even 'one of his older noble youths'.⁶ Scharff, finding that these interpretations did not do justice to the context, which he thought required an older man who was perhaps a priest (because of the sacrifices mentioned at the beginning of the episode), suggested a semantic development analogous to that of Coptic ⲉⲗⲗⲟ, 'old man, aged monk', from Demotic *hl ꜥ*, 'old boy', the opposite of Coptic ⲉⲡⲱⲣⲉ or ⲉⲗⲱⲣⲉ, 'young boy'. Accordingly, he proposed 'old man' or 'priest' for the *ꜥdd ꜥ* of *Wenamūn* I, 38, the opposite of the *ꜥdd šry*, 'small young person', attested sporadically in Late Egyptian.⁷

Scharff's suggestion is reflected in the translations of Lefebvre and of Edel,⁸ but it has been challenged recently by Posener,⁹ who notes another occurrence of *ꜥdd ꜥ* in a Late Egyptian context which does not show that the man so designated was old or that he was a priest.¹⁰ Posener points out valid examples of divine communications given occasionally to young people in the Ancient Near East, and he gives his support to the common opinion that the person in *Wenamūn* is a page, on grounds that there are several such persons in Zakar-Ba'al's entourage. We may add that oracular messages were not normally given to priests as such among the North-west Semitic peoples either, but Scharff did sense that it was not normal in the Ancient Near East for divine communications to be made through frenzied or ecstatic noblemen or pages. Furthermore, when one has examined the *Belegstellen* for *ꜥdd* in the *Wörterbuch* one sees that the Late Egyptian word has a slightly depreciative connotation, making it suitable, with or without an added qualifier 'small', for designating inexperienced persons or servants. This is also evident now in its use with the added qualifier 'big' in the Late Ramesside Letter pointed out by Posener. So Late Egyptian *ꜥdd* does not seem to be a word suitable for designating a nobleman, as such—not even a noble youngster or a page.¹¹

The proposed solution

The difficulties vanish if we take *Wenamūn's ꜥdd* as a North-west Semitic word specifically designating a person who functions as an oracular medium. The word is

⁵ J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv (Chicago, 1906), 280; also the English translation of Erman's *Literatur* by A. M. Blackman, *The Ancient Egyptians: a Sourcebook of their Writings* (London, 1927), 177, but with the retention in translation of Erman's note: 'i.e. a page or the like'.

⁶ G. Roeder, *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen* (Jena, 1927), 77, who thus got double value out of the Egyptian *ꜥ*.

⁷ A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 147.

⁸ G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris, 1949), 211: 'un prêtre d'entre ses prêtres'; E. Edel in K. Galling (ed.), *Textbuch zur Geschichte Israels*³ (Tübingen, 1968), 43: 'einen alten (?) Mann aus seinen alten (?) Leuten', with a note to the effect that the person in question is evidently a priest for sacrifice.

⁹ *RdE* 21 (1969), 147.

¹⁰ Text in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Bruxelles, 1939), 24, 5; translation in E. F. Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Chicago, 1967), 44. Wente translates *ꜥdd ꜥ* here as 'youth'.

¹¹ Indeed there are translators of *Wenamūn* who have seen no particular significance in the *ꜥ* other than an indication that the *ꜥddw* were not small, and who have taken a neutral stand on the sense of *ꜥdd*; thus: J. A. Wilson in J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*² (Princeton, 1955), 26 ('one of his youths') and A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 308 ('a young man of his young men').

not found in any Phoenician text known today, but the plural 'ddn of its Aramaic cognate *'dd is known from the inscription in which Zakir, King of Hamath and Lu'aš c. 800 BC, says that the god Ba'al-šamīn gave him a reassuring message through *hzy'n*, literally 'seers', and 'ddn.¹² The presence of North-west Semitic words in *Wenamūn* is well known,¹³ and it is not unnatural that the author of the report should use an authentic Semitic word to designate the person at the centre of the oracular episode in Byblos. Because Semitic words in Late Egyptian texts can be found written with signs of which only those at the end of the word can be taken as syllabic group-writing, perhaps indicating an attempt to write case-endings,¹⁴ the suspicion might even rise that the final signs 𐤀𐤁 of the otherwise alphabetically written 𐤀𐤁 and its plural here represent the vocalic case-ending -u of the Semitic nominative singular or its phonetically reduced remnant,¹⁵ but on this particular point caution, if not scepticism, is in order, since the same signs have been found terminating native Egyptian 𐤀𐤁, and since in *Wenamūn*'s own report they are found after the native Egyptian words *sb*, 'teaching' (2, 21), *b*, 'servant' (2, 32 and perhaps 2, 13), 𐤀𐤁, 'false' (2, 23), *dhr*, 'hide' (2, 41), and even the verb *sdr*, 'to lie, sleep' (2, 53.83).

It will be objected at once that the orthography of the word 𐤀𐤁 in *Wenamūn* does not support the identification now proposed. Unlike other foreign words in the text, 𐤀𐤁 and its plural are written with alphabetic signs, not with syllabic group-writing, but that may be simply because similarity of the Phoenician word for oracular messenger to the Egyptian word for young person led to its being written like the Egyptian word. In fact, if we look carefully at the way *Wenamūn* wrote first the singular, then the plural, we have an impression of initial confusion with Egyptian 𐤀𐤁 in the writing of the singular, partially corrected in that of the plural. The determinative proper for a word meaning 'child, young person' is affixed to the singular form, but the immediately subsequent plural form is followed not by the same unambiguous determinative for a young person but by the ambiguous stroke and then the general determinative for any

¹² Text, translation, and notes with bibliography in H. Donner and W. Röllig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1964), No. 202, A 12. B. Uffenheimer in *Lešonenu* 30 (1965/6), 163–74 (Modern Hebrew with separate English summary) read the 'ddn as 'rrn, which he interpreted as (cultic) 'awakeners', but the generally unquestioned reading 'ddn was then defended by R. Degen in his response to Uffenheimer in *Lešonenu* 32 (1967/8), 409–11 (Modern Hebrew with English summary).

¹³ F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen* (Berlin, 1950), 76 f., following Burchardt, has listed some North-west Semitic words, other than personal names and place-names, found in *Wenamūn*, and the Phoenician equivalent of the Hebrew *mō'ēd* has been detected in *Wenamūn* 2, 71 by J. A. Wilson, *JNES* 4 (1945), 245. The word *br* designating a type of ship in *Wenamūn* 1, 10.19.21; 2, 7.15.18.62 might be added, since it was actually used in Ugaritic, though it is not altogether certain that the word is of Semitic origin.

¹⁴ E.g. the *mh*t, 'gift' (cf. Hebrew *minhā*) of P. Sallier I, 4, 1.2 (Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* [Bruxelles, 1937], 80, 4.6) or the *rks*, 'steeds' (cf. Hebrew *rekeš*) of P. Koller I, 1 (Gardiner, *LEM* 116, 11), whose Semitic identity has been perceived by R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 305 and 432. Other examples can be found in the writing of place-names.

¹⁵ On the occasional value *u* rather than 'u for 𐤀𐤁 in group-writing see E. Edel, *Die Ortsnamenlisten aus dem Totentempel Amenophis III.* (Bonn, 1966), 64, and for the chronology of the eventual elision of final short vowels in Phoenician and other Canaanite dialects, Z. S. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (New Haven, 1939), 59 f.

human being. Though it can be argued that the stroke is a graphically simpler substitute for the complicated determinative for young persons, the fact of its being followed by the determinative for men also allows us to take the change of determinatives perhaps as a sign of corrective reflex or hesitation rising in the writer's mind after he had written the initial singular form.

Phonological justification

Since Semitic words in *Wenamūn* are presumably Phoenician, especially in a scene set in Byblos, any phonological justification of the lexical identification proposed here must also take into account the Phoenician reflexes of Aramaic consonants. In the identification of *Wenamūn*'s *ꜥdd* as the Phoenician cognate, in Late Egyptian transcription, of the Old Aramaic **ꜥdd* whose plural *'ddn* is attested, the correspondences of initial *ꜥ* and final *d* present no problem. Nor does the correspondence of the *ꜥ* in *Wenamūn*'s orthography to the first *d*, really, although one must expect the objection that Egyptian graphic *ꜥ*, according to the standard table of graphic equivalences, is not supposed to represent a Semitic *d* but rather a Semitic *ṣ* or a Semitic *z*.¹⁶ A graphemic equivalence like *ꜥ* = *ṣ* or *z* does not always correspond to phonemic reality, which is above all a matter of what is pronounced and heard, and deviation from graphic convention can often be explained by actual pronunciation.

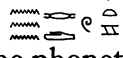

Here the graphemic Egyptian *ꜥ* must represent a phonemic Phoenician [d],¹⁷ for the only possible reflex of Old Aramaic *d* in Phoenician in this period is also *d*, both of them expressing [d].¹⁸ It is a fact far too well known to require documentation here that in Egyptian pronunciation, by the time of *Wenamūn*, the old phoneme still represented graphically as *ꜥ* had ceased to be distinct phonemically from that represented as *d*—comparison with Coptic and with ancient Semitic renderings suggesting that both were being pronounced as an unvoiced dental stop identical with, or approaching, [t] or an unvoiced palato-alveolar stop, perhaps like that heard today in the Swiss-German unvoiced pronunciation of written *d*. It is also well known that signs containing a *d*-value were often being used when one containing a *ꜥ*-value was called for by historically correct orthography. Examples of the opposite use of graphic *ꜥ* for historically correct *d* in writing native Egyptian words, though far less common, can also be

¹⁶ Cf. M. Burchardt, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* (Leipzig, 1909), § 153; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 591.

¹⁷ Henceforth the use of square brackets [] indicates a phoneme, which, in a given case, may or may not correspond accurately to a graphic sign used to express it.

¹⁸ Neither *d* of the two in the word *'ddn* of Zakir's stele can be the later Aramaic *d* (< early Semitic [d]) which has *z* as its Phoenician reflex and which appears graphically as *z* in Zakir's text too. That consonant does not appear as *d* at all in Aramaic before the seventh to sixth century, and its first really certain occurrence as *d* is found in a text datable in 484 BC. Cf. R. Degen, *Altaramäische Grammatik der Inschriften des 10.–8. Jh. v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 32–6; S. Segert, *Altaramäische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1975), 92.

found in Middle and Late Egyptian,¹⁹ just as graphic *t* can be found, a little more frequently, for historically correct *t*, a phenomenon which Vergote has called the result of 'hyperurbanism' or 'false phonetic regression'.²⁰

In the orthographic practice of Wenamūn himself, *d̄*, even in words in which it is historically correct, thus represents a sound indistinguishable from that represented by *d*.²¹ In the  of 2, 71, which Wilson has taken as Semitic *mō'ēd* written syllabically,²² the phonetic complement makes it clear that Wenamūn used the biliteral sign with the historical value *ɾd̄* to express phonemically intended *ɾd*, and it is significant for us that the word thus written is Semitic.²³ Also worth noting is the frequency of the orthographic pattern *dd̄* in *Wenamūn*, and it happens that *d̄* written with the unilateral, alphabetic sign  in *Wenamūn* is found only before a *d* also written with its alphabetic sign as in the frequently recurring *dd̄*, 'to speak, say', and in *ddh̄*, 'to imprison' (2, 63. 67.73.74), in addition to the *ɾdd̄* of 1, 38 f. with which we are concerned. Historical orthography determined the writing of such words, but this orthographical pattern—*dd̄* for what was actually heard as *dd*—makes it still easier to accept Wenamūn's *ɾdd̄* as a spontaneous writing of a Phoenician word actually heard as **dd*, doubtlessly facilitated by analogy with (and probably also some confusion with) native Egyptian *ɾdd̄*, 'young person', itself surely pronounced as *ɾdd*.

Examples of Semitic words reproduced in Egyptian with a sign having a graphic *d̄*-value are rare, and as far as I know no one has yet attempted to identify a Semitic [d] represented in Egyptian graphically as *d̄*.²⁴ Though the justification which has just


¹⁹ Cf. K. Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, II (Leipzig, 1899), §§ 305 f. Most Egyptologists today would no longer take *drt* rather than *d̄rt* as the historically primary form of the word for hand, a point to which Sethe gives a great amount of space, but that does not affect his other examples.

²⁰ J. Vergote, *Phonétique historique de l'Égyptien* (Louvain, 1945), 36, and his *Grammaire copte*, Ib (Louvain, 1973), 21.

²¹ It is only because historical [d̄] was no longer distinct in pronunciation from historical [d] that in *Wenamūn*, as in some other Late Egyptian and Demotic texts, a writing normal for the preposition *m-d̄r* could be substituted for that of the preposition *m-d̄i*: in *Wenamūn* 1, 57 f.; 2, 28.58 (the *m-d̄r* of 2, 67 is correct: cf. J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* [Rome, 1975], § 7.3.1. a.iii [p. 112]).

²² See above, n. 13.

²³ Even with Gardiner's reading as a native Egyptian *mw ɾd̄t* (*Mélanges Maspero*, I [Cairo, 1934], 493) the phonetic complement shows the value *d* instead of *d̄* intended in the sign *ɾd̄*.

²⁴ Is another example found in the graphic *d̄*-value in the sign  used in the syllabic writing of the name *b̄rrd̄* in Shoshenq I's list of conquered Asiatic places (no. 123 in J. Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia* [Leiden, 1937], 180)? M. Noth, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 61 (1938), 302 f., analyses *b̄rrd̄* as Semitic *b'r*, 'well', +*rd̄* which, by taking the Egyptian *r* as a substitute for a Semitic *l*, he compares with the *luṣṣān* occurring as an element in names of some places in the area required (the *Negeb* and the region towards Edom). That fits the established equivalence: Egyptian (graphic) *d̄* = Semitic [š] or [z], but one might seriously compare the element *rd̄* with the *radda* in the place-name *Arđ er-radda* or, better yet, with the *erdēde* in *Rās erdēde* near which there is a watered place called *El-byēr* for comparison with the *b̄r-* of *b̄rrd̄*. These places are mentioned by Noth in his survey of place-names in the area, though not as possible sites of Shoshenq's *b̄rrd̄*.

For an explanation of the rendering of Semitic [d] by Egyptian graphemic *d* (rather than *t*) after the end of Dyn. XIX as an attempt to restore the use of historical Egyptian *d* in foreign transcriptions, cf. A. Loprieno, *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 37 (1977), 136 f. with 131. Whether or not something analogous can be said of the use of graphemic *d̄* is another question, but again, the phonemes expressed by *d̄* and *d* were no longer distinguishable from one another in Late Egyptian pronunciation.

been proposed for \underline{d} = Phoenician [d] in Wenamūn's $\epsilon\underline{d}d$ is not immediately obvious when one depends mechanically on tables of equivalence, it takes account of both phonemic and graphic facts, and its probability is high.²⁵

Lexical conclusions

We can thus accept the Semitic word, in Phoenician as well as in Old Aramaic, as ' $\underline{d}d$ ', a derivative of the Semitic root which is perhaps really a hollow ' d ' with the second radical reduplicated. That this is indeed the root, whose derivatives are found not only in Old Aramaic but also in Ugaritic and probably (though misunderstood already in antiquity) in Hebrew as well,²⁶ is practically certain. The Semitic verb ' $d(d)$ ', isolated and understood now thanks mainly to the evidence found in Ugaritic texts, seems to mean 'to send a message' (perhaps as a reply), the nominal forms meaning 'messenger' and 'message', especially from a divine being, to judge from the Semitic contexts in which various forms have been detected.²⁷ To these contexts can now be added that of the oracular episode in *Wenamūn* 1, 38–40. That context itself shows that the word $\epsilon\underline{d}d$ in 1, 38 f. is not the Late Egyptian word meaning 'young person' after all but the North-west Semitic word heard as ' $\underline{d}d$ ', designating a professional medium of oracular messages.

The question why the word is modified by ϵ in *Wenamūn* appears in a new light but remains without an adequate solution. Was there a Phoenician compound term or title 'great ' $\underline{d}d$ ' with lexical value of its own, somewhat like the Hebrew 'great priest' (*kōhēn gādōl*, regularly with the article) which designated the head of the priesthood of Jerusalem after the Babylonian Exile?²⁸ The simple fact that the man receiving the divine message in Byblos was only one of several $\epsilon\underline{d}d\omega \epsilon\omega$ indicates that the Hebrew analogy is not pertinent, although the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that Wenamūn had heard the expression 'great ' $\underline{d}d$ ' in Byblos and then extended it naïvely and abusively to the plural also as he wrote. It is also possible, but equally unverifiable, that ϵ here, referring to age and meant as 'adult, grown' opposed to 'small, young', was added to $\underline{d}d$ because Wenamūn realized that $\epsilon\underline{d}d$ as he had just written it, as the Egyptian word with the determinative for a child, gave a false impression of the age of the ecstatic of Byblos. If that is so, then the addition of the adjective 'big' may be

²⁵ It may not be out of place here to refer to the warning of H. Donner in F. Fronzaroli (ed.), *Studies on Semitic Lexicography* (Florence, 1973), 133, against that 'problematic purism' which leads scholars to overlook, or positively to refuse, the obvious lexical relation of an Old Aramaic word to a word or form in another language merely because of a consonant which does not fit the regular phonological pattern in comparative tables. The warning is apt when we compare the Old Aramaic ' $\underline{d}d$ ' with Wenamūn's $\epsilon\underline{d}d\omega$. Cf. also Donner in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 27 (1970), 247.

²⁶ Most likely the $t^e \underline{u}d\hat{a}$ (pointed thus by the Massorettes) of Isaiah viii. 16, 20, which H. L. Ginsberg, *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1968), 61*–65* would reprint as $t^e \underline{i}d\hat{a}$ and translate as 'message' (we should note that the word is paired in both places with $t\hat{o}r\hat{a}$, which certainly has here its earlier sense of '[priestly] oracular statement'); perhaps the '(w) $\underline{d}d$ ' of 2 Chronicles xv. 1, 8: xxviii. 9 used by the narrating Chronicler as a personal name borne by men associated with prophetic activity.

²⁷ A full survey of what is now known of the root and its various derivatives is provided by J. F. Ross, *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970), 4–8.

²⁸ Cf. A. Cody, *A History of Old Testament Priesthood* (Rome, 1969), 103, 176.

no more than the beginning of the writer's corrective reflex which led also to the change of determinatives after the plural which we have observed above.

In any case, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that as Wenamūn wrote the authentic Phoenician word he momentarily confused it in his own mind with its Egyptian consonantal homonym. If anything, this increases the probability that Wenamūn picked up the exotic word by actually hearing it used by someone else (an Egyptian-speaking interpreter in Byblos?). At the same time, it confirms his weakness in languages not his own (cf. 2, 77).

Consequences for the interpretation of the episode

Since it has now become clear that Zakar-Ba'al's medium or oracular messenger was a member of the professional class having precisely that function to perform in the society of Byblos—and not just one of a group of young persons at court who happened to be present, or, with Scharff's proposal, one of a group of older men who were priests of some sort—it also becomes clear that the entire episode in *Wenamūn* I, 38–40 depicts a typical North-west Semitic ritual of oracular consultation, with Zakar-Ba'al's sacrifices at the opening of the scene made as the regular initial step in the traditional rite designed to provoke a divine message which is to be communicated to one of the oracular messengers on hand for just that purpose.²⁹ This too may be taken as corroboration of the authenticity of Wenamūn's experiential knowledge of Syro-Phoenicia, though not necessarily of all details in the various events narrated in the report he has left of his voyage.

Finally: we can now see better the significance intended in the fact that the Egyptian god, in order to communicate his own designs in favour of the itinerant Wenamūn to the ruler of Byblos, ill-disposed to his passing presence, used a Phoenician oracular medium. The Phoenician medium was naturally expected to receive messages from the local gods to whom Zakar-Ba'al is pointedly said to have made the sacrifices, but hardly to receive one from an Egyptian god. This same motif underlies the now much expanded biblical story of the seer Balaam in Numbers xxii. 2–xxiv. 25. There too a foreign god, Yahweh, uses a seer who is not an Israelite, whom he seizes with divine force (Numbers xxiv. 2) in order to communicate his own designs in favour of the migrating Israelites to Balak, King of Moab, ill-disposed to their passage, when Balak has set the ritual procedure in motion by arranging for sacrifices. In both narratives the superior power of the foreign god, whether Amūn or Yahweh, is demonstrated by his brushing aside the local gods as it were in order to deliver a message of his own by usurping the services of a professional oracular messenger who is in the service of

²⁹ For the study of such ritual tradition among North-west Semitic peoples we must depend heavily on the extensive material provided by the texts from Mari, even though they reflect a civilization in which Mesopotamian elements are mingled with North-west Semitic ones. On the components of the ritual and their interpretation—the ruler's initial sacrifices, the provocation of a divine message with or without previous questioning, the communication of the message to an oracular medium in an ecstatic or frenzied state (which, around Mari at least, was associated with almost any means of receiving the message, except in dreams)—cf. most recently E. Noort, *Untersuchungen zum Gottesbescheid in Mari* (Kevelaer, 1977).

the local ruler and so had been expected to receive a message from the local god or gods (although in the story of Balaam and Balak as we now have it, after a complex literary history which has left its traces, a full-blown monotheism recognizing the existence of Yahweh alone has led to the suppression of all explicit reference to the local god or gods of Moab).

AN EGYPTIAN WHEEL IN BROOKLYN

By MARY A. LITTAUER and J. CROUWEL

THIS paper is concerned with a wheel from Egypt in the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art of the Brooklyn Museum (acc. no. 37.1700, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund). The object was purchased by H. Abbott, an English physician, some time between 1832, when he presumably went to Egypt to practise, and 1843, when his collection was first catalogued by J. Bonomi.¹ In 1852 the Abbott collection was brought to New York, where it was eventually acquired by the New York Historical Society.² In 1937 the wheel went to the Brooklyn Museum on loan with the Abbott collection, and it was acquired by the museum in 1948.³ Although already discussed—particularly by J. G. Wilkinson and C. R. Williams—the wheel deserves more detailed study.⁴ This is the more important since it is in many respects unique among extant Egyptian wheels, all of which are of the Eighteenth Dynasty. As we shall see, it may in fact be attributed to the Late Period (950–332 BC), a time span from which we have little evidence of wheeled vehicles.

Description

The wheel is *c.* 0.96 m in diameter. Each of the six spokes is tenoned at one end into the nave and, at the other end, into the felloe (see pls. XII–XIII, 1–3; fig. 1). They are elliptical in section and taper from the nave outwards. As they approach the felloe they are carved on their narrower faces so as to appear barbed when viewed from the wider faces (see pl. XIII, 2).

We are grateful to B. Bothmer for permitting us to study and publish the wheel and accompanying material; to R. Fazzini for his patience during the necessarily tedious examinations of these, and for generously contributing new comparative evidence; to Al Mellilo, also of the Brooklyn Museum, for practical suggestions; to Miss E. Riefstahl for commenting upon an earlier version of this paper. We are indebted to the late J. Vandier for permission to publish the Louvre nave, and to J.-L. de Cenival, who made it available for study. We wish to thank P. R. S. Moorey for his advice and for enabling us to examine the fragmentary wheel in the Ashmolean; P. Munro for providing us with a photograph of the drawing in the Kestner Museum, Hanover, and Miss N. Scott and J. R. Harris for help with the figured evidence. We wish to express our thanks to the Committee of Management of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, for permission to study the documentation of the chariots of Tutankhamūn, and to G. E. Mukhtar and H. Riad for authorizing us to examine these in the Egyptian Museum Cairo. Finally, we are indebted to Mrs N. Einhorn for the scale drawings of the wheel (fig. 1), and to Miss M. Moore and D. Laub for their assistance in examining the wheel.

¹ J. Bonomi, *Catalogue of a Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, the Property of Henry Abbott, Esq., M.D.* (Cairo). According to Mrs Williams ('The Place of the New York Historical Society in the Growth of American Interest in Egyptology', *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quart. Bull.* 4 (1920), 3–20), Bonomi wrote the catalogue in 1843, although it was not published until 1846.

² H. Abbott, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the New York Historical Society* (1915), 25.

³ *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* 24 (1937), 89 ff.; *New York Historical Society Quarterly and Annual Report for 1948*, 120.

⁴ J. C. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1878), 234–5; C. R. Williams, 'Material bearing on the new discoveries in Egypt', *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Quart. Bull.* 7 (1923), 7–9, with cover plate. Cf. also O. Nuoffer, *Der Rennwagen im Altertum* (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1904), 15.

The nave (see pls. XII–XIII, 1 and fig. 1), 0.37 m long, is formed from a single cylindrical piece of wood but, although the diameter of the interior is constant throughout (0.072 m), the exterior is slightly thicker in the central area, where the spoke-end mortices are located. Numerous fine parallel lines (see pl. XIII, 1) indicate that it was turned on a lathe.

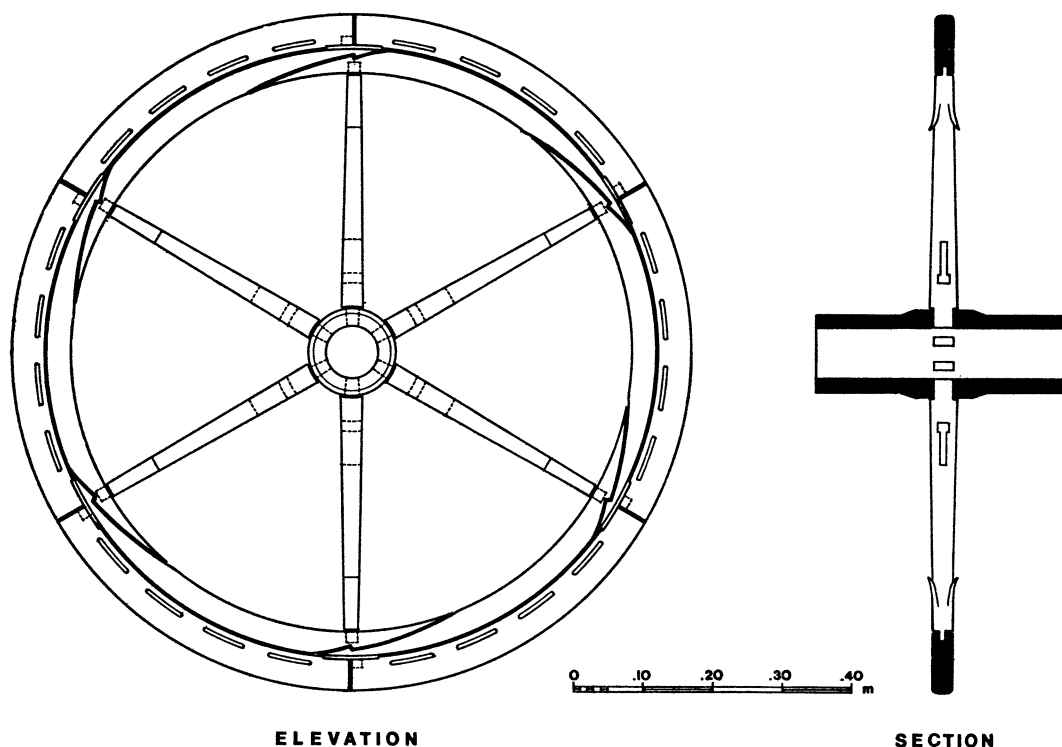
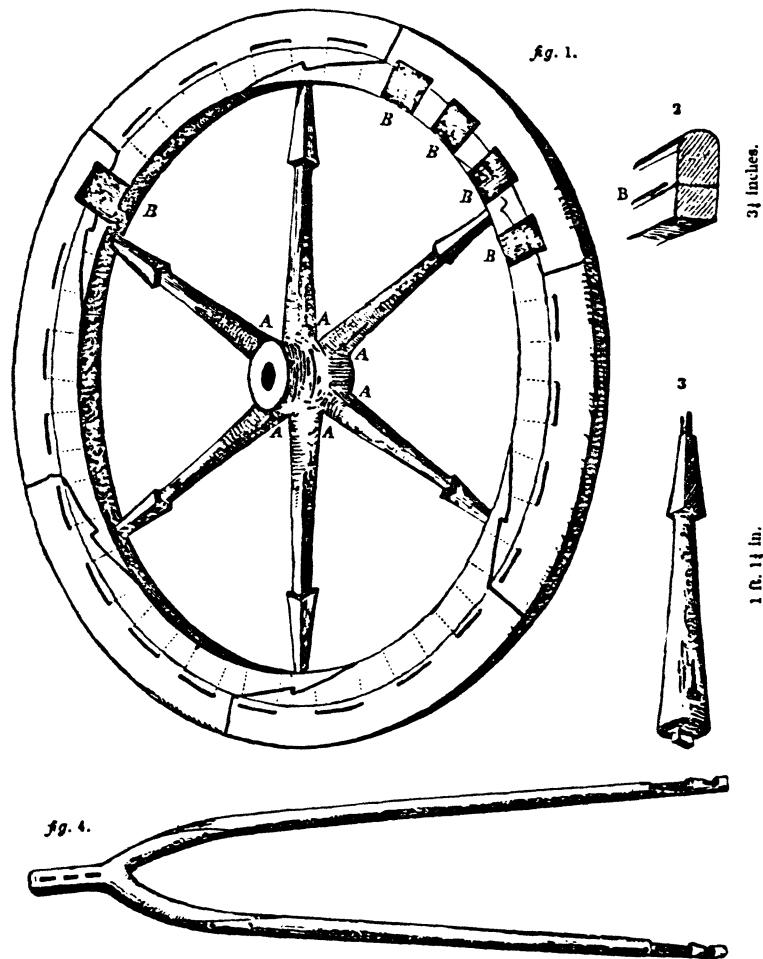


FIG. 1

The felloe is composed of six pieces of artificially bent(?) wood, rectangular in section, 0.03 m wide by 0.035 m deep, overlapping each other in sequence, and mitred (with a little 'jog' in the mitre) at the overlaps (see pls. XII, XIII, 3 and fig. 1). Outside this is a wooden tyre composed of six lengths of artificially bent(?) wood, rectangular in section, 0.03 m wide by 0.04 m deep, butt-ended, and joined by mortice-and-tenon at the ends (see pls. XII, XIII, 2, 3). We call this a tyre, rather than a second felloe, because the spoke-ends do not penetrate it. Near the inner edges of the tyre sections, and at approximately equal intervals, are four slots, 0.06–0.07 m long (see pls. XII, XIII, 3 and fig. 1). Through these evidently passed wide rawhide bands that went entirely around the adjacent sections of the felloe. These were probably put on green, so as to shrink in drying. No trace of hide remains today, but Wilkinson's drawing (see fig. 2), made in Egypt, shows bindings in five places, and he states that the felloe and tyre were held together by rawhide bands,⁵ of which there were perhaps still traces when he saw the wheel. Any possibility that bands of metal were used for this purpose is eliminated by the fact that there is no trace of the holes that would necessarily be left by the nails securing the ends of such bands.

⁵ Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 234–5, with fig. 66. Mrs Williams p. 8 also suggests restoring the 'leather bands, . . . for the passage of which the twenty-four slits in the tyre . . . were originally employed'.



No. 66.

Fig. 1. Wheel; 3 ft. 1 in. diameter. In the Collection of Dr. Abboll.
4. Shafts; 11 feet in total length.

FIG. 2

The joins of the tyre-ends are at present located directly over the areas in the felloe where the spoke-ends are morticed. The extra outward pressure here would tend rather to force the tyre-ends apart than to keep them together. It is in these areas, moreover, that the slots are widest apart, hence where the rawhide bands would be of the least benefit in consolidating the overlapping felloe-ends. In Wilkinson's drawing (see fig. 2) the tyre-joins are shown as just over the end of each felloe-join, which would permit two bands, rather than one, as now, to pass around each felloe-join, but would still place some extra pressure on the area of the tyre-join. The optimum position for the joins would seem to be half-way between each felloe-join. The wheel has clearly been reassembled at least once, and probably twice or more. There is nothing in its basic construction that would require the tyre-ends to be originally positioned as they now are. Modern steel plates screwed across the tyre-ends (on the reverse side from that photographed) probably belong to the most recent reassemblage. Single holes or pairs of them near the tyre-joins on the opposite side of the wheel (see pls. XII, XIII, 3) must have been for nails that held cruder metal strips or rawhide that at one time served the same purpose. Their erratic positions, however, bespeak hasty and

makeshift work, and it is unlikely that they date from the origin of this otherwise metalless wheel. They were either not present when Wilkinson made his drawing (see fig. 2) or he did not consider them original; for they do not appear on it.

There is no sign of there ever having been a second tyre of hide or metal and, while we cannot rule out the former,⁶ the wear on the tread seems to indicate that for at least part of its active life the wooden tyre was without protection. The surface of the tread is worn in a peculiar manner (see pl. XIII, 2); instead of being flattened with wear, it has a narrow wavering ridge in the centre, from which it slants down on either side. This suggests that the tread was originally quite high-crested, and that the wheel wobbled from side to side on a loose-fitting nave, so that it was seldom absolutely vertical, hence received its wear on the bias. The graining of the wood may also have had something to do with the differential wear, as is particularly obvious at the knot near one tyre-end (see pl. XII, top).

A few worm holes are present in the spokes and nave (see pls. XII and XIII, 1-3).

A unique feature of this wheel is the T-shaped aperture cut out of the wider face of each spoke near the nave (see pl. XIII, 1 and fig. 1), the head of the T lying towards the nave. The flimsy, (relatively) modern wire that passes through these slots suggests their original purpose; they must have been for the passage of a reinforcement that helped to hold the spokes tightly in the nave. It seems likely that this was of rawhide rather than of metal, as there seem to have been no other metal parts to the wheel. If it were rawhide put on green, it would shrink as it dried and have a considerable constricting effect, an effect usually produced on nave-morticed spokes such as these by strong, tight-fitting felloes and tyres, and one probably lacking here owing to the numerous parts of which the felloe and tyre consist. Such a band just outside the nave is not exemplified on any wheel, past or present, known to us either from material or representational evidence. All that would show, of course, in the strict profile view that is the usual one in early art, would be, in proportion to the rest, a mere line and, as a matter of convenience, this might have been omitted in representations. The reason for the shape of these apertures, however, is still not explained; for the stem of the T would seem to have no functional purpose. Perhaps the slot was made in this shape to render it more decorative—if not to the observer on the side lines, then to the vehicle occupants, a stipulation that applies also to the 'barbs' near the outer ends of the spokes.

Discussion

In attempting to determine the type of vehicle (chariot, cart, or wagon) to which the Brooklyn wheel may have belonged and its possible date, its reported provenance—'a tomb near the pyramids of Dashour', according to Bonomi, or a 'mummy pit near Dashour', according to Abbott,⁷—is of no help. No mention is made anywhere of the

⁶ At least two chariots of Tut'ankhamūn (those found in the treasury) had rawhide tyres, as did the chariot of Yuua and Thuiu (J. E. Quibell *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, (CCG) [Cairo, 1908], 67), although in the latter case a decorative dressed leather tyre covered two of rawhide. That rawhide tyres may not be as impractical as they might seem is demonstrated by their use in recent times. The American pioneer 'Red-River cart', in which no metal was used, had a rawhide tyre 'shrunken' on, i.e. put on green. This cart was intended for rough country and carried a far heavier load than the Egyptian chariot. The chief defect of the rawhide tyre appeared to be that, if it became wet again and remained so for too long, it became 'unshrunken' (N. Eggenhofer, *Wagons, Mules and Men* [New York, 1961], 80). This problem would hardly arise in Egypt.

⁷ Bonomi, 4-5; H. Abbott, *The Abbott Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (part of the *Catalogue of the Museum and Gallery of Art of the N.Y. Hist. Soc.* 1862), 29.

other wheel or wheels that must originally have belonged with it. Nor is the interpretation of some accompanying pieces of wood as 'shafts of a chariot' valid (see pl. XIII, 4).⁸ The periods during which the cemetery at Dahshûr was in use seem to have been largely confined to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, with the exception of a few later remains, including Roman tombs.⁹

Although the wood of the wheel is too contaminated to be dated by radio-carbon, internal evidence points to a date no earlier than well into the Late Period, yet there is no reason to believe that it is (relatively) modern. The evidence is primarily furnished by the type of marks encircling the nave, which indicate the use of the true lathe. While most authorities favour an introduction of this tool into Egypt not earlier than the Hellenistic or even the Roman period,¹⁰ another relatively late Egyptian adoption may help us to place an upper limit on the manufacture of the Brooklyn wheel. Cole has suggested that the lathe was not in common use until iron cutting-tools were available,¹¹ and this would certainly apply to anything as relatively thick and heavy as the nave of our wheel. According to Lucas and Harris, iron-ore was not worked in Egypt before the sixth century BC, although it may have been worked a little earlier in Nubia, and iron objects in small quantities had, of course, appeared in Egypt over a long period of time.¹²

Unfortunately, by far the greatest amount of comparative material-evidence for Egyptian wheel-construction is too early to be very illuminating. It may be noteworthy, however, that both nave- and spoke-construction of extant Eighteenth Dynasty wheels are very different from those of the Brooklyn specimen. This construction, with each spoke consisting of two sections glued back to back, the angles at their heads forming integral parts of the nave, is more explicit in pl. XIV, 1 than many words could make it. This shows exactly these parts of a wheel of Amenophis III, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.¹³ The same parts of the wheels of two chariots of Tut'ankhamûn that were sufficiently disassembled to be completely examined were constructed on a

⁸ The 'shafts' as illustrated by Wilkinson are composed of a wishbone-shaped piece of wood with three slots in the 'handle' and two apparently identical extensions to the 'legs', the joins being mitred. The over-all length is given as 11 ft (3.352 m). Of this object, however, only the first element now remains and none of the other miscellaneous pieces of wood accompanying the wheel would fit as extensions or even as parts thereof. Not only is the harnessing of a single horse between shafts considered a late development, still experimental and sporadic in Roman-Imperial times (J. Spruytte, *Études expérimentales sur l'attelage* [Paris, 1977], 132, with pl. 35), but there is no record then or subsequently of shafts splaying outwards from a single attachment to a vehicle, as these 'shafts' would. Not only would the shape and dimensions of the wishbone's 'handle' make it unsuitable for attaching to any vehicle, but the shallow slots, which do not pierce it, would not furnish any means of attachment. When we subtract from the complete object as seen by Wilkinson the length of the 'handle' (0.265 m), there would still be more than 3.0 m left in front of the vehicle. This would make the 'shafts' extend over 1.0 m further ahead of the vehicle than any known chariot-pole.

⁹ Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* III, 239 n. 18; for Dahshûr in general see pp. 229 ff., for Roman tombs see p. 233.

¹⁰ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn. (revised J. R. Harris) (London, 1962), 449-50; cf. also C. Aldred, in C. Singer, E. J. Holmyard, A. R. Hall, and T. Williams, (eds.), *A History of Technology* II (Oxford, 1957), 222-3.

¹¹ S. M. Cole, in Singer, Holmyard, and Hall, op. cit. I (Oxford, 1954), 518.

¹² Lucas, 237-43.

¹³ A. C. Western, 'A wheel hub from the tomb of Amenophis III', *JEA* 59 (1973), 91-4 with figs. 1 and 2 and pl. xxxiv.

variant of this pattern.¹⁴ The area of nave- and spoke-junction on the other Eighteenth Dynasty wheels shows a surface-profile identical to that of the Amenophis III nave or the Tutankhamūn examples referred to above, and very different from that of the same area on the Brooklyn wheel.

Other material evidence for Egyptian wheel-construction is confined to the small, solid disc wheels of a four-wheeled trolley of the Ptolemaic period from Medīnet Mādī¹⁵ and to a hitherto unpublished, damaged, lathe-turned nave now in the Louvre¹⁶ (see pl. XIV, 2–3). The latter is constructed on the same principle as the nave of the Brooklyn wheel and also had its spokes tenoned into it. It has, by a curious coincidence, a recent history rather similar to that of the Brooklyn wheel. It comes also from a collection formed in Cairo at about the same time as the Abbott collection, by another amateur collector and medical man, the French surgeon, Antoine-Barthélemy Clot (called Clot Bey), and brought back to France around 1860, probably reaching the Louvre only after having belonged to the city of Marseilles.¹⁷ The only suggestion as to its provenance is that it is likely to have come from the region of Thebes, since that is where Clot Bey acquired much of his collection.¹⁸

This nave is also basically cylindrical, formed from a single piece of wood and 0.322 m long. The diameter of the interior passage is constant throughout (0.08 m) and, like the Brooklyn nave, it is thicker-walled at its centre, where the spoke-end mortices are located. It varies from the Brooklyn example in having mortices for eight, rather than six, spoke-ends, and in that the exterior walls thicken again towards their ends, giving them a rather trumpet-like profile. The spoke-mortices are stepped, being 0.047 by 0.03 m at their outer openings, and 0.04 by 0.02 m at their inner ones, with vertical walls 0.005–0.01 m deep between. Roughly in the centre of each space between two mortice-holes there is a small round hole, c.0.004 m in diameter and c.0.018 m deep. All but one of these holes are still plugged with the remains of wood, the purpose of which is unknown. As on the Brooklyn nave, numerous parallel incisions indicate that this nave was also turned on a lathe.

On what type of vehicle might the Brooklyn wheel have been used? We shall distinguish between chariots, which are two-wheeled; carts, which are also two-wheeled; and wagons, which are four-wheeled, discussing the less likely candidates first. It is a striking feature of an art so rich in circumstantial scenes of daily life as the Egyptian that representations of true carts are so rare that one is forced to conclude that they were little used.

We know of only two figured documents from the Late Period with carts, neither of which shows the wheels in sufficient detail for comparison with the Brooklyn wheel:

1. Relief on wall of pyramid temple at Bergerauieh near Meroë, Nubia (Twenty-

¹⁴ This is apparent on H. Carter's drawings of the wheels of chariots, nos. 332 and 333, now preserved in the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for whom the authors are publishing the Tutankhamūn chariots. They were also able to confirm this by autopsy in Cairo.

¹⁵ K. H. Dittmann, 'Der Segelwagen von Medinet Madi', *MDAIK* 10 (1941), 60–4 with figs. 1 and 3.

¹⁶ Louvre E 109.

¹⁷ We have, however, looked in vain through G. Maspero's *Catalogue du musée égyptien de Marseilles* (Paris, 1889) for any listing of this nave.

¹⁸ Personal communication of J.-L. de Cenival.

fifth Dynasty), depicting a funerary procession in which a stela is carried on a shallow two-wheeler pulled by two men, the wheel of which is shown as eight-spoked.¹⁹

2. Fragmentary relief on wall of temple at Sanam, Nubia, built by Taharqa (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), showing part of the felloe and of one spoke of load-carrying vehicle. (A cart, rather than a wagon, is suggested by the position of the mule behind it.)²⁰

Late Period evidence for wagons, apart from the actual low trolley with small, solid wheels mentioned above (diam. 0.31 m),²¹ consists of several figured documents. On reliefs from the temple of Taharqa mentioned above we see at least three—perhaps four—four-wheeled wagons and one that is apparently six-wheeled.²² They all have six-spoked wheels, the spokes and felloes of which are noticeably thicker than those of the eight-spoked chariot wheels also depicted there.²³

All other representations of four-wheelers from the Late Period known to us show floats supporting a papyrus bark, in the centre of which is placed a funeral shrine or the shrine of a deity—the continuation of a practice documented as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty by a painting in the tomb of Sebeknakhte²⁴ and in the Eighteenth Dynasty by the model from the tomb of Queen 'Aḥ-hotpe.²⁵ At least seven Late Period examples are known, five of which were discussed by Dittmann:

1. Relief on wall of pyramid temple at Bergerauieh (already mentioned);²⁶
2. Relief on east wall of chapel of tomb of Petosiris at Hermopolis (dated by Lefebvre to the end of fourth or beginning of third century BC);²⁷
3. On a mummy-cloth painting, illustrated by Wilkinson, of unknown date and provenance, but attributed by Dittmann to the same period as the Petosiris tomb;²⁸
4. On a relief on a limestone block found at Kôm el-Fakhry near Memphis, attributed to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, now in the Cairo Museum;²⁹

¹⁹ R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, v (Leipzig, 1913), fig. 41a; Dittmann, *op. cit.* p. 67 with fig. 6. It should be noted that the drawing in Dittmann is taken from Lepsius, who is not always reliable in the matter of spokes. For instance, the drawing in *Denkmäler*, III, pls. 164–5 of the relief of the battle of Kadesh on the second pylon of the Ramesseum, so frequently reproduced in the earlier literature, erroneously shows eight-spoked wheels instead of six-spoked ones on all but the royal chariot.

²⁰ F. Ll. Griffith, 'Oxford excavations in Nubia', *LAAA* 9 (1922), 94 with pl. xxiv, 3.

²¹ Dittmann, *op. cit.* 60–4 with figs. 1 and 3.

²² Griffith, *op. cit.* 99 with pl. xxxii, 3 and 7.

²³ *Ibid.*, pls. xxiv, 2 and xxxii, 1. The wheel of the only other chariot here (pl. xxiv, 4) is effaced.

²⁴ J. J. Taylor, *Wall Drawings and Monuments of El Kab: The Tomb of Sebeknekht* (London, 1896), pl. ii; Dittmann, *op. cit.* 65 with fig. 4.

²⁵ E. Vernier, *Bijoux et Orfèvreries (CCG)* (Cairo, 1927), pl. xlix; W. Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore, 1958), 125 with pl. 84 (A). A wooden model of a boat on wheels found in a Nineteenth Dynasty tomb at Gurob (G. Brunton and R. Engelbach, *Gurob* [London, 1927], pl. lii) is not considered to belong in this category, but perhaps to represent a warship; the wheels, which are solid, are painted in an unintelligible manner.

²⁶ Dittmann, *op. cit.* 60–78.

²⁷ G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris* (Cairo, 1923–4), I, 129; III, pls. 30 and 34; Dittmann, *op. cit.* 68–9 with fig. 7.

²⁸ Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 237 with fig. 69; Dittmann, *op. cit.* 69 with fig. 8.

²⁹ Cairo, no. 2434. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Egypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1889), pl. 35a; Dittmann, *op. cit.* 67; E. Drioton, *Le Musée du Caire* (Paris, 1949), pl. 192.

5. On an Alexandrian coin.³⁰

To these may be added the following:

6. On the north wall of the tomb of Si-amūn in the Siwa Oasis, dated by Fakhry '400–200 B.C.';³¹

7. On a second Alexandrian coin.³²

No. 1 has ten-spoked wheels; on nos. 2, 3, and 6 the wheels are eight spoked, nos. 2 and 6 having carved papyriform spokes; no. 7 is spoked, but the number of spokes is uncertain, and nos. 4 and 5 have solid, disc wheels. On nos. 2 and 6 the felloes appear to be studded. Although dimensions deduced from figured documents are unreliable, where human figures are present for comparison these wheels all appear smaller than the Brooklyn specimen, which is 0.96 m in diameter. They also seem heavier. Our wheel really does not fit this picture.

Finally, when considering the possibility of the use of the Brooklyn wheel with a chariot, it may be worth while briefly to compare its dimensions and construction with other surviving chariot wheels, although these are much earlier (fourteenth century BC). There is a striking accord in certain dimensions. For instance, the heaviest of Tutankhamūn's chariot wheels³³ (see pl. XV, 1) have diameters of c.0.97 m, which is close to the Brooklyn wheel's diameter of c.0.96 m; the depth of the perimeter (from inside to outside), in both cases composed of a felloe and a wooden tyre, is 0.083 and 0.085 m respectively. The spokes are elliptical in section on both wheels, and taper towards the felloe; on the older one they are 0.042 × 0.02 m at the nave, tapering to 0.02 × 0.018 m at the felloe; the corresponding measurements on the later wheel are 0.045 × 0.035 m and 0.025 × 0.018 m. The nave-length of the earlier wheel is 0.405 m, and that of the later one 0.37 m. The most appreciable difference is in the interior diameter of the nave, that of the Eighteenth Dynasty nave being 0.048 m and that of the Brooklyn nave 0.072 m. This indicates an axle half again as thick.

Although, as mentioned above (p. 112), the construction of nave and spoke is based on quite different principles in the two wheels, the felloe and tyre in both cases are made on essentially the same principles, if differing in execution. The overlapping sections of felloe on the first wheel are two, those on the second six; the butt-ended sections of tyre are four on the first and six on the second. Moreover, the tyre-sections are attached to the felloe by differing methods: in the first only at their ends by narrow bronze thongs, in the second at close intervals throughout their length by wide leather bands. Despite these last differences, the Brooklyn wheel would thus seem a possible candidate for a chariot wheel.

If this wheel should belong to a chariot, then to what sort of chariot? What were the Egyptian chariots of the Late Period like? With the chariots of her enemies developing

³⁰ G. Dattari, *Numi. Aug. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), no. 3557, pl. 27; W. Weber, *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten* (Berlin, 1914), 255–6 with fig. 127; Dittmann, op. cit. 68.

³¹ A. Fakhry, *The Siwa Oasis* (Cairo, 1944), 144 with fig. 24.

³² Dattari, op. cit. no. 1158.

³³ Chariot no. 161. Dimensions obtained from Carter's drawing in the Griffith Institute, see above n. 14.

rather rapidly during the first millennium, would Egypt have kept hers unchanged? This is a question that, so far as we know, has never been raised. However, before discussing possible changes, it is advisable to review briefly the 'classic' Egyptian chariot. This, as seen in profile in New Kingdom reliefs and wall-paintings and exemplified materially by Eighteenth Dynasty survivals, is a very light, shallow vehicle, just wide enough (c.1.0 m) for two to stand abreast, and about half as deep from back to front (see pls. XV, 2 and 1 right).³⁴ The floor-plan is like a capital D and the large fenestrations so often present in the side of the box lighten it. The railed edge of the box is normally very rounded as it drops to the floor at the rear on either side. When equipped for war or hunting, a long bowcase is attached at one side of the chariot-box, projecting conspicuously in front. Quivers for arrows are shorter and are attached at the sides at less of an angle.³⁵ By the time of Sethos I, a pair of knobbed javelins with tassels are added to the quivers and project considerably beyond the arrows.³⁶ The axles of all but a few of the earliest of these chariots are set under the rear edge of the box. Four-spoked wheels prevail until near the end of the fifteenth century BC, when six-spoked wheels become the standard, with occasional eight-spoked exceptions.

There is no material evidence of chariots from the Late Period, and the figured documents are neither always very precisely dated nor very informative. They consist of three faience relief vases, a scarab, some stone reliefs, and a drawing on stone.

The last Egyptian representations that we have of wheels with six spokes (the number of the Brooklyn wheel) come probably at the beginning of this list. They are on a faience relief chalice from Tûna at Eton College and from a fragment of a similar chalice in Berlin—both attributed to the Twenty-second Dynasty (c.950–817 BC).³⁷ They are most unsatisfactory documents, however. Beyond the facts that the wheels are six-spoked and that the chariot-box on the first chalice may be interpreted as deep and rectangular (that on the second is incoherent), little can be deduced.

Probably to be considered with these (although Stevenson Smith has suggested a date as late as the seventh century BC) is the fragment of a Tûna bowl in Boston.³⁸ This shows not only a wheel with more spokes (nine) but a chariot-box that is quite different from those on the chalices (see pl. XVI, 1). Its actual date would be particularly pertinent; for it indicates that by the time it was made familiarity with the classic,

³⁴ Dimensions obtained from G. Botti, 'Il carro del sogno', *Aegyptus* (1951), 197, and from A. C. Mace's notes and Carter's drawings preserved in the Griffith Institute (see above n. 14), supplemented by personal examination of chariots in Cairo.

³⁵ H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmosis IV* (London, 1904), pls. 10 and 11 = W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II* (Leipzig, 1935), pls. 1 and 2 = J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near East in Pictures relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, 1954), nos. 314 and 315 = Y. Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands* (New York, 1963), 192–3.

³⁶ Wreszinski, op. cit. pl. 36a = Pritchard, op. cit. no. 322.

³⁷ G. A. D. Tait, 'The Egyptian relief chalice', *JEA* 49 (1963), no. xix (Eton 72), pp. 117–19 with pl. xix, no. xxxviii (Berlin 16024), p. 126 with pl. xxii. W. Nagel (*Der Mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im ostmediterranen Bereich* [Berlin, 1966], 34 and 66 with fig. 22) mistakenly places the Twenty-second Dynasty representation in the seventeenth century BC.

³⁸ Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, no. 59.422; *MFA Annual Report* (1959), 114; Tait, op. cit. 129 with pl. xxiii, 7; W. Stevenson Smith, *Interconnections in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven and London, 1965), 47, with fig. 73.

New Kingdom chariot type had disappeared—at least in regions where the great temple-reliefs were not immediately accessible to refresh the memory. On it we apparently see a misunderstood and deformed version of the old chariot, for its ultimate inspiration is a Nineteenth Dynasty scene at Karnak: Sethos I striding towards his chariot with armfuls of prisoners.³⁹ In the original scene the chariot is the standard New Kingdom fenestrated type described above. On the bowl fragment, the thick, obliquely set shafts at front and back are evidently misinterpretations of bowcases and quivers. The siding of the anomalous box shows a rectangular pattern reminiscent of chariot-sidings of a type first recorded in Assyria in the eighth century BC.⁴⁰ The feet of the driver are shown as level with the top of the siding.

A scarab of Shōshenk IV is more securely dated, but the pictographic rendering of the chariot tells us only that its wheel was eight-spoked.⁴¹

Fragmentary wall reliefs from Taharqa's temple at Sanam provide somewhat more revealing glimpses of three chariots.⁴² One of these had enough of the wheel left to deduce eight spokes.⁴³ Two others seem to show vertical quivers at the front of the box,⁴⁴ as on eighth- and seventh-century BC Assyrian chariots,⁴⁵ but an obliquely fastened sheath of some sort projects in front, as did the bowcases on the old chariots.⁴⁶ The box seems to have a different top-line from that of the traditional Egyptian chariot.

Two scenes, considered to be consciously archaizing, offer dubious evidence. A relief in the tomb of Ebe (period of Psammētichus I) shows an eight-spoked wheel in a workshop-scene, but in a field-scene from the same tomb the classic chariot, even down to the old four-spoked wheel, appears.⁴⁷ Another workshop scene from a tomb relief now in Florence, also dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, provides another example of the old-fashioned chariot with four-spoked wheels.⁴⁸ These are from Theban tombs, where the artist would have had representations of the old chariots before his eyes.

A fragment of a trial relief in Berlin is assigned to a later period (Ptolemaic) (see pl. XVI, 2).⁴⁹ This is another example of misinterpretation of the Sethos I motif already noted on the Tūna relief bowl in Boston. The chariot-box siding is here shaped like a sugar loaf and appears unrealistically open at front and back. The eight spokes are papyrus-headed and the fellow is studded with large nails—both features reminiscent of the wheels on the funeral wagons of Petosiris and Si-amūn (cf. pp. 113–4).

³⁹ Wreszinski, op. cit. pl. 36a.

⁴⁰ F. Thureau-Dangin and M. Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), pl. xlix and T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London, 1970), 18, pl. xii, 1; R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III* (London, 1962), pl. xlv; idem, pls. lxxi and lxxxiii and Madhloom (op. cit.), pl. iii 2 and 1.

⁴¹ Berlin no. 14427. P. E. Newberry, *Scarabs* (London, 1906), 166 with pl. xxviii, 18.

⁴² Griffith, op. cit. 94 and 99 with pls. xxiv, 2, 4 and xxii, 1, 2.

⁴³ op. cit. pl. xxxii, 1.

⁴⁴ Ibid. pls. xxiv, 4 and xxxii, 1.

⁴⁵ See above n. 40.

⁴⁶ See above n. 35.

⁴⁷ Wreszinski, op. cit. I (Leipzig, 1923), pl. 137.

⁴⁸ Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. 31124; Wreszinski, op. cit. pl. 36.

⁴⁹ Berlin, VA 3425. L. Borchardt, 'Studien und Entwürfe altägyptischer Künstler', *Kunst und Künstler* 8 (1910), (Leipzig, 1935), 40; Wreszinski, op. cit. II 36a; E. Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder der deutschen Museen und Sammlungen* (Wiesbaden, 1956), pl. xlvi.

A relief of lion-headed Astarte driving a quadriga, from the Great Temple of Edfu and dating to the reign of Ptolemy XVI,⁵⁰ supplies us with a no less atypical Egyptian chariot, and one whose type seems to derive from the Orient, possibly from Phoenicia. Although the floor of the vehicle is represented as level with the upper edge of the box, and there is an unexplained 'lip' at the front of the latter, this relief testifies either to the recent presence at this time in Egypt of a type of chariot evidenced on fourth-century BC coins of Sidon,⁵¹ or to the artist's acquaintance with its representation—on coins or otherwise. The well-preserved coins of this type show a chariot box with vertical panelling similar to that on the Edfu vehicle and an eight-spoked wheel that has similarly carved spokes.

So far these are only hints (negative or positive) that the Egyptian chariot was following the trend of other chariots in the Near East in the first millennium BC. In Assyria, for instance (from which we have the most extensive documentation), the small, fast, two-man chariot was going out in the eighth century BC, its role being taken over by mounted troops (which had already begun to appear in the ninth century). The chariot was becoming larger and heavier, with an apparently rectangular floor-plan, and it might carry three or four men; by the seventh century it had conspicuously larger wheels and was drawn by four horses.⁵²

From Egypt we do have one much more explicit example of one of the new chariots than any of those cited above. This appears in a drawing on a limestone block of unknown provenance now in the Kestner Museum, Hanover (see pl. XVI, 3).⁵³ Although it has been dated variously to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, the simple fact that it is a *quadriga* would place it much later. The first appearance anywhere of the four-horse chariot occurs in the ninth century BC,⁵⁴ but it does not become

⁵⁰ E. Naville, *Textes relatifs au Mythe d'Horus recueillis dans le Temple d'Edfou* (Geneva and Basle, 1870), 17 with pl. xiii, J. Leclant, 'Astarté à Cheval', *Syria* (1960), 54 ff. with pl. iva and v.

⁵¹ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford, 1887), 672 with fig. 354; E. Babelon, *Les Perses Achéménides* (Paris, 1893), pl. 30, 11 = Nuoffer, op. cit. frontispiece = F. Studniczka, 'Der Rennwagen in syrisch-phönikischen Gebiet', *Jahrbuch des deutsch. arch. Inst.*, (*Abt. Athen*) 22 (1907), 191 with fig. 35.

⁵² A. Parrot, *Assur* (Paris, 1961), pls. 65 and 345; E. Strommenger, *5000 Years of the Art of Mesopotamia* (New York, 1964), pls. 248 and 253; C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London, 1936), 204 with pl. 44 = Yadin, op. cit. 452. Although the teams in these are depicted as only one animal, the four reins (the outside reins being attached by slip knots to the chariot front corners) indicate four horses, as do the four-horse yokes shown with unharnessed chariots: cf. Gadd, op. cit. 187 with pl. 18; Yadin, op. cit. 426 and 430 (lower ill.). For possible rein arrangement cf. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculpture, Palace of Sinacherib* (The Hague, 1915), 107-8.

⁵³ Hanover, Kestner Museum No. 2952. M. Baud, 'Les dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine', *MIFAO* 63 (1935), 55-6; Brunner-Traut, op. cit. 101-2 with pl. xlvihi; I. Woldering, *Ausgewählte Werke der ägyptischen Sammlung* (Hanover, 1958), fig. 38; id., *Meisterwerke des Kestner-Museums zu Hannover* (Hanover, 1961), pl. 12; id., *Gods, Men and Pharaohs* (New York, 1967), 129 with pl. 23. Hoping to find another means of limiting the time-range for this piece, through the kindness of Professor J. R. Harris, we asked Professor Iversen of the University of Copenhagen, who has been working on canons of proportion, if the grid on this sketch could give us any lead to its dating. Unfortunately, while this drawing is made under the first canon of proportion, this canon continued in use even after the second canon was introduced in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. We wish to thank both Dr Harris and Professor Iversen for this information.

⁵⁴ R. D. Barnett, *Assyrian Palace Reliefs* (n.d.), pls. 18, 20, 24, 25. In the first two instances two pairs of horses are being swum after a single chariot transported by boat, and in the latter two instances the four pairs of reins carefully rendered indicate four-horse teams.

prevalent until the eighth or seventh century BC.⁵⁵ The convention used in the Kestner drawing, which shows four nose- and four chest-profiles of the horses, though only two sets of legs, is similar to one sometimes obtaining in eighth-century BC Assyria, where a pair of horses may have two facial profiles and only one set of legs.⁵⁶

The chariot-box in this study is without the old Egyptian fenestration, and is deeper from back to front than the earlier chariot. Its general profile not only does not resemble those of New Kingdom chariots but is reminiscent of that of a chariot on an eighth-century-BC Neo-Hittite relief from Sakçagözü,⁵⁷ of those of fifth-century Persian and Syrian chariots at Persepolis,⁵⁸ and even of those of the yet later gold models from the Oxus Treasure.⁵⁹ There is no evidence for a small, *attached*, open handhold at the rear upper corner of the box in the second millennium BC and, indeed, this appears primarily (in a slightly different shape) on Persian chariots of the fifth and fourth centuries BC.⁶⁰ The pole-support that drops down from the top of the front breastwork at a far sharper angle than the Egyptian ones (see pl. XV, 2) is very typical of Assyrian chariots.⁶¹ What appears to be a fringe hangs from the lower edge of the chariot side. Such a thing is never shown on New Kingdom chariots, but sometimes appears on oriental chariots in the eighth and seventh centuries BC.⁶² The horses are not moving at the high *cabré allongé* by which New Kingdom artists rendered the gallop (see pl. XV, 2), but at the low one by which the Assyrians and the Persians depicted this gait.⁶³ The chariot-box shows no arms, and the driver is unarmed, flourishing merely a whip. There is no indication that this is a battle scene and that this might be a fleeing enemy chariot. The charioteer is clearly an Egyptian, and we may suggest that this represents an Egyptian chariot of its period, and one that has developed along oriental lines. Since, however, it combines features of different Asiatic chariots over a fair range of time (late eighth to fifth and even fourth century BC) and place (Syria to Persia and beyond) it is impossible to date it precisely or to establish that it was the product of any particular influence. Was it the result of the seventh-century BC Assyrian invasions under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, or of the Persian dominations of the sixth and fourth centuries BC?⁶⁴

⁵⁵ See above n. 52.

⁵⁶ Barnett and Falkner, *op. cit.* pls. xliv, lxvii, and lxxxiii.

⁵⁷ H. T. Bossert, *Altanatolien* (Berlin, 1942), no. 886; G. R. Meyer *Altorientalische Denkmäler im vorderasiatischen Museum zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 1965), pl. 90; Madhloom, *op. cit.* pl. xiii, 1.

⁵⁸ E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, 1 (Chicago, 1953), pls. 32A and B and 52.

⁵⁹ O. M. Dalton, *Treasure of the Oxus* (3rd edn., London, 1964), xxxix-xli with figs. 20 and 21, pl. iv and 'additional' pl. at end. R. Ghirshman, *Persia* (London, 1964), pl. 301.

⁶⁰ Cf. Persepolis relief (Schmidt, *op. cit.* pl. 52) and seals (H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* [London, 1939], pls. xxxviii and n; E. L. B. Terrace, *The Art of the Ancient Near East in Boston* [Museum of Fine Arts, 1962], pl. 57; Ghirshman, *op. cit.* pl. 329).

⁶¹ Barnett, *op. cit.* pls. 24-5; Strommenger, *op. cit.* pls. 248 and 253.

⁶² Bossert, *op. cit.* no. 886; Meyer, *op. cit.* pl. 90; Strommenger, *op. cit.* pl. 248; M. Malloyan, *Nimrud and its Remains* (New York, 1966), pl. 387; Madhloom, *op. cit.* pl. xiii, 1 and 2; V. Karageorghis, 'Chars sur des vases chyriotes', *BCH* 90 (1966), 105-6 with fig. 3; *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, 1 (Nicosia, 1967), fig. 7.

⁶³ Strommenger, *op. cit.* pls. 206 (above), 248 and 253; Frankfort, pl. xxxvii d; Ghirshman, *op. cit.* pl. 329.

⁶⁴ Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.), during his invasion of Palestine, records capturing 'Egyptian charioteers' in the battle in the plain of Eltekeh: cf. J. B. Pritchard, (ed.), *ANET* (Princeton, 1955), 287.

We may, therefore, ask if the Brooklyn wheel may not have belonged to an Egyptian chariot influenced by Asiatic types. The lathe-turned nave of our wheel firmly places it in a time (well within the first millennium BC) when this would have been very probable. We have already seen that there is little, if any, reliable evidence for the use of the classic, second-millennium type of Egyptian chariot at that time. Apart from the two apparently consciously archaizing scenes in the Ebe tomb reliefs and the relief in Florence,⁶⁵ all we have are some misunderstood renderings of it,⁶⁶ and we may be justified in wondering if such chariots were still in use. The Brooklyn wheel, by its slightly heavier build than the heaviest surviving chariot wheels of Tutankhamūn (see above, p. 114), and by its provision for a thicker axle, would be suitable for one of these generally larger and heavier first-millennium BC oriental chariots. On the other hand, certain details of construction give reason to believe that this wheel did not belong merely to an imported oriental chariot, but to an Egyptian one built under oriental influence. The rim, made up of felloe and wooden tyre, is only slightly deeper (0.02 m) than that on the Eighteenth Dynasty chariot mentioned above, but not nearly as deep in proportion to the total diameter as those consistently depicted on Assyrian chariots.⁶⁷ The difference in relative proportions of felloe and tyre and the manner of joining these two seems even greater. While in the New Kingdom chariot wheel and the Brooklyn wheel the felloe and tyre are of almost equal depth, the wooden tyres of Assyrian and Persian wheels are shown as at least twice as deep as the felloes.⁶⁸ In both Egyptian examples the outer surfaces of the felloe and the inner surfaces of the tyre are smooth, and merely lie flush with each other, but those of Assyrian and Persian chariot wheels were apparently tongued and grooved into each other.⁶⁹ However, the wide bands that bind tyre to felloe in the Brooklyn wheel (see fig. 1) look as if they might have been inspired by examples of similar appearance on Assyrian chariot wheels,⁷⁰ although in the latter case they were fewer in number and probably of metal.

In contrast to royal Assyrian chariot wheels of the seventh century and to Persian examples of the fifth and fourth centuries BC,⁷¹ the Brooklyn wheel has no studded tyre. It is interesting to note that the wheel on the chariot of Asiatic type in the Kestner-Museum drawing is also unstudded. In Egypt studded wheels are only seen on some representations of the Ptolemaic period.⁷²

The number of spokes, i.e. six, in the Brooklyn wheel would be rather unusual in both Egypt and other parts of the Near East from the eighth century BC onwards, when the prevalent number becomes eight or more. Six are still sometimes found, however,⁷³ and our wheel may be one of the exceptions.

⁶⁵ See above nn. 47 and 48.

⁶⁶ See above nn. 37, 38, 49, 50.

⁶⁷ Barnett, *op. cit.* pls. 24 and 25; Strommenger, *op. cit.* pls. 248 and 253.

⁶⁸ Barnett, *op. cit.* pls. 24 and 25; Strommenger, *op. cit.* pls. 248 and 253; Schmidt, *op. cit.* pl. 52.

⁶⁹ G. Kossack, 'The construction of the felloe in Iron Age spoked wheels', in J. Boardman, M. A. Brown, and T. G. E. Powell (eds.), *The European Community in Prehistory* (London, 1971), 155-9.

⁷⁰ Strommenger, *op. cit.* pls. 248 and 253.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pls. 248 and 253; Schmidt, *op. cit.* pl. 52; Frankfort, *op. cit.* pls. xxxvii d and n; Ghirshman, *op. cit.* fig. 301; Dalton, *op. cit.* pl. iv.

⁷² Cf. nn. 27, 31, and 49.

⁷³ e.g. MMA, acc. no. 74.51.2451: relief of end of fifth century BC. Cypriote limestone sarcophagus from Golgoi, Studniczka, *op. cit.* 182 with fig. 28; J. L. Myres, *Antike Denkmäler* (1909-11), 5-6; Athens 17376: terracotta chariot model, Karageorghis, *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis*, I, fig. 8.

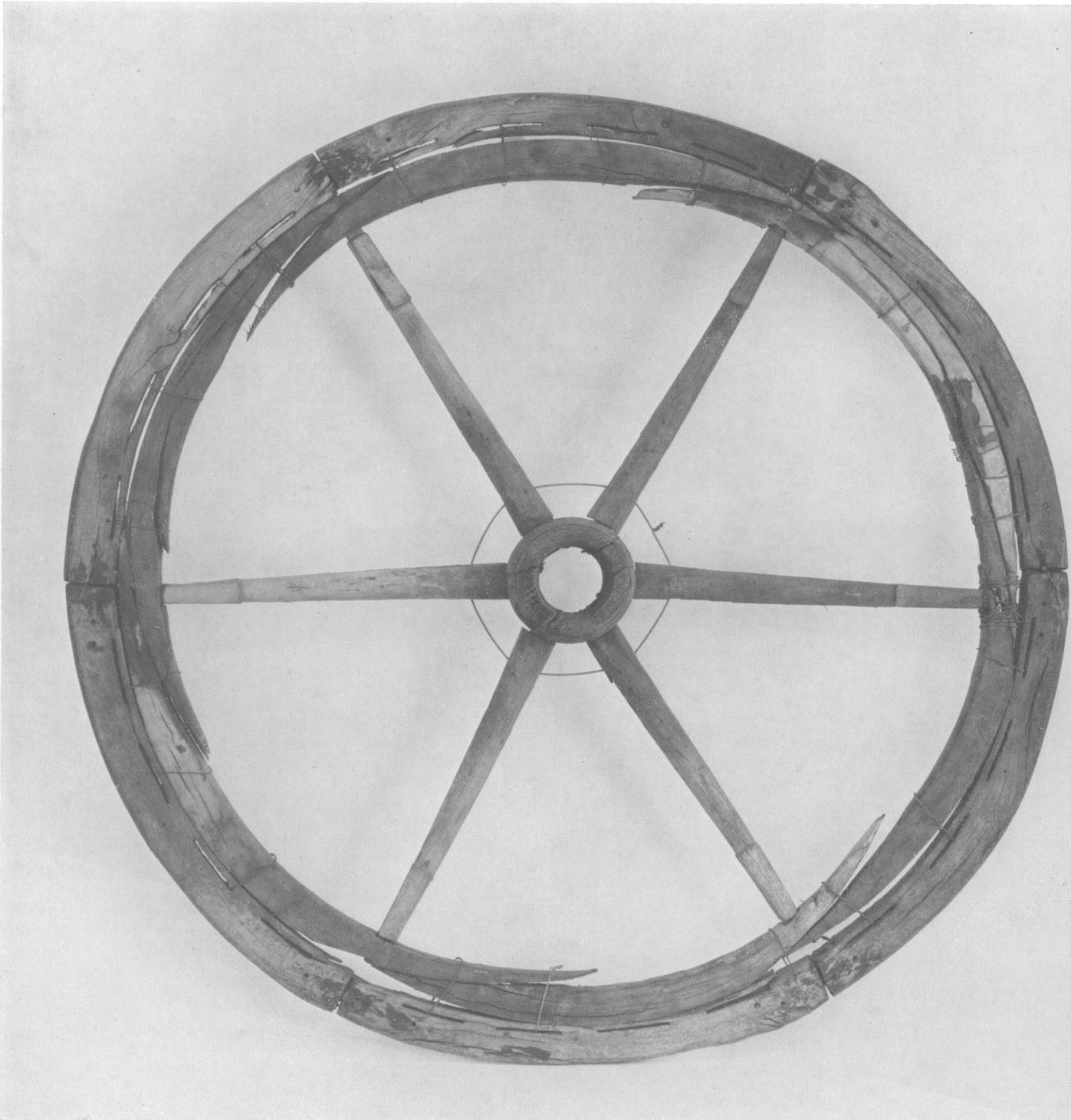
More significant may be the minimal carving on the narrower faces of our spokes. While these carvings would hardly be visible in a strict profile view, it may be worth noting that at least by the beginning of the fifth century BC Persian chariot-wheel spokes show slight decorative carving near their centres.⁷⁴ Yet this carving is quite different from the heavy carving we have seen on the spokes of Ptolemaic funeral floats and garbled renderings of chariots and which was apparently popular in that period.⁷⁵ The Brooklyn wheel may thus bear early witness to the modest beginning of carved spokes in Egypt, perhaps under Persian influence.

⁷⁴ Schmidt, *op. cit.* pl. 52; Frankfort, *op. cit.* xxxvii n; Terrace, *op. cit.* pl. 57.

⁷⁵ Cf. nn. 27, 31, 49, 50.

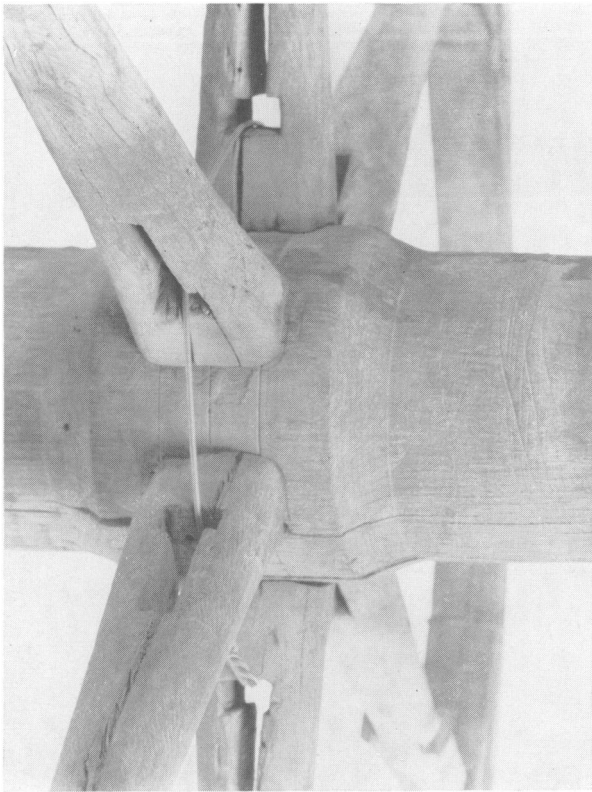
Postscript

Upon our request different parts of the wheel were sampled for identification of the wood(s) in Brooklyn College. Unfortunately, at the time of writing the results were not yet available.

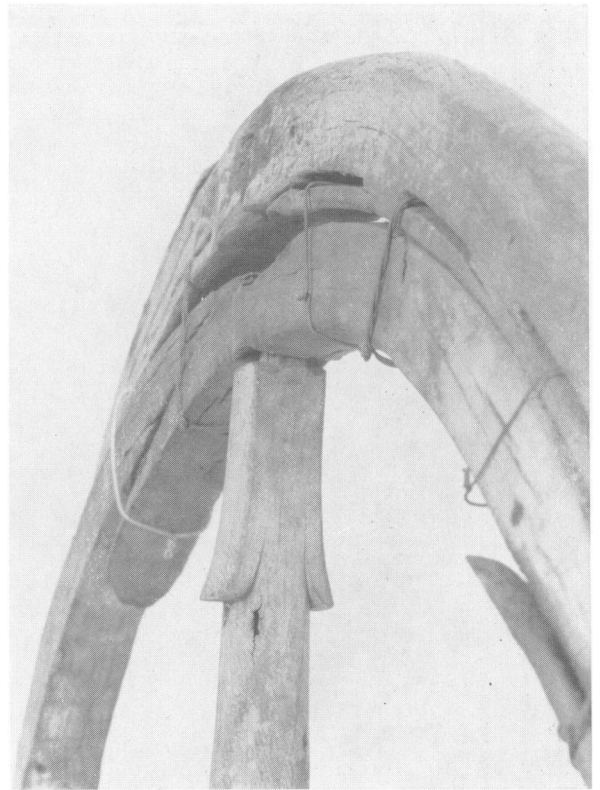


Egyptian wheel (Acc. no. 37.1700)
Courtesy Brooklyn Museum

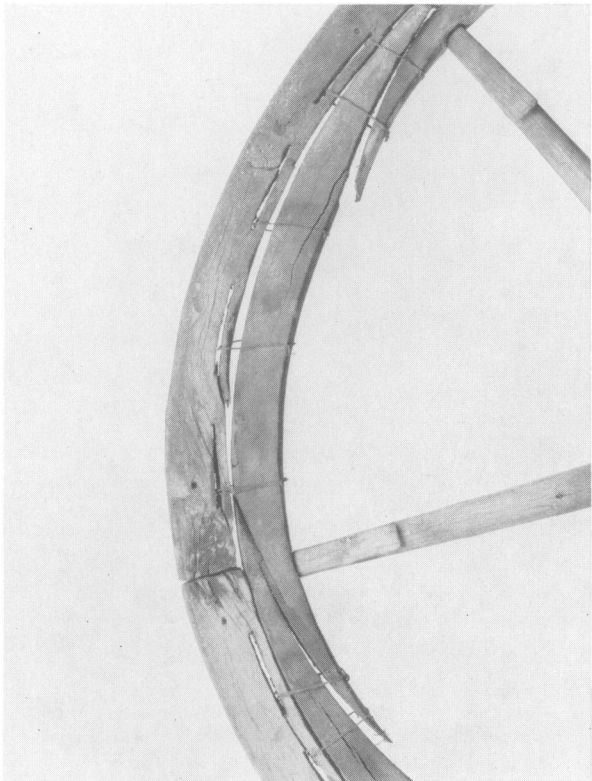
AN EGYPTIAN WHEEL IN BROOKLYN



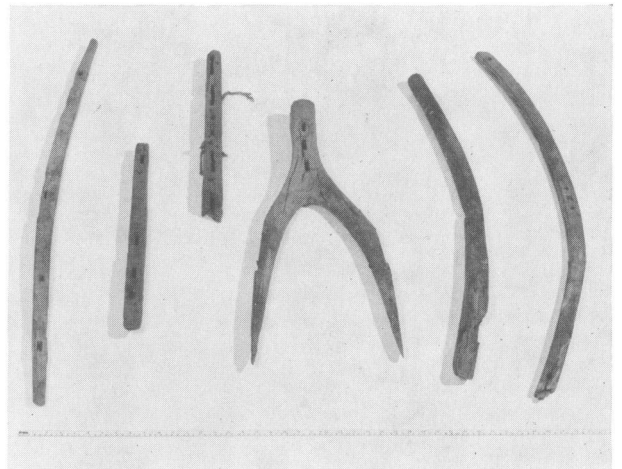
1. Egyptian wheel. Detail



2. Egyptian wheel. Detail



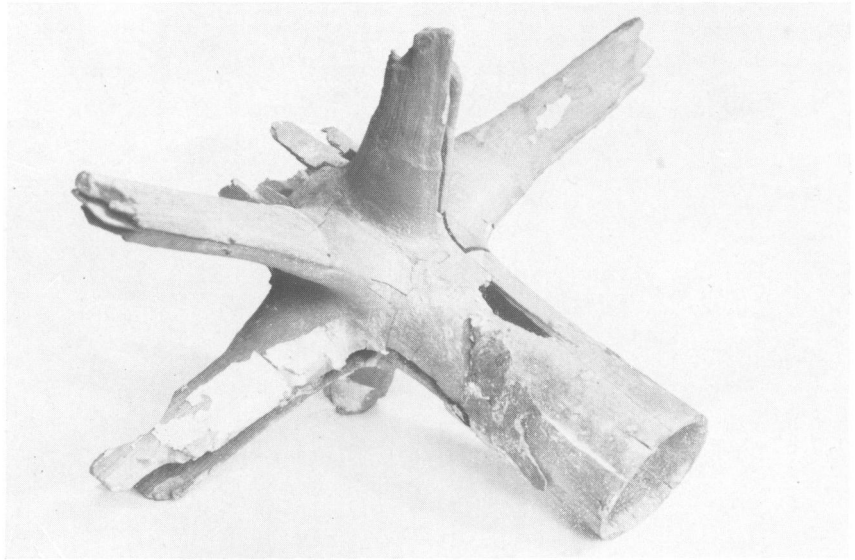
3. Egyptian wheel. Detail



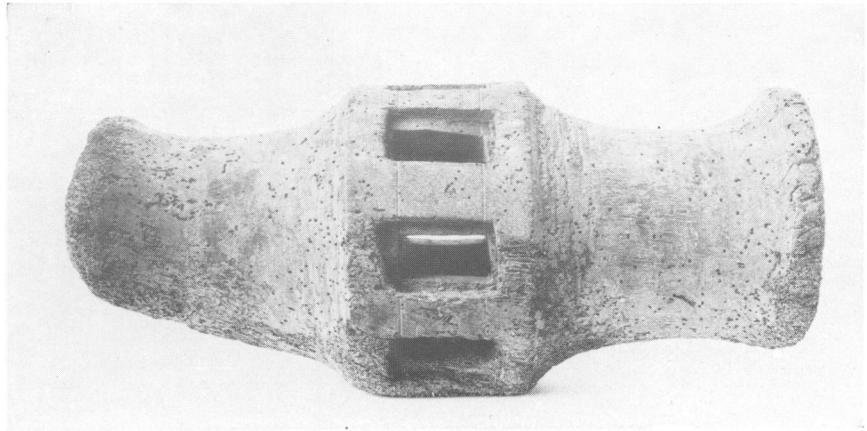
4. Pieces of wood accompanying wheel in Brooklyn Museum

Courtesy Brooklyn Museum

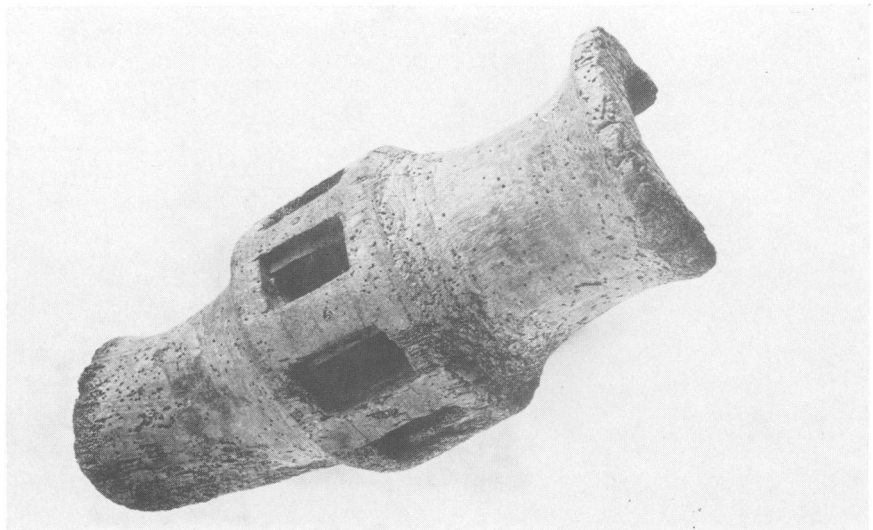
AN EGYPTIAN WHEEL IN BROOKLYN



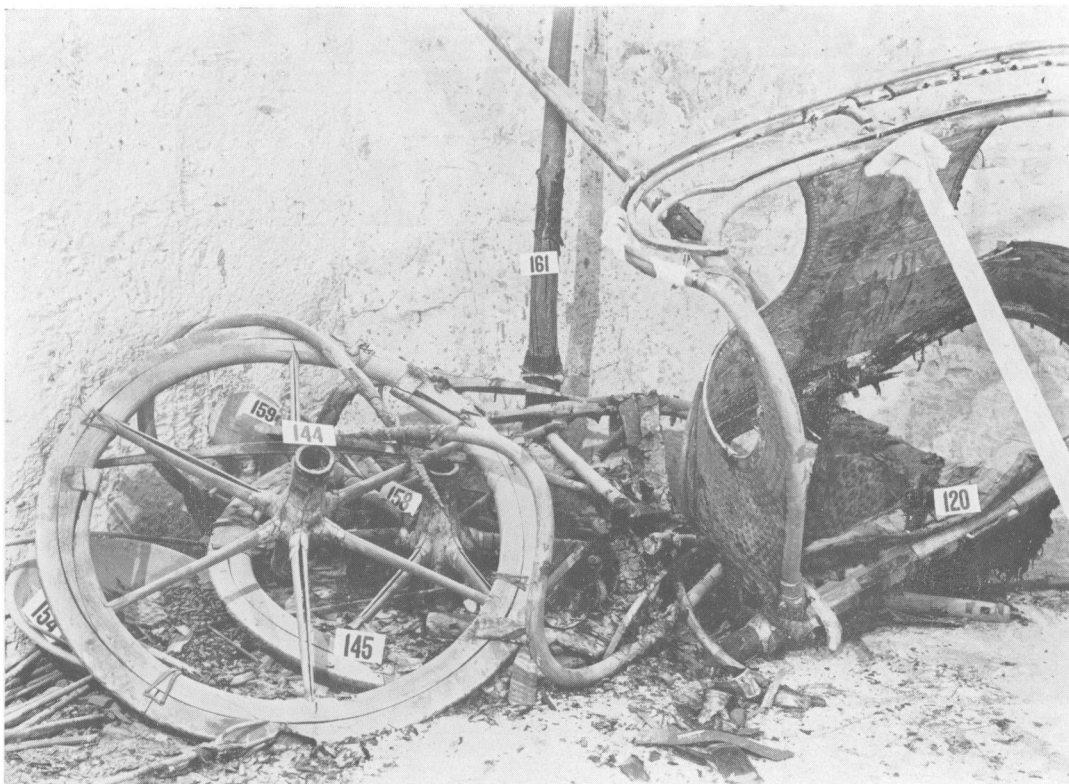
1. Fragmentary wheel of Amenophis III, Ashmolean Museum (Acc. no. 1923. 663)
Courtesy Ashmolean Museum



2. Nave of Egyptian wheel, Louvre (Inv. no. E 109)
Courtesy Musée du Louvre



3. Nave of Egyptian wheel. Detail



1. Wheels of a chariot of Tut'ankhamūn (Cairo Museum, J.E. 61993, Exhib. no. 1324)
 Courtesy Management Committee, Griffith Institute



2. Painted wooden chest of Tut'ankhamūn. Photograph Harry Burton, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York



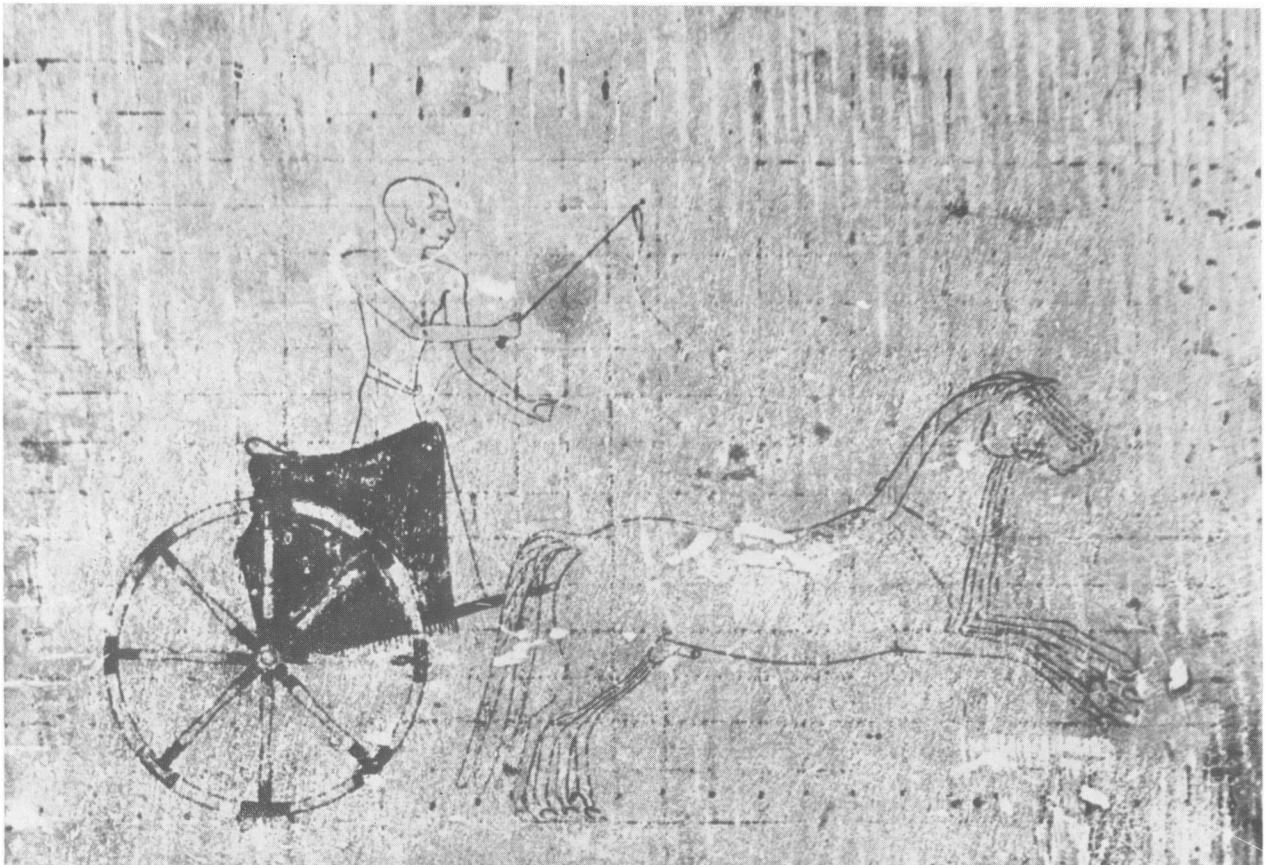
1. Fragment of Tuna bowl

Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Acc. no. 59.422)



2. Fragment of relief

Courtesy Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (Inv. no. 3425)



3. Drawing on limestone

Courtesy Kestner Museum, Hanover (Inv. no. 2952)

AN EGYPTIAN WHEEL IN BROOKLYN

PLATO ON EGYPTIAN ART

By WHITNEY M. DAVIS

IN this brief paper I wish to discuss Plato's few but interesting references to Egyptian art. These references are interesting for several reasons. We may perhaps determine exactly how much Plato knew of Egyptian art. We may be able to add some intriguing footnotes to what we already know of Plato's aesthetic theory and opinion of contemporary Greek art. From another point of view, we will note that Plato's astute observations help us to understand Egyptian art itself.¹

But first of all, it should be asked what Plato knew of Egypt which would have enabled him to say anything sensible about Egyptian art. The dialogues contain at least twenty references to Egypt and the Egyptians. Several of these, however, are purely geographical (*Critias* 114c; *Timaeus* 25b; *Menexenus* 239e, 241e; *Gorgias* 511d). Plato locates Egypt correctly but his interest in it is incidental to his theme. Other of his remarks are ostensibly anthropological. None, however, seems to depend upon anything more than a current and vague popular view about Egyptian habits and character (*Republic* 4. 346a; *Laws* 5. 747c, 12. 953a). Plato seems to have a knowledge of the Egyptian climate (*Epinomis* 987a) and of Egyptian embalming practices (*Phaedo* 80c). His remarks are so brief that there is scarcely opportunity for error. Again, his slightly more extensive references to the Egyptian military (*Timaeus* 24b) and habit of teaching arithmetical procedures to children (*Laws*, 7. 819) do not stand contradicted by Egyptian evidence, yet do not depend upon a special acquaintance with an Egyptian source. There is the possibility that Plato's remarks about the priestly role of the Egyptian monarch (*Statesman* 290d–e) were based upon some special understanding; what Plato says in this connection is true, but to have known it was true the philosopher would have had to have a close knowledge of Egyptian political history.² Plato repeats tales which Solon was supposed to have brought to Greece from Egypt (*Critias* 108d, 113a; *Timaeus* 21c–22a). Solon perhaps did visit Egypt, as Herodotus (1. 30) and Diodorus Siculus (1. 98) testify, and Plato is probably repeating the stories from his own Greek sources for Solon's journey. The Egyptian content itself in these stories is accurate in all essential respects, but is, of course, not presented as special material acquired by Plato.

The tradition of Plato's visit to Egypt, as the reader will undoubtedly remember, is a strong one, that is, it has been repeated many times. Nevertheless, ultimately the

I am indebted to Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths and Dr Alan B. Lloyd for several valuable references and comments.

¹ After the substance of this paper had been prepared, I was able to read a source I had overlooked before: Ch. Froidefond's remarks on Plato and 'la sacralisation des arts en Égypte', in his comprehensive thesis published as *Le mirage égyptien dans la littérature grecque d'Homère à Aristote* (Paris, 1971), especially 326–37. The interpretation of Plato's remarks on Egyptian art put forward there (331–2) essentially agrees with the one advanced herein.

² See J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'Plato on priests and kings in Egypt', *Classical Review* 15 (1965), 156–7.

testimony of all our classical authorities is contradictory, confused, or simply absurd. Tradition held that Pythagoras and Democritus of Abdera visited Egypt—and here tradition may be correct—but, although there always remains the remote possibility that Plato saw the monuments of Egypt for himself, it is likely that whatever Plato says about Egypt has been reported to him.³

Even if Plato did not actually visit Egypt, there were many ways by which he could have become familiar with Egyptian art. First of all, as was just suggested, an observer who had indeed travelled to Egypt could have described his journeys to the philosopher. Among Plato's close acquaintances the most likely candidate in this regard is Eudoxus of Cnidus, who studied with Plato and whose stay in Egypt is well documented.⁴ There may, of course, have been several other Greeks who had seen Egypt and who knew Plato sufficiently well to have reported to him at length. Secondly, Egyptian objects were not unknown in Greece. As early as the second half of the eighth century BC, Egyptian trade-objects moved along Greek trade routes.⁵ In the Greek Geometric period, the so-called 'Isis Grave' possibly documents Greek ownership of Egyptian objects.⁶ As Benson has shown, there are Egyptian prototypes for Greek Geometric motifs.⁷ From the earliest period, then, Egyptian art was possibly a source of interest

³ The earliest references to Plato's supposed visit to Egypt are to be found in Cicero (*De Rep.* 1. 10. 16; *De Fin.* 5. [29]. 87); Plato is said to have learned mathematics and astronomy from Egyptian priests. Similar statements are preserved in Diodorus Siculus (1. 96) and Valerius Maximus (8. 7. 3). Among the commentators there is some confusion about Plato's supposed journey. Although most sources place Plato's Egyptian journey before his Sicilian journey, both Quintilian (1. 12. 15) and Diogenes Laertius (3. 6) reverse this order. And confusion also obtains in classical accounts of Plato's companion(s): Euripides perhaps accompanied Plato to Egypt (so Diogenes Laertius, 3. 6), but Plutarch says that Simmias (*De gen. Socr.* 7 [= *Moralia*, 578F]) and Strabo that Eudoxus (17. 1.29 (C806), but cf. with this Diogenes Laertius, 8. 87) was the companion. Modern scholars are divided over the issue of Plato's visit. F. Daumas, in R. Godel, *Platon à Héliopolis d'Égypte* (Paris, 1956), 73–83, accepts the tradition, never explicitly contradicted by any of our classical authorities. Th. Hopfner, *Plutarch über Isis und Osiris* (Prague, 1941), II, 86–7, feels that the evidence must be approached with greater caution, and see also comments by J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cambridge, 1970), 285–6. The journey to Egypt is a central theme in the ancient biographies of several Greek philosophers and men of culture. References to this educational pilgrimage abound in the classical literature. Standard treatments of this material are T. Hopfner, *Orient und griechische Philosophie* (Leipzig, 1925) and M. L. West, *Greek Philosophy and the Orient* (Oxford, 1971). See for the Egyptian material especially Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (Leiden, 1975), I, 49–60, for an evaluation of the evidence concerning Thales, Solon, Pythagoras and the Orphics, and Diodorus' well-known reference (1. 98) to the sculptural production of Telecles and Theodorus (further discussion of this last may be found in works cited in note 8 below).

⁴ See Diogenes Laertius, 8. 86 ff.; F. W. von Bissing, 'Eudoxus von Knidos' Aufenthalt in Ägypten und seine Übertragung ägyptischer Tierfabeln', *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 25 (1949), 225–30; G. Huxley, 'Studies in the Greek astronomers, I: Eudoxian topics', *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 4 (1964), 85–8; J. Gwyn Griffiths, 'A translation from the Egyptian by Eudoxus', *Classical Quarterly* 15 (1965), 75–8. O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity*, 2nd edn. (Providence, R.I., 1957), 151, makes the point that there was actually little the Greek mathematician could have learned from the Egyptians—but this does not, of course, imply that Eudoxus could not have described to other Greeks what he had witnessed in Egypt.

⁵ See, for one example, G. Buchner in *Metropoli e Colonie di Magna Graecia, Atti del Terzo Convegno di Studi sulla Magna Graecia* (Naples, 1964), 272; for the Rhodian centre of distribution of Egyptian objects, established c.700 BC, see T. J. Dunbabin, *The Western Greeks* (Oxford, 1948), 233–5, with further references.

⁶ R. S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves and a Seventh Century Well in the Agora, Supplements to Hesperia* 2 (Athens, 1939), 234–6.

⁷ J. L. Benson, *Horse, Bird, and Man: The Origins of Greek Painting* (Amherst, Mass., 1970), 89–94. We need not endorse the whole of Benson's controversial analysis to be persuaded by his treatment of the Egyptian material.

to, and inspiration for, Greek artists. It has been argued, too, that archaic Greek sculpture was strongly influenced by the Egyptian tradition.⁸ If, as Adam believes, Greek sculptors actually visited Egyptian workshops,⁹ it is easy to see how the archaic Greek debt to Egypt was incurred. Even if Greek experience in the sculptural 'factories' of Egypt is denied, of course, the Greeks could have procured considerable experience of Egyptian art by indirect means.

It might be objected that despite some Egyptian influence on Greek art in the Geometric and Archaic periods, there was no reason for Plato, living at the transition from the fifth to the fourth centuries BC, to have been particularly aware of Egyptian art in and of itself. But if, as tradition holds, Plato had been a painter;¹⁰ if Graeco-Roman opinion commonly attributed the origin of painting to Egypt;¹¹ if small Egyptian trade-objects could actually have been seen by Plato; if archaic Greek works which Plato could have studied were influenced by Egyptian styles; and if, in general, as several scholars have pointed out, Plato preferred an idealistic and simple art,¹² rather different from what was practised in his own day, then there is, in fact, reason to suppose that Plato was quite familiar with Egyptian art. Many of the points here are highly conjectural. The best argument for the hypothesis is to be found in the dialogues themselves.

And so Plato's comments on Egyptian art must be examined, specifically, since the other passage does not add materially to this text, *Laws* 2. 656-7 (cf. *Laws* 7. 799a-b). Here, 'the Athenian' contrasts the laws governing the 'educative-playful function of the Muses' in the rest of the world with the laws obtaining in Egypt. In Egypt, the Athenian informs his listeners, it had long been recognized that the arts must be of the highest quality—and so the Egyptians had drawn up an 'inventory of standard types' from which no deviation was ever to be permitted (656d-e). Thus, the Athenian says, 'if you inspect their paintings and reliefs on the spot, you will find that the work of ten-thousand years ago—I do not mean just a long time ago, but actually ten-thousand years ago—is neither better nor worse than that of today: both exhibit an identical

⁸ The controversy cannot be summarized here, but it is important to cite the literature. The chief points have been articulated by F. Grace, 'Observations on seventh century sculpture', *AJA* 46 (1942), 341-59; P. Gilbert, 'L'unité de la statue égyptienne et l'unité de la statue grecque de type athlétique', *CdE* 29 (1954), 195-209; E. Iversen, 'The Egyptian origin of the archaic Greek canon', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 137-47; R. Anthes, 'Affinity and difference between Egyptian and Greek sculpture and thought in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C.', *PAPhS* 107 (1963), 60-81; K. Levin, 'The male figure in Egyptian and Greek sculpture', *AJA* 68 (1964), 13-28; B. S. Ridgway, 'Greek kouroi and Egyptian methods', *AJA* 70 (1966), 68-70; R. M. Cook, 'Origins of Greek sculpture', *JHS* 87 (1967), 24-32; E. Iversen, 'The canonical tradition', in J. R. Harris (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, 2nd edn. (Oxford, 1971), 55-82; G. M. A. Richter, 'Kouroi and Korai', *Das Altertum* 17 (1971), 11-24. Although precision is obviously desirable in this kind of analysis, we may only say that there is a possibility of Egyptian influence on the Greek sculptural tradition.

⁹ S. Adam, *The Technique of Greek Sculpture* (London, 1966), 8-12.

¹⁰ See Apuleius, *Dogm. Plat.* 1. 2; Diogenes Laertius, 3. 5.

¹¹ As in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 7. 205, quoting Aristotle, and cf. 35. 15-16.

¹² See, for example, *Republic* 3. 399e-400a. As Wilamowitz-Moellendorff has truly remarked, '... Platon hatte ausgesprochen altertümliche Niegungen in der Musik und Poesie, und ignorirt die neue durchaus', *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* [Berlin, 1900], 14, and see now R. G. Steven, 'Plato and the art of his time', *Classical Quarterly* 27 (1933), 153-5. Some Platonic scholars have noticed the connection between Plato's traditionalistic and austere approach to art and politics and his praise of Egyptian art and laws: for instance, R. Weil, *L'archéologie de Platon* (Paris, 1959), *Études et commentaires . . . du C.N.R.S.* 32, 157-8.

artistry' (656e–657a). In the case of Egypt it has 'actually proved possible, in such a sphere, to canonize melodies which exhibit an intrinsic rightness permanently by law' (657a). The Athenian feels that the same legislation could be perfected in the Greek world: 'if we can but detect the intrinsically right in such matters, in whatever degree, we should reduce them to law and system without misgiving . . .' (657b, and cf. *Statesman* 299b).

This passage exemplifies the well-known Greek awe of ancient Egyptian achievements. To say only this, however, would not do justice to the depth of Plato's thought. The Athenian and Clinias do not marvel so much at the 'ten-thousand year' constancy of the Egyptian artistic tradition¹³ as they do at the fact that 'standard types' of 'intrinsic rightness' or 'natural correctness' have been enforced by law, to the immense improvement of the arts and education. It is necessary to ask what exactly Plato has in mind when he speaks of these standard types.

First of all, although Plato speaks specifically of music in 657a, implicitly throughout the passage, and explicitly in 656, he is referring to the graphic arts (painting and relief) and music together. Secondly, the types are traditional. They were fixed in a past age and are still acceptable in this age since, apparently, the intrinsic rightness, correctness, or validity of the types is not lessened or altered by the passage of time. In short, they are formulae. Thirdly, they have a semi-sacral character. Their origin is attributed to a 'god or a god-like man' (657a). Specimens are 'consecrated' in the temples (656e), are accorded 'the effective sanction of religion'.¹⁴ Plato's emphasis on the formulaic, traditional, religious quality of the 'types' suggests that he has in mind primarily the Egyptian method of representing the three-dimensional world in the two dimensions of graphic art (for our purposes, it is assumed that Egyptian relief is 'two-dimensional'), and evidently some similar canonical procedure in music, which is, unfortunately, lost to us today. Although it is not true that all Egyptian art is formulaic, overwhelmingly traditional, or always 'religious', for our purposes and certainly as far as Plato knew, the 'standard types' were exactly that. Egyptian artists developed a method of two-dimensional representation which presents each individual component of an object and of a scene as fully and as clearly as possible, and which pays strict attention to the empirically determined proportions of these components. In the process, a naturalistic viewpoint, relying upon foreshortening and the modelling of form by light, had to be eschewed. Foreshortening and illusionism would obscure elements which are known to be present, and would distort those other elements which are in fact chosen for representation. Instead, an idealizing, analytic, 'aspective' point of view is adopted. A standard vocabulary of forms was built up on these principles and was maintained more or less continuously for three-thousand years.

The Egyptian method—that is, the standard vocabulary of forms in Egyptian art—must have been particularly appealing to Plato for two associated reasons.

¹³ Cf. G. Maspero, *Égypte*, in *Histoire générale de l'art* (Paris, 1912), 266: 'Plato réfléchissait sans doute l'état d'esprit de ses contemporains d'Égypte lorsqu'il vantait, comme quelque chose d'admirable, la constance avec laquelle ils exécutaient les mêmes types sans changement aucun depuis des milliers d'années.'

¹⁴ England's translation (E. G. England, *The Laws of Plato* [Manchester, 1921], I, 287).

Throughout many of the dialogues, Plato is extremely concerned about the illusions of sight, about vision which 'obscures the truth and engenders false judgement' (*Philebus* 42a).¹⁵ Misperception may be indicative of 'confusion of this sort in our souls' (*Republic* 10. 602c), and may hamper us from obtaining true knowledge of anything. 'Is it not true', asks Socrates in the *Phaedo* (74b), stressing the relativity of perception, 'that equal stones and sticks sometimes, without changing in themselves, appear equal to one person and unequal to another?'¹⁶ It is a naturalistic style in art—such as that introduced to the Greek world by Apollodorus of Athens, who 'was the first to give his figures the appearance of reality',¹⁷ and that lifelikeness of sculpture, preserved to us archaeologically and frequently described by Plato and the dramatists¹⁸—which most closely approximates to an actual visual impression, replete as this impression is with errors of vision and consequent misjudgements of fact. And of all the artistic styles which Plato could have known, it was Egyptian art which decidedly renounced naturalistic illusionism to present a view of things (as art historians tirelessly remark) as they are known to be, and in the proportions which they are scientifically known to possess. It should not be assumed that Greek artists of the fifth and fourth centuries BC were not concerned with proportion. The canon of Polycleitus was evidently based upon a scientific investigation of human body proportions, and Polycleitus himself was reputed to have claimed that 'the beautiful comes about, little by little, through many numbers'.¹⁹ But the Greeks used their close knowledge of proportion to achieve a scientific lifelikeness. The Egyptians, whose measurements were quite as precise, in general evinced no interest in absolute lifelikeness or 'photographic' illusionism, yet none the less insisted upon the presentation of proper proportions.

This Egyptian emphasis on proportion, without a concurrent lapse into illusionism, must have been another source of Plato's evident admiration for Egyptian art. As Plato remarks in several instances, proportion and careful measure, 'a certain rightness and order', is a good (see, for example, *Philebus* 64d, 66b; *Republic* 6. 486d, and *Gorgias* 506e). It is a corrective to illusionism and the domination of 'mere appearances' (for example, *Republic* 10. 602d). It is a source of beauty (for example, *Statesman* 284b). Lastly, it is an essential constituent of art: 'nothing of it all is left, all is utterly evacuated', says the *Epinomis* (977e), 'if the art of number is destroyed' (and cf. *Laws* 2. 668e).²⁰ Plato insists that art, broadly defined, must have a rational basis in experience (see, for example, *Gorgias* 448c, 501a). Plato's artistic tastes have been described by others and there is no need to rehearse the discussion here. It is clear that, in its concern

¹⁵ Cf. *Phaedo* 69b, where we read that 'a system of morality which is based upon relative emotional values is a mere illusion, an utterly vulgar notion which has nothing sound in it and nothing true'.

¹⁶ See also *Phaedo* 65b–c; *Republic* 4. 423b; *Parmenides* 165c–d; *Critias* 107c–d.

¹⁷ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35. 60.

¹⁸ For example, *Meno* 97d; *Euthyphro* 11c–d; instances from the dramatists include Aeschylus, *Agam.* 414–17; Sophocles, *Trach.* 767–9; Euripides, *Alc.* 348–52.

¹⁹ See E. Diels in *Archäologischer Anzeiger (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts)*, 1889, no. 1, 10.

²⁰ Post-Periclean traditions seem to have defined beauty exclusively as good and correct proportion; see especially the Platonic tradition (as in Plotinus, *Enneads* 1. 6) and the Stoic tradition (as in Cicero, *Tusculans* 4. 13, repeated by Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 22. 19).

for objective perception, its rejection of illusionism, and its emphasis on proportion, Egyptian art was perfectly suited to Plato's preferences. And the fact that the excellent qualities of Egyptian art were laid down by 'law', and maintained without change precisely because they were good, eminently satisfied Plato's rigorous requirements for an educational and an elevating art.

The matter thus phrased may perhaps make too much of the possibility that Egyptian art suited Plato's artistic tastes, as far as it has been possible to reconstruct these tastes from his scattered remarks and references and from his aesthetic theory.²¹ Plato evidently feels that there are excellent reasons for any philosopher, moralist, or social theorist to approve of Egyptian art, and to hold it up as a model to the Greek world. There is, he says, something intrinsically, naturally, or inherently 'right' or 'correct' about Egyptian art. Perhaps he means no more here than that Egyptian art is rightly concerned with objective truth and proper proportioning. But there may be more to the matter than this. A study of Egyptian art itself shows that the Egyptians believed that canonical official art, at least, reflected a transcendental, permanent, and divine order.²² Plato too might have placed a similar construction upon the Egyptian artistic method. If the Egyptians felt that representational art in two dimensions should mirror objective reality, and therefore the order of the universe, it seems that Plato felt Egyptian art had gone far in penetrating to some reality behind 'appearances'.

There is no need to detail Plato's aesthetic theory here to note that Plato probably believed Egyptian art had surmounted the first hurdle which faces art in the presentation of truth. Art should present not what we see, as we are liable to see incorrectly, as if 'through a glass darkly', but what, through scientific and philosophical analysis, we have come to know about the world. Plato does not address the further issues. For one thing, Egyptian art is still an 'art', that is, an appearance, an imitation of an original, a copy by which we cannot gain, as we may gain through philosophical reflection and inquiry, a direct experience of true reality. It could be assumed that, even in the case of Egyptian art, Plato would argue that all image is fiction, is 'appearance' in the sense of a poor counterfeit rather than a partial disclosure of reality. An 'Egyptian' art is just possibly acceptable in a well-ordered society, if its correctness has been permanently fixed by legislation, since an 'Egyptian' art exemplifies the best qualities of art. Nevertheless, of course, even the best art cannot be a substitute mode of perception, replacing philosophical inquiry, in the search for truth. And secondly, among Plato's requirements for art is his stricture that it be 'beautiful' (*Laws* 2. 668b ff.). A representation

²¹ Of the extensive literature on this subject, the more pertinent and accessible works (with further references) are R. G. Collingwood, 'Plato's philosophy of art', *Mind* 34 (1925), 154-72; J. Tate, "'Imitation" in Plato's *Republic*', *Classical Quarterly* 22 (1928), 16-23; id., 'Plato and "imitation"', *Classical Quarterly* 26 (1932), 161-9; L. Stefanini, *Il problema estetico in Platone*, 5th edn. (Turin, 1935); H. Perls, *L'art et la beauté vus par Platon* (Paris, 1938); P. Kucharski, 'La musique et la conception du réel dans le *Philèbe*', *Revue philosophique* 141 (1951), 39-60; P. M. Schuhl, *Platon et l'art de son temps* (Paris, 1952); E. Moutsopoulos, *La musique dans l'œuvre de Platon* (Paris, 1959).

²² The work of Heinrich Schäfer has shown this to be the case, although an explicit analysis of the metaphysical foundations of Egyptian art has yet to appear: see Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, ed. Emma Brunner-Traut, trans. J. R. Baines (Oxford, 1974).

may conform well to an original, and be proportioned correctly, but such a canon (like Timanthes' 'Hero')²³ is not necessarily beautiful.

Plato's remarks on Egyptian art reveal a clear appreciation of one of the central concerns of Egyptian artists.²⁴ It is likewise interesting to consider that Egyptian art itself is extremely Platonic in its relation to nature and to its models. As Plotinus described the thought of Plato, so may we describe the intentions of Egyptian artists; for both Plato and the Egyptian artist constantly insisted that true beauty is only to be found in the world of ideas and not in the world of sense-perception: 'we must close the eyes of the body, to open another vision, which indeed all possess, but very few employ'.²⁵ It is of course not especially novel to observe how metaphysical and analytic Egyptian art is. What may not be fully appreciated by its students, and what is suggested to a modern observer by Plato's remarks, is that through canonical Egyptian art we may reconstruct Egyptian metaphysics—we may determine what the Egyptians believed to be real. But this is a far larger and more complex task and would lose sight of the simple point it is necessary to make here. With so much else in the study of man and his works, we may fruitfully begin with the opinion of classical antiquity when we undertake to understand Egyptian art. That Plato admired Egyptian art says as much about that art as it does about Plato himself.

²³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 30. 34.

²⁴ Other Greek commentators nowhere equalled Plato's insight into Egyptian art. For instance, Isocrates' explanation for the special excellence of the arts in Egypt is simply that the Egyptian labour-system permitted artists to devote themselves constantly to their work (*Busiris* 16–17).

²⁵ Plotinus, *Enneads* 1. 6. 8.

AUTOPSIES ON FISH MUMMIES

POSSIBLE IDENTIFICATION OF THE CLASSICAL PHAGRUS

By B. BRIER *and* M. V. L. BENNETT

IN January of 1976 Bob Brier obtained in Egypt a mummified fish that did not have a reliable provenance. The fish measured 10.2 cm across the mouth and 25.4 cm in length. X-rays indicated that approximately 11 cm of the tail were missing (see pl. XVII), so the original length of the fish was approximately 36.4 cm. Total wrapped weight was 731 g.

The fish appeared to be wrapped in one wide piece of cloth which had been held together by three 1.5 cm-wide bands of cloth, one 8 cm from the posterior end and two others next to each other and 15 cm from the anterior end (see pl. XVIII). All three bands seemed thoroughly saturated with resin which had been used to stick the bands to the cloth. Circles, now appearing black, had been painted on the cloth in approximately the position of the fish's eyes (see pl. XVIII).

To determine the species of the fish, and also to determine how it was mummified, the fish was unwrapped and autopsied. The three narrow cloth bands encircling the fish were cut. They were extremely brittle and, because of the resin, adhered to the large piece of cloth underneath. The edges of the large cloth also had been stuck together by resin in the mid-ventral region where they had been folded to meet. When both the bands and the cloth were cut away, it was discovered that the cloth over the head of the fish, where the eyes had been painted, was a smaller, separate piece. The larger piece measured 41 × 32 cm; the smaller was 35 × 15 cm. Underneath the outer wrapping was a layer of reeds wrapped around a second, inner layer, of cloth (see pl. XIX). Most of the reeds encircling this fish were broken, but one that was intact was wrapped around the mouth and head of the fish 3½ times and was approximately 64 cm long. At present the plant from which the reeds were taken has not been determined. A number of square knots were found connecting segments of reeds (see pl. XIX). Examination of a second mummy (see below) indicates that the reeds were tied together in a single continuous strand that was used to form a spiral along the fish.

The inner layer of cloth, like the first, was comprised of two pieces of cloth, but this time the smaller piece was at the posterior end. There were two small patches of cloth which were stuck by resin to the ventral side of the fish to cover a spot where the two main pieces of cloth did not meet over the abdominal cavity.

When the last layer of cloth was removed, it was revealed that most of the tissues had been eaten by insect larvae. The Systematic Entomology Laboratory, U.S. Department

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of Agriculture, determined that the cast skins were from two kinds of beetle larvae, *Anthrenus* and *Attagenus*, pests which commonly feed on any kind of dry animal matter.¹ The remains of the fish consisted primarily of skin and bones, relatively intact, but quite brittle.

Lortet and Gaillard² mention that the fish they examined at Esna had had incisions made in the visceral cavity during the mummification process. Because so much of our specimen had been eaten away, we were unable to determine if the internal organs had been removed. On the ventral side of the fish was identified what might have been a mid-line incision, though we cannot be sure.

In order to examine the organ cavity we cut a rectangular opening 5 × 2.5 cm surrounding the possible incision. A considerable amount of mud and sand was found in the cavity suggesting that the fish had been cut open like those described by Lortet and Gaillard and packed with mud, perhaps so that it would retain its shape. The only organ remaining was the swim bladder, the collagenous nature of which might account for its durability. We found no indication of other viscera, but because of the possibility of destruction by insects we cannot be sure that they were removed in the mummification process. There was little mud in the gill cavity. Because of extraneous material the gross weight of 731 g given above is an overestimate of organic material present. About 400 g would be a better approximation of the weight of the skin, bones, and other tissues.

Still attached to the head of the fish were two conspicuous barbels, one on each side and approximately 32 cm long, and one eye was still intact in the head. The head has not been opened and there may be brain tissue for future analyses as there is no external evidence of larvae in this portion of the fish.

Enough of the skeletal structure of the fish was intact to permit a positive identification of the species. The fish is a *Bagrus bayad*, a common Nile catfish. Both side and dorsal views are characteristic in terms of postopercular spines and the posterior cranial process (see pl. XX).

From the wrapping and mummification technique it seemed as if the fish were from the Ptolemaic period. In an attempt to confirm this the largest piece of cloth was brought to an expert in textiles.³ The cloth was linen with fibres spun in the S-direction, which is typical of Ancient Egyptian textiles. It measured an average of 16 warps × 10 wefts per cm and is thus 'warp-faced', another characteristic of Ancient Egyptian cloth. Running through the cloth is a subtle decorative pattern caused by three wefts being woven together in a multiple weft (see fig. 1). There are two such

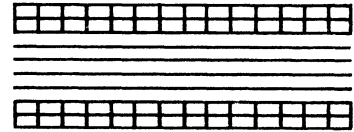


FIG. 1. Pattern of weave in the mummy cloth: two multiple wefts separated by four single wefts.

¹ The authors would like to thank Drs George C. Steyskal and John M. Kingsilver for their identification of the larvae.

² M. V. Lortet and M. C. Gaillard, *La Faune momifiée de l'ancienne Egypte* (Lyon, 1905), 185–90.

³ The authors would like to thank Ms Lucy Commoner of the Textile Preservation Department, Metropolitan Museum of Art, for her extremely generous help.

multiple wefts separated by four single wefts running through the cloth. This kind of pattern is typical of Ptolemaic textiles. Radiocarbon dating was applied to an 0.8 g sample of carbon obtained from the reeds used for wrapping. The derived age is 275 AD \pm 340 years (95% confidence limit). Although there is a large uncertainty due to small sample size, the result is not inconsistent with origin in the Graeco-Roman period.

We were given a second fish mummy that had been obtained in Egypt at the same time as the first one; presumably they are of similar origin.⁴ We decided to unwrap the second fish for comparison with the first.

In December of 1976 the second fish was autopsied. Though smaller, the mummy was quite similar in appearance to the first. It was 41 cm in total length and weighed 167 g. Approximately 3 cm of the tail was broken and dangling, held to the main body by the cloth with which it was wrapped (see pl. XXI). The outer wrappings of the fish were held in place by two dark-brown bands of cloth, one 8 cm from the anterior end of the fish and the other 10 cm from the posterior. The posterior band appeared to be thoroughly saturated with resin, the front one only at the ends to join them. There was a small patch of cloth glued with resin over the pectoral girdle where the larger pieces of cloth used in wrapping did not meet. (It is interesting that in the first fish autopsied there was also a patch but on the inside layer of wrapping.) The outer wrapping consisted of three pieces of cloth. The largest was roughly rectangular, 26 \times 17 cm, and covered the middle and anterior portions of the fish (see pl. XXI). The second largest piece was also roughly rectangular, 14 \times 10 cm, and covered the posterior portion. The patch mentioned above was a very rough rectangle measuring 12 \times 4 cm.

When these outer pieces were removed, the reeds which encircled the inner wrappings of the fish were revealed. It appears as if the fish had been wrapped with eight lengths of reed, tied together with seven square knots. Starting from the front, there were twelve turns to the first knot, five more to the second, eight to the third, ten to the fourth, ten to the fifth, thirteen to the sixth, and four to the last at the tail. Since the average length of a turn is approximately 10 cm, this allows one to calculate the total length of the pieces of reed used to tie the fish as about 5 m. The turns were much closer together towards the tail than towards the head. At the anterior of the fish the loose end of the reed runs back across the dorsal surface and is bound down by about the first five turns of reed (see pl. XXI). There is also a loose end running forward from the posterior end almost to the middle of the body. This strand is seen on the upper left side largely covered by turns of reed. At its anterior end a loop is tucked back posteriorly over about four turns and under two turns. From this point to the tail there were clearly two layers of reed binding. The underneath layer can be seen in pl. XXII; its turns are much further apart than the surface layer. We are not confident as to the directions in which the two layers were wound. It may also be that two lengths of reed instead of one were used. At the anterior end there is ambiguity as to whether binding proceeded posteriorly to hold down the loose end or whether it proceeded anteriorly, and then the end was tucked back under. Both approaches are used in whipping

⁴ The authors would like to thank Ms Patricia Remler for contributing the second fish mummy.

(binding) the ends of rope to prevent unravelling. A similar ambiguity exists at the posterior end. It is even possible that wrapping proceeded centripetally from both ends and that a knot was made in the middle.

The reeds and then the inside wrapping were removed. The inside wrapping consisted of one large rectangle of cloth 33×23 cm with several thin bands of cloth wrapped around it and secured by resin (see pl. XXII). When the inner wrappings were removed it was discovered that, like the first fish, this one had been eaten by insects and most of the tissue was gone (see pl. XXIII). Enough was preserved to determine that the species was also *Bagrus bayad*. Once again, though we could not see an incision on the visceral cavity, it seems as if there probably was one since the fish had been packed with mud in a manner similar to the first one.

A third fish mummy from the original source and four other fish mummies obtained a year later from a related source have also been examined superficially and by X-ray. All appear very similar to our unwrapped specimens of *Bagrus bayad*, although we cannot yet exclude the possibility that they are the closely related and cohabiting species *Bagrus docmac*. Furthermore, the method of wrapping involving bands at anterior and posterior ends is the same, and the fish's axis is orthogonal to the rectangular pieces of cloth.

Our specimens differ from that reported recently by Leek.⁵ He states that the fish which he examined was a *schilbeid* catfish, probably *Eutropius*, rather than a *Bagrus*. We were in some doubt about his identification because the X-ray of the horizontal view is very similar to *Bagrus* and the more distinctive lateral view is not given in his publication. However, P. H. Greenwood, who made the original identification, has written to us of additional characters, particularly the presence of a long anal fin, that separate these fishes unambiguously. (As well as the distinctive skull shape our *Bagrus* specimens have a characteristic large adipose fin differentiating them from the *schilbeid* fishes.)

There are interesting differences and similarities in the wrapping of our and Leek's fish. In his case, unlike our specimens, the outer cloth layer is a spiral starting from the anterior end. There is then also a layer of reeds, but these are thicker and probably of a species different from ours. There appears to be some overlapping and a single square knot is seen in the published figure. There is also an inner cloth layer which appears to be spirally wrapped, but it is not possible to be sure from the published data.

The tomb painting of *Lates* mummification shown in pl. XXIII involves circular bands as in our fish but there are bands at three levels instead of two and also a longitudinal band along the side connecting the three circular bands. In the report by Gaillard and Daressy⁶ *Lates* mummies of Esna are pictured. An inner cloth layer is surrounded by reed wrapping, but it is not clear whether there ever was an outer layer. From the tomb picture (see pl. XXIII) it seems likely that there was.

Our research may help in the identification of fishes referred to by Classical authors.

⁵ F. Filce Leek, 'An Ancient Egyptian mummified fish,' *JEA* 62 (1976), 131.

⁶ C. Gaillard and G. Daressy, *La Faune momifiée de l'antique Egypte (CCG)* (Cairo, 1905), 70-5 and pl. xxxiv.

In his review of studies of mummified fish Leek says '... as far as can be determined the only species of fish that has been described is the Nile perch *Lates niloticus* . . .', (p. 131). Although in fact other authors have cited other species⁷ Leek's statement is substantially correct. When one actually examines the fish available or searches through the literature, specimens almost always turn out to be *Lates*. In the Egyptian Museum in Cairo the only examples of mummified fish are *Lates*, and in Gaillard and Daressy's report on animal mummies⁶ in the museum's general catalogue only *Lates* are mentioned. In their work on animal mummification Lortet and Gaillard examined the mummified fish at Esna and discovered only *Lates*,² a fact which reflects its role as a sacred fish in that area (Strabo, 17, 1, 40 [C812]). These are among the largest collections of mummified fish available, but the isolated references to single or a few fish in other collections are also *Lates*. A typical example is the private collection of Hilton Price. Here several mummified fish are mentioned, all *Lates*.⁸ A curious example is mentioned in a letter to the editor of the *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*.⁹ The author of the letter, E. Towry Whyte, mentions a bronze mummy-case in the shape of *Latus niloticus*. (*Latus* is equivalent to *Lates*.) He did not realize that there was a mummy inside so that when he had it cleaned most of the mummy was destroyed, but there were enough bones remaining to identify it as a *Lates niloticus*. Indeed, aside from Leek's mummy, only one other non-*Lates* report seems reliable. In his excavation of the animal cemeteries at Gurob, Loat found among the numerous *Lates niloticus* a single *Synodontis schal* in a burial pit, three *Clarias lazera* in a single burial pit, and a total of five *Bagrus docmac* in three burial pits.¹⁰ The fish in this cemetery were for the most part not wrapped in cloth but were buried in a thick layer of ashes, and in large specimens the body-cavities, mouth, and gill-chambers were also filled with ashes. In addition to this report there is that of Saint-Hilaire¹¹ who mentions the *Barbus bynni*, but it is difficult to establish the validity of such a claim. Finally, it should be noted that on the one piece of representational evidence available the species being mummified is *Lates* (see pl. XXIII).

Not the least interesting feature of the new specimens discussed in the present article is the fact that they may well provide us with the first examples of mummies of another sacred fish known to have been worshipped in the Late Period.¹² The fish most frequently mentioned as sacred are those in the Osiris legend, the oxyrhynchus, the lepidotus, and the phagrus. Concerning the phagrus, Marcusen¹³ assigned the name to a genus of mormyrids now termed *Hyperopisus*. He knew of the three sacred fishes and

⁷ E. A. Wallis Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II (New York, 1969), 382-3; D. W. Phillips, 'Fish tales and fancies', *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 2 (6) (1944), 185; L. Loat, *Gurob* (London, 1904), 3-6.

⁸ F. G. Hilton Price, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of F. G. Hilton Price* (London, 1897), 230.

⁹ E. Towry Whyte, letter to the editor in *PSBA* 21 (1899), 82.

¹⁰ Loat, *op. cit.* 5-6.

¹¹ Saint-Hilaire, *Description de l'Égypte*, xxiv (Paris, 1829), 288.

¹² In a recent conversation Dr Gamal Mukhtar, former Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, mentioned that the Agricultural Museum has a substantial number of animal mummies, including fish. There is a possibility that other species soon will be reported.

¹³ J. Marcusen, 'Die Familie der Mormyren', *Mém. Acad. st. Pétersb.* 7 (4) (1864), 120.

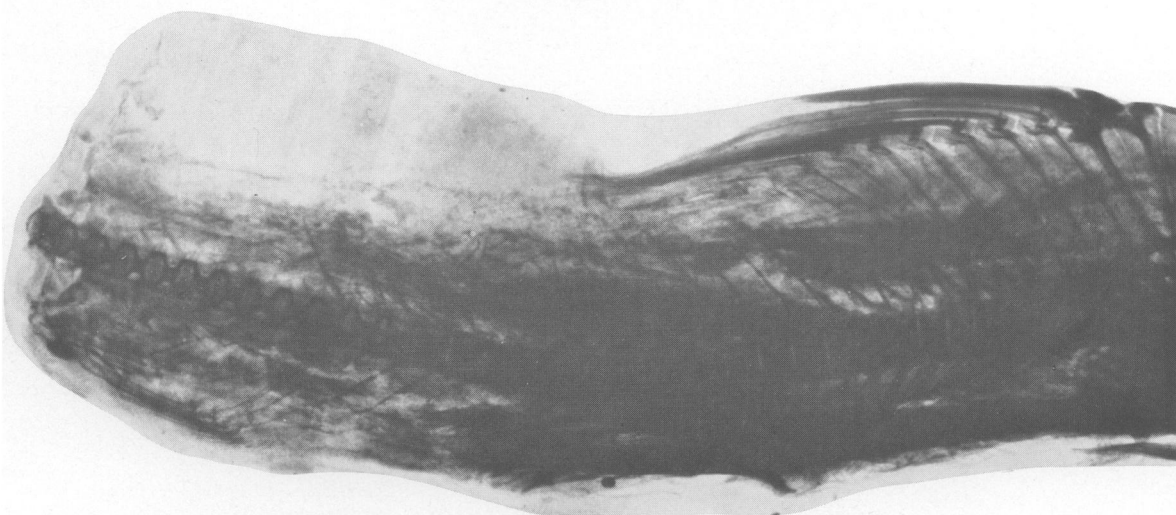
that the lepidotus was widely accepted to be *Barbus bynni*. The oxyrhynchus was clearly *Mormyrus*, either *M. cashive* or *M. kannume* or both. Apparently Marcusen merely assigned to the related mormyrid genus the name of the third sacred fish whose identity was most in doubt. The name did not stand because of lack of priority.¹⁴ D'Arcy Thompson¹⁵ identifies the phagrus as *Bagrus bayad*. His identification is based on the similarity of the name to the Arabic name *bakkar*. Until now no mummified *Bagrus bayad* had been found. The finding of seven specimens of this species mummified and wrapped in a particular way indicates that this species was in some way considered special. We do not appear to have a random sample of a Nile fisherman's catch; on the contrary, our data suggest the existence of a cult in which the *Bagrus* was held in high esteem and this greatly strengthens the case for Thompson's identification. Further investigation is required to find the source of the *Bagrus* mummies where additional relevant information may be found.

¹⁴ G. A. Boulenger, *Zoology of Egypt: The Fishes of the Nile* (London, 1907), 70.

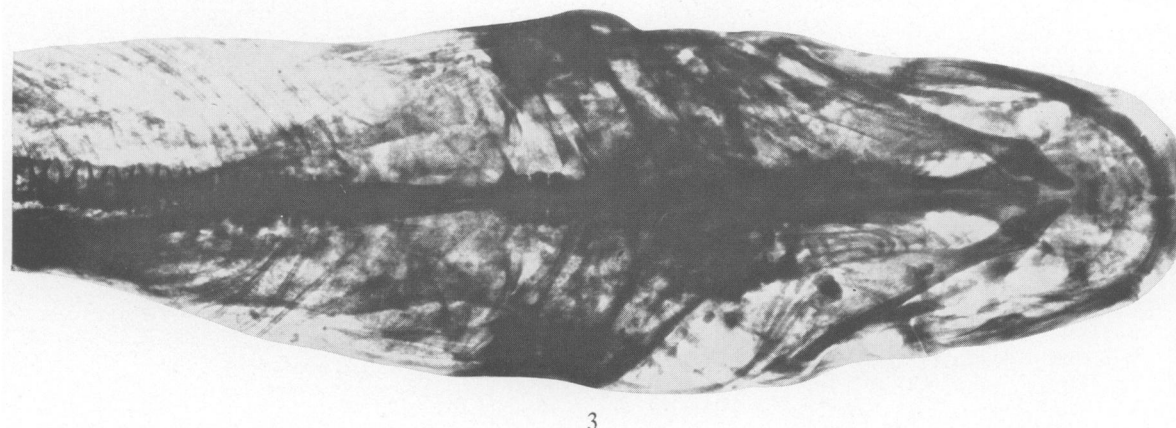
¹⁵ D'Arcy Wentworth Thompson, 'On Egyptian fish-names used by Greek writers', *JEA* 14 (1928), 27.



1



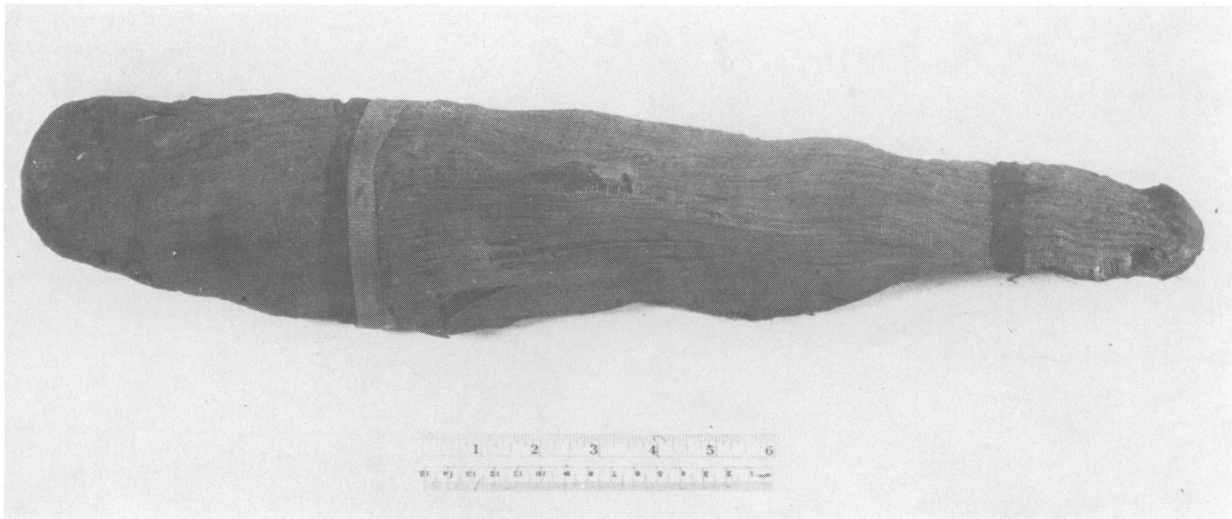
2



3

Positive X-rays of the first mummy prior to unwrapping. Lateral views of anterior (1) and posterior (2) and horizontal view of anterior (3). The wrapping is seen posteriorly. The posterior end of the fish was removed before mummification

AUTOPSIES ON FISH MUMMIES



1. First fish mummy prior to unwrapping



2. Painted eye on the outer layer of cloth

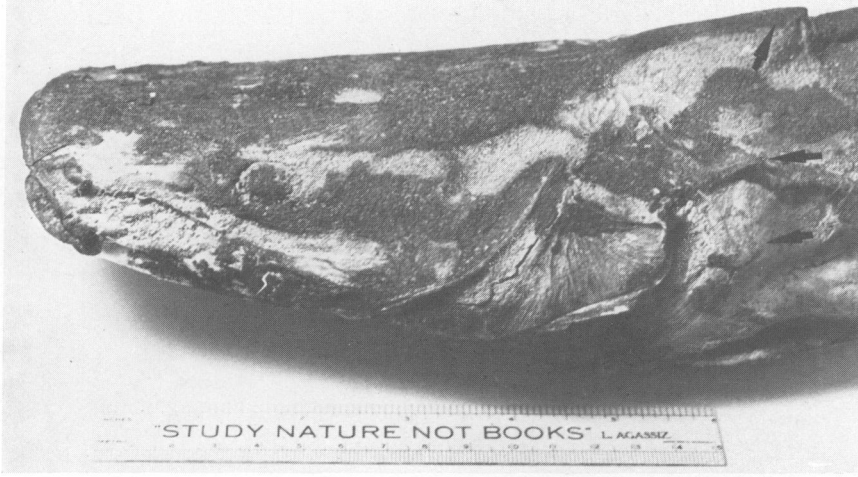
AUTOPSIES ON FISH MUMMIES



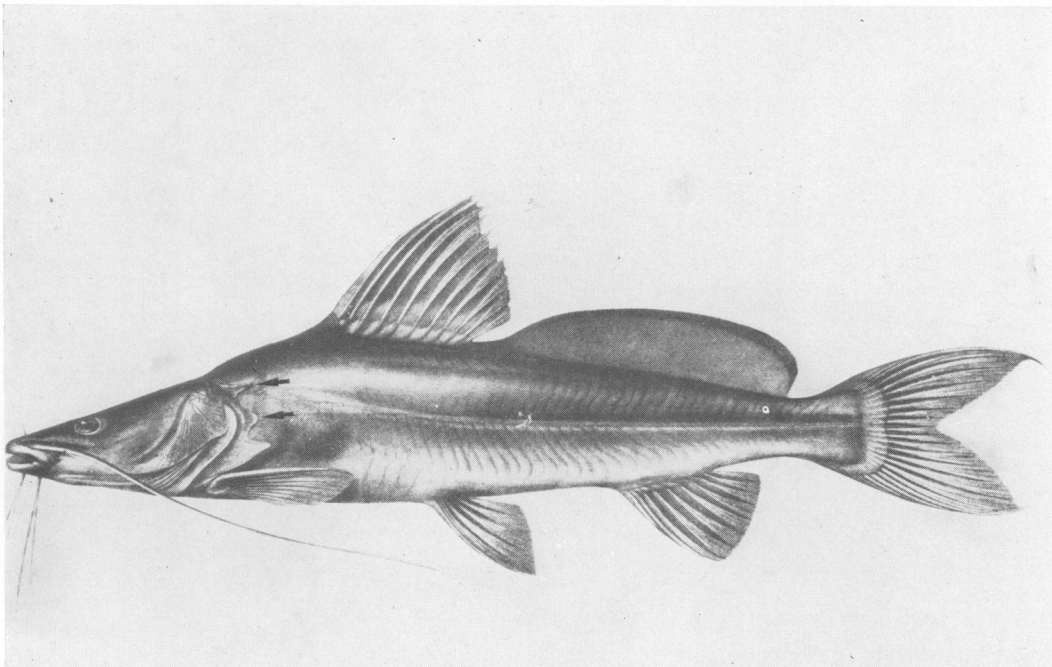
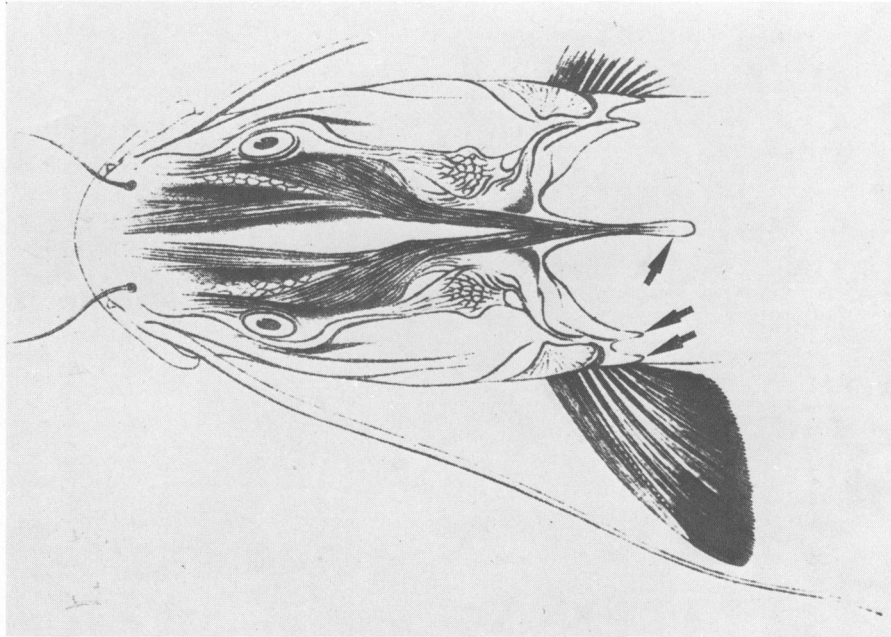
1. Reeds circling the posterior end of the fish

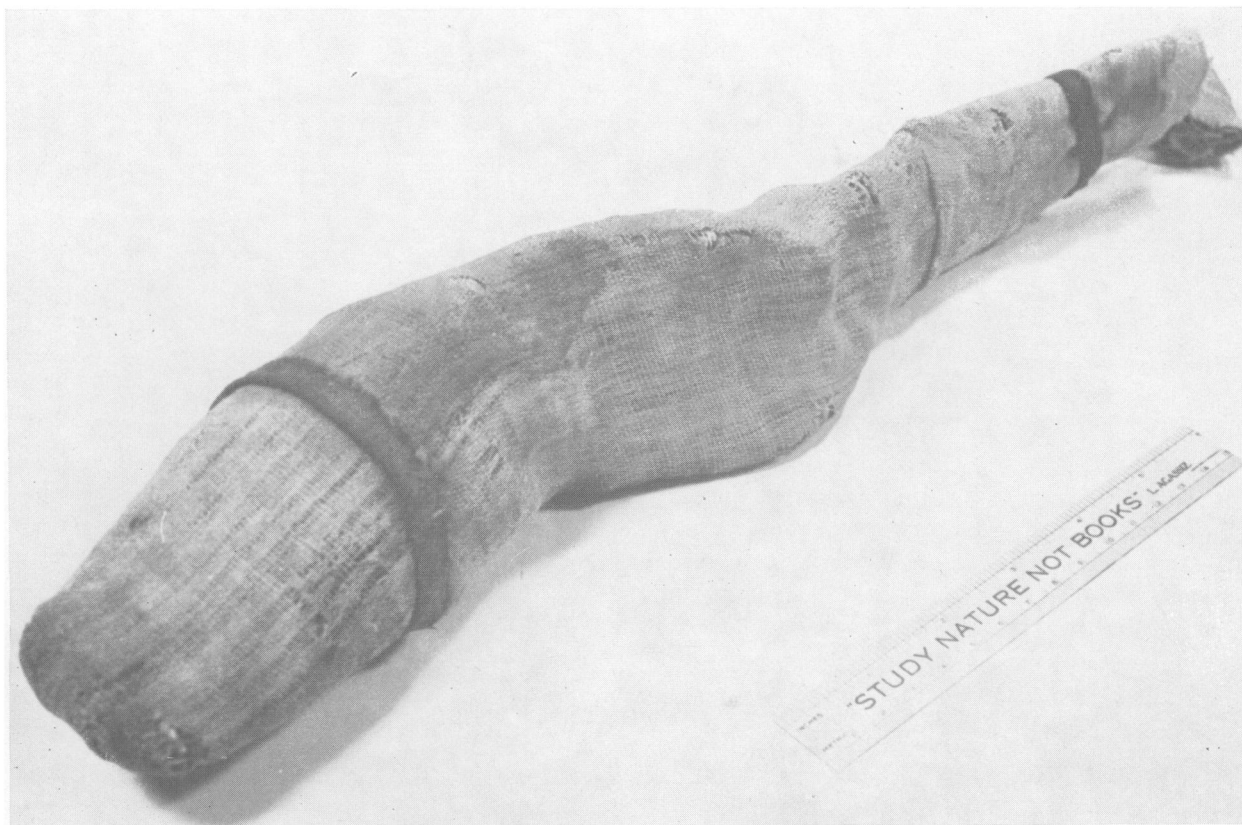


2. Square knot used to tie reeds together



Drawings of *Bagrus bayad* from Boulenger and photograph of the fish mummy's head. Characteristic spines and the posterior cranial process are indicated by arrows

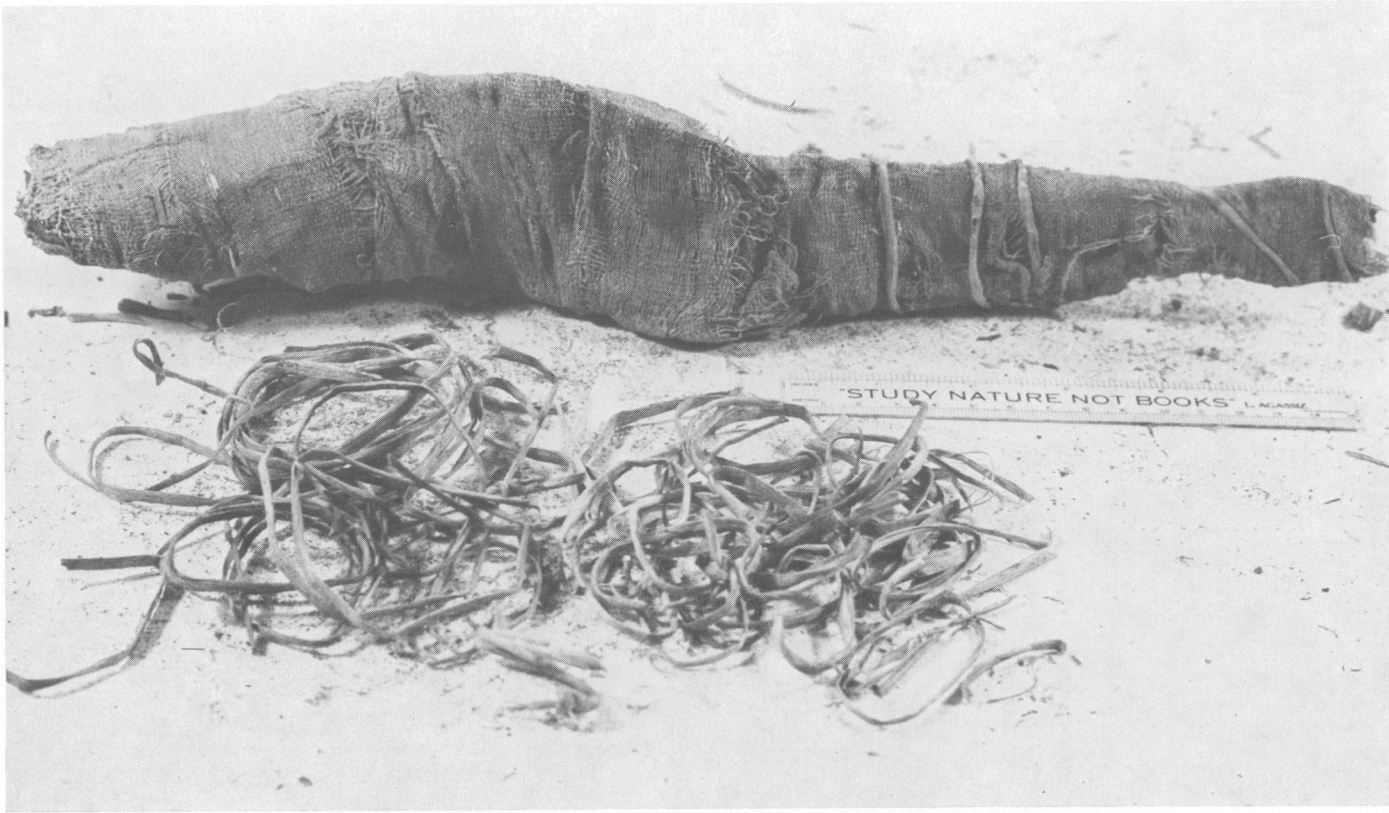




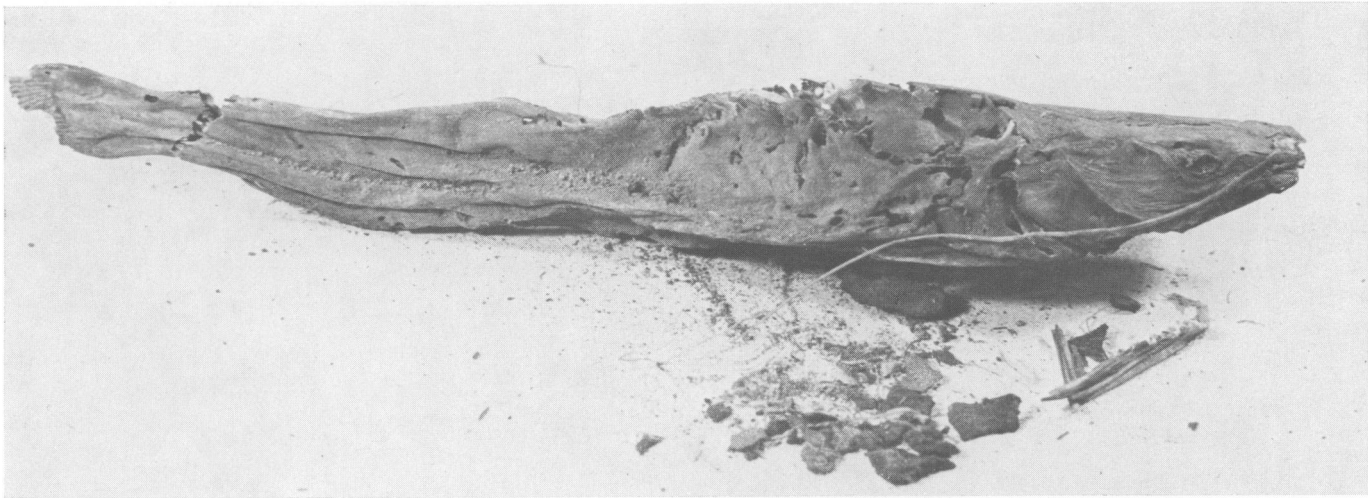
1. View of second fish mummy prior to unwrapping



2. View of second fish mummy after removal of the outer cloth layer. The largest piece of cloth, the anterior band, and the patch (arrow) are in the foreground. Many details of the reed wrapping are visible (see text)

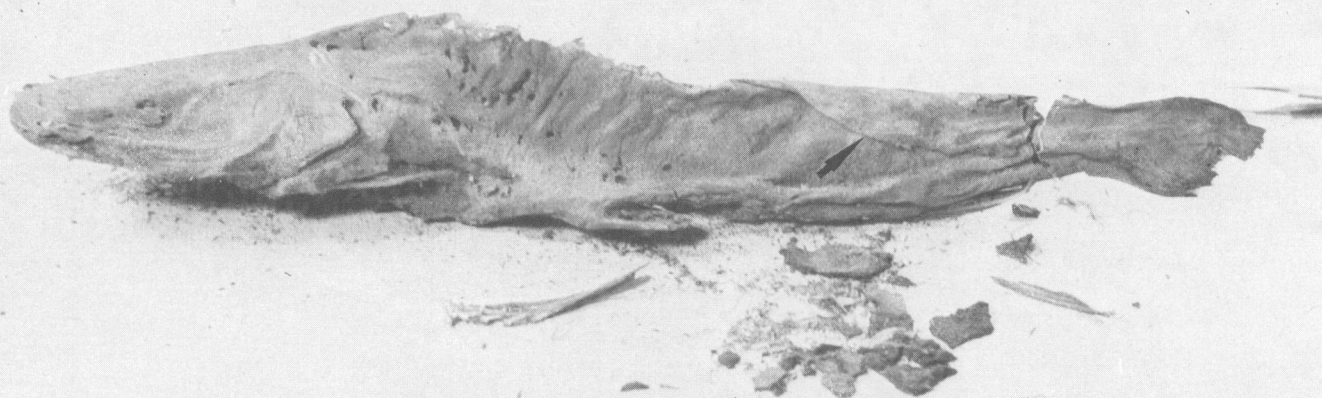


1. Inside wrapping of the second fish mummy after removal of the reeds

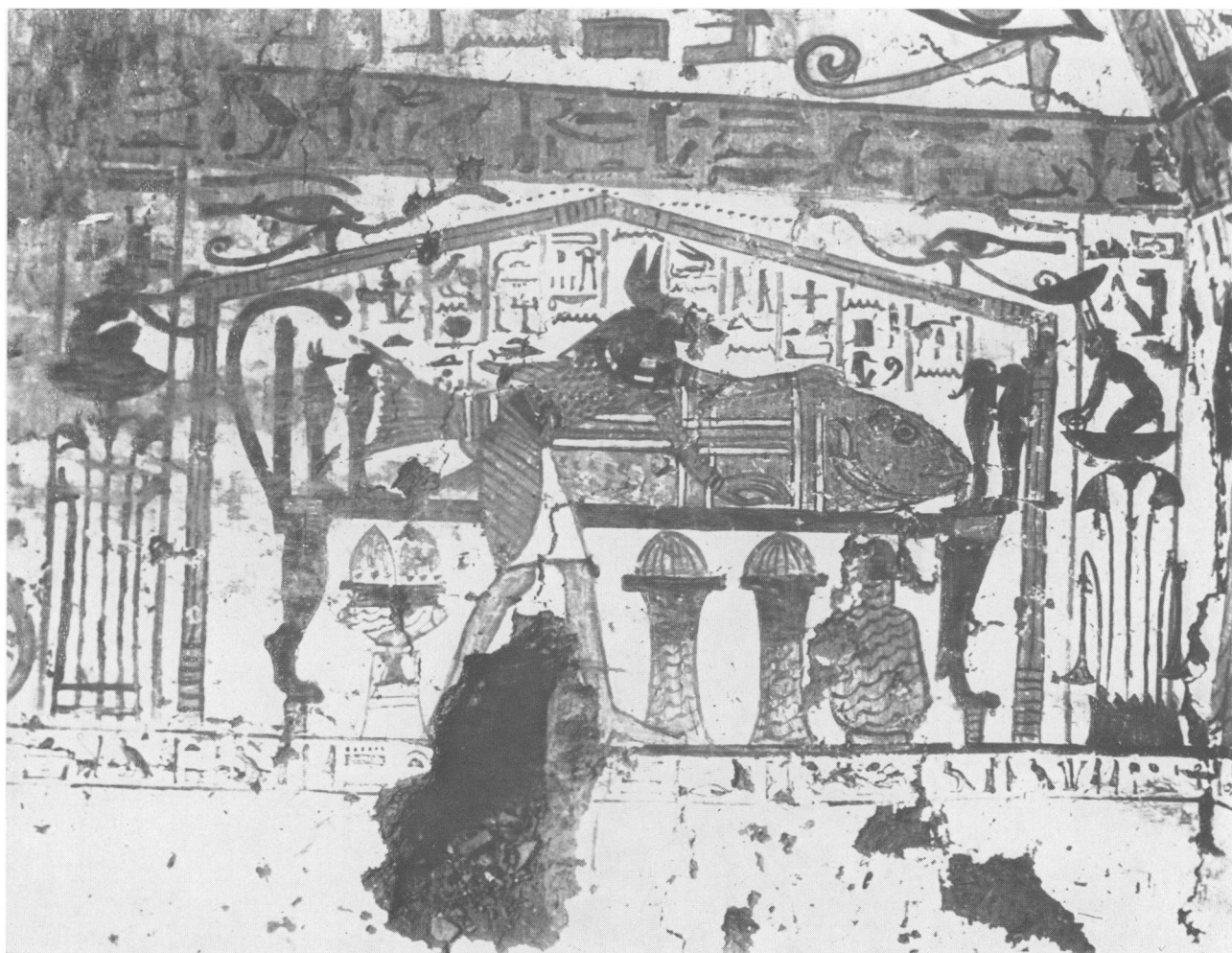


2. Second fish mummy totally unwrapped. Right lateral view. The right maxillary barbel is still attached. The dorsal fin is broken off. Several of its rays are seen in the foreground. Most of the holes in the skin were produced by insects

AUTOPSIES ON FISH MUMMIES



1. Second fish mummy totally unwrapped. Left lateral view. The adipose fin is folded down against the left side of the body (arrow). As in pl. XXII, 2 rays are seen in the foreground and insect holes in the skin



2. A large *Lates niloticus* being mummified by Anubis. From the tomb of Khabekhet, a son of Sennedjem

EXTRACTS OF BESA'S *LIFE OF SHENOUTE* IN SAHIDIC

By A. F. SHORE

Sinuthii autem vitae textus Saïdica scriptus, id quod vehementer doleo, fere totus interiit. Pauca fragmenta conservata sunt. Quae tamen parvi sunt momenti, quippe quae additamentis postea insertis pristinam puritatem perdidierint. Extat tamen vitae Sinuthii versio Bohairice scripta, quae Saïdicae narrationis antiquissimum textum diligenter sequi videtur; nam et brevissima est, et a miraculis postea in honorem Sinuthii fictis magis abhorret, quam illa Saïdici textus fragmenta. This judgement of Leipoldt in the preface to his edition of the Bohairic *Life of Shenoute*¹ prompts the editing here of extracts of the Sahidic version containing passages hitherto unrecorded in that dialect and contributing to our knowledge of what Leipoldt elsewhere describes as 'die Urform der Biographie'.²

The extracts are to be found on a single vellum bifolio, much damaged, identified among unaccessioned material in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum, and incorporated in the collections in 1971 (BM 10820, see pls. XXIV–XXV).³ Nothing is known of its previous history. Not only is there loss of a substantial portion of both leaves but the surface has been disfigured with areas of staining and in places the vellum has been rubbed so that all that is now visible is the text showing through in reverse from beneath.⁴ The single leaf measures approximately 13 in. in height and 10 in. in width. The text is written in two columns of thirty-four lines to the page, with initials, stops, and other ornamentation in red, with the occasional use of yellow. Each page was numbered at the top right-hand corner; only on the first and the third pages are the numerals sufficiently well preserved to suggest a reading, apparently 37 and 43. The hand is large and regular with thick vertical strokes and fine, thin, horizontal ones. There is little ornamentation except for the enlargement of some initial letters (ⲁ, ⲉ, ⲑⲑ, ⲛ, ⲟ, ⲡ, ⲣ, ⲧ, Ⲡ, Ⲓ) and at the end of a line the occasional enlargement of a penultimate or final ⲧ, ⲛ. In the formation of the individual letters, in the general arrangement of text on the page, and in the modest nature of the decoration, the bifolio may be assigned, on analogy with dated manuscripts from Hamouli, to the ninth century AD.⁵ The text shows the occasional departure from standard Sahidic orthography.⁶

¹ J. Leipoldt, *Sinuthii Vita Bohairice* (CSCO, vol. 41/Copt. 1, *Scriptores Coptici, series secunda. Tomus II Textus—Sinuthii archimandritae Vita et Opera omnia* 1, Louvain, 1906; réimpression anastatique 1951). Version (CSCO, vol. 129/Copt. 16, 1951), by H. Wiesmann.

² *Schenute von Atripe und die Entstehung des national ägyptischen Christentums* (Leipzig, 1903), 14.

³ I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum and to Mr T. G. H. James, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities, for their kind permission to edit the text. I am also grateful to the Research Committee of the University of Liverpool for a generous contribution towards the costs of printing.

⁴ See, for example, Commentary, notes *a, i*.

⁵ Compare Maria Cramer, *Koptische Paläographie* (Wiesbaden, 1964), Tafel 52 (AD 872).

⁶ See Commentary, notes *c, d, k, l, t*.

Pages 37 (?) and [38] record the miraculous visit of Shenoute to the Emperor Theodosius at Constantinople, and correspond to Leipoldt, p. 29, l. 20, to p. 31, l. 25 (§§ 54–8). The third leaf, page 43 (?), begins with the conclusion of the episode in which Shenoute, threatened with excommunication, agreed to attend upon the Bishop of Eshmunein, after being reminded of Matthew 16: 19 by the Saviour, whose physical presence with him in the church was the excuse for snubbing lawful ecclesiastical authority; the parallel Bohairic passage is Leipoldt, p. 36, ll. 19 ff. (§ 72). The four missing pages, comprising a single bifolio, would be sufficient, given the nature of the Sahidic text, for the conclusion of the episode concerning the Emperor Theodosius, the inclusion of the brief account of the visit from some notables and monks, and the beginning of the story of the arrival of the Bishop of Eshmunein.

Part of the wanting passages from the episode of Shenoute's miraculous visit to Theodosius may be supplied from a fragment in the collections of the British Library, BM Or. 3581 B(57), acquired by Budge from Akhmîm and edited by Crum (*Catalogue BM*, no. 352), corresponding to Leipoldt, *Vita*, § 61, and from a single damaged leaf, among Maspero's acquisition of vellum leaves from the White Monastery, edited by Amélineau, *Mém. miss. franç.* IV, 638–9, corresponding to Leipoldt, *Vita*, §§ 66–70. This leaf, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS copte 129, f. 84, is not, however, from the same codex as BM 10820, as a photograph kindly supplied by the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale clearly shows. Of smaller format, approximately 10½ by 8½ in., it is written in two columns of twenty-eight lines in a different hand of the same period. It begins a new quire numbered ♁ (4) and the leaf bears the enumeration 39–40. The fragment BM Or. 3581 B(57) does not belong to the codex from which either BM 10820 or BN MS copte 129, f. 84 originally came.

Immediately following the encounter with the Bishop of Eshmunein, the Sahidic version, as preserved in the bifolio, continues with the account of the last illness and death of Shenoute, that is to say, nearly one-hundred chapters of Leipoldt's edition (§§ 73–171, pp. 37–71), about half of the Bohairic version, are omitted. It is possible that episodes which occur in the Bohairic *Life* in this section which are known from other fragments in Sahidic, for example the destruction of the idols of Pleueit (Banawit),⁷ would be found elsewhere in the Sahidic text, the order of the narrative varying from that of the Bohairic version. The surviving passages in the Sahidic extracts are more concise than the corresponding Bohairic text, to such a degree that it has not always been possible to restore with confidence damaged passages. While it is true, as Drescher has remarked,⁸ that a shorter version of a *Life* should not, of itself, necessarily be taken as being closer to the original composition, the nature of the text edited here suggests that Leipoldt's judgement on the character of the Sahidic *Life* from the surviving passages known to him would not be true of the version from which these extracts come. In comparison with the Bohairic version, the more concise account in

⁷ Zoega 378, Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, 291, corresponding to Leipoldt, § 83. The pagination of the Sahidic leaves (53–60) suggests that the episode should come (as in the Bohairic version) after the miraculous visit to Theodosius.

⁸ J. Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends* (Suppl. aux *Ann. du Serv.*, cahier 4, Cairo, 1947), p. v.

particular of Shenoute's death, with some improved readings, would seem to reflect that *pristina puritas*.

Text

Folio 1 recto

	[]		
	[]		
	[]		
		ϣενοу]τε		λζ
5		τγ]πος:		πβελετ[α]ρ[ιος] δε ας
		θε]ομοσιος		ει ερ[οχη εαν]†νω
		]πενταπ		ογ: α[]εε
		χοεις]† πας επει		πρρο επα[ογζ] αγω
		αει[α]ρτε [εεπεθ		ασει ει ερνε [νε]εας
10		ροнос πα[ραπες]ε		επειονα[ετη]ριον
		πψα· ες[		ερατς εεπ[ε]τογä
		εςερ[αι] ερατς εεπ		αβ απα ϣε[η]ογτε
		πετογäαβ απα ϣε		αγχιεμογ[
		πογτε:—		τοοτς:—
15	†[π]αρακαλει [ει]εε			αγω ητεγ[η]ογ [ας
	ο]κ πα[ειωτ ε]τογ			† πας [ητεπ]ιστο
	äα]β ετ[ρ]εν[η]ατα			λη εεπ[ρο
	ζιογ εεεον ηπει			ητερες[]α]ς
	ψαροϊ επειεεα η			ει εε[εεψα]εε εε
20	ηπαπολαγε εεεκ			π[ρο]]εε
	ςεογ παειωτ ετογ			αεο[γ ας]λγ
	äαβ· ογχαϊ [ρεε			πη[
	πσοε ητετριας ε			αγω [πεχα]ς εεβε
	τογäαβ· πιωτ			λε[ταριος] εε ογ πε
25	εεηψηρε·εεη			πρω[β] εεπρρο ηεε
	ηηπα ετογäαβ:—			εεαϊ[]αποκ ογεεο
	ητεγπογ δε αςτω			παχο[ς] εεψωπε ρεε
	ωβε ητεπιστο			πειεον[αστηριον
	λη· [α]ψταας ηεγ			εηηληλ ερ[ραι] επ
30	α[ο]ζϊ[ος] πβελετα			πογτε ραπανοβ[ε
	ριος εεηεεπε			ε]τρεσνααγ παϊ ε
	τολη ηταςτηη			βο]λ:—
	αγς εεπαογζ η[αν			π[εε]ε πβελεταριος
	†η[ω]ογ:—			ηα]ς ε[ε]ς]ογωψ ε
				αη[ολαγε] εεεηκ
				σε]ογ:—
				ηεε[ε] απ[α] η]επογ
				τε πας εε απαγ

Folio 1 verso

[ΛΗ]

	παυ[ηρε αρηγυ] ενπα	[]
	εω[παρχωρι] παϊ	[]
	χε αιρποσ η]ρωεε	η[εχε ηβελетарιος	
	πε[χε ηβε]лет[α]ριος	πα[ε]	
5	πα[ε] χε] παεϊωτ	ηϛ[
	εεϊ[κ]ωλγ ητ[ε	τ[
	ηε[λε]γυσιε εηπ̄ρο:	ει ερηακ[εεα	
	η[εχε η]αίηα[ι]οc ηαε	τοι ρεεπεϊεε[α	
	]ογωεε[	]ηα[]η:—	
10	[	η[εχε αηα] ηηεογυτε	
	]εεαη:	πα[ε] χε η[α]ηοογ	
	ηηερ[ογερροο]γυ δε c	εβολ].εηηρα[ετ]ε.αγω	
	ηαγ[]εεοηαc	ηηηαβωη ρεπογ	
	τ[ηηιοη]ηεχε	ωη εηηηογτ[ε]:—	
15	ηβελетарιο]c ηα	ρο[γ]ρε δε ηηερ[εε	
	ε	ω[ω]η[ε]αηη[ογ	
	]χε	ααβ [α]ηα ηηεπογ[τε	
	τωο]γηη	]ερογη εηεωγ	
	η]αη [ε]ε	cιαcηηριοη. αε	
	ερ]ραϊ	ηαρτεε εχεεηεεερο	
20	ηο]ση	αεηηληλ ερραϊ εη	
	]ραηε	ηογυτε. αγω η	
	]σωνη	ηεγηογυ αεϛεηερα[
	]οϊ:—	εηηη:—	
	η[εχε α]ηα ηηεογυτε	ειc ογηλοολε ηογ	
25	ε]ε ηαηηε	οεϊη ασεϊ εβολ ρη	
	]εηηαεω	ηηε αεραηαε	
	παρχωρ[ι	εεεοε αεο[γ]αεε ρεε	
	ε[ε] αιρποσ ηρ[ω	ηηαλλα[τ]ιοη [εε	
	εε].[	ηηρο ηρο[γ]ηη[]εε	
30	ηε ογ []	ηοηωη [ρ]εηηεεα	
	ρ̄ηηερ̄ηη. ρη[	η]ηεεηηηοηη η	
	εηητ[]:—	ρ]ηηεε:—	
	ογηηω[	η[ρρ]ο δε ηηερ[ε]ηηαγ	
	εη̄οε εηηηη ηη		

Folio 2 recto

же петѣнаеор[ѣ
 рїѣепкаѡ. ѿн[а
 шω)πε·εϋεινρ ρ[ηη
 пнγє. аγω п[ε
 5 текнаѡолѣ [ρїѣη
 пкаѡ ѿнаш[ωπε
 εϋβηλ ѣѡл [ρηη
 пнγє:—
 птерγноγ аϣτω[ογн
 10 аϣβωк ѣѡл шар[
 аϣаспазе ѣηηοϣ
 απεπїσκοпός ка
 аϣ ρїϣογн:—
 птерепепеїѡт ѡе
 15 еї εϣογн аϣн
 котн аϣшωпé н
 соγ ä ηепнп
 аγω пεχαϣ наї ä
 пок βн[с]а· же ере
 20 таψγγχн ёпїѡγ
 ηеї еγλωρēη πογο
 οτε:—
 апок ѡе аїсептѣ
 аїн[т]ѣ наϣ· пе
 25 жас наї же житѣ
 наκ ερραї шанѣ
 шїне псωϣ:—
 апок ѡе аїжитѣ еρ
 раї етженепωρ
 30 ρ[ηη]пηερшоеηпт
 ѡе ηροοογ· пе
 жас [п]аї же апїп
 коγт πογοοτε наї·
 апок ѡе аїптѣ наϣ:—

ηεϣ

η]терεϣσολпϣ ѡе
 еѡл аϣρε ёр[ο]ѣ ёаѣ
 κпос пе[жаϣ
 [ж]ε τεψγγχн τω
 ο[γ]н ητεογωη η[ε
 еѡл ρηепεпταρε
 пѡγηηεї еροϣ·
 а]γω аϣтрапаρρтѣ
 еβ]ολ
]шωпε ѡе ϣρωш
 ογ]ροογ
 []
 []
 []
]ηεριт:—
 ап[οκ βнса ап]αρт ε
 жωи[ηη]οκρ аи
 рїη[ε]пεχαї
 наϣ ж[ε] κпαβωκ
 ηтκααп пепеї
 ѡт еτογäаβ:—
 εппаδ̄ηρωηη τω̄
 птекρε ηϣѣсβω
 нап аγω ηϣт
 ργφα ηηηοп η[
 пεтра[]ογä
 аβ· η[]η[
 ρ̄η[
 тε[]т[
 η̄η[]ε:—
 аηη[]κοсη̄οс
 тнρϣ ρптексō
 ф̄їа еτογäаβ η̄η
 пετ̄λōтōс етжок[ρ

Translation

page 37 (?): (i) [*three lines missing* . . . He wrote a letter to Apa Shenou]te [written in this] style: ['I, The]odosius [the emperor,] the one to whom the [Lord] has given this power [and this th]rone beyond [his] deserts, being one [insignificant^a . . .], write to the holy Apa Shenoute: I beseech^b you, my holy [father], to demean yourself and to come to me here that we may enjoy your blessing, my holy father. Salutation in the power of the Holy Trinity, the Father,^c the Son and the Holy Spirit'. As soon as he had sealed the letter, he gave it to Eud[o]xi[os], the *veletarius*, together with another letter which he addressed^d to the *dux* of A[n]tin[o]u. (ii) The *velet[a]r[ius]* reached [An]tinou. [He gave the letters] of the emperor to the *d[ux]* and he went south [with] him to the mona[ste]ry to the holy Apa She[noute]. They received a blessing at his hands. And immediately [he] handed him [the] letter of the emperor [to read]. When he [had begun to read] he came upon [the words of] the emperor [. . .] 'Come [to us]', he was [greatly] distressed [. . .] and [he said to the *ve*]le[tarius], 'What is] the business [of the emperor with] me? [I am a] monk [dwelling in] this mon[astery], praying [to] God for my sins that he may forgive me them'. The *veletarius* said [to] him, '[He] wishes to enjoy your blessing'. Said Ap[a Sh]enoute to him, 'See,

page [38]: (i) my son, [perhaps] you shall be able to [yield] to me [since I am an old] man'. [The *ve*]le[tarius] [said] to [him], 'My father, I may not [. . .] obstruct^e the emperor's command'. [The] righteous one [said] to him [. . .] eat^f [. . . *two lines missing* . . .]. Now when [they had spent] two [days in the m]onast[ery . . .] said [the *veletariu*]s to [him^g . . .] 'Arise [let us depart . . . that you do not bring] down [upon me] great [hurt and punishment] at the hand of [. . .] angry [. . . *one line* . . .] Said [A]pa Shenoute [to him], 'My son, shall you [not] be able to excuse [me and say] that I am an old man [. . . *two lines*^h . . .] . . . on the way in [. . .] . . . to persuade the emperor and (ii) [. . . *two lines wanting* . . .] Said [the *veletarius*] to [himⁱ . . . *three lines wanting* . . .] come willingly, [. . . there are] soldiers in this place [. . . *one line* . . .] Said [A]pa Shenoute [to] him, 'Let today and tomorrow be^j and we shall go by^k the will of God'. Now when evening came [. . .] the holy [A]pa Shenou[te] went inside to the altar. He prostrated himself upon his face, he prayed to God. No sooner^l had he given the Amen than a cloud of light came down from heaven. It caught him, it set him in the palace [of] the emperor, within his bed-chamber,^m in the place in which he was sleeping. Now when the emperor saw (*end of page*)

page 43 (?): (i) that one whom you shall bind upon the earth shall become bound in the heavens and that one whom you shall loose [on] the earth he shall become loosed [in the] heavens'.ⁿ Immediately he arose, he went out to [him], he greeted him.^o The bishop dismissed him within. Now when our father returned within he took to his bed and he fell sick on the first day of Epeiph. And he said to me, I Be[s]a, 'My soul shall crave for some boiled vegetables'.^p I prepared it. I brought it to him. He said to me, 'Put it aside until I ask for it'. I took it to the roof. Two days later he said [to] me, 'Bring me the little vegetable'. I fetched it to him. (ii) When he had uncovered^q it he

found that it had become putrid. He said, 'O soul, arise and refrain' from that which you craved'. And he had me pour it away. [Then the] sickness became grievous [on the third] day [. . . *three lines wanting* . . . my] beloved [brothers]. Now I [Besa] prostrated myself [. . . I being] grieved. I wept [. . .] I said to him, 'Will you go and abandon us, our holy father? Where shall we find a man of your manner to teach us and delicately nurture us [with] the holy writings and to [. . . *three lines* . . .] ordinances [. . .] You have filled [the] whole world with your' holy wisdom and your discourses seasoned page [44]: (i) with salt.^u You have caused the laity to be as monks by your holy teachings. Shall you go and leave us orphaned?' Said the holy old man to us [. . . *five lines wanting* . . .]. On the [. . . seventh] day [. . .] his whole [body] was heavy [in] the sickness. At the [time] of the sixth hour he said to me, I Besa, 'Woe to me, my son, the extent of the road is far. What shall I do until I meet God, because of the terrors which are on the way, and the doom of death and afflictions' [. . .] sinning on the way. Woe to [me, . . . in what state shall] I meet God?' (ii) After he had said this [he] gave up his spirit [on day] seven of the [month of Epei]ph. [And see,] there was a great sound in the mo[nas]tery. We heard a voice from heaven saying, 'Peace on your entering within and on your meeting God, O holy prophet of the Lord, Apa Shenoute. All they of heaven rejoice with you today since the devil has not prevailed over you. Peace to you on your meeting God'. Immediately we prepared him for burial. We secured his body in a wooden coffin.^w We buried him in glory and honour. And so may it be for us too, that we find mercy (*end of page*)

Commentary

(a) I recto, col. i, l. 11. After εϛ nothing visible except ϛ showing through from verso ii. 11. To be restored perhaps εϛⲟ ⲡⲛⲟϣⲓ, cf. B. ⲡⲓⲛⲟϣⲁⲓ.

(b) l. 15. παρακαλεῖ: λ enlarged.

(c) l. 24. ἴωτ only here, elsewhere εἴωτ.

(d) ll. 32-3. τⲓⲛⲏⲁϣⲉ according to Crum, 419b, τⲓⲛⲏⲁ(ⲟ)ϣⲉ is A, A²: found also in Coptic texts edited by Crum in H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians*, 97-8 (R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum*, 66a).

(e) I verso, col. i, l. 6. Between ⲙⲉ and ⲉ there is a small hole in the vellum, already present when the text was written, cf. small gap between ⲡ and ⲓ in writing of ⲙⲟⲛⲁⲥⲧⲏⲣⲓⲟⲛ recto ii. 6. The Sahidic version is using first person singular negative aorist expressing the negation of customary action or ability. Bohairic otherwise: ⲙⲉⲣⲉⲣⲉⲣⲓⲕⲱⲗⲓⲛ ⲙⲉⲡⲓⲣⲱⲃ ⲛⲉ ⲟϣⲏⲓ ⲫⲏⲁϣⲏⲁⲃⲉϣⲏⲓ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲧⲉⲕⲉⲗⲉϣⲓⲥ ⲙⲉⲡⲁⲥⲉ ⲡⲟϣⲣⲟ 'Do not hinder the work for truly I shall not be able to put off the command of my Lord the Emperor.' Sahidic requires more than ⲙⲉⲓⲕⲱⲗϣ: supply perhaps ⲁⲓⲁⲕⲱⲗϣ.

(f) ll. 9-11 too damaged to restore with confidence. Shenoute invites the courier and escort to rest and partake of the monastic food.]ⲟϣⲱⲙⲉ[restore perhaps [ⲥⲓⲛ]ⲟϣⲱⲙⲉ 'food', cf. Boh. ⲛⲓⲛⲟϣⲱⲙⲉ.

(g) ll. 15-23. Text similar to, but not identical with, Bohairic, which has nothing corresponding to ll. 22-3. After l. 20, [ⲛⲟ]ⲥ ⲛ, more is required than Boh. ⲁⲡϣⲱⲗⲏ (ἀπειλή): supply probably ⲙⲉⲛⲟϣⲱⲙⲉⲃⲟⲛ, cf. later words of the courier, Leipoldt, *Vita*, 34, ll. 1-2.

(h) ll. 29 ff. Sahidic version fuller than Bohairic.

(i) 1 verso, col. ii, l. 3. The threat of the courier to use force too damaged to restore. After τ l. 6, only the writing of ΘΕΘΑΘΟΙΟΣ showing in reverse, from recto i. 6.

(j) ll. 11–12. Boh. ΟΥΚΟΥΗ ΧΑΦΟΥΥ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΡΑϚϚ, ‘Then let today be until tomorrow’.

(k) l. 13. ρε Fayyumic form, or ‘langue vulgaire’, Kasser, *Compléments*, 98b, for S. ρπ.

(l) l. 23. ΠΤΕΥΗ ΟΥΙ *sic!*: irregular spelling, rather than scribal error; not attested in Crum, 484b, but cf. B. ΟΥΠΩΟΥΙ.

(m) l. 31. ΚΟΙΤΩΗ, confirming the reading of Evelyn White from a vellum fragment (*Monasteries of the Wadi 'n Natrun*, i. 163), ΞΕΗ ΠΙ[ΚΟΙ]ΤΩΗ for Leipoldt ΞΕΗ[ΠΙ]Τ[. .]Ι, which—if the supplementation of two letters only between π and τ is correct—would prompt the restoration ΞΕΗΠΙΤΑΛΛΙΟΗ.

(n) Matthew 16: 19.

(o) 2 recto, col. i, ll. 14 ff. In the Sahidic text Shenoute’s illness and death follow chronologically his meeting with the Bishop of Eshmunein; ΚΑΑϚ ρΙϩΟΥΗ perhaps therefore no more than ‘he (the bishop) dismissed him (Shenoute) within (the monastery)’, implying some sort of compromise; Shenoute, having made submission to ecclesiastical authority, was allowed to return immediately to his cell. The bishop had, however, threatened excommunication (κω εβολ) and κω ρΙϩΟΥΗ may be used of one received within after expulsion or exclusion. Bohairic version of the incident is: ΟΥΟϩ ΕΤΑΠΑΙΩΤ ΣΩΤΕΛΛ ΕΠΑΙΣΑΧΙ ΠΤΟΤϚ ΑΠΙΣΩΤΗΡ ΑϚΤΩΗϚ ΑϚΙ ΕΒΟΛ ΨΑΠΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟϚ ΟΥΟϩ ΑϚΕΡΑΣΠΑΖΕΣΘΕ ΛΛΟϚ ΕΤΑΥΗΗΗ ΕΥΣΑΧΙ ΠΕΛΟΥΕΡΗΟΥ ΑϚΨΕ ΠΑϚ ΠΧΕ ΠΙΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟϚ ΕΒΟΛ ρΙΤΟΤϚ ΑΠΑΙΩΤ ΑΠΑ ΨΕΝΟΥϚ ΞΕΝΟΥϩΙΡΗΗΗ ΠΤΕΦϚ ΑΛΗΗΗ, ‘And when my father heard these words from the Saviour he rose up and went out to the bishop and embraced him; and when they had finished talking with each other, the bishop departed from my father Apa Shenoute in the peace of God. Amen.’ A further 100 chapters or so follow in the Bohairic version before Shenoute’s illness, see p. 135 above. The inclusion of further *miracula postea in honorem Sinuthii ficta*, making nonsense of the linking Sahidic ΚΑΑϚ ρΙϩΟΥΗ, necessitated this revised Bohairic account.

(p) l. 20. Boh. (Leipoldt, 73, l. 4) †ερεπιουγειν ‘I crave’, using first person singular and present tense for Sah. ερεταψυχην επιουγει, Third Future with nominal subject ‘my soul shall crave’, rather than Second Present as the Bohairic might suggest. In both Bohairic and Sahidic versions it is the soul which is subsequently addressed when Shenoute declines the food, see further n. r below. Boiled food and gruel (*ἀθήρα*, *athera*, according to Pliny, *NH* 22. 121, and Cassiodorus, *Conl.* 15. 10. 1, an Egyptian word) was the food of a sick monk, cf. Mich. 550 quoted by Crum, *Dict.* 150a, sub *Λαζυεε*. A healthy Egyptian monk ate his greens raw. The Bohairic *Life* (Leipoldt, § 176) states that Besa went επεα πογυαη πτεπισκηνογ πψελλεωογ, ‘to the refectory of the foreign monks’, to fetch the cooked vegetables for Shenoute. On the diet of monks see H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, i, 144–9; C. C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt*, 205–17.

(q) 2 recto, col. ii, l. 1. ΣΩΛΠ, regularly used in connection with wine jars and so already in Demotic; *Onkhsheshonqy* 19. 23: *i-ir irp cw iw bw ir-tw glp-f*, ‘wine matures until it has been opened’. Bohairic renders εταψχαρωϚ. The expression καρωϚ, χαρωϚ normally means ‘be silent’ (‘leave mouth’) and is so used in this sense later in the Bohairic account of Shenoute’s death (Leipoldt, *Vita*, 75, l. 6). The meaning is not appropriate here and the passage has been variously translated: ‘when (he) had opened mouth’ to eat, Crum, *Dict.* 288b; ‘lorsqu’il en eut approché sa bouche’, Amélineau, *Mém. miss. franç.* iv, 88 and n. 6; ‘sed cum os admovisset’, Wiesmann, *CSCO* 129, 43. In the light of the Sahidic reading ΣΩΛΠϚ the Boh. ρωϚ must here be used in a literal sense ‘put

(aside) door' (that is 'open'), taking $\rho\omega\gamma$ as if absolute, or 'put (aside) its door', the suffix referring not to Shenoute but to the pot containing the food. 'Its door' would, in this case, mean probably a palm-leaf cover, but perhaps a pottery lid or linen napkin. The passage is correctly understood in the Arabic life printed by Amélineau (op. cit. 469) and translated by him, 'en les découvrant' and by Crum (*Dict.* 288b), 'when we examined it'.

(r) l. 5. $\pi[\epsilon]$: for the restoration cf. Boh. $\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon$, ethical dative with imperative, feminine as it is the soul ($\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$) which is addressed. The Bohairic is translated by Wiesmann (op. cit. 43) 'comede, anima, de eo quod concupivist' and by Amélineau (op. cit. 88) 'Ô âme, mange ce que tu as désiré'. The words of Shenoute cannot be taken in their literal sense since we are immediately told that he had Besa dispose of the stinking food. They would, therefore, have to be taken as a rebuke by Shenoute to his soul for its weak craving for food of the body: 'eat that which you have (always truly) desired', see n. p above. Abstention on one's death-bed from food, permissible to the sick monk, was a mark of asceticism: see, for instance, the words attributed to Matthew the Poor (Amélineau, *Mém. miss. franç.* IV, 736): 'as the Lord lives, I shall not eat, drink, or taste of the food of this world until I meet my holy fathers Antony and Pachom', and to Bishop Pisentius 'I shall not partake of any nourishment belonging to this world until I go to Christ and break my fast with him' (BM Or. 7026 f. 81a, Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha*, 125).

A second explanation is possible; Sah. $\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon$ should perhaps be taken not as $\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon$ 'to eat', but $\sigma\gamma\omega(\omega)\epsilon\epsilon$, $\sigma\gamma\omega\epsilon$ which is attested by Crum in that dialect used reflexively in the sense 'restrain self' (*Dict.* 479b). If a pun be intended in the Sahidic, it was not appreciated by those responsible for the Bohairic recension which is followed at this point by the Arabic version. For a pun in Shenoute's own writings on 'brick' and 'retribution', cf. Leipoldt, *Opera Sinuthii*, III, 21, 24-6: $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\epsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\iota\psi\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\alpha\gamma\ \kappa\tau\alpha\gamma\pi\omega\omega\pi\epsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\tau\omega\beta\epsilon\ \epsilon\beta\omicron\lambda\ \rho\epsilon\pi\kappa\alpha\theta\ \alpha\pi\tau\omega\beta\epsilon\ \psi\omega\pi\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\gamma$, 'Those at that time, on the one hand, who trod out bricks from the earth, retribution happened to them'. For the pun on $\tau\omicron\sigma\beta\epsilon$ in Amélineau, *Œuvres de Shenoudi*, II, 394, 7 ff., see Shisha-Halevy, *JEA* 64 (1978), 141.

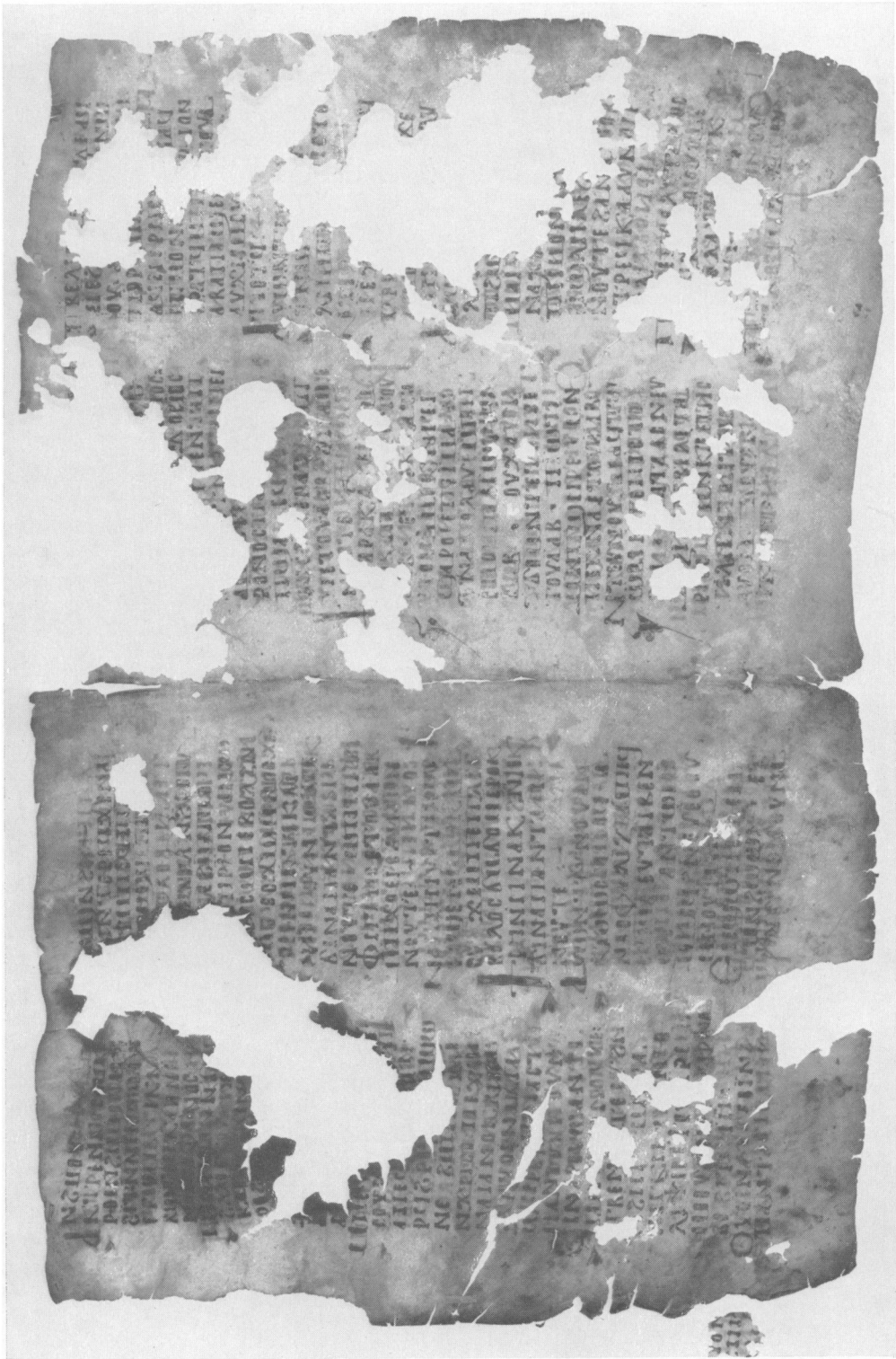
(s) ll. 27-30. Sahidic version here not close enough to Bohairic to restore with certainty.

(t) l. 34. $\kappa\epsilon\tau$ *sic!*: irregular but not uncommon spelling for $\kappa\epsilon\kappa$.

(u) 2 verso, col. i, l. 1. Commonplace Greek cliché, applied to Shenoute's epistles at Leipoldt, *Vita*, 72, l. 23, in echo, no doubt, of Col. 4: 6: $\xi\pi\omicron\gamma\chi\alpha\rho\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\psi\chi\omicron\kappa\bar{\rho}\ \bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\gamma$; similarly *Vita*, 13, ll. 8-9. Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* x. 1. 107, writes of oratory: *salibus certe et commiseratione, quae duo plurimum in adfectibus valent, vincimus*.

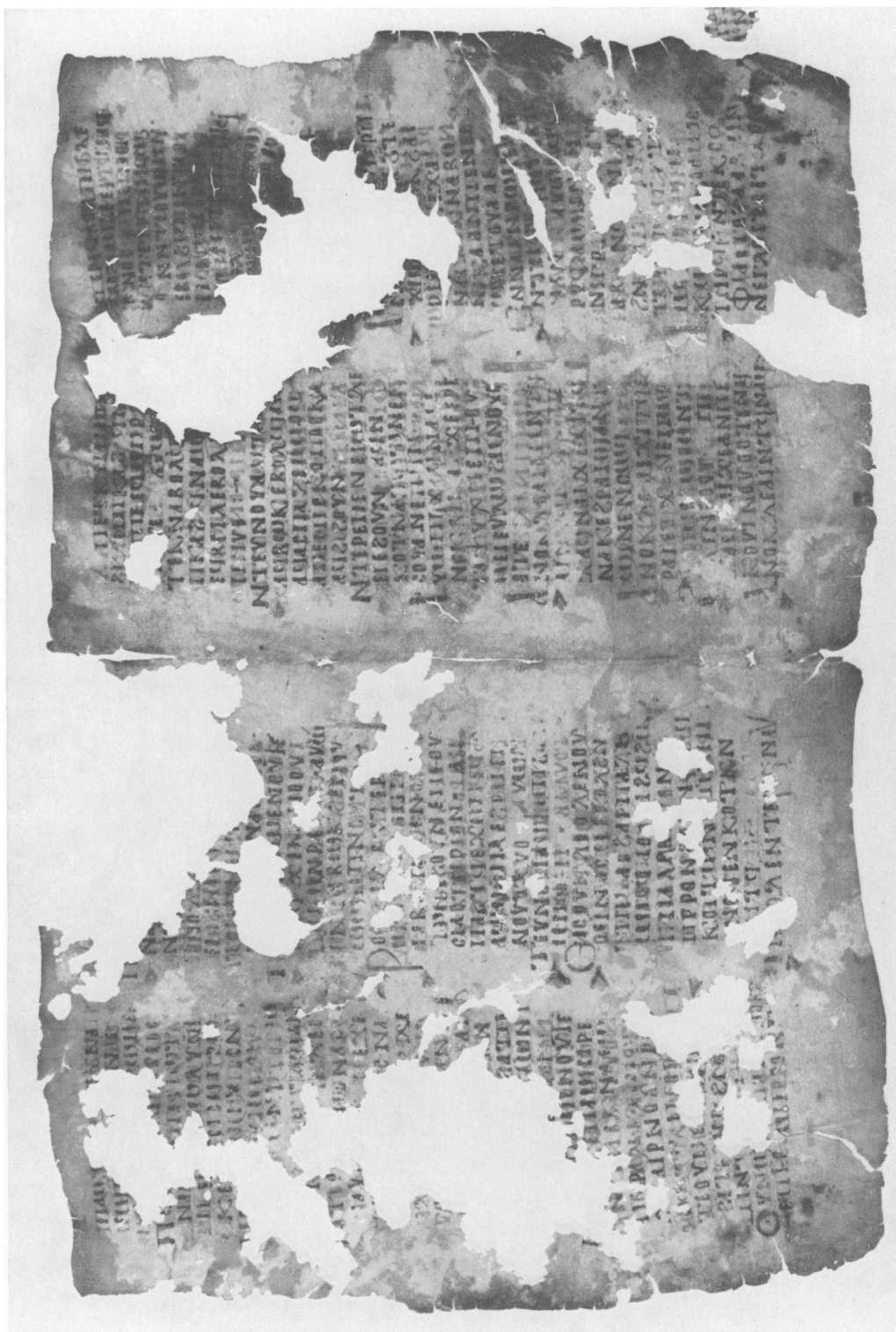
(v) ll. 29-30. For the imagery of death see Zephaniah 1: 15. For $\theta\lambda\iota\psi\iota\varsigma$ and $\lambda\eta\alpha\tau\kappa\eta$ as a characteristic combination in Shenoute's own writings see references in Shisha-Halevy, *Enchoria* 6 (1976), 31; for Shenoute's own description of sickness and death see id., *Enchoria* 5 (1975), 97.

(w) 2 verso, col. ii, 26-9. $\kappa\omega\omega\varsigma$ here in its primary sense of 'prepare for burial', the laying out of the body, no doubt in the style described by Winlock and Crum, *Epiphanius*, I, 45 ff. Interment is expressed by $\tau\omega\epsilon\epsilon$. The Sah. $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\psi\epsilon\omega\epsilon\alpha\ \epsilon\gamma\tau\alpha\iota\beta\epsilon\ \kappa\upsilon\psi\epsilon$ implies that the body was secured in a wooden chest, which could be made large enough for the man to conceal his two wives (Amélineau, *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 25, 376) or for monks to propose that Archellites and his mother should rest in one coffin (Drescher, *Three Coptic Legends*, p. 30, ll. 21-3; p. 98). Boh. $\epsilon\rho\kappa\epsilon\pi\alpha\tau\iota\eta\ \xi\eta\omicron\gamma\kappa\alpha\psi\alpha\ \epsilon\sigma\omicron\iota\ \eta\chi\omicron\lambda\chi\omicron\lambda$ implies a wrapping of the body with palm-matting, basket, or similar covering 'full of holes'. The v.l. $\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\varsigma\epsilon\omicron$ is probably a corruption ultimately deriving from Sah. $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\lambda\iota\zeta\epsilon$ but $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, properly 'to greet', may be used of things similarly to Latin *amplecti*. On the burial of monks in general see also C. C. Walters, op. cit.



BM 108 20 [44] and 37

BESA'S LIFE OF SHENOUTE



BM 10820 [38] and 43

BESA'S LIFE OF SHENOUTE

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THOMAS ERIC PEET

(1882–1934)

By E. P. UPHILL

Compiler's Note. This bibliography is the fourth in the series of former Egyptologists whose work has hitherto been unlisted or without full and proper classification, and the fifth I have published in *JEA*. All the subjects for these have had close connections with the EES and Peet was editor of this journal for eleven years, 1923–34. An incomplete bibliography of his works was published at the time of his death, see *Egyptian Religion* 2 (1934), 155–60 (H. W. Fairman); it listed approximately 82 items but omitted reviews. It has been possible to add about 17 further items in addition to all 91 reviews that were not covered previously. It will be seen from this list that Peet's interests were very wide and covered, among other subjects, archaeology, philology, biblical history, and especially mathematics in ancient Egypt. An obituary of him by Sir Alan Gardiner can be found in *JEA* 20, 66–70.

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MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1977

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1977 BY MUSEUMS IN
THE UNITED KINGDOM*Edited by* JANINE BOURRIAU

THE Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool, acquired the Danson bequest in 1977. Sir Francis C. Danson was a private collector who subscribed to the excavations of John Garstang. Only a brief description is given here since it is proposed to give a full list next year. The bequest includes stelae, offering tables, stone vases, pottery, flints, jewellery, and scarabs from the Predynastic to the Late Period. While some objects are unprovenanced, most come from the following sites: Abydos (Garstang's excavations 1906-9), see pl. XXVI, 1-2, scarabs and group from grave 941; Esna (Garstang's excavations 1905-6); Akhmîm 1901; El Kab 1902 (possibly Sayce and Somers Clarke excavations); Naqâda; Reqaqnah (Garstang's excavations 1901-2); and Tell el-Yahûdiya.

Predynastic

1. Rim sherd of a bowl of Petrie's White Cross Line ware, Fitzwilliam E.2.1977. Estimated original diameter 15.0 cm. Given by Dr D. J. S. Pendlebury.

Old Kingdom

2. Limestone fragment of a *kheker* frieze, on permanent loan from the Ashmolean (ex. Ash. 1910.666), University College 31114. From a temple of Snofru at Meidûm, found reused in a grave, Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, pl. xx, 3.

3. Beetle amulet, lapis lazuli Fitzwilliam E.17.1977 (pl. XXVII, 1). Length 1.4 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred.

Middle Kingdom

4. Pottery vessel, red ware, Manchester 1977.1143. Label states 'Tomb 5E, Abydos. 12th Dynasty', see Garstang, *El Arâbah*, 44. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

5. String of graduated spheroid carnelian beads, Fitzwilliam E.10.1977. Length of string 55.0 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred.

6. String of blue faience spheroid beads, British Museum 68867. Length of string 36.5 cm. Given by Miss P. K. Hearne. Formerly the property of Mrs J. F. Hearne and Sir Flinders Petrie.

Second Intermediate Period

7. Glazed steatite scarab, Fitzwilliam E.18.1977. The base has a broken spiral border enclosing a design of lucky hieroglyphs. Length 1.7 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred.

¹ All the objects from this source now in the Manchester Museum were found in the basement of Glossop Public Library, and were acquired through the Glossop Historical Society, formerly the Glossop Antiquarian Society. An accompanying card states that they were 'presented by the Egyptian Research Account' and were from 'Abydos, tomb'. The collection was probably presented to the Glossop Antiquarian Society by one of its members; the objects come from Garstang's excavations in 1900, see *El Arâbah* (London, 1901).

New Kingdom

8. Pottery vessel, Fitzwilliam E.1.1977. Height 9.6 cm. Given by Dr D. J. S. Pendlebury. Straw-tempered Nile silt fabric. Early XVIIIth Dynasty, cf. D. Downes, *The Excavations at Esna* (Warminster, 1974), 49 (95).

9. Steatite scarabs, inscribed respectively *Mn-hpr-rꜥ* and *Imn-rꜥ*, Manchester 1977.1149-50. Lengths 1.4, 1.5 cm. XVIIIth Dynasty. Transferred from Altrincham Public Library, Cheshire.

10. Fragments of textile, Ashmolean 1977.262. From the Store-Chamber of the tomb of Tutankhamūn. They were sent to England by Carter with swabs for bacteriological examination and have been in private hands till now.

11. Upper and lower parts of a wooden head-rest, Manchester 1977.1074. Length 9.0 cm. Possibly XVIIIth Dynasty. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

12. Steatite scarab inscribed *nb tꜥwy Mn-hpr-rꜥ*, Fitzwilliam E.19.1977. Length 2.0 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred. Posthumous scarab of Tuthmosis III. XIXth Dynasty.

13. Sixteen pendants in the shape of flies, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.140. Average length 1.1 cm. Made of sheet gold. XIXth Dynasty.

14-17. Carnelian amulets of snake's head, Bes, heart, and scarab beetle, Fitzwilliam E.11-13.1977, E.15.1977 (pl. XXVII, 1). Lengths 3.4, 2.1, 1.5, 2.5 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred.

18. Red jasper 'Girdle of Isis' amulet, Fitzwilliam E.14.1977 (pl. XXVII, 1). Length 2.8 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred.

19. Lapis lazuli hawk-headed scarab beetle amulet, Fitzwilliam E.16.1977 (pl. XXVII, 1). Length 1.6 cm. Given by Mr Cyril Aldred.

20. String of 93 blue faience short cylinder beads, British Museum 68867. Length of string 40.0 cm. Given by Miss P. K. Hearne. Formerly the property of Mrs J. F. Hearne and Sir Flinders Petrie.

21-9. Wooden hands from coffins, Manchester 1977.1075-83; lengths vary between 10.0 and 15.2 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

30-1. Wooden beards from coffins, Manchester 1977.1086-9. Lengths 7.9, 6.0 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

32-3. Wooden face masks from coffins, Manchester 1977.1091-2. Heights 6.0, 9.8 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

34. Wooden fragment possibly from a coffin, Manchester 1977.1090. Height 6.0 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

35-6. Wooden hawks, Manchester 1977.1084, 1088. Heights 6.3, 11.5 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

37-8. Pottery shabtis, Manchester 1977.1108-9. Heights 11.2, 11.0 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

39-41. Faience shabtis, Manchester 1977.1110-12. Heights 10.3, 10.5 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arābah*. Given by the Glossop Historical Society.¹

Third Intermediate Period

42. Bronze shabti with the cartouche of Psusennes I, Birmingham 113'77 (pl. XXVI, 4). Height 7·8 cm.

43-6. Faience shabtis, Manchester 1977.1113-16. Heights from 7·9 to 9·7 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arábah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society.¹ Possibly XXIst Dynasty.

47. Pottery shabti, Manchester 1977.1144. Height 4·9 cm. Transferred from Altrincham Public Library, Cheshire. Possibly XXIst Dynasty.

48-9. Faience shabtis, Manchester 1977.1103-4. Heights 13·6, 13·4 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arábah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society. Possibly XXIInd Dynasty.¹

50. Pottery funerary cone, inscribed with the cartouches of Queen Amenirdis I, Birmingham 112'77. Length 16 cm, diameter of face 8·0 cm. Cf. N. de Garis Davies, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, no. 584.

51. Faience shabti, Manchester 1977.1146. Height 9·8 cm. Transferred from Altrincham Public Library, Cheshire. Possibly XXVth Dynasty.

Saïte Period

52. Bronze container for a mummified hawk in the form of a rectangular box surmounted by a hawk, British Museum 68869. Details of the bird's eye and crown are in silver, and there are three vertical lines of text, much abraded. Length 19 cm, width 5·5 cm, max. height 16 cm. From Buto, c.650-500 BC. Gift of Mrs M. H. De Bruyne.

53. Gold signet ring of the major-domo Shōshenq, British Museum 68868 (pl. XXVI, 3). Length of bezel 3·4 cm. Formerly in the Northumberland collection, see *Sotheby's Catalogue*, 21 April 1975, lot 165.

54. Faience shabti inscribed for Psamtek-si-Neit, Bolton 366.1977 (pl. XXVII, 3). Height 13·5 cm.

Late Period

55. Demotic contract dated 'year 3 of Achoris', British Museum 10846. Max. height 13·5 cm. From Thebes. See U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Enchoria 3* (1973).²

56. Fragments of Demotic papyri containing exercises and accounts, British Museum 10856. Written on recto and verso. Max. height 20·5 cm, max. width 21·0 cm. See E. Bresciani, *Testi Demotici nella Collezione Michaelidis* (Rome, 1963), pls. vii-xiii.²

57. Part of a Demotic papyrus containing a list of names and amounts of unspecified substances, British Museum 10859. Dated to year 12. Written on the recto only. Height 14·8 cm, width 14·7 cm.²

58. Fragment of a Demotic papyrus containing an alphabetic list, British Museum 10852. Written on recto and verso. Height 24·7 cm, width 27·0 cm. See Bresciani, *op. cit.* pl. vi.²

59. Part of Demotic document containing a dispute over a payment of money, British Museum 10849. Written on recto and verso. Height 19·2 cm, width 7·5 cm.²

² This and the following papyri were purchased from the Michaelidis collection. Only a selection is listed here, but a handlist exists in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. There are papyri from the same collection in the University Library, Cambridge, and a handlist is in preparation by J. D. Ray.

60. Two fragments of Demotic papyrus containing a mythological tale, British Museum 10848. Written on recto and verso. Height 17 cm, width 12 cm, height 14.2 cm, width 6 cm. See Bresciani, *op. cit.* pl. iv.²
61. Two fragments of Demotic papyrus containing part of the Petubastis Cycle, British Museum 10850. Written on recto and verso. Height 17.0 cm, width 24.0 cm, height 14.2 cm, width 5.0 cm. See Bresciani, *op. cit.* pls. ii–iii.²
62. Complete Demotic oracle-text written for the ibis, written by Teos in year 3, British Museum 10847. Height 9 cm, width 4.8 cm.²
63. Demotic oracle-text written for the ibis, written by Teos in year 3, British Museum 10851. Height 9.0 cm, width 4.6 cm. See Kaplony-Heckel, *Forschungen und Berichte* 14 (1972).²
64. Demotic oracle-text written for the ibis, written by Teos in year 3, British Museum 10853. Height 7.8 cm, width 5.7 cm. See Kaplony-Heckel, *op. cit.*²
65. Strip of Demotic papyrus containing a prayer to the ibis, British Museum 10857. Written on recto only. Height 35.5 cm, width 7.8 cm.²
66. Demotic papyrus containing a petition to the god Thoth, British Museum 10855. Seven lines of text written on one side only. Height 9.1 cm, width 27.5 cm.²
67. Part of a Demotic papyrus containing a complaint to a god, British Museum 10854. Nineteen lines of text written on one side only. Height 22.2 cm, width 6.0 cm.²
68. Demotic papyrus containing details of a contract made with a Greek born in Alexandria, and dated to year 35 of Ptolemy IX, British Museum 10858. Height 20 cm, width 13.3 cm.²
- 69–75. Faience amulets of ram, cartouche, *udjat*-eye, Thoêris (2), Ptaḥ-Sokar (2), and Anubis, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.217–18, 222–6. From Saqqâra, EES excavations (H6-11,3511-14, H5-338, H5-23, H5-1337,3513-10, H5-977).
- 76–9. Bronze situlae, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.219–21, 236. From Saqqâra, EES excavations (H5-311, H5-496, H5-469, H5-303).
- 80–2. Bronze figurines of Osiris, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.230–2. From Saqqâra, EES excavations (H5-403, H5-614, H5-567).
83. Wooden reliquary of Osiris, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.233. From Saqqâra, EES excavations (H6-59).
- 84–5. Fragment of bronze aegis of Isis and bronze frog, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.234–5. From Saqqâra, EES excavations (H6-601, H6-634).
86. Bronze statuette of a baboon, Manchester 1977.1102. Height 8.5 cm. An exchange with the City Art Gallery and Museum, Dundee.
87. Bronze figurine of Isis and Horus, Birmingham 114'77. Height 11 cm. Damage at the back of the head and throne reveals the lead core.
88. Terracotta figurine of Isis and Horus, Birmingham 111'77 (pl. XXVII, 2). Height 14.5 cm.
89. Two wooden butterfly clamps, Roy. Scot. Mus. 1977.228A & B. From Saqqâra, EES excavations (H5-624).

90. Two small bronze coins, Bolton 365.1977. From Saqqâra, surface find south-east of Step Pyramid. Roman Period.

91-2. Wooden beards from coffins, Manchester 1977.1085, 1087. Lengths 18.8 and 7 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arâbah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society.¹

93-8. Faience shabtis, Manchester 1977.1105-7, 1117-19. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arâbah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society.¹

99-101. Faience shabtis, Manchester 1977.1145, 1147-8. Transferred from Altrincham Public Library, Cheshire.

102. Rim sherd of pottery bowl, fine orange-buff ware, Bolton 362.1977. Height 4.3 cm. From Saqqâra, surface find south-east of Step Pyramid. Roman Period.

103. Bone fragment, distal end of humerus, wrapped in linen bandage, Bolton 363.1977. Length 10 cm. From Saqqâra, surface find south-east of Step Pyramid.

104. Fragment of bronze spatula, Bolton 364.1977. Length 3.8 cm. From Saqqâra, surface find south-east of Step Pyramid. Roman Period.

Coptic Period

105-22. Group of stela fragments, previously unregistered, British Museum 68793-810. From Qau. For 68793-6 see G. Brunton, *Qau and Badari III*, pl. liii, nos. 1, 2, 4, 6.

Date Uncertain

123-4. Pottery vessel and sherd, Bolton 360-1.1977. From Saqqâra, surface find south-east of Step Pyramid.

125-47. Pottery vessels, Manchester 1977.1120-42. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arâbah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society.¹

148-55. Lids of stone kohl-pots, Manchester 1977.1093-1100. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arâbah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society.¹

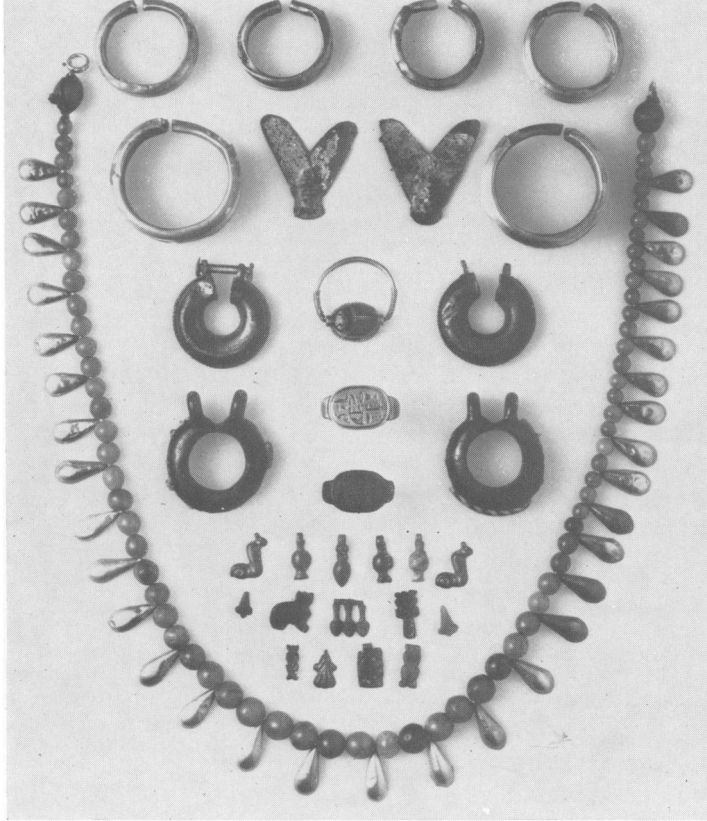
156. Wooden disc, Manchester 1977.1101. Diameter 5.8 cm. From Abydos, see Garstang, *El Arâbah*. Gift of the Glossop Historical Society.¹

157. Collection of linen, Bolton 345.1977. Mostly from Petrie's excavations. From the Petrie collection, given by University College, London.

158-62. Mummified hands, Manchester 1977.1154-8. Given by the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

163-5. Fragments from mummies, Manchester 1977.1159-61. Given by the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.

166. Mummified cat, Manchester 1977.1162. Height 37 cm. Given by the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff.



1. Group from Abydos 941, Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool



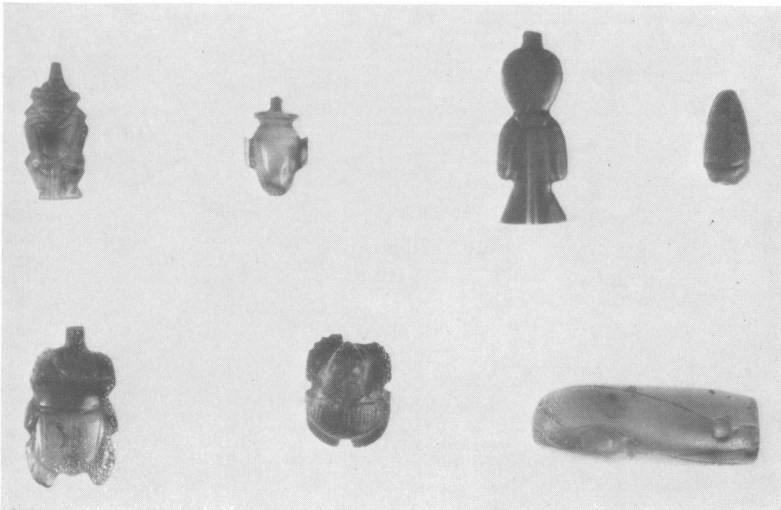
2. Scarabs from Abydos, Merseyside County Museum Liverpool



3. Gold ring of Shōshenq, British Museum, 53
4. Shabti of Psusennes I, Birmingham Museum, 42



MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1977



1. Amulets, Fitzwilliam Museum, 3, 14-19



2 Terracotta figurine of Isis and Horus, Birmingham Museum, 88



3. Faience shabti, Bolton Museum, 54

REVIEW ARTICLE

The present state of Egyptian archaeology¹

By M. BIETAK

WHAT does Egyptian archaeology really represent today? Of course it no longer means the collecting of antiquities in the style of Belzoni, digging through sites in order to get valuable pieces for museums or simply purchasing antiquities. Everybody is aware of the change in standards which has taken place in the course of time and which no longer countenances such activities. Nevertheless, the question at the beginning of this article may be excused.

Archaeologists among us are very frequently called 'excavators' by their philological colleagues as, for instance: 'Mr. NN is a good excavator'. In less academic circles the expression 'diggers' may even be used. We have no objections to this except the one basic objection that both designations describe only one part of the total of archaeological activity and show complete lack of understanding of what archaeology, with all its facets and possibilities, really represents. To say 'excavator' and mean 'archaeologist' displays the same degree of inaccuracy as saying of a philologist: 'He knows his hieroglyphs well'. Of course the actual deciphering of the hieroglyphs by Champollion was a great scholarly undertaking and even now the study of the meaning and origin of individual signs is still not finally settled, but, in general, a knowledge of pharaonic hieroglyphic and related scripts is only a means for acquiring a knowledge of grammar and an understanding of the texts written in these scripts, and for drawing further conclusions from them. It is exactly the same with archaeology. Excavation is a technique as well as a scholarly undertaking. It is first and foremost a method by which excavated contexts and materials can be exploited in order to gain new insights from them, to open up new sources of information, and to bring to light new historical clues in the broadest sense. For the evaluation of excavated data many highly refined methods have been developed and are in process of development, e.g. the use of combination statistics, seriation, cluster analysis, horizontal stratigraphy, and stratigraphical analysis and interpretation, geographical mapping, all of which require a long and thorough training before they can be used as historical tools by the student.

We should like to raise the following question: what relative position should archaeology hold within the field of Egyptology? From a methodological point of view, Egyptology, taken as a general framework, unites several disciplines. This is also the case for Classical Studies which include Classical philology, epigraphy, ancient history, and Classical archaeology, art history, and other special fields such as numismatics. Egyptology too unites similar disciplines, but in Egypt the written records known to us, especially those with historical implications, are relatively and absolutely rarer than is the case in Classical antiquity, particularly if we also take the time-factor into consideration. The investigation of the material remains of ancient Egypt should consequently be of so much greater importance for the understanding of the history and culture of the country than is generally accepted.

The disciplines involved in the study of ancient Egypt can be divided into two groups according to the kind of cultural remains with which they deal. One group uses written remains and the other material remains as evidence. Academic teaching generally covers in methodological training only the philological aspect and only a few universities have a thorough education in methods of art history applied to Egypt. History itself is seen more from the literary evidence although in theory history should be reconstructed from both groups of sources. Even the understanding of Ancient

¹ I am especially indebted to Mme Helen Jacquet who kindly corrected my English. The paper was read during the First International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo on 7 October 1976.

Egyptian religion is unthinkable without taking the sacral and funerary architecture into consideration. Of course this is done in teaching but teaching about methods and details in the history of Egyptian architecture is rare.

If we consider that large sections of Egyptian history are very poor in written historical records, as, for instance, the entire Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period, the Hyksos Period, and the Libyan Period, and if we consider also that even the other periods are not thoroughly reconstructable by written remains, it will become quite clear that those gaps can be closed by finding more records but, if we admit that this is a matter of chance, the only possibility of narrowing those gaps in a *systematic* way is the full study of the material remains by archaeological methods in their widest sense.

But the archaeological disciplines have also another aim. They can very often make the text-material more understandable or give written evidence an illustrative, explanatory background. Sometimes we even find that contradictory results have been achieved by philological and archaeological methods used independently, and we have to try to explain how this has come about in order to gain a more objective insight into the problem. Such contradictions may develop for the following reasons.

Archaeology has the advantage of dealing with sources which are in themselves objective. It is only the interpretation of a random selection of cultural remains which may give unobjective results. We are likewise compelled to deal with the phenomena of ancient cultures by means of the ideas and definitions of our own modes of thinking and speaking. But such distinctions as those between settlements, societies, and races, which are common to us, would not necessarily, or even probably, be included among the concepts of the ancients. They used other criteria of distinction. When we, for example, are of the opinion that during the Old Kingdom such and such settlements within a certain district were 'towns', or that 'villages' were situated here or there, this does not necessarily mean that, at the period, they used the same criteria of settlement as we and, in fact, we have good reason to believe that in Old Kingdom times quite other settlement distinctions were current.¹ This means that archaeological method has a tendency to crystallize historical data around a series of abstract models such, for instance, as the cultural concepts A-Group, C-Group, and X-Group. Historical changes are perceived as breaks in cultural continuity, international relations as a function of imports and exports.

The use of our models of thinking and of our definitions in dealing with ancient civilizations is, however, justified because the consistent application of these methods and models will yield results which are relevant for us even though the carriers of the ancient civilization were not familiar with them. This method is, therefore, suitable for archaeological cultural analysis and for comparisons of material culture. In the investigation of illiterate cultures it is the only possible approach.

In contradistinction to archaeology, the philological disciplines dealing with ancient civilizations depend on sources which already at the outset are burdened with the biases and tendentious opinions of their ancient writers. The written source material is, therefore, by no means objective to begin with. In addition, the element of chance which plays such a large part in the survival of written, as of other documents, the often ill-preserved or mutilated condition of these documents, and the difficulties attendant on their exact comprehension, can cause the interpretation of texts to deviate considerably from the path of historical objectivity. Nevertheless, the written document has the enormous advantage of introducing its readers into the spiritual and religious world of the carriers of the civilization.

It is thus evident that the two basic methods used in historical research, philology and archaeology, may easily produce results which differ from each other. Ideally it should nevertheless be possible

¹ M. Atzler, *CdE* 47 (1972), 17-44.

to co-ordinate the written evidence with the results of archaeological investigations in such a way as to identify the carriers of the civilization under discussion. Contradictions between the two methods only go to show that we still lack a perfect understanding of our ancient sources, both written and material, and that we should think over all the evidence once again.

The logical conclusion to be deduced from all this is that the archaeological and philological branches within Egyptology should come face to face on equal terms, both being of fundamental importance and each being complementary to the other. Take as an example the archaeological stereotype 'Pan-grave'.² It is presented to us by archaeological excavations as a cultural group with a site-distribution extending from Erkowit in the southern coastal Sudan to Middle Egypt. The evidence indicates that this population, coming from the eastern desert, had started to settle on the borders of the Nile Valley during the first half of the second millennium BC. Anthropological investigations have proved that it was of a negroid strain, but at the same time belonged to a very distinct, anciently isolated, population with links going back into Mesolithic times. Egyptian weapons found in the graves of these people lead to the conclusion that they may have been hired as mercenaries by the Upper Egyptians. The identification of this group with that of the Medjay frequently mentioned in the texts illustrates the advantages of co-operation between archaeology and philology.³ On the one hand, this anonymous archaeological group becomes endowed with a name and actual historic connections, while, on the other hand, the literary image 'Medjay' has been enriched with a concrete cultural background which may lead to a better understanding of the texts dealing with these people.

By making use of the specialized knowledge of the natural sciences, as well as of other particular branches of investigation, archaeology has succeeded in broadening its field of research, thus bringing to light details otherwise passed over unperceived. For instance, it was possible to prove by a forensic investigation that King Seqenenrē was killed by blows from Asiatic battle-axes.⁴ Deduction: Seqenenrē was engaged in battle against the Hyksos rulers. The wider interpretation of such detailed clues revealed by archaeological investigations depends on our knowledge of written evidence but where written evidence is lacking, many questions can be answered by co-operation between archaeology and the natural sciences alone. This, of course, means that archaeological methods are ideally applicable to historical periods for which literary evidence is inadequate or altogether lacking. Many areas of Egyptian history fall into these categories. Therefore it is logical to expect that in the Egyptological field those who wish to specialize in philological studies should nevertheless have some general archaeological training, and likewise that those who intend to become field archaeologists should acquire the fundamentals of a philological background.

Unfortunately this expectation has not yet been fulfilled in respect to academic training in Egyptology. We are all, of course, aware of this, but the fact has not been taken sufficiently seriously. In contrast to Classical curricula, Egyptological teaching at most universities includes training solely from the philological point of view. This situation necessarily entails consequences of great importance for archaeology. Modern archaeology has become a thorny subject for the postgraduate student. Since universities do not produce archaeologists, archaeological activity is left in the hands of scholars having only a philological background. Some of these have made themselves acquainted with archaeological methods by their own efforts. Others have succeeded in gaining the co-operation

² M. Bietak, *Ausgrabungen in Sayala-Nubien 1961-1965. Denkmäler der C-Gruppe und der Pan-Gräber-Kultur* (Vienna, 1966).

³ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), 139.

⁴ M. Bietak and E. Strouhal, 'Die Todesumstände des Pharaos Seqenenrē', *Ann. Naturhist. Mus. Wien* 78 (1974), 29-52. Most recently S. Bockheimer, U. Eickhoff, E. Metzger, and V. Voigt, *Fortschr. Röntgenstr.* 128/6 (1978), 691-4, produced reasons for assuming that the king survived one of the mutilations and was killed in a second encounter.

of competent archaeologists from neighbouring disciplines, but even so they would have been better prepared if they had already acquired at the university at least the elements of an archaeological training, and we cannot overlook the fact that up to the present time certain excavations are still being conducted by the most antiquated methods.

Last, but not least, Egyptian archaeology, partly for the above-mentioned reasons, has concentrated its activities more on the clearance of monuments and on the unearthing of museum pieces than on the study of the contexts in which these were found. But the latter is, or should be, the real object of archaeological excavations. Of course it is far easier to clean architectural remains, especially those of stone, from sand than to excavate the remnants of mud-brick dwellings in which the walls and floors of each stratum, with its associated objects, must be distinguished, in the often difficult stratigraphical sections, from strata above and below it. This is the real reason why *tell*-excavations are still so rare in Egypt and why our archaeological knowledge has remained so one-sided, being mainly drawn from funerary and sacral architecture. Apart from a few key sites, Ancient Egyptian settlements with all their potential historical information have remained relatively unknown to us until fairly recent times. Now the position has started to change, but the few town-site excavators among us cannot but admit that our knowledge of ancient settlements in Egypt is still very fragmentary in contrast to that for most other countries of the Near East. But it is just these settlement-sites which are most endangered at the present time, when rural communities are expanding and are badly in need of building ground and agricultural land. In order to gain these, *tells* are being either covered with new buildings or levelled in order to create irrigable land.

This process has been going on slowly for a very long time but now the execution of technical projects, the building of canals and roads, and the continued levelling for agricultural purposes have increased the pace of occupation and destruction not only steadily but in the proportions of a logarithmic curve. As far as it is possible for them, the inspectorates of the Department of Antiquities are fighting a desperate battle against the demands of the modern technical world, but who is helping them? Who is ready to undertake a rescue excavation?

At the present time we face the disappearance of those sources of Ancient Egyptian history whose worth we are only now beginning to appreciate: the settlements, the town-sites and other places where the Ancient Egyptians lived their lives and left the traces of their communities and societies. These traces are the archaeological language, a difficult language indeed, but we can gain therefrom important items of information and new details of Ancient Egyptian civilization. Very often, too, the cemeteries on these mounds are destroyed together with the habitation-sites with which they are associated. This is a double loss of valuable information. The settlement and its cemeteries together are necessary in order to provide us with badly needed demographic data.

If we allow these sources of the Egyptian heritage to disappear without recording them, we shall have failed in our duty towards Ancient Egyptian antiquities. We will also deprive future students of an important part of their documentation and limit the knowledge and future development of our discipline. We will much sooner become an 'old' discipline, one which is continually reflecting its own image, chewing its cud over and over again, without the possibility of opening up major new sources of research.

Is there a remedy for this situation? The writer has somehow the feeling of acting the part of a prophet in a Classical tragedy, seeing disaster but inspiring no belief in it. First of all we have to realize the seriousness of the situation. I am sure that many colleagues are not aware of this. When we have come to a full understanding on this point and have agreed that still untouched sources of information for our discipline are threatened with destruction, we should try also to agree on a strategy to cope with the problem. In my opinion this should be one of the major tasks of the International Association of Egyptologists which was inaugurated at the First International Congress of Egyptology in Cairo (2-10 October 1976).

The main burden of protecting the antiquities in endangered areas will remain of course with the Department of Antiquities. But what can the international fraternity of Egyptologists do to take a share in this work? A salvage campaign, similar to the Nubian campaigns, but programmed for a longer period, is the only remedy for this situation. Such a programme has already been taken into consideration. But is Egyptology prepared for it? The necessity of tackling this enormous challenge to our discipline would mean nothing less than a complete reorganization of Egyptological activity in the future. It would require the immediate inauguration of archaeological training for young Egyptologists at the universities. Professors responsible for Egyptological departments should use energetic measures to procure for their students the possibility of adequate archaeological training, and should also encourage students who are not particularly gifted in philological studies to choose the archaeological aspect of our discipline as their primary subject. I have a feeling that many would be only too delighted to do so if they were given the chance. Reading through the titles of dissertations one notes that many of the subjects chosen are totally lacking in any research interest and one wonders whether the students can really be very happy with them. In archaeology, on the other hand, the important publications have still to be written. We are indeed at a new beginning.

Even research projects for institutes should be chosen for the time being from the archaeological point of view so that, sooner or later, when the new generation has been trained, it can participate in the urgent salvage work centring around the threatened Egyptian *tell*-areas. Such planning for the future at a time when the utility of disciplines such as Egyptology is being hotly debated would place Egyptology in the position of a 'modern' discipline, fulfilling the present-day requirements of 'total awareness'. At the same time it would store up enormous resources for future generations to work on, resources which would otherwise be lost.

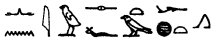
I do not wish to be misunderstood. I am not in the least advocating the suspension of philological studies in the universities. On the contrary, we are badly in need of epigraphic survey projects in endangered areas. This should be considered a real priority in the philological sphere,⁵ comparable to salvage archaeology. I am only trying to underline the fact that, in order to become a fully developed discipline, Egyptology must integrate archaeology into its university training-programmes and by this I mean not just the general principles of archaeology but also the specific problems raised by archaeological excavation in Egypt with its local peculiarities and particularities.

Archaeologists should consider their responsibility in this situation and should honestly be ready to abandon all work and all projects which could be done later in order to concentrate all their activity in the salvage areas. The reward will be so much the greater because those areas, particularly in the Delta, have in general been very little explored and will certainly yield highly interesting and much needed results.

⁵ In this connection special reference should be made to the contribution of M. G. Posener in the Cairo congress of 1976: *Philologie—tache prioritaire, I.C.E., Cairo, October 2-10, 1976, Abstracts of Papers* (Munich, 1976), 93.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS


Coffin Texts III, 317r: a correction


IN *CT* Spell 238, under the above reference, occurs the passage  Δ 1, where the final stroke represents the suffix 1st singular. At first glance the combination *nn iw* looks impossible, and in my published translation (vol. I, 187) I assumed that *nn* was an error induced by 3170, and read the passage as *iw sf(?)t ht-i*, 'hatred(?) is behind me', though I omitted by oversight to refer to *nn* in note 14. Having had occasion recently to re-examine this spell, it now appears to me that the negation is not an error, and that what follows is to be read as *iwzft*, presumably an abnormal writing of *izft*, 'wrongdoing'. I can quote no other example of this writing of *izft*, but *iw* is written for initial *i* also in *iwḥmw* for *iḥmw*, *BD* (Budge, 1898), 35, 16; 171, 3; 203, 1; 231, 13. If the passage in question be read as *nn izft ht-i*, 'no wrongdoing pursues me', it will fall into line with 3170 and also make better sense, with only a minor emendation.

R. O. FAULKNER

The reading of the negation



THE most recent treatment of the negation  appears in T. G. H. James's publication of the Ḥarḥotpe Documents, where he opts for the reading *n wnn·f*.² H. Satzinger analyses this construction in the same way.³ In this note, however, we will present arguments in favour of another possible reading, *n wn·n·f*.

James translates the following passage from the Ḥarḥotpe Documents: *šnc·n·tn b·f*  *n ts·f* . . . 'You have repelled his *ba*; may it not exist; may it not bind . . .',⁴ and he espouses Gunn's argument that there is no evidence for the existence of a *šdm·n·f* form of the verb *wnn*, 'to be'.⁵ One clear piece of evidence, however, does exist. In *CT* IV, 207*b*, the verb *wnn* appears in what seems to be a 'Wechselsatz' using *šdm·n·f* forms:⁶ *wn·n·i m t·i i·n·i m nwt·i*,⁷ '(When) I was in my land, (then) I came from my city'.

¹ I would like to thank Drs K. Baer, J. Johnson, E. Wente, and Ms E. Sherman for their help and advice.

² T. G. H. James, *The Ḥekānakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (= Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, vol. 19 [New York, 1962]), 103–4.

³ H. Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen im Alt- und Mittelägyptischen* (= MÄS 12 [Munich, 1968]), § 20. See also M. Gilula, in his review of Satzinger's book, *JEA* 56 (1970), 206. Gilula, op. cit. 211 n. 4, adds *CT* IV, 18 *e-f*, and *CT* VII, 501 *b-c*, to the examples quoted by Satzinger, loc. cit. For other references see B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), 104; A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (Oxford, 1957), § 120, end; E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (= Analecta Orientalia, no. 34 and 39 [Rome, 1955/64]), §§ 476*bb*; 922.

⁴ James, *Ḥekānakhte*, Doc. X, vs. 6.

⁵ Gunn, *Studies*, 104 n. 1.

⁶ For the *Wechselsatz* see H. J. Polotsky, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 281–2; 38 (1969), 471.

⁷ Note that in three versions the second *n* of *wn·n·i* is written (M7C; T1Be; T3L); two versions (M54C; BH1Br) have a *šdm·f* form in the second part of the construction. M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss, *De Oudste Versie van Dodenboek 17a: Coffin Texts Spreuk 335a* (Leiden, 1963), 21 and n. 5, also interprets this form as *šdm·n·f*. The variant *i·n·i m nwt·i pr·n·i m t·i* occurs in T3Be, followed in *CT* IV, 207 *c-d*, by another *Wechselsatz* using *šdm·f* forms: *h·i·i r sp·t·i wnn·i ḥnc i·t·i Itm m ḥrt hrw nt r·c nb*, '(when) I go down to my cemetery,

James stresses the parallelism of 𓂏𓂏𓂏 with $n \text{ts}f$ in the passage quoted above. He considers $n \text{ts}f$ as an $n \text{sdm}f$ form, and, therefore, also considers 𓂏𓂏𓂏 as such a form. In this text, however, it is equally possible to read 𓂏𓂏𓂏 as $n(n) \text{ts}f$, since 𓂏 often stands for nn at this period.¹ Furthermore, James translates the form as optative, requiring the reading $n(n) \text{ts}f$, since $nn \text{sdm}f$ is the negation of the independent prospective $\text{sdm}f$ in Middle Egyptian.² If the parallelism in this text proves anything, therefore, it is that 𓂏𓂏𓂏 is not to be considered as an $n \text{sdm}f$ form.

The following passage contains a new example of 𓂏𓂏𓂏 : $n \text{hsff} \cdot i^3 \text{ hr } R\epsilon n \text{sncc} \cdot i \text{ in } ir m \text{cwy} \cdot f n \text{sm} \cdot i m \text{int } kkw n \text{ck} \cdot i m \text{š } hbntiw \text{𓂏𓂏𓂏} m \text{š}mt \text{it } n \text{hr} \cdot i m \text{h}kt$ (CT VII, 389a–390c). L. H. Lesko translates this passage as follows:⁴ ‘I have not been opposed by Rε̄. I have not been repulsed by him who acts with his hands. I have not walked in the valley of darkness. I have not entered into the lake of criminals. I have not been in the heat of the striking force (of god). I have not fallen as a prey.’⁵ This translation is not entirely satisfactory. The passage is made up of parallel sentences, and two of them use the construction $n +$ passive $\text{sdmm}f$: $n \text{hsff} \cdot i$ and $n \text{sncc} \cdot i$. E. Edel has shown that the passive $\text{sdmm}f$ and its negation $n \text{sdmm}f$ refer to the future and can even have an optative meaning.⁶ Therefore, the whole passage should be translated as future or optative.⁷ Since this is the case, we must analyse the forms $n \text{sdm}f$ which occur in parallel sentences of the same passage as cases of $n(n) \text{sdm}f$: $n(n) \text{sm} \cdot i$, $n(n) \text{ck} \cdot i$. The negation nn can perfectly well be written 𓂏 in the Coffin Texts. This is clearly established, for example, by the following sentence: $n\dot{h}m \cdot k\dot{s} \cdot t(w) \text{Hw } ib \text{tsm } m \cdot \epsilon R\epsilon n(n) \text{ck} \text{stpt } r \text{nmt } n\dot{r}$ (CT II, 166a–b): ‘The staff(?) shall be taken away from Rε̄, and

(then) I will be with my father Atum every day’, see Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses* (= The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings, vol. 2, no. 5 [Jerusalem, 1965]), § 14 n. 13. For $\text{sp} \cdot t$ meaning ‘cemetery’ see H. Goedicke, *Orientalia* 24 (1955), 229–32. For another possible example of the $\text{sdm} \cdot n \cdot f$ form of the verb wmm see Hatnub Graffiti 16, l. 9 (see R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (= Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens hrsg. von Kurt Sethe, Neunter Band [Leipzig, 1928], 36), where it seems to follow $iw \text{ir} \cdot n \cdot i$ as a continuative form (on the continuative form see Polotsky, *Egyptian Tenses*, § 13).

¹ For examples of 𓂏 written for nn in the Hekanakhte Papers, see James, op. cit. Doc. 1, vs. 2; vs. 12–13; Doc. 2, 28; and p. 26 nn. 50 and 51 (but see K. Baer, *JAOs* 83 [1963], 5 n. 29).

² See Gilula, *JEA* 56 (1970), 211. The examples of $n \text{sdm}f$ in optative sentences are probably to be understood as cases of $n(n) \text{sdm}f$, cf. Gilula, op. cit. 206.

³ Two versions (B6C and B12C) have $n \text{hsf}(w)$, with the passive $\text{sdm}(w) \cdot f$, and not the passive $\text{sdmm} \cdot f$.


⁴ L. H. Lesko, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways* (Berkeley, 1972), 102.


⁵ My interpretation of what follows, CT VII, 391 a, differs from the translation proposed by Lesko, loc. cit. I would read $\text{ck} \cdot s$ (as in B3C and B4C) $m \cdot m \text{it}(yw) n \text{Hr} \cdot f \cdot \text{h} \cdot \text{nmt } nt \text{nmt } \text{Spdt}$, and translate ‘When it [i.e. the prey] enters among those taken to Him-whose-face-is-behind-the-chopping-block of Sothis’s slaughterhouse’. On this passage see the translation by T. G. Allen of the corresponding Chapter 130 of the Book of the Dead in T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (= OIP 82 [Chicago, 1960]), 213 and notes n and p on p. 214; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III (Warminster, 1978), 154, and n. 9 on p. 155.

⁶ Edel, op. cit. §§ 559, 562, 1086b. For examples of $n \text{sdmm}f$ at this period see the passages in which the verb $n\dot{h}m$ ‘to take away’ contrasts with a preceding present or past sentence, e.g. CT II, 62 c (and CT VI, 167 a–b; 169e–f; 192b–c): $iw \text{f } rd\dot{i} n N \text{pn } n \text{n}hmm \cdot f m \cdot \epsilon N$, ‘He (= the foe) has been given up to this N and he will not be taken away from N’, and CT V, 60c–64a: $ink \text{Wr } s \cdot \text{Wr } ink \text{Nsr } s \cdot \text{Nsr } rd\dot{y}(w) n \cdot f \text{tp} \cdot f m \cdot ht$ (variant $m \cdot znw$) $hs\dot{k}(w) \cdot f$ (variant $\text{š}(w) \cdot f$) $n \text{n}hmm \text{tp} \cdot f m \cdot \epsilon \cdot f m \cdot ht \text{hs}\dot{k}(w) \cdot f$ (variant $\text{š}(w) \cdot f$) $\text{f} \cdot \text{š} \cdot t(w) \cdot f$) $n \text{n}hmm \text{tp} \cdot i m \cdot \epsilon \cdot i m \cdot ht \text{hs}\dot{k}(w) \cdot f$ (variant $\text{š}(w) \cdot f$), ‘I am Wr son of Wr , I am Nsr son of Nsr , to whom his head was given back, after it had been cut off. As his head will not be taken away from him after it has been cut off, so my head shall not be taken away from me after it has been cut off’ (my translation differs slightly from the one given by Gilula, *JNES* 28 [1969], 122). For other examples of $n \text{sdmm}f$, all with prospective meaning, see CT I, 295a; 397b–398b; II, 63b; 112e; 120j (S1C); III, 296c, f, g; 303i; IV, 115f; V, 312g–i; VI, 163j.

⁷ As in Faulkner, op. cit. III (Warminster, 1978), 154.

choice cattle and poultry shall not go into the slaughter place of the god'.¹ The form *sdm-kꜣtwf*, passive of the future *sdm-kꜣf*,² indicates that the passage is in the future tense and firmly establishes the reading *n(n) ḥk*.

Another grammatical feature of the Coffin Texts should be considered in analysing the construction . The negation *n sdm-nf* frequently alternates with *n(n) sdmf*, both in variants of the same text and in the parallel sentences of a consecutive text. In *CT* I, 144g, *n sdm-nf* and *n(n) sdmf* occur as variants of the same passage: *n(n) ḥkꜣf | n ḥk-nꜣr ḥwt-i*, 'He shall not enter into my mansion (so says Osiris)'.³ For an example of their interchangeability in the parallel sentences of a consecutive text, see *CT* VI, 197p-s: *bwt-i pw ḥs n(n) wnm-i⁴ sw n(n) swr-i wsšt n šm-n-i šdḥd-k(wi)*, 'Excrement is my abomination. I shall not eat it. I shall not drink urine. I shall not walk upside down'. This sentence is well attested in religious texts, and occurs again in *CT* III, 75i-l (S10C^a): *bwt-i pw ḥs n wnm-n-i sw n(n) ḥm swr-i wsšt n(n) šm-i šd-kwi*.⁵

The two forms can function in the same environment, and have therefore, if not the same, certainly a closely related meaning. The form *nm sdmf* is, in Middle Egyptian, the negation of the independent prospective *sdmf*;⁶ the form *n sdm-nf* is a negation which can, in Middle Egyptian, express inability or lack of possibility,⁷ and even have an optative meaning.⁸ Both negative forms appear in our passage from the Book of Two Ways. They occur in the variants of *CT* VII, 389c-390a,⁹ and also alternate in the parallel sentences of this text. *CT* VII, 390b, does not use a form *n(n) sdmf*, which would be in this case *n(n) wn-i*. The only other form capable of filling this syntactic position being *n sdm-nf*, it is most reasonable to interpret  as this form and read *n wn-n-i*.

This reading also works well with the other available examples: *ir grt ḥm-kꜣ rmt nbt ḥnnt(y)-sn st n wn-nf n wn-n sꜣf ḥr nstꜣ*,¹⁰ 'As for every mortuary priest or any person who shall disturb them (i.e. arrangements made by Khnumḥotpe for his mortuary service), he shall not exist, his son shall not exist in his place (i.e. as his heir)'; *ḥ(w) ir(y)-(i) im wn-sn ḥ sfꜣ-i n wn-nf* 'The spirits which I shall create there, may they exist, the spirit which I hate, he shall not exist'¹¹ (*CT* VII, 501b-c). It also agrees with the fact that Middle Egyptian does not allow, theoretically, a geminated *sdmf* to follow the negation *n*.¹²

E. DORET

A small inscribed vessel of Senenmut

To the corpus of inscribed material bearing the name and titles of Ḥatshepsut's Chief Steward, Senenmut, should be added a small stone unguent vase in the collection of the British Museum.¹³

¹ See also *CT* II, 167f-h; j-k; 168b-170b; 174i, with the interesting variant *tm-kꜣ ḥk*. I follow here the translation given by Faulkner, op. cit. I (Warminster, 1973), 118; the meaning of *Ḥw ib tsm* remains obscure, see Faulkner, op. cit. 119 n. 4. For examples of *nm sdmf* and *n(n) sdmf* in variants of the same text see *CT* I, 189b; II, 191a-b; III, 48b; 136d; IV, 309a; 323b.

² See Gardiner, op. cit. § 434.

³ See also *CT* I, 151a. For other examples where the negation *nm/n(n) sdmf* alternates with *n sdm-nf* in variants of the same text see *CT* I, 60b; II, 304d; III, 146f; 154b-c; IV, 80f; 81c; V, 29e; VI, 14a and c; VII, 466a.

⁴ For examples of the full writing of the negation *nm (nm wnm-i; nm swr-i; nm šm-i)* in this sentence see *CT* III, 47h; 48a; 60d; 60f; 117c; 201k.

⁵ See also *CT* III, 154b-d; VI, 13j-14c; 197p-s; 208k-n, etc.

⁶ Gilula, 'Review', 211.

⁷ Gilula, op. cit. 206-7.

⁸ Satzinger, *Die negativen Konstruktionen*, § 30. Note that Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), 43 n. 9, sees the same kind of parallelism between *Pyr.* § 145b-c: *n(n) ḏi kw Itm-Rꜣ n Wsir*, 'Rꜣ-Atum will not give you to Osiris', and *Pyr.* § 1945e (= R. O. Faulkner, op. cit. *Supplement of Hieroglyphic Texts*, 43): *n ḥdꜣ-n(i) sw n Wsir*, 'I will never give him to Osiris'. This parallelism also calls for a re-evaluation of Gunn's rule (see Gilula, op. cit. 207).

⁹ In *CT* VII, 389c-390a, B3L has *n šm-n-i m int kkw n ḥk-n-i m š ḥbntjw*.

¹⁰ P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), pl. XXV, ll. 96-9 = A. de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden, 1963), 69 = *Urk.* VII, 30, ll. 2-3.

¹¹ See also *CT* IV, 18f, where *n wn-nf* refers also to an *ḥ* spirit, and *CT* I, 188e-189a.

¹² Gardiner, op. cit. §§ 445 and 455.

¹³ BM 29333. Ht. 8.2 cm, diam. of lip 5.4 cm. Acquired in 1897, provenance unknown.

**The Royal Lion-Hunt Scarab of Amenophis III in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester
(Chester 429.F./1930)**

THIS fine 'Royal Lion Hunt' scarab of Amenophis III is published here as a supplement to C. Blankenberg-van Delden's recent articles entitled 'Commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III' (*JEA* 1976 and 1977). So far as I know this scarab has never previously been noted.¹ Its existence is, therefore, unknown in the wider world of Egyptology. The value of presenting yet another example of a well-known document lies in the fact that it is correct to make available all pieces of information in provincial collections since this is where an inestimable quantity of material lies effectively out of the reach of specialists until its publication.

The scarab is made of limestone and, although it is chipped on the back, remains of blue-green faience still adhere to the surface.

Dimensions. Length, 8.3 cm; width, 5.7 cm; height, 3.7 cm.

Type. Two lines between the wing-cases and two lines dividing the wing-cases from the prothorax, with triangular notches, also with double lines, below the outer corners. There is no cartouche between the legs on the sides. A narrow hole runs through the complete length of the scarab.

Preservation. Good. The edges are chipped on the underside, and a large hole near the centre of the underside obliterates the end of the cartouche of the prenomen and the group *sꜣ Rꜥ*.

Provenance. Unknown. The documentation surrounding the arrival of the scarab in Chester is not complete, but it is known to have been purchased at Sotheby's by a certain Mr Bullin(?) for £12 on 22 December 1891, at the sale of the John Wingfield Larking collection.² The scarab is then listed among the possessions of Mr F. Potts of Watergate Street, Chester, after his death in 1897.

The Text (see pl. XXVIII). The text is written from right to left. An identical wording is known written from left to right, but this has some signs arranged slightly differently from line to line.³ The large hole forming the lacuna in line 4 presents a problem. It has removed the end of the ring of the cartouche of the prenomen together with the majority of the following group, presumably *sꜣ Rꜥ*. The space between the prenomen and the nomen is inordinately large and this is made more strange since the final group of this line, *di ꜥnh*, is squeezed awkwardly between the end of the nomen and the border. This suggests that the space between *sꜣ Rꜥ* and the second cartouche contained part of the royal titles. Another problem is raised by the appearance of two circles at the top of the line after the lacuna. Either of these might serve as the *Rꜥ* of *sꜣ Rꜥ*. A vertical scratch extends down from the larger (left) circle, and then turns to the right to join the lacuna. Since the most usual way of grouping the two signs of *sꜣ Rꜥ* places the disc fairly centrally over the duck's back, and not over its tail, the smaller (right) circle which is almost included in the lacuna must qualify for that role. This now leaves a space incorporating a circular hole and the scratch running down from it. On close inspection a small *t* is discernible at the point where the scratch turns to the right. Almost immediately beneath this a horizontal wavy line is interrupted by the scratch and continues into the lacuna, and above its right end there is a small 'v' shape. Together these form the *f*. The hole at the top must therefore be another small lacuna obscuring the sign *h*, even though few traces remain round it to show where the *h* might have been. The whole of line 4 must be read: (*Nb-Mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ*) *sꜣ Rꜥ n ꜥt-f (Imn-ꜥtp ꜥꜥꜥ Wꜣst) di ꜥnh*, 'Neb-maꜥat-Rꜥꜥ, son of Rꜥꜥ, of his body, Amenophis, Prince of Thebes, given life'.

¹ I am indebted to Dr G. Lloyd-Morgan of the Grosvenor Museum, Chester, for bringing this scarab to my attention, and for providing me with data about its history. The photographs were prepared by Mr T. Ward.

² Bullin should perhaps be Rollin, see Sotheby's *Catalogue of Works of Art and Antiquities*, Monday, 21 December (1891), and the following day, p. 20 no. 262.

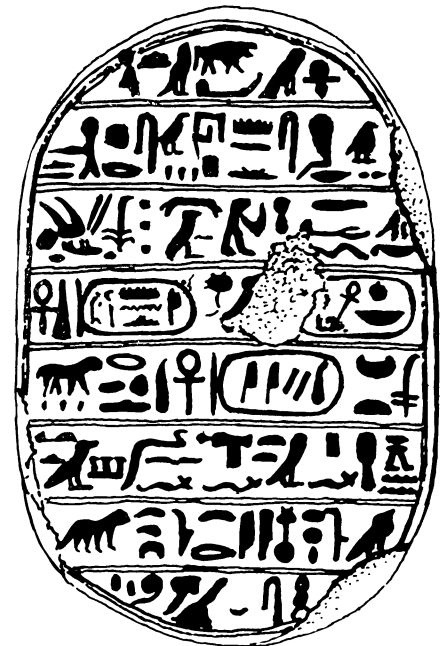
³ BM 1718: H. R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum* (1913), I, 172.



1. Top of Scarab



2. Inscription on Scarab



3. Facsimile of Inscription

Parts of the text obscured by the remaining traces of faience do not present the same problems. The cartouche containing the nomen seems to have been slightly erased, but this is probably due to wear, not to a deliberate act during the reign of Akhenaten, such as can be seen on a scarab from El-'Amarna.¹

M. JONES

Two Sekhmet statues at Trewithen in Cornwall

DURING a visit to the gardens of Trewithen House at Probus in Cornwall in 1977, the writer noticed a stone bench supported by two busts of Sekhmet (see pl. XXIX). The owner, Mrs A. Johnstone, was kind enough to answer my inquiries about the bench and to grant permission to publish this note.

The bench itself consists of a stone slab, some 8 cm thick, with a decorated edge, and is some 1.75 m long. It is supported at each end by a Sekhmet bust, facing outwards, and at the centre by a sandstone piece, presumably nineteenth century in date, carved to represent two winged lions back to back. The bench was acquired, as a single piece, by the late Colonel Johnstone from Crowther's some fifty years ago.

The Sekhmet busts are almost identical to one another and are of a type which is normally associated with the temple of Mut at Karnak.² They are both of black granite, slightly flecked with pink, and somewhat overgrown with lichen. Each measures about 57 cm in height and 25.5 cm across the ear tips. Both figures are broken at a point just below the breasts and neither head is now surmounted by a sun-disc. The unincised back pillars of both are 18 cm wide and have been severed below the top. The lions' features have been well but stylistically modelled, and good detail has been cut on the wig, face, and collar of each.

There are several indications that these Sekhmet statues were originally the upper parts of standing representations, although their size might perhaps suggest otherwise. A rectangular protuberance below the breasts of each is the top of the lotus-sceptre, a device held in front of the body in the left hand in standing representations of the goddess. The right arm of each has been severed at ground level, but the left arms are unevenly, and perhaps anciently, broken higher up, well above the elbows, an indication that the right arms hung vertically and the left were held in a flexed position. Finally, the sun-disc of the seated statues is generally closer to the forehead than can be assumed for these Trewithen pieces. It certainly seems that this fine pair of Sekhmet statues has been specially 'tailored' to match and to fit the bench.

A. J. MILLS

An etymological problem

IN his article entitled 'Tutankhamūn's Razor-Box: a problem in Lexicography',³ W. V. Davies clarifies the meaning of the Egyptian word *dgʿ* which he defines as designating 'the slender knife-type of razor'. Finally, he adds that 'it is surely very probable that in the term *dgʿ* we have the hitherto unrecognized ancestor of Demotic *tk*, "Messer, Rasiermesser",⁴ Coptic $\tau\omicron\kappa^s$, $\theta\omega\kappa$, $\theta\omicron\kappa^b$, "knife, razor".⁵ The following communication is concerned with this etymology, for it seems possible to propose another Egyptian ancestor for the Demotic and Coptic terms mentioned above.

There is an Egyptian word *tk* $\text{𓂏}|\text{𓂏}|\text{𓂏}|\text{𓂏}$, $\text{𓂏}|\text{𓂏}$, found on two hieratic documents of the Ramesside Period which, to judge from its determinatives, designates a cutting instrument of metal.

¹ *COA* III, pl. lxxvii, nos. 5 and 6 (33.60).

² Porter and Moss, *Top. Bibl.* II², 262-8.

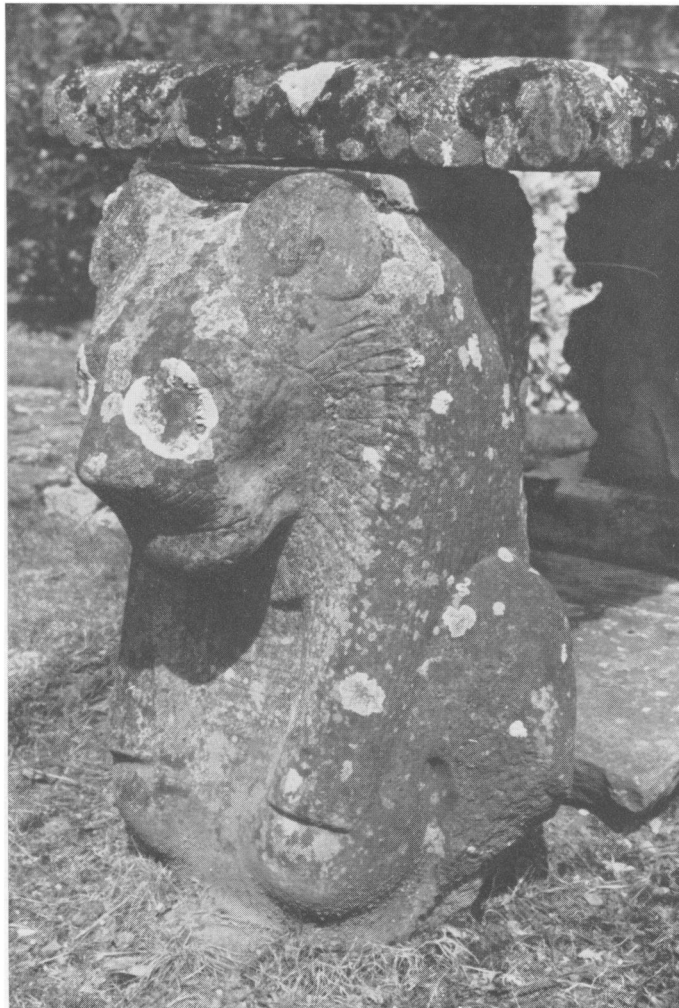
³ *JEA* 63, 107-11.

⁴ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 659.

⁵ Crum, *Coptic Dict.* 403a; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dict.* 184.



1. Garden bench supported by two Sekhmet statues at Trewithen



2. One of the pair of Sekhmet statues at Trewithen

TWO SEKHMET STATUES

The first document¹ informs us that a small *tk* (*tk šri*) costs $1\frac{1}{2}$ *deben*;² the second³ gives its weight as 76 g. There is no argument on purely phonetic or etymological grounds against *tk*'s being the ancestor of Demotic *tk*, Coptic τΟΚ^s, ΘΩΚ, ΘΟΚ^b. According to Erichsen (*loc. cit.*), Demotic *tk* signifies 'knife, razor', but examination of the sole document in which this word appears shows us that, at the most, it designates a cutting instrument made of metal. This document⁴ is a recipe for the preparation of an aphrodisiac for which, at a certain moment, 'you take a scarab . . . and divide it down its middle with a *tk* of copper' (*m wr tk n hmt*). From this example one cannot say that *tk* should be translated by 'razor'. In Coptic the word τΟΚ^s, ΘΩΚ, ΘΟΚ^b designates a cutting tool (for example the surgeon's lancet) and, in certain cases, a razor.

The meaning of the Egyptian *tk* is still too questionable to say with certainty that it is the ancestor of Demotic *tk*, Coptic τΟΚ^s, ΘΩΚ, ΘΟΚ^b, but this possible etymology deserves mention.

GUILLEMETTE ANDREU

A bronze statuette of Unnūfer, choachyte of King Ḥarsiēse, in the Fitzwilliam Museum

THIS unusual inscribed cast-bronze statuette of a kneeling priest is on display in the Greg Room, Egyptian collection, of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Museum No. E.11.1937). I am indebted to Mr Richard Nicholls, Keeper of Antiquities, for his characteristically generous encouragement and help, to Mr Norman Rayner for practical assistance, and the Syndics of the Museum for permission to publish this object. I should like also to thank Miss Janine Bourriau and Mr John Ray for useful comments.

Dimensions: height of statue: 5.2 cm, with base (exc. tang) 6.6 cm; width (base): 3.8 cm, (at elbows) 2.15 cm; length (base): 5.95 cm; tang: length: 4.0 cm; width: 1.65 cm; thickness: 1.05 cm. *Photographs*: see pls. XXX–XXXI. *Technique*: cast by lost-wax method. The separate components, the wax figure of Unnūfer, the cored wax 'Osiris' (which is now missing), and the cored wax plinth were assembled together and the detail and inscription incised. Metal chaplets probably secured the 'Osiris' to its core. The whole was covered with a clay envelope, fired so that the wax ran out, molten bronze introduced, set, and the mould then broken open to remove the group model. *Remarks*: given by Ricketts and Shannon. No provenance given; on internal evidence possibly from Thebes.

Description

The face is damaged slightly on the right side so that the cheek, nose, and mouth are almost indiscernible. The eyebrow is well defined, the eyeline slightly accentuated. The head is shaven; the back of the skull is bulbous in the fashion imitating Imḥotep-figures. The torso is elongated, tapering towards a narrow waist, with no attempt to show any anatomical or muscular detail. On the subject's back is incised a standing figure, 1.8 cm high, of Osiris in profile on a plinth (see pl. XXX, 2). The god is wearing an 'atef'-crown and carrying a flail and crook. Below, on the back of the priest's wide-belted kilt, are incised the hieroglyphs ⚡ † wn nfr, Onnophris. The arms are represented crudely,

¹ O. Nash 1, v^o 9 (= *HO*, 46, 2). Allam (*Hieratische Ostraka und Pap. aus der Ramessidenzeit*, 215 n. 17) and Janssen (*Commodity Prices*, 409) consider this word as a metathesized variant of the word *kt*, 'metal vessel' (*Wb.* v, 148, 9).

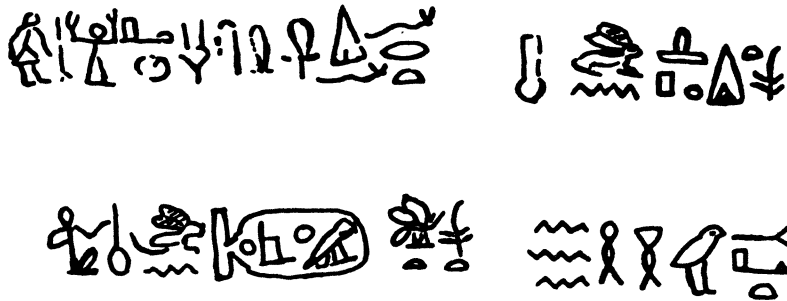
² Although it is often difficult to know if the *deben* value relates to the price or to the weight of the object, it seems likely that it refers here to the price. We know that the *sft*-knife cost 3 *deben* and the *wp*-knife a little more than 2 *deben* (Janssen, *op. cit.* 324–5).

³ Poids IFAO 5110 (= Valbelle, *Catalogue des Poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el Medineh*, 17 § 13, 60 and pl. 13).

⁴ Griffith-Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Pap. of London and Leiden*, xxi, 15.

and the hands are schematic. The left arm is attached to the body from below the elbow; the hand lies flat on the libation tray while the right hand pours a libation from a 'hes'-jar before the missing statue. Two incised lines on the tray depict the flow of liquid. It is impossible to be certain, but the missing statue may have represented the deceased Ḥarsiēse in the form of Osiris (see pl. XXXI, 3). On the now filed-down base are traces of the iron interior bar, hammered over or slotted, which held the clay core of the hollow cast statue in position. A U-shaped long rectangular iron rod, pierced transversely, was locked into the slot in the iron bar in order to strengthen further the attachment of Osiris. This can be seen protruding from under the plinth (see pl. XXXI, 2). This U-shaped rod was embedded in molten lead which filled a large part of the underside of the plinth; this, in turn, would have slotted into a larger plinth, presumably of wood. It was possibly the corrosion of this iron U-shaped rod which caused the lead to expand out of the plinth and the standing figure to break away. In modern times it has been filed down so that only the remains of the iron bar coated with wax survive.

The hieroglyphic inscription around the base reads:



Ḥtp di nsw Wn-nfrt¹ di-f cnḥ wds snb chꜥ kꜣ iꜣwt cꜣt² (n) wꜣḥ-mw (n) nsw-bit(y) Ḥr-sꜣ-ꜣst Wn-nfr, 'A boon which the king gives to Onnophris³ that he might grant life, health, prosperity, a long life and ripe old age (for) the choachyte⁴ (of) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ḥarsiēse, Unnūfer'.

On either side of the figure the names of his parents are inscribed in hieroglyphs:



sꜣ Bs Mrt-ḥnsw mꜣꜥ-ḥrw (?), 'Son of Bes and Meritkhonsu, the justified (?)'.

The chronological intricacies of the Third Intermediate Period raise the question—to the cult of which Ḥarsiēse did Unnūfer belong? It seems likely that it was to Ḥedjkheperrēꜥ Setepamūn, Ḥarsiēse I,⁵ son of Sheshonq II and Nesnebasheru, grandson of Osorkon I, who, as high priest of

¹ Possibly the scribe added a redundant *-t* because the element in On-nophri(s) sounded like the feminine of the adjective *nfr*.

² The sign in the original is a garbled form of $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ and $\overrightarrow{\text{—}}$.

³ Possibly Unnūfer chose the name of this beneficent god since it was synonymous with his own.

⁴ For a discussion of the title *wꜣḥ-mw*, the later Greek $\chi\omicron\alpha\chi\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ 'libation-priest', the principal function of whom was to pour out water libations for the deceased, see A. Bataille, *Les Memnonia*, 246–7; H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 140; P. W. Pestman, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, 100–2.

⁵ H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*, 186–7, 310; id., *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak*, 97, 110 ff.; K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, 272–5.



1. Fitzwilliam E.11. 1937. Left side



2. Rear view



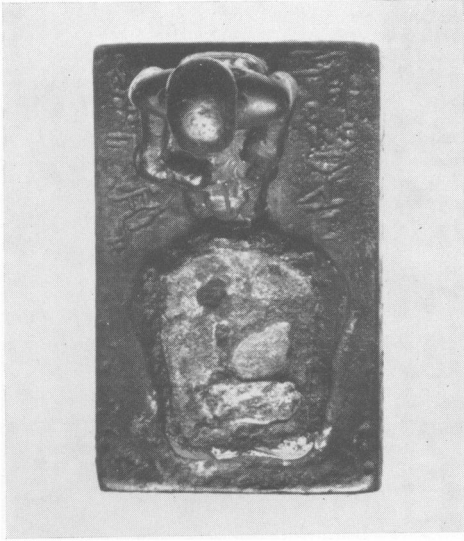
3. Front view



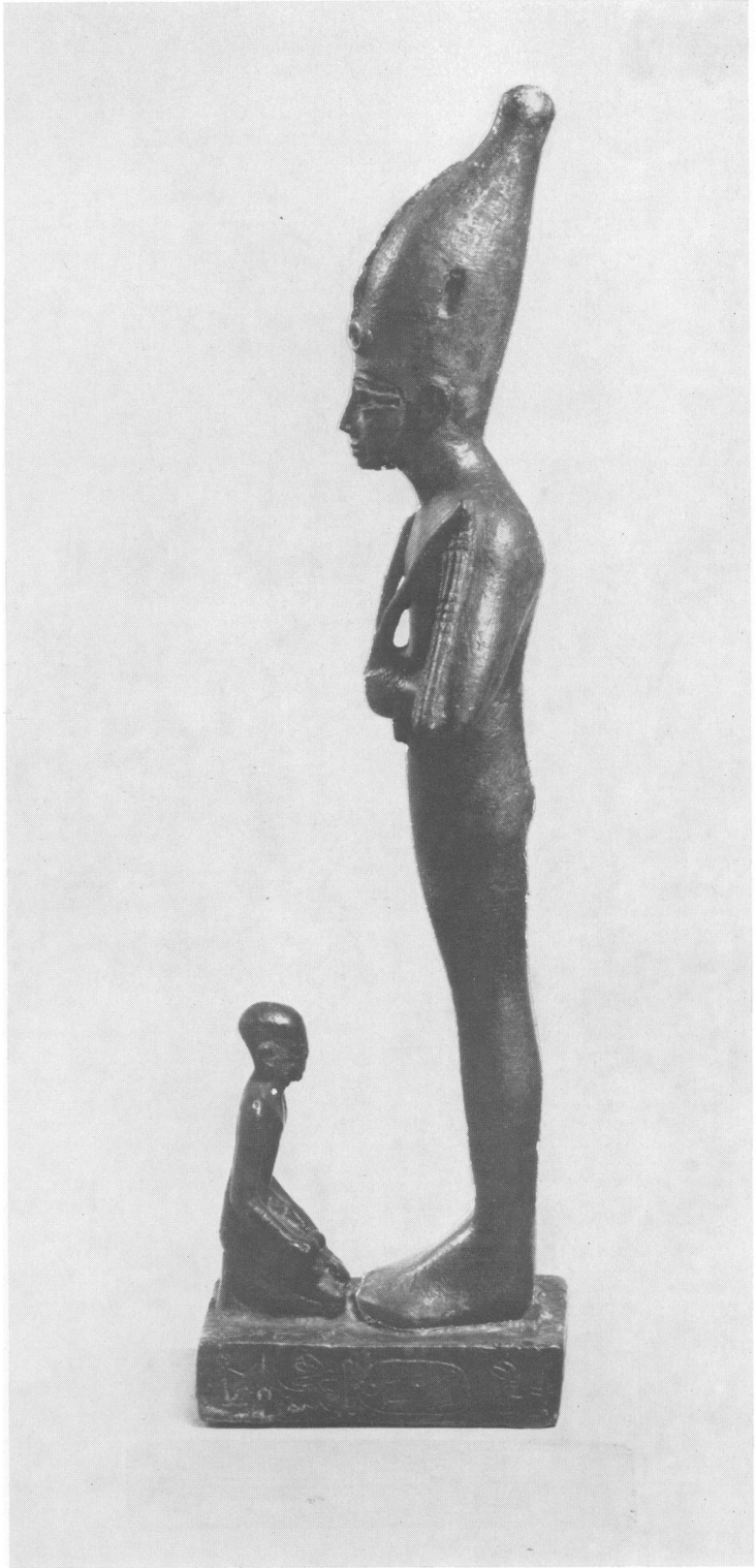
4. Right side

Courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

A BRONZE STATUETTE OF UNNÜFER



1. Fitzwilliam E.11. 1937. Seen from above



3. Hypothesized reconstruction



2. Base from below

Courtesy of Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

A BRONZE STATUETTE OF UNNÜFER



Amūn at Thebes during the reign of his cousin Osorkon II, arrogated the divine kingship. After a reign of some ten years (c.870–860 BC) he died and was buried at Medinet Habu¹ in the precincts of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, where his mortuary cult was maintained. Legrain² refers to a priest of the temple of Ḥarsiēse, *Pꜣ-di-imm-nb-nswt-tꜣwy*, which he attributed to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The continuing popularity of his cult into the Late Period could be ascribed to his remembrance as a local patriotic hero who challenged the hegemony of the Delta and attempted to secure for his own line the office of high priest.

Date

It is difficult to date this statuette accurately. The figure, the inscription (which is clearly contemporary), the elongated torso, the slim waist, and the lack of the rotundity which characterizes kneeling priest figures of a later period all point to an early date for this statuette. It is the single incised Osiris figure on the back which appears to correspond with single Osiris figures on the front of stone sculpture³ and bronze statuary⁴ during the late Twenty-fifth to early Twenty-sixth Dynasties which further persuades me to date this object to the seventh century BC. This would be two centuries or so after King Ḥarsiēse's death, and it is as evidence for the continuation of his cult into the Late Period that the chief interest of this statuette lies.

CHRISTINE INSLEY

Un socle pour une statuette de Thot (Collection Pierre Ramond no. 70–146)

ACHETÉ au Caire en octobre 1970, ce petit socle mesure 78 mm de long sur 39 mm de large et 27 mm de haut. Il est creusé, sur le dessus, d'une cavité rectangulaire de 44 mm × 31 mm, environ, dans laquelle devait s'encastrier la statuette. Le devant affecte la forme d'un escalier⁵ de quatre marches (pl. XXXII). Il est en fritte émaillée vert-clair. La glaçure est intacte, sauf du côté gauche: (a) au début du texte (sur le signe , cf. fig. 1); (b) vers la fin du même texte, à partir du déterminatif  du premier nom de personne (cf. fig. 1).

Texte

Le texte est gravé, de droite à gauche, sur trois faces (fig. 1, A, B, C and pl. XXXII) et en partant de l'avant du côté droit. Les hiéroglyphes, gravés en creux, ont une hauteur de 9 mm, environ. Les filets d'encadrement sont formés de quatre lignes, deux au-dessus et deux au-dessous:

- A. 'Dire les paroles⁶ (a): "C'est (b) Thot, le dieu(?) grand, seigneur de Khemenou (c), qui donne la vie à l'ouvreur (d) et introducteur (e)
- B. d'Horus, seigneur de Pé-d'Ouadjet (f)
- C. Pa-hem-en-iy (g), fils de Pa-shery-en-Bastet (h)".'

¹ U. Hölscher, *Excavations of Medinet Habu V, Post Ramessid Remains*, 8.

² G. Legrain, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 126, Karnak Cache Statue no. 406: cf. *Top. Bibl.* II, 155, in the light of G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, 72–3.

³ J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires*, 47 n. 1; B. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 38: cf. Fitzwilliam EGA. 4316.1943.

⁴ Cf. statuette of Khonsirdis, high official under Psammetichus I, BM 14466, H. R. Hall, *JEA* 16 (1930), 1, pl. 1.

⁵ Sur 'l'escalier' cf. patèque de Cambridge, E. 136.1949, P. Ramond, 'Recherches sur les Patèques' (Étude à paraître); Maj. Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund, 1946), 15 (fig. 15) et fig. 19; Fr. Lexa, *La Magie dans l'Égypte Antique* (Paris, 1925), 1, 93; A. Piankoff, *Mythological Papyri* (New York, 1957), Bollingen Series XL, 3, Texts, 4 n. 8; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Amulets* (Warminster, 1975), 17, no. 46; P. Ramond, 'Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse', *Bibliothèque d'Étude* 62 (1977), no. 12, 49–265, p. 55; Ch. Boreux, *Guide-Catalogue Sommaire* (Paris 1932), 474, 'l'escalier d'Hermopolis'.

⁶ Cf. *Remarques d'épigraphie et d'onomastique*, infra.

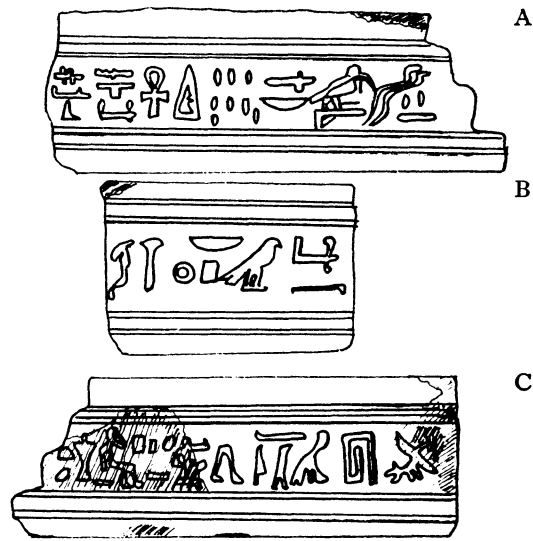


FIG. 1

Remarques d'épigraphie et d'onomastique

(a) 𓂏 . La graphie de *dd*, avec deux 𓂏 , n'est pas citée par le *Wb.*, et ne semble pas attestée par ailleurs, mais cette lecture s'impose.

(b) A mon avis, il faut traduire, très souvent, ce *dd mdw in*: 'Dire les paroles: "c'est . . ."' et non: 'par'. Cf. les grammaires (A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 227; G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'Égyptien Classique*, § 618a).

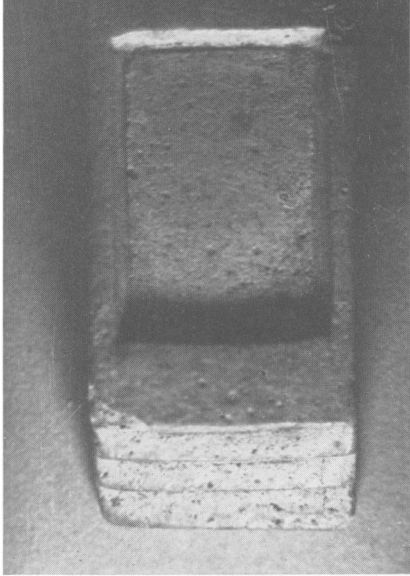
(c) Malgré la gravure, assez grossière à cet endroit, il est certain qu'il s'agit de Thot en raison du titre de *nb Hmnw* (à noter la disposition inhabituelle des huit traits). Sous le bec de l'oiseau est gravé un trait vertical qui, en raison de \leftarrow qui suit, suggère la lecture *ntr* ϵ . Sur cette épithète de Thot cf. C. de Wit, *Les Inscriptions du Temple d'Opet à Karnak* (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XIII) (Bruxelles, 1968), III, 167 et Index, 194, et le texte du groupe Thot et Neb-meroutef (Louvre E. 11154) en schiste noir, trône du babouin.

(d) *wnw*, 'ouvreur'. Sur ce titre cf. H. Gauthier, *Le Personnel du dieu Min* (Recherches d'Archéologie, de Philologie et d'histoire, III, I.F.A.O.) (Le Caire, 1931), 8; G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak* (Paris, 1929), 265, 'Titres religieux', 2e-c; F. de Cenival, 'Un Document démotique relatif au partage d'une maison', *RdE* 18 (1966), 12-13, ll. 1-2; E. Jelinkova-Reymond, 'Recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes" dans l'administration générale des temples égyptiens', *CdE* 28 (1953), 39-59.

(e) *šrk*, 'introduceur'. La graphie de ce titre, employée ici, n'est pas citée par le *Wb.* (IV, 56, 8 et 9). Le Dictionnaire de Berlin mentionne ce mot, non comme un titre de personne mais comme une cérémonie liturgique. Cependant, en raison du titre *wnw* qui précède, je pense qu'il n'est pas trop hypothétique et 'osé' de traduire ainsi ce titre 'sacerdotal', faute de se permettre un anachronisme sensationnel en le traduisant par 'appariteur', voire par 'suisse'.

(f) *P-Wšdt*, Pé-d'Ouadjet.¹ Sur ce nom cf. P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte Ancienne* (Paris, 1957), I, 91 et J. Yoyotte, 'Études géographiques. II. Les localités méridionales de la région memphite et le "Pehou d'Héracléopolis"', *RdE* 14 (1962), 93 qui donne de Montet, outre I, 91, 180-1.

¹ Je remercie M. Jean Yoyotte pour sa 'Note' sur ce nom.



1. PR 70-146. Front view



2. Inscription on left side



3. Inscription on back



4. Inscription on right side

Photographs by Pierre Ramond

UNE SOCLE POUR UNE STATUETTE DE THOT

(g) *P3-hm-n-iy*. Ce nom n'est pas attesté par H. Ranke, *Personennamen*. Mais, selon J. Yoyotte, 'Le nom du personnage est nouveau mais assuré'.¹

(h) *P3-šry-n-B3stt*. Sur ce nom cf. Ranke, op. cit. I, 118, 15 et H. de Meulenaere, 'Notes d'onomastique tardive', *RdE* 11 (1957), 80. Notons que ce nom n'a pas, ici, de déterminatif.

Commentaire

Le court texte de ce socle est intéressant à plus d'un titre: l'épithète de Thot $\overline{\text{Th}}$ qui semble assez rare pour ce dieu et que l'on trouve, précisément, sur un autre monument, presque identique, de Thot (Louvre E.11154);² l'épithète d'Horus³ et, surtout, la graphie de Bouto que J. Yoyotte⁴ dit: 'remarquable'; le nom du 'titulaire' de ce socle, Pa-hem-en-iy, et le second titre qu'il porte. Au sujet de ce nom, J. Yoyotte m'écrivait:⁴ 'Il reste à en trouver le sens'. Le *Wb.* (II, 489) donne, du verbe $\overline{\text{B}}$, le sens 'calomnier quelqu'un auprès d'un autre. Employé avec *n*(?)'. Il faut admettre que les 'noms péjoratifs'⁵ existent.

J'espère que ces quelques notes permettront à mes collègues égyptologues d'utiliser, éventuellement, ce document pour écrire des articles ou des ouvrages substantiels. PIERRE RAMOND

Noch einmal Osiris-Lunus

IN diesem *Journal*, Band 62 (1976), 153-59, hat sich Prof. Gwyn Griffiths an Hand von Bronzefiguren mit der Ikonographie von Osiris und Chons als Mondgott befaßt. Dem möchte ich die folgenden Bemerkungen anfügen.⁶

Keine Schwierigkeiten bereitet die Benennung von solchen Statuetten, die mumiengestaltig sind, Geißel und Krummstab halten und die die Mondscheibe auf dem Kopf tragen. Dagegen gibt es andere, bei denen jedes osirianische Attribut fehlt, die stehend oder sitzend, nur mit Schurz und Perücke mit Mondscheibe bekleidet sind, und denen '*Wsjr-šh* . . .' auf der Basis beigeschrieben ist. Diese Stücke (er nennt zwei Beispiele⁷) möchte Griffiths als Fälschungen ansehen, bei denen eine Chons-Figur mit der Beischrift einer Osiris-Lunus-Statuette versehen worden wäre. Eine Alternative wäre für ihn, daß sich zu einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt die traditionellen ikonographischen Unterschiede verwischt hätten. Grundsätzlich schlägt er damit vor, den beschriebenen Typus mit 'Chons' zu benennen.

Dies hat man ohne weitere Begründung früher auch schon getan; so bezeichnet Maria Mogensen

¹ Même lettre que pour sa note sur Pé-d'Ouadjet.

² Cf. *Remarques* . . . , supra.

³ Cf. Louvre E.14719 dans J. Vandier, 'Ouadjet et l'Horus léontocéphale de Bouto', *Monuments Piot* 55, 16. On lit: $\overline{\text{B}}$. Vandier rattache $\overline{\text{B}}$ au texte qui suit et non à $\overline{\text{B}}$. Il ne m'appartient pas de contester, ici, la traduction de ce grand savant, mais il faut remarquer l'absence du déterminatif $\overline{\text{B}}$ dans la graphie de *P* citée par Vandier. On peut donc l'admettre, aussi, après $\overline{\text{B}}$ et traduire: 'l'Horus de Pé-d'Ouadjet' et, ensuite: 'Que vive Paenpé . . . etc . . .'. Il est regrettable que Vandier n'ait pas eu connaissance du texte que je viens d'étudier dans ces pages.

⁴ Cf. n. 1, p. 170.

⁵ J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, 'Défis au destin—4. Noms Péjoratifs', *Communication faite au IX^e Congrès international des Religions* (Tokyo, 1958) et G. Posener, 'Noms d'infamie' dans son article 'Les Criminels débaptisés et les Morts sans Noms', *RdE* 5 (1946), 51-4.



⁶ Die aufgeführten Belege sind Beispiele, ein Katalog ist nicht angestrebt.

⁷ BM 64568 und 12589: *JEA* 62 (1976), 157-8.

Wesentlich glaubwürdiger dürfte die Vermutung sein, daß die beiden Darstellungstypen eine Anspielung auf die Mondphasen: Verschwinden und Wiederkommen, geben wollen. Die Mumienform wäre die Gestalt des schwindenden Mondes (da es aber Osiris ist, weiß der Ägypter, daß er sich verjüngen wird). Osiris-Lunus im Schurz wäre der erneuerte, lebendige. Vergehen und Werden liegt in der Konzeption von Osiris. Wenn man den zweiten Aspekt betonen will, kann man dies durch den Verzicht auf die typische Ikonographie des toten Osiris ausdrücken und ihn durch Darstellung im Schurz als 'lebendig' kennzeichnen. Solche Feinheiten im 'Kostüm' der Götter sind wir von den späten Tempelreliefs her gewohnt. Man könnte auch auf ein uraltes Paradebeispiel dafür verweisen, daß nach Meinung der Ägypter der Lauf der Gestirne zum (menschlichen) Leben in Beziehung gesetzt werden kann: die Vorstellung von der täglichen Wandlung der Sonne vom Kind zum Greis.

Griffiths hat kurz erwogen, ob man nicht die Koexistenz der verschiedenen Mondgötter Iꜣḥ, Thot, Chons und Osiris als Nebeneinander von zum Beispiel jungdlichem (Chons) und abnehmendem (Osiris) Mond erklären könnte. (Iꜣḥ und Thot wären bei dieser Betrachtungsweise der Mond generell.) Chons und Osiris wären dann jeder auf eine Phase festgelegt. Er verwarf dies zu Recht, weil der Zyklus schon im Wesen beider für sich allein begründet ist. Um so einleuchtender scheint mir die gerade skizzierte Erklärung, daß mumienförmiger und menschengestaltiger Osiris-Lunus den ab- respektive zunehmenden Mond meinen. Dem entsprechen die gleichartigen Darstellungen des Chons: Mumie mit Geißel, Krummstab (und *wss*-Szepter), Mondscheibe und Seitenlocke¹ bzw. Kind, nackt, mit Mondscheibe und Locke.²

Eine Begründung dafür, daß man sich den Mond als Iꜣḥ, Thot, Osiris oder Chons vorstellt, läßt sich im Einzelfall kaum geben. Die Wahl wird vielfach von lokalen kulttopographischen Gegebenheiten abhängen.

Ich möchte damit bis zum Beweis des Gegenteils menschenköpfige Götter im Schurz mit Mondscheibe (und eventuell Atefkrone und/oder anderen Attributen) als Osiris-Lunus ansehen. Weitere Beispiele neben den schon genannten³ sind die Gruppe Marseille (Katalog Maspero) 384, die von Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt auch schon so vorgestellt wurde⁴ (ohne daß sie sagt, ob dies auf einer Inschrift beruht; das Photo ist nicht deutlich genug), die Bronze München ÄS 5306⁵ (im Katalog nur 'Mondgott' genannt), und einige von Roeder ebenfalls unter 'Mondgott' aufgezählte Berliner⁶ und Hildesheimer⁷ Figuren. Dabei sind allenfalls die Grenzen zu 'Osiris-Lunus-Thot' fließend, insofern eine Figur wie Kairo CG 38030⁸ (sitzend, Schurz, menschlicher Kopf, Perücke, Mondscheibe mit Uräus) die Beischrift  ... besitzt. Bei ihr hat Daressy das letzte Zeichen als Determinativ angesehen und die Statuette unter 'Osiris-Lunus' eingeordnet, ähnliche andere aber unter 'Osiris-Lunus-Thot', z. B. CG 38427  ...

Das kann meine vorgetragene Interpretation nicht beeinträchtigen. CG 38030 ist menschengestaltig, 38427 mumienförmig. Die Hinzufügung des 'Thot' ist kein Problem, weil ein Mondgott immer auch 'Thot' sein kann. Der Aspekt 'Osiris' betont die Phasen des Gestirns.⁹ ERHART GRAEFE

¹ Kopenhagen AEIN 1351 = A134 bei Mogensen, loc. cit. Taf. 29; Marseille, Katalog Maspero 382 = *Le Nil et la société égyptienne*, Musée Borély (Marseille, 1973), No. 186.

² Beispiele *JEA* 62 (1976), 155^{19/20}.

³ Siehe Anm. 2, S. 172.

⁴ Im Katalog von 1973 (siehe Anm. 1 oben), No. 177.

⁵ *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst*, 1972, Taf. 61 mit falscher Nummer und S. 106; Ausgabe 1976, 182-3.

⁶ *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren*, §§ 26/30, Berlin 8003, 8002, 2454, 2457, 2451.

⁷ *Ägyptische Bronzewecke*, § 22, Hildesheim 350.

⁸ Daressy, *CCG, Statues de divinités*, 13, Taf. 3.

⁹ Statuetten des zweiten Typs mit zusätzlich einem Ibiskopf an der Mondscheibe wären am ehesten



Bronze figure, Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon, H 1712

Courtesy of the Museum

NOCH EINMAL OSIRIS-LUNUS

The striding bronze figure of Osiris-I'ah at Lyon

A FEW brief comments on Dr Graefe's valuable contribution may be ventured. In his discussion of the bronze figure at Lyon he cites the publication by Devéria. I am also grateful to Dr P. R. S. Moorey for referring me to this. Of course, the new publication of the figure is most welcome, as well as the proposed explanation of the whole category.

It seems to me that the typological parallels to this figure are those given in Hornemann, *Types*, 150, 151, 166, 210, 219, 221, 236, 237, and 1235. All these figures relate to a moon-god shown striding with left foot forward. The last in the series cited (= Paris, Cabinet des médailles, 441) shows a moon-god with the child's forelock; it is undoubtedly Khons. In nos. 150 (= Hildesheim, 1232) and 151 (= Hannover, B.B. 42) the ibis-head projects from the lunar disc, and Roeder rightly calls them figures of Thoth. No. 166 (= Hildesheim, 1236) has an inscription which begins with I'ah. So we must call it I'ah. The others cannot be firmly identified.


Of the six figures cited by Dr Graefe as bearing the inscription *Wsir Tch*, only one (the piece at Lyon) is shown striding. He, however, does not wish to distinguish in symbolism the seated figures from those that are standing or striding. To him the distinction is between those that are mummiform and those that are not, the first category denoting the waning or vanished moon and the second the moon that is renewed and living. The theory has an attractive simplicity and it is reasonable to look in such lunar figures for features relating to the phases of the moon, as when Thoth carries the *wedjat*-eye, implying the coming of the full moon. If the seated figures are in a different category, then the application of the name Osiris-I'ah to Ashmolean Queen's College Loan 1089 does not commend itself. Incidentally, I would urge scholars to abandon the term 'Osiris-Lunus' in view of its imprecision. If an inscription includes the name of a moon-god with that of Osiris, let the Egyptian name (Khons, Thoth, I'ah) be used; if a figure shows simply an Osiris with lunar attributes, the term 'lunar Osiris' should suffice. An additional embarrassment with 'Lunus' is that it is so rarely attested in Latin.

Dr 'Ali el-Khouli has found a seated bronze figure which he calls Osiris-I'ah-Thoth in an area east of the north entrance of the Pyramid of Userkaf; it derives from the Saïte era or later (see *JEA* 64, 38 and pl. VIII, 3). It is the possible presence of an ibis-head that points to Thoth.

For me there are two difficulties in Dr Graefe's interpretation of the Lyon bronze. First, a standing or striding figure with left foot forward is the normal convention in Egyptian sculpture to represent a living person; the convention includes an emphasis on life, but not in the specialized application of a reappearing moon. Secondly, Osiris is almost always mummiform, even in reliefs presenting his revivification. The six inscriptions cited by Dr Graefe strongly suggest, as I have previously noted, a blurring of distinctions at this stage since the figures show no Osirian attributes.

Dr Graefe has certainly succeeded in establishing a category of figures which have an inscription *Wsir-Tch* but no Osirian feature. As a result I withdraw my suggestion that BM 64568 and 12589 are modern imitations, although the handling of some of the hieroglyphs still implies, to me, at least a phase of antiquity when a basic knowledge of them had been lost.

A possible explanation of such figures as the Lyon bronze is that they show the deceased person mentioned in some of the inscriptions in a form assimilated to that of I'ah; the divine element will

'Osiris-Lunus-Thot', z. B. Kairo CG 38032, 38034, 38039, 38041 (im Schurz, aber mit Geißel und Krummstab!), 38043, 38427. Wenn eine solche Figur auf dem linken Arm ein Horusauge trägt, wird man sich ebenfalls am liebsten für diese triune Form des Mondgottes entscheiden, weil Thot das Auge zurückgebracht bzw. geheilt hat: CG 38031 (Daressy, loc. cit. 13 Taf. 3, Beischrift  . . .), oder soll man hier nur 'Osiris-Thot' lesen? (Vgl. zu diesem Komplex Griffiths, *JEA* 62 (1976), 153, 158³².) Daß auf die Benennung als Thot nicht viel zu geben sei, wie Roeder meint (*Ägyptische Bronzewecke*, § 19), glaube ich nicht, weil Thot eben der Bringer des Auges ist.

then be present mainly in the lunar attribute, the form being otherwise for the most part that of a deceased mortal who is represented as living after death. Figures or statues of the dead show him as either seated or standing. The Osiris element in the name will then refer only to the state of the blessed dead. We cannot be sure, admittedly, whether the H̄etep-Bastet of the Lyon bronze is regarded as deceased, and the same doubt applies to other similar inscriptions, especially as there are instances which definitely imply blessings for the living.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

REVIEWS

Excavations at Saqqara, 1937-1938. By SELIM HASSAN, re-edited by ZAKY ISKANDER. Three vols. I. *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her*. Pp. 69, 25 text figures, 51 pls., 1 map. II. *Mastabas of Ny-cankh-Pepy and Others*. Pp. 138, 59 text figures, 87 pls. III. *Mastabas of Princess Hemet-Rc and Others*. Pp. 94, 43 text figures, 57 pls. Antiquities Department of Egypt, Cairo, 1975. £Eg. 23.00.

When, during a visit to his house in the fall of 1956, I first saw the final publication of Selim Hassan's last season of excavations, it had already gone through several series of page proofs, and was then rather oddly identified as *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938*, Vol. XI, Part 1; Vol. XII, Part 2; Vol. XIII, Part 3, continuing the old series by Quibell and others. Another volume, dealing with reliefs from the Unis pyramid causeway and entitled *Causeway Excavations 1937-1938*, was less advanced and still awaits publication, but it is a pleasure indeed to greet the publication of the other three after so many years.

Although Volume I seems to be unchanged, the second has been augmented by about four pages of text, and the third by at least half that amount; there are also some slight readjustments in the numbering of the figures. The additions, relating to the archaeological descriptions of the tombs, have been made by Zaky Iskander.

The material has all of the variety and novelty that might be expected of Saqqâra tombs of the late Old Kingdom, even though much of it is fragmentary. There are three scenes showing funerary rites,¹ many scenes of daily life, a detailed, if incomplete, set of instructions for the funerary cult,² a lengthy 'address to the living',³ and a warning to those who would despoil the tomb,⁴ and there are numerous unexpected turns of phrase in otherwise stereotyped offering formulae and biographical statements. This material derives from two locations, one to the south of the Djoser enclosure, along the Unis Causeway, as shown on the map before pl. 1 of Volume I; the other, north of the Djoser enclosure and centring on the well-known mastaba complex of *Pth-htp* (II) and *3hty-htp*, as shown on the map on p. 21 of Volume III. The first group of tombs is the larger and more interesting of the two. It includes the Sixth Dynasty mastaba of *Nb-kw-Hr*, which takes up the whole of the first volume, and three rock-cut tombs with long architraves of similar style and content, all probably dating to the very end of the same dynasty: *Ny-nh-Ppy* (beginning of Vol. II); *Iy-n-Hr* and *Hr-mrw/Mry* (end of Vol. III). The northern tombs occupy the balance of Volume II and the first part of Volume III. Thus the arrangement is more or less random, without much regard for location or date.

The quality of documentation is in some respects disappointing. The drawings are less complete, less faithful, and less elegantly executed than those in Hassan's *Giza* series. They show a number of small but disturbing omissions when compared with the plates, with the text, or even—when details are repeated in two figures—with each other. Many reliefs and inscriptions are solely illustrated in photographs and, all too often, these are poorly reproduced. The plans of tombs are also less useful, for they generally lack such indications as scale and orientation, or such details as false doors, offering-stones, windows, and stairs. As a rule these data can be supplied from the text and by reference to the maps, but in two cases (*Tfw* and *Iy-n-î*, end of Vol. II) there are no plans whatever. While the text contains a number of inaccuracies and omissions, it is, on the whole, more satisfactory, and was evidently written on the basis of photographs and of notes made in the field. All in all, anyone familiar with Old Kingdom material should be able to find his

¹ Vol. I, 17-26; II, 79, 108. Wilson, in his article on this subject, *JNES* 3 (1944), pl. 16, includes a single detail of the first, reproduced from *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 97. Junker shows more of this in his article on the *mww*-dancers, *MDAIK* 9 (1940), fig. 1, p. 3, as well as the second example (fig. 3, p. 4). Lüddecken's dissertation of the same subject, *MDAIK* 11 (1943) includes none of this material.

² See the comments below, to Vol. I, 38 ff.

³ Vol. II, p. 10, to be added to those collected by Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, *L'Appel aux vivants*, along with other examples from Saqqâra: Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 503; Drioton and Lauer, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 240.

⁴ Vol. II, 8, to be compared with the phrases discussed by Edel in *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 3 ff.

way by a judicious comparison of all the elements that are provided. The indexes of names and titles are also helpful. Before concluding these general remarks, however, I must express a final criticism. Why have at least two tombs, those of *Bbi* and *Rc-hwf*, both described in the preliminary report,¹ been omitted here? The same question is raised by some lesser omissions, such as the description of the ceiling of the pillared court in the mastaba of *Nb-krw-Hr* (see below), or the restored fragment of the offering list of *Pth-htp II*, shown in the frontispiece of Hassan's *Giza*, VI, pt. 2 (text). These lapses do not inspire much confidence that the final publication is quite as complete as it might have been.


The following comments are selected from a larger body of marginalia, and do not include typographical errors, or other defects that are equally inconsequential.

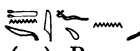

Nb-krw-Hr (Vol. I)

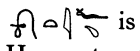
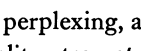
p. 8. The description of the pillared hall should be completed from *ASAE* 38, 513 as just noted: 'Light reaches this hall through sixteen slits cut in the roof. These slits are arranged in four rows of four slits each, being at equal distances from each other.' Thus there was a source of illumination at each corner of the twelve pillars. Furthermore 'the ceiling is painted red to imitate granite'.


p. 15. The term *gs-pr* is not 'mercenary troops' but something like 'work-centre', see *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 66–7.

pp. 17 ff. Somewhat better drawings of the funerary rites shown in figs. 3–5, 8, 9 are reproduced in Hassan, *Giza*, IV, fig. 33, p. 72, and fig. 39, p. 84.

p. 18.  is not 'cook the goose for me' but 'put (it) on the fire—hurry!' *Wdi r sdt* is evidently the equivalent of *wdi hr sdt* (*Wb.* IV, 376 [8]).

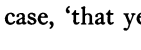
p. 18.  may be compared with  in G. T. Martin, *Tomb of Hetepka* (Oxford, 1976), pl. 12 (13). Presumably this verb meaning 'cut up' is the same as *tni* 'raise, distinguish'; compare *stp* 'cut up' and 'select'. The first of these two captions describes the same action as the second and is perhaps to be translated: 'I am cutting up the flesh of an oryx', but possibly one should read *tn(t)* as in the second case: 'cutting up the meat'.

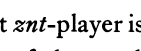
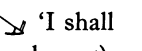
p. 18.  is perplexing, and the same writing of the first word occurs again in Vol. II, 98 (fig. 41), where Hassan transliterates *wst*. No such word for cooking is known, and it may perhaps be regarded as a coincidental mis-writing of  for *fst*. Compare, however, *wsi* 'parch' (von Deines and Westendorf, *Wb. der medizinischen Texte*, I, 161) and *wswst* 'heat' (*Wb.* I, 250 [4]).

p. 19.  is not *t3 wrb [I]npw* but *t3 wrb p(w) n Inpw*, 'it is pure bread of Anubis'.

p. 22. The *sbj* 'instructor' behind the dancers (fig. 5) is interesting because of the 'overseer of instructors' in the same context at Deir el-Gebrawi (*JARCE* 13 [1976], 16 and fig. 8), but the latter is a ship's captain and the connection between these two scenes is therefore doubtful.

p. 25. *Hwt-k nfrt* is not 'in thy beautiful house' but evidently 'thy protection is good' (old perfective, as in the previous clause).

p. 25. The song of the man behind the flautist probably ends with *snh-t [sw] rc nb*, 'that thou mayest cause [him] to live every day'. Or, if the restoration is , 'cause [me] to live'. Not, in any case, 'that ye may revive every day'.

p. 25. The speech of the first *znt*-player is  'Let thy finger lead to the house of bones'. The last term refers to one of the quadrants of the gameboard, cf.  'I shall let my finger lead to the house of the ibis(?)' (W. K. Simpson, *Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, fig. 38 and p. 25). The speech of the second player is *f3i nn wny wh3 pw* 'lift this (piece)—hurry, O fool'; cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* § 602, Nachtrag.

¹ *ASAE* 38 (1938), 505–6; see also *ILN*, 4 June, 1938, 1001; Hassan, *Giza*, v, 46 and pl. 8.

p. 27. The unexplained groups at the top of fig. 10 are $[n]ty-h[n]r(i)$ and $[pd]t ds$ '... my companion' and 'sharpening the knife'.

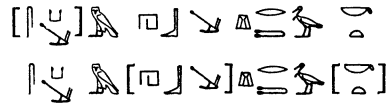
p. 27. $\text{𓄏} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ which Hassan translates 'praising god', must surely be $\text{𓄏} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ as in von Bissing, *Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai*, I, pl. 5, where the context is identical, again referring to a box of natron. Cf. also *CT VI*, 211.

p. 28. *Mi rk* is imperative: 'Come (to) the beautiful west ...'.

pp. 29 (fig. 12)–30. $\text{𓄏} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ is strange as a caption for a man felling a tree, but occurs again at Saqqâra: Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, 74 and fig. 8.

pp. 29 (fig. 13)–30. *Zft* $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ is not 'skinning a goat', for $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ can hardly be $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$; more probably it is a writing of $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, which may perhaps be compared with $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ in the Abusir Papyri (Paule Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, 251), and with $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ in Naga ed-Deir tomb 3737 (Caroline Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Der*, pl. 13). The sign following *zft* 'slaughter' is puzzling. It is difficult to believe that this represents $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, as Hassan transcribes it, and it can hardly be $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, borrowed from a rare writing of *sft*, one of the seven oils.¹ Perhaps the best solution is to regard it as $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, assigning it to $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, in which this sign would normally be expected.

pp. 33 (fig. 15)–34. The captions in the lower register should be transcribed as follows:



'cultivating with the plow: under thee, worker' (for which cf. Montet, *Scènes*, 189). The caption over the harvesting scene in the upper register does not seem to be attested elsewhere, and I hesitate to venture a translation.

pp. 38–43. For the long text see H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, 82 ff. and pls. 9, 10. Note that Goedicke relocates the smaller fragment shown in Hassan's pl. 28 (B) and lacks the smaller fragment shown in pl. 29 *bis* (A).

p. 46. The inscription on the western reveal of the entrance to the offering room is *shpt iw ht hwy*, 'bringing the bull of the evening meal' (for which see *Wb.* I, 125[5] and Posener-Krieger, *Archives*, 16, 23), while the inscription on the eastern reveal is equally appropriately *shpt rn iw ht dwst*, 'bringing the young bull of the morning meal'. The offering room of *Ntr-wsr* (Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pls. 21, 22) shows cattle similarly designated, but the offering for the evening meal is on the north wall (*sic*), while that of the morning meal is on the adjacent end of the west wall; similarly in the chapel of *Šps-Rc* (*LD Ergänzungsband*, pl. 41), where these captions are both on the same wall. See also Moussa and Altenmüller, *op. cit.* pl. 16–17, 52–3.

p. 47. For *zft n iw in mnh(?)*, 'skinning the ... by the butcher', read *zft n iw in sšmty*, 'slaughtering the ibex by the butcher'.

p. 49. The end of the longest inscription is not $\text{𓄏} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$; the third sign represents a group of offerings, determinative of 'šd-feast', and the sign $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ should be added above it.

p. 54. The next-to-last inscription is $\text{𓄏} \overline{\text{𓄏}} \overline{\text{𓄏}}$ *stj mrht*, 'dragging oil'.

p. 59. The inscription referring to the storeroom is discussed by Edel (*Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, 8 [1969], 20), who translates 'the storeroom of the *wr*-phyle, under the care of the *zsb smsw hst* etc.'.

¹ Originally $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$, and more usually added as determinative to *stj* 'scent', as in *stj hb*, the first of the seven unguents, but occasionally applied to the other unguents as well; for examples where $\overline{\text{𓄏}}$ follows *sft*, see Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers*, fig. 48, p. 44 and *Monument funéraire de Pepi II*, III, pl. 52.

p. 60. — $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ is not 'Nubians and Syrians', but '(people of) the Elephantine Nome and Libya'. The form $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, rather than $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, is unusual.

Ny-rnh-Ppy (Vol. II)

Hassan fails to note that *Ny-rnh-Ppy*, like *Nb-kw-Hr*, has usurped his tomb. Although the identity of the original owner is almost completely erased, it evidently appeared as two names, one longer and one shorter (ending in 𓂏), for at some points *Ny-rnh-Ppy* was obliged to fill a larger erasure. This fact explains the curious addition, in lines 1 and 3 of the long architrave (fig. 3), of *Pth-Skr* after the epithet $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ *hr ntr-r*, and, on the left side of the façade (fig. 5), the group $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, which is evidently to be read *smr-pr*, *zš*, the last two signs having again been added. The usurpation is noted by Drioton in *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952), 351–5, where he also discusses the puzzling inscription that has been hastily incised upon a small half-erased figure on the right side of the façade; cf. Drioton's figure and photograph (pl. 36) with Hassan's fig. 4. While I am not altogether convinced by Drioton's interpretation of the inscription, it does seem likely that this particular usurpation was motivated by rancour as much as by practical considerations, for it provoked an unusual form of retaliation; the entire façade was coated with plaster to efface the figures and inscriptions (p. 11) and the unfinished false door (p. 15) was covered in the same manner.

The usurpation is also of interest because, while the rock-cut tomb itself perhaps antedates the end of the Sixth Dynasty, the burial may well be even later.¹ Hassan himself notes the presence of a wooden bedstead on the bottom of the coffin, such as is known from the Middle Kingdom (p. 19). The location of statuary in the burial chamber is uncommon, except for the so-called reserve heads, before the very late Old Kingdom, from which period a few other examples are known (e.g. Vol. III, 12, 16).² In the present case these statues exemplify the ultimate degeneration of Old Kingdom style; in three cases the seats, with low backs that are again suggestive of later Middle Kingdom statuary,³ slope inwards towards the top, lending a pyramidal form to the entire mass. The fourth statue shows both hands fistled, as do a few other very late Memphite statues of equally clumsy style, one of which (Cairo CG 219) shows the same pyramidal tendency.⁴ And the beams of the wooden bedstead are inscribed with a brief series of funerary texts (otherwise unknown in non-royal tombs of the Old Kingdom) in which the first person singular suffix pronoun is written 𓂏 and the independent pronoun is $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, as is first attested in the Eighth Dynasty Pyramid Texts of King *Ybi* (cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* §§ 160, 173; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, § 13b).⁵

p. 6 (and fig. 3). Note that the usual epithet *iri htpt zbi imsh* (as in Vol. III, fig. 39) is here replaced by *iri htpt pr imsh*, 'one who acquires peace and is equipped (with) reverence'.

p. 6. For the expression $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$, 'may the god take his credentials' (not 'hand'), see Wilson, *JNES* 13 (1954), 254; cf. also Hassan's Vol. III, p. 72.

p. 6. *Mm shw špsw nbw hrt imshw hr ntr-r* is not 'among all the glorious spirits of the dead, being the honoured one by the Great God', but 'among the noble spirits, who are possessors of the requirements of those

¹ The question of usurpation is apparently overlooked by Altenmüller in his remarks on the date (*SAK* 1 [1974], 3); the probability of a later date throws some doubt on the conclusion that the false doors of *Iy* and his son represent *Ny-rnh-Ppy*'s son and grandson. If they do, the latter are almost certainly later than the Sixth Dynasty.

² Cf. also A. Shoukhry, *Die Privatgrabstatue im alten Reich* (Cairo, 1951), 220.

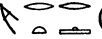

³ Cf. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, § 345, who rightly assumes that the rounded backrest might be attested in Dyn. VI royal statuary; this has subsequently been attested by the Brooklyn statuette of Pepy II and his mother (W. S. Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, pl. 56 [A]).

⁴ The other examples known to me are Hassan, *Giza*, II, pl. 14; Leipzig 3025 (Junker, *Giza*, IX, pl. 8e); Cairo CG 219; BM 55583. It is difficult to prove that any of these is later than the end of Dyn. VI, but an XIth Dyn. example is known from Dendera: Cairo J 32108 (Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. 21).


⁵ Cf. also the use of suffix 𓂏 after dative 𓂏 in the superstructure of the nearby tomb of *Hnw*, the late date of which is discussed in Caminos and Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 39.

(Copenhagen ÆIN 1042: Koefoed-Petersen, *Les stèles égyptiennes*, no. 5). Hassan is probably right in reading the next title *šd špd*, for which cf. *Wb.* iv, 565 (16).


pp. 70–1. For the offering-slab from the mastaba of *Pth-ḥtp* see the drawing in Hassan, *Giza*, v, fig. 31, p. 183, also reproduced in my *Egyptian Studies*, 1, fig. 2, p. 83. The owner is *Pth-ḥtp* the elder, and the penultimate funerary servant is a woman named *Ḥnti* (not *Tḥnti*).

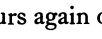
p. 74 (3). The name is simply *Sḥw* and he has an unusual title,  (also written ) *iry mḏt mrt*, 'keeper of documents of (i.e. relating to) the serfs'.

p. 77 (9, b). Not *rw ḥst* but [R]-*rw* 'Tura'. This belongs to a statement telling that the tomb-owner obtained his stone from the quarry without taking any of it from other tombs.


p. 79. A clearer line drawing of the photograph reproduced in fig. 28 is presented by Junker, *MDAIK* 9 (1940), fig. 3, p. 4, and this shows the inscription at the left to be , i.e. 'Sais' rather than *ḥw*.

p. 80 (fig. 29). Read the second column *nb(i) r ḥt nb(t) n gr*; the falcon is the determinative of *nb*: '(I reported to?) my lord concerning everything, I (did) not. . .'. *Sḥ* in the adjacent column is 'dignitary', not 'dignity'.

p. 85. The title  *zš smsw ḥwt-wrt* (fig. 34b on p. 90) can hardly be termed a 'variant' of *ḥrp zšw ḥt-wrt*; it is related to other titles with the addition of *smsw* such as the one mentioned above in reference to pp. 8–9.

pp. 97 (fig. 39)–98. The phrase *hy irtt* occurs again on a relief in Kansas City:¹  'Milk! The master of the stall is arriving': cf. Moussa and Altenmüller, op. cit. 154 and pl. 76.




p. 99. A drawing of the offering-table appears in Hassan, *Giza*, v, fig. 30, p. 182.

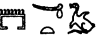

pp. 105, 108 (fig. 56). The supposed 'names and titles of the persons mentioned in his tomb' are actually statements like those in the mastaba of *Nb-kꜣw-Hr* (Vol. I, fig. 5). The word  is undoubtedly to be restored at the beginning of each statement: [*t*] *wꜣb n Pth n Tfw*, 'pure [bread] of Ptaḥ for *Tfw*'; [*t*] *wꜣb n Ḥnty-tmnt² n Pth-ḥtp mry* . . ., 'pure [bread] of Khenti-tjenenet for *Pth-ḥtp*, beloved . . .'; [*t*] *wꜣb n Dd-špsw n Tfw imꜣḥw*, 'pure [bread] of Djed-shepsu for *Tfw*, the revered'. For these aliases of Ptaḥ see *JARCE* 4 (1965), 52–3.


pp. 110 (fig. 58)–111. The inscription may be understood by comparing Paget and Pirie, *Ptaḥ-hetep*, pl. 39, where it is duplicated.

Northern group continued (Vol. III)


pp. 1–8. The tomb of *Hmt-Rꜣ* is Mariette's D 65 (*Mastabas*, 359–60).

pp. 18–20. The discussion of the personal names repeats Hassan's article in the Golenischef Festschrift *Drevnij Egipet* (Moscow, 1960), 237–41. I do not find it at all persuasive. In particular it should be noted that fig. 11 shows , not  (an error that is avoided in the article) and this is probably a separate name (Ranke, *PN*, 1, 22 [15], II, 339). The name  remains a problem, for it may represent but a single word, *wḏꜣw*, rather than three; or two words: *wḏꜣ-ꜣw*. The latter possibility, which seems more likely, might mean something like 'sound of sinews(?)', but neither *wḏꜣw* nor *ꜣw* is attested with the cord-determinative. It seems unlikely, in any case, that a 'good name' would bear an exegetic relationship to the other name of the kind that Hassan postulates.

p. 26.  is a most interesting writing of the vizier's title. To judge from fig. 20 on p. 36, it seems unmistakable. It may none the less be wondered if this is not an odd variant of the more usual , in which the final sign of *tꜣty* derives from *tꜣy* 'male' (*Wb.* v, 344).

p. 32. Note the puzzling use of *tp* in the phrase 'may his document be taken by his ancestors and by his *kꜣs*' *tp nbw imꜣḥ* (). Hassan guesses that it means 'more than', but that seems unlikely. Might it

¹ H. Ranke, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Vienna, 1936), pl. 204.

² The figure shows , but is the second *t* really present?

be the adverbial preformative discussed by Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952) 21?¹ In that case the meaning would be 'in the style of the possessors of reverence'.

p. 37. The last of the interesting titles in fig. 21 is *zš htm-t-ntṛ nb(t)*, 'scribe of every treasure of the god'; for other examples see *JARCE* 3 (1964), 26.

p. 45. The copy of the text on the sarcophagus given in *ASAE* 38 (1938), 507, shows that only the front of the ram is lost, together with $\overline{\text{ḥ}}$ before it; no title is missing.

p. 58. The large-scale figure of Anubis is not unique, see Caminos and Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 35 n. 32.

p. 59 n. 1. The article is published in *ZÄS* 86 (1961), see pp. 24 ff.

p. 62 and fig. 33. Not 'I know magic which the people know. I am a clever ritualist.' Rather 'I know magic, and the people know I am an efficient lector priest', cf. Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* § 1017.

p. 69. *hry-tp ḏt* is indeed 'chief of the wardrobe' and not 'chief of the council' as on p. 78, but the word *ḏt* is written $\overline{\text{ḏ}} \overline{\text{t}}$; for the determinative see *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 10 (1975), 20 and n. 55.

pp. 72-3 (fig. 37 b). *Hnti kṛf hr nswt* is not 'in front of his "ka" near the king' but 'may his *kṛ* be foremost with (= in the sight of) the king'; the same remark is to be applied to pp. 76 (and fig. 39)-77. Note also the occurrence of *hṛp-dī-nswt n kṛ n NN* above the offering scene, a late feature which is discussed in Caminos and Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 39 n. 41.

p. 77 (7). *ḥṛty-fy r f sb*, 'one who will enter it being impure' (not 'in hostility'). This passage is quoted and discussed by Clère, *RdE* 4 (1940), 116.

p. 80. Read 'the words $\overline{\text{ḥ}} \overline{\text{ḏ}} \overline{\text{t}}$ are traced in black ink'.

HENRY G. FISCHER

Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes. By JAC. J. JANSSEN. Pp. xxvi+601, 90 tables. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1975. ISBN 90 04 04211 3. Price, Gld. 180.

Strangely, in view of the quantities of material involved, Deir el-Medīna remains the only site where documents recording the individual daily transactions of a community have survived in significant numbers from the New Kingdom. Neither El-'Amarna, Malkata, Medinet el-Ghurab, nor the various New Kingdom temple towns of Nubia have yielded anything comparable in scope or volume; and since ostraca and papyri have long been saleable commodities themselves on the antiquities market, the fact that the majority of bought ones of this character seem also to come from Deir el-Medīna is a confirmation far more effective than anything which archaeologists could provide that a find of similar material on another site will be a very lucky one indeed. Yet, despite the unique significance of this material, Janssen's book is the first major work to be devoted exclusively to it. The care, skill, and thoroughness with which it has been prepared should ensure that it remains a classic in the still sadly limited field of Egyptian economic history. Not least amongst its many assets is that the tabular summaries of basic price information and the clear and concise discussions of points of general significance should make the material seem less arcane to non-Egyptologists interested in ancient economies. Further, since the sources are clearly identified and individually criticized one feels that one can exercise some control over their varying reliability. They derive from the last 150 years of the village's existence, and have yielded something like 1,250 prices. However, one of Janssen's own analyses (pp. 510-14) shows that these prices should not be taken as a representative sample of all transactions; the sample is evidently weighted towards transactions involving the more expensive commodities, those where it was thought prudent to make a written record. The price of papyrus itself turns out to have been quite low

¹ Also C. N. Peck, *Some Decorated Tombs of the First Intermediate Period at Naga ed-Der*, University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan), 140-6, in reference to *tp-tr* 'seasonal'.

(pp. 447–8), and this highlights the fact that the use of potsherds and limestone flakes in such a widespread way for recording transactions at Deir el-Medîna was an eccentric custom by the standards of the day. We all use the backs of envelopes from time to time to make a quick jotting; the people of Deir el-Medîna seem to have made a regular habit of the ancient counterpart.

The biggest element of uncertainty in the study of the documents themselves is evidently lexicography. Janssen provides full philological discussions and attempts, briefly in most cases, to relate the results to what is known about Egyptian material culture of the New Kingdom. However, whilst it would be very unfair to criticize this fine book on these grounds, one might wonder if, at the basic level of methodology, deduction of a purely philological character should not be held back a little more to allow greater weight to be given to expectations derived from archaeological study. It is hard to see, for example, how the terms for different types of basketry can be adequately decided by philology alone when considerable numbers of the real thing have survived from Deir el-Medîna, and should yield a list of the more frequently occurring types. The problem for the lexicographer is that no such study is available. In several places in the text Janssen notes the varying capacity of a *mnt*-jar, used for oil, fat, wine, and other commodities. Unlike basketry, the range and frequencies of New Kingdom types is fairly well established, and can leave little doubt that the standard handled amphora is meant. Large numbers have survived intact, showing that they came in a range of sizes, and it would not be difficult to calculate the capacities from the scale drawings published and thus have something with which to compare the very occasional textual expressions for capacities. Another commodity at Deir el-Medîna had the name *inr n gsf*, the etymology of which suggests that it was a stone connected with baking. Janssen refers (pp. 327–8) to the emplacements for grinding corn in Egyptian houses ('kneading' is not really an appropriate term) and the fact that they are immovable, and, having thus excluded them, he is led to the meaning 'griddle-stone'. However, the actual grinding stones which were set in the tops of the emplacements, whilst quite heavy, were readily portable, and on Egyptian settlement sites are common (much more so than excavation reports suggest). Being made of a special stone not locally available, usually quartzite, it is easy to understand how they could have a value and be saleable. A further example of philology's leading to an unexpected conclusion is the treatment of *htri* and *ph* (pp. 391–2). *Htri* is a pair of door jambs, and the *ph* goes with them, but because of the etymology of *ph*, which means 'to split', Janssen follows Helck in taking it to mean 'veneer'. Now although veneering was indeed done in Egypt on boxes and on articles of furniture, it is hard to accept for wooden doorposts, particularly since the prices involved are modest. A more likely meaning suggested by what the objects involved are themselves is a wooden beam which separates the jambs at the bottom, or more likely still, the top, in other words a simple threshold or lintel. The two examples from Deir el-Medîna which Janssen quotes in his footnote 10 to this section are each supplied with one and the other, and indeed, the various *Wb.* references to *ph*/*ph*:*t* (and cf. *ZAS* 68, 12) seem mostly to name blocks or planks of wood, including 'fettors' which, with a hole at either end, would in a way resemble a narrow door beam with a mortice at each end. Just as there are not enough existing lexicographical studies, so there are also insufficient studies of categories of material from excavations to aid the lexicographer, yet *inr n gsf* and *ph* also seem to illustrate a straight preference for etymology over other considerations.

It must be admitted, however, that further exploration of the identities of some of the commodities is of a technical interest which is not likely to affect much the value of the material as a source for a better understanding of the workings of the Ancient Egyptian economy. One of the really noteworthy features of this book, which sets it apart from a great deal of Egyptological literature, is that the author has seriously tried to identify the broader issues involved and to discuss them in terms of research conducted in other disciplines, in this case economic anthropology. One topic that seems to be very satisfactorily clarified is the nature of the units used as standards of values when comparing items in an exchange transaction. Janssen thus disposes of the possibility, raised by Peet and Černý, that something which might be regarded as proto-money was in existence in the late New Kingdom, the enigmatic unit *snw* (Janssen's reading of the older *šty*). One of the great advantages of anything like coinage is the convenience with which it can be hidden away or buried when those circumstances arise which induce people to leave hoards. The fact that nothing resembling a hoard of standard units has been found in Egypt adds substance to Janssen's contention that the *snw*, like the *deben*, was nothing but a weight. Indeed, the nature of the hoard from the North Suburb at El-'Amarna (*C. of A.* II, 59–61) might lead one to the conclusion that the rings of precious metal

depicted in tomb scenes are nothing more than artistically convenient renderings of somewhat irregular twists and coils of no standard weight or size. Janssen suggests for *sniw* a derivation from a word for 'cake', and considers that it was perhaps a piece of silver in this shape. Yet here too one senses a preference to limit discussion to philology. Early in this century Petrie and Weigall had deduced that there was in Ancient Egypt a range of stone weights (some of them shaped like cakes or loaves) based on the *deben* and its division into twelve parts, although the actual weights of these objects suggest a fairly wide tolerance of variations. Petrie had specifically sought an identification between one of his units and the *sniw* (called *shoti* by him, following the earlier reading). That precious metals were commonly valued by reference to stone weights is well attested by the signs on the weights themselves. Yet this evidence finds no place in Janssen's discussions, although to make the *sniw* another stone weight, tied to a silver standard as the *deben* was normally to copper, introduces a greater degree of compatibility into the system, and helps to account for an important class of object from Ancient Egypt. The Deir el-Medina village excavation report does not itself include any of these small weights; it does, however, publish four stone weights inscribed to show that they served as measures for the weights of fish deliveries (*Rapport 1934-5*, III, 220-1). They bear no weight indications themselves, yet one knows that in documents fish deliveries would have been expressed in *deben* (Janssen, pp. 478-81). Here one has a case where, instead of using weights made to a recognizable shape and size and representing steps on a weight scale, the stone served as the equivalent of a fairly large fixed amount.

Of great importance for understanding the nature of the Egyptian economy are the variations in prices, particularly when they denote some particular price movement. The most sensitive are likely to be those for wheat and barley, since for most people these commodities formed their staple diet, and were also not subject to the variations in quality such as bedevil the use of many other commodity prices as economic indicators. Janssen's carefully documented section on grain prices is thus of the utmost importance, the closest thing we have to an economic index for any period of Ancient Egypt. It shows, firstly, that between the mid Nineteenth Dynasty, when the price series begins, and the mid Twentieth, grain prices were relatively stable, yet it was a stability which allowed a fluctuation of between one and two *deben* of copper for one *khar*-measure of corn, a variation of 100 per cent. Unfortunately, all of the transactions from which the prices derive are very small, but obviously, if this degree of fluctuation were maintained when much larger transactions were involved, then it would have mattered a great deal whether one or the other price limit was involved. Janssen makes the point of looking for a correlation with the time of year, but none seems to be present. This might therefore be an important hint as to the existence of a limited free-market mechanism. Then over a period of some twenty-five years, roughly between the reigns of Ramesses VII and IX, the fluctuation becomes much greater and from a higher base, steadying at the end of the period to two *deben* for emmer and between two and four for barley. Inevitably, the word 'inflation' appears, and in a literal sense is justified. But is this the inflation that we ourselves are familiar with?

It is instructive to make a comparison with the economy of the Roman Empire where much of the price evidence also derives from Egypt. One finds the same, or indeed greater, variation in prices that are more or less contemporary, and in this case must reflect market responses to local availability. But there is also a steady rise in prices into the third century AD, when dramatic increases took place. This, however, was real money inflation in the sense that the term is used today. Thus soldiers' pay also increased. The main cause is thought to have been debasement of the currency. At Deir el-Medina, on the other hand, there is no real evidence for increases in wages corresponding to the period of abnormally high grain prices; furthermore, the prices of other commodities do not on the whole reflect this movement. Impressive examples of price stability are in baskets and certain items of clothing (especially *mss* and *dsiw*). With certain other commodities, when occasional higher prices are found, they do tend to be in sources of the mid Twentieth Dynasty, such as with sandals, and sesame oil and *mrht*. The price of bronze vessels shows a more positive rise in this period, however, and is perhaps the commodity which comes closest to mirroring the behaviour of grain prices.

Currency debasement is not possible in a barter economy where the government's principal means of payment is a grain ration, since its quality cannot be altered, and thus there can be no artificial increase in the supply of money, which is the essential feature of classic inflation, as apparently occurred in the Roman Empire. As one explanation for the high grain prices one might consider a near-famine created by poor Nile floods, and it is perhaps surprising that the grain price evidence, which was basically available in an earlier

work of Černý's, has not been cited by those who wish to explain the decline of activity in Nubia in the late New Kingdom by reference to declining Nile levels. However, not only are there no contemporary references to famine, but there is a Nile level of reasonable height recorded at Medinet Habu from the seventh year of Ramesses IX, just when grain prices were at their highest.

It seems to have been a normal part of the state's policy to create large grain reserves to cushion the variations in harvest yield occasioned by the differing heights of Nile floods. In the provinces the major part of these reserves was stored in temple magazines. Because many commodities other than grain were stored as well it is impossible to determine what the actual grain capacity of a given set of temple magazines might have been. But as an indication of the possible order of magnitude, it might be noted that a single one of the long storerooms in the Ramesseum, if filled to a depth of 2 m with grain (and their roofs were considerably higher than this), would hold something like 400,000 litres, roughly equivalent to 5,200 *khar*, or nearly twice the likely annual payment in emmer to the Deir el-Medīna community. If this system of massive grain storage to maintain a constant supply were administered properly it must have had a very considerable stabilizing influence on the economy as a whole, rendering unnecessary the private hoarding of grain in the hopes of profiting from a poor harvest. It is noticeable that amongst the various royal edicts to control abuses that have survived from Ancient Egypt, none deals with hoarding or prices. Nor is there an equivalent to Diocletian's price edict. Even late in the reign of Ramesses III, when the Deir el-Medīna workmen were demonstrating because of late payment, Janssen's price list for grain shows no increase. This background suggests that the great grain price increase at Deir el-Medīna in the late Ramesseid Period came about only when the temple reserves had been allowed to run down almost completely, leading to the appearance of a scarcity market. From just about, or a little before, this time, we have a remarkable piece of testimony for behaviour likely to lead to just this result, in the Turin Indictment Papyrus. According to this text, a group of officials from the temple of Khnum at Elephantine were each year embezzling hundreds of *khar* of grain, more than 5,000 over a nine-year period. It is hard to see what their motive can have been other than profit for themselves, transferring grain that would normally have been distributed as rations into grain that would be sold for private gain. In this sort of situation a group such as the Deir el-Medīna community which was organized to be dependent on administered supplies would have to buy on a market, and this might well lead to the wildly fluctuating prices such as are recorded, as individual families became more or less desperate to purchase grain which was now finding its way into different outlets. To meet the increased costs, other prices started to rise, most notably the price of copper, though lagging behind grain prices. There are also references to civil disturbance which would only serve to exacerbate the decline in administered supplies.

By the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, however, prices were stabilizing again. Why was this? The only direct clue is that by year 12 of Ramesses XI the administration of the Theban granaries had been taken over by the Viceroy of Kush, Panešy, bearing the specific title 'Overseer of the Granaries of Pharaoh', and deliveries were coming in from as far away at least as Esna. Whatever else Panešy may have been involved in, it is clear that at this time orderly administration had returned to the Theban west bank.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is probably that New Kingdom Egypt contained a latent supply-and-demand market which was kept in check in times of orderly administration by the state's practice of storing and distributing a large share of the country's grain requirement, and other commodities too, for that matter. What is not clear is the extent to which a limited market economy existed as well at such times, with opportunities for private gain through exchange at different prices (such as the difference between one and two *deben* per *khar* of grain).

This leads to a consideration of Janssen's final chapter on Ancient Egyptian economics. For serious Egyptological works this is a novel and refreshing departure in that it makes a serious reference to cultural anthropology. His basic point is that a person from a modern Western-style background, who merely interprets his texts as they come, runs the risk of reading into Ancient Egyptian life too much that is of his own culture. Consequently, a conscious alignment must be made with the 'primitive' world as revealed by anthropology. Economic anthropologists might feel that their discipline offers a good deal more than this, namely the interpretation of economic life as a complete system in which the functions of many of its aspects are not truly perceived by the people involved and have therefore to be elucidated by the observer, but for Janssen the time is not yet appropriate for such a bold inductive approach since so many aspects of

the Egyptian economy remain unknown (although it is also true that we know a great deal more here than is the case with many past societies where modern speculation has not been suppressed on these grounds). Janssen wishes deliberately to stress the resemblances to the 'primitive' world, in particular as revealed in Africa, and it is interesting to note that the work most frequently cited, Bohannon and Dalton, *Markets in Africa*, has itself been criticized (e.g. Gray and Birmingham, *Pre-colonial African Trade*, 4–5) for making too sharp a contrast between modern economies and the 'primitive' aspects of African economies. Some of Janssen's most telling examples come from African peoples with subsistence economies without strong political organization far removed from Deir el-Medina. Yet there is plenty of evidence to show that in pre-colonial Africa, even where there was no strong political leadership to organize trade and a complex economic life (as there was in the West African kingdoms of Mali and Ashanti), professional trading networks, operated for the personal gain of the traders, could develop. In other words, African parallels offer a considerable variety of attitudes, and embrace behaviour which Janssen seems reluctant to credit the Ancient Egyptians with.

As an example of 'target trading' Janssen quotes an account of a Tonga woman from Zambia who, wishing to buy a blouse for a particular sum of money tries to sell a chicken for the same amount, not in the least disturbed by the fact that this is an exorbitant price in terms of local exchanges. This is a curious example to quote since much of the evidence that Janssen has accumulated points to a considerable price stability and recognized values and not to the *ad hoc* valuation suggested here. But aside from this, although most of the Tonga apparently lived in a subsistence economy, in pre-colonial times groups of men would choose to become traders, ranging far afield in the hopes of making profit from their own bargaining skill and from the state of the local market involving differing price levels, a phenomenon showing just the sort of motivation which Janssen is evidently unhappy about finding in New Kingdom Egypt (the Tonga traders are discussed by Miracle in the *Rhodes-Livingstone Journal* 26 (1959), 34–50).

In another place (p. 557) Janssen quotes Bohannon and Dalton on the inability noted in some African sellers of home-produced items to calculate the costs of production, and uses this to explain price stability at Deir el-Medina, where such production as did occur used, so Janssen maintains, raw materials provided by the government. Yet one of the transactions discussed in the book (p. 542) involved the exchange of a coffin for various items including sycamore logs, whose value must therefore have been calculated, and indeed the prices for logs, beams, planks, and stakes have their own section in the book. In several cases presented in the book the cost of labour, too, is evidently included, as Janssen points out in each instance, as with cost of decorating a coffin (pp. 223–6), weaving (p. 278), of decorating doorjambs (p. 392) and building (pp. 394–6), and Janssen himself identifies a word, *mtrnw*, which seems normally to have been the value of the labour involved in manufacture. It would seem, therefore, that the Deir el-Medina people could, in fact, calculate material and labour costs, and that materials, at least wood, were in circulation for purchases. Whether they came originally from the government is immaterial to this particular issue, although if they did, the selling of them brought a profit to the seller. Janssen suggests that prices were determined more by tradition than active notions of the values of labour and materials. This may well be true, but the documents themselves, in demonstrating that the prices of each could be assessed when necessary, may also be taken to show that the traditions reflected an underlying economic rationale which remained stable as long as the state administration dominated the economy and had carefully administered surpluses to rely on. Furthermore, the manufacture, buying, and selling of coffins at Deir el-Medina is itself a valuable pointer as to where the state's responsibility for supplying the workmen with the necessities of life ended: evidently it did not extend this far, and thus presupposes a significant area of exchange and economic enterprise outside the state's redistributive system.

Janssen is right to point towards economic anthropology as offering a more fruitful source of assessments than mere personal intuition can provide, but between modern economies and subsistence farmers, between the 'modern' and the 'primitive', there is a great range of intermediate stages, some to be found in pre-colonial Africa, and one should scarcely doubt that New Kingdom Egypt was one of them. At the root of Janssen's assessments is an inclination to deny that rational economic laws were at work. His parallels from anthropology mostly appear to say that Egyptian behaviour, at least as exemplified at Deir el-Medina, was both very different from ours, and inconsequential enough to make it pointless to adopt a theorizing approach. Yet anthropology has evolved from collecting observations on how *different* peoples are into a

discipline based on the acceptance that order and reason and regularities can be found in all societies. Fortunately, whatever one's views may be in this sphere, one will remain immensely in debt to Janssen's painstaking and scholarly investigation, and to the clear and honest way in which he presents the basic material from which all discussions must in the end proceed.

BARRY J. KEMP

The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen. By RICARDO A. CAMINOS. 2 vols. Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Thirty-third and Thirty-fourth Memoirs. 320×255 mm. Pp. xv+96, 105 pls., 1 map; pp. xi+139, 95 pls. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1974. ISBN 0 85698 042 0 and 0 85698 043 9. Price £24 each volume.

In 1957, as a new archaeological undertaking, partly in anticipation of the international campaign to salvage the monuments of Nubia, the Egypt Exploration Society began to investigate in detail the important fortress-town of Buhen in Lower Nubia. The excavation of the site and the recording of its monuments was completed in eight successive seasons under the field-directorship of the late Professor W. B. Emery. The two volumes entitled *The New-Kingdom Temples of Buhen* are the end-product of one section of that work and represent its first fruits to be published in full. They contain a complete epigraphic record and description of the remains of the two temples, the 'northern' and 'southern', erected at Buhen during the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹ The basic work of recording the temples in the field was completed by the author, Professor R. A. Caminos of Brown University, Providence, in a single four-month season in 1960-1.

Of the northern temple, which is believed to have been initiated by Amosis and rebuilt by Amenophis II, little remained, and its ruins are now submerged under the waters of Lake Nasser. The southern temple, largely the work of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, was better preserved and has since been removed to Khartoum where it stands in the grounds of the new National Museum of the Sudan. Both temples have been the subject of previous surveys, most notably that of the Eckley B. Coxe Junior Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania in 1909-10, which published a complete record of their scenes and inscriptions (Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, Text, 9-96; Plates, pls. 3(a), 6-35, and Plans A-D and G). Useful as this publication will remain for its large number of excellent photographs, it is by modern standards inadequate as a proper record and is for the relevant material now wholly superseded by Caminos's work, which is a model of careful epigraphic method and publication.

The work is divided into four parts, two to each volume. Part I is a brief introductory section, containing an interesting catalogue of previous work on the temples. Parts II and III, which form the main bulk of the publication, are devoted to the southern temple, the former to the columns, pilasters, and other subsidiary elements of the court, the latter to the main building or temple proper. The entire northern temple is dealt with in Part IV. The vast bulk of the surviving decoration consists of royal commemorative legends and representations of the king performing a variety of religious rites before a deity with accompanying label-texts. These date almost wholly to the Eighteenth Dynasty, but there is some Ramesside and Twenty-fifth Dynasty work. There is also an interesting group of *ex-votos*, mainly Ramesside, which were dedicated by various royal officials. Finally, there is a considerable number of graffiti, including inscriptions in Greek, Egyptian, Carian, and one in Meroïtic which is discussed separately by Dr M. F. Laming Macadam in an Appendix at the end of Volume I. The decoration is published in nearly two hundred plates of facsimile line-drawings of superb quality, which are supplemented by sketch plans, architectural diagrams, and photographic plates. The accompanying text is extremely full, with careful attention paid to such details as style of carving, method of correction and usurpation, and remains of colour, which are substantial in the southern temple. In addition, each hieroglyphic inscription is translated with commentary and notes when necessary. Not the least admirable thing about this excellent work is that the needs of the reader have obviously been foremost in the author's mind. A handy conspectus of the decoration recorded is provided for both Parts II and III, which together with two large indexes greatly facilitates the use of the volumes.

¹ A volume dealing with the inscribed monuments found during the excavations has now also appeared: H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions* (London, 1976). This will be reviewed in a forthcoming volume of this *Journal* by J. J. Clère. At the time of writing *The Archaeological Report* by W. B. Emery, H. S. Smith, and A. Millard is in press.

All in all, Professor Caminos has produced a remarkably comprehensive record, which will remain of permanent value to our science. It is to be hoped that his work on the temples of Semna-Kumma and the monuments at Gebel es-Silsilah will not be long in reaching a similar fruition.

In conclusion, I append a small number of corrections and comments on points of interest.

Vol. I, 31 n. 1, pl. 34, fig. 2. All that remains of the god's crown in this scene is an 'upward trace which curves slightly forward'. Among other possibilities Caminos suggests that the trace suits the coronet on which the double-plumes rest in the head-dress worn by Horus of Buhen in Ashmolean stela 1893. 175. This is not, strictly, the case. I have been able to examine the said representation in front of the stone and can state that the front line of the coronet is not curved but inclines forward in a straight line.

Pp. 36-7, pls. 44-5. The crown of the King (Tuthmosis III) in this scene is almost completely effaced but is identified by the author as the Blue Crown, partly on the basis of a 'slanting trace above his much-damaged head', which seems, however, not to be reproduced in the line-drawing. If it is the Blue Crown, then this is a rare example of a king of this period wearing it in conjunction with the royal beard.

Pp. 47-8, pls. 60-1. A careful examination of the photographic plate reveals that more of the scene at the top of the west face of Pillar 16 survives than is recorded in the line-drawing and described in the text.

Pp. 88-9, pl. 105. This decorated slab, which was unearthed when the southern temple was dismantled in 1963, is to be added to the list of the monuments of the Viceroy Setau drawn up by Helck, *SAK* 3 (1975), 111-12,¹ supplemented by Schulman, *SSEA Journal* 8 (2) (1978), 42-5.²

Vol. II, 10, pl. 12. The *t* of *ꜥkt* in the first column has been omitted in the text.

P. 17, pl. 21. The crux *nḥnw* (perhaps better read as a dual *nḥnw(y)*) is not a *hapax* but is paralleled in Naville, *The Temple of Deir El Bahari*, iv, pl. cii, in a similar label-text accompanying a scene which originally showed Hatshepsut offering to Hathor. Like the Buhen example it has two determinatives. One is a vessel identical in form to those in the Buhen writing, but the other is a hieroglyph which appears to represent, if the copy is accurate, a pair of testicles. Unfortunately, the figure of Hatshepsut and what she proffers are destroyed, so that the identity of the *nḥnw(y)* remains obscure.³ W. V. DAVIES

Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs. By WINFRIED BARTA. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 32. Pp. 148. Deutscher Kunstverlag. Munich and Berlin, 1975. Price DM. 24.

The Pharaonic concept of kingship may fairly be described as one of the oldest, most troublesome, and most fascinating of Egyptological problems. Barta's contribution takes the relatively limited form of an

¹ The following points concerning British Museum objects in Helck's list should be noted. No. 3 'Sarg-fragmente mit Deckel BM 720'. There are no fragments of the sarcophagus of Setau in the British Museum, only the lid, which has the number 78 (720 is the old exhibition number which should be disregarded). No. 4 'Pyramidion-Fragment: LD, Text v, 391 (im Brit. Mus.)'. There is no such monument in the British Museum. The examples of Setau's name noted by Lepsius seem to have been taken, albeit incorrectly, from the aforementioned lid. No. 6 'Toten-figur BM 8700a: JEA 6, 1920, 43'. This unpublished shabti-figure, also quoted wrongly in Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, 97, as 8700, now has the number 33921. (The lower half only of the figure survives, max. ht. 24.6 cm. Previously in the Valentia collection, it was acquired in 1853 from the Arley Castle sale. It is made of sandstone and bears the so-called Khamuas-formula; cf. H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis*, i, 283 ff.) Omitted from Helck's list is stela BM 556 (acquired in 1839 from the Anastasi collection, provenance unknown). This latter together with Setau's sarcophagus lid BM 78 and his Wadi Halfa stela BM 1055 (Helck's no. 38) will be published in full by M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum*, 10, now in preparation.

² Add to these the shabti-figures noted by Aubert, op. cit. 97, with pl. 17, fig. 37; also the door-jamb and three or four stelae from Buhen published by H. S. Smith, op. cit. 94, pl. xi, 1 (257+599+610); 123, pls. xxvii, 7, lxxiv, 7 (1585+1586+1599); 132-3, pl. xxxii, 1 (1630); 139, pl. xxxv, 3, lxxvii, 1 (1722); 141-2, pl. xxxvi, 2 (1728); and a block from Philae published by G. Wahbah, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 181-2.

³ Could there be any connection here with the 'testicles of Seth', possibly symbolized by the *nḥnw(y)* object(s)?

attempt to define the nature of Pharaoh's divinity as it is revealed by Thinite and Old Kingdom evidence. Starting from the premiss that this divinity was conferred at all periods by ritual, he proceeds to analyse the major ritual sequences in which Pharaoh was involved in order to establish the nature of the divinity which they presuppose. Here Barta's conception of ritual is of cardinal importance. It emerges clearly in the following terms: '. . . man versuchte durch Analogiezwang bestimmte Vorgänge von der Ebene des Spieles auf die Ebene der Wirklichkeit sicher und vorherbestimmbar zu übertragen'. On the other hand 'der dramatisch wiedergegebene Handlungsinhalt sowie die in ihrem Verlauf auftretenden Personen dagegen gehören der Spielwelt an' or again '. . . bleibt ihr (sc. der Riten) Handlungsinhalt trotz seiner Wirklichkeitsnähe letztlich im Irrealen verhaftet' (p. 128). Analysed from this point of view, the rituals attending the birth of the crown prince are asserted to be little more than a drama in which the protagonists enact the parts of the gods but remain steadfastly human in essence; the coronation is a matter 'der nur gespielten, mythisch eingekleideten Form' which is incapable of conferring 'die Wirklichkeit der Gottgleichheit' (p. 61). Similarly in the *Heb Sed* the king plays 'die Rolle eines Gottes und kann deshalb auch den Göttern vergleichbare bzw. ähnliche Taten tun, ohne dabei jedoch selbst ein Gott zu sein' (p. 73). As for rituals where Pharaoh is shown exercising his royal functions (e.g. the burial of his predecessor or the building of a temple), here he enacts 'als Darsteller die Rolle des Schöpfergottes' (p. 91). He is the actor in a play to be seen simply 'als Mensch in der Rolle Gottes'. In sum, throughout the king's career on earth we are concerned with nothing more than 'eine im Amt begründete Gottähnlichkeit'.

It hardly needs saying that Barta is here purveying a commodity which borders on rank heresy and that, *eo ipso*, his discussion provides much food for thought. Unfortunately, it displays a number of blemishes which seriously impair its value. First, organization. A study of this kind should begin with definitions. If this is not done, not only is the reader frequently in a quandary as to what precisely the writer means, but the writer himself lacks the firm anchor which is essential in such complex disquisitions. In this instance the key issues, viz. the nature and relationship of myth and ritual, should have been discussed in depth in the introductory section. Barta contrives to dispense with this aid until p. 127!

The method is equally unsatisfactory. Where are the anthropological and other comparative data? Myth, ritual, and the intricacies of archaic ontology are issues which cannot be adequately discussed apart from such a background. If this is not done—and done painstakingly with an open mind—it is impossible to achieve even the minimum of the emancipation from twentieth-century modes of thought which is indispensable if we are ever to come to terms with the subtleties of the Egyptian mind. Barta's disregard for such material has particularly disastrous consequences for his views on ritual and the ontological problems it presents. The basic question here, the coping-stone of the entire work, is the attitude of the Ancient Egyptian to ritual action. Did he regard it as a drama played out by unequivocally human participants or did the ritual become for him, in whole or part, the very process which informed it? Did he regard the foundation of a temple as *being* the cosmogonic act or was it simply a *representation* of it? By a monumental *petitio principii* we are blithely informed by Barta that we are confronted with no more than 'die Spielwelt', that the ritual is 'trotz seiner Wirklichkeitsnähe letztlich im Irrealen verhaftet'. The anthropologist and his disciples, on the basis of *empirical* evidence, see the matter rather differently:

It is no mere play that the dancer in a mythical drama is enacting; the dancer *is* the god, he *becomes* the god. This basic sense of identity, of identification, is manifested most particularly in fertility rites celebrating the death and resurrection of the god. What happens in these rites, as in most of the mystery cults, is no mere imitative portrayal of an event but is the event itself . . .¹

In the mythopoeic mode of consciousness there is a strong tendency of the different experiential elements to blend and fuse in a non-logical way. And not only that, but the selfhood of the worshiper tends to blend with them; that is to say, he becomes a full participant, not a mere observer. Finally, there is blending or partial blending, of worshiper and sacred objects and ceremonial acts with certain transcendent Presences . . .²

There is a further methodological deficiency. Barta confines himself to Thinite and Old Kingdom evidence. Why? The problem is quite simply the nature of the divinity of the Egyptian king. On this

¹ E. Cassirer, *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms. II. Mythical Thought* (New Haven, 1955), 39.

² P. Wheelwright, 'The semantic approach to myth', in T. Sebeok (ed.), *Myth: a Symposium* (Bloomington, 1965), 159.

subject we have evidence from every period of Egyptian history and *all* relevant material should have been brought to bear. Admittedly, such an all-embracing project would be a daunting enterprise and would demand a much bigger book, but any other approach must yield results which are so provisional as to be hardly worth the trouble of producing. As it happens, the arbitrary nature of Barta's declared policy is conceded by his practice; for he trespasses outside these self-imposed limits on more than one occasion (e.g. pp. 22 ff., 61).

What, then, of Barta's conclusions? Surely, in so far as the truth on this matter is attainable, it is likely to lie where most of us have always thought it did. The Egyptians speak of Pharaoh in a host of different contexts as a god, e.g. 'the Horus x', 'the Good God', 'the Great God'. His attributes are those of a god (e.g. fourteen *kas, hu, sia, marat*) and he is frequently described as functioning as a god (e.g. the great inscription of Khnumhotpe II at Beni Hasan, the Installation of the Vizier, the Kubbân Stele, *P. Harris I*, 75, 1 ff.). At the same time he has human attributes. He is, for example, the 'the Horus (in the form of) 'Aḥa', i.e. 'Aḥa is the human vessel within which the divinity of Horus is encapsulated, a vessel, in fact, in very much the same sense as a cult-statue or a sacred animal like the Apis Bull. This fusion of natures was created by the ritual of coronation where the crown prince received the divine essence into himself by coming into contact with the emblems of kingship. To ask, however, whether such an entity as 'the Horus 'Aḥa' is man or god is patently absurd, as anthropological parallels indicate, e.g.:

I have often been told in the Sudan that some men turn themselves into lions, indeed *are* lions existing also in the form of men. Put thus in English, the statement seems curious and superstitious, because we think at once of man and lion as necessarily two different beings. It does not at once occur to us that they may represent two possible ways of viewing the same being. The question arises of whether a creature is 'really' a man, or 'really' a lion, for it is not usual for us to think of any creature as existing in more than one mode. This, however, is what is asserted in parts of the Sudan, when some men are said to be beasts of one kind or another.³

Surely, by the same token, the divinity of Pharaoh was, to the Egyptian, quite unimpaired by his humanity and vice versa, just as a Christian might consider Christ no less God for being also Man. This does not mean that the Egyptian's point of vision cannot oscillate between the two poles or even come to rest somewhere on a continuum between the two. In a given context the human 'mode' might well impose itself more forcibly on his consciousness than the divine, but none of this need have any effect on his capacity to apprehend the king's divinity as an unqualified and unalloyed attribute. In short, we could do a great deal worse than interpret the Egyptian concept of kingship as a brand of proto-monophysitism!

To conclude. The need for an up-to-date and searching discussion of the Egyptian concept of kingship is real and urgent, but it is a subject which will brook no trifling. It requires an exhaustive survey of Egyptian evidence of all kinds and of all periods, a deep and critical awareness of *modern* anthropological research in all relevant fields and a profound sympathy with the ethos of Ancient Egyptian civilization. In the present instance these prerequisites do not seem to have been met.

ALAN B. LLOYD

Greek Papyri in the British Museum, vol. vii: the Zenon Archive. Edited by T. C. SKEAT. 279 × 195 mm. Pp. viii + 345. Published for the British Library Board by British Museum Publications Ltd, 1974. ISBN 7141 0486 8. Price £30.

For various reasons this book has been an unconscionable time appearing. The texts published here have nearly all been in the British Museum for over fifty years and most of the decipherment was completed before 1940. It is a great pleasure to welcome its appearance at last and to salute the editor's magnificent achievement. As the title indicates, the volume is almost wholly devoted to papyri from the Zenon archive. The only exceptions are a few texts contemporary with the archive but which possibly (or probably) do not belong, the important second-century BC *P. Lond.* 610 now 2188 (see below), and five republished Ptolemaic

³ G. Lienhardt, 'Modes of thought', in E. E. Evans-Pritchard *et al.*, *The Institutions of Primitive Society* (Oxford, 1963), 97 ff.

texts, among which should be noted 2193 concerning the guild of Zeus Hypsistus, with some new readings. As the introduction explains, this volume is designated VII because Bell's *Jews and Christians* is now to be regarded as *P. Lond.* VI.

Skeat's generosity, like that of Bell before him, has meant that all the more exciting features of these texts have long been accessible to scholars. We must not therefore expect anything startlingly new to appear here for the first time. However, it is very frustrating to find scholars basing their arguments on unpublished material, which the reader has no opportunity of controlling for himself, and for this reason alone publication of this volume would be welcome. But it is welcome for much better reasons than this. The 250 texts to be added to the Zenon collection contribute in various ways to all aspects of our knowledge of this field, and the editor's illuminating comments are as wide-ranging as the texts themselves, touching on linguistic and historical points, as well as innumerable features of social or economic interest. A good number of the papyri are mere scraps which would not normally merit publication, but whose publication is justified in this instance because of the hope that they may fit Zenon papyri in other collections. The editor has shown what can still be done here by himself making several joins with known texts. No plates are provided, but with Skeat's name to guarantee the reliability of the reading it is only rarely that one regrets their absence.

The dated texts from the archive (1930–2019) range from 23 February 259 to 24 September 234 BC. Like the undated texts which follow, they cover all types familiar from the archive, the largest group being letters to Zenon, and the longest papyri a group of accounts dealing with the financial transactions of the steward Heraclides and of Zenon himself (1991–6). Zenon was above all a business man and the papyri naturally have most to tell us about economic conditions, both in Egypt and Palestine (cf. 1930–1 and 1948, with reference to an estate at Bethanath in Galilee). Zenon had dealings of various kinds with Egyptians and Greeks, with free persons of every degree and with slaves (runaway slaves form the subject of 1951 and 2052). A variety of animals and birds are mentioned, presumably for eating (cf. esp. 1998, 2000), and the crops attested are remarkable for their great diversity; notable are 1972 on the cultivation of olives, 2007 for pig-farming, and 2008 on growing garlic and sesame (on this subject cf. D. J. Crawford, *CdE* 48 [1973], 350–63). Cultivation in 2061 apparently includes that of lettuces (*θριδακες*), while in 2179 camels are mentioned, a rare occurrence at this period. 2004 proves that the important reduction in rations which Reekmans proved to have taken place (*La Sitométrie*) had begun to operate by February 248.

Because of his influential position as the local representative of Apollonius the *διοικητες*, Zenon not infrequently was the recipient of petitions. Noteworthy among them are 1976, in which a woman beerseller complains that a married man has seduced her daughter and taken her away, and 2009, in which the owner of a wine-shop protests against being knocked up at night by drunken brawlers. Clearly human nature has changed little in over two thousand years. Another petition 2039, which incidentally provides us with the earliest mention of *τῆς ἐπιγονῆς*, is addressed to the king, but as it requests *δέομαι οὖν σου διακοσῶν μου* Skeat rightly concludes that in reality it was meant for Zenon. With these texts we may bracket 1980, where Zenon appears as one of three judges, presumably the court of the *chrematistai*; 1986, a six-witness deed of loan from Alexandria, in which one witness is a member of the Palace Guard (*τῶν περὶ αὐλήν τακτόμισθος*) and another a Roman (on such loans see P. W. Pestman, *JJP* 17 [1971], 7–29); and 2015, the oldest surviving Greek will on papyrus, in which a cleruch bequeathes *inter alia* his *kleros*; the papyrus is unfortunately broken at precisely this point, so that we do not know whether it was to the king or not. It should be noted that neither of these last two texts has any obvious connection with the archive.

References to the administration occur only incidentally; nevertheless some of them are of importance. From 1934 we learn that Apollonius had a *σύνταξις* from the treasury. Nicanor of 1946 is the *στρατηγὸν τὸν ἐν [Ἡ]ρακλέους πόλι* of 1945.6, which, as Skeat points out, means that we do not yet have nome *strategoí* in the later sense. In fact in 1955 a petition is sent to the *οικονομος* *διὰ τὸ προεστηκέναι σε τοῦ νομοῦ*, cf. *P. Rev.* col. 42. Interesting for taxation are 1936, the salt-tax (on which see F. Uebel, *Atti XI Congresso Pap.* [1966], 325–68) and 2008, the *ἐννόμιον* and the *φυλακτικόν*. On the *ἀντιγραφεὺς* see 2013, and on the nomarch 2019.

Apart from his notes on all the above points, Skeat has valuable comments on the calendar (1930.86, 1934.4, 1986.3, 1994), on weights and measures (1930.6, 1940.11, 1994, 2004), and coins (1934.10, 2036). Of his many notes on points of linguistic usage the following may be instanced: *ἐπιστολαγράφος* (1930.160), *διαχειριστικόν* (1940.26), *δρυμός* (1955.4), *ἀποστολή* (1963.5–6), *πορεῖον* (1973.3), *ἀποσυντάσσω* (1979.17),

ὄχουτης (1990.3), ἐπιτέταρτος (1996.25), ἵνα with a main clause (2046.3), τόπος ἐκ τόπου (2049.8–9), σιβύνεια (2071.1), τράπεζα δολωνική (2139.6) and προαποστολή (2141.3).

Finally, some miscellaneous points. 1940 is an exceptionally tall papyrus (40 cm). 1953 adds further complications to the problem of Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς (see line 7 n.). From 1979 we learn that Zenon's father after trouble over customs clearance made a successful voyage from Alexandria to Caria during the winter. In 1997.3 the supplement λι[μναίου]ς is not inevitable; we should perhaps connect with λίνον in the meaning 'net', and translate φέρει δύο 'he gets two for himself' (cf. *LSJ* s.v. vi). In 2008.15 the sense is much improved if we can take παρέδωκα as 'I intended to hand over'. The details about professional lyre-playing in 2017 are especially interesting, as is Skeat's suggestion in 2052, intr., that Alexander τοῦ ὀμηρεύσαντος may have been a prominent Seleucid. We should perhaps interpret 2074.18–21 as meaning that Cleon as ἀρχιτέκτων gets remuneration for himself at Alexandria, and remuneration in the Arsinoite which is earmarked for his employees.

Outside the archive is 2188, bearing dates from 181/80 to 148 BC. Skeat has painstakingly reconstructed the portions of 11 columns which survive, and written an extensive commentary. The papyrus comprises a legal dossier relating to a dispute over land between priests of Pathyris and Hermonthis, with references to hearings before Hippalus, no doubt the famous *epistrategos*, Ptolemaeus τῶν φίλων καὶ φριτ(ο)β [*sic*], and Boethus τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλακῶν καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος. Other officials to appear include Theomnestus and Numenius; it should be borne in mind that either could as easily be an *ex-strategos*, *στρ* (ατηγήσας), as a *στρ*(ατηγός). Despite its fragmentary state, this text has much valuable information on this ill-understood period.

In one respect the appearance of this book must be a cause for regret. Short of some wholly unexpected occurrence, this will be the last substantial collection of papyri to be published from this astonishingly rich archive. However, this publication, together with the appearance of work on the Zenon papers at present being undertaken in Leiden, will be sure to add a new impetus to the study of Egypt in the third century BC.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Other books received



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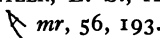

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* I should like to acknowledge the invaluable assistance of my wife in the compilation of this index.

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C. INDEX OF WORDS ETC. DISCUSSED

A. EGYPTIAN

I. WORDS AND PHRASES

- ꜥ negative, 56, 213; 61, 48 f.
 ꜥꜣꜣ 'artaba', 57, 128 ff.
 ꜥꜣ 'to perish', 58, 264.
 ꜥꜣ 'capability', 58, 109.
 i-*q̄b*: = r-*q̄b*: 'on behalf of, for the sake of', 57, 124.
 iꜣt, iꜣt 'mound, sanctuary', 59, 145 n. 13.
 iꜣb 'take care, heal', 58, 97.
 iꜣw[*i*] 'complaint, cry, remonstrance', 56, 59.
 iꜣw *dšrt* 'support of the red (crown)' (?), 60, 98 n. 22.
 iꜣwꜣt 'wrongdoing', 65, 161.
 iꜣwꜣ/iꜣw negations, 56, 213.
 iꜣw*dnb* 'laudanum', 58, 146.
 iꜣt 'oipe-measure', 57, 128; 59, 95 ff.
 iꜣm negative verb, 56, 61, 212; 57, 17 f.
 iꜣmꜣ *nsr-f* 'He who is in his fire', a divine serpent, 59, 125 n. 7.
 iꜣmꜣ-r *šhtyw* 'overseer of *šhtyw*', 60, 110.
 iꜣmꜣ-r *kbnt nsw* 'Admiral of the Royal *kbnt*-ships', 58, 272.
 iꜣmw 'tent', 63, 78.
 iꜣn *rr*i interrogative particles introducing a rhetorical question equivalent to an affirmation, 56, 59.
 iꜣnw 'tribute', 56, 108.
 iꜣnr *n g*if a stone for baking, 65, 183.
 iꜣri 'be ready', 57, 124.
 iꜣri *hꜣwt* 'celebrate, keep festival', 65, 84.
 iꜣry-*ꜣ* 'door-keeper', 56, 97 n. 2.
 iꜣry-*pꜣt* 'hereditary lord', 63, 60 f.
 iꜣry *pꜣt hry-tp tꜣwy* title possibly applied to the heir presumptive, 58, 186.
 iꜣry *h(t) nsw* new reading of, 60, 109.
 iꜣrw 'operation, doing', 61, 195.
 iꜣr-*t*i 'evil-doer', 59, 141 n. 4.
 iꜣs enclitic particle etc., 56, 208; 57, 16; 64, 46 ff.
 iꜣsy 'old cloth', 65, 94.
 iꜣšꜣ or *wsht išꜣ* 'The Hindering' or 'Hall of Hindering' (tomb-wells), 64, 80 ff.
 iꜣs(*š*) 'duration', 57, 157 n. 19.
 iꜣkr 'diligent', 56, 60.
 iꜣdn 'ear', 61, 251.
 ꜣꜣ 'here', 56, 60; 58, 96.
 ꜣꜣt 'hand-hammer', 61, 62.
 ꜣꜣt-*ntr* 'god's stone', 65, 92.
 ꜣꜣwꜣ 'requisition', 56, 203.
 ꜣꜣb 'javelin', 61, 49 f.
 ꜣꜣbi 'join', 58, 97.
 ꜣꜣby (?) 'consider favourably', 56, 60.
 ꜣꜣšꜣ a crocodile deity, 59, 121 n. 5.
 ꜣꜣbt 'attachment, connection' (?), 56, 203 f.
 ꜣꜣprt unidentified site of cults of Osiris and Sokar-Osiris, 58, 221.
 ꜣꜣmꜣꜣw 'throw-stick thrower', 58, 122.
 ꜣꜣn 'mended', 65, 93 f.
 ꜣꜣntyw 'myrrh', 58, 143.
 ꜣꜣršꜣ 'cult-service', 60, 194.
 ꜣꜣhꜣmyw images or incarnations of zoomorphic gods (?), 56, 121.
 ꜣꜣk 'have access to the god's presence', 60, 194.
 ꜣꜣdnt 'smelting furnace' (?), 61, 61.
 ꜣꜣdꜣ 'oracular medium' (cognate with NW Semitic *ꜣdn*), (Wenamün I, 38-40) 65, 99 ff.
 w negation, 56, 213 f.; 62, 176.
 wꜣ 'to conspire', 61, 45.
 wꜣwꜣ 'debts' (?), 59, 223.
 Wꜣmꜣmꜣ name of Apophis, 59, 118 n. 4.
 wꜣl-*hr* 'door-curtains', 65, 81.
 wꜣt word connected with cooking, 65, 177.
 wꜣꜣ 'news, report', 58, 256.
 wꜣꜣi 'be alone', false dual of, 61, 36.
 wꜣꜣw 'soldier', 59, 243.
 wꜣbn 'pool, reservoir' (?), 57, 174 n. 5.
 Wꜣbr name of Apophis, 59, 126.
 Wꜣn-*hm* locality of Memphis (?), 60, 198.
 wꜣnt 'that', 57, 16.
 wꜣr 'snake', 59, 141 n. 12.
 wꜣr-*mꜣꜣw* 'Greatest of the Seers', 60, 281.

- wr-snw* 'chief physician', 59, 110.
Wrt Hkꜣw 'the Great Enchantress', 59, 100 ff.; 62, 100 ff., 181 f.
Wrt hts title of queens, 60, 97.
wḥrt 'dockyard-workshop', 59, 220.
wš 'perform the service of the day', 57, 124.
wt 'anthropoid coffin', 65, 92.
wtyw 'pall', 65, 93.
wꜣs ꜥw 'raise thyself up', 65, 58.
wdh 'cast (?)', refined (?)', 57, 124.
- bꜣ* 'soul, manifestation, etc.', 56, 227 f.
bꜣ(ꜣ) 'pupil (of the eye)', 59, 116 n. 1.
Biḥw 'West' later 'East', 59, 115 n. 8.
bḥt 'white (of the eye)', 59, 142 n. 4.
bꜣkw 'products', 56, 109.
bꜣ 'firmament', 57, 155 n. 9.
bwꜣt = *bw wꜣ(t)* (?), 'a far thing' (?), 56, 193.
- P-nubs* Tebo, 58, 237.
pꜣ-wre (Dem.) = ἄρακος wild chickling, 58, 259.
pꜣ mr-ih 'overseer of fields', 58, 262 f.
pꜣ rs 'watchman', 58, 265.
pꜣ rd 'inspector', 58, 265.
Pr-nfr 'funerary workshop', 64, 143 ff.
Prstt 'Persia' or 'Palestine', 57, 161 f.
phꜣ 'threshold' or 'lintel' (not 'veneer'), 65, 183.
phꜣwt 'encircling', 57, 207.
phꜣrty 'watcher', 59, 130 n. 9.
psꜣt 'ennead', 61, 294 f.
psꜣn 'split', 63, 116 ff.
pꜣtry 'looker', a snake, 59, 121 n. 4.
- fꜣi-ꜣ* 'raised of arm', 62, 64.
fꜣy a title (?), 60, 194.
- m* 'together with', 56, 129 n. 2.
m pꜣw 'by stages' (?), 58, 219.
m-dꜣr 'within reach of', 59, 115 n. 2.
mꜣꜣ 'see', 56, 206 n. 2.
Mꜣi (or *Rw*) *šꜣtꜣ* 'The Mysterious Lion' (?), title of Re? 58, 215.
mꜣꜣ-hꜣrw 'justified', 58, 252.
mꜣbꜣ 'lance, spear, harpoon', 58, 219.
m(r)ꜣt a measure, 58, 118. 301.
mꜣꜣt 'quiver', 61, 50.
Mwsgs Μόσχος, 58, 260.
mni '30-*hnw* measure', 58, 302.
mniw ꜥsmw 'master of hounds', 58, 58.
mnyꜣwt 'a cloth' or 'garment' (?), 56, 204.
mnh 'efficient', 61, 57 n. 18.
mnꜣ 'end, cause to cease', 65, 81.
mḥ 'fill, complete', 56, 129.
mḥy a snake, 59, 114 n. 6.
mḥt inb 'north of the wall', epithet of Neith, 60, 92 f.
mḥꜣꜣ 'razor', 63, 110.
msw bꜣšꜣw 'children of the inert ones', 59, 129 n. 12.
msdmt 'eye paint', 58, 145.
mšꜣddt 'comb', 65, 96.
mꜣmꜣꜣ 'memorandum', 58, 256; 61, 184 f.
- mtꜣꜣ* (Dem.) 'bridle bit', 61, 197.
mꜣt 'depth, extent', 61, 132 n. 56.
- n* negative particle, 56, 206 ff.
n as liaison between *-n* and *wi* (?), 64, 129.
n wnn-f to be read *n wn-nf*, 65, 161 ff.
nꜣ hꜣt 'drunkards', 65, 84.
nyswt 'javelins', 59, 224.
Nꜣrt hypocoristically for *Nꜣrt hntt*, the XXth Nome of Upper Egypt, 58, 218.
nbw hꜣrt 'property owners' (of the blessed dead and underworld deities), 58, 108 f.
Nbt-ins epithet applied to Osiris, 58, 223.
nbtꜣ 'the Two Ladies' (in Old Kingdom titles), 60, 94 ff.; 61, 29 ff. (in Archaic titles).
nbd 'the Evil One', 58, 209. 217. 220; 59, 134 n. 13.
nfr negation, 56, 214.
nft 'relax, lay to rest', 61, 50.
nm predicative negative, 56, 206 ff.
nn n+singular substantive 'this', 56, 60.
Nr (?) 'the terrible one', 59, 130 n. 11.
nh 'shelter', 64, 131 f.
nhꜣ 'rough', 61, 59 ff.; 63, 119.
Nhꜣ-hꜣr a god, 59, 121 n. 1; 61, 64.
nhh 'infinity', 60, 252 ff.
nhꜣty '(official) power, authority', 58, 266.
nhꜣw/nhꜣwy meaning unknown, 65, 188.
nsw-bit(y) in Archaic titles, 61, 29 ff.
nšꜣ a container of some kind, 65, 96.
nšꜣd 'tear up', 59, 125.
ntt 'that', 57, 16.
nꜣri (with *r*) 'prevail over', 59, 131 n. 4.
nꜣr 'seize, take possession of, hit', 62, 186 f.
- R-hnt* Illahun, 58, 222.
r-dꜣt 'battlefield', 59, 136 n. 3.
rpy 'shrine within temple' (?), 60, 194.
rꜣwt 'pupil (of the eye)' (?), 59, 142 n. 3.
rnꜣt 'year' (sc. of the temple), 60, 192.
rse (Dem.) 'temple vigil', 60, 194.
rth 'restrain', 58, 90.
rd 'holy water' (?), 57, 146.
- hꜣi* 'go' (of the delivery of stone), 61, 35.
hꜣy 'people of old', 63, 124.
he (Dem.), 'temple-day', 60, 195.
hy 'make fast' (?) 57, 202.
Hwꜣw 'Alas!' 63, 65.
hwꜣw n swꜣr 'days of drinking', 59, 234.
hm 'calumniate', 65, 171.
hn 'agreement', 58, 264.
hd 'tremble, be weak', 59, 230.
- hꜣw* 'interest', 57, 128.
hꜣkt 'spoils', 56, 108.
hꜣty ꜣns 'in their unlawful intent, violent-hearted', 58, 259.
hꜣw in Hammamat, 191, 'striking' (?), 58, 159; 'divine command' (?), 61, 54 ff.
hꜣw 'greater part', 58, 264.
hꜣwt 'sanctuary, temple', 62, 73.

- hwt cnh* residence of Pharaoh within the palace, 59, 109.
Hwt-bity sanctuary of Osiris in the Vth (Saïte) Nome of Lower Egypt, 58, 222.
Hwt-hr nbt nht 'Hathor, Mistress of the Sycamore-shrine', 60, 86 ff.
hmꜣ, hm, hmw, etc. 'ball' 59, 138 ff.
hmꜣr (Dem.) malign creature associated with the dead, 61, 198 ff.
hmt 'Majesty' (fem. of *hm*), 61, 246 f.
hnty a mythological serpent, 59, 129.
hr 'glance', 59, 140 n. 7.
hry sbht 'gatekeeper', 56, 97 n. 2.
hsbt 'razor', 63, 110.
hkꜣt 'rule', 58, 92 n. 8.
hkꜣt a measure, 59, 95 ff.
hgꜣi 'door-latch', 65, 81.
htpt quantity for measuring greenstuffs, 59, 97.
htr 'compel', 58, 248.
hd 'payment', 57, 123.
- hꜣr iwꜣl* 'noose', 65, 82.
Hꜣstyw place-name (unidentified), 58, 222.
hꜣt(y) 'office', 58, 300.
h(i) 'child', 60, 109.
hy 'raised' (of voice), 58, 248.
hy = hrw (?) 'low-lying fields', 58, 258.
hꜣw 'crowns', 59, 105.
hf 'behold', 63, 124.
hꜣfhꜣ 'gush out, swell', 59, 230.
Hꜣmtꜣ 'Hamath (?)' 57, 164.
hr non-enclitic particle, 57, 65; 64, 45 ff.
hryt 'feeding-place', 58, 257.
hrꜣ quantity for measuring greenstuffs, 59, 97.
hsf ki 'punitive of nature' (?), epithet applied to divine judges, 59, 129 n. 7.
htmtꜣ 'sealer', 65, 180.
- Hꜣbt* 'crookedness', 58, 92 n. 4.
hꜣr 'leather razor-case', 65, 95.
hnmꜣt 'spring' (?), 57, 174.
Hnmꜣt nfr-hꜣt 'she who joins the white crown', title of queens and princesses, 60, 98 f.
hnnini 'brook', 65, 84.
hr 'under the authority', 58, 262.
hr-ꜣ 'razors', 63, 109.
hry-ht 'club-bearer', divine epithet, 59, 135 n. 5.
hrw 'bottom', 63, 176.
hkꜣrt nsw 'King's ornament', title, 60, 110.
ht 'copy of document' (?), 58, 260.
- sꜣ nsw tꜣpy* 'First King's Son', 58, 186.
sꜣhꜣw 'illumination', 65, 57.
stꜣp 'control', 59, 145 n. 8.
snh 'endowment', 58, 263.
srꜣk 'he who introduces', 65, 170.
Sbꜣhꜣt 'The Eye-which-bestows-brightness', 59, 125, 128 n. 4.
smꜣꜣ 'handle', 59, 128 n. 6.
ꜣp 'mishap' or 'portion', 58, 98.
- Sft-h* epithet of Apophis, 59, 130 n. 6.
snꜣw a weight, 65, 183 f.
snny 'charioteer', 58, 307.
snk 'suckle', 57, 85.
srꜣ 'relief', 59, 81.
srt 'pin', 65, 95.
slwꜣh (Dem.) 'prove guilty, convict', 58, 260.
shn 'command', 58, 266.
shn (?) 'supplier' (?), 60, 194.
shꜣp 'pacify', 56, 194.
shꜣd 'illumination', 60, 193.
shꜣd hntꜣyw-ꜣ smsw pr ꜣ 'inspector of senior tenants of the Great House', 65, 180.
shꜣk 'purge', 59, 79.
shꜣr 'protect (with armour)' (?), 57, 157 n. 3.
sꜣ 'edge, cutting-edge', 61, 46.
ꜣꜣ smsw hwt-wrt 'senior scribe of the law court', 65, 180, 181.
ssꜣd 'lightning-flash' or 'crocodile star' (?), 56, 194 f.; 57, 15; also 'meteor, shooting star', 59, 219.
skꜣrꜣkꜣ 'rolled bed-linen', 61, 197 f.
skꜣd word of unknown meaning, 65, 178.
Skr Memphite mortuary god, 58, 221.
st wrt 'bark shrine', 62, 72.
st hꜣzjꜣw 'place of the praised ones' (of grave and necropolis), 65, 66.
st-kꜣrꜣ 'burial-place', 65, 92.
stn 'company', 65, 84.
stꜣt a measure, 59, 72.
stꜣrtꜣ (?) 'gleaming eyes', 59, 126 n. 7.
sdꜣwꜣty bity 'chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt', 60, 109; 61, 250.
sdꜣw-ibw in Berlin 1157, to be read *sdꜣw hꜣpꜣ(w) ibw*, 59, 224 ff. *See, however*, 62, 176 ff.
- šꜣr* 'begin to be', 57, 114.
šꜣmw 'harvest taxes', 56, 109.
šꜣnw 'investigation', 65, 92.
**šꜣr* 'be dry', 59, 230.
šꜣꜣy 'linen' (?), 65, 93.
šꜣꜣp 'receive', 57, 123; 'take on (in battle)', 61, 51 f.
Štp a place-name, 58, 317.
- kꜣꜣ rꜣmn* 'haughty', 62, 64.
kꜣꜣ hrw 'high of voice', 56, 61.
kꜣꜣw kind of bread, 59, 97.
kꜣi 'strikes' or 'trembles' (?), 56, 194; 57, 15.
kꜣy 'high, elevated in rank', 58, 248.
kꜣnbt 'court', 61, 36.
kꜣrn a weapon (?), 65, 96.
kꜣrst 'box-shaped coffin', 65, 92.
kꜣdf 'glean', 59, 79.
- k(i)f* 'obsidian, flint', 57, 203.
kbnt 'ramming war-galley' (trireme, quinquereme, etc.), 58, 272 ff.; ships for trade to Punt, 64, 71.
kꜣpy 'linen material', 60, 195.
kꜣlꜣmy (Dem.), 'bandage, raiment', 60, 195.
Khb irꜣ 'He-whose-eye-is-violent', 59, 130 n. 2.

gyf a form of Thoth (?), 59, 146 n. 2.
gb 'lame', 59, 119.
gp/gb 'overflow', 59, 228 ff.
Gm a bull deity in the Serapeum-area, 58, 308 ff.
gs 'base', 61, 192.
gs-pr 'work-centre', 65, 177.
gs-tp 'migraine' (?), 59, 256.

ts 'belong to' expressing kinship, 58, 189.
Ts-ii-r 'The one who comes against', a she-demon? 58, 208.
ts ntr 'god's land', 62, 50 ff.
Ts-hwt Tell el-Yahudiyeh, 58, 249.
(Ts)-tnn primeval chthonic god of Memphis, 58, 221.
tsht 'dregs', 63, 176.
ti 'plateau', 59, 114 n. 5.
twiy 'harm, evil', 58, 216.
twt 2nd pers. sing. independent pronoun, 56, 129.
tp 'in the style of', 65, 181 f.
tpy npt 'the beginning of the year', 56, 115 f.
tm negative verb, 56, 212 f.; 60, 249 f.
tryw 'doors', 60, 170.
trsst 'bread-' or 'compensation-unit', 59, 220 ff.
tsyt 'region, province' (?), 57, 161.
tk (Dem.) 'knife, razor', 63, 111.
Tks name of a deity, 58, 109.
tg 'plantation', 58, 265.
tt-ty-ib 'reconciled, pleasing', 58, 114.

















tsi 'collect taxes' (?), 60, 196, 198.
tsy-irt 'eye-tweezer', 65, 97.
tsy-r 'leader', 59, 136 n. 2.
tsw n sstw 'carrier of bricks', 63, 65.
tsni 'be miserable' (?), 58, 96.
tsnyfyt 'bag, tackle, equipment', 63, 108 f.
ts 'tie up, assemble', 58, 221.
ts 'model', 57, 122.

dtsi Stt/dir Stt name of the Egyptian fortress at Semna South, 61, 42 ff.
dir 'subdue', 58, 85.
dt 'hand over, submit', 58, 257.
dbnw = dbw (?) 'dbw-basket', 65, 94 f.

dg 'razor', 63, 107 ff.; 65, 95, 166 f.

dst-r 'knife', 58, 92 n. 3.
dw-hr 'bad of face', epithet of a demon, 59, 143.
dwdw tp 'he with the very bad head', a name of Apophis, 59, 118 n. 5.
dnrnm corruption of *dst/dnr* 'necessity' (?), 61, 152 n. 106.
drpty a tax of some sort, 60, 198.
dt 'everlastingness', 60, 252 ff.
dd 'say', 65, 170.
dd mdw in 'Words spoken: it is . . .', 65, 170.

II. HIEROGLYPHIC SIGNS ETC.

 as ideogram in names, 60, 247 ff.; 61, 247 f.
 for terminal \downarrow , 59, 44 ff.
 to be read $ks(i)$, not $hc(i)$, in names, 64, 150 f.
 sometimes to be read cnh or ntr , 64, 23 n. 2.
 used to write *msw* or *stw*, 'born' or 'begotten of', 62, 42.
 Old Kingdom form of, 61, 34.
 the value *mr* possibly derived from a Sumerian loan-word, 56, 193 f.
 *mdnbw*, 'boundary-marker, limit', 64, 52 ff.
 *dnb* 'boundary-marker', 64, 52 ff.
 o a unit of measurement possibly to be read *sp* or *dbn*, 61, 248 n. 9.
 form of, 60, 110.
 1st pers. sing. independent pronoun, 56, 127.
 as a suffix, 58, 300.
 written laterally (?) 58, 45.
 *stt* represents a pack saddle, 64, 56 ff.
 to be read *Niswt-hwi* 'It is the king who has smitten' or 'smites', 57, 202 f.
 possible Memphitic demonstrative pronoun in the Archive of Hor, 64, 120, 180.

B. COPTIC

ⲁⲗⲭⲁⲓ 'large fish', 64, 188.
 ⲁⲗⲗⲩⲩⲩ 'wick', 64, 187.
 ⲁⲮⲉ 'matrix, pith', 64, 187.
 ⲁⲒⲁⲛ- 'and, together with', 64, 187.

ⲡⲉⲈⲈⲈ 'well up, pour forth', 64, 187.
 ⲡⲗⲛⲉ 'wrath', 64, 187.
 ⲡⲉⲣⲪⲟⲟⲩⲧ 'pond' (as place-name), 64, 189.
 ⲡⲓⲪⲉ 'be shipwrecked; (cause to) sink', 64, 187.

ⲉⲡⲓⲛⲛ 'wretched', 64, 187.

ⲉⲓⲟⲛⲉ 'a measure (or vessel) of oil', 64, 188.
 ⲉⲓⲣⲉ 'come to be' sc. a prophet *vel sim.*, 59, 193 ff.

ⲛⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'a vessel', 64, 187.
 ⲛⲉⲗ 'an animal', 64, 187.
 ⲛⲗⲁⲗ 'chain', 64, 187.
 ⲛⲗⲁⲗⲧⲉ 'a vessel', 64, 188.
 ⲛⲗⲡ 'sole of the foot', 64, 188.
 ⲛⲟⲮⲣ 'pivot, hinge', 64, 187.
 ⲛⲟⲲⲕⲥ 'bend, entwine, stretch out', 64, 187.
 ⲛⲗⲁⲓⲥⲉ 'helmet', 64, 188.

- λιθε 'be mad', 64, 187.
 λωωτε 'be hard, callous; hardness (of skin)', 64, 189.
 λασε '(make to) cease', 64, 187.
- μηον 'be wroth', 64, 187.
 μογικ 'make, form', 64, 187.
 μπт 'measure of grain', 64, 189.
 μογικ 'strike, rub (?)', be sharpened', 64, 189.
 μηρε 'tumour, abscess', 64, 189.
 μερο 'manure, dung', 64, 189.
- πογт 'pool, pit', 64, 187.
- ποσλε 'stalks', 64, 187.
- ρω 'again, also', 64, 187 f.
 ρερωρ = 'wash' *vel sim.*, 64, 188.
- κοι 'beam' for ογερκοι 'roof', 64, 188.
 σφραμψ 'interpreter of dreams, magician', 61, 254 ff.
 снψε 'blow, wound', 64, 188
 сαρс 'rub down, pound', 64, 188.
- τωωθε 'block up, seal', 64, 141.
 τωθε 'point, end', 64, 188.
 τок 'knife, razor', 63, 111.
 τεμθαμ 'mule', 64, 188.
 тапρο 'give life to', 56, 139.
 τωρη 'be keen, upright', 64, 188.
 τοοτε 'turn', 64, 189.
- ογωμ 'restrain oneself', 65, 143.
 ογ(ε)пт 'hollow of ship', 64, 188.
 ογрас 'staff, crutch', 64, 189.
- φррпр et. *P_i-hr-rri dub., 64, 188.
 φωχι 'a fish', 64, 189.
- ωψε 'press', 64, 188.
- ψол 'molar tooth', 64, 188.
 ψпψε 'fish', 64, 188.
 ψωπε 'come to be', in locative constructions, 59, 190 ff.
 ψот 'pillow, cushion, bag (?)', 64, 188.
 ψта 'corpse', 64, 188.
- ροι 'trouble, zeal', 64, 189.
 ρоклеψ 'camel-saddle, litter, wooden bolt', 64, 189.
 ρат 'pit, wound, trough', 64, 189.
 ρωтп 'close', 61, 222 ff.
- χο 'plant', 64, 188.
 χпа= 'strike, beat', 64, 188.
 χпаау 'delay', 64, 188.
- σнл 'cry', 64, 189.
 σωлп 'uncover', 65, 142.
 σλοσ 'bed', 64, 188.
 σпоп 'bow (head)', 64, 188.
 σωрп 'nip off', 64, 188.
 σογч 'safflower, cardamum, carthamus tinctorius L.' 64, 188.

C. GREEK

- ἀλειφαρ 'resin' for sealing wine jars, 61, 171.
 ἄμμος 'sand', 57, 176.
 ἀναγραφαί of Egyptian historical records, 59, 166.
 ἀπαξ 'time, occasion', 63, 170.
 αὐλή 'court', 56, 82 n. 2.
- Dalmatias, Ptolemais, port of Barca (?), 61, 26.
 διάστημα 'intervening space', 57, 176.
 διάφορον φορέτρον 'fee levied for the transportation of grain', 56, 184 f.
 διαφωνέω 'disappear, be missing', 61, 176 n. 21.
 διεκβολή of a banking operation or the corresponding document, 56, 176.
- εἰλιγμοί 'windings, convulsions', 56, 83 n. 2.
 εἰρήνη 'peace', in document headings, 57, 179.
 ἐορτή 'festival', 58, 248.
 ἐπαινέω 'approve', 61, 173 ff.
 Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα 'Southern Ocean', 58, 268.
 εὐεργεσία/εὐεργέτης 'benefaction, benefactor', 56, 160 f.
- κάλοι 'reefing/brailing ropes', 58, 269 n. 3.
- κεφάλαιον 'gist, substance', 61, 204.
 κρίκοι 'rings', on a sail, 58, 269 n. 3.
 κρυπταί 'crypts', 56, 99 f.
- Λαβύρινθος 'Labyrinth', 56, 92 f.
 λόφοι 'ridges', 57, 176.
- μελλοκούρια a ceremony of uncertain nature, 61, 252 f.
 μνημόσυνα 'memorial', 56, 94.
- Νεχειψώ personal name, 60, 255.
- οἶκημα 'chamber', 60, 241.
 οἶκος 'temple', 56, 84 n. 4.
 ὅπταν for ὅταν 59, 178.
 ὄρμητήριον 'naval base', 58, 271 n. 1.
- παστάς 'columned porch', 56, 83 n. 3.
 περίβολος 'sacred enclosure', 56, 84 n. 3.
 πηγή 'spring', 57, 174.
 πμοὺν p' τω n, 57, 175.
 πτέρισμα meaning unknown, 57, 176.

σατυρισκ- mixed seeds of some kind (?), 62, 120.
 συνδώνιον diminutive of συνδών equivalent to συνδόνιον,
 64, 141 f.
 στέγη 'covered vestibule', 56, 83 n. 1.
 συλλογίζομαι 'put together in one', 56, 82 n. 1.
 συνεπιρρεῖν 'converge', 57, 174.

ταφή 'mummy', 59, 178.
 Τεμένθης Gk. version of Tanutamūn, 64, 108 n. 5.
 τχόν τι *hnm̄t nt* 'the well of . . .', 57, 175.

ὑδρευμα 'pool, reservoir', 57, 173.

φάτναι 'panels, coffers', 56, 84 n. 5.
 φρέαρ 'boring, well', 57, 174.

Χέμμυς personal name, 60, 289.

χρηματοθήκη 'treasury, store-room', 56, 181.

χρυσόρροος 'streaming with gold', mistakenly of
 Artemis, 62, 119.

D. NUBIAN LANGUAGES

ⲁⲙⲁⲡⲟⲕⲁ (Old Nubian) 'the moving water' (?), 60,
 211.
 ⲟⲩⲣⲁⲁⲕⲁⲧⲓ (Old Nubian) 'becoming dark' (?), 60, 210.

Pedeme (Meroitic) Nubian place-name, 58, 240 n. 1.
šēryi (Meroitic), 'Osiris', 56, 197.

E. SEMITIC

ⲛⲁⲛⲁⲛⲁ Ben-ʿanāth, West Semitic name, 59, 110.

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