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STUDIES IN HONOUR
OF
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1882-1982

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Amelia B. Edwards 1831-92

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

ON 27 March 1882 the determined and sometimes disheartening struggle of Amelia B. Edwards to found a British society for the study of Ancient Egypt reached fruition in a meeting convened at the British Museum in which the Egypt Exploration Fund was formally constituted. Its aims were initially confined to the Delta, particularly the sites of Biblical and Classical interest, but at the Annual General Meeting in 1886 the role of the society was more generously defined in the following terms:

1. To organise excavation in Egypt, with a view to further elucidation of the History and Arts of Ancient Egypt, and to the illustration of the Old Testament narrative, insofar as it has to do with Egypt and the Egyptians; also to explore sites connected with early Greek history, or with the Antiquities of the Coptic Church, in their connection with Egypt.
2. To publish, periodically, description of the sites explored and excavated and of the antiquities brought to light.
3. To ensure the preservation of such antiquities by presenting them to the Museums and similar institutions.

Since that date, these aims have been amply fulfilled. An almost unremitting programme of excavation in Egypt and Nubia has made incalculable contributions to our understanding of every period of Ancient Egyptian history and civilization, and the Society's epigraphic surveys have provided a steady stream of accurately recorded documentation. In this work it has been privileged to enjoy the cordial co-operation of the Egyptian Antiquities Service, to whose offices over many decades the Society owes a debt of gratitude which it is a particular pleasure to acknowledge in this centenary year. These successes in the field have had their counterparts in the Society's publications of its work, which have set a standard unsurpassed and rarely equalled both in terms of scholarship and in quality of production. In this area also, however, we have received invaluable assistance in that we have been privileged to avail ourselves for many years of the unrivalled expertise of the Oxford University Press, to whom is due, in large measure, the credit for the technical excellence of our publications. However, despite many successes, it could hardly be claimed that our task has become any easier with the passage of time. The number of competent people who can devote themselves to the concerns of an essentially amateur institution has always been small, but there can be no doubt that their ranks have been sadly depleted in recent years. Changes in the structure of wealth within the country have seen the almost complete disappearance of the wealthy amateur Egyptologist who played so important a role in the development of our subject, and in universities, institutes, and museums, the main sources of essential scholarly expertise, the ever increasing demands of routine administrative and teaching duties have seriously eroded the time and, all too often, the appetite for research to a point which would have been inconceivable in the days of Petrie and Griffith. The insidious effects of this trend are in some measure resistible

by the application of a firm will and a clear regard for priorities, but they inevitably take their toll. Despite all these difficulties, however, the signs for the future are far from unpromising. Within Britain itself a young and talented generation of scholars is arising which gives every hope that the immensely distinguished traditions of Egyptology within these islands will be amply upheld, whilst, in the field, the Society can look forward to further arresting discoveries in the New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqâra, and has already committed itself to the less glamorous but all-important task of studying settlement sites within the valley itself, where there is every hope of achieving a considerable increase in our understanding of the distribution of population and the conditions of daily life in Ancient Egypt. When we survey this prospect of achievement and of promise, we cannot doubt that Miss Edwards would be well pleased with her offspring. May the earth lie light upon her!

Over the last year the Society has been active in a particularly impressive range of fieldwork. Mr B. J. Kemp's research at El-'Amarna resumed on 27 February and continued until 12 April 1982, substantial progress being made in the study of several aspects of the site. Four main areas were dug: excavations begun on a group of rooms during 1980 were completed; in another sector evidence was unearthed that the site was inhabited well after the Amarna Period; further clearance also took place on the brick-paved courtyard on the southern edge of the settlement; and in the south of the concession a storage area for water was identified. In addition, Dr Leahy copied all the hieratic jar labels; the animal bones were studied by Dr Hecker, with the intriguing result that the pig emerged as the commonest domestic animal; mapping work was executed by Mr Garfi; Miss Rose continued the study of pottery from the Workmen's Village; and Michael Jones made further progress with the research for *The City of Akhenaten*, IV.

Dr Martin has resumed his work both at Saqqâra and El-'Amarna. He contributes the following reports:

The Joint E.E.S.-Leiden Expedition worked from 23 January to 15 March. At the beginning of the season the tomb of the princess Tia, daughter of Sethos I and sister of Ramesses II, and of her like-named husband Tia, was located immediately to the north of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb. Approximately two-thirds of the monument, which is stone-built, was excavated by mid March. Much destruction had taken place in the early Christian Period, when sections of the walls were dismantled for reuse, presumably in the nearby Monastery of Apa Jeremias. Nevertheless sufficient remains of the superstructure to enable us to visualize the original appearance of the tomb, which must have been one of the most important of its period in the necropolis. The architectural elements so far uncovered consist of a portico, a great open courtyard, originally colonnaded, an antechapel flanked by two side chapels, a cult chapel, and finally a pyramid behind to the west. The latter is a unique feature for the Memphite necropolis, and originally stood some 6.35 m above its plinth. It is inscribed with the names of the Tias, the tomb owners, and with a text concerning the elevation of the sun by the *djed*-pillar. The best-preserved part of the tomb is the chapel flanking the antechapel on the south. The reliefs here show the great Ennead of Abydos, and, on the wall opposite, the princess and her husband are shown seated on a boat within a shrine. The boat is being towed, presumably to Abydos, and many interesting and unusual details are shown. In the great court are scenes showing offering bearers. On another wall the tomb owners offer to deities. A fine stela was found in the north-east corner of the court. Cornice blocks with the cartouches of Ramesses II

were found during the excavation of the forecourt of the tomb of Horemheb which doubtless derive from the entrance pylon of the tomb of the Tias. The shaft, located in the great courtyard, will be dealt with next year. Few objects were found this year, but they include a magnificent marble shabti inlaid with strips of glass which gives rise to the hope that material of interest will be found in the subterranean parts of the tomb. The Expedition began the restoration of the decorated chapel mentioned above. It originally contained a cult statue of the Apis bull, a part of which was found. Much new information has accrued on Ramesside religion, art, and architecture, and new insights will undoubtedly be gained about the royal court, and the Memphite region generally, in the Nineteenth Dynasty.

A short season of work at El-'Amarna was necessary this year to complete the Royal Tomb project, initiated by the writer in 1969. Previous excavators had cleared the tomb but had neglected to study the pottery fragments which were still evident in a number of the rooms, usually in crevices in the floor. These were all collected for study in two days (26 and 27 March 1982), together with a representative collection of sherds from the Royal Wâdi and from the spoil dumps outside the tomb, and transferred for study to Mr B. J. Kemp's expedition house at El-'Amarna. Initial sorting was carried out by the writer, and an analysis of the material was kindly undertaken by Miss Pamela Rose. Almost without exception the sherds are very small and of coarse wares, similar in character to those found in quantity in the southern extension of the Workmen's Village, at present being excavated by Mr Kemp. No blue-painted sherds were present. The diagnostic sherds were transferred, after study, to the Antiquities Inspectorate at Mallawi. A more detailed report will be published in *The Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna*, II, now in preparation.

Professor Baines's Abydos expedition was in the field from 26 September to 22 October 1981, and enjoyed another profitable season. The aims were to complete the record of the southern extension of the temple and to inspect the rest of the area to provide a basis for organizing the photographic archive which has recently come to light at Chicago House, Luxor, and Cambridge. Excellent progress was made on the epigraphic work and the study of the building's architecture yielded new insights into the temple's design and construction.

The Society's newest project, the Memphite survey, began in 1981. Professor H. S. Smith summarizes results as follows:

To commemorate its Centenary, the Society has undertaken a programme of archaeological survey, recording, and scientific investigation in the ruins of ancient Memphis at Mîtrahîna. A preliminary season of work was begun at Kom Rabi'a and Kom Fakhri on 6 December 1981, under authority granted by the Antiquities Organization of Egypt. The large temple site south of the museum containing the colossus of Ramesses II was cleaned, so far as standing water allowed, and planned. At least two temples of Ramesses II are present. Dr Málek copied the extant inscription revealed and also those of various statues which Dr Abdu-Tawab El-Hitta removed to the museum compound during his original excavations of the site in 1961-2. An area of mud-brick magazines situated above the tombs of the High Priests of Memphis of the Twenty-first-Twenty-second Dynasties was also cleaned. It contained interesting domed brick silos of uncertain date, which were left unpublished by Dr Ahmad Badawi, their original excavator. Miss L. L. Giddy drew an extant-debris section near the Hathor Temple on Kom Rabi'a, and it is evident that much may be learnt of the stratigraphy and history of Memphis by this method. The Society also co-operated with the Antiquities Service by helping to survey an important Middle Kingdom domestic site discovered by the Inspectors of Memphis, Mr Muhammad 'Asheri and Mr Abdul-Kerim. The Ramesside temples of Memphis are suffering from the exudation of salt, and Dr Málek plans to continue his task of epigraphic recording as a priority in 1982. Mr Jeffreys has

made a fine start to the formidable task of levelling and surveying required to produce the full archaeological maps of Memphis so urgently needed for the recording both of past and future excavations.

During the period December 1981–January 1982 Professor R. A. Caminos brought to a successful conclusion his project for the recording of Silsilah East. He writes:

The expedition pitched its tents amid the quarries of Silsilah Sharqi on 15 December 1981 and, assisted by unusually favourable weather conditions, was able to toil virtually round the clock and without a single day's interruption until camp broke up on 16 January 1982. The expedition's work programme was fully accomplished, and there was even time to collate and retrace two lengthy demotic graffiti cut on the façade of King Horemheb's speos and on the back of Ramesses III's Nile stela on the west bank. Silsilah East yielded a wealth of demotic graffiti, not a few of them of exceptional interest, either because they are dated, or refer to the height of the Nile in flood, or are of lexicographical significance in that they contain words but rarely attested in demotic, or preserve the names of some of the individual and largest quarries. The expedition facsimiled over 300 of them by means of tracings made directly upon the wall, each graffito being also carefully plotted, thoroughly checked, and minutely annotated on individual collation sheets. The same recording technique was applied to about 100 Greek graffiti and 87 rock-carvings, some of them of huge proportions, representing divine, human, and animal figures, quarry marks, footprints, architectural designs, geometric patterns, and even some remarkable game-boards. This season's gleanings also include three brief texts in two different, still unidentified scripts, as well as a single hieroglyphic graffito which may be palaeographically assigned to c. 2100–1800 BC and is, therefore, in all probability, the earliest piece of writing extant at Silsilah East. With the conclusion of this campaign, the entire ancient site of Khenu or Kheny, modern Gebel es-Silsilah, west bank and east bank, and well beyond the river's edge far out into the desert on both sides of the Nile, is now fully and thoroughly recorded for the purposes of the Society's Archaeological Survey.

The Society's research at Qaşr Ibrîm reopened on 13 January 1982 under the direction of Dr J. Alexander and continued until 26 April. Excavation of the 'Bosnian' settlement was completed, and it proved possible to demonstrate the progress of impoverishment amongst the Ottoman military community. In addition, work on the Late Christian settlement was resumed, revealing, amongst other things, no fewer than 800 fragments of Old Nubian. Botanical and zoological research was also carried out which has thrown a flood of light on food and farming practices in the area.

On 1 January of this year Professor J. J. Janssen retired from the editorship of the Annual Egyptological Bibliography to be succeeded by his former assistant Mr L. M. J. Zonhoven to whom communications should now be sent. The address, Noordeindsplein 4–6, Leiden, remains the same. All Egyptologists will wish to express their gratitude to Professor Janssen for editing this most valuable reference book for so many years.

Finally, it is with deep regret that we have to record in the pages of this Journal the death of Dr R. O. Faulkner, the doyen of British Egyptology. For many years the editor of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, he maintained his energetic pursuit of our subject to the very end of his days, and was even able, despite ill health, to produce an article for inclusion in this our centenary number. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish a worthy tribute to his qualities both as man and scholar in the next volume.



Courtesy the BBC Hulton Picture Library

AMELIA B. EDWARDS
1831-1892

AUTOMATIC ANALYSIS OF PREDYNASTIC CEMETERIES: A NEW METHOD FOR AN OLD PROBLEM

By BARRY J. KEMP

THE great expansion of interest during the last two decades in analytical method within archaeology has been essentially the province of the prehistorians of Europe and North America. Yet one of the earliest initiatives in this direction is actually to be found within the covers of one of the Society's own excavation memoirs. This is Flinders Petrie's remarkable 'sequence-dating' scheme for predynastic cultures, published in the report *Diospolis Parva*.¹ This centenary issue of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* offers a fitting opportunity to exhibit a powerful modern analytical device for which Petrie and his 'sequencing' can be said to be distantly responsible.

The problem and the form that the solution should take are disconcertingly simple. Given a number of graves containing selections of objects in fashion at the time of burial, what arrangement of them is likely to approximate most closely to the original order of burial? Petrie's answer, in effect, was that the arrangement to strive for is one where the histories, or life-spans, of individual types of object are the shortest. Thus, in Petrie's classic portrayal of the problem in which the contents of each grave are written on to a strip of cardboard, and all of the strips laid out in a line, the process of shuffling the positions of the graves in order to achieve the best order involves bunching together, as far as possible, all occurrences of the same type of object.

The main difficulty is that the life-spans of different types overlap, and tend to be discontinuous because graves need not contain a full sample of all currently used types, and may also, in any case, have been robbed of some items. Bunching one type together may well have the effect of dispersing another. The practical difficulty is, in fact, immense, and Petrie was obliged to temper this method with intuition. His final act is part of the mythology of Egyptology. Having arrived at an arrangement of nine hundred predynastic Egyptian graves which satisfied him, he divided them into fifty-one arbitrary groups, and numbered them from 30 to 80. Each of these numbered stages became a 'sequence-date'.²

The main difficulty remains. Its essence is the arithmetic of permutations. If one wishes to lay twenty-five cards in a row, the number of possible different orders in which this can be done is in excess of fifteen quadrillion. To seek the best order within

¹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Diospolis Parva* (London, 1901; reprinted 1973).

² Apart from *Diospolis Parva*, Petrie published brief accounts of his method in an article entitled 'Sequences in Prehistoric Remains', *J. Anthropological Inst.* NS 29 (1899), 295-301, and in his *Prehistoric Egypt* (London, 1920), 3-4: cf. B. J. Kemp, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 259-91.

data from a cemetery of any realistic size from amongst all possible permutations is beyond the power even of modern computers.

Computer science can, however, approach the problem in other ways. One way has been developed at the University of Cambridge, and now has the form of a program-package which can be used by archaeologists without the necessity of mastering the esoteric mathematics which underlie it. The program-package has been developed by David Kendall, Professor of Mathematical Statistics at the University of Cambridge, utilizing a version of the Shepard–Kruskal multi-dimensional scaling routine devised by Robin Sibson. It has been nicknamed the HORSHU-program, after the shape of an early type of configuration which it produced. Multi-dimensional scaling is a technique with applications in many fields of research. It creates automatically a visual display in two or three dimensions in which the differences between pairs of units—in our case they are graves—are represented as distances. The closer that two units are, the more similar they are, and vice versa. Identical units are over-printed. The automatic plotting begins from a random configuration, and the units are then moved to positions where the competing claims for correct placing of the various units are reduced to a level of minimum stress. Since each starting point is different, with most real data where a perfect solution is unlikely, a somewhat different plot is produced each time. It has become standard with the Cambridge HORSHU-program to create ten plots each time. These ten plots are then amalgamated and reduced by the next step in the program to a single linear arrangement of units. The final step is the printing of the data in matrix form, in which the order of graves derived from the previous stages is printed vertically, with occurrences of types marked against the graves by a symbol. For clarity, the order of types is also automatically arranged in two ways: one where the first occurrence of each type is given priority, and one where the ordering follows the mid-points in the ‘life-spans’ of the individual types, which are marked as dashes. Since the computer cannot decide which is the ‘early’ and which is the ‘late’ end of a sequence, the results are also printed with the order of graves reversed.

The multi-dimensional scaling routine accomplishes the essential Petrie task: it groups together graves which are similar, and balances objectively the internal competition for the placings of individual graves which inevitably arises. It produces, in other words, a Petrie ‘sequence’, although the technical term that has come to replace ‘sequence’ is ‘seriation’. Whether a particular result is chronologically ‘true’ or not is for the archaeologist to decide. The program should not be regarded as a replacement for archaeological judgement, but as an analytical aid of great power which enables cemetery data to be handled and displayed to great effect. Indeed, the various parts of the program-package can be used separately. Thus the printing of the results in matrix form can be used to display an ordering of graves which the archaeologist may prefer for his own reasons. There is an element of flexibility. The principal limitation is that of cemetery size. A normal allocation of computing access provides the means for analysing a cemetery of up to about one hundred graves. However, by the time that one has eliminated graves containing only one useful type of object, a great many Egyptian cemeteries fall below this limit.

At the time of writing (December, 1980) the program has been used to sort a number of cemeteries of the Dynastic Period,³ and four from the Predynastic, namely: Armant 1400–1500, A and B at El-'Amrah, and El-Mahâsna; a fifth, from Salmani, near Abydos, is in the course of being processed. For this article I have chosen as the principal illustration of the method the results of the analysis of El-'Amrah cemetery B,⁴ with an analysis of the El-Mahâsna predynastic cemetery as a supplement.⁵

Cemetery B at El-'Amrah was a relatively rich cemetery, located some six miles to the south-east of Abydos. The graves seemed to cover the entire Predynastic Period in the area, terminating with a group from the Early Dynastic Period. It also gave its name to the first of Petrie's subdivisions of the Predynastic Period, the Amratian (equivalent to sequence-dates 30–7). The principal excavator, Randall-MacIver, used the sequence-dating system with confidence, and felt that his own results worked out 'perfectly harmoniously' with it, with one insignificant exception.⁶ He also developed a typology of grave construction which reflected, to some degree, the sequence-dating chronology. Some years later Petrie himself published his own list of sequence-dates for many of the individual graves.⁷ The cemetery offers, therefore, an interesting basis for comparison with any new form of analysis. The one important element missing from the excavation report is a detailed plan of the cemetery, so that it is not possible to carry out an analysis of how the various types of material were grouped in different areas. This gap in the record makes it difficult, in fact, to study the results in anything but a statistical way.

The first step always is to create a series of types of objects. For this analysis only pottery was used, and the Petrie corpus was condensed to 43 types. Within cemetery B, a total of 70 graves contained combinations of two or more of these types. Of the ten multi-dimensional scaling plots produced, one is reproduced as an example in fig. 1. It is the one with the lowest stress (9.842% after 75 iterations). Each cross represents one grave, accompanied by its label, and each grave is linked by straight lines to the three graves it most resembles in its contents. The plot suggests three groupings of graves on a similarity basis: at the top a fairly loosely assembled group containing one cluster of similar graves; a dense central area where many graves are very similar indeed and are partly overwritten; a dispersed group towards the bottom.

The order of graves from the ten plots forms the basis of fig. 2, although the order has been reversed. In the first seriation, each small square symbol represents the occurrence of a particular pottery type, and, to make the diagram easier to read, the vertical columns of square symbols have been made continuous by inserting dots in the spaces. The order of types printed along top and bottom reflects a diagonal arrangement of the

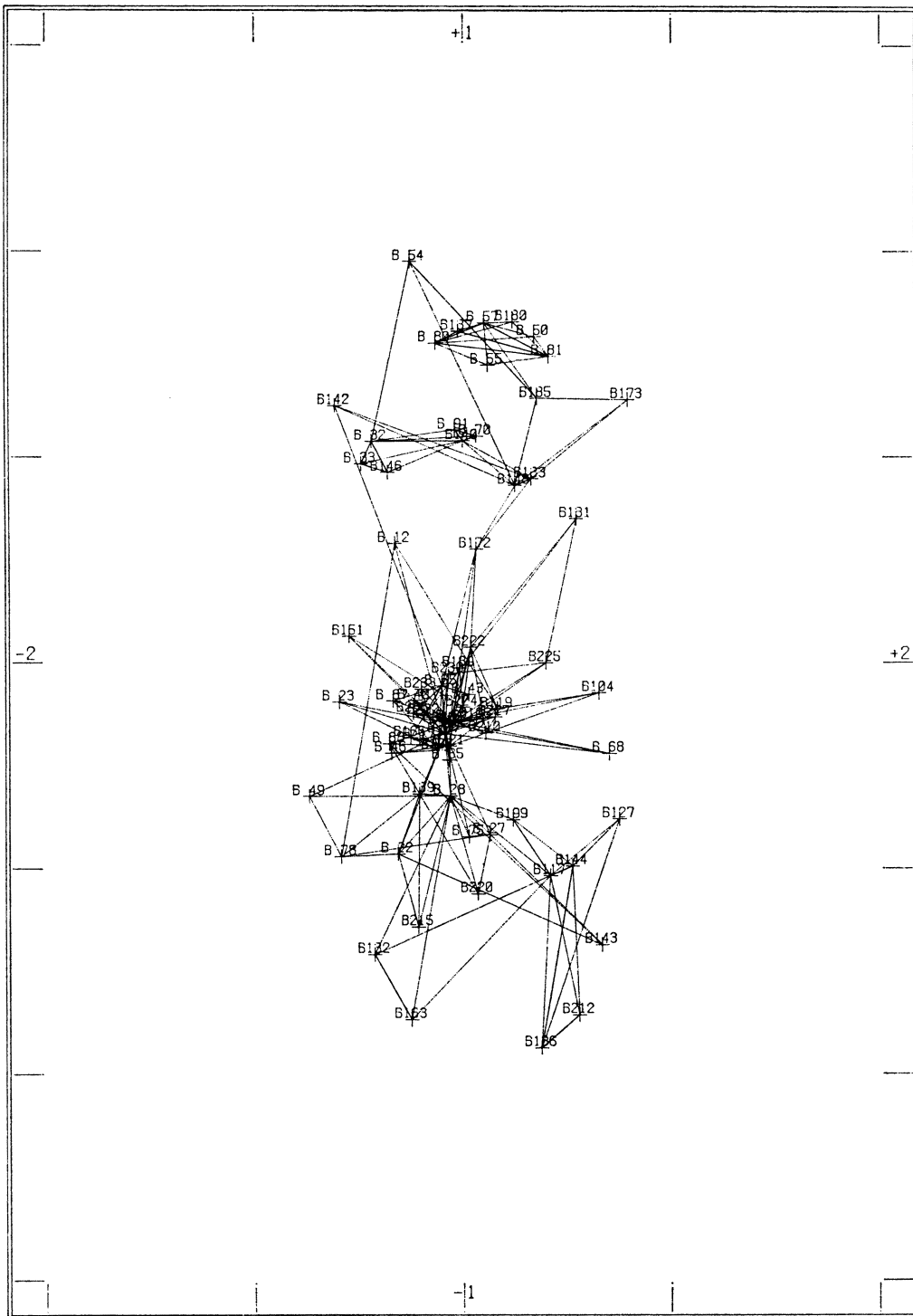
³ Some outline results are given in Kemp and R. S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), 24–34; *JEA* 64 (1978), 166–8.

⁴ D. Randall-MacIver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos* (London, 1902). In the preparation of the data for the analysis of this cemetery and of the cemetery at El-Mahâsna much of the routine work was carried out by Mrs Moira Malfroy, to whose patience and care I am much indebted.

⁵ E. R. Ayrton and W. L. S. Loat, *The Pre-dynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna* (London, 1911).

⁶ Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* 38.

⁷ Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. li.



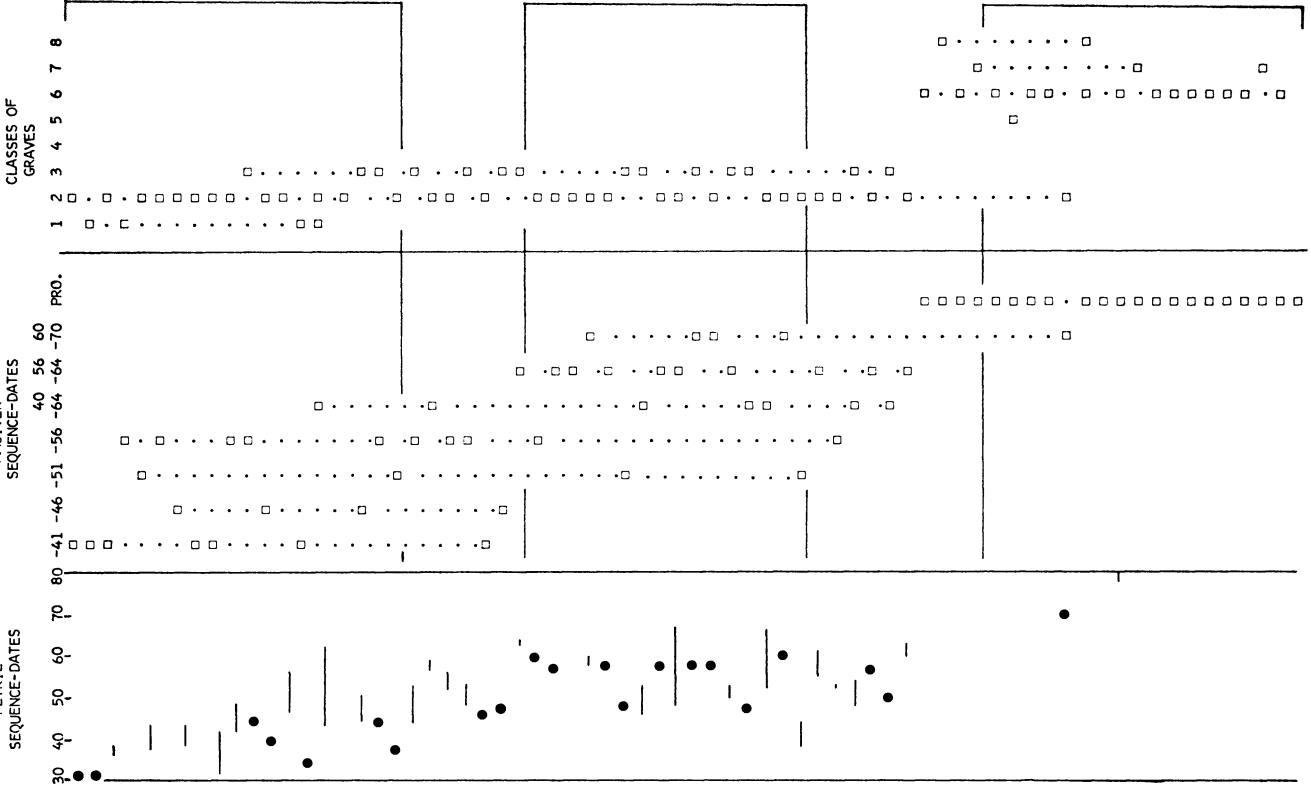
FORTRAN MDSCAL 015 CREATED 1 MAY 1975
 DATA KMPAMR2 SC IN MODE S ON 70 OBJECTS 'THISKMPAMR2 NO TITLE SET'
 2 DIMENSIONS GLOBAL SECONDARY START 0.0 NOT OVERWRITTEN
 CONFIGURATION KMPA2GSU HAS STRESS 9.842 PERCENT AFTER 75 ITERATIONS
 LOADS 0.878 0.122
 CIR-- -1 PLTKNF OF 23 SEP 1975 TRIADS

FIG. 1. Multi-dimensional scaling plot for El-'Amrah cemetery B, one of ten used to generate the matrices in fig. 2

GROUP I

GROUP II

GROUP III



GRAVE ID	1	2	3	3	3	1	3	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	3
B212															
B136															
B163															
B143															
B143															
B132															
B215															
B220															
B144															
B117															
B 78															
B 22															
B 27															
B 75															
B127															
B199															
B 49															
B 28															
B139															
B 68															
B 35															
B 46															
B107															
B 21															
B 88															
B 37															
B210															
B166															
B 17															
B154															
B104															
B 62															
B119															
B106															
B232															
B235															
B227															
B224															
B 87															
B 40															
B 43															
B233															
B 23															
B 65															
B151															
B230															
B189															
B225															
B222															
B172															
B 12															
B131															
B142															
B146															
B148															
B133															
B 33															
B 32															
B 70															
B140															
B 91															
B185															
B 55															
B173															
B137															
B 81															
B 57															
B 80															
B180															
B 50															
B 54															

4 2 4 1 3211141 231212221 2432148133936
 32A611887428051BA9370268302451A1432A7945A7A
 4 2 4 1 1312 231212222 121434281143133936
 32A61801821974370A8206315524A184A8329745A7A
 4 2 4 1 1312 231212222 121434281143133936
 32A61801821974370A8206315524A184A8329745A7A

mid-points in the columns, depicted by dashes. In the second seriation, the order of types reflects the diagonal arrangement of the first occurrences of each type. To the right are Petrie's own sequence-date allocations, heavy dots being single. Further to the right there is a table, in similar format, showing the sequence-date range given to the graves by Randall-MacIver, using the same blocks of sequence-dates that he used. These do not represent an entirely consistent system, but reflect the extended range of sequence-dates which many tombs are given when Petrie's scheme is applied in practice. Further to the right still is a table of the different classes of grave construction, to which Randall-MacIver gave considerable attention.

Down roughly to grave B222 the bulk of the seriation displays a strong element of continuity, exemplified by certain classes of pottery, such as nos. 10 and 29. Amongst other classes, however, there is something of a separation into two groups, which takes place in a 'transitional' group of graves, say between B68 and B210. In fig. 3 the pot types are drawn out, and arranged in three groups corresponding to three blocks of graves. From the top down to grave B68 is Group I; the 'transitional' graves B35 to B210 are omitted; from B166 to B23 is Group II. A further 'transitional' group is then omitted; Group III comprises the graves from B146 to the end. Between Groups II and III the separation is much more dramatic.

The most obviously encouraging aspect of the seriations is that Petrie's class of 'Late' pottery is mostly grouped at one end, whilst the occurrences of 'White Cross-Line' pottery (type 43) occur at the opposite end. Within Groups I and II, certain distinctive types are confined within Group II, namely all of Petrie's 'Decorated' and 'Wavy-handled' types. If we turn to the sequence-date table to the right, these three groups reappear. For Group III hardly any sequence-dates are given; both Petrie and Randall-MacIver regarded this group as essentially Early Dynastic ('Protodynastic') in date. For the rest, the table of Petrie's own dates, particularly the 'spot' dates, divides vis-à-vis Groups I and II around sequence-dates 47-8. Within Group I Petrie's table contains an element of 'drift' suggestive, perhaps, of two sub-phases, although these are not really apparent from the seriations; in Group II there is a marked degree of homogeneity. Randall-MacIver's table shows a division between a group with sequence-dates before 46, and a group with dates after 56.

In writing in these terms, the seriation is being used as a standard against which to judge sequence-dating. If one were to arrange the graves according to the sequence-dates, one would produce a seriation with less structure, with more dispersal of types. Within the difference between the computer seriation and the Petrie results is the element of Petrie's stylistic judgements. These were wrought upon finer points of classification than are present within the forty-three types used to construct this seriation. It would be an interesting experiment to divide the types into finer divisions and to proceed to another automatic seriation on this basis. One might expect from this a degree of local reordering of graves within the main groups, but no dramatic over-all changes of structure. Indeed, in view of the criticisms that have been levelled at the sequence-dating system, and the preliminary stage of work which the seriation represents, the degree of harmony between the two systems is encouraging.

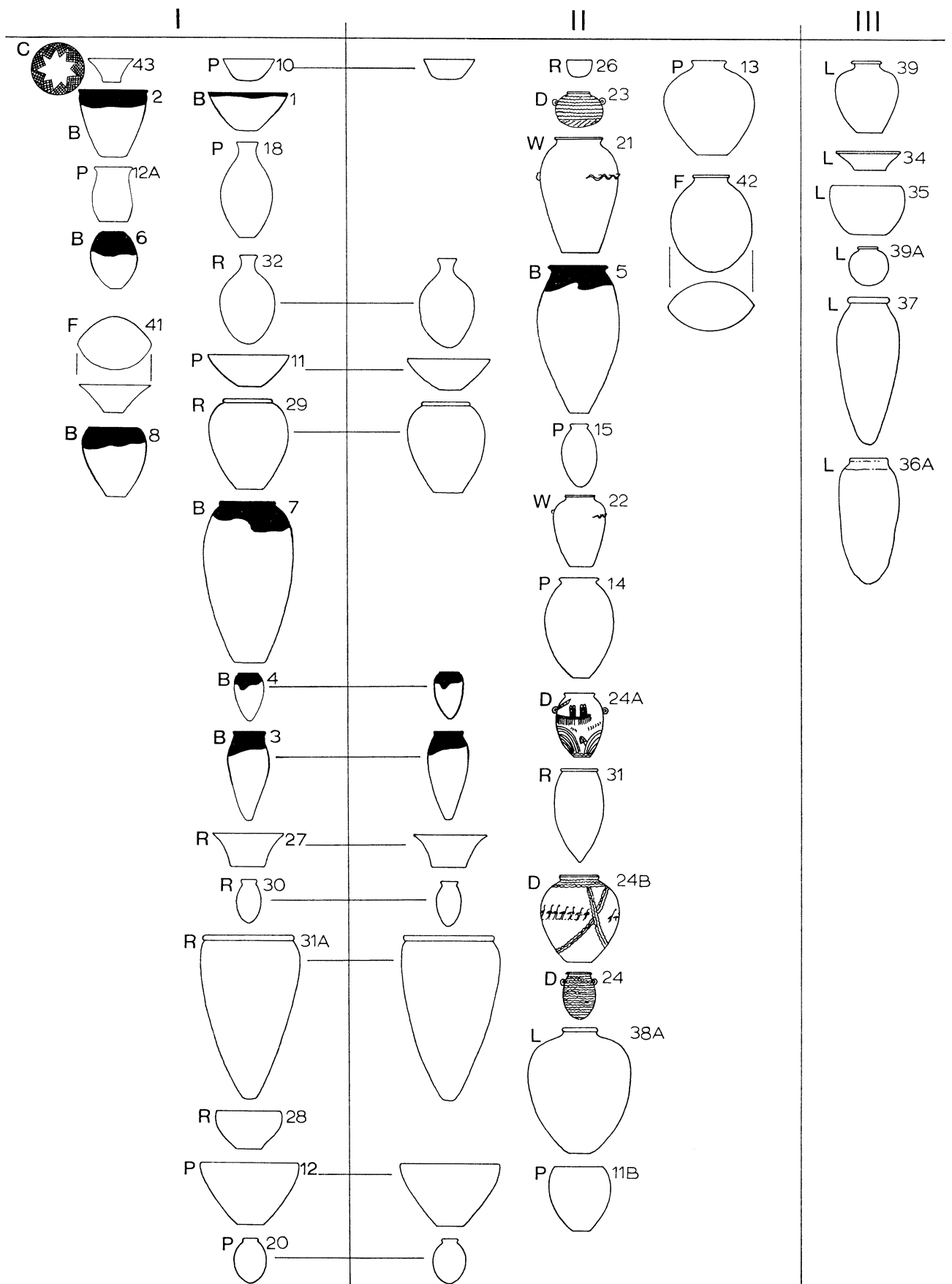


FIG. 3. The pottery types of fig. 2 drawn out in the three groups marked fig. 2

The evidence for dating Group III to the Early Dynastic Period is fairly sound, and includes brick-lined tombs placed by Reisner in his great study of tomb evolution at various points within the First and Second Dynasties.⁸ One tomb, no. B91, also contained a cylinder seal, apparently to be dated to the first part of the First Dynasty.⁹ Thus, in cemetery B at El-'Amrah the First Dynasty seems to have been preceded by two predynastic periods. Yet there has been a persistent tendency to argue for three predynastic periods.¹⁰ Is there a period missing at El-'Amrah?

Randall-MacIver maintained that the cemetery showed continuous use. However, certain well-known classes of pottery are absent, including 'debased' Wavy-handled and cylinder jars, and pots with the final stages of decoration in the 'Decorated' red-on-buff style. It is partly for this reason that a second seriation has been included in this article. The predynastic cemetery at El-Mahâsna contains a representative amount of pottery from these missing categories. Figs. 4 and 5 depict the results of an automatic seriation of this cemetery, based on 98 graves, and 38 classes of pottery. Only the 'mid-point' seriation is printed here. With a mechanical process such as this there is the opportunity, indeed the temptation, to experiment with the presentation of the data in order to judge the soundness of the method. In this case, the seven occurrences of 'White Cross-lined' pottery (type 43 in the El-'Amrah diagrams) were omitted from the data presented to the computer, but have been added afterwards to fig. 4, in the form of black-filled squares. As can be seen, they bunch satisfactorily towards the upper part of the seriation. If they had been included, the graves containing them would have been bunched even more tightly together, and this would also have had an improving effect on some of the 'spot' sequence-dates in the next column. For fig. 5, the seriation has again been divided into three main groups, with two blocks of 'transitional' graves omitted.

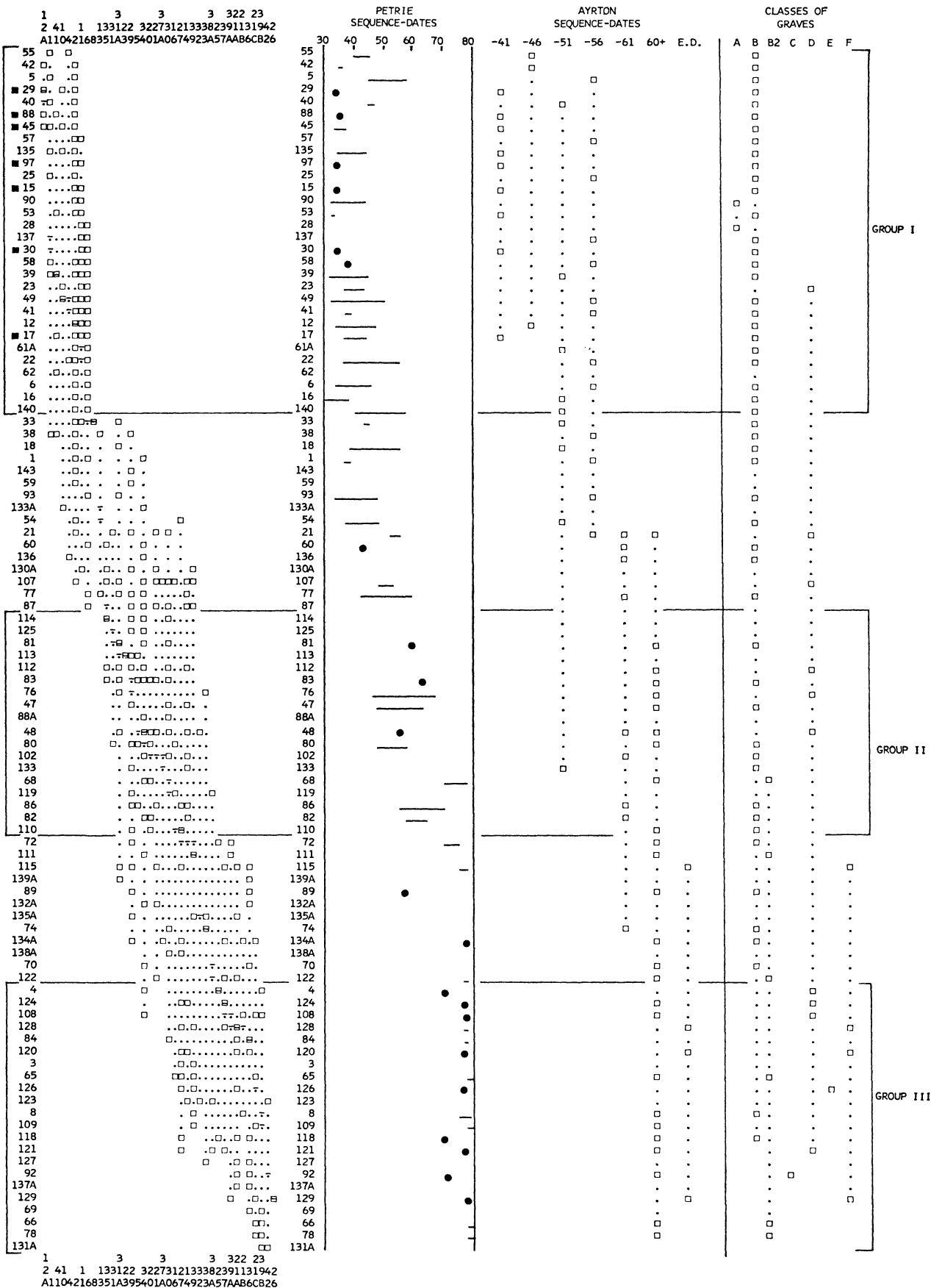
Between Groups I and II, the El-Mahâsna cemetery produces a clearer division of material than does El-'Amrah cemetery B. Group III is represented by many more types, some of them reaching back into Group II, and some of them being types missing from the El-'Amrah seriation. These 'missing' elements, however, do not form a separate group of material: they belong within a group which also contains elements from Group III at El-'Amrah.

It is not the purpose of this article to develop a critique of schemes for subdividing and dating the predynastic sequence in Upper Egypt, merely to demonstrate a particular method of analysis. Two cemeteries are, in any case, an insufficient base for broad generalizations. On their own, however, they do suggest certain hypotheses for further evaluation: that there are two principal divisions of predynastic material; that in

⁸ G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb* (Cambridge, 1936), 34, 45, 49-52, 53, 67-8, 133-4, 192.

⁹ P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1963-4), I, 6, 40; II, 682-3 (n. 15); III, Abb. 9.

¹⁰ Petrie, with his Semainean, see W. M. F. Petrie, *The Making of Egypt* (London, 1939), 55-8, pls. xxix-xxxiii; Reisner, with his Late Predynastic, see his *Development of the Egyptian Tomb*, 346-7; Kaiser, with his Naqada III, see *Archaeologia Geographica* 6 (1957), 69-77; cf. also the discussion and references in H. Kantor's important study in *JNES* 3 (1944), 110-36.



98 ROWS 38 COLUMNS
EL-MAHASNA

FIG. 4. Matrices for the El-Maḥāsna predynastic cemetery generated by the computer program, with sequence-dates and grave types displayed for comparison

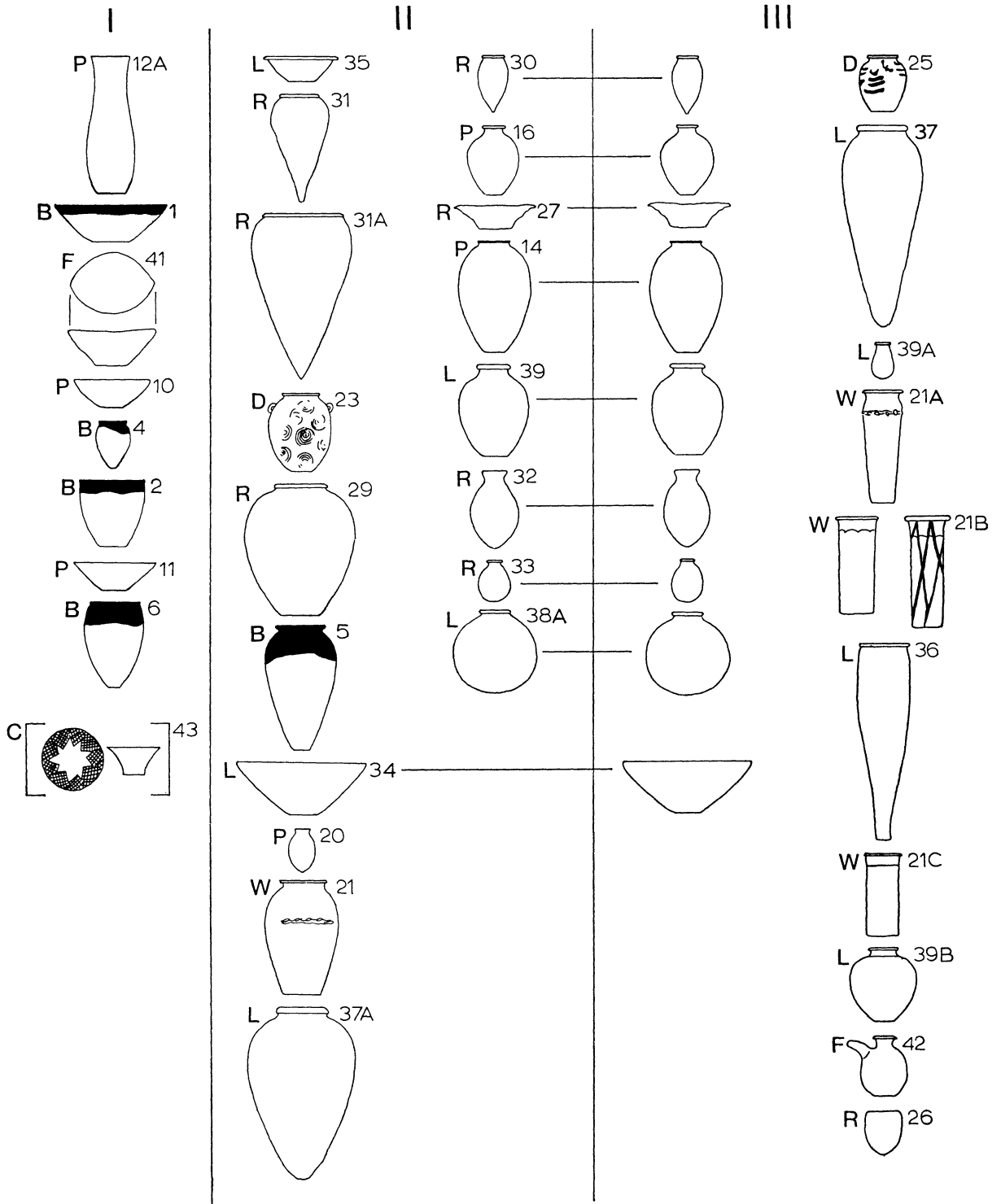


FIG. 5. The pottery types of fig. 4 drawn out in the three groups marked on fig. 4

Petrie's sequence-dating system this division is somewhat later than Petrie's own division between Amratian and Gerzean; and that certain forms of pottery, which, in effect, make up Petrie's 'Semainean' culture, belong to a sub-culture largely contained within the Early Dynastic Period, presumably the First Dynasty.¹¹ But, whatever the outcome of future studies, this kind of approach should offer new life to old excavation reports.

¹¹ Cf. the remarks on the Semainean in A. J. Arkell, *The Prehistory of the Nile Valley* (Leiden, 1975), 46, citing a 1962 paper by H. Case.

SU UN PASSO DI ḤARDJEDEF

Di ALESSANDRO ROCCATI

RECENTI pubblicazioni di materiali¹ permettono il recupero di un nuovo passo dell'antichissimo Insegnamento di Ḥardjedef. Si tratta ancora di copie su ostraca provenienti dalla scuola di Deir el-Medīna, ed il riconoscimento della loro natura contiene uno spiccato interesse anche per la datazione del lessico che vi è riportato.

Un celebre racconto del papiro Westcar (VIII, 15) aveva posto in bocca a Cheope, dipinto come faraone duro e spietato anticipando la tradizione erodotea, una frase che contiene termini i quali si riferiscono ad una istituzione di vitale importanza per l'ordinamento del Medio Regno: 'mi si conduca il recluso (*hnri*), che è nel reclusorio (*hnrt*), affinché sia eseguita la sua condanna.'

Lo Hayes ha potuto dimostrare per mezzo di un registro derivante da un simile reclusorio, compilato a Tebe alla fine del Medio Regno,² che *hnrt* designa il 'campo di concentramento' destinato a provvedere manodopera coatta per le varie imprese statali. Queste *corvées* sono ben note nell'Antico Regno, ed un passo della biografia di Uni le menziona per descrivere l'ordine instaurato nell'Alto Egitto,³ ma non si era finora trovata alcuna attestazione della *hnrt* prima del Medio Regno, se non nell'accezione affine di 'reclusorio di donne', 'harem',⁴ che non possiede però le stesse implicazioni sociali ed economiche. L'insistenza con cui *hnrt* ricorre in un passo delle Ammonizioni di Ipu⁵ potrebbe implicare la ferma esistenza da tempo di una simile istituzione, sennonché i dubbi sulla data di composizione di quest'opera impediscono una assoluta sicurezza.⁶ È quindi benvenuto il recupero di un passo di Ḥardjedef, in cui si parla espressamente di una *hnrt* (scritta *hniit*) al tempo delle grandi piramidi, e si menzionano insieme altri vocaboli significativi (fig. 1).

I manoscritti che mi hanno permesso la ricostruzione sono sei. Due si trovano al Cairo nell'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (n. 1396 e 1604); tre appartengono alla collezione Gardiner⁷ (n. 12, 335 e 62); uno si conserva nella Papyrusabteilung dei musei di Berlino (P 12383). Quest'ultimo e l'O. Gardiner 62 sono inediti,⁸ e non li ho

¹ G. Posener, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, III (Doc. de Fouilles XX, 1977-8).

² W. C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum* (New York, 1955), 40 n. 144.

³ *Urk.* I, 106, 6-9: queste prestazioni sono chiamate *ht* e *wnwt*, e 'coordinare' è detto *ip*, cf. *RSO* 37 (1962), 35.

⁴ *Wb.* III, 297: esattamente *hmr*, 'donne recluse'.

⁵ A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909), 46-7: tutto il passo, tra i più istruttivi, è da riconsiderare alla luce delle scoperte dello Hayes: cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 50 (1964), 30.

⁶ Per un possibile accenno indiretto in papiri della V dinastia: P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives d'Abousir* (Cairo, 1976), 458.

⁷ J. Černý e A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), tav. iv 3 e ci 4.

⁸ L'identificazione di questi documenti mi è stata possibile grazie ad un soggiorno in Germania offertomi dal DAAD nei mesi di novembre-dicembre 1979. A questa Istituzione ed ai professori W. Westendorf e W. Müller, che mi hanno consentito ogni agio di studio, va il mio particolare ringraziamento. Debbo la conoscenza dell'O. Gardiner 62 alle schede del *Wb.* conservate nel Seminario di egittologia di Göttingen.

<p>-----</p> <p>-----</p> <p>-----</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p>	<p>o. IFAO 1396</p> <p>o. Gard. 335</p> <p>o. IFAO 1604</p>
<p>-----</p> <p>-----</p> <p>-----</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">[11]</p> <p style="text-align: right;">2</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p style="text-align: right;">3</p>	<p>o. Gard. 12</p> <p>o. IFAO 1396</p> <p>o. Gard. 335</p> <p>o. IFAO 1604</p>
<p>-----</p> <p>-----</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">2</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p>	<p>o. Gard. 335</p> <p>o. IFAO 1604</p>
<p>-----</p> <p>-----</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">12</p> <p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p style="text-align: right;">3</p>	<p>o. Gard. 12</p> <p>o. Gard. 335</p> <p>o. IFAO 1396</p>
<p>-----</p> <p>-----</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">etc.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">4</p> <p style="text-align: right;">4</p>	<p>o. Gard. 12</p> <p>o. IFAO 1396</p> <p>o. Gard. 335</p>
<p>-----</p> <p>-----</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">etc.</p>	<p>o. IFAO 1396</p> <p>o. Gard. 335</p>

FIG. I. Un passo dell'Insegnamento di Hardjedef

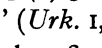
inseriti in questo studio non avendone chiesto il permesso di pubblicazione. La parte essenziale del passo si può recuperare già per mezzo dei manoscritti editi, e non ritengo giustificata la pubblicazione di singoli pezzi staccati dall'insieme di una collezione.⁹ Quanto già trovato suggerisce invece una ragionevole fiducia che appaiano ancora altre copie, e dimostra la popolarità dell'Insegnamento di Ḥardjedef fin nella cultura ramesside.

Si conferma però l'utilità di edizioni preliminari di ostraca, anche quando non si possa intendere appieno il significato del testo. Benché di massima non abbia potuto consultare gli originali, e questi siano solo in parte pubblicati in facsimile, il confronto delle copie permette facilmente alcuni emendamenti delle prime trascrizioni, che avvalorano ulteriormente l'accostamento proposto.

Traduzione



Scegliti un reclusorio di uomini,^a e fa che il timore di te si produca . . .,^b così che ti siano presentate le offerte, come (sono presentate a) Ra,^c quando è purificato per il palazzo,^d dopo che sono stati mangiati i pesci provenienti dal macello (?).^e . . . quando assegni loro il tuo turno giornaliero,^f e abbi il cuore indulgente^g [verso di loro], così che siano soddisfatti e non si trovi . . . chi possa parlare contro te:^h il male di Dio,ⁱ . . .

Commento

(a) Questa specificazione sembra implicare la necessità di una distinzione dal 'reclusorio (di donne)' = lo harem. La *hnrt* di questa citazione sembra d'altronde rientrare in un ambito religioso, e corrispondere a quelle che sono le funzioni delle squadre in cui erano raggruppati i sacerdoti funerari, e che si conoscono soprattutto dalla V dinastia: H. Junker, *Giza*, VI (Vienna, 1943), 12, e E. Edel in H. Ricke *et alii*, *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, II (Wiesbaden, 1969), 21-2. Del resto nella descrizione del lavoro alla piramide di Micerino riportata nella cappella di Debeheni, si parla di operai sotto la direzione del Capomastro del Re e dell'Artigiano del Potentissimo (il sommo sacerdote di Ptah): *sk wsh rmt* (?) 50 *r irt kst im-f*, 'allora furono posti cinquanta uomini ad eseguire il lavoro in esso (tempio)' (*Urk.* I, 19, 1-2). La grafia , *hnrt*, può essere antica; essa ricorda la riluttanza a notare la *r* finale nell'Antico Regno, si veda ad esempio quanto detto da W. Schenkel, 'Die Wurzel *bnj* "süß"', *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 115, e l'osservazione di E. Edel in *BiOr* 24 (1967), 318.

(b) Piccola lacuna. La frase ricorda le minacce contro i violatori di tombe: E. Edel, 'Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 13-4 (§ 13 D), nella VI dinastia.

(c) *wdn ht* è nella solenne tradizione dei Testi delle Piramidi (*Pyr.* 101 a^T). Il concetto di purezza rituale ricorre ancora in Edel, *Untersuchungen*, § 10: *wrb* è in questi casi costruito con la preposizione *r* del luogo in cui si deve entrare, e *n* della persona in cui pro ci si purifica. Si veda inoltre l'ostr. IFAO 1080, 7: *wrb mi wrb Rr m pt*, 'puro come è puro Ra in cielo'.

(d) *dbst* è sicuramente da leggere nelle tracce dell'O. IFAO 1396 e dell'O. Gardiner 335 (qui il Černý trascrisse  per ). Questo antichissimo edificio è frequente nelle titolature dell'Antico Regno; Uni menziona espressamente la sua promozione a *smsw n dbst*: *Urk.* I, 98, 15, e W. Helck,

⁹ A questo criterio si ispira l'edizione in corso degli ostraca di Torino ad opera di J. López.

Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches (Äg. Forsch. 18) (Glückstadt, 1954), 38. Il dio solare Atum è parimenti detto 'preposto alla sua *dbꜣt*', H. Kees, '“Pr-dwꜣt” und “dbꜣt”', *Rec. Trav.* 36 (1914), 16 nota 2. Vi è inoltre l'espressione *dbꜣt nt wꜣbw* in *CT* 1, 164h.

(e) Frase di incerta spiegazione. La presenza di pesci nel culto funebre è discussa in I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten* (Äg. Abh. 21) (Wiesbaden, 1970), 120 sq.; del resto i pesci sono anche ritenuti cibo impuro, op. cit. 77, in tale caso ci si può riferire a Edel, *Untersuchungen*, § 9: *wmm·n·sn bwt* (lo stato di impurità), 'dopo che hanno mangiato cose proibite'.

(f) Per questo possibile significato posso addurre solo la comune espressione *imy hrwꜣf* (*Wb.* II, 500, 20) attestata dal Medio Regno.

(g) *ib·k phꜣ* contiene un'espressione alquanto rara, nota sotto la forma *phꜣ ib* per la prima volta in un passo letterario, e quindi con reminiscenze antiche, di Thutmosi III (*Urk.* IV, 267, 7). Lo stesso *phꜣ* non è attestato prima del Medio Regno. L'espressione *ib·f phꜣ* si trova però in una stele di mia proprietà, che è stata pubblicata da L. Sist in *Oriens Antiquus* 14 (1975), 315-20; questo documento, che risale al principio del Nuovo Regno, è notevole per la fraseologia di originale tono letterario.

(h) Il confronto delle due versioni permette di rettificare la trascrizione dell'O. Gardiner 335.

(i) *dwt nt nꜣr* ricorre anche in un passo precedente, conservato dall'O. Gardiner 12, 10.

La nuova pericope può esser situata con precisione all'interno dell'opera di Ḥardjedef per mezzo della corrispondenza con le linee 11-12 dell'O. Gardiner 12. Il testo precedente è conservato in modo soddisfacente dall'O. Gardiner 62, che comincia alla linea 9 dell'O. Gardiner 12. La struttura si inserisce in uno schema scandito da formule introduttive: *stp n·k* appare altre due volte, nella linea 7 dell'O. Gardiner 12 e in *RdĒ* 18 (1966), 64 l. 1; all'inizio della composizione ricorre *hh n·k*, 'cercati': *RdĒ* 9 (1952), 112 l. 2 = III.

Già nelle parti ricostruite in passato si era avuto un risultato utile per il lessico (ad esempio il vocabolo *iwh*, 'inondare', attestato solo dal Medio Regno). La presente aggiunta accentua l'interesse per la storia delle istituzioni, della religione e della società. La menzione di Ra richiama la fortuna del culto solare, predominante nei Testi delle Piramidi, e che si era affermato probabilmente già prima della IV dinastia. Dai frammenti appare anche una esortazione al comportamento umano verso i dipendenti, che anticipa l'etica del Medio Regno e contraddice le interpretazioni tendenziose delle cronache tardive.

FIRST AND SECOND OWNERS OF A MEMPHITE TOMB CHAPEL

By A. J. SPENCER

THE reuse of burial places in Ancient Egyptian cemeteries is by no means an uncommon feature, but the amount of trouble taken to adapt the tomb to suit its new owner can vary to a great degree. Most usurpations involved only slight efforts in this direction, and were restricted to the alteration of the name in the tomb-inscriptions to fit the new occupant of the burial chamber.¹ Sometimes the new owner preferred not to use the original chamber, even though the earlier burial had been removed, but took the trouble to have a fresh chamber cut slightly higher up the shaft.² Much less frequent is the complete redecoration of a tomb-chapel with scenes and inscriptions appropriate to the new owner, but this is exactly what took place in the case of the Saqqâra mastaba numbered D.46 by Mariette. This tomb is located close to the east side of the Step Pyramid enclosure and consists of a rectangular mastaba with its longer axis orientated local north-south. It has not attracted great attention since its discovery by Mariette, who published only brief notes on this tomb.³ The mastaba was re-cleared by C. M. Firth in 1930 as part of a general programme of work in the Saqqâra Necropolis but hardly any details about the tombs excavated at this time were given in the report.⁴ Firth's work is noted by Stevenson Smith in his study of the topography of the Old Kingdom cemetery.⁵

The construction of the mastaba is typical of the early Fifth Dynasty, large blocks of locally quarried limestone having been employed for the mass of the superstructure, including the outer casing. The batter of the exterior walls is not smooth, but has been achieved by stepping back each course slightly up the height of the face. At its northern end the tomb must have rested against a pre-existing mastaba, now greatly destroyed, because the façade-blocks of the eastern side terminate in a sloping line, preserving the angle of slope on the side of the adjoining tomb (see pl. I, 1). Within the superstructure are two shafts, situated as shown on the sketch-plan in fig. 1, the northernmost being probably the original pit of the tomb. It measures 180 × 180 cm at the top and is lined with roughly dressed masonry. Although standing open to a considerable depth, sufficient sand has collected in the pit to block access to the chamber. The smaller

¹ As in the case of the tomb of Ny-ankh-Pepi at Saqqâra, although the usurpation is not mentioned by Selim Hassan in his publication of this tomb, *Excavations at Saqqara 1937-1938*, II. *Mastabas of Ny-ankh-Pepi and Others*.

² Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, I, 37-8 and fig. 44.

³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, 302-4. The special plate of the northern false door was never published: see W. S. Smith in Reisner, *Tomb Development*, 409.

⁴ *ASAE* 30 (1930), 185-9.

⁵ Reisner, *Tomb Development*, 409.

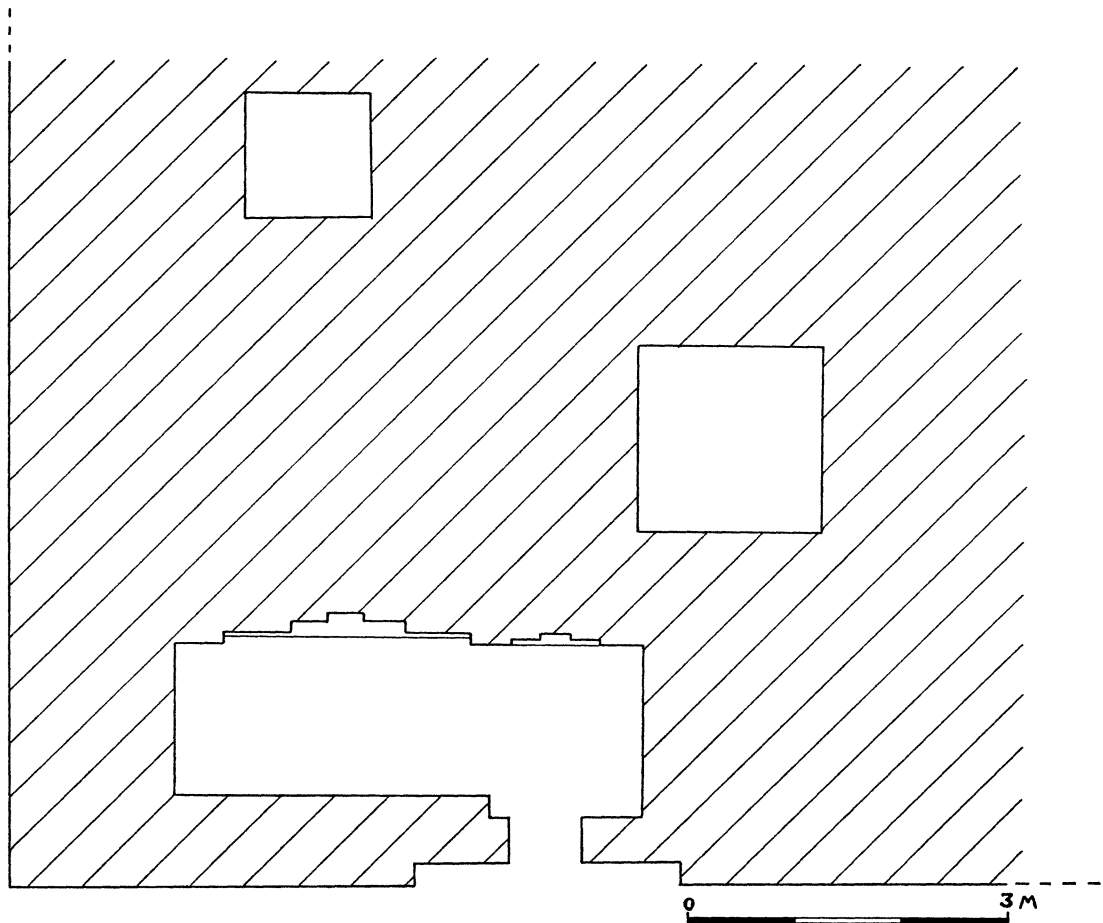


FIG. 1. Location of tomb-chapel and shafts

shaft in the south-west corner of the mastaba may well be intrusive. Close to the south end of the superstructure is a small chapel entered from the east through a recessed doorway 66 cm in width. The interior walls stand to a height of 346 cm, and are composed of undecorated rough blocks on all but the west side. The entire length of the latter wall is occupied by two false-door stelae, the southern one being considerably larger than its northern counterpart. Much of the original decoration of the southern false door has been lost owing to damage by fire⁶ and other causes, and even less inscription is visible today than when Mariette made his copy. The hieroglyphic text was carved in three vertical columns upon each inner jamb of the door, and the remaining portions show that the signs were executed in low relief of the highest quality. The owner of the tomb was a *š nswt n ht-f* called Zetju, although the name itself,

⁶ This damage is said to have been caused by European workmen before the time of Mariette: see *Mastabas*, 302.

visible in Mariette's day at the top of the door, is no longer preserved. It is possible that this Zetju was a son of Userkaf, whose pyramid stands not far to the north of the tomb. The southern false door is an enormous monolith, 2.33 m wide and 2.75 m high in its damaged state, standing on a low pedestal at its base. Owing to the great width of the block and the fact that only three planes are included in the panelling of the door, the outer jambs were of sufficient width to permit their decoration with scenes in place of text. The reliefs of the southern jamb have largely vanished, but the surviving traces show scenes of offering-bearers. On the northern outer jamb are better preserved reliefs of butchers and offering-bearers in separate registers, with traces of red paint still remaining on some of the figures. The decoration on this side is continued to floor level, but on the south it ends some 90 cm higher; but, as red-painted guidelines are discernible on the lowest part of the south jamb, it is likely that the decoration was never finished. All the scenes are cut in the same good low-relief work as the hieroglyphs of the inner jambs, and clearly belong to the original Fifth Dynasty decoration of the chapel.

The northern false door is formed of a single block of limestone, 2.12 m high by 1.51 m wide, standing on a higher base than the larger southern stela (see pl. I, 2 and fig. 2). It bears substantial remains of decoration, each outer jamb being inscribed with three columns of hieroglyphic text and each inner jamb with two columns. Standing figures of the owner are shown at the foot of all four jambs, but the upper part of the stela, including the cornice and the panel, has completely disappeared. Both inscriptions and figures are carved in sunk relief, in contrast to the southern false door, and the general appearance of the stela does not resemble Old Kingdom work. This conclusion is proved on close examination, which reveals that the whole of the decoration is in palimpsest, with scant traces of the earlier carving visible at certain points. The clearest remains of the original decoration are to be seen around the figures at the base, where parts of the legs, arms, shoulders, and head of the earlier low-relief figures can be detected beside the coarse sunk relief of the secondary ones (see pl. II, 1). In style and execution the original carving matches the quality of that on the southern stela, and it seems certain that both false doors were originally inscribed for the Prince Zetju. Traces of hieroglyphs and register lines from the first decoration of the stela, visible at various points, show that the stone was completely inscribed in the Fifth Dynasty and that the whole of the low-relief work had been laboriously erased before the new texts were cut. The individual responsible for the appropriation of the false door was named Nefertememsaf, an official with a number of unusual titles, who, to judge from the style of his inscriptions, lived during the Middle Kingdom. On the copy of the northern stela in fig. 2, the inscriptions of Nefertememsaf are shown in full, with the traces of the Old Kingdom decoration indicated in broken line.

Before discussing other changes made to the chapel by Nefertememsaf, his inscriptions merit some comment. The hieroglyphs were painted green, and some areas of colour remain in the hollows. On the southern edge of the false door is an additional column of text, not shown in the front view given in fig. 2, reading: *hry hbt hry-tp sm hrp šndyt nb Nfrtm-m-s:f.*

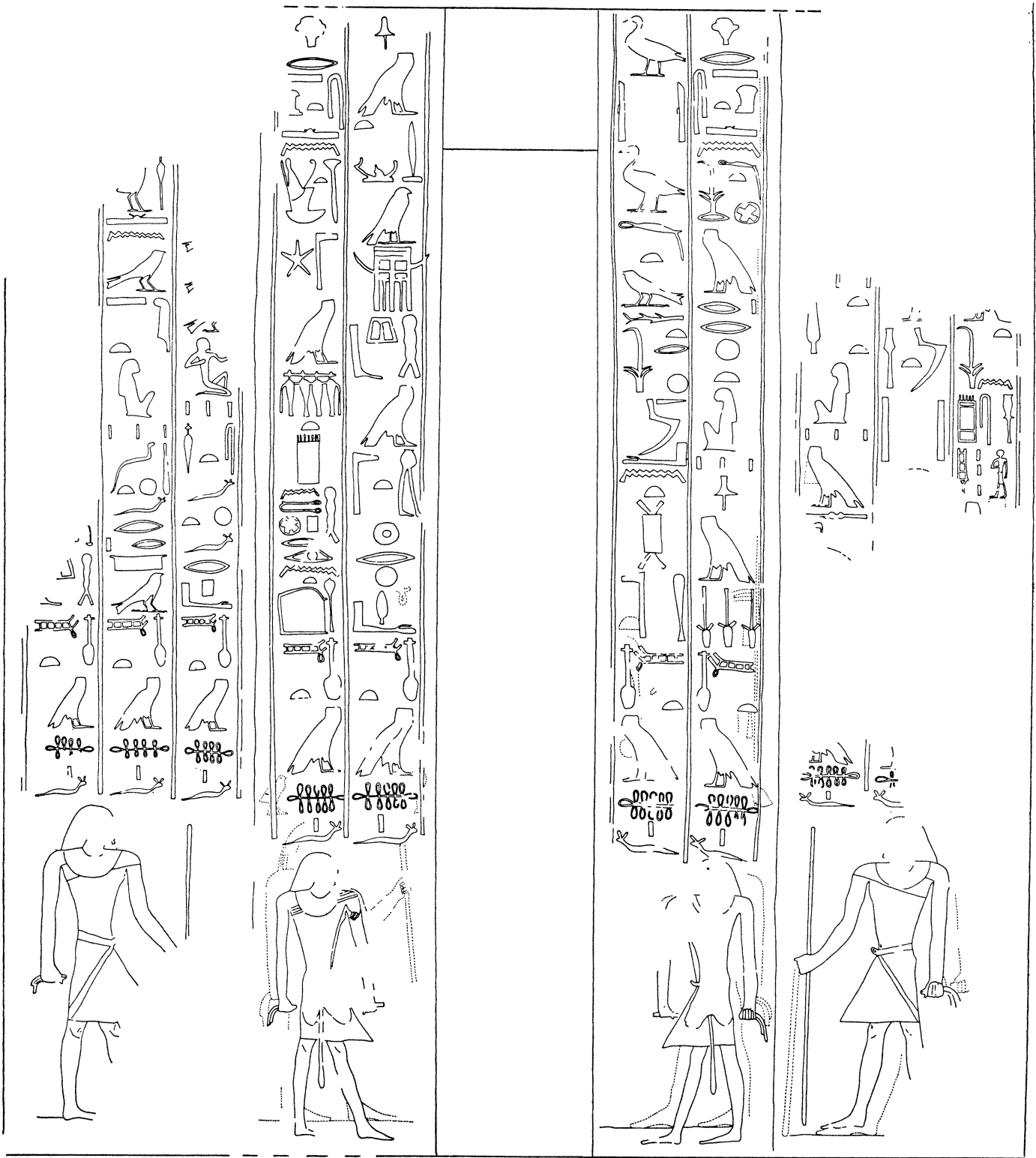


FIG. 2. The northern false door

Left Inner Jamb: The first line reads, *mnḥ m ḏ:t nmty ḥry-ḥbt m int ntr hrw r hrw*, 'One efficient in the *ḏ:t*-boat of Nemty, Lector-Priest in bringing the god daily'. The initial title has been noted by Fischer,⁷ who comments upon the unusual form of the first hieroglyph. It occurs in the same form on the right inner jamb of the stela, and must stand for *mnḥ* or *shḥm*, of which the former seems more probable. Certainly it cannot be *hrp*, which is written differently on the false door in the central column of inscription of the outer right-hand jamb. In his note, Fischer took the hieroglyph to be *shḥm*, but in a later publication⁸ he revised his opinion and read the sign as *mnḥ*, a reading which suits the form of the hieroglyph much better. The signs immediately following *int ntr* are probably to be read *hrw r hrw*, 'daily'.⁹ This column of text concludes with the well-known but difficult title *imꜣ-ꜥ*, and the name of Nefertememsaf.¹⁰

The title at the head of the second column of inscription is *ḥry-sštꜣ n Wꜣḏty*, 'Master of Secrets of the Two Crowns'. Here the determinative shows the two crowns combined in the double crown; parallels to this title are known with the writings $\overline{\text{𓆎}} \overline{\text{𓆏}} \overline{\text{𓆐}}$ ¹¹ or $\overline{\text{𓆑}} \overline{\text{𓆒}} \overline{\text{𓆓}}$.¹² Fischer has already pointed out that the form of the papyrus-roll determinative in *ḥry-sštꜣ*, both here and elsewhere on the stela, indicates a date after the reign of Sesostris I.¹³ The next titles, *ḏwꜣ ntr* and *(i)m(y)-ḥnt ꜥḥ*, are fairly clear, but the following signs before the name are a problem. There seems to be no known place-name *ḥntꜣp*, but one possible solution is to read *n ḥt P*, 'of the *ḥt* of Pe'. The objection to this is the position of the $\overline{\text{𓆔}}$ which one would have expected to be above the $\overline{\text{𓆕}}$, but it may have been placed to one side by error, or to achieve a better grouping. A priestly official called 'the *ḥt* of Pe' is known from other monuments.¹⁴ On the other hand, the group may stand for '*ḥnt* of Pe', but there does not seem to be a known word of this spelling which would fit the context.¹⁵ The next group perhaps reads *(i)r(y) ir n ḥdt*, 'who pertains to what is done for the *ḥdt*-shrine', except that one would have expected *irt* instead of *ir*. This problem could be solved by the translation, 'who pertains to him who acts for the *ḥdt*-shrine'.

Right Inner Jamb: Close examination of the first title shows that the reading is *sꜣ iswy*, although the significance of this is a matter of doubt. The occurrence of *iswy* written $\overline{\text{𓆖}} \overline{\text{𓆗}}$, or similarly, is quite common in titles.¹⁶ The title *sꜣ mḥty(t)* is mentioned by Fischer, who gives some parallels.¹⁷ No major problems attend the remainder of the text in this column, which continues with *imy-ḥt Wr (i)r(y)-ḥt nswt mꜣꜥ ḥm-ntr*

⁷ *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 24.

⁸ *Dendera in the Third Millennium BC*, 172 n. 731: see also Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.*, II, pl. 20 b.

⁹ Cf. Budge, *The Book of the Dead*, (Text) (1910 edition), III, 43, section VI: *in Wsir ḥpr-f m bꜣ ikr hrw r hrw*.

¹⁰ For *imꜣ-ꜥ* see Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 118, and the references in R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sâis*, 165 n. (B).

¹¹ *HT*, II, pl. 7.

¹² Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des MR*, 20518, cf. 20683.

¹³ Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 24 n. 6.


¹⁴ Naville, *Festival Hall of Osorkon II*, pl. 15; v. Bissing, *Rē-Heiligtum*, II, pls. 4 [11a], 5 [12c]; also possibly

ibid. III, pl. 15 [254]: cf. the title *ḥt Dp* in Naville, op. cit. pls. 12, 15.





¹⁵ Hardly associated with *ḥntꜣyw*, 'carvers', of *Pyr.* 966e.

¹⁶ Examples: Mariette, *Mastabas*, 125-6, 228, 266, 356, 409-10; *LD*, II, 46, 48, 64b.

¹⁷ *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 24 n. 2. See also Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 112 n. 5; Junker, *Giza*, II, 162 and Abb. 18.

Nt Nfrtm-m-s:f. The sign  is attested in a number of titles as a possible abbreviation for *imy-ht*.¹⁸ Column 2 of the right inner jamb bears the titles *hry-sštꜣ n rsyt mhyt (i)m(y)-r rhyt mnḥ m snwt*. The last title contains the same form of the *mnḥ* hieroglyph as found on the left inner jamb.¹⁹


Left Outer Jamb: The upper part of this jamb is lost, together with most of the third column of text, but virtually all the content of the first two columns can be deduced from the surviving traces. Near the top of the first column was probably a title *hrp wrw* or *hry wrw*, and the remains of the three *wr* signs can still be seen. The following signs are perhaps to be interpreted as *hsft hft(yw)*, and the interesting form of the *hsf* hieroglyph is worth noting.²⁰ After this we find the common *(i)r(y)-prt* before the name of the owner. Column 2 of this jamb has *wḏ n wršwt ḏḏst·f r rꜣ-wr*. It is difficult to suggest a precise function for *wḏ* here without knowing what has been lost at the top. The *wršwt* were a class of priestesses, female counterparts of the *wršw*, who are named in the Pyramid Texts and elsewhere.²¹ *Rꜣ-wr* is the name of a region in the Abydos district, possibly of some religious significance.²² Very little is left of the third column, only the title *hry-ḥbt* and the name Nefertememsaf.

Right Outer Jamb: The surviving inscriptions amount to only small parts of the three columns. The first contains a reference to the *iꜣmtt*, perhaps a class of priestesses, and may have continued with *m Sꜣw*, 'in Sais'. Certainly the traces below the  would suit , and there would be room for only one more sign before the name, so  would be possible. The title *hrp tmꜣ*²³ in the next line shows two bow-cases of perfectly rectangular form. In the Old Kingdom this title was usually written with a single bow-case of different shape, with a curved base and two arrows protruding from the top.²⁴ Although some writings with two bow-cases occur in the Old Kingdom, the shape of the determinative remains in agreement with the early type of case.²⁵ The last line of inscription has traces of an  at the beginning and end, so we might read . . . *m ḥḥ nswt smrw ḥꜣw m . . .* and translate, 'in the royal palace, the courtiers who make attendance in . . .'. Remains of the name of Nefertememsaf are visible on this jamb only at the foot of the first two columns, the third having been totally destroyed at its base.

The figures at the bottom of the false door show Nefertememsaf in the attire of a

¹⁸ *Wb.* III, 344, 347; Junker, *Giza*, XII, 98–9 with refs; id., *Giza*, II, Abb. 18; *LD*, II, 12a, 13; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 270. For *Wr* as a divinity see Junker, *Giza*, XII, 98 ff; id., *Die Götterlehre von Memphis*, 26 ff.

¹⁹ On *mnḥ m snwt* see Fischer, *Dendera*, 172 n. 731.

²⁰ Here we seem to have a corruption from *hsft ht n hftyw Wsir*, found in Coffin Texts Spell 335 (de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, IV, 304). One version has *hsft hftyw Wsir*. The fem. ending of *hsft* is dependent on an antecedent *ḏḏst* in this spell, and may have been erroneously retained on the false door, despite the fact that the verb is here preceded by the masc. word *wrw*. The verb is more likely to be *hsf* with omission of the  than the rare *shsf* known from P. Posener-Krieger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Neferirkare-Kakai*, I, 77.

²¹ *Pyr.* 656e, 795d–e, 1013b, 1945c, 1947a. In V. Bissing, *Re-Heiligtum*, II, pl. 18, the *wršw* carry the palanquin of the king. For *wršwt* see Fischer, *Varia*, 69, with refs. in n. 8; Weill, *Les Décrets royaux*, 9: *HT*, II, pl. 38.

²² Gauthier, *Dict. Geog.* III, 114; Junker, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 70; Mariette, *Abydos*, I, pl. 45, l. 31; Sethe, *Pyr.* 421b.

²³ See Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 267–8; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 100.

²⁴ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. ix; *LD*, II, 101a; Borchardt, *Statuen*, I, no. 3; *HT*, I², pl. i no. 2; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 134; Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I, fig. 258.

²⁵ Reisner, op. cit. fig. 257.

lector-priest on the outer jambs and wearing the panther-skin of the *iw-n-mwt-f* or *s3-mr-f* priest on the inner jambs. The latter figures have the leading hands in a curious twisted position. From the traces of the erased low-relief representations it can be seen that the Fifth Dynasty figures were cut on a slightly larger scale, and had their leading hands raised to hold a staff. The faces of the portraits of Nefertememsaf have all been deliberately obliterated.

It is impossible to say whether the choice of this tomb for reuse was influenced by the fact that it had originally belonged to a member of the royal family of the Old Kingdom, as would have been likely had the usurpation taken place in the Saïte Period.²⁶ Nefertememsaf certainly went to a considerable amount of trouble in having the entire stela erased and recut with his own inscriptions, but he did not attempt a similar erasure of the southern false door, perhaps because of its much greater size. However, it seems that the southern stela was obliterated by the less energetic process of covering the surface with several coats of white plaster. Some areas of this plaster remain, particularly on the northern outer jamb of the door, where they cover parts of the low relief (see pl. II, 2). The same plaster adheres to the lower part of the stela right across its width, and on the southern inner jamb it remains to such a height that it just covers the edge of the bottom hieroglyph in the second column of inscription. Plaster traces also survive on the undecorated north wall of the chapel and on the pedestal of the northern false door. Apparently, Nefertememsaf had the reliefs and inscriptions of the southern stela completely hidden with plaster, over which new scenes or texts would probably have been painted. The plastering of the undecorated walls would have provided extra space for painted decoration if required. All trace of the previous ownership would have been invisible, and the chapel would have been ideally prepared for its new owner, with the northern false door as the focal point. The plaster coating over the Fifth Dynasty reliefs would have fallen away gradually over the centuries, but its almost complete disappearance would have been ensured by the fire-damage to the chapel before Mariette's time.

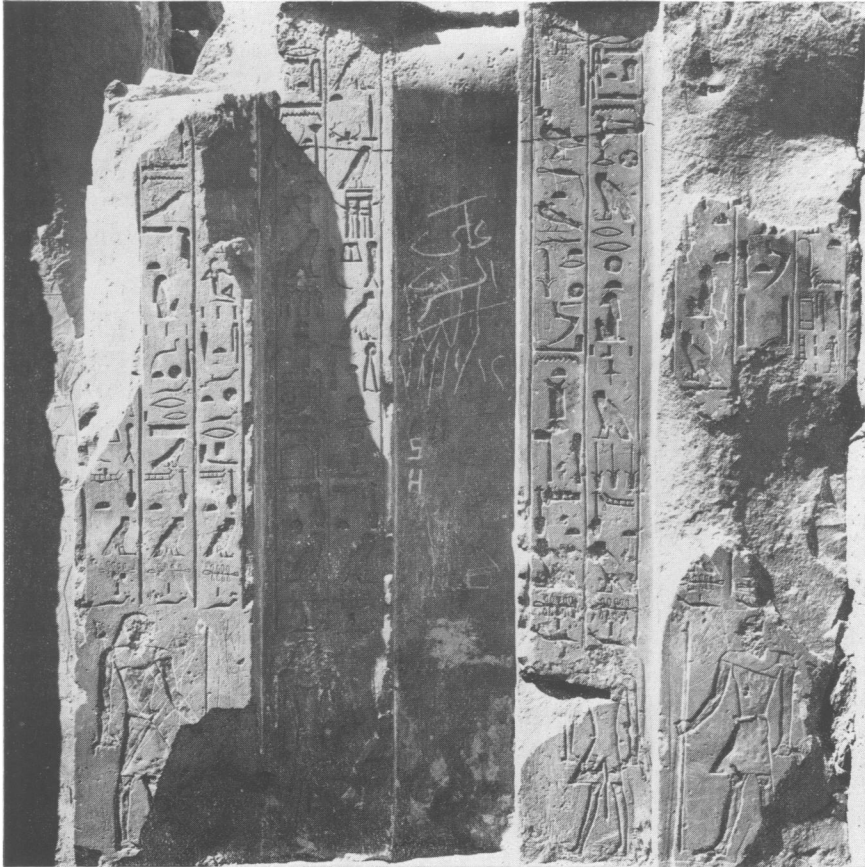
The reuse of this tomb provides a good example of the trouble which individuals were prepared to take in order to usurp a monument.²⁷ Had the erasure of the northern false door been done a little more carefully, the reworking would have been undetectable, and, although the epigraphic details would have shown the inscriptions to be of Middle Kingdom date, it would not have been possible to say whether the stela was part of the original design or entirely a Middle Kingdom product, built into a pre-existing tomb. Erasure and redecoration of monuments with a degree of competence equal to, or even better than, that shown in this mastaba may well have been a far more common practice than we are aware, since the evidence can only be gathered by really close and prolonged examination of inscribed stonework, and is easily missed if not actively sought.

²⁶ W. S. Smith, in his *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 186, suggested that the inscription of Nefertememsaf might be Saïte, but the epigraphic details of the text suit a Middle Kingdom date far better.

²⁷ A less complete erasure of the same kind is the reuse of a block from the chapel of Seshseshet, wife of Mereruka, in the later chapel of Satinteti: see Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyr. Cem.* II, pl. 20d.



1. The north end of the east face



2. The northern false door



1. Traces of original decoration around later reliefs



2. Remains of plaster over the reliefs

FIRST AND SECOND OWNERS OF A MEMPHITE TOMB CHAPEL

A COFFIN TEXT MISCELLANY

By R. O. FAULKNER

IN the centenary year of the Egypt Exploration Society I could not resist the Editor's invitation to contribute to the special celebratory volume of our *Journal*, since as a member of the Society of long standing I have not only seen what it has done for the whole gamut of Egyptology, but I have also been the recipient over the years of much help and kindness from those with whom I have come into contact; may our Society continue to flourish, and, in due course, attain its second centenary. My present offering consists of a collection of various items which it is hoped may be of use to some future grammarian of the Coffin Texts and which are not without intrinsic interest.

1. Demonstratives

These provide a number of points worth noting:

Pw. In Spell 943 (*CT* VII, 157) occurs the refrain, 'I have appeared as the Eye of Horus, the Eye of Horus has appeared as I',¹ *ink pw-s, stt pw-i* (157*b-c*), recurring several times in the course of the spell, though broken in some cases. The clauses with *pw* show both the archaic independent pronoun *stt* and *pw* with a suffix attached; so far as I know this latter usage occurs only here, but it shows that *pw* was originally regarded as a substantive. I have translated these clauses as 'I am it and it is I'; it is interesting to note that the Eye of Horus and the deceased could be regarded as interchangeable.

Pw as an interrogative. In combination with the enclitic *tr* as *pw-tr, ptr*, 'who?', 'what?' it is familiar, but its occurrence at the head of the sentence unaccompanied by *tr* is exceptional; however, it does so occur in *pw sw ck*, 'Who is he who enters?' (II, 290*e*), noted by Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 498 and by Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 1010. Other instances in *CT* are *pw ššwy wrwy cwy*, 'What are the two very great lagoons?' (IV, 216*a* (B1P)) and *pw ir t: pn n šhtyw*, 'What is this land of the horizon-dwellers?' (IV, 223*c* (L3Li, sim. T3L)). This construction may provide a clue to an obscure rubric *my* (var. *m*) *py pw ksr* which has been interpolated into Spell 1033 (VII, 268*b*) in B1L ff. without any apparent relation to the context. The passage in question looks like a gloss in the form of question and answer, *my* being taken to be the interrogative, *py* being possibly also interrogative and a variant of *pw* above, while *pw* here could be the copula and *ksr* the answer to the question. I have translated the passage tentatively as 'What is it? A shrine': see *Transl. CT* III, Sp. 1033 n. 10. It seems irrelevant to the context, and in any case the translation is far from certain, but no better interpretation offers itself.

¹ Alternating with 'the Eye of Horus appears as I, I appear as the Eye of Horus' (157*e-f*, etc.).

Pn. In the question *zy pw*, 'who, what, is it?', *pn* can replace *pw*: see *zy pn nw* 'What is this?' (IV, 101g); *zy pn ntr*, 'Who is the god?' (IV, 110g (S1P, S2C)), where S1C has the orthodox *zy pw*.

Tn. An abnormality is the use of the word in the form 𓏏^{c} as the subject of a sentence with nominal predicate in the caption *itn nbt hst*, 'this is the mistress of the (boat's) bow' (v, 167G), which belongs to the spot marked G at the bow of the bark in the lowermost part of the diagram on v, 161. Noteworthy also is *ink pn-tn*, 'I am he-she', i.e. at once god and goddess (II, 161a (Sq3.4C)).

Pwy, *twy*, noted briefly in Gardiner, *Egn. Gr.* § 112, are very rare in *CT*. I have noted *pw* only in *pw pw cnh grh-f hnt rnpt*, 'It is this one who is alive on New Year's Eve' (v, 94e (T1C)); Sq1Sq, which is corrupt, instead of *pw pw* has *pw 3*, while T1Be and M2C read *p3 pw*, quoted again below. Gardiner records *pw*, *twy* only as epithets, but in v, 94e, *pw*, like *p3*, is used independently as predicate of *pw*. In *CT* *twy* occurs twice as an epithet, in *wrt twy nm*, 'Such is this Great Lady' (VI, 410j), and in *d3t twy nt Hnmw*, 'that *d3t* of Khnum' (v, 109k).

Nw as possessive with suffix attached occurs in *CT* once only in *nw-k bhzw*, 'your calves' (I, 279b). This instance has already been noted by Edel, *Altäg. Gr.* § 200; the last example quoted by him raises the question whether we should not read *nw(y)·k*. In v, 24c *ink nw* is a variant of the more usual *ink pw*, 'Such am I'.

The demonstratives *p3*, *t3*, *n3* are found in Old Egyptian, but are rare: see Edel, op. cit. §§ 194–5, 200, 927, who notes that they are recorded only in personal names and in snatches of conversation. In *CT* also they are rare, but for *p3* see *p3 pw*, 'It is this one' (v, 94e, referred to above under *pw*); *t3* occurs only in the possessive *t3·k* in *t3·k md̄t*, 'your corn-measure' (v, 185d); for *n3* see *n3 n hryw chw·sn*, 'those who are in charge of their braziers' (IV, 309a); *zy r·f n3*, 'What is this?' (VI, 283b); the possessive form is found in *n3·i sšp(w) wb3·i kkw*, 'My lights are my (means of) breaking up the darkness' (VII, 371h–i). It will be noted that, although still rare, these demonstratives show in *CT* a wider range of use than that recorded by Edel for Old Egyptian.



2. Varia



For *is* as a non-enclitic see Edel, op. cit. § 858. I have noted a single instance in *CT*: *is nfr w(y) hst m-s3 Iw3wt*, 'How good it is to go down after *Iw3wt*!' (v, 156a): see M2NY, where *is* is reinforced by the enclitic *3*.

In a Brief Communication to this Journal (*JEA* 64 (1978), 129) on the subject of 'liaison' *n* before *wi*, I quoted a number of examples of this construction. Further investigation has revealed several fresh instances, which are set out below: *f3·tn n wi*, 'May you lift me up' (III, 133d; similarly 333g); *smn·sn n wi . . . swd·sn n wi*, 'They establish me . . . they assign me' (III, 363a–b. The second clause recurs in VI, 323cc, already noted); *snd·sn n wi*, *šms·sn n wi*, 'They fear me and follow me' (IV, 123b–c); *rmm·sn n wi*, *n m3·n·sn n wi*, 'They lament me; for they do not see me' (IV, 182g; note the negative construction *n sdm·n·f* parallel to affirmative geminating *sdm·f*, as in *Pyr.* § 412b); *d3·sn n wi . . . hn·sn n wi*, 'They ferry me across . . . they row me'

(IV, 367*l.m*); *bmr·tn n wi*, ‘so that you may please me’ (V, 196*c*); *gm·n·sn n wi*, ‘They have found me’ (V, 312*a*).

There may well be other instances which I have overlooked.

At the end of the same Brief Communication I remarked on an unexplained *n* which appears between *iw* and suffix in *iw n sn r·sn*, ‘They are against them’ (I, 33*a*; 52*d*); a similar instance with nominal subject occurs in *iw n N m·ht N* (VII, 113*g*); it reads ‘N is behind N’, which is absurd. The passage is not in good condition, but *iw n* seems fairly certain, for  and  are intact, and de Buck does not query his cross-hatched signs. If his reading be correct, there is clearly some corruption, which would be corrected if the name of a god or even a common noun were substituted for one of the occurrences of the name of the deceased.

In another Brief Communication (*JEA* 65 (1979), 161) concerning a correction to my translation of III, 317*r*, I mentioned the possibility that   here might be a variant of *izft*, ‘wrongdoing’. This conjecture is now confirmed by II, 139*a* (GIT).

Other exceptional usages are *iw* or *ist* before the negation *n*: the first occurs before *n sdm·f* in ‘his sacrificial animal was a pig’, *iw n mrt irt·f*, ‘before his eye had suffered’ (II, 345*b*). The preceding of the negation by *iw* is unique in *CT*, the purpose of *iw* here being presumably to stress what follows. A similar case is found, but with *ist* instead of *iw*, in ‘I am one of those snakes which the Sole Lord made *ist n hprt 3st*, sc. before Isis had come into being’ (IV, 76*c*). This, however, is not unique, because we find *ist* before negative *n* in *ist n wnt tnhmw sbw m·c N*, ‘for there are none who will take away a meal from N’ (VI, 238*o*), but these are the only instances I have noted.

The preposition *m* with genitive significance occurs a few times in *CT*, almost always after *ct*, ‘limb’. I have recorded the following: *ct m Stš sbyt(y)*, ‘limb of Seth the rebellious’ (V, 8*e*); *ct m ntr*, ‘the limb of the god’ (V, 24*b*); *ct m wr·tn pw*, ‘a limb of this Great One of yours’ (VII, 14*p*); *ct m irr·k*, ‘a limb of him who would harm you’ (VII, 39*e*); *ct im·i*, ‘the limb belonging to me’ (VII, 242*i*; 466*a*, sim. 451*f*). The sense of the preposition appears to be ‘in’ in the sense of ‘attached to’, but it is not clear why it occurs only after *ct*, except once in *šwty n Hnw*, ‘the plumes of *Hnw*’ (VII, 198*k*), or why it is substituted for the genitive adjective at all. The same usage is found once in *Pyr.* § 966*d*, again with *ct*.

In *Egn. Gr.*³ 424 Gardiner quotes from Frankfort, *Cenotaph of Seti I*, three passages in which an enclitic pronoun appears independently as the first word in a sentence with verbal predicate, i.e. *sw šm·f*, ‘He went’; *sw šnt Gb*, ‘Gēb quarrelled’; *sn škdd·sn*, ‘They travel by water’, and he refers to other instances in his marginal note. The purpose of these abnormal constructions appears to be emphasis, and it is possible that they are relics of an archaic stage of Egyptian when these pronouns were not yet fully enclitic. I quote these sentences because they have some bearing on two passages in *CT*. In de Buck, VII, 219*e–f*, we read, ‘The brick² grows in the Eye of Horus *Wsir sw scb·f s(y)*, sc. and Osiris cleanses [or ‘will cleanse’] it.’ Here *sw* precedes *sdm·f* as in Gardiner’s examples, but in its turn is preceded by *Wsir* in anticipatory emphasis; in Gardiner’s second quotation the name of the god *Gb* is not emphasized, but follows the verb in

² See my note, *Transl. CT*, Spell 1002 n. 2.

the usual order of words. The second instance from *CT* occurs in VII, 30j, which reads *ink ʒst sy m-ḥnw ʒḥ-byt*, 'I am Isis as she was in Chemmis',³ where the second clause is probably circumstantial, and exceptionally in this construction has an adverbial predicate, so that the clause has an appearance identical with the much later 'pronominal compound' of Gardiner, *op. cit.* § 124.

³ 'As' is to be preferred to 'when' of my published translation. The square brackets should be deleted; the small lacuna is sufficient only for *-t* and the determinative of *ʒst*.

INTERPRETING *SINUHE*

By JOHN BAINES

DESPITE the volume of writing on Egyptian literature, possible approaches to it that are widespread in other literary fields have been little used. This article considers some of these in relation to the 'classic' work of Egyptian narrative fiction.¹ It does not offer a single consistent analysis, nor does it present a philological or metrical study. My aim is not to apply advanced literary theory, but simply to suggest ways of examining the text as a self-conscious work of literature. This is in contrast to the starting point of Gunn and Barns,² who assumed that what we have are copies of a genuine autobiographical text. It also logically precedes the use of the text as a source for understanding a period or a geographical area,³ which should follow on comprehension of it as an artefact in its own right. Similarly, the view that the text is in large measure a piece of disguised political writing, which was put forward by Posener,⁴ and has had considerable influence, restricts the autonomy of the work as literature.

Of these three different styles of interpretation, only that of Posener is taken into account again below; other points of disagreement should be obvious. I should emphasize that the approach outlined here is not exclusive, and may stand alongside a variety of others. It does preclude the analysis of Gunn and Barns, but, with reservations, allows the other two just mentioned. In the course of discussion I subject some features of the text to repeated analysis from different points of view.

Uniqueness of the text

The story of Sinuhe is unique. According to Otto, who discussed it in an article together with the *Shipwrecked Sailor*,⁵ its status and preponderance in the record might

¹ Text: A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (Bi.Ae. 2, 1932), 1-41; J. W. B. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (Oxford, 1952). Convenient translations: W. K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven and London, 1972 ff.), 57-80; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1 (California, 1973), 222-35. After quotations and references to specific passages I give line numbers of R 1-22, B 1-310. Among general discussions of the text two should be singled out: A. Hermann's review article, 'Sinuhe — ein ägyptischer Schelmenroman?' *OLZ* 48 (1952), 101-9; H. Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägyptischen Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1966), 65-72. Much of this article consists of more detailed discussions of similar points to those made by these authors, whose contributions remain fundamental, but it is impractical constantly to give references to them. After I had completed the draft of this article I came across the interesting discussion of C. Barocas, *L'antico Egitto: ideologia e lavoro nella terra dei faraoni* (Rome, 1978), 186-201, who approaches the text in a similar manner, but concludes, unlike myself, that it is basically a work of propaganda.

² Cf. Barns, *JEA* 53 (1967), 13-14 with 14 n. 1.

³ E.g. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*² (Äg. Abh. 5, 1971), 40-1; A. F. Rainey, 'The World of Sinuhe', in *Israel Oriental Studies* 2 (in memoriam Samuel Miklós Stern, 1920-1969) (Tel Aviv, 1972), 369-408.

⁴ *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e dynastie* (Paris, 1956), 87-115. Note the reservations expressed on p. 115. Like the authors cited in n. 2, Posener assumes that the work reflects fairly exactly the situation of its time. For a more nuanced view cf. Brunner, *Grundzüge* (n. 1 above), 71.

⁵ 'Die Geschichten des Sinuhe und des Schiffbrüchigen als lehrhafte Stücke', *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 100-11.

be a matter of chance. There are, however, good reasons for disagreeing with this view. The spread of attestation of the text over time is good, including five papyri of the Middle Kingdom and Eighteenth Dynasty⁶ and about thirty ostraca of the New Kingdom,⁷ very much more than is available for any other literary narrative. Most narratives are known from one period only, whereas *Sinuhe* spans two, including the significant transition from Middle to Late Egyptian. It is likely that, as with the *Instruction of Ammenemes*,⁸ and *Neferkarē and Sisene*,⁹ the text continued to be known in later times; for there is no sharp cultural break at the end of the New Kingdom.¹⁰

Just because the text is widely attested, this does not necessarily mean that it was popular. Beyond the internal evidence of manuscript transmission¹¹ and that of the provenance of manuscripts, next to nothing is known about the diffusion of literary texts. The occurrence of odd words or phrases in monumental inscriptions¹² suggests that some texts continued to be read—for which there is mostly evidence of other kinds in any case—or that common archetypes were in circulation, but the readers in question may have been only the tiny number who composed texts and/or could read hieroglyphic inscriptions. Very little, then, can be said about the status of the text in society as a whole, in a way that might be possible with oral or semi-oral material; all that can be studied is its poorly known position within the smaller élite context.

How well defined was the canon of literary works within which *Sinuhe* was the outstanding narrative? The interconnections between known texts make the existence of such a canon probable,¹³ but it is unlikely to have been precisely defined, and there is very little indication of its size, which must have been considerable, because there are large numbers of texts known in only one copy, and new finds of manuscripts always produce hitherto unknown works. None the less, my own estimate is that new finds will not change radically the number of types or genres of text known. All this places the uniqueness of *Sinuhe* in context, since it is improbable that other works of which there were comparable numbers of manuscripts are unknown, or that it would suddenly

⁶ Cf. Posener, *Litt. et pol.* 88 n. 6.

⁷ In addition to those Posener cites (last note), he has since published six more from Deir el-Medīna: id., *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médīneh*, II (Cairo, 1951–72), 47; III (1977–80), 105. See also J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), pls. xi 3; cv 2.

⁸ Cf. G. Burkard, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu ägyptischen Weisheitslehren des Alten und Mittleren Reiches* (Äg. Abh. 34, 1977), 7–8.

⁹ Manuscripts of the Eighteenth/Nineteenth to Twenty-fifth Dynasties: Posener, *RdÉ* II (1957), 119–37.

¹⁰ Another possible case of texts spanning the New Kingdom and Late Period is discussed by Posener, *CRAIBL* 1978, 749; the Late Period story described there may share a protagonist with an unpublished New Kingdom story from Deir el-Medīna.

¹¹ Cf. B. van de Walle, *La Transmission des textes littéraires égyptiens* (Brussels, 1948).

¹² Eighteenth Dynasty phrases that may relate to *Sinuhe* are: 'It had more wine than water', in a description of the *mrrw* of Amenophis III (*Urk.* IV, 1651, 14, cf. *Sin.* B 82); the narrative of the death of Tuthmosis III in the autobiography of Amenemḥab, which corresponds word for word with the story, but the two may have a common source (*Urk.* IV, 895, 14–896, 5, cf. *Sin.* R 6–8); and the occurrence of *Tj* in a topographical list of Tuthmosis III (but see the comment of Barns, *JEA* 53 (1967), 10 n. 1). For the more general problem see E. Brunner in E. Hornung and O. Keel (eds.), *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren* (OBO 28, 1979), 105–71.

¹³ Cf. the approach of S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittelägyptischer Literaturwerke* (Berlin, 1957): see also e.g. G. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den "Mahnworten des Ipu-wer"* (AHAW 1972, 1), 11–12.

be discovered, for example, that the *Eloquent Peasant* was known in the New Kingdom. *Sinuhe* is therefore unique, both in the statistical terms I have been considering, and in a number of other aspects of form and subject-matter. It would, therefore, be unrewarding to study it as a member of a genre; the same applies to other works such as the *Dispute of a Man with his Ba*, but these do not have the same 'classic' status in the record.

Another feature of Otto's analysis (loc. cit.) is his joint consideration of *Sinuhe* and the *Shipwrecked Sailor*. There are many points of comparison between the two texts, and their underlying values are, not surprisingly, similar, but I prefer to view them as using an established motif of narrative fiction—travel abroad¹⁴—for largely separate purposes. Literary aspects of the *Shipwrecked Sailor* cannot be treated here.¹⁵

Structure and themes of the narrative

Sinuhe is cast in the framework of a funerary 'ideal' autobiography, and thus belongs with the large number of literary texts that use a framing device. The text departs from the norms of the genre it mimics almost at once by passing from the list of titles and a very brief statement of functions to report the death of Ammenemes I (R 5 ff.). The autobiographical form is then alluded to a few times in the main body of the text, and returns to prominence near the end, where the royal gift of a tomb and preparations for burial are described (B 300 ff.). Unlike most autobiographies, which are told in almost timeless fashion from the point of view of an achieved career, *Sinuhe* ends with a discreet allusion to its protagonist's death: 'I was in the king's favour until the day of landing came' (B 309–10).¹⁶ Here there is a parallel with P. Westcar, in which Djedi is brought to the residence more or less explicitly in order to die;¹⁷ this suggests that *Sinuhe* extends a theme of autobiography in order to merge it with a theme of narrative. The extra feature gives finality to *Sinuhe*'s life, perhaps allowing the reader more easily to stand back and consider its meaning.

In some sense the framework must comment on what it encloses; it could even supply a running commentary on its fictional contents. A normal 'ideal' autobiography may contain a statement of its subject's rank and of important stages in his career,

¹⁴ The travel is almost always to Asia. Other examples are the *Doomed Prince*; *Two Brothers*; more remotely P. Anastasi 1; the two stories about the campaigns of Tuthmosis III: the *Taking of Joppa* and the fragment in G. Botti, *JEA* 41 (1955), 64–71. The text of *Wenamün* may even have been helped into the literary category by its subject-matter of travel abroad. The same motif also occurs in demotic stories. There are probably more far-reaching implications to this concentration on foreign countries in fiction, which parallels the concern of royal inscriptions with foreign policy; these cannot be considered here.

¹⁵ I do not accept the allegorical reading of the text proposed by H. Goedicke, *Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen* (Äg. Abh. 30, 1974).

¹⁶ This is perhaps paralleled in the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, where the narrator says, 'See me after I had reached land' (Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories*, 47, ll. 179–80), in this case possibly alluding not to death but to the end of his adventure, in which he did come back to land or the world. A possible exception to the general rule in autobiographies is 'Aḥmose, son of Ebana' (*Urk.* IV, 10, 9, cited by Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916), 165), but the passage is damaged and the rendering uncertain, perhaps '[]'so that I might rest¹ in the tomb which I made myself'.

¹⁷ His death is not mentioned in the text, but his age of 110 is the ideal age for death.

professions of his adherence to social and ethical norms, and perhaps a narrative of salient episodes in his life and/or a copy of a document showing a mark of royal favour; only the last two are likely to show any strong individuality. All these elements are found in *Sinuhe*, but they form only a proportion of the total text, and are very different from their counterparts in inscriptions. Conspicuously absent from such texts are any true development of character, introspection,¹⁸ a general narrative structure, reverses of fortune, or any untoward events. These are, however, characteristics of *Sinuhe*. I assume the reader was aware that he was not reading a genuine autobiography, so that he would not necessarily be surprised by the contrast, but his understanding of the text would still be strongly affected by it. In simple terms, the text may, contrary to appearances, present an ideal life, or it may make an implicit comment on the nature of an ideal life. Unless victory through adversity was a strongly held Egyptian value, which does not appear to be the case despite its great usefulness as a narrative schema,¹⁹ the former interpretation is implausible; for many features of *Sinuhe*'s life are far from ideal; I prefer the latter. But the text is not only a commentary on the nature of an ideal life. If it were, we should have a didactic treatise, not the integration of a variety of themes into a fictitious autobiography, at least one of whose functions is to entertain.

Another significant feature of the text's structure is the diversity of formal elements and content (see also n. 53 below). It constitutes a virtual compendium of important literary forms, and several of the sub-sections are sharply set off from the general flow of the narrative. The biographical framework, which is one of the literary forms, emerges at some points in the middle of the text, but other features that are present as separate units are more striking. At a minimum these are: formulaic narrative of the death of Ammenemes I (R 5–8); eulogy of Sesostris I (B 47–73); odd phrases from royal inscriptions (B 102–6);²⁰ the fight with the strong man of Retjenu (B 127–47, n. 27 below); poetic presentation of *Sinuhe*'s state, perhaps modelled on the form of funerary laments (B 149–55); royal letter (B 178–99); *Sinuhe*'s reply (B 204–38);²¹ *Sinuhe*'s return journey (? B 241–7);²² ritual appeasement of the king (B 268–75);²³ lodging with a prince (B 286, parallel in P. Westcar). Further similar elements may well be identified, but these are sufficient to indicate the heterogeneous character of

¹⁸ A significant exception is the biography of Amenemḥab (see also n. 12 above), where he describes his sensations on being praised by the king in highly subjective terms: 'He (the king) exuded joy and it filled my body; exultation permeated my limbs' (*Urk.* IV, 894, 14–15). For the introspective 'soliloquies' in *Sinuhe* see below.

¹⁹ The myth of Horus the child is an obvious exception, but it seems not to be very significant for the ethos expressed in texts as a whole, and is not even predominant in the Late Egyptian Horus and Seth story.

²⁰ These raise the question of the source of such phrases, because there is no certain evidence for such inscriptions before the Eleventh Dynasty, and they would best belong with the Nubian conquests of Ammenemes I and Sesostris I, within a few decades of the composition of *Sinuhe*. Parallels with the Semna inscription of Sesostris III (e.g. Sethe, *Lesestücke*², 84, 9–11) are particularly close.

²¹ Goedicke, *JEA* 51 (1965), 29–47; Barns, *JEA* 53 (1967), 6–14. See also n. 32 below.

²² This shows affinities with the instructions for Ḥarkḥuf's journey from Aswan (?) to Memphis (*Urk.* I, 131, 4–7), suggesting a possible conventional *topos*.

²³ Cf. H. Brunner, *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 5–11; P. Derchain, *RdÉ* 22 (1970), 79–83; W. Westendorf, *SAK* 5 (1977), 293–304.

the text. They combine with other biases in the narrative to produce a very uneven flow of events, focusing the reader's attention as much on the examples of fine writing as on the unfolding of the subject as a whole (if indeed this is of primary concern). The smaller forms are used in virtuoso fashion,²⁴ and particularly interesting effects are created when a very rigid schema is adapted to the narrative of events, as with the insertion of traditional phrases into the description of the protagonist's life in the land of *I33*.²⁵ In richness and diversity of style²⁶ the result is a 'masterpiece' which both incorporates and probably transcends the smaller forms used as points of departure. Whether the work appeals to modern taste or not, it should be viewed as an Egyptian 'masterpiece', which may or may not be a failure on its own terms. It is not profitable to attempt an evaluation of its degree of success, except as a heuristic exercise (see below).

One effect of the diversity of the text is the creation of multiple shifts of viewpoint. I return to this below when I study the presentation of character, but it is worth also considering the formal implications. Most Egyptian narratives are in the third person, exceptions being the problematic *Wenamun* and *Tale of Woe* (n. 36 below), and the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, which is first-person in a third-person framework. Third-person narrative is an objectivizing form, although its objective quality may be cancelled out by presentation through the eyes of a single character, as in many novels. It allows different viewpoints to be incorporated, either through the use of an 'omniscient' narrator or through dialogue, but there tends to be a level of narration with a privileged status. A first-person narrative, on the other hand, shows things from a particular perspective that is decidedly non-objective and open to critical scrutiny, and can present multiple viewpoints only through dialogue, artifices such as epistolary form, or more arbitrary devices such as those of William Faulkner. The technique of *Sinuhe* is comparable with these modern methods in allowing the protagonist's narrative to be set in context and rendered problematic, partly through dialogue and partly through the various inserted forms, which can be seen in this light as being exploited on more than one level. The author of *Sinuhe* does in fact have two advantages over his modern counterpart: the formal framework of autobiography seems to us to carry much more conviction than most modern fictional forms—enough, perhaps, to mislead some Egyptologists—and the lyrical passages within the text that have the function of soliloquies are presented directly, without an identifying sub-framework, yet they are sufficiently differentiated from the general narrative to be clearly discernible. Here the modern analyst may be reading more artifice into the text than the author put there, but the parallel with the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, where there is (at least) a story within a story, within a story, shows that complicated formal devices were part of an author's stock of skills.

The autobiographical framework also makes a decisive contribution to the meaning

²⁴ I assume that all these passages were newly composed for the text, not taken over *en bloc*.

²⁵ B 95–7. These phrases are not listed above because they are an instance of the autobiographical framework 'surfacing' in the middle of the text.

²⁶ Compare the studies of the vocabulary of *Sinuhe* and of the *Dispute of a Man with his Ba*: W. Schenkel, *GM* 5 (1977), 21–4, with refs.

of the work. Form and meaning coincide so that, as the features that derive most explicitly from tomb inscriptions are left behind—that is, as the narrative gets under way—the protagonist departs further and further from the ideal life of an Egyptian. As the end approaches he then returns towards both the framework of the autobiography and the proper status of an Egyptian courtier. In between, the chief moments at which the precise inscriptional form recurs are in the passages immediately before and after the fight with the strong man of Retjenu (B 95 ff.: ‘I gave water to the thirsty; I set the one who strayed on the (right) way; I saved the one who was robbed’; B 151: ‘I give bread to my neighbour’). The fight forms the central showpiece and turning point of the text, so that the positioning of these phrases is probably significant. The implication is that at Sinuhe’s furthest remove from Egypt and Egyptianness, Egyptian values return to him as a veiled contrast with his present state. The fight itself is probably inserted as a clearly foreign form, whether or not it is genuinely taken over from a Near Eastern source or type.²⁷

In the broadest and simplest terms the structure of the text is, therefore, *ABA*, *A* being the state of an Egyptian official and *B* his removal to Palestine. There is no fundamental difference in Sinuhe’s status at the beginning and the end, and in literalistic terms he is not changed by his experiences. The ‘true’ state of things, the Egyptian state, is, therefore, implicitly superior to what goes between, for it requires no change to reassert its superiority. This is a limited view of the text, but it is worth considering its implications a little further. The striking feature of Sinuhe’s career abroad is his success, which is in marked contrast with his behaviour immediately before he leaves Egypt. The lowest ebb of his fortunes is just after he crosses the frontier, when he is rescued from death in the desert by a nomad (B 21–8); his flight from west to east, across and away from Egypt, is a flight into destitution. But once he has made the transition to Asia, his status rises continuously until his combat with the strong man of Retjenu gives him a dominant position in local society. After this climax Sinuhe looks back over this section of his life and of the text (roughly a third of the whole), and compares his state at the beginning of the exile with that which he has achieved now (B 147–55), inviting the reader to perceive this section as a unity. After his homesickness and correspondence with Sesostris I, his return journey parallels the outward flight both in route and position in the text, forming a wholesale variation of it. His reintegration into Egyptian society, which then follows, also has moments of crisis that may be compared with the journey away from Egypt. The contrast between the two journeys can be summarized briefly. The flight from Egypt is made away from Egypt, mainly by land, and the crucial river crossing is in a boat whose lack of rudder symbolizes both Sinuhe’s helplessness and the wrong direction of his life; he is sent on his way by a west wind, the ‘wrong’ quarter for a wind in Egypt. For the return, accomplished in the ‘good’ direction of east to west, Sinuhe is accompanied by servants and perhaps by an ‘overseer of peasants’, and sails rather than drifts to the residence—not far from where he had originally crossed the river.

²⁷ Cf. H. Donner, *ZAS* 81 (1956), 61–2; G. Lanczkowski, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 214–18, but see the comments of Rainey (n. 3 above), 380; P. Behrens, *GM* 44 (1981), 7–11.

These are only some of the ways in which the form of the text enhances and comments on its meaning. The form could be taken allegorically as an inner journey into doubt and a return to certainty, or even as a journey into the next life,²⁸ but there is no clear evidence for either interpretation. The superficial subject is, on the other hand, easily compatible with my notion of commenting on the nature of an ideal life. Reduced to a few sentences such a commentary might run:

Flight from Egypt and Egyptian values is difficult to accomplish and intensely painful. An Egyptian may well succeed in another type of life abroad, but his success is hollow, because the greatest triumph there is nothing to a position of modest esteem in Egypt. Egyptian values supplant others. The king is the centre of Egyptian values.²⁹

But to state the values thus is not to make them persuasive. Part of the literary art of the text lies in the way it carries conviction (if a reader feels that it does), so that some of its implications are absorbed without conscious reflection on them.

The distinctive feature of the 'commentary' above is the success of Sinuhe abroad. The general motif is conventional and world-wide, the most famous example being the parable of the Prodigal Son; the treatment it is given is what determines its interest. Here what is presented is the opposite of a tragedy, in which values may be affirmed through an instance of defeat. In keeping with the general Egyptian avoidance of the darker side of life, Sinuhe does the reverse and shows something to be lacking in value by recounting success in it. The analogy with tragedy is relevant in suggesting a deeper meaning for Sinuhe's success abroad. If he had failed and his life had been a misery both superficially and in his non-acceptance of settling in Palestine, the Egyptian side of the implied contrast would have had all the advantages and won too easily. In more general terms of tact and of the context of the story in society, there would have been a loss of face for the Egyptian who was unable to make his way in life abroad, and, in so far as Sinuhe stood for Egyptians as a whole, this would apply to all of them.³⁰ Instead, a life of conspicuous achievement abroad is contrasted with a less eventful one in Egypt, and the latter is preferred. A reader might, of course, be captivated by the excitement of the foreign country, and this is part of the function of the text as literature rather than treatise. The literary subtlety of the work is also clear from a comparison with its formal prototype, the ideal autobiography, which is mostly far more simplistic in its adherence to Egyptian values. Here, the ambiguity of *Sinuhe* is its strength.

One might extend this analysis in two ways to suggest that propaganda, for the king and/or for the established order, was after all the prime purpose of the text; and

²⁸ Cf. S. Purdy, 'Sinuhe and the Question of Literary Types', *ZÄS* 104 (1977), 112-27.

²⁹ Compare the analysis of Barocas (n. 1 above), who views the Egyptianness of Sinuhe's life abroad as distinctive, and isolates relations with the sovereign and proper burial as the crucial deficiencies of exile (pp. 197-8). I would argue that details of the life described attempt, however unsuccessfully, to provide genuine local colour (so also Rainey, n. 3 above). The most interesting is the 'milk in everything cooked' (B 91-2), with its foreshadowing of Leviticus; cf. H. G. Fischer, *Varia* (Egyptian Studies 1) (New York, 1976), 97-9. For propaganda implications of this summary see below.

³⁰ As sedentary and partly urban people thrown among nomads in Sinai, it is very likely that such would have been their lot.

this is the view of a number of writers.³¹ I consider the two possibilities briefly and in turn.

Several of the literary forms that are incorporated into the text praise the king and emphasize Sinuhe's relationship with him. Such elements are commonly incorporated into genuine autobiographical texts. Early examples are the praise of Saḥurē in the text of Ni'ankhsakhmet (*Urk.* 1, 39–40), and the letters of Izezy to Rē'shepses (*Urk.* 1, 179–80) and Pepy II to Ḥarkhuf (*Urk.* 1, 128–31). The letter of Sinuhe to the king, on the other hand, has no parallel in inscriptions, and, as a personal document that does not enhance the author's status, is not likely to have one. The resultant structure no longer corresponds with official autobiography, but, in the case of the exchange of letters, may be a little more realistic.³² These 'loyalistic' features could be taken as propaganda for the regime, or specifically for Sesostri I. They are, however, not distinctive for the text, and it is hard to imagine that analogous elements denigrating the king would be included. The purpose of the insertions could be as much to give autobiographical 'colour'—the letter from Sinuhe extrapolating from there—as to convey a particular message. If there is a message of propaganda, it is more likely to be expounded through the characterization of the king himself than in 'standardized' sections of this sort.³³ It is also difficult to identify a precise meaning or occasion for the text as royal propaganda. By some time near the end of the reign of Sesostri I, when the text most probably originated, propaganda for him would have been neither here nor there; his successor would have needed it more. The *Prophecy of Neferti* and the *Instruction of Ammenemes* both have an obvious relevance to a political situation while retaining the characteristics of literary works of art and being valued as such in later periods, and so may be considered literary propaganda; for *Sinuhe* this is not clear.

In the case of the second possibility, that of propaganda for the established order, or for Egyptian values in general, the difficulty is that most Egyptian literary works could be shown to affirm Egyptian values, so that *Sinuhe* will not be different from the general run, even though it plainly stands out on other grounds. It would be rash to assert that Egyptian literature as a whole was intended as propaganda. Rather, it was composed as literature, a type of production whose exemplars rarely have a single purpose.³⁴

³¹ Cf. nn. 1, 4, 29 above. Among other writers who follow this interpretation cf. W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (SAOC 40, 1977), 250–2.

³² For the existence of such letters see the references to them in the inscriptions of Rē'shepses and Ḥarkhuf just mentioned. They probably became formalized in a manner similar to requests for royal largesse in Old Kingdom biographical inscriptions—the monopolistic state's equivalent to gift-exchange. They would also be a necessary feature of the conduct of affairs, but the king might have the sole right to reproduce them, and he would have little reason for doing so. The intercepted letter to the ruler of Kush incorporated in the second stela of Kamose (Labib Habachi, *The Second Stela of Kamose* (ADAIK 8, 1972), 39–40) belongs in a rather different context.

³³ This is how a favourable image of Snofru is projected in the *Prophecy of Neferti* and perhaps P. Westcar, but see P. Derchain, 'Snéfrou et les rameuses', *RdÉ* 21 (1969), 19–25. In the same text Khufu is presented in a hostile fashion: cf. Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (Paris, 1960), 89–97. The story of *Neferkarē and Sisene* (n. 9 above) is another example of how a king is denigrated by the presentation of his actions.

³⁴ The definition of literature in Egypt is problematic, but this difficulty does not affect the point at issue

Character of the protagonist ; analysis of motive

Egyptian narrative texts seldom show a special concern with the motivation of their characters. This is normally taken for granted, being presented simply as fact, and interest is focused on the unfolding of the action. It is, however, noteworthy that 'heroes' are not always presented in a heroic mould. This is true both of human beings and of gods, but is most striking in the least typical texts, *Sinuhe*, *Wenamün*,³⁵ and perhaps the *Tale of Woe*.³⁶ Among these *Sinuhe* is unique in making commentary on the protagonist's motivation into an important and recurring theme of the text. It is difficult to interpret some of what is said, because the treatment of such matters in the Egyptian language is far from that in western languages; turns of phrase that seem to mean what they say may in fact be metaphorical, and vice versa.³⁷

The essential problem of *Sinuhe* is to justify his flight abroad to himself or to his interlocutors, the ruler of Retjenu and Sesostri I. His attitude to his flight changes necessarily in the course of the text—otherwise the narrative could not proceed—but the grounds for repudiating it are established at the beginning by the very slight motivation given (B 1 ff.), where what is described is chiefly his sense of physical fright at overhearing the seditious (?) message being read out.³⁸ The first stages of the journey are then described in what are for us quite ordinary terms: 'I did not plan to reach the residence; for I thought there would be turmoil, and did not expect to survive it' (B 6–7). During his conversation with Ammunenshi the idea of a god is introduced as a simile into the description, which still emphasizes Sinuhe's own sensations of disorientation and includes much self-exculpation (B 37–43), but ends, 'It was like the plan (*shr*) of a god'. The indefinite 'god' is then made the arbiter of Sinuhe's success in Palestine (B 148 ff.), and appealed to in order to bring about his return (B 156 ff.). The king's letter again takes up the theme of motivation, but casts it in slightly more direct terms: 'through your heart's counsel to yourself' (B 182–3); 'this plan took hold of your heart, (but) it was not in my heart against you' (B 185). Comparable phraseology is then used in Sinuhe's reply, which also says that the flight was 'like a dream' (B 223–6). Then, in the encounter with Sesostri I, 'god' is invoked once more. Sinuhe's reaction to the royal presence runs: 'What is it that my lord says to me? If I reply to it, it is not my own doing (lit.: there is not what I do); it is the action (*r*) of (a) god' (B 261–2). There the 'god' could be the king, but it could also be the indefinite 'god' referred to elsewhere. Finally, the royal children supply yet another interpretation in their song of propitiation: 'For fear of you he fled; for dread of you he roamed the earth' (B 277–8).

here, nor should the absence of a word for literature be used as a strong argument against the existence of the category, however it is defined (for a comparable case cf. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* [in press], § 1.3.1.4).

³⁵ I assume that *Wenamün* was used as a work of literature, whether it started as one or not. The petition of Peteese in P. Rylands 9 may also be a text used secondarily as literature.

³⁶ R. A. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe* (Oxford, 1977).

³⁷ Cf. e.g. G. Lienhardt, 'Self: Public, Private. Some African Representations', *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Oxford* 11 (1980), 69–82.

³⁸ V. Wessetzky, 'Sinuhes Flucht', *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 124–7, studies this point in more detail and quotes numerous earlier opinions. I am not convinced by his explanation that a harem conspiracy, which it was taboo to mention, was at issue, nor does this necessarily solve the problem of inadequate motivation.

The motivation of the flight, which is at first ascribed simply to the protagonist, is later referred to a second entity, either a 'god' or the 'heart (*ib*)'. This hypostatization has its most thoroughgoing exemplification among literary works in the *Dispute of a Man with his Ba*, where it serves as the formal vehicle for an elaborate debate. The two examples are very different, but they have in common that they dissociate conflicting feelings of a single character and present them separately. Perhaps the *ba* presents heterodox notions that would not be admitted overtly by the man. Despite the relevance of this parallel, a more telling analogy is probably with passages in biographical texts of widely varying date, discussed by Clère,³⁹ which refer men's actions to divine agency. Two significant examples of the Macedonian Period, from the inscriptions of Smatawytefnakht and of the son of Nectanebo II, deal with the same topic as that of *Sinuhe*, flight abroad; it is conceivable, though unlikely, that they are influenced by the story. It seems almost that this is the ultimate transgression against Egyptian values—or perhaps the action whose symbolism summarizes such transgressions—something nobody would admit that he did of his own volition. The flight, therefore, becomes both (i) a general symbol for the guilt of turning away from society and (ii) a particular load of guilt for the protagonist; I consider these two points separately.

(i) The guilt attaching to going into exile may seem to us to be quite disproportionate. In the case of the inscriptions of the Macedonian Period this could be natural, because the offence is the common one of treason or collaboration. But with *Sinuhe*, who does not 'go over to the enemy', the point has further implications, and its significance is heightened by the temporary anomie of the protagonist as he crosses the frontier away from Egypt into exile. Egyptian society, as is the norm, defines itself by setting itself off against others. It propounds a single order, to which all are committed, which is seen to be best by all, so far as they consider that there even might be an alternative. To choose to depart from this order into another society is to say very clearly that it is not the only one possible. Voluntary exile, therefore, states that society can be a prison and not a paradise.⁴⁰ This symbolism of exile is summed up in the modern imposition of the exit visa, but for a closed society which applies its word for 'mankind' only to its own members even more is at stake. The statement above (p. 37) that *Sinuhe*'s return affirms Egyptian values can, therefore, be given very much greater force by noting how analogies to the presentation of the motive place the exile in such a harsh light. Values

³⁹ *RdÉ* 6 (1951), 152–4; see also E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 207. The passage from the stela of Horemkhauef (Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947), 4, ll. 5–6) may refer to an oracular choice, and this is also conceivable for the text of 'Ankhtify (J. Vandier, *Mo'alla* (IFAO BÉ 18, 1950), 163), although less likely. There is a second group of occurrences of comparable phrases in magical texts, ranging from the Pyramid Texts to the New Kingdom, where the formula runs: 'It is not PN who does this, it is GN who does it'. As suggested by Sauneron in *Le Monde du sorcier* (Sources orientales 7, Paris, 1966), 60 n. 39, this may have the dual meaning of strengthening the magician's assertion and exculpating him for the dire events he invokes. The latter idea is closely parallel to the inscriptions of the Macedonian Period. See, in addition to the references cited by Sauneron, *CT* 1, 302*d-f*; VI, 251*i-j*; J. F. Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348* (= *OMRO* 51, 1970 (1971)), 31 with n. 419. (I am grateful to Mordechai Gilula for this material.)

⁴⁰ Cf. Helck in S. Donadoni (ed.), *Le fonti indirette della storia egiziana* (Studi semitici 7) (Rome, 1963), 68–9.

need reaffirmation because a whole way of looking at the world is being placed in question. The text shows that the questioning is unavoidable, but its conclusion seeks to imply otherwise.

This interpretation may seem overstated, but by the Middle Kingdom there had been, so far as we can tell, very little movement of Egyptians settling beyond the borders of Egypt. The potency of exile as a symbol can also be seen much later in the *Tale of Woe*, and in non-fictional political exile.⁴¹ These points may not, however, be especially relevant to the argument; for any such symbolic reading operates on a different level from the obvious testimony of the text that real people live in Asia, conduct lives comparable with those of Egyptians, even ones of ease, and may be good or bad like anybody else. The symbol is understood as a symbol, and is not affected by mundane contradictions. Here other stock motifs may also play a part, such as that of an earthly paradise far away, in terms of which the land of *Yb* is described.

(ii) The hypostatization of 'god', or, in other versions within *Sinuhe*, of the 'heart', is a dramatization of guilt and an exculpation of the guilty party.⁴² The problem of motivation is treated in terms too inconsistent for the ascription to outside agencies to be interpreted as conceptual realism or reification;⁴³ it is certainly a literary device. At first the presentation is direct, but very summary, while later the protagonist's vacillations and his interlocutors' statements subject the theme to constant variation, mainly in order to present the most flattering and suitable version for the situation at hand. But the problem of guilt remains unresolved. Nobody really comes to terms with it and transcends it, and in this sense there is no hero or true development. At least three interpretations of this point can be suggested. Before proceeding to these, a formal aspect of the analysis of motive should be mentioned. After the first statements on the subject (B 6–7) there is always an interlocutor, either another person or the poetic 'audience' implied by the heightened, soliloquy-like passages, whose treatment, I suspect, invites the reader not to take them literally. (Here the *Dispute of a Man with his Ba* offers a parallel.) The lack of continuing analysis in the normal mode of discourse may be another index of guilt, or it could reflect the absence of such discussion in society or in personal experience.

The first interpretation consists in viewing *Sinuhe* as an almost exclusively social being, whose morality belongs to the period of instruction-texts that emphasize correct observation of social forms more than personal rectitude. He says what he thinks his companion of the moment wishes to hear. Such a pliant character would not make a hero in a Corneille tragedy, but for Egyptians this is not the point. It is, on the other hand, significant that the artifice employed in presenting the character is not

⁴¹ J. von Beckerath, 'Die "Stele der Verbannten" im Museum des Louvre', *RdÉ* 20 (1968), 1–36; note especially the periphrasis for exile 'killing living people' (*smꜣ rmꜣw ꜥnhw*, l. 23), which, as von Beckerath says (p. 35), implies that exile is a living death.

⁴² This treatment of the 'heart' may be commonplace, as is suggested by the potentially unruly heart of *Book of the Dead* 30, the chapter inscribed on heart scarabs (a text not attested before the New Kingdom): cf., e.g., T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (SAOC 37, 1974), 40; E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich and Stuttgart, 1979), 95–7.

⁴³ C. R. Hallpike, *The Foundations of Primitive Thought* (Oxford, 1979), 384–423.

directed to showing a heroic or tragic figure. Although Sinuhe is presented as an individual—a rather egocentric one, who may be short of self-knowledge—in terms of the plot his ‘salvation’ comes through identifying with a social role and abandoning his deviant ways. Here the corollary of the dominant significance of exile as a motif is the lack of a truly private morality or of the idea of personal self-fulfilment. In its closing stages the text throws more and more emphasis on the protagonist’s social identity. Such a person does not need to be a hero or to develop as a character; whether he does so or not is almost irrelevant.

In the second interpretation, the same analysis is seen in its context in the structure of the story. Here it is possible to evaluate very briefly the author’s achievement in depicting a character. In general such an exercise is not very useful, but it is worth testing the approach on this point, because it leads the way to a different, improved understanding. The question to be asked is: Can we believe that somebody who behaves as Sinuhe does at the beginning of the story is the successful, dominant personality of the main part of his sojourn in Egypt, then the underdog figure who triumphs over the strong man of Retjenu, and much later the man who is overcome in the presence of the king of Egypt? My answer is: No; and I believe that the protagonist’s equivocations and vacillations form an irreconcilable contradiction with his deeds in Retjenu, in particular. We cannot know whether an ancient Egyptian would have felt the same contradiction, but it is possible to suggest a reason for it. The weakness of motivation is irrelevant in terms of the plot, which simply requires that Sinuhe go abroad,⁴⁴ and it is indeed very fruitful in supplying material for subsequent analysis of character and motive. It is necessary, in addition, that, whatever motivation there was, it was not so grave as to render it impossible for Sinuhe to return; the dramatization of the threat to Egyptian values is also intensified by a weakly motivated exile. Just as Iago’s ‘motiveless malice’, in Coleridge’s phrase, is all that the plot of *Othello* requires, so Sinuhe’s flight is self-sufficient. The analogy with drama makes another point, which should be borne in mind when considering how far interpretations can be taken. Although the character-analysis shows affinities with that of a novel, the pace, movement, and tableau-like presentation of *Sinuhe* have more in common with drama in western literature than with leisurely prose fiction. Drama that compresses decades and continents often acquires contradictory qualities through its juxtaposition of elements.

The third approach to the question of the development of character goes beyond the interpretative framework employed up to this juncture. I only sketch the issue here.

Transcendent features?

So far, I have considered *Sinuhe* in virtually secular terms that could be applied in comparable fashion to modern works of literature. This has been deliberate, but such an approach is unlikely to encompass the full meaning of texts that do not originate in a modern, secularized society, unless they belong in very restricted genres. Religious

⁴⁴ Compare the analysis of Barocas (n. 1 above), 190–1.

or mythological elements may be present even in one of the few narratives that remain within the bounds of everyday events.⁴⁵ There is a notable contrast here between the ideological background of *Sinuhe* and that of *Wenamūn*. *Sinuhe*'s ideological centre is the king, as was—at least in theory—true of Egyptian society as a whole in earlier periods, but *Wenamūn* proclaims openly his piety towards Amūn and pays no regard to the king. In *Sinuhe* the religious or mythological elements in this most social of narratives can be expected to centre on and be mediated by the king rather than linking protagonist and deity directly. *Sinuhe*'s religion relates to the king and Egypt rather than to himself. He is not described as performing any personal religious acts; his personal religious practice is no more relevant to the text than the number of Lady Macbeth's children is to *Macbeth*.⁴⁶ The main religious elements in the text are the motif of burial in Egypt and its consequence in the preparation for burial at the end of the text,⁴⁷ the elaborate presentation of the royal pantheon in *Sinuhe*'s reply to the king's letter,⁴⁸ and the rituals associated with the protagonist's arrival in the royal presence. I consider the last of these briefly, drawing heavily on earlier discussions.

The presentation of *Sinuhe* to the king and his initial exchange with him are in terms that need no transcendent explanation (B 248–63, 279–81). But when he says, 'Life is yours (i.e. at your disposal); may your Person act as he wishes', the royal children are brought in for the propitiatory song in which the king implicitly takes on the role of the creator god and the queen that of Ḥathor; the menits and sistra they hold supply an allusive link with 'life'.⁴⁹ There seems little doubt that this ritual brings about the rebirth of *Sinuhe* as an Egyptian,⁵⁰ but it produces a break in meaning. Before and after the audience the course of events seems no different from what it would have been if there had been no ritual; in particular, *Sinuhe* himself does not appear to be changed.⁵¹ His reintegration into Egyptian society—in Egyptian terms into the world—acquires a cosmic dimension which effectively substitutes for any psychological process of adjustment or of admission or expiation of guilt; there is no inner development of character. The ritual puts the topic on a plane where personal motives are irrelevant; the 'you' for fear of whom *Sinuhe* fled (B 277–8) is as much the creator-god as the king. A significant feature of this process is that the text acknowledges it as a ritual and sets it apart. Previous events have shown sufficiently that *Sinuhe* will be accepted on his return, but the event is none the less marked by a ritual of crisis. This crisis parallels closely the protagonist's anomie on leaving Egypt: in both cases he virtually dies, at his departure when he feels that 'this is the taste of death' (B 23), and on his return his 'ba was gone . . . my heart was not in my body that I might know life from death' (B 255–6). The symbolic and structural significance of the virtual death comes thus to outweigh its rather modest position in the narrative. *Sinuhe* must

⁴⁵ The texts I have cited most frequently as parallels, *Wenamūn* and the *Tale of Woe*, share this characteristic.

⁴⁶ The soliloquy in which 'god' is invoked more than once (B 147 ff.) is of uncertain status in this respect: see also pp. 39–40.

⁴⁷ The aversion to burial abroad is presented in an only marginally religious fashion.

⁴⁸ Cf. J. Yoyotte, 'A propos du panthéon de Sinouhé (B 205–212)', *Kēmi* 17 (1964), 69–73.

⁴⁹ Cf., e.g., E. Staehelin, 'Menit', *LÄ* 4 (1980), 52–3.

⁵⁰ Cf. n. 23 above.

⁵¹ As remarked by Brunner, *Grundzüge* (n. 1 above), 70–1.

'die' from his Asiatic existence in order to relive as an Egyptian, and this must be played out on the largest possible stage. The apparently disproportionate means of cancelling out Sinuhe's departure from Egypt parallels the heavy load of meaning the guilt of exile has to bear.

The connection between the ritual act described and the *rite de passage* through which the protagonist passes is given in two features of the song: the allusion to the union of the two crowns, meaning the two lands, in the king, before which the world is in disorder as at the beginning of a reign (B 271–2), and the concluding phrases which dispel the terrifying aspect from the king's countenance, and produce a response in the king's next speech (B 277–80). What all this leaves aside is the ritual union of the king and queen implied by the passage.⁵² The placing of the ritual, therefore, remains forced, and, while its interruption of the flow of the narrative demonstrates once again how much is at stake in Sinuhe's departure from and reintegration into Egyptian society, the result is not an organic unity—as may be true of much of the seriation of literary forms in the text.⁵³ I am left feeling that all involved know that they have been acting out a part, so that there is no true fusion of the mythical, in which Sinuhe's role is far from clear, and the mundane level of the story—but I may view the text too sceptically.



An analysis such as that undertaken in this article is open-ended, and cannot easily be summarized, because a variety of approaches to different topics has been used. In conclusion, two general points can be made. Scrutiny of the narrative structure and the presentation of character in *Sinuhe* does identify considerable complexity, analogous with the richness of the text in style and vocabulary; it also brings out the relationship of the text with Egyptian values. Techniques of analysis that are applied to western literature seem to yield results with *Sinuhe*, but reveal alien preoccupations and emphases, as is only to be expected. Such analyses do not seek to discover a single, correct understanding or author's intention in a text, but to deepen our comprehension of its meaning and implications. There is no guarantee that these techniques will prove appropriate to other Egyptian literary texts, because *Sinuhe* is not closely comparable with any of them. This should not, however, discourage literary analysis of them.

⁵² There is a chronological discrepancy; for if Sinuhe had been abroad long enough to have children who were now grown up, the royal children in Egypt would either not know him or be middle-aged. This is no doubt irrelevant to the ritual.

⁵³ Compare the view of Barocas (n. 1 above), 196, that the text is a set of juxtaposed sections, which the author was not much concerned to render consistent or logical in their context. Here I think he underestimates the integration of the final product, but his basic point is undoubtedly sound.


A DIDACTIC TEXT OF THE LATE MIDDLE KINGDOM

By HENRY G. FISCHER

THE tomb of *Inpy*, at El-Lahun,¹ was one of the most imposing structures in the local necropolis, but its inscriptions and reliefs were completely stripped from the walls of the chapel and only scattered remnants of them survive. From these we can reconstruct most of his titulary, which falls into three categories: honorific, judicial, and administrative. His honorific distinctions include all four of those to which an official of his time might aspire; he was *smr-wcty*, *htmty-bity*, *hsty-c*, *iry-pct*, 'sole companion, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, count, and hereditary prince'. His principal judicial title was *imy-r rwyf*, 'overseer of the lawcourt'. Like many magistrates before him, he was *hm-ntr Mꜣꜣt*, 'priest of Maꜣat', and in addition held two titles that are more obscure but certainly belong to the same context: , perhaps to be translated 'staff of the commoners, a pillar of hearkening of the desert (people)'.² Finally, he was also *imy-r kꜣ(w)t nbt nt nswt m tꜣ r drꜣf*, 'overseer of all works of the king in the entire land'. Of these titles, the one he applied most commonly to himself was 'overseer of the lawcourt', for it recurs on a fragmentary statue from his tomb,³ on a portion of his false door which was found some distance away,⁴ and on a stela from Abydos, where he is also designated as , 'overseer of the two (palace) gates', and again 'overseer of all works of the king'.⁵ The stela is particularly interesting because it associates him with the well-known *Iy-hr-nfꜣrt*, who was an official of Sesostri III, and thus suggests that his tomb is no earlier than the reign of that monarch.⁶

While many of the inscribed fragments provide little more than these titles, along with such routine elements as a brief address to passers-by, bits of offering formulae, and lists of offerings, quite a few of them are more unusual (see fig. 1). These have never, to my knowledge, been translated,⁷ and they would hardly deserve such attention were it not for the fact that they embody a literary genre that is unexpected in this context, namely, a didactic speech addressed by the owner to his sons who are ranged opposite him.⁸ An image of *Inpy* himself doubtless accompanied the long text, seated at the extreme left.

¹ Petrie, Brunton, and Murray, *Lahun*, II, 26–8, pls. 27–31.

² In Cairo CG 20539 *dꜣrt* in this same context has the determinative : see *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 40.

³ *Lahun*, II, pl. 31 (74).

⁴ Noted by Brunton, op. cit. 27; Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob*, pl. 12 (11); *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, pl. 11 (10).

⁵ Cairo CG 20683. A photograph may be found in W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, pl. 2. This and the preceding monuments provide Ranke's only evidence for the name *Inpy* (PN 1, 37 [2]).

⁶ Cf. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*, 250.

⁷ *Lahun*, II, pl. 30. On p. 42 Margaret Murray only translates some of the titles and offering formulae from the other plates.

⁸ The closest hieroglyphic parallel is a closely contemporaneous stela, Cairo CG 20538 (ii c 8), where

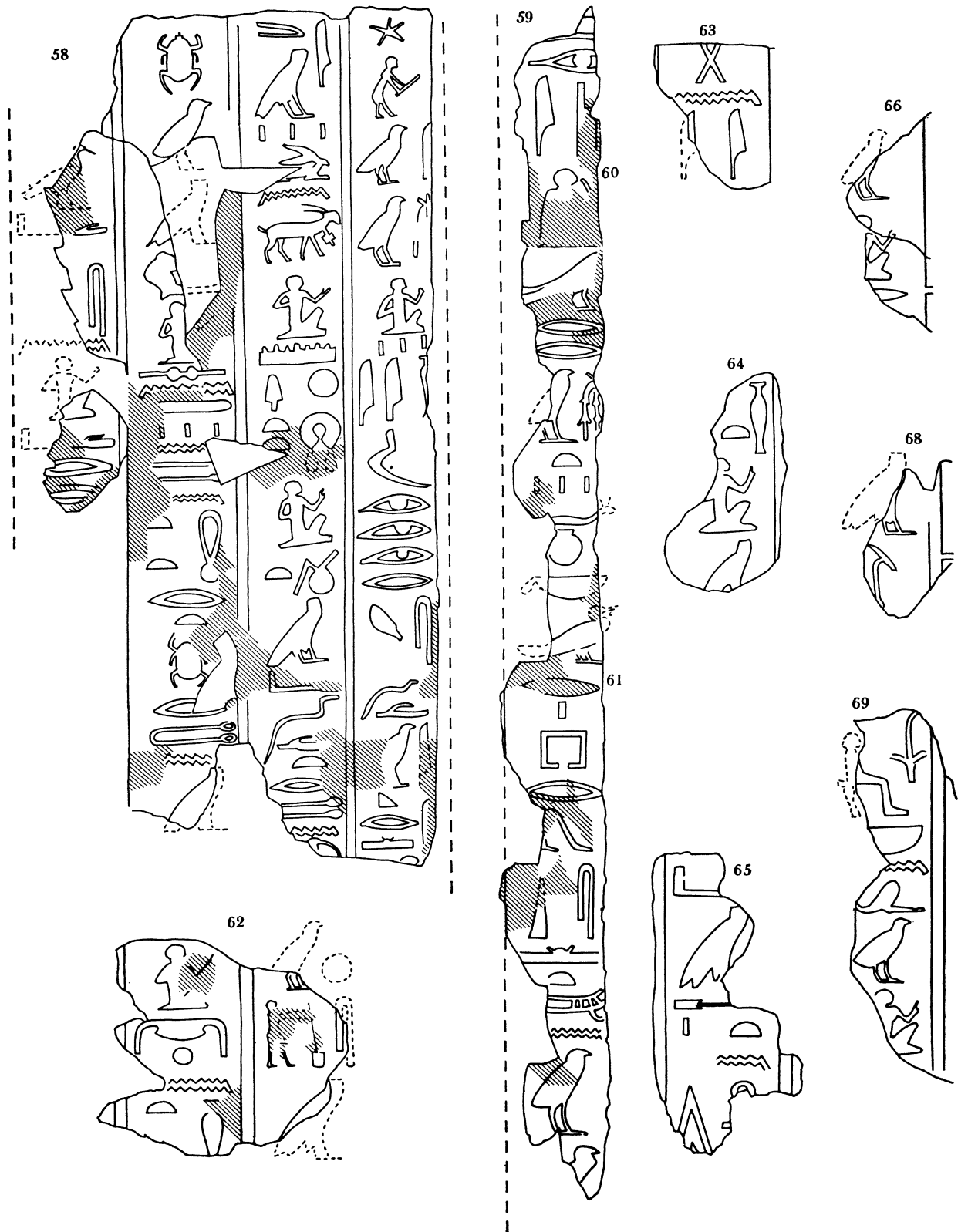


FIG. 1. A didactic text from the tomb of *Inpy* at El-Lahun

The only columns that are in sequence are those that most obviously constitute the didactic portion (*Fragment* 58), couched in the first person singular and addressed, in the second person plural, to the speaker's progeny. An isolated column of inscription (59–61) appears, conversely, to address a father in the words of a son, but this part of the text is much more difficult to interpret. Other fragments, of smaller size (62–9), contain laudatory statements of the sort that are familiar from tomb biographies, and they are undoubtedly applied by the owner to himself.

Most of this material is now in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and the Institute has made photographs of them, enabling me to verify, and occasionally correct, the published facsimile by Hilda Petrie.⁹ The copy shown here incorporates these slight revisions.

Translation

Fragment 58: (1) . . . instruction.^a Children are praised who see to^b the hearing of speech.^c Excellent are they(?) who are patient(?)^d . . . (2) . . . Let^e my rank^f be efficacious and my plan^g be firm because of what is said about you. Advantageous(?)^h . . . (3) . . . who came into being before me. Overcomeⁱ the like thereof,^j and ye shall become . . . (4) . . . I e[rected?]^k a gate . . .

Fragments 59–61: . . . he(?)^l . . . Osiris. O thou who art greater than his progeny,^m I am one who is friendly of speechⁿ and emerges instructed(?).^o One [on account of whom no man] trembled(?)^p . . .

Fragment 62: . . . (1) built with(? in?) . . . (2) . . . [one gave] me a reward of gold^q . . .

Fragment 63: . . . enclosed(?)^r

Fragment 64: . . . my praise [was greater?] in [the palace than (that of) any courtier(?)]^s . . .

Fragment 65: . . . as(? with?) the life-sustaining vegetation^t that is given . . .








Fragment 66: . . . [the king] appointed me as [an official (of some kind) (?)]^u . . .

Fragment 68: . . . [foun]d ruined(?)^v

Fragment 69: . . . [there was not(?)] any noble of the king who equalled me^w . . .


Commentary

a. Or some other derivative of the verb *sbj*, 'teach'.



b. The repetition of  is an archaic expression of the plural: cf. OK   , 'which went forth' (*Pyr.* 22a), the masc. pl. of a non-geminating participle (cited by Faulkner, *Plural and Dual*, 19–20); also the use of  to express the geminating form *mꜣꜣ* in 'who sees' (Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siût*, pl. 4 [217], quoted by Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 357), and   for the infinitive, which


instruction (*sbꜣyt*) is offered to the children of the deceased, but this instruction is nothing more than a eulogy of the king. Goedicke (*JEA* 48 (1962), 25–35) offers a closer analogy in another Middle Kingdom stela (University College London, 14333), but his interpretation is convincingly refuted by Schenkel, *JEA* 50 (1964), 9–12.

⁹ *Fragment* 58 is Orinst. 11546, 11565; *Fragments* 59–61 are Orinst. 11535; *Fragment* 62 is Orinst. 11538.


again shows gemination (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 63 [18, 19]). A similar writing is known for the plural of , *dfꜣw*, 'food offerings' (Cairo CG 20621), quoted among other archaic MK writings of this word by Vernus, *RdÉ* 28 (1976), 123. For *mꜣꜣ r*, 'take care of, take heed of', see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 100.


c. For *sꜣm ḏd*, 'the hearing of speech', cf. P. Prisse, l. 16, 9; ll. 16, 3 ff., extol the son who is a good listener.

d. The traces of the first sign, and its location, suggest that the group may be  []. *Wꜣh-ib*, 'patient', is a frequent MK epithet (Janssen, *De traditioneele Autobiografie*, I, 11-12).

e. Evidently *imī(w)* is the (plural) imperative of *rdi*, despite the omission of the sign . This interpretation suits the form of the following verb *wn*, which is prospective *sꜣm-f* (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 452).








f. The seal is mistakenly omitted from the goat in Hilda Petrie's facsimile.



g. The facsimile by Hilda Petrie fails to indicate that the bottom of  is broken, wrongly giving the impression that this sign is an inverted collar.




h. The bird's head is probably to be identified as .


i. The plural strokes indicate that this is another imperative, this time with a reflexive dative. For the meaning of transitive *sn* cf. *Shipwrecked Sailor*, l. 124: 'how happy is he who recounts what he has experienced, having overcome (lit. 'passed') bad things (*sn h(w)t mrt*).'







j. Gardiner gives several references for *mitt irt*, *Egyptian Grammar*, 88 n. 1.



k. The signs following  are supplied from the Chicago photographs, which show the addition of another fragment. The suggested restoration is  []  []. In support of this is the fact that the speaker was 'overseer of all works of the king in the entire land', and that he mentions his building activities elsewhere, in *Fragment* 62. I cannot explain the preceding traces, which look like  .

l. The curved line above  is probably .

m. Not 'great of progeny', since epithets of that pattern normally show , more rarely , but never : cf. Janssen, *De traditioneele Autobiografie*, I, 15-17.

n. The sign  is very probable, and is to some extent confirmed by its association with *pri* in the next phrase. In Ramesseum Papyrus I B 22, the expression *ꜣk-r* is clearly pejorative, linked with *iwꜣw ꜣkw*, 'who has no intimates'. Barns suggests that the meaning in this context is '(over-) familiar in speech' (*Five Ramesseum Papyri*, 6).

o. The second word is evidently to be restored  [] . To judge from the published facsimile the restored sign might be , but that possibility seems to be excluded, since a portion of the top would be visible. Furthermore, the lower part of the sign looks thinner than it does on that facsimile, and more tapering. For the writing   see, for example, BM 581 (*Hieroglyphic Texts in the British Museum*, II, pl. 23).

p. One is tempted to regard *tm* as a transitive verb, but such a use is not attested before Late Egyptian. The suggested translation entails the uncomfortable assumption that  and  are transposed, and the use of *tm* in a relative construction is, to say the least, unusual. The only other example known to me occurs on an Eleventh Dynasty stela (JNES 19 (1960), 261 and fig. 1 [l. 5]).

q. Both phrases recall the Sixth Dynasty biography of *Nḥbw*, who describes his building activities, using the verb *ḥd* as well as *ḥws*, and likewise tells of the gold he received from the king in return for his efforts (Dunham, *JEA* 24 (1938), pl. 2). This expression *nbw m ḥswt* was not used frequently before the NK, but it is mentioned in another Sixth Dynasty inscription, that of *Sḥbni* (*Urk.* 1, 139 [15]), and in Hammamat Inscription no. 43 (6), dating to the reign of Ammenemes III. In both these cases it is a reward for valour.

r. In the absence of a determinative, this is only one of several possibilities.

s. Perhaps restore $\bar{\gamma} \text{ } [\text{ }]$. The other restorations are based on Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 1, pl. 25 (99–100).

t. Lit. ‘wood of [or ‘for’] life’, for which see *Wb.* I, 199 (7–8); III, 342 (2–4).

u. For *rdi r sn* see the *Belegstellen* for *Wb.* II, 467 (37). There are, of course, other possibilities, e.g.: $\bar{\gamma} \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }]$, ‘His Majesty praised me more than any count’ (Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 74 [20–1]).

v. For $[\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }]$ cf., for example: ‘He made (it) as his monument to his father and all those who are in the necropolis of this district . . . $[\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }] \text{ } [\text{ }]$, sc. renewing what was found ruined’ (Davies, *Sheikh Saïd*, pl. 30). Note that *Fragment* 68 cannot have been followed immediately by 69 because the margin on the right is of unequal width. Possibly no. 68 was followed by 62, which mentions building.

w. Apparently this contains a noun clause (geminating *sdm:f*) with ellipsis of subject: *n ph <sn> wt*.

All the fragments, unfortunately, were found displaced, in the large pit that was hollowed out in front of the chapel’s entrance, and it is, therefore, impossible to assign them to any specific area of the walls so as to obtain some idea of how much is missing. But it is obvious that they are but vestiges; for the tallest surviving portion of the inscriptions accounts for less than ten per cent of the height of the portico or offering chamber, each of which measured about 260 cm from floor to ceiling. Furthermore the disjunction of *Fragments* 68 and 69 shows that there were more than three registers of sons, although each register may have contained but a single figure.

As for the sequence of the fragments, that too is impossible to establish, but it is at least clear that (unless the order is retrograde) the tomb-owner begins by speaking of his accomplishments, probably including some mention of his building activities, and it is probable that the last subject is taken up again at a later point. The advice delivered to the sons, therefore, seems to fall in the midst of biographical statements, although these are surely linked in some way to the precepts. That fact is specifically indicated by the exhortation to the children that they must ‘overcome the like thereof’ (presumably the difficulties he himself encountered) if they are to succeed.

Doubtless the text would present a number of problems even if it were complete, but it would be particularly helpful to have the context of *Fragment* 63. I am tempted to think that this may be a hypothetical statement made to the tomb-owner by a son, rather than a statement made by *Inpy* himself. In this case the apparently pejorative sense of *ḥk-r* would be explained, the son acknowledging that he is over talkative, but that he ‘emerges’ instructed. In other words, he is apt to fall into error, but capable of profiting from his father’s advice.

The one passage that most clearly and unmistakably supplies a new concept is that in which *Inpy* expresses his dependence on the good reputation of his children. As though to reassure him on that score, one of them says: 'I am a son who conforms to one greater than himself.'¹⁰ Here 'greater' means 'older', but it echoes the address to 'one who is greater than his progeny' in the obscure passage that has just been mentioned.

¹⁰ For this statement see my *Egyptian Studies*, 1, 86, 92.

THREE MONUMENTS FROM MEMPHIS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

By JANINE BOURRIAU

THE Egypt Exploration Society is planning to begin work at Memphis in 1981, and it seems appropriate in this volume celebrating the Society's work to look forward to that enterprise by publishing for the first time three objects from Memphis in the Fitzwilliam Museum. I am most grateful to the editor for allowing me the opportunity to do so.¹

The objects are a stela (E. SS. 37) of a High Priest of Memphis, Senbuy, of the late Middle Kingdom, a statue of Amenophis III (E. 82. 1913), which almost certainly came from Petrie's excavations at Memphis, and a stela (E. 195. 1899) of the chief goldworker, Panehsy, of the reign of Merneptah. The Fitzwilliam has a considerable collection of objects from Memphis and Saqqâra, thanks largely to its subscriptions to the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt and the Egypt Exploration Society. Most of them are listed in the *Topographical Bibliography*² and the lists of recent acquisitions published since 1974 in this journal. Of the unpublished objects from the site, these three are perhaps the most interesting, and will be discussed in chronological order.

The Stela of Senbuy

We do not know when the stela of Senbuy came to the museum and for this reason its number, E.SS. 37, incorporates no year number. It was registered soon after the Second World War when the Fitzwilliam's present catalogue was prepared by Norman Rayner with help from F. W. Green, Honorary Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities. It has never been published. The stela (see fig. 1 and pl. III, 1) is round-topped and made of limestone, and measures 34.0 cm long, 18.5 cm wide, and 4.0 cm thick. Filling the lunette is a design consisting of two *wḏt*-eyes placed either side of a *šn* sign; below are six horizontal lines of text, and below these three figures of roughly equal size. In the centre stands the owner of the stela, Senbuy, with his wife, Nubemḥeb, behind him, her hand touching his shoulder; in front of them both, offering a lotus bouquet, we find a son, Rēꜥ-Seth. The stela is incised throughout, and there is almost no modelling of the surface except on the legs of the figures. The stone was already bruised when the inscription was cut, as the area around the knot in the son's kilt

¹ I have also benefited a great deal from discussions with Dr Jaromír Málek, Dr Geoffrey Martin, and Mr Cyril Spaul. Mr Reginald Coleman most skilfully copied my facsimile drawings of the two stelae.

² Omitted from the Bibliography because they are uninscribed are E. 53. 1910, an ear-stela, E. 112-13, two trial pieces, and E. 141. 1913, a Ptolemaic shrine-stela, all from the British School of Archaeology in Egypt excavations at Memphis. In addition there are two shabtis, E. 51. 1932, of the Osiris-Apis from the Serapeum, and E. 1. 1896, of Psammetichus, born of Sebarekhyt, from Saqqâra.

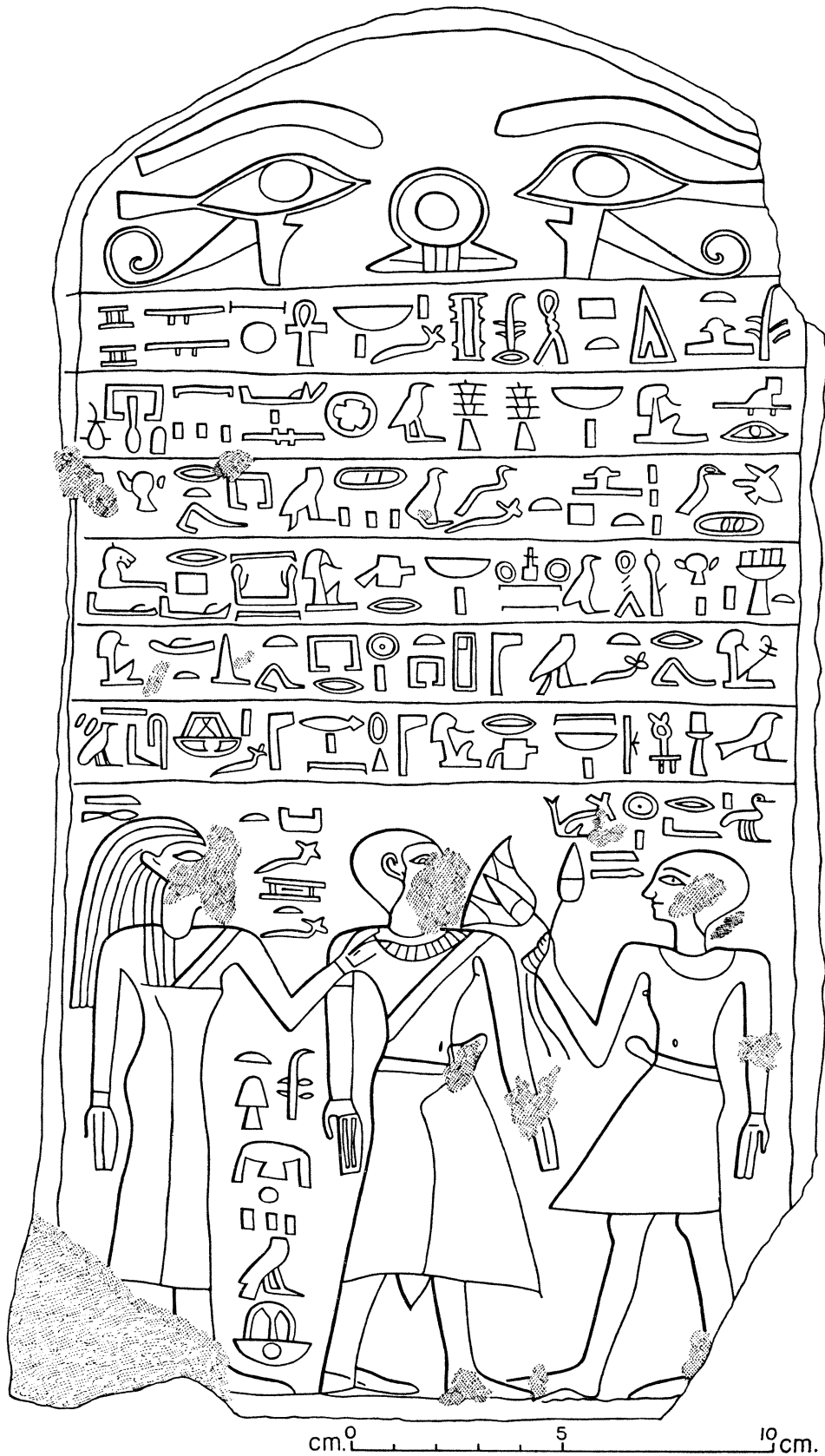


FIG. 1. Stela of Senbuy, Fitzwilliam Museum E. SS. 37

shows. It was originally painted, but only a few traces of dark red remain on the legs of the central figure. Apart from chips missing from three of the corners the stela is complete.

The faces of all three figures have been scarred with a chisel, and there are similar marks on the arms of Rēꜥ-Seth and on Senbuy's left hand and foot. Most interesting of all is the chisel-mark on the Seth-animal in l. 7. Since the inscription has otherwise been left untouched, the marks appear to be a deliberate mutilation, perhaps specifically intended to deprive the family of the use of their hands, feet, and mouths and thus the enjoyment of the offerings promised in the inscription. Whether their association with the Seth cult, which is suggested by the occurrence of the rare name Rēꜥ-Seth, brought the proscription upon them, remains no more than an intriguing possibility.

Internal evidence strongly suggests that the stela originally came from the Memphite region, and it is listed in the 'Saqqâra Miscellaneous' section of the *Topographical Bibliography* (III², 2, 738). The provenance cannot be assumed from Senbuy's title alone since at least one High Priest of Memphis in the Middle Kingdom, Senwosretꜥankhu, was buried at Lisht.³ The stela is of interest for several reasons: it preserves the name of a hitherto unknown Memphite High Priest; it mentions the Festival of the Rising of Sothis, and it provides another example of the rare name *Rꜥ-Sth*.

Translation

(1) *An offering which the King gives (to) Ptaḥ, South of his Wall, Lord of ʿAnkh-Tawy, (and) (2) Osiris, Lord of Busiris, that they may give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, (3) oxen and fowl, and food-offerings coming forth upon (4) the altar and offering table of the Lord of All for the kꜣ of the hereditary prince and count, (5) one whose coming to the temple is awaited on the day of the rising of Sothis, (6) the greatest of the directors of craftsmen of the Lord of All, chief priest of his god, the lector-priest, Senbuy, justified.*

In front of the woman's face and continuing below her arm is a single vertical line: *his wife whom he loves, the royal ornament, Nubemḥeb*. Above the son's head is a short horizontal line: *(his) son Rēꜥ-Seth, justified*.

Commentary

l. 1. *nb ʿnh-twy*. This epithet does not seem to be applied to Ptaḥ before the Middle Kingdom, when it appears on several private stelae and on an obelisk of Sesostri I from Medinet el-Fayûm. It is a geographical term (although Griffith in *Tanis*, II, 15 n. 4, suggested that this was not the original meaning) referring variously to the region of Memphis, the city itself, or the necropolis.⁴

l. 4. *nb (r-) ḏr*. This epithet, though here and in l. 6 applied to the god Ptaḥ, was a general one associated with kings or gods.⁵ The *ḏr*-sign itself is a clumsy, schematic version of Gardiner M36, 'a bundle of flax stems'.

³ *BMAA* 28 (November 1933, Part 2), 11-12, figs. 15-16.

⁴ The different interpretations are summarized in Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptaḥ* (Lund, 1946), 213-15.

⁵ R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 129. Gardiner in *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1964), 79, suggests a slightly narrower application to the sun-god or the king.

l. 5. *s 3w r it:f m hwt-ntr rc prt Spdt*,⁶ ‘one whose coming to the temple is awaited on the day of the rising of Sothis’. Occurring as it does in the list of Senbuy’s titles, this phrase describes one of his most important duties, which was, to take the most obvious interpretation first, to lead the ritual celebrations on the feast of the *prt Spdt*, the day when the star Sirius was visible again after its conjunction with the sun had resulted in a seventy-day period of invisibility.⁷ Parker has demonstrated that the lunar calendar was based on the heliacal rising of Sirius which had perhaps originally been observed to coincide with the beginning of the inundation. In the Middle Kingdom, the event, *prt Spdt*, appears for the first time in lists of festivals,⁸ in tombs,⁹ on stelae,¹⁰ and on coffins.¹¹ It was a feast of paramount importance, equivalent to the *wp-rnpt*, ‘Opening of the Year’, and its celebration was perhaps a regular duty of the High Priest of Memphis. The inscriptions recording the High Priests of the Middle Kingdom¹² contain no reference to any role in the *prt Spdt*, but Gardiner¹³ mentions Old Kingdom occurrences of the title followed by the phrase *n rc hb* or *n rc* which he translates as ‘belonging to (i.e. functioning on) the day of festival’. The phrase may have only a general meaning since the High Priest must have had a leading role in all Memphite festivals, but it is possible that a particular feast, viz. *prt Spdt*, was meant. Senbuy, after all, thought it important enough to single it out from the other feasts in which he officiated.

Another possible interpretation of *s 3w r it:f m hwt-ntr rc prt Spdt* is that Senbuy himself made, or was responsible for making, the observations of Sirius. In this case, only when he gave the word by entering the temple (or climbing down from the roof?) that Sirius was visible again could the festival and the new year begin. The text is not explicit, but at least it suggests that during the Middle Kingdom the temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis was an observation-point, if not the observation-point for all Egypt as classical authors record.¹⁴ Incidentally in the cutting of Δ a slip of the chisel has produced a mark which might almost be taken for part of the sign.

l. 6. *wr hrp hmwt n nb r-dr*,¹⁵ ‘greatest of the directors of craftsmen of the Lord of All’. The title of the High Priest is followed by an epithet referring to Ptaḥ: cf. *Wb.* III, 86, 4, which gives a *wr hrp hmwt n Pth* of the New Kingdom, and the *wr hrp hmwt n Rsy-inb-f* of Gardiner’s *Onomastica*, I, 38*. The precise meaning of the title has been much discussed, most recently by De Meulenaere in *Festschrift des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums zum 150 jährigen Bestehen* (Berlin, 1974), 183–4, and Fischer, *Varia. Egyptian Studies*, I (New York, 1976), 63–7. As Fischer has noted, writings like this one, where the title is followed by *n* plus the name or epithet of Ptaḥ, cast doubt on De Meulenaere’s suggested new reading of *wr hrp hmwt* as *hmww wr shm*, translated as ‘l’artisan du Très Puissant’. Dieter Wildung has provided in the *Lexikon* (II, 1258–63) an extremely useful list of High Priests of Memphis of the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. Senbuy can now perhaps be added after no. 24 *Srgm*(?) of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

⁶ For the construction see W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 64 (1930), 72–3; A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe* (Paris, 1916) 58; Faulkner, op. cit. 208; *Wb.* III, 419, 3. Commentators have agreed that the variant of the construction with *r* dates from the New Kingdom (Amenophis II). This stela takes it back a little further, into the late Middle Kingdom.

⁷ R. A. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1950), 7.

⁸ Op. cit. 34, 173; *Wb.* IV, 111, 14.

⁹ P. H. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), pl. 24.

¹⁰ CC 20338, H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs*, I (Berlin, 1902), 349–50.


¹¹ J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1907), pl. ix, l. 9.

¹² D. Wildung in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 1259 and bibliography there cited.

¹³ A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I (Oxford, 1947), 39*.

¹⁴ Parker, op. cit. 39 n. 117.

¹⁵ One minor correction should be made to the facsimile drawing. In the writing of *hmwt* Gardiner U24 is

written .

With the exception of his high-ranking but honorific titles *iry-prt h:ty-r*¹⁶ Senbuy's other offices were priestly: *hm-ntr r: n ntr-f*, 'chief priest of his god'; *hry-hbt*, 'lector-priest'; *s:sw r it:f m hwt-ntr r: prt Spdt*, whether this in fact represents a separate office or simply a function of the High Priest. There is no evidence here to suggest that the literal meaning of the title, 'greatest of the directors of craftsmen', carried any force.¹⁷

l. 6. *Snbwy*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 314, 3. A common late Middle Kingdom name.

l. 7. *Rc-Sth*, cf. op. cit. 322, 4; Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 136. Another example of a rare name compounded with the names of Rē and Seth. The occurrence cited by Ranke, the brewer (*fty*) *Sth-Rc*, appears on a Middle Kingdom stela from Abydos (Cairo 20345, Lange and Schäfer, I, 356; IV, pl. 26). Simpson¹⁸ discusses a reference to a *hwt r: Swth* on a statue of the Second Intermediate Period from Heliopolis, and, in this context, the probable Memphite provenance of the Fitzwilliam stela is noteworthy.

l. 8. *Nbw-m-hb*, cf. Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 191, 5. Her title, *hkrt nswt*, 'royal ornament', is a common one for women in the Old and Middle Kingdoms.¹⁹

The stela is probably to be dated to the Thirteenth Dynasty or perhaps a little later. If we apply the criteria of Bennett,²⁰ Smither,²¹ and Barta,²² we find that the offering formula shows characteristics first appearing in the late Twelfth Dynasty from the reign of Sesostri III,²³ but it does not show the writing *nsw di htp* for *nsw htp di* which becomes more common in horizontal inscriptions during the Second Intermediate Period.²⁴ This negative argument cannot be pushed very far, but the personal names and costume of Senbuy²⁵ also suit a Thirteenth Dynasty rather than a Second Intermediate Period date. The style of the cutting suggests the late Middle Kingdom: cf. the occasional poor spacing such as the cramped writing of *Snbwy* in l. 6, the irregularity of the *hr* sign in ll. 3 and 4, and the disproportionately large and clumsy *nb* and *dr* signs.

A Statue of Amenophis III

The kneeling statue of Amenophis III is in brown quartzite, and was received and numbered by the Museum in 1913. The provenance is not absolutely certain, since there is no record of the piece in the Museum's remaining records of 1913 acquisitions (these are however a haphazard group of documents) or in the distribution lists of the British School held at University College.²⁶

¹⁶ See the titles with which they occur in G. T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name Seals* (Oxford, 1971), 177.

¹⁷ Sandman Holmberg, op. cit. 56.






¹⁸ *JEA* 62 (1976), 41-4.

¹⁹ Martin, op. cit. 184.

²⁰ *JEA* 27 (1941), 77-82, 157.

²¹ *JEA* 25 (1939) 34-7.

²² W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel*, (Glückstadt, 1968), 72-80.

²³ The writing of Osiris with the determinative of the carrying chair, Gardiner Q2 ; of *Ddw* as    ; the phrase *kr n N*.

²⁴ The earliest dated example cited by Barta, op. cit. 73, is as early as the reign of Sobekhotpe IV.

²⁵ J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie*, III (Paris, 1958), 249.

²⁶ I am very grateful to Mrs Barbara Adams for checking them for me.

The statue, E. 82. 1913 (see pl. III, 3–4), is broken off at the base of the neck, above the feet, and at the corners of the offering table. It measures 45.0 cm in height and 35.7 cm in width. The neck-break is 14.8 cm wide by 23.0 cm long, and the lower break 49.4 cm wide by 22.7 cm long. The stone is coarse, veined with greyish-white streaks.

The king is kneeling upright and holds an offering-table in his arms. He wears a beard, a wig with long side lappets and pigtail, a broad bead collar with Horus-head terminals, and a short kilt. The pose occurs in statues of other Eighteenth Dynasty kings, e.g. Tuthmosis III,²⁷ but it is rare, if not unique, for Amenophis III.²⁸ This is probably an accident of survival due to the total destruction of the king's temple at Memphis and the almost complete loss of his mortuary temple at Thebes.

The square-topped back pillar and the support for the offering-table carry inscriptions, respectively *ntr nfr nb tswy Nb-Msc̄t-Rc (mry) P(t)h*, and *sꜣ Rc* [cartouche hammered out] *mr Shmt*. The king's name has been deliberately removed from the cartouche visible from the front, and this incidentally may suggest that the statue originally stood with its back against a wall or similar obstruction. Little has been lost from the base since the front column is complete, leaving room for only a narrow sign such as *mr* to complete the inscription on the back. *Shmt* was the goddess usually associated with Ptaḥ at Memphis.²⁹ While nothing of it survives above ground, a temple to Ptaḥ was built by Amenophis III at Memphis. A statue of the royal scribe Amenhotpe³⁰ found there carries inscriptions recording its construction.

The Stela of Paneḥsy

Unlike E. SS. 37, the date when the stela of Paneḥsy came to the museum is known. It came in 1899 and was presented by Professor Lewis of Trinity College to Dr M. R. James, Director of the Museum, in return for his subscription to the fund for the purchase of the Carne collection.³¹ There is a reference to the stela in the Wilkinson manuscripts³² in the Griffith Institute which includes drawings of the cartouche of Merneptah and the figure of Ptaḥ. Wilkinson made these sketches in 1821 in Alexandria and he describes the stela as 'a block of white stone in [the] possession of Mr Carn [sic] found by Lee at Akhmim(?)'. The Revd John Carne, educated at Queens' College, Cambridge, visited Egypt in 1821,³³ and the stela was apparently obtained from Peter Lee³⁴ who was British Consul in Alexandria and whose name crops up in many letters and diaries of British travellers of the period.

The stela, E. 195. 1899 (see fig. 2 and pl. III, 2), measures 54 cm long by 18.5 cm wide by 7.5 cm thick. It is rectangular and made of fine, white limestone and is complete

²⁷ Vandier, *op. cit.* pl. cl.

²⁸ *Op. cit.* 324, 630, both references to this statue.

²⁹ Sandman Holmberg, *op. cit.* 188–9.

³⁰ Gardiner in *Tarkhan and Memphis* v (London, 1913), 33–6.

³¹ Information in a letter from Lewis to James dated 23 Jan. 1899 in the archives of the Department of Antiquities.

³² Wilkinson MSS iv. 24. I owe this reference to Dr Jaromír Málek.

³³ W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London, 1972), 53.

³⁴ *Op. cit.* 167.

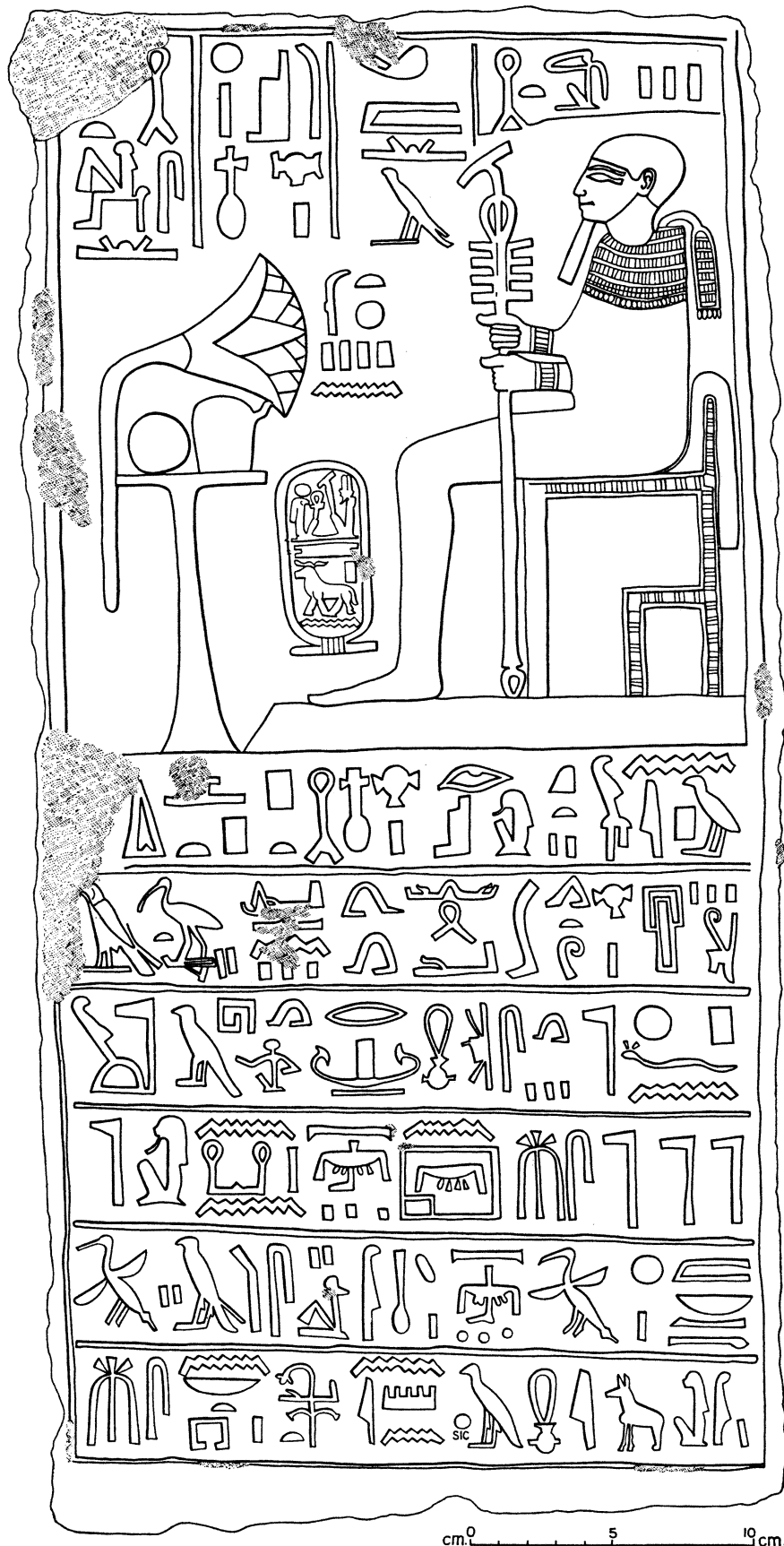


FIG. 2. Stela of Paneḥsy, Fitzwilliam Museum E. 195. 1899

except for two chips along the right side. Two signs have been lost with them but they can be restored without difficulty. The stela begins with four vertical lines in sunk relief containing names and epithets of the god Ptaḥ. Below these in raised relief is Ptaḥ himself holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre and the *ꜥnh* and *ḏd*-signs, seated before a table of offerings. Between Ptaḥ and the table, also in raised relief, is a date and a cartouche, 'Year 4 of Binerēꜥ-Meramūn' (Merneptaḥ). Below the scene follow six lines of text in sunk relief naming Paneḥsy and his parents, Prēꜥemḥeb and Tamy(t). The Merneptaḥ date is of particular interest since it allows another stela commemorating the same family in the British Museum³⁵ to be closely dated.

Translation

(1) *An offering which [the King] gives (to) Ptaḥ, Fair of Face, Osiris, First of the Westerners, Anubis, (2) RēꜥHarakhty, and Thoth, that they may grant a going down and coming forth without hindrance through the gates of (3) the necropolis and a going down into the sacred barque like the followers of the god when he travels to the (4) god, to the kꜣ of the chief goldworker of the House of Gold, who makes (statues of) the gods, Paneḥsy, justified, son of the chief goldworker Prēꜥemḥeb, justified, (6) born of the Lady of the House, the chantress of Amūn, Tamy(t), justified.*

Commentary

Vertical inscription (upper): (1) *Pth šps* (2) *sty Rꜥ nfr hr* (3) *sdm nh* (4) *(w)t*. The epithets of Ptaḥ are the familiar ones.³⁶ The stela seems to belong by reason of its text and the relationship of text and image with the large group of votive stelae of the Nineteenth Dynasty found by Petrie at Memphis.³⁷ This is the strongest reason for supposing it to have come from Memphis rather than Akhmīm, which Wilkinson himself had doubted.

l. 3. No distinction is made between *ꜣ*, the vulture (Gardiner G1), and *nh*, the guinea fowl (Gardiner G21): see also l. 5 in the horizontal text.³⁸

(Lower): *rnpt (hꜣt-sp) 4 n Bꜣ-n-rꜥ-Mr-n-Imm*. The presence of the king's name and date, which is what drew Wilkinson's attention to the stela, is an argument in favour of its being a votive rather than a funerary stela. It also provides a *terminus post quem* for the stela BM 141, since the three people on the Fitzwilliam stela are named on it also with the epithet, *mꜣꜥ hrw*.

Horizontal inscription: *hry nbw n hwt-nbw ms nꜥrw*, a title held by both Paneḥsy and his father, is translated following James as 'chief goldworker of the House of Gold who makes (statues of) the gods.' Erika Schott has recently discussed the activities which took place in the House of Gold in a series of articles in *Göttinger Miszellen*.³⁹ She confirms that during the Old Kingdom at least the Opening

³⁵ B. M. 141, T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 9 (London, 1970), 23-4, pl. xix.

³⁶ Sandman Holmberg, op. cit. 70-4, 75-9, 108-11.

³⁷ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis*, 1 (London, 1909), pls. xi, xiv, xv; H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection* (Warminster, 1976), pls. 28-9.

³⁸ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 469, and references cited.

³⁹ *GM* 2 (1972), 37-41; 3 (1972), 31-6; 4 (1973), 29-34; 5 (1973), 25-30; 9 (1974), 33-8.

of the Mouth ritual could take place there and that it was a treasury, a 'Schatzhaus', in which fine linen and oil and the personal apparel of the king were kept. In this earlier context the *mswt ntr m ḥwt nbw*⁴⁰ meant the toilet of the King. There is no doubt, however, that the House of Gold in the Nineteenth Dynasty was also a workshop in which statues were made.⁴¹

ll. 6–7. For *Pj-nḥsy* see Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 113, 13. Paneḥsy was the son of Prē'emḥeb and Tamy(t), and the only other object which can with certainty be attributed to the same family is the BM stela 141. The latter is considerably larger than the Fitzwilliam stela and is cut entirely in sunk relief. It records the names and titles of eighteen members of the family but without making the relationship between them clear. The Cambridge stela establishes that Paneḥsy and Prē'emḥeb, who are the principal dedicants of the BM stela, were father and son, and the suffix *·f* in the case of 'his mother *Tj-my(t)*' refers to Paneḥsy. The other affiliations remain unknown since it seems extravagant to assume that *·f*, wherever it occurs on the BM stela, refers to Paneḥsy. The central figure in the scene on the stela is the Osiris fetish, and this, together with the ranks of relations, suggests that it was a funerary stela. The British Museum has no record of its provenance or when it was acquired.

l. 7. *o* is used for *t* in *Tj-my(t)*.

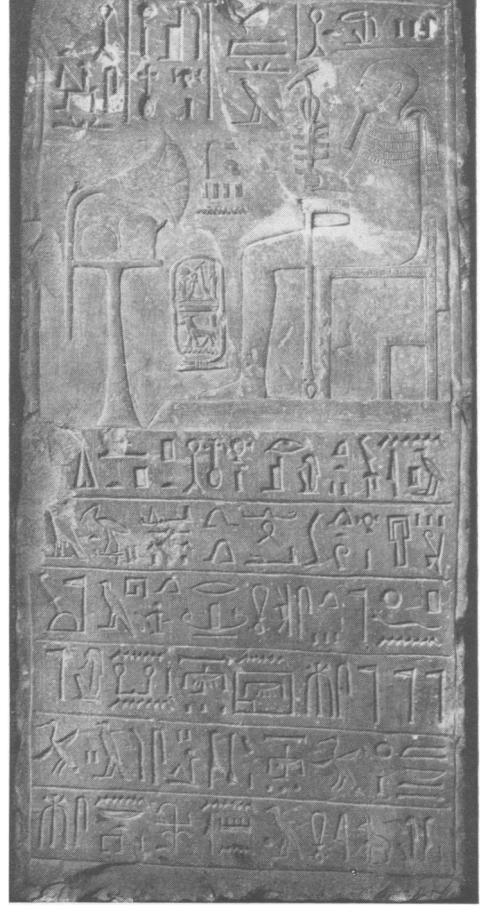
The contrast between the two stelae, E. SS. 37 and E. 195. 1899, is very great. The signs on the latter are confidently cut with straight strokes of the chisel. The quality of the cutting is much higher and the signs carefully spaced, with the elongated character typical of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

⁴⁰ *GM* 4 (1973), 34.

⁴¹ A. H. Gardiner in N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemḥet* (London, 1915), 58 n. 1; reference quoted by James, *op. cit.* 24, viz. B. Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1930), 44, 68.



1. Stela of Senbuy, Fitzwilliam Museum
E.SS.37



2. Stela of Panehsy, Fitzwilliam Museum
E.195. 1899



3. Statue of Amenophis III, Fitzwilliam
Museum E.82. 1913, Front




4. Back view of same





Photographs courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum

THREE MONUMENTS FROM MEMPHIS IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM

LA STÈLE DE SÂNKHPTAḤ, CHAMBELLAN DU ROI RÂHOTEP

Par J. J. CLÈRE

EN juin 1857 on a vendu à Paris, aux enchères publiques, ce qu'il restait après sa mort survenue à Alexandrie au début de la même année, des innombrables antiquités amassées en Égypte par Giovanni Anastasi. Dans le catalogue de cette vente, rédigé par F. Lenormant,¹ figure sous le numéro 12 *bis* (p. 2), parmi une centaine de 'stèles et inscriptions', un monument appartenant à cette catégorie qui est décrit comme il suit: 'Stèle funéraire de forme cintrée en pierre calcaire, décorée au sommet du disque ailé d'Har-hat. Datée du règne du roi Raotp  (V. Bunsen, t. III, pl. V, n° 8), souverain de l'époque des Sévékotp (xiv^e dynastie). Adoration à Phthah par le défunt et son fils. H. 0,45; l. 0,39.'

Acquise par le British Museum,² la stèle en question, qui est marquée au nom du , 'chambellan Sânkhpṭaḥ', a été à plusieurs occasions mentionnée brièvement par divers auteurs,³ mais c'est seulement en 1909, dans le *Guide (Sculpture)* de Budge, p. 82, qu'elle est décrite un peu longuement⁴ — avec toutefois quelques erreurs, dont la plus grave est que le prénom de Râhotep y est donné sous la forme erronée , la forme correcte du nom étant, comme chez Lenormant, *Shm-Rc-wsh-hcw* avec  et non . En revanche, Budge donne une précision jusqu'alors non formulée: il s'agit seulement de la partie supérieure d'une stèle ('Upper portion of a limestone sepulchral stele') et non d'une stèle entière.

Il faut attendre 1913 pour que paraisse une représentation — la seule publiée jusqu'à maintenant — de cette partie de la stèle conservée au British Museum: c'est le dessin au trait de *Hierogl. Texts BM*, iv, pl. 24, dû à Lambert et qu'accompagne, p. 9, une description rédigée par Hall (cf. p. [3]). Ni le dessin ni la description ne sont exempts d'inexactitudes, la plus regrettable se constatant dans la reproduction des

¹ *Catalogue d'une collection d'antiquités égyptiennes par M. François Lenormant. Cette collection Rassemblée par M. d'Anastasi Consul général de Suède à Alexandrie, sera vendue aux enchères publiques rue de Clichy, N° 76 Les Mardi 23, Mercredi 24, Jeudi 25, Vendredi 26 & Samedi 27 Juin 1857* [etc.] (Paris, 1857). Pour cette vente et les ventes antérieures, voir Dawson dans *JEA* 35 (1949), 159-60, et Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 5-6.

² Registration No. 833. Pour la permission de publier les photos inédites de cette stèle, ainsi que pour les facilités que l'un et l'autre m'ont amicalement accordées, chacun en son temps, pour examiner l'original, j'adresse mes bien vifs remerciements à I. E. S. Edwards et à T. G. H. James.

³ La plupart sont cités dans le cours de cet article.

⁴ Brèves citations dans *A Guide to the Eg. Coll. in the BM* (1909), 224, et dans *A General Introductory Guide to the Eg. Coll. in the BM* (1930), 329.

premiers signes, grossièrement gravés et partiellement détruits, il est vrai, de l'inscription supérieure. Hall y a vu une date: "The stele is dated above, "in the first year, month, of the lord making things"', mais comme on le verra plus bas, cette date, que les historiens ont malheureusement plusieurs fois citée, est en fait inexistante.

Quant à la partie inférieure de la stèle, qui non seulement est restée inédite, mais dont on ignore où elle se trouve actuellement, si toutefois elle existe encore,⁵ c'est à Gardiner qu'on en doit la connaissance. En 1895-7, Gardiner suivait à Paris les cours donnés par Maspero à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. Dans l'*Annuaire* de 1898 de l'École,⁶ Maspero a indiqué que Gardiner avait 'publié dans le *Recueil* une note sur quelques stèles inédites du Louvre et du Musée Britannique'. Allusion est faite à l'article paru en 1897 dans *Rec. trav.* 19, 83-6, sous le titre 'Notes on some stelæ', dans lequel Gardiner publie, d'après des estampages de Devéria conservés au Musée du Louvre, des études sur trois documents, dont l'un (§ II), soit dit en passant, est une autre stèle de la collection Anastasi, le n° 13 *bis* (p. 2) du catalogue de Lenormant. Gardiner avait en effet reçu de Pierret, alors conservateur du Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes, l'autorisation d'étudier ces estampages, et c'est à cette occasion qu'il trouva parmi eux, d'une part un estampage de la partie de la stèle de Sânkhpṭaḥ se trouvant au British Museum, dont l'identification était facile, et d'autre part, ailleurs dans le classeur qui les contenait, et sans que rien n'indique qu'il s'agissait d'un même monument, un estampage qu'il reconnut être celui de la partie inférieure de la stèle en question⁷ — réalisant ainsi, comme il me l'a dit lors du séjour qu'il fit à Paris en octobre 1947, sa 'première découverte' égyptologique: c'était en 1896, et Gardiner avait alors dix-sept ans.

La copie des deux parties réunies de la stèle que put dès lors établir Gardiner n'a pas été publiée, pas plus que ne l'a été une autre copie de la stèle entière que fit, avec son aide, Seymour de Ricci, et qui se trouve dans un de ses cahiers de notes conservés au Collège de France.⁸ Cette dernière (voir fig. 1) porte, de la main de Ricci qui fréquentait l'École des Hautes Études du temps où Gardiner y suivait les cours de Maspero, l'annotation suivante (que je reproduis telle quelle): 'Copie de A H Gardiner et de moi même sur l'estampage de Deveria'. Quant à la copie de Gardiner (voir fig. 2), on la trouve dans un de ses cahiers, portant la date 1895-6, qui fait partie de sa documentation manuscrite maintenant propriété du Griffith Institute.⁹ Les légendes des personnages des registres inférieurs, qui sont incomplètement reproduites dans cette copie, ont été relevées par Gardiner séparément, ailleurs dans ce cahier et dans un

⁵ Dans une lettre du 4 août 1954, Miss R. Moss m'écrit: 'I am afraid I do not know where the original of the lower part is: we have nothing about it in our records so far.' La situation est encore la même en 1981 d'après Jaromír Málek qui a eu l'obligeance de faire à ma demande la vérification au Griffith Institute.

⁶ *École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, Annuaire 1898* (Paris, 1897), 76. Voir aussi *Annuaire 1897* (Paris, 1896), 84-5.

⁷ Estampage Devéria, Louvre E. 6167, 10 (où 10 = N. 10). L'estampage de la partie supérieure (BM 833) porte le n° E. 6167, 45 (où 45 = N. 45).

⁸ Archives Seymour de Ricci, D 61/8 ('Inscr. de Rahotep, vente Anastasi').

⁹ Notebook 63, p. 14. Miss Helen Murray, que je remercie pour son aide, m'a obligeamment fourni des photocopies des pages des deux cahiers ('notebooks') de Gardiner sur lesquelles figurent les copies des inscriptions de la stèle de Sânkhpṭaḥ.

autre qui n'est pas daté.¹⁰ Aussi bien dans la copie de Gardiner que dans celle de Ricci, on peut noter quelques erreurs et omissions.

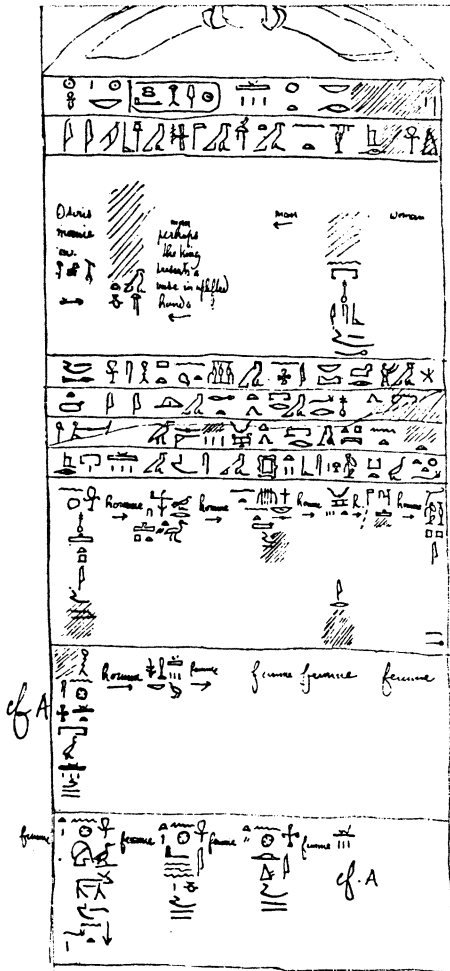


FIG. 1

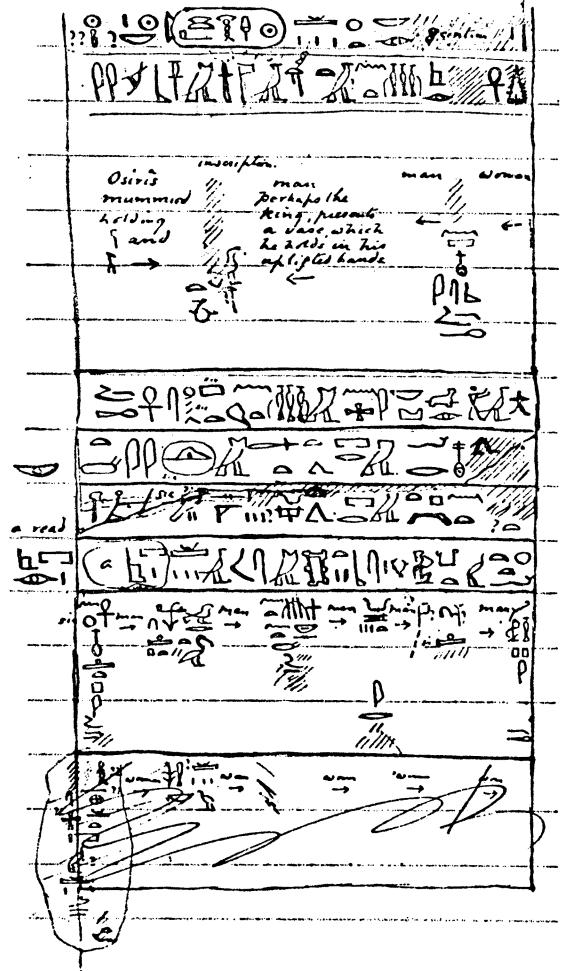


FIG. 2

Si Gardiner n'a jamais publié sa copie, au moins en a-t-il fait profiter des collègues, notamment en leur communiquant la mention — inédite — d'une restauration du temple d'Osiris à Abydos qui figure dans la partie du texte conservée sur le fragment inférieur de la stèle. Winlock en a fait état dans son *Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, 122-3, mais, citant l'estampage de Devéria, il a fait une confusion en croyant avoir affaire, non pas à deux parties d'une même stèle, mais à deux stèles

¹⁰ Les trois registres sont copiés dans le cahier 71, p. 21; le premier dans le cahier 71, p. 12; le deuxième dans le cahier 63, p. 14 (en bas). Une seconde copie des l. 3-4 de la deuxième inscription, où est mentionnée la restauration du temple d'Osiris, se trouve dans le cahier 71, p. [21a].

différentes,¹¹ dont l'une mentionne la restauration du temple d'Abydos et pour laquelle il renvoie (p. 122 n. 5) à la planche des *Hierogl. Texts* où, comme on le sait, ne se trouve pas la ligne du texte fournissant cette mention. Hayes, dans son chapitre de la *Cambridge Ancient History* traitant de la XVII^e dynastie,¹² parle de 'building repairs piously undertaken by King Sekhemre Wahkhau Rehotpe [. . .] in the temple of [. . .] Osiris at Abydos' en référant lui aussi à la seule partie de la stèle conservée à Londres. Et il est piquant de constater que Gardiner lui-même n'a pas échappé à cette confusion, puisque, dans son *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 161, ayant écrit 'in an inscription from Abydos an official of his [le roi Râhotep] speaks of repairs made to a wall in the temple of Osiris', il donne pour seule référence (p. 161 n. 2) 'British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, iv, Pl. 24'!

J'ai rapporté dans les lignes qui précèdent une partie des erreurs, omissions et confusions dont sont entachées un bon nombre des publications mentionnées. La stèle de Sānkhptah, sans être un document d'une grande importance, et étant fort loin d'être un chef-d'œuvre de la sculpture égyptienne, mérite cependant d'être mieux connue, donc mieux et plus complètement publiée qu'elle l'a été jusqu'à présent. On trouvera donc ci-dessous, à cet effet, une description, un peu rapide (la place étant limitée) mais je l'espère suffisamment exacte, de ce monument, illustrée par des photographies de la partie de la stèle conservée au British Museum (voir pl. IV), une photographie de l'estampage de la partie inférieure (voir pl. V), et un dessin de la stèle entière, parties supérieure et inférieure réunies (voir pl. VI). Cette copie au trait a été établie sur un calque tracé sur les estampages de Devéria, et, pour ce qui est de la moitié supérieure, collationnée sur l'original au British Museum; les deux figures de la tranche gauche ont été reproduites directement d'après l'original. Je crois utile de préciser que l'ensemble du dessin ne peut être regardé comme étant dans tous les détails un exact fac-similé, dans la moitié supérieure du fait de l'imperfection de la gravure et du mauvais état de la pierre en plusieurs places, et dans la moitié inférieure parce que, la gravure y étant peu profonde, peu marquée, la lecture de l'estampage n'est pas en tous points très sûre.

La provenance de la stèle, trouvée au cours d'une des chasses aux antiquités organisées par Anastasi, est inconnue, mais c'est sûrement à Abydos — une des sources privilégiées du 'fouilleur' en question — qu'elle a été découverte. Comme on a pu le voir dans les citations qui précèdent, c'est cette provenance qui a été généralement admise par les auteurs qui se sont intéressés à la stèle.

La juxtaposition des deux estampages de Devéria permet d'attribuer à la stèle entière une hauteur totale d'au moins 98 cm,¹³ ses deux autres dimensions, 40 cm pour la largeur et 13 cm pour l'épaisseur, étant fournies par le fragment de Londres. Le bloc de calcaire formant la stèle comportait sur sa face postérieure, du côté droit,

¹¹ Cette confusion est déjà notée chez v. Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, 179 n. 1.

¹² *CAH*³ II, 1, 66.

¹³ La marge inférieure, qui n'est pas entièrement visible sur l'estampage, avait une hauteur de 3 cm au minimum. La hauteur maximum du fragment de Londres est d'environ 47.5 cm.

une profonde encoche de forme rectangulaire, régulièrement taillée, qui est conservée sur le fragment du British Museum; descendant jusqu'à la cassure horizontale de la pierre, elle devait se prolonger sur une partie au moins de la hauteur du fragment inférieur. C'est là l'indice d'un remploi. Dans l'angle supérieur de cette encoche est creusée une cavité évasée bordée d'une zone de rayures concentriques et au fond de laquelle se trouve un creux hémisphérique de 3.5 cm de diamètre (voir fig. 3). On a affaire à un élément d'huissierie, seuil ou linteau, le creux hémisphérique étant le logement d'un des pivots du vantail et les rayures concentriques ayant été produites par le frottement de ce dernier sur la pierre. C'est probablement la stèle qui a été façonnée dans un bloc de remploi, et non pas l'inverse.

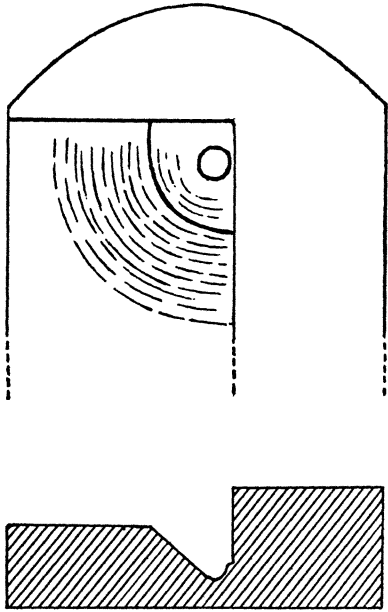


FIG. 3

La décoration de la stèle en occupait non seulement la face entière, mais aussi le flanc gauche, tout au moins dans la hauteur préservée sur le fragment de Londres. Dans le cintre est représenté comme à l'ordinaire le disque ailé flanqué des deux uræus. En dessous est gravée une inscription de deux lignes donnant la titulature du roi:

Le dieu bon, [maître des Deux Pays,] maître agissant, Sékhem-Râ-Ouah-Khâou, le fils de Râ, Râhotep, doué de vie [éternellement,] aimé d'Osiris Khentimentyou, dieu grand à Aby(dos).

Les premiers signes l. 1, dont la copie de Lambert (*Hierogl. Texts BM*, iv, pl. 24) est reproduite fig. 4, ont été, on l'a vu, interprétés par Hall comme étant une date: 'An I, . . . mois' (cf. op. cit. 9). Weill a suivi cette lecture dans son étude sur la fin du Moyen Empire, la rendant — régularisée — en typographie par $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \right\} \begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array} \begin{array}{c} \text{☐} \\ \text{☐} \end{array}$ quand il a cité le texte de la stèle.¹⁴ Et cette datation a été acceptée,

encore récemment, par plusieurs auteurs.¹⁵ En réalité, il s'agit du banal titre *ntr nfr*, 'dieu bon', attendu au début d'une titulature.¹⁶ Bien qu'endommagé dans la partie supérieure, le signe ☐ n'est pas douteux, et il subsiste des traces suffisantes de ☐. Devant ☐, le trait vertical mince touchant le filet inférieur de la ligne, semble être accidentel; il peut difficilement s'agir de l'ébauche du signe ☐ qui introduit de



FIG. 4

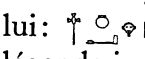
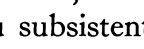
temps à autre les titulatures royales, et ce ne peut pas en tout cas être le chiffre '1' d'une date, qui n'aurait pas à se trouver à cette place. L. 2, après *di nḥ*, restituer l'habituel ☐; pour la graphie

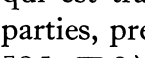
¹⁴ *La fin du Moyen Empire égyptien*, I, 386. Même lecture aussi chez Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Kleine ägypt. Texte), 60 (je dois cette dernière référence à W. V. Davies).

¹⁵ Cf. v. Beckerath, op. cit. 284; Blumenthal, 'Die Koptosstèle des Königs Rahotep', *Ägypten und Kusch* (Festschrift F. Hintze), 63; Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes*, 104 et 122.




¹⁶ Pour l'association, au M.E., de ce titre avec les deux suivants, voir Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, I, 24-5 (A I. 15, .19 et .20).

incomplète du nom d'Abydos (*ʒb* au lieu de *ʒbdw*), à la fin de la ligne, voir la note pour la l. 1 de la seconde inscription.







Sous l'inscription est représentée la principale scène de la stèle: le roi,¹⁷ accompagné de deux dignitaires, présente un vase à Osiris, rite décrit par la légende inscrite devant lui: , 'faire don du vase *nmst*'.¹⁸ Ni le dieu ni le roi n'ont de légende indiquant leur identité: le texte inscrit au-dessus d'eux y supplée. Il en est de même pour le premier personnage se tenant derrière le roi: ce ne peut être que le propriétaire de la stèle, dont l'identité — c'est le chambellan Sânkhtaḥ — est fournie par le texte du court hymne inscrit sous la scène. En revanche, le second personnage, à droite, dont il n'est pas question dans cette inscription, a ses titres et son nom gravés devant lui: *hry-[h]bt n pr-nfr Bsi mꜣc hrw*, 'le prêtre-lecteur¹⁹ de l'atelier funéraire (*pr-nfr*), Bési, justifié'; des signes qui précédaient *hry-hbt*, il ne reste que quelques traces, sauf en haut où subsistent les mots  de lecture incertaine et dont j'ignore la signification.²⁰


Sous la scène d'offrande se trouve une inscription de quatre lignes. La troisième, qui est traversée à peu près à mi-hauteur par la cassure séparant la stèle en deux parties, présente plusieurs signes endommagés; elle est à rétablir comme suit: . Ces quatre lignes contiennent un court hymne à Osiris:


Adoration à Osiris, maître d'(Aby)dos — par le chambellan Sânkhtaḥ, justifié — [quand] Il sort en beauté lors de la Grande Sortie, lors de toute festivité du ciel, lors de la Sortie d'Oupouaout et de Min-Horus-le-Victorieux, à l'occasion des travaux effectués au mur d'enceinte pendant la restauration du temple d'Osiris.

Dans l'épithète  (l. 1), en apparence *nb dw*, 'maître de la montagne' (traduit ainsi, 'lord of the hill', mais avec 'sic', par Hall²¹), inconnue à ma connaissance pour Osiris, si même elle a jamais été attribuée à un quelconque autre dieu, on a certainement affaire à une forme abrégée du nom d'Abydos,  (et varr.), ce qu'est aussi la graphie  que l'on a vue dans la première inscription (l. 2). Il est hors de question, avec un nom aussi fréquemment employé, sur place et ailleurs, et d'une graphie aussi simple, qu'il puisse s'agir d'erreurs, en particulier de deux erreurs différentes: ces abréviations sont certainement voulues. Dans l'Onomasticon du Ramesséum,²² qui est à peu

¹⁷ Pour la couronne de forme particulière portée par le roi, cf., dans le présent volume, Davies, 'The Origin of the Blue Crown' (voir p. 69 et suiv.).

¹⁸ *Nmst* avec  pour , déjà par suite d'une transcription fautive de l'hieratique devenue courante à Basse Époque; le premier , dont il ne resterait que la ligne du dos, est toutefois douteux, et W. V. Davies préfère voir dans cette trace un signe  gravé obliquement. Au-dessus du sceptre du dieu, restes d'un graffito (? Voir pl. IV) de lecture et de datation incertaines. Sur le rite de l'offrande du vase *nmst*, voir Bisson de La Roque-Clère, (*Médamoud 1928*), 120 (512, II, où lire  au lieu de ) avec n. 7; Cotteville-Giraudet, *Médamoud (1931)*, 21-2.

¹⁹ Le signe , en partie effacé, a la même forme circulaire que l. 2 de la seconde inscription. Forme analogue sur l'arc dédié au culte de Min par Râhotep; cf. *Misc. Vergote*, 32, fig. 1, et pl. ii, 3 (Berlev, 'Un don du roi Rahotep').

²⁰ Au début on pourrait peut-être lire  et voir dans les signes les mots *htp-di-nsw*.

²¹ *Hierogl. Texts BM*, iv, 9. Budge, *Guide (Sculpture)*, 82, traduit 'lord of Abydos' sans s'arrêter sur la graphie incomplète du toponyme.

²² Pap. Berlin 10495; cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica*, I, 6.

de chose près contemporain de la stèle de Sânkhtpaḥ, se trouve une énumération de noms de villes à chacun desquels est associé un symbole ou une abréviation, et pour Abydos, écrit $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, c'est précisément 𓆐 .²³ Gardiner a pensé qu'il pouvait s'agir de sigles utilisés dans des inventaires, ou des documents similaires, pour représenter les noms des villes en question.²⁴ C'est très probablement là l'origine de la graphie employée dans l'épithète 𓆐 pour noter 'maître d'Abydos', et une interprétation semblable peut aussi expliquer la graphie $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$ de la première inscription.²⁵ Mais pour quelle raison le lapicide a dans deux cas eu recours à ces graphies originales — des abréviations qui ajoutées l'une à l'autre se trouvent recomposer une orthographe normale $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ du nom d'Abydos — reste un mystère. L. 2, au début restituer $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, et, à la fin, lire $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, le dernier signe ayant la forme de l'héroglyphique contemporain (cf. Möller, *Paläogr.* I, n° 512); *ḥbyṯ*, remplaçant l'habituel *ḥb*, 'fête', dans l'expression *ḥb nb n pt*, 'toute fête du ciel', doit être dans cette acception un *hapax* (collectif fém. en *-yt*). L. 4, *ḥft*, avec un 𓆐 explétif et une finale *w* attestée ailleurs à partir du N.E. (cf. *Wb.* III, 274, 4), a une valeur temporelle (*Wb.* III, 274, 13: 'zur Zeit von etwas'); cf., comme ici devant un substantif, $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, 'adorer dieu à l'occasion (ou lors) de la Grande Sortie' (ex. cité *Wb.* III, *Belegst.* (autogr.) à 274, 13); un autre ex. avec *kt*, 'travaux', *Urk.* IV, 421, 9.

Le bas de la stèle, sous l'inscription de quatre lignes, est divisé en trois registres occupés chacun par cinq personnages, cinq hommes dans le registre supérieur (I), cinq femmes dans le suivant (II), et cinq hommes encore dans le registre du bas (III); à cette série peuvent être ajoutés l'homme et la femme qui sont représentés, sur deux niveaux, sur le flanc gauche de la stèle (IV). Chacun de tous ces personnages a son titre et son nom inscrits près de lui, certains d'entre eux, aux deuxième et troisième registres, ayant en outre l'indication d'un lien de parenté:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>I, 1. Le chef des chanteurs, Pépi, justifié.
 2. Le scribe des offrandes divines, Oupouaoutiry.
 3. Le chambellan, Nebsénet, justifié.
 4. Le grand des Dix de Haute Égypte, Djéḥoutyḥotep.
 5. Le citadin, Néferḥotpi, justifié.</p> <p>II, 1. La bourgeoise,²⁶ Ouadjethaou, justifiée — sa mère.²⁷
 2. La concubine royale, Koumès, justifiée.
 3. La citadine, Id, justifiée — sa femme.
 4. La citadine, Iâib, justifiée — sa femme.</p> | <p>5. La citadine, Sa(t)tépiḥ, justifiée — sa sœur.</p> <p>III, 1. Le citadin, . . . rès, justifié.
 2. Son fils, le citadin Néferḥotpi, justifié (?).
 3. Son fils, le citadin Néferḥotep.
 4. Son fils, le citadin Iounouaout (??), justifié.
 5. Son fils, le citadin Ouâf, justifié.</p> <p>IV, 1. Le chef de canton (?) du temple, Saḥout (?).²⁸
 2. La citadine, Nédjemtchaous, justifiée.</p> |
|---|---|

²³ Op. cit. I, 12, et *Plates*, pl. ii-iiA, l. 212.

²⁴ Op. cit. I, 11.

²⁵ Cf. 𓆎 pour $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$ et 𓆎 pour $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, op. cit. *Plates*, pl. ii-iiA, l. 195 et 197.

²⁶ Au début du titre *nmḥy(t)*, restituer 𓆎 .

²⁷ Pour la graphie 𓆐 de *mwṯ*, 'mère', cf. *Wb.* II, 54 (graphies), et Faulkner, *Dict.* 106.

²⁸ Dans le titre, le signe *w* est très douteux. Dans le nom propre, il y a sur le côté gauche de 𓆎 des trous dans la pierre qu'on pourrait être tenté de lire 𓆎 ou 𓆎 , mais ils sont probablement accidentels; pour *Sḥwt*, cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 283, 18.

Les hommes représentés au registre inférieur sont plus petits que ceux du premier registre (la hauteur moyenne de ces deux registres est respectivement de 13 et 16 cm), et quatre d'entre eux sont qualifiés de 'fils' : ce sont donc, non pas des hommes adultes comme au premier registre, mais des adolescents ou des enfants. Seul le premier de la rangée fait exception : il est plus grand que les autres, et ce n'est pas un 'fils', mais pour respecter l'alignement général l'auteur de la stèle a eu recours à un artifice qui a consisté à le représenter agenouillé.

C'est vraisemblablement à Sânkhpṭaḥ que réfère le suffixe *f* des termes de parenté qualifiant plusieurs des personnes représentées. Il s'agirait ainsi de sa mère (II, 1), de ses deux femmes (II, 3 et 4), de sa sœur (II, 5) et de ses quatre fils (III, 2-5), la présence de deux femmes n'impliquant pas obligatoirement un cas de bigamie, car il peut s'agir de deux épouses successives. Les autres personnes figurées doivent être des collègues de Sânkhpṭaḥ qui prirent part à la cérémonie de l'offrande royale, et probablement aussi des parents et amis auxquels il a accordé l'hospitalité de sa stèle afin qu'ils puissent profiter à Abydos des faveurs d'Osiris.

La stèle de Sânkhpṭaḥ est un exemple assez caractéristique de l'art provincial de la Seconde Période Intermédiaire, tant dans le rendu des personnages que dans la forme des hiéroglyphes. Quelques-uns de ceux-ci laissent transparaître l'influence de l'écriture hiératique du moment, tandis que deux ou trois autres affectent la forme des signes intentionnellement mutilés en cours à cette époque comme déjà avant la XII^e dynastie. A ce seul titre, la stèle de Sânkhpṭaḥ n'est donc pas dénuée d'intérêt.

Mais c'est surtout au point de vue historique qu'elle revêt une importance particulière. Si l'on excepte quelques scarabées portant le nom 'Râhotep', qui ne sont d'ailleurs pas tous d'attribution ou de datation certaines, un seul autre monument de quelque importance contemporain du monarque de ce nom est connu. C'est une autre stèle, mais royale celle-là, dont des fragments ont été découverts par Petrie à Coptos au cours des fouilles qu'il effectua sur ce site en 1893-4.²⁹ Les multiples lacunes qui brisent la continuité du texte de ce document en rendent l'interprétation souvent incertaine, mais il est hors de doute que, dans cette stèle également, comme dans celle d'Abydos, il est question de travaux de restauration, réalisés ceux-là dans le temple local du dieu Min. S'adressant aux courtisans de sa suite, le roi déclare qu'il a 'protégé les . . . (lacune) dans les sanctuaires³⁰ de l'ancien temps (?)',³¹ tandis qu'ailleurs l'inscription rapporte, concernant le temple de Min, que Sa Majesté a trouvé 'ses portes et ses vantaux dans un état de délabrement'.

Ainsi, il se confirme que Sékhem-Râ-Ouaḥ-Khâou Râhotep, fondateur ou second

²⁹ Petrie, *Koptos*, 12-13 et pl. xii, 3; Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, II, 17-18 et pl. 15, 1 (= U.C.M. 14327); Blumenthal, 'Die Koptosstele des Königs Rahotep', *Ägypten und Kusch* (Festschrift F. Hintze), 63-80 avec 3 planches.

³⁰ Le terme est au pluriel: ; dans la lacune qui précède, Helck, op. cit. 59, restitue .

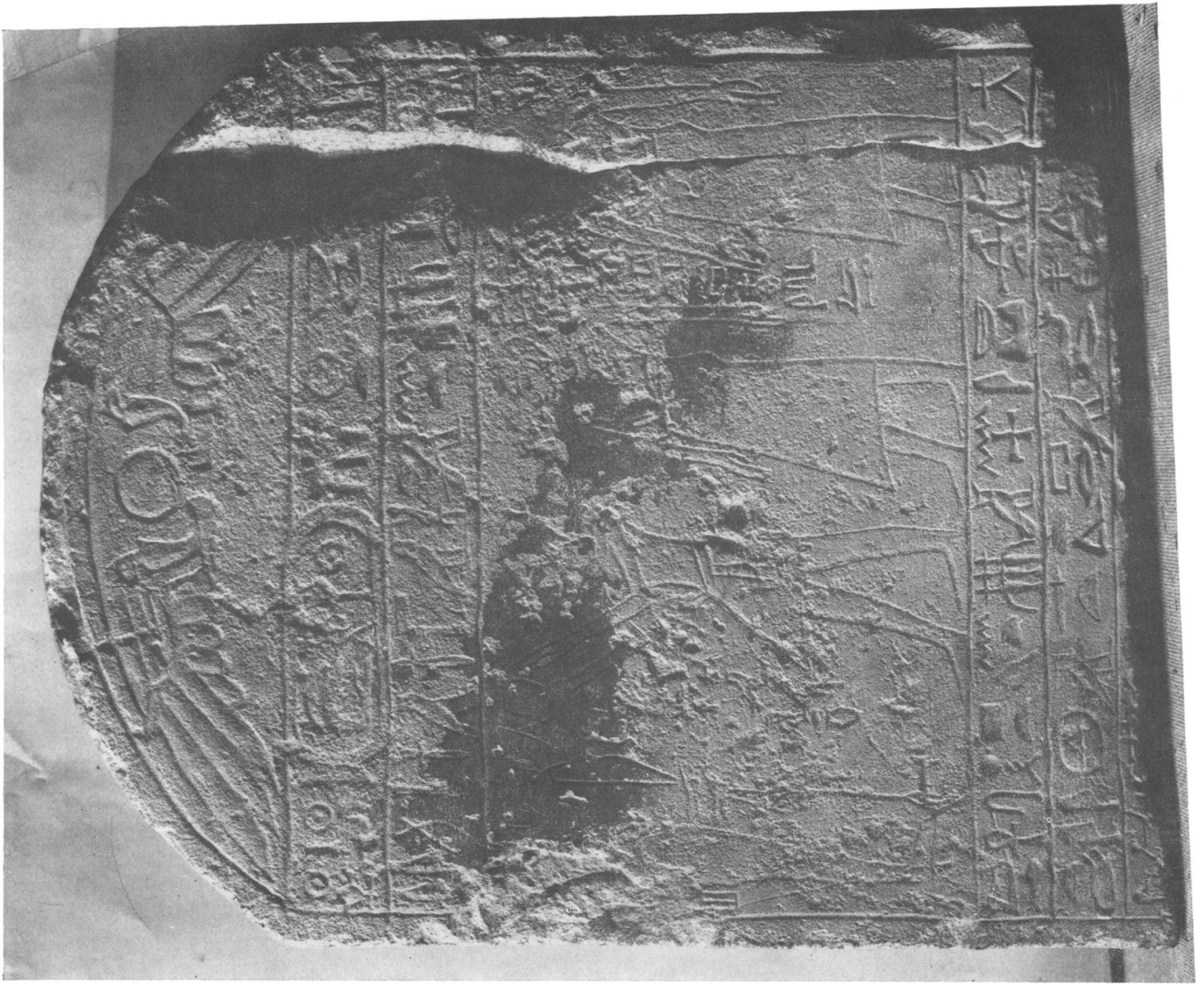
³¹ Lire *n tꜣ iswt* (*Wb.* I, 128, 12) — ou est-ce *ntyw isw*, 'qui étaient vétustes' (*Wb.* I, 128, 8)? Sur ces emplois de *iswt*, cf. Björkman, *Kings at Karnak*, 32, et Blumenthal, *Untersuch. zum äg. Königtum des M. R.*, I, 159.

roi de la XVII^e dynastie (l'accord n'est pas fait sur ce point),³² eut à cœur de réparer les dommages causés aux sanctuaires de son royaume durant les temps difficiles de la Seconde Période Intermédiaire, et sans doute imputables en partie aux envahisseurs hyksos des deux dynasties précédentes. Ces remises en état des temples divins donnaient lieu à une cérémonie rituelle au cours de laquelle le roi, accompagné d'une suite de notables, rendait hommage au dieu maître du temple en lui présentant une offrande. La stèle de Sânkhtptah, témoignage de sa participation à la cérémonie, montre quels étaient les fonctionnaires qui formaient la suite du pharaon, la stèle de Coptos leur attribuant la qualité de 'nobles' (*špsw*) et d' 'amis' (*smrw*): en plus de Sânkhtptah lui-même, ce sont, on l'a vu, un prêtre-lecteur, un chef des chanteurs, un deuxième chambellan, un scribe des offrandes divines, un grand des Dix de Haute Égypte, et un préposé à un service du temple dont le titre est incertain (IV, 1) — sans oublier une concubine royale, mais qui n'était peut-être pas là pour prendre part à la cérémonie.

Comme, avant lui, d'autres fonctionnaires qui avaient été envoyés en mission royale à Abydos pour y accomplir une tâche ou une autre, Sânkhtptah a tiré profit de sa présence dans la ville sainte pour y ériger une stèle, peut-être isolée, peut-être élément d'une chapelle-cénotaphe (*mḥrt*),³³ qui devait perpétuer son souvenir et celui des siens et de quelques collègues dans la proximité du dieu des morts. S'il a profité de ce fait des prières et des offrandes des 'vivants' qui passèrent devant sa stèle, pour nous il a permis une connaissance un peu moins incomplète des temps qui annonçaient la renaissance de la XVIII^e dynastie.

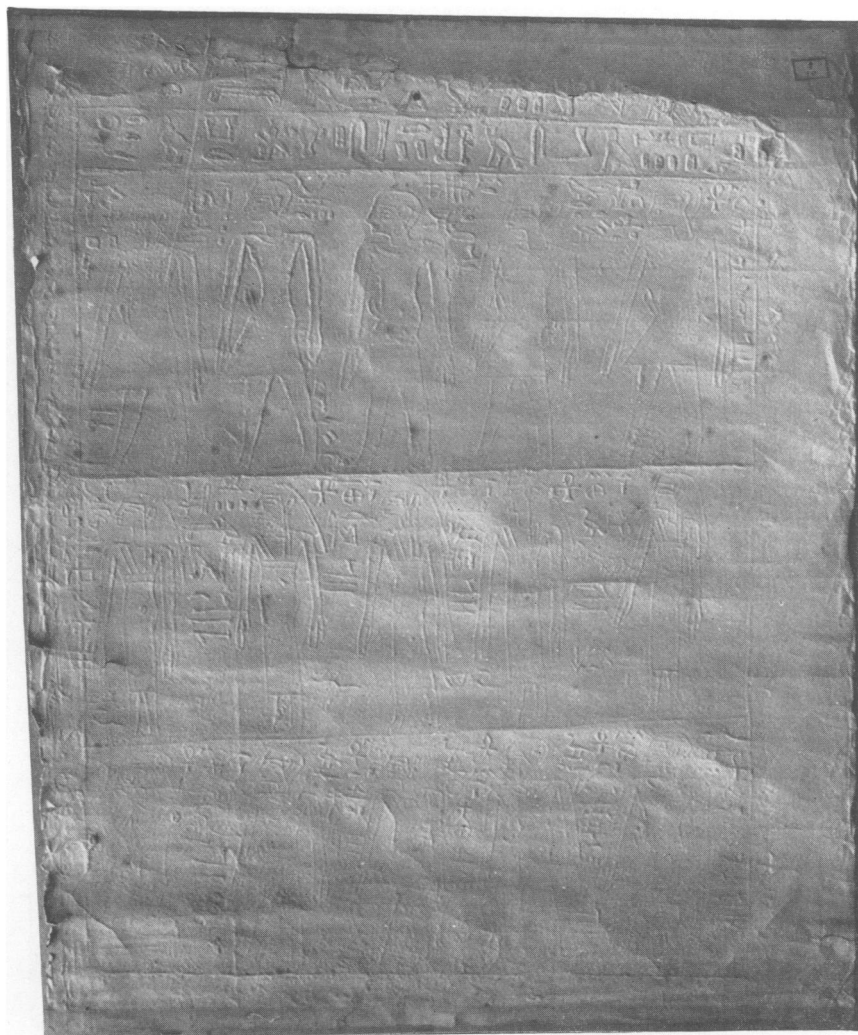
³² C'était le premier roi de la dynastie pour Hayes, *CAH*³ II, 1, 65 et 66; Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁴, 630 — et le deuxième pour v. Beckerath, *Abriss der Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, 66; Winlock, *Rise and Fall of the M. K. in Thebes*, 121.

³³ Cf. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*, 11.



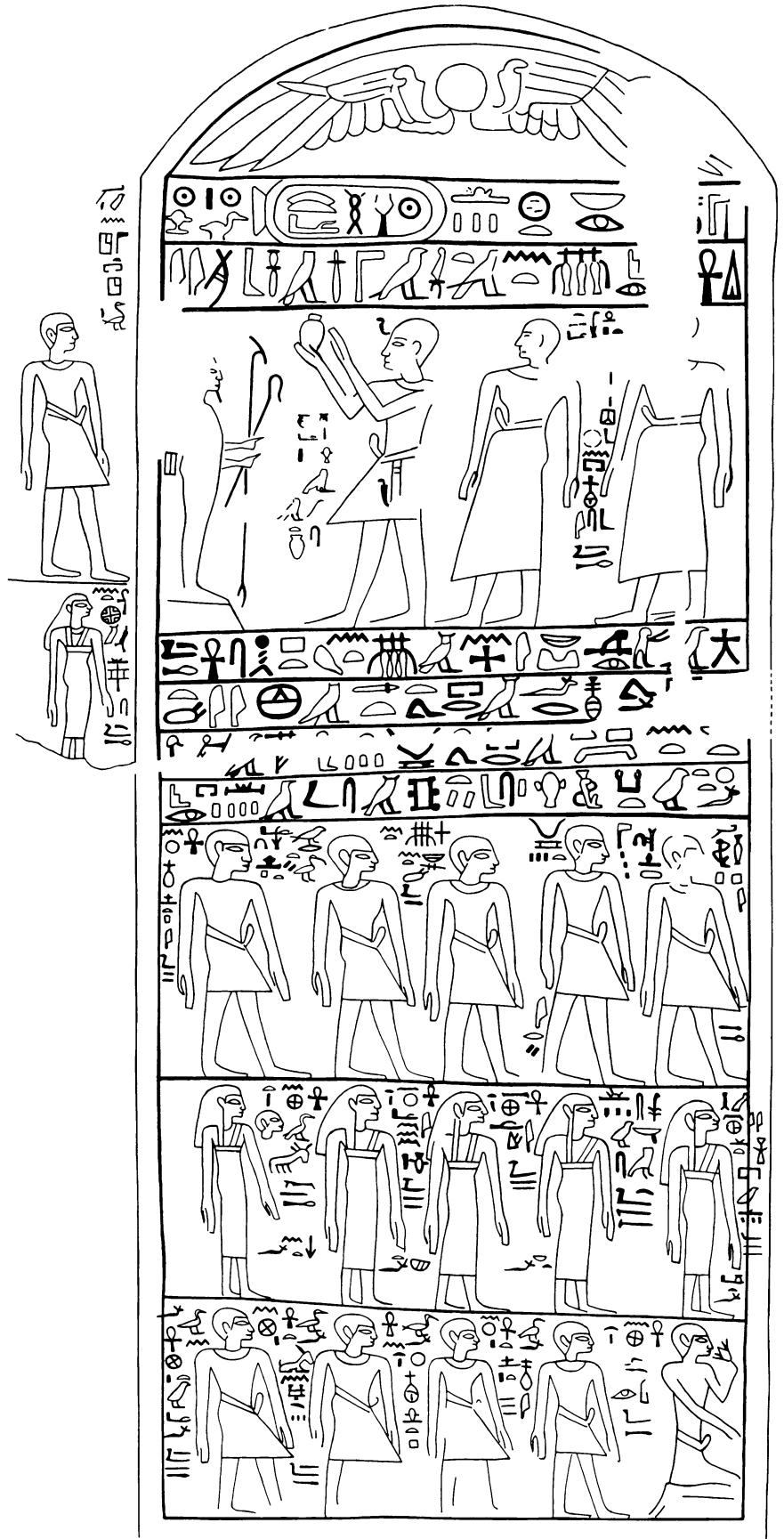
Partie supérieure, BM 833 (photos *British Museum*)

LA STÈLE DE SANKHPTAH CHAMRELIAN DU ROI RÂHOTEP



Partie inférieure, estampage de Devéria, Musée du Louvre E. 6167, 10


LA STÈLE DE SÂNKHPTAḤ, CHAMBELLAN DU ROI RÂḤOTEP




LA STÈLE DE SÂNKHPTAḤ, CHAMBELLAN DU ROI RÂḤOTEP

THE ORIGIN OF THE BLUE CROWN

By W. V. DAVIES

PROBABLY no other element of Egyptian regalia has excited quite as much interest and debate over the years as the head-dress known to Egyptologists, because of its characteristic colour, as the blue crown.¹ Its ancient name is securely identified as *ḥprš*, ,² but, despite the volume of literature on the subject, much else of fundamental importance about the crown—its origin, its exact nature and function, and the reasons for its rapid growth to prominence after a relatively late appearance—is still obscure to a greater or lesser extent. This present article is addressed to the first, and most crucial, of these outstanding problems, that of the crown's origin, and as such is concerned primarily with the early evidence for its existence and development. Appropriately, in a volume celebrating the centenary of the Egypt Exploration Society, a significant part of this evidence is provided by a monument discovered by one of the Society's expeditions.

Although the blue crown makes its first appearance in royal iconography in representations at the beginning of the New Kingdom,³ it has long been recognized that there is textual evidence for its existence already in the Second Intermediate Period.⁴ This is to be found on the Karnak stela of Neferhotep III of the Thirteenth Dynasty,⁵ in one section of which, following a passage in which the slaying of foreigners and rebels is reported in traditional terms, the king is described as being 'adorned with the *khefresh*' (*ḥprw m ḥprš*). The relevant part of the stela is here for the first time published in photograph (see pl. VII, 1-2),⁶ from which it may be seen that the word is inscribed so: . This writing is remarkable in one highly significant respect, already noted by von Beckerath⁷: the determinative does not represent the blue crown. It appears to depict, rather, another type of royal head-dress, well attested in contemporary representations (see below), which consisted of a close-fitting cap or wig fitted with a

¹ The most significant discussions are: von Bissing, *ZÄS* 41 (1904), 87; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 82; von Bissing, *Rec. Trav.* 29 (1907), 159-61; Steindorff, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 59-74; Sélim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire*, 184-5; Schaefer, *ZÄS* 70 (1934), 13-19; Müller, *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 47-50; Gardiner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 27-8; Simpson, *JEA* 41 (1954), 112-14; Leclant, *Mélanges Mariette*, 266-7; von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten*, 68; Harris, *Acta Orientalia* 35 (1973), 12-13; Russmann, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, 27-8; Ertman, *JARCE* 13 (1976), 63-7; Lacau and Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 1, 240-1 and 254; Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, 102-6; Cardon, *MMJ* 14 (1980), 9-13. ² *Wb.* III, 268, 1-2.

³ The well-known representation from Deir el-Bahri of Mentuhotep II wearing the blue crown is definitely not contemporary (cf. Müller, *op. cit.* 48 n. 2; Hayes, *CAH* II, 1, 51 n. 8), though it continues to be cited as such from time to time (most recently by Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 2 (1978), 275-6, 77. 3055).


⁴ Hayes, *op. cit.* II, 1, 51; von Beckerath, *op. cit.* 68.

⁵ Cairo JE 59635 (*PM* II², 73; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*, 45, no. 62).

⁶ The photograph is by kind courtesy of B. V. Bothmer.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 68, partially anticipating the conclusions of this article.

uraeus at the front. This head-dress, which enjoyed a revival in the Amarna and Ramesside Periods, is referred to in recent studies, among other names, as the 'royal cap' or 'cap-crown'.⁸

Were this writing of *khepresh* entirely without parallel, one would be bound to treat it with caution and to concede at least the possibility that the determinative was an ancient mistake, the result perhaps of a scribal or carving error. Fortunately, the existence of a second, unequivocal, example (hitherto unnoted) on a monument of the same general period conclusively removes the need for any such reservation. This monument, now in the British Museum (BM 494),⁹ is a limestone statuette discovered by Naville and Hall in the first season (1903-4) of their excavation of the Mentuhotpe temple at Deir el-Bahri (see pls. VII, 3-4; VIII, 1-4).¹⁰ It represented, when intact, a man wearing a short fringed skirt squatting on a pedestal, his legs crossed symmetrically in front of him, his arms in all probability placed on his thighs. A diagonal fold cuts across the top-right lap of the skirt, and a triangular overlap with a large fringed border hangs down at the front. Incised on the lap and sides is a hieroglyphic inscription consisting of a long continuous religious text. The owner's name is lost. The piece is badly damaged. The top half, both arms, the left leg (except for the toes peeping out from beneath the right thigh), and a section of the left lap and side are missing. As it survives, it measures 29 × 27 × 32 cm (height, width, and depth respectively).¹¹ The precise archaeological context is not recorded, but from the type of statue and the style of epigraphy there is no reason to doubt the dating 'XIIIth-XVIIth dynasty' assigned to it by Hall.¹² The text is an early version of the well-known 'Hymn to Amen-Rē'¹³ and contains a section, at the bottom right side of the statuette (see pl. VIII, 1), where the insignia of power, including all the major royal crowns and head-dresses, are enumerated. Among them, in the second line from the bottom, listed between the *nemes*-head cloth¹⁴ and *atef*-crown, is the *khepresh*. The word is written  (see pl. VIII, 4) and, as on the Karnak stela, its determinative, which is quite clearly formed, represents not the blue crown but the cap-crown. The close relationship between the blue and cap-crowns in the Amarna and Ramesside Periods has often been pointed out; indeed, their similarity in shape and decoration has occasionally led them to be confused in Egyptological literature.¹⁵ In the light of the lexicographical evidence presented

⁸ Harris, *op. cit.* 10-11; Russmann, *op. cit.* 29-33; Cooney, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 87-92; Ertman, *loc. cit.*; Russmann, *Meroitica* 5 (1979), 49-53; *id.*, *Studies in Honor of Dows Dunham*, 155, with n. 45.

⁹ Formerly BM 40959.

¹⁰ Naville and Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, III, 22, pl. iv, 6; Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, IV, 12, pl. 50; *PM* II², 393.

¹¹ The maximum measurements of the break at the top are: width, about 20 cm; depth, about 14 cm.

¹² *Hieroglyphic Texts*, IV, 12. For this type of statue in general see Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III, 231, P.M.E. xiv A. A close parallel, from which a good idea can probably be obtained of the Deir el-Bahri statue's original appearance, is Khartûm Museum 31 (Scott-Moncrieff, *PSBA* 28 (1906), 118-19, plate, figs. 1-2; Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, 41-2, pl. lxix, 2-3), which is datable to the Thirteenth Dynasty.

¹³ It is studied in detail by Hassan, *op. cit.* 157-93.

¹⁴ Note that the determinative of *nemes* is not the 'band of string' (Gardiner V 12) reproduced by Hall, *op. cit.* pl. 50, followed by Hassan, *op. cit.* 183, but is the *nemes*-headcloth itself, complete with lappet and queue.

¹⁵ Most notably by Borchardt, *op. cit.* 82; cf. Harris, *op. cit.* 11 n. 37; Ertman, *op. cit.* 64.

above, the original basis for the link between the two is now clearly apparent, the combined testimony of these two early examples of *hprš* pointing inescapably to one conclusion: *kheprsh* was originally the name for the cap-crown or, to put it another way, the cap-crown was the original form of the *kheprsh*, and, as such, the ancestor of the blue crown.

This conclusion sits well with the representational evidence, which, when considered in detail, allows the evolution of the *kheprsh* from cap-crown to blue crown to be followed without great difficulty. A provisional attempt to trace the main stages in this development is made below.¹⁶ Since the history of the cap-crown before the New Kingdom has not previously been documented in full, it begins with a list, arranged in brief catalogue form and following chronological order as far as possible,¹⁷ of as many pre-New Kingdom representations as are known to me of kings wearing the cap-crown.¹⁸

1. Sekhemrē'khotawy Ammenemes Sobkhotpe II. Dynasty XIII, 16. Limestone temple relief.¹⁹ Medāmūd. Cairo JE 56496 B. King, offering bread before Montu of Medāmūd, wears triangular kilt with pendent piece and cap-crown, rear half only preserved. Crown decorated with circlets. (See fig. 1.)



FIG. 1

2. Khaneferrē' Sobkhotpe IV. Dynasty XIII, 24. Two-sided schist stela.²⁰ From Wādi Ḥammāmāt. Present location unknown. On one side, king, standing before Min of Coptos, wears triangular kilt with pendent piece, bodice with shoulder straps, and cap-crown with uraeus. (See fig. 2.)



FIG. 2

3. Menkhaurē' Sena'atib. Dynasty XIII. Painted limestone rectangular stela.²¹ From Abydos. Cairo CG 20517. Height 88 cm; width 68 cm. King, standing in adoration before Min-Ḥornakhte, wears triangular kilt with pendent piece and ceremonial tail, bracelet, collar, and cap-crown with uraeus. Curls of crown schematically indicated. Crown painted yellow. (See fig. 3.)



FIG. 3

¹⁶ Provisional in that in only three cases (nos. 4, 5, and 7) have I been able to examine the original representation. The line-figures of these are facsimile copies made from the original; those of the others (nos. 1-3, 6, 8, 9) are tracings made (by Mrs C. G. Barratt of the British Museum) from published photographs or drawings, in which small details are often unclear. To facilitate comparison, the copies are reproduced at roughly the same size and the orientation of a number of them reversed.

¹⁷ Following von Beckerath, *Abriß der Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, 65-6.

¹⁸ Not included because damaged, and therefore unclear, is a possible example on the stela of Djedneferrē' Dedumose (CG 20533). There is no certain three-dimensional representation of the cap-crown before the New Kingdom, but Berlin 13255 (on which see, most recently, Russmann, *The Representation of the King*, 55 no. 35) merits consideration as a serious candidate.

¹⁹ Bisson de la Roque and Clère, *Médamoud* (1927), pl. iv; op. cit. (1930), pl. xi; op. cit. (1931), 7, 20, pls. vi and xiv, 3; *The Egyptian Museum, Cairo. A Brief Description of the Principal Monuments* (1932), 110, 6190; *PM* v, 145-6; Fischer, *Egyptian Studies*, II, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part I, *Reversals*, 98-9, fig. 102.

²⁰ Debono, *ASAE* 51 (1951), 81, pl. xv; von Beckerath, *Zwischenzeit*, 249, xiii, 24 (25); Simpson, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 154-8, fig. 1, pl. vii a.

²¹ Mariette, *Abydos*, II, pl. 27 b; Lange and Schaefer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, II, 111-12; *PM* v, 50; von Beckerath, op. cit. 68-9 and 262, xiii, M; Ertman, op. cit. 64, pl. xiii.



FIG. 4

4. Sekhemrē'neferkhau Wepwawetemsaf. Dynasty XIII. Round-topped limestone stela.²² Height 28 cm; width 22 cm; depth about 14.5 cm. Probably from Abydos. BM 969. King, standing before Wepwawet, wears triangular kilt with pendent piece, collar, and cap-crown with uraeus.²³ (See fig. 4.)



FIG. 5

5. 'Sesostris I'. Dynasty XIII (?).²⁴ Round-topped painted sandstone stela.²⁵ Height 44 cm; width 40 cm; depth 12.5 cm. From Buhen, North Temple. Ashmolean Museum 1893. 175. King, in embrace with Horus of Buhen, wears triangular (?) kilt, collar, and cap-crown with uraeus. Remains of dark-blue paint on cap and red on uraeus. (See fig. 5.)



FIG. 6

6. Anonymous. Dynasty XIII. Temple graffito.²⁶ Medâmûd. Crude representation of man, probably a king, wearing cap-crown with uraeus. (See fig. 6.)

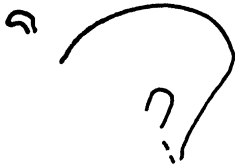


FIG. 7

7. Sekhemrē'wahkhau Ra'hotpe. Dynasty XVII, 2. Round-topped limestone stela, top half.²⁷ Height 47 cm; width 40 cm; depth about 13 cm. From Abydos. BM 833. King, offering *nemset*-jar before Osiris, wears triangular kilt with pendent piece, collar, and cap-crown with uraeus. (See fig. 7.)



FIG. 8

8. Sekhemrē'wadjkhau Sobkemsaf I. Dynasty XVII, 3. Rock relief.²⁸ Wadi Hammâmât. King, in pose of offering before Min of Coptos, wears triangular kilt and cap-crown with uraeus. (See fig. 8.)

²² Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (1909), 81, no. 281; Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, IV, 9, pl. xxv; *PM* v, 96; von Beckerath, op. cit. 68 and 262, xiii, N (1).

²³ The uraeus, which is faintly incised, is omitted in Hall's copy of this stela.

²⁴ Stylistic and epigraphic considerations support a posthumous dating for this stela as suggested by Goedicke in Ertman, op. cit. 64, with nn. 19 and 20, though it is doubtful that a late Eighteenth Dynasty or Ramesside date can be justified. The stela most probably belongs to the Nubian cult of the deified Sesostris I, all datable monuments of which so far attested belong to the Second Intermediate Period (Smith, op. cit. 91-2). Moreover, the form of writing of the name Buhen on this stela does not apparently occur after the Thirteenth Dynasty (Smith, op. cit. 88-90).

²⁵ Crum, *PSBA* 16 (1893), 16; *PM* VII, 131; Moorey, *Ancient Egypt*, 73, fig. 37; Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, 52 and 62 ff., pl. lxxi, 3.

²⁶ Cotteville and Giraudet, *Médamoud* (1930), 38, pl. ii, 13.

²⁷ Budge, op. cit. 82, no. 283; Hall, op. cit. IV, 9, pl. 24; von Beckerath, op. cit. 179 n. 1, and 284, xviii, 2 (4); Clère, *JEA* 68 (1982), 60-8, figs. 1-4, pls. IV-VI.

²⁸ *LD* II, 151k; von Beckerath, op. cit. 175 n. 7, and 286, xvii, 3 (11 c).

9. Wadjkheperre^c Kamose. Dynasty XVII, 15. Gilded ebony fan-handle.²⁹ Height 8.4 cm; width 16.3 cm. From Thebes, treasure of Queen 'Aḥhotpe. Cairo CG 52705. On both sides, king, holding 'ankh in rear hand and offering bread to Khonsu with other, wears shendyt-kilt, bodice with shoulder straps, armbands, bracelets, collar, and cap-crown with uraeus. (See figs. 9–10.)



FIG. 9



FIG. 10

On the basis of these representations, the cap does not appear to have evolved markedly in form through the course of the Second Intermediate Period. There are variations in shape—some caps are short and rounded, most are more elongated and occasionally incurved at the rear—but, when allowance is made for the small scale and crude execution of the majority of them, these variations are of doubtful significance. Only two among these examples have substantial internal detail (nos. 1 and 3). In the first, a carefully carved temple relief, unfortunately damaged, the crown is decorated with closely-spaced circlets, probably designed to represent stylized curls of hair,³⁰ of the kind that later decorate the blue crown (see fig. 15). These 'curls' are present also in the second example, where they have been rendered more schematically by a cross-hatched pattern. No. 3 is also one of only two coloured examples from the period. It is yellow, which was to become the characteristic colour of the cap when revived in the Ramesside Period.³¹ The other coloured example (no. 5) is blue, providing an early precedent not only for the colour of the blue crown itself but also for the Amarna version of the cap.³² Nos. 3 and 5 are also the only examples to show the tail of the uraeus to any extent. In neither is there any anticipation of the characteristic circular looping of the uraeus of the blue crown, but, like the latter, no. 5 does have an extremely long tail curving up and over the dome.

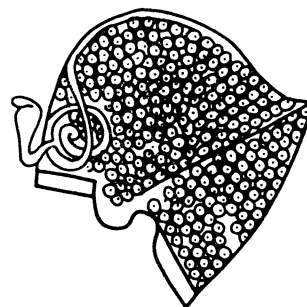


FIG. 11

The first significant development in shape appears to have occurred at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Amosis is twice shown wearing a head-dress which is quite evidently a *khepresh*, but which is neither a cap-crown nor blue crown proper but a transitional form (see figs. 12–13).³³ As compared, for example, with that of his predecessor (see figs. 9–10), his cap is seen to be more angular in shape, with distinct corners at each end of the dome. This same angular type continues into the reign of Amenophis I (see fig. 14),³⁴ which sees the first definite attestation of the circular coiling of the uraeus-tail and of the band(s) at the nape of the neck. This same king also wears

²⁹ Von Bissing, *Ein thebanischer Grabfund*, 6, pl. iv, 8; Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, 236–7, pl. xlvi; *PM* 1², 602; von Beckerath, *op. cit.* 188–9 and 298, xvii, 15 (15).

³⁰ Cf. Russmann, *op. cit.* 30, with n. 6; *id.*, *Meroitica* 5 (1979), 50.

³¹ Cf. Harris, *op. cit.* 10 n. 34; Russmann, *The Representation of the King*, 31 n. 9; Ertman, *op. cit.* 64–5.

³² Harris, *loc. cit.*; Ertman, *op. cit.* 63–5.

³³ The first occurs on the decorated axe-head from the 'Aḥhotpe trove, Cairo CG 52645 (Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries*, pl. xliii, 2); the second on the limestone doorway erected by Turi at Buhen, Philadelphia E 10987 (Randall-MacIver and Woolley, *Buhen*, 86–9, pl. 35; Smith, *op. cit.* 207, pl. lxxx, 1).

³⁴ Karnak chapel (Mysliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, pl. x, fig. 21 : cf. Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 86, 147, and 257, D 9).

a more developed form (see fig. 15),³⁵ which shows a partial return to the rounded top of the cap-crown but now with a concave curve at the rear-top, a clear indication of the presence, for the first time, of the characteristic raised ridge at the side of the crown. How far the form developed in the two subsequent reigns is unclear at present,³⁶ but certainly the second type worn by Amenophis I (see fig. 15) is only a very short step away in shape from the classic blue crown of the mid Eighteenth Dynasty, as worn by Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, lacking only the full rounding of the tabs in front of the ears (see fig. 11).³⁷



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

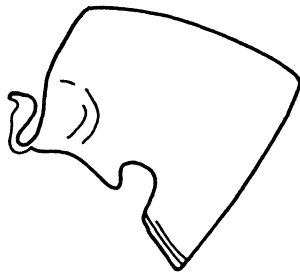


FIG. 14

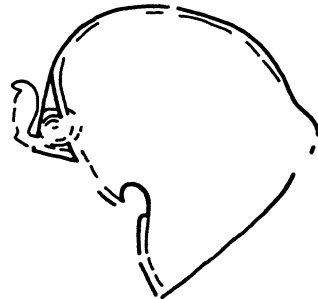


FIG. 15

Despite the development of this new form of *khepresh*, in typically Egyptian fashion the original cap-form is not entirely discarded. It makes an early reappearance in the reign of Tuthmosis III in a scene where, probably for special religious reasons, it is shown being worn by a statue of Tuthmosis II (see fig. 16),³⁸ other statues of whom in the same scene wear the blue crown.³⁹ It then drops out of sight again until the Amarna

³⁵ Karnak, Temple of Montu (Varille, *Karnak*, I, pl. xliii; cf. Schmitz, *op. cit.* 147 and 257, D 8).

³⁶ Tuthmosis I is depicted wearing the blue crown on scarab BM 17774 (Hall, *Catalogue of Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum*, 50, 475; Desroches-Noblecourt, *RdÉ* 7 (1950), 43, pl. ix, fig. 8), but the representation is extremely small and details are not indicated. A representation of Tuthmosis II wearing the *khepresh* (Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh* (1926). *Sondage au temple funéraire de Thotmès II*, pls. v–vii; *PM* 11², 456, court, south wall) is believed to be the work of Tuthmosis III.

³⁷ The figure is Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, III, pl. 82 (Tuthmosis III); cf. Pillet, *ASAE* 24 (1924), pls. iii, 26; v, 23; Myśliwiec, *op. cit.* pls. xxvi, figs. 61–2; xxxiv, fig. 78; xxxviii, fig. 90.

³⁸ Bruyère, *op. cit.* pl. viii, 2.

³⁹ *Op. cit.* pls. v–vii (cf. n. 36 above).

Period, when, for reasons perhaps connected with the special status of the royal women at this period, it is revived as a crown of Nefertiti and her daughters.⁴⁰ In the Ramesside Period, it is fully readmitted into the repertoire of the king's headgear.⁴¹ It is reasonable to suppose that the revived version of the cap-crown was designated by a name other than *khepresh*, but what this name may have been, and what the function of the later cap was in relation to, and as distinct from, the blue crown, remain to be ascertained.

Disappointingly, the early representations of the cap-crown (see above) shed little, if any, light on the special function of the original *khepresh*. Contemporary parallels show the king performing similar rituals before the same range of gods, wearing the same dress and ornament, but adorned with a variety of head-dresses.⁴² If there is any special significance to the use of the cap-crown, as opposed to, for example, the *nemes* head-cloth or bag-wig in such rituals, it is far from clear. There is good evidence to support the view that the *khepresh* in its fully developed blue-crown form functioned as the symbol of coronation,⁴³ and thus of legitimate succession, to be worn, as Leclant has indicated, 'quand on veut insister sur la caractère d'héritier, de successeur de Pharaon'.⁴⁴ On present evidence it is impossible to be sure whether any such significance attached to its original form or whether this was a function that gradually developed. It may be more than coincidence, however, that the cap-crown makes its first appearance, or at least comes into its own, as a crown of the king, during the Second Intermediate Period, a time of political instability and weak central authority, when, it may be imagined, the right of succession to the throne must often have been at issue and the need to emphasize and consolidate it, once obtained, of paramount importance. It is tempting to see the introduction of the *khepresh* as directly related to these conditions and needs.

The mention of the *khepresh* in the 'military' context of the Neferhotep III stela is also conveniently explicable in terms of such a function. For coronation was not only a political act; it was, in addition, a symbol of kingship renewed and, as such, triumphant

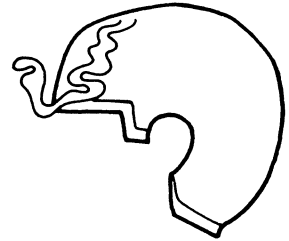


FIG. 16

⁴⁰ Harris, op. cit. 10-11 with n. 33; Ertman, op. cit. 63-5.

⁴¹ Harris, op. cit. 10-11, nn. 33-5; Russmann, *The Representation of the King*, 31-2, who traces the development of the crown down to the Kushite cap and beyond. It is worth pointing out that the original identity of the cap- and blue crowns could provide a solution to the long-standing problem of why the Kushites rejected the blue crown and adopted the cap-crown in its stead as the crown of coronation. Given their archaizing proclivities, it is perhaps not unnatural that they should deliberately choose the more ancient form and discard the younger. (Note that more recently Russmann, *Meroitica* 5 (1979), 49-53, has argued that the cap-crown and Kushite 'cap' are unrelated (that the latter, in fact, is not a cap at all but natural hair), but on the available evidence the matter is still open to question.)

⁴² Most commonly the *nemes*-headcloth and bag-wig. See, for example, Bresciani, *Egitto e vicino oriente* 2 (1979), 11, fig. 8; Lange and Schaefer, op. cit. iv, pls. v, CG 20044; xiii, CG 20146; xlvii, CG 20601; Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pl. lvii; II, pl. xxxii, 3; *LD* II, 151, 1; Habachi, *ASAE* 52 (1954), pls. x, xi, A; Wild, *JEA* 37 (1951), 12, fig. 1; Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud* (1929), pl. xi.

⁴³ Gardiner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 27-8; Simpson, *JEA* 41 (1954), 112; Leclant, *Mél. Mariette*, 266-7; Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, I, 186, 230; Harris, op. cit. 12-13.

⁴⁴ Op. cit. 266-7 n. 11.

over its enemies. To quote Leclant again: ‘. . . c’est parce que le couronnement implique en lui-même la victoire que cette couronne a pu être considérée comme une coiffure de combat’.⁴⁵ With the *kheprsh* viewed in this light, the necessity to see it, with von Beckerath,⁴⁶ as being derived ultimately from a ‘militärische Kopfbedeckung’ (for the existence of which there is not a shred of independent evidence), is entirely removed.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Loc. cit.; cf. id., *RdÉ* 13 (1961), 161 n. 1.

⁴⁶ *Zwischenzeit*, 68.

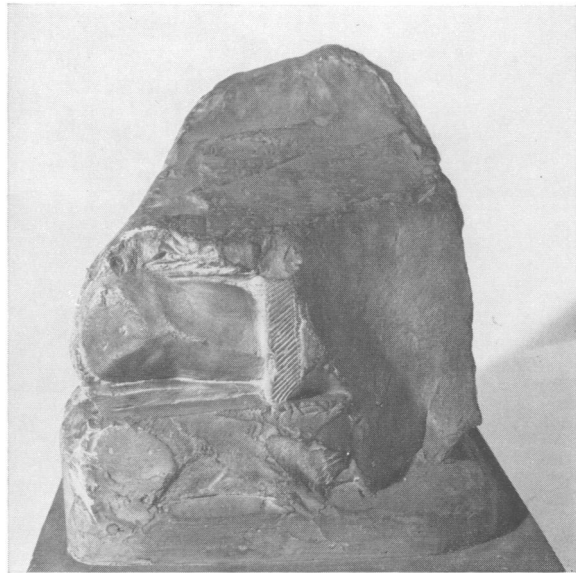
⁴⁷ More plausible forerunners for the cap-crown are listed by Russmann, *The Representation of the King*, 29–30 (cf. Ertman, op. cit. 64), but, unfortunately, the evidence from the crucial period of the Middle Kingdom is as yet extremely sparse, and a completely convincing ancestor has yet to be isolated.



Courtesy B. V. Bothmer
1. Cairo JE 59635



Courtesy B. V. Bothmer
2. Cairo JE 59635, detail



Courtesy the British Museum
3. BM 494, front

**THE ORIGIN OF THE
BLUE CROWN**



Courtesy the British Museum
4. BM 494, detail



Courtesy the British Museum
1. BM 494, right side



Courtesy the British Museum
3. BM 494, back



Courtesy the British Museum
2. BM 494, left side



Courtesy the British Museum
4. BM 494, detail

THE ORIGIN OF THE BLUE CROWN

STRUKTUREN IN FREMDLÄNDERLISTEN

Von JÜRGEN OSING

NACH eigenem Verständnis war Ägypten von einem Kreis fremder Länder umgeben, der gewöhnlich in vier, an den Himmelsrichtungen orientierte Sektoren gegliedert war. Diese Vorstellung äußert sich, in Bild und Schrift, vor allem in Summierungen der vier Sektoren oder von vier repräsentativen Ländern, einem häufigen Topos mit dem Anspruch, die Gesamtheit der Fremdländer darzustellen.¹

Das gleiche Ziel hat jedoch auch ein Zweiteilungs-Schema, welches die Fremdländer nur nach einer Opposition Süd : Nord, gelegentlich auch West : Ost,² aufteilt. Dieses 'Hemisphären'-Schema findet sich vor allem bei den Paaren von Fremdländerlisten, die unter Verteilung auf zwei entgegengesetzte Himmelsrichtungen in Tempeln (Wände, Statuensockel) aufgezeichnet sind und sich damit der weitgehend achsensymmetrischen Anlage und Dekoration solcher Tempel anpassen.

Ein komplizierteres, bisher nicht analysiertes Schema liegt bei einer Gruppe von 10 Fremdländern vor, die im 'Siegeslied' der 'Poetischen Stele' Thutmosis' III. (Kairo CG 34010) die gesamte Umwelt Ägyptens repräsentieren. Das 'Siegeslied' (*Urk.* IV, 614-18)³ ist ein Abschnitt von 10 Zeilen, jede mit einer Strophe zu zwei Halbstrophen, die Halbstrophen eingeleitet jeweils durch die anaphorischen, im Text genau untereinander geschriebenen Elemente: *ii·n·i di·i titi·k . . .*, 'ich (d.i. Amon-Rē) bin gekommen, damit ich dich niedertreten lasse . . .' bzw. . . . *di·i m·sn hm·k . . .*, '. . . (und) damit ich sie deine Majestät sehen lasse . ..'. Die erste Halbstrophe führt jeweils ein 'niederzutretendes' Fremdland auf, meist zusammen mit einem zugehörigen Teilbereich.⁴ Dabei folgen sich:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. Palästina-Phönizien (<i>Djhy</i>) ⁵ | mit seinen 'Fremdländern' (<i>h:swt</i>) |
| 2. Vorderasien (<i>Stt</i>) | mit Syrien-Palästina (<i>Rtnw</i>) ⁵ |
| 3. 'Ostland' (<i>t: i:btj</i>) | mit 'den Gebieten des "Gotteslandes"'
(<i>ww nw t: ntr</i>) |

¹ G. Posener, 'Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Égyptiens', *Göttinger Vorträge vom Ägyptologischen Kolloquium der Akademie am 25. und 26. August 1964*. *NAWG, phil.-hist. Kl.* (Göttingen, 1965), 69 ff., bes. 74 mit Anm. 6.

² Wie in der 'Berge-Prozession' im Tempel von Edfu mit 'Bergen' des Ost- und Nord-Sektors (angeführt von 'Sopd, Horus des Ostens') auf der Ostwand und mit 'Bergen' des West- und Süd-Sektors (angeführt von 'H: dem Großen, dem Herrn des Westens') auf der Westwand des betreffenden Raumes (*Edfou*, II, 277 ff. und 289 ff.). Vgl. auch *GM* 40 (1980), 46 f.

³ Übersetzungen: R. O. Faulkner in (W. K. Simpson ed.) *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*² (New Haven/London, 1973), 285 ff., und M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II. *The New Kingdom* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1976), 36 f.

⁴ Vgl. J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 153.

⁵ Vgl. A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (London, 1947), I, 142* ff., und W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Äg. Abh. 5²) (Wiesbaden, 1971), 266 ff.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 4. 'Westland' (<i>tṣ imnty</i>) | mit Kreta und Zypern (<i>Kftiw</i> und <i>Izy</i> ⁶) |
| 5. 'die in ihren <i>nbwt</i> ' ⁷ | mit 'den Ländern von Mitanni' (<i>tṣw nw Mtn</i>) |
| 6. ägäische Inseln (<i>iww hryw-ib wṣd-wr</i>) | |
| 7. nördl. Libyen (<i>Tḥnw</i>) | mit 'den <i>wntnyw</i> -Inseln' (<i>iww wntnyw</i>) |
| 8. 'die Nord-Enden der Länder' (<i>phww tṣw</i>) ⁸ | mit 'dem, was der Ozean (<i>šn-wr</i>) umschließt' |
| 9. 'der Anfang der Erde' (<i>ḥṣt tṣ</i>) ⁹ | mit 'den Sandbewohnern' (<i>hryw-šc</i>) |
| 10. Nubien (<i>iwnwt Zti</i>) | mit 'bis hin nach <i>Šṣt</i> '. |

Der universale Anspruch in der Aufzählung dieser Länder ist seit langem bekannt, doch ließ sich keine innere Ordnung erkennen, solange man ohne weitere Differenzierung eine fortlaufende Abfolge 1–10 als Gliederungsschema annahm.¹⁰ Bei dieser Annahme würde der Text ständig von einem Sektor zu einem anderen wechseln, sprunghaft und ohne System. Ein solches Durcheinander müßte in dem sonst so stilisierten und durchstrukturierten 'Siegeslied', mehr noch als in jedem anderen Text, allerdings sehr befremden. Es erscheint daher geraten, zunächst eher nach einem anderen Gliederungsschema zu suchen.

Ein formales Kriterium hilft hier m.E. weiter. Von ihrer Umgebung deutlich abgehoben sind die vier mit *tṣ*, 'Land, Erde', zusammengesetzten Namen, die selbst wieder in zwei Gegensatzpaaren unmittelbar miteinander verbunden sind: *tṣ-ibty*, 'Ostland', und *tṣ-imnty*, 'Westland' (3–4) sowie *phww tṣw*, 'die Nord-Enden der Länder', und *ḥṣt tṣ*, 'der Anfang der Erde' (8–9). Jeder dieser Namen repräsentiert eine der vier Himmelsrichtungen, so daß hier offenbar das bekannte Vierglieder-Schema, wenn auch in aufgespaltener Form, vorliegt und jene vier Namen so eine in sich geschlossene Gruppe bilden.

Für die verbleibenden sechs Namen ist die traditionelle Aufteilung auf die verschiedenen Sektoren bekannt. Danach sind diese Namen in einer Abfolge der Sektoren Nord (Palästina-Phönizien-Vorderasien mit Syrien-Palästina-Mitanni), West (ägäische Inseln-nördl. Libyen) und Süd (Nubien) aufgeführt, und zwar in fortlaufender Reihenfolge zunächst von Ägypten fort nach Norden (bis Mitanni), dann von Nordwesten her zurück in den Süden und so gleichsam in einem weiten Bogen um Ägypten.

Für die Gliederung der Ländernamen wären hier somit zwei Prinzipien angewandt: 1. das Vierglieder-Schema mit seiner kreuzförmigen Verteilung und 2. eine bogenförmige Reihung vom Norden über den Westen nach Süden. Die beiden Prinzipien stehen sich hier jedoch nicht unverbunden gegenüber, sondern sind ineinander verarbeitet.

⁶ S. zuletzt J. Leclant in *Salamine de Chypre, histoire et archéologie. État des recherches. Lyon 13-17 mars 1978* (Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S., n° 578), S. 131–5, und meinen Artikel in *GM* 40 (1980), 45 ff.

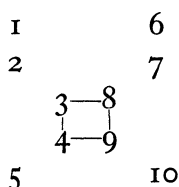
⁷ *Wb.* II, 227, 3 und J. Vercoutter, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 151 ff.

⁸ *Wb.* I, 538, 4 und Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 92.

⁹ *Wb.* III, 22, 3.

¹⁰ J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique* (BdÉ 22) (Kairo, 1956), 51 ff.

Warum jedoch das Vierglieder-Schema in zwei Paare aufgespalten ist und diese gerade in Strophe 3-4 und 8-9 plaziert sind, ist weniger evident. Beim Paar 8-9 könnte man noch annehmen, daß es die Länder des West-Sektors (6-7) vom Süd-Sektor (10) trennen sollte, doch versagt eine solche Erklärung beim Paar 3-4, das nicht zwischen dem Nord- und dem West-Sektor steht, sondern mitten unter den Ländern des Nord-Sektors (1-2, 5). Ob der Verfasser des Textes von einem Schema mit zwei parallel aufgebauten Fünfer-Reihen ausgegangen ist?¹¹



Eine ähnlich verschachtelte, aber dennoch einsichtige Anordnung der Ländernamen findet sich auch im letzten Teil der 'Berge-Prozession' Ramses' II. im Vorhof des Luxor-Tempels.¹² In einer langen Reihe von Bildfeldern folgen sich hier 31 Gabenbringer mit den Produkten je eines erz- oder mineralhaltigen 'Berges', und zwar aus den Fremdländern aller vier Sektoren der Welt¹³ und auch von innerhalb Ägyptens. Die Abfolge der 'Berge' verläuft generell von Süden nach Norden, mit *nw(yw)* 'Urgewässer', beginnend und mit *phw mw*, 'Nord-Ende des Wassers', endend. Zwischen diesen Endpunkten im weltumschließenden Ozean liegen 'Berge' aus Nubien (Süd-Sektor), dem südl. Oberägypten, dem Ost-Sektor (*Ts-ntr*, *Pwnt*),¹⁴ den Oasen der West-Wüste (*Knmt*, Charga-Dachla; *ts-ihw*, Farafra; *Dsds*, Bahrija), dem nördl. Oberägypten (*Atfih*) und dem 'Türkis-Gebiet' des Sinai (*Mfkt*, ein Repräsentant wohl des Ost-Sektors¹⁵) und zum Schluß eine Gruppe von 10 'Bergen' aus Vorderasien (Nord-Sektor) und der Mittelmeerwelt (nördlich von Ägypten gelegener Teil des West-Sektors).

In dieser Gruppe folgen sich (hier mit der traditionellen Zuordnung zum Nord- bzw. West-Sektor markiert):

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 21 W Zypern (<i>Izy</i>) | 23 N Hatti |
| 22 W Zypern oder ein Teilbereich (<i>Irs/Alasia</i> ¹⁶) | 24 N Babylonien (<i>Sngr</i>) |



¹¹ Dabei könnte das Paar 8-9 eben diesen Platz erhalten haben, um den West- vom Süd-Sektor zu trennen, und das Paar 3-4 könnte der Parallelität wegen in eben dieser Weise plaziert sein.

¹² Zuletzt Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II, 617-21 (mit älterer Literatur). Zur geographischen Gliederung s. E. Edel, *Orientalia* 37 (1968), 419 f., und Vercoutter, *L'Égypte . . .*, 90 ff.

¹³ E. Edel a.a.O.

¹⁴ Die beiden Ost-Länder folgen unmittelbar auf 'den Berg von Koptos' und sind eben hier wohl eingeordnet, weil bei Koptos das Wadi Hammamat abzweigt, die wichtige Verkehrsverbindung zu jenen Ost-Ländern.

¹⁵ Im Gebiet der Türkisminen des Sinai (*Mfkt*; s. J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*² (London, 1953), 3 und 41) wird 'Sopd, Herr des Ostens' und 'Sopd <, Herr ?> der Fremdländer' verehrt (Černý, op. cit. 29 und 42), der dem Osten zugeordnete Gott (Bonnet, *Reallexikon*, 741 f.; D. Keßler in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II 1214).

¹⁶ Vgl. Anm. 6 (bes. GM 40, 49 mit Anm. 33). Ob im Element -asia von Alasia:  der Name  steckt? Zur (partiellen?) Dittologie bei *Izy* und *Irs/Alasia* s. E. Edel, *Orientalia* 37, 419 f.

25	W	Kreta (<i>Kftiw</i>)	28	N	Ninive ¹⁷ (in Assyrien)
26	[W]	zerstört	29	N	Naharina (~ Mitanni) ¹⁸
27	W	ägäische Inseln (<i>iwvw hryw-ib</i>)	30	N	Palästina-Phönizien (<i>Dshy</i>).


Auch hier ist sicher, daß die Annahme einer fortlaufenden Abfolge 21–30 kein klares Gliederungsschema ergibt,¹⁹ und es erscheint daher auch hier geraten, zunächst eher nach einem anderen Gliederungsschema zu suchen.

Mit E. Edel²⁰ ergänze ich für die zerstörte Nr. 26 zwischen Kreta und den ägäischen Inseln ein weiteres Land des 'Westens', womit sich eine regelmäßige Abfolge von 2 West- und 2 Nord-, dann 3 West- und 3 Nord-Ländern ergibt. In dieser Gruppe von insgesamt 5 West- und 5 Nord-Ländern stehen sich die beiden Bereiche somit nicht *en bloc* gegenüber, sondern sind in einem Alternations-Schema ineinandergearbeitet. Dadurch sind nun die Länder in den zwei Abschnitten 21–4 und 25–30 jeweils fortlaufend in einem weiten, von Westen nach Norden verlaufenden Bogen angeordnet. In der Zuordnung zum Abschnitt 21–4 oder aber 25–30 mag sich dabei ein Unterschied in der politischen Bedeutung dieser Länder für Ägypten zur Zeit der Abfassung des Textes ausdrücken.²¹

¹⁷ Edel, *Orientalia* 37, 417 ff., sowie M. Görg, *GM* 17 (1975), 31 ff.

¹⁸ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 144* und 171* ff., und Helck, *Beziehungen*², 267.

¹⁹ Edel, *Orientalia* 37, 419 f.

²⁰ a.a.O. Statt *Mnws* möchte ich jedoch eher  o.ä. *Tny* ergänzen, m.E. eine Wiedergabe von *Danaia, 'Danaer-Land', als Bezeichnung des griechischen Festlandes (vgl. hierzu G. A. Lehmann, *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt a.M.* 1976 (München, 1977), 107 f. unter Hinweis auf meinen nicht veröffentlichten Habilitations-Vortrag; sowie W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Wege der Forschung 120) (Darmstadt, 1979), 30).

²¹ Oder sollte nach geographischen Gesichtspunkten in der West-Gruppe ein östlicher (21–2) und ein westlicher (25–7), in der Nord-Gruppe dagegen ein im Verhältnis zu Ägypten fernerer (23–4) und näherer (28–30) Teilbereich unterschieden sein?

TWO MONUMENTS OF NEW KINGDOM DATE IN NORTH AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

ON a visit to the United States a few years ago two New Kingdom monuments, a relief and a stela, caught my attention. Both appear to belong to the transitional stage between the end of the Eighteenth and the early Nineteenth dynasties. Though I had no time to give them more than a cursory examination, and therefore cannot at the moment provide facsimile tracings, I deal with them here from photographs, with the kind permission of the authorities of the museums in which they are now housed. They are to all intents and purposes unpublished, having received only passing mention in sources not normally consulted by Egyptologists. One piece is probably Memphite in origin, and thus augments the corpus of tomb-chapel reliefs from the New Kingdom Saqqâra necropolis,¹ a renewal of interest in which is apparent in recent years, not least as a result of the work of the joint Egypt Exploration Society and Leiden Museum expedition in the area.

1. Limestone Relief (Pl. IX, 1)²

Pittsburgh, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute 72.18.1. Formerly Bloomfield Hills, Cranbrook Academy of Art Museum 1939.90. Purchased 1972 for Pittsburgh through the Egyptian Art Fund with moneys provided by an anonymous donor.

Dimensions: height 31.8 cm; width 92.8 cm.

Bibliography: Sotheby, Parke-Bernet, *Cranbrook Collections*. Sale no. 3360, May 2-5, 1972 (New York, 1972), no. 346, with illus. on p. 143; *Art Quarterly* (Detroit), 1972, 435, with illus. on p. 434, top, centre; Owsley, *Carnegie Magazine*, 47, 6 (June, 1973), 228, 230, with fig. 4.

The block, which is in fine raised or true relief, depicts two officials moving left and carrying provisions. Presumably they form part of a funerary procession. The inscription too is in raised relief, which is somewhat unusual in Memphite reliefs of the period. The extra skill and labour involved in the cutting of such a relief give a clue to the status of the tomb owner. If we assume that the tomb from which the block derived was orientated east-west, which is virtually certain, the relief would have found a place on a north wall of the tomb chapel, so that the offering bringers would have

¹ A facsimile corpus of such reliefs is being prepared by the writer.

² I am grateful to Marianne D. Perry, of the Antiquities, Oriental and Decorative Arts Department, Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, for a photograph and information. I derived benefit from discussing this relief, and the stela which follows, with friends and colleagues in New York during a recent visit, including Dr R. Bianchi, Mr R. Fazzini, Dr C. Keller, Mr J. Romano, Miss A. Russmann, and Professor A. R. Schulman.

moved in perpetuity in the direction of the cult chapel with its stela and offering table, situated at the west end of the monument. Alternatively, it could have been part of the revetment of the north section of the west wall of an inner courtyard in such a tomb.³

The first offerer, who is shaven-headed, balances on his open hands a pannier or a box, seen from above. The contents comprise cucumbers, pomegranates, figs, and dates. The nature of the oval items between the rows of figs and at the upper left and right corners is uncertain. He was also carrying two other objects, perhaps birds, suspended by loops over his fingers.⁴ His heavy lidded eyes and 'pierced' ear are to be noted. The title and name inscribed over his head identify him as *the guardian*⁵ *ʿAnenna*.⁶

Behind him, with a coiffure or wig characteristic of the early Nineteenth Dynasty, is another official, supporting a tray on his outstretched hands. On it is a two-handled amphora with a bung or seal in the top, flanked by two jars with tall conical seals. The amphora is decorated, as so often, with a floral fillet, the details of which are not carved.⁷ A larger one, similar in character, is draped round all three vessels. These doubtless contained wine or beer, or conceivably precious unguents. He also carries other objects, perhaps contained in a basket with two loops. The man is named as *the overseer of sculptors Raʿmose, true of voice, son of the senior*⁸ (?) *master craftsman Sementawy*,⁹ *true of voice*. His eye seems to be even more emphasized than that of his companion. Neither of the offerers mentioned above was the owner of the tomb from which the relief originated. From the excellent quality of the workmanship of this isolated fragment from his funerary monument he was doubtless an official of high rank. It is interesting that both Raʿmose and his father were 'professionals', though whether they, as skilled craftsmen, carved the block under discussion can hardly be known. They and ʿAnenna were doubtless members of the tomb-owner's family or entourage, or were employed in a government workshop controlled by the great official.

A Memphite origin for the block is highly probable, though it can hardly be proved conclusively at the moment. In so far as it is possible to check, the block does not join on to any known tomb relief. Most of the extant loose relief blocks of New Kingdom date seem to stem from the tomb chapels at Saqqâra, whence they were removed in the last century for the most part. A few perhaps derive from the Delta cemeteries where, for topographical reasons, the New Kingdom tombs must have been free-standing like most of those in the Saqqâra necropolis.¹⁰ Individual carved blocks have no place in the architecture of the rock-cut tombs of Thebes.¹¹ It is apparent that some

³ Cf. the plan of the tomb of Horemheb, *JEA* 63 (1977), 14.

⁴ For parallels cf. E. Berlin 12410, *PM* III², ii, 750; Brooklyn 37.1505E, id., 752.

⁵ For *swty* see *AEO* 1, 90*.

⁶ *PN* II, 270, 17 (the block under discussion).

⁷ Perhaps the individual flowers and petals were originally painted on.

⁸ For *sb* as a probable ranking element see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 209.

⁹ A commonly occurring name in the New Kingdom: see *PN* 1, 307, 11.

¹⁰ That some of the Saqqâra New Kingdom tombs were cut in the eastern rock escarpment is shown by the current work of A.-P. Zivie, *BSFE* 84 (1979), 21-32; id., *RdÉ* 31 (1979), 135-51; cf. Málek, *JEA* 67 (1981), 158.

¹¹ Any New Kingdom reliefs and fragments from Theban tombs existing in the collections were sawn or prised from the walls of the monuments of which they formed a part.

blocks come from tombs at Abydos,¹² where the New Kingdom tomb chapels were similar in plan to those at Saqqâra,¹³ but it has yet to be proved that relief decoration was a regular feature of the Abydene tombs.¹⁴

2. Limestone stela (Pl. IX, 2)¹⁵

Cincinnati Art Museum 1947.55. Given in 1947 by Millard F. and Edna F. Shelt, who had purchased it in 1939 from N. Tano.

Dimensions: height 27.5 cm; width 21.1 cm; thickness 4.5 cm.

Bibliography: *Sculpture Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati, 1970), 20.

In the upper register of the round-topped stela *the Osiris, excellent spirit Semet*¹⁶ is seated before an offering table bearing four loaves. The shape and form of the latter are emphasized to an unusual degree. He wears the so-called 'Nubian' wig, and holds a lotus bloom to his nostrils with one hand, and in the other grasps a strip of cloth. A cone of unguent could once have been represented in the damaged area above his head. To the left an individual named as *his son Wia*¹⁷ proffers a small stand with offerings and burning incense to the deceased, and raises his right hand in a gesture of salutation. In the register below *his daughter Nyia*¹⁸ kneels to the left with both arms raised in prayer. The two sealed amphorae on wickerwork stands to the right are part of the offerings. They are linked by a floral fillet, the details of which may originally have been painted in. The stands and the offering table above are somewhat lopsided.

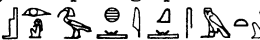
As can be seen from the illustration the stela has sustained some wear and damage, particularly on its left side. Traces of pigment are present. The style of the monument irresistibly points to the late Eighteenth or more probably the early Nineteenth dynasty, and one is reminded of the small dedicatory or votive stelae found at El-'Amarna.¹⁹ According to information which apparently derives from the dealer the


¹² For the Abydene courtyard tombs see Randall-MacIver and Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos*, pls. 23-6; Badawy, *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, [III], 430-1.

¹³ The plans of the Saqqâra tomb chapels are dealt with in outline by Kitchen in *Festschrift für E. Edel*, 272-84.

¹⁴ For the extant blocks see *PM* v, 74, 100-1.

¹⁵ I am indebted to Daniel S. Walker, Curator of Ancient, Near Eastern, and Far Eastern Art, Cincinnati Art Museum, for a photograph of the stela and information.

¹⁶ Reading  [sic]. For the epithet *ih ikr* see *Wb.* 1, 16, 3, and for the writing of *ikr* op. cit. 1, 137. The fuller version of the epithet, *ih ikr n R'*, 'the excellent spirit of Rē' is not infrequently met with at Deir el-Medîna. For *ih ikr* at Deir el-Medîna, with list of examples, see Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médîneh (1934-1935), 3^{me} partie: Le village* [etc.], 151-67. For a full study of the epithet see R. J. Demarée, *Able Spirits of Re: Ancestor Worship at Deir el-Medîna* (forthcoming). The personal name *Smt* is unknown to Ranke, *Personennamen*. The reading appears to be *Smt* rather than *Sst*.

¹⁷ The traces yield . The first sign of the name is not quite clear from the photograph, and there appears to be a cross-stroke, perhaps accidental, between it and the preceding personal pronoun. There is space for a determinative in the damaged area to the left. For the name see *PN* 1, 75, 24.

¹⁸ That is, the stela-owner's daughter. For the name see *PN* 1, 181, 12, but there only as a male name. She and her brother are presumably offering and praying to a statue of their father rather than to the deceased himself.

¹⁹ Davies, *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, v, pls. 21-3; cf. pp. 9-11. The stelae of Any-men and Thay are comparable in dimensions to the piece under discussion.

stela was found at that site, and on stylistic grounds alone such an attribution would not be improbable. However, the Osirian epithet of the owner rules out an El-'Amarna provenance, though it is conceivable that the stela derives from a site such as Deir el-Medîna and dates from the Amarna Period.²⁰ On balance, however, I prefer a date early in the Ramesside Period, when artistic traits of the Amarna Period were still in vogue.²¹

²⁰ For the Deir el-Medîna stelae with *ꜥ ikr* see n. 16 above. Since it can hardly be maintained that all the inhabitants of Egypt during the reign of Akhenaten were adherents of the Aten cult it is possible to think of monuments in the Amarna style but bearing epithets not associated with the Aten religion. It is sometimes forgotten that only a small proportion of the population of the country was resident in Akhetaten during the reign of the 'heretic' king. A study of Egypt in the Amarna Period which is not concentrated exclusively on the capital is perhaps overdue.

²¹ Indeed there is some evidence to suggest that Ramesside craftsmen were deliberately harking back to Amarna or immediate post-Amarna parallels, though this problem does not appear to have been studied in detail.



1. An Early Nineteenth Dynasty wall fragment

Courtesy the Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh



2. An Early Nineteenth Dynasty stela

Courtesy Cincinnati Art Museum

PIAY IN CAMBRIDGE

By M. L. BIERBRIER

THE monuments of Deir el-Medîna have been scattered throughout the museums of the world, but the diligent work of scholars over the past hundred years has resulted in the publication of the bulk of this material. However, some pieces have doubtless escaped detection. One important object, which has not yet been treated in full, is the offering-table of the sculptor Piay in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E SS-15).¹ The method and the date of its acquisition are unknown. It was published incompletely and incorrectly by Budge in his catalogue of the Fitzwilliam collection, but, apart from a reference in the invaluable Porter and Moss, has been overlooked ever since.² The table measures 47.5 cm in length and 33 cm in width, counting the spout, and 7.5 cm in height. It has been severely damaged. The lower right side of the surface of the table has been broken away, and there are numerous breaks and gouges on the top and sides of the table.

The offering-area of the table is depressed 0.5 cm below the surface of the rim and carved with representations of food and drink offerings in low relief (see pl. X and fig. 1). Around the rim of this area were originally two lines of incised hieroglyphs consisting of four separate prayers. The upper line on the left side (A) reads:

An offering which the king gives to [Rēc-Harakhty]^a (and) Atum, lord of the two lands, the Heliopolitan, noble god, beloved, divine ba, who crosses the sky, lord of eternity, who is upon his barque, that they cause my ba to live . . .^b and that I [see]^c the disc for the ka of the Osiris, the sculptor in the Place of Truth, Piay . . .^d

a. mostly destroyed; b. a few unintelligible signs; c. largely destroyed—restore *dgi*; d. the rest destroyed.

The lower line on the left (B) reads:

An offering which the king gives to Anubis^a, foremost of the divine booth, who is in the place of the embalming, lord of the holy land (and) Hathor, chieftainess of Thebes, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods, eye of Rēc, without her equal, that they permit an entry and an exit from the [necropolis]^a without being turned away at the gates of the underworld for the ka of the Osiris, the sculptor in the Place of Truth, Piay . . .^b

a. mostly destroyed; b. the rest destroyed.

¹ I wish to thank the Syndics of the Fitzwilliam Museum for permission to publish this offering-table, and Miss J. Bourriau for allowing me access to it and her manuscript notes about it. I also wish to thank Dr K. A. Kitchen and Dr J. Málek for their comments. For all abbreviations in this study see J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), xxi-xxvi.

² E. A. W. Budge, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1893), 119 no. 390; *PM*² 1, ii, 744.

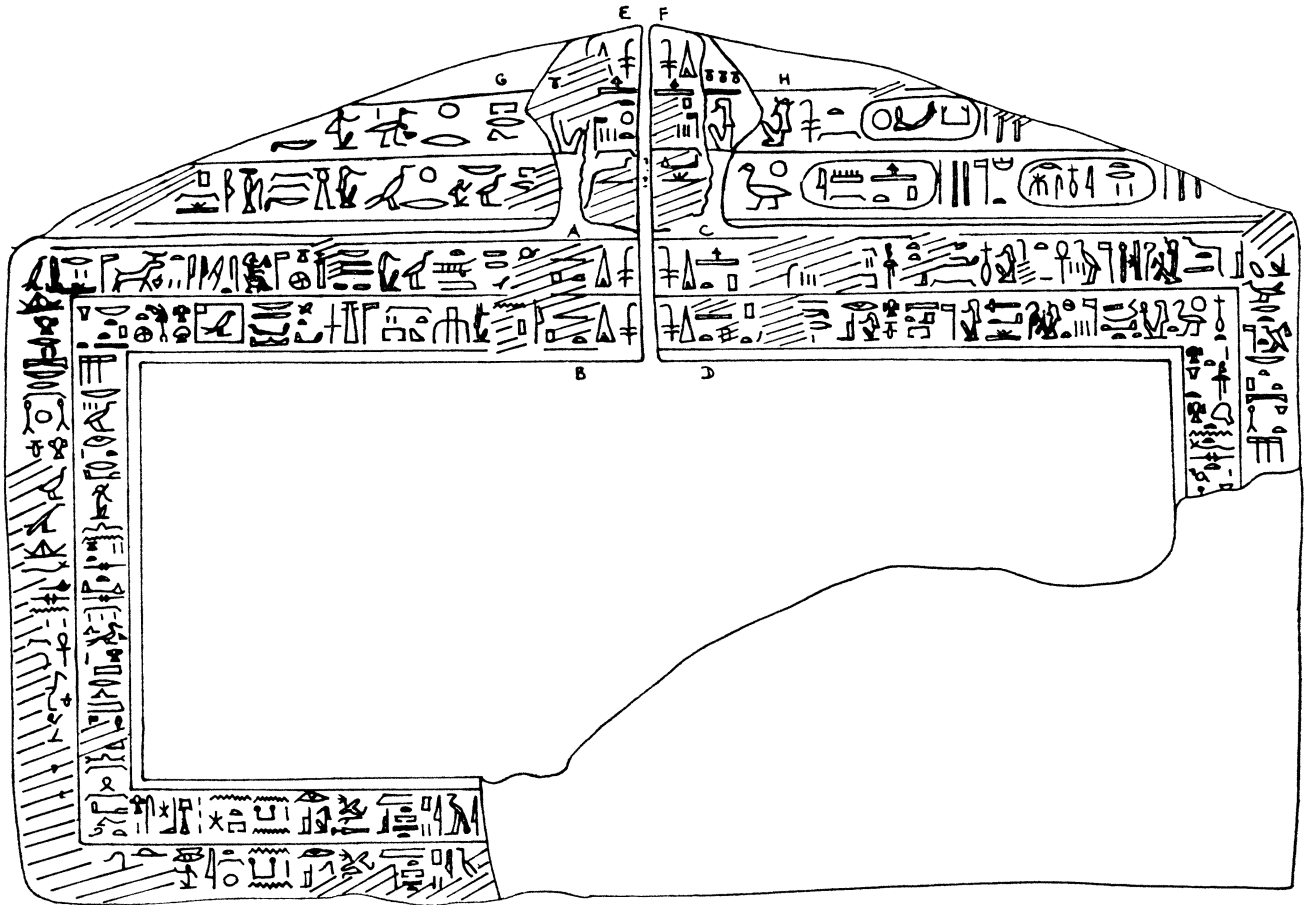


FIG. 1

The upper line on the right (C) reads:

An offering which the king gives to [Osiris, foremost]^a of the West, Wennefer, king of the living, the great god, ruler of eternity, (and) Isis, the great, the god's mother, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods . . .^b

a. mostly destroyed; b. the rest destroyed.

The lower line on the right (D) reads:

An offering which the king gives to Pt[ah-Sokar]^a-Osiris, who is in the shetyt-sanctuary, the great god, ruler of the Ennead, (and) Ma'at, daughter of Rē, beautiful of face, mistress of the West, chieftainess of her father Rē, mistress . . .^b

a. partially destroyed; b. the rest destroyed.

There are three lines of hieroglyphs on either side of the passage from which the liquid offering escaped. The two parallel inscriptions on each side of the spout appear to be complete in themselves and not to continue into the portion beside the spout.

They (E and F) are both badly damaged but appear to contain the *hṯp-dī-nsw* formula with the mention of water (*nw*) and a dedication to the Ennead. The two lines on the left of the spout (G) contain a variant of the libation formula.³ The text on the right (H) names Amenophis I and his mother Queen Aḥmes-Nefertari.

On the back of the altar are three lines of incised hieroglyphs (I) consisting in two cases of juxtaposed texts on the same line (see pl. XI, 1 and fig. 2). The portion on the left reads:

¹*His son, the sculptor in the Place of Truth, Ipuy, justified; his son Nakhta[mū]n^a;*
²*his son Piay; his son Baki; his son Pashed.^a*

a. The ends of the lines are worn away; the last line on the left side is left entirely blank.

The section on the right reads:

¹*His son, the sculptor in the Place . . .^a;*² *his son the sculptor in the Place of Truth, Neferrenpet, justified; his wife, the lady of the house, Hūynefret;* ³*by the son of his son Piay; the daughter of his son Wernerō, justified, beautiful in [rest].^b*

a. the rest of the line is destroyed; b. *nfr m hṯp?*, the last sign is lost.

The three lines of text on the left side of the altar (J) read (see pl. XI, 2 and fig. 3):

¹*His wife, his beloved, the lady of the house Nebuemshas(et), justified; his daughter, the lady of the house Sah²(te) justified; his son, the sculptor Khons, justified; the lady of the house Tentopet, justified; his daughter Nebuemḥeb;* ³ . . .^a *daughter A. . . tī^b; her daughter Tentkhenty . . .^c; her daughter Hēnutweret.*

a. the filiation is lost but possibly 'her'; b. *ꜣwti?*, *ꜣnti?*; c. the ending of the name is unclear.

The two lines on the right side of the altar (K) read (see pl. XI, 3 and fig. 4):

¹ . . .^a [*Nefe*]r[*sekhe*]ru; his son Nebnakht; his son Any; his son . . .st^b ² his daughter Wernerō, justified; his daughter Nefretkhau, justified.

a. restore 'his son'; b. name form unknown, possibly *šms.st?*

Finally the front of the altar contains two lines of texts (L) consisting of two facing phrases on each line (see pl. XI, 4 and fig. 5). The texts on the left read:

¹*His daughter Hēnutmehyt justified; her^a son Tjauenḥuy justified;* ² . . .^b *son Pendua . . . Hūy . . .^c; her daughter Mutemwia.*

a. the sign is unclear but probably an *s*; b. filiation lost but obviously 'her'; c. most of this part of the text is lost with only what appears to be a *ḥwy* sign visible.

The texts on the right side of the front read:

Her son Hūemtjabatyfy; . . .^a son Khaemwaset; . . .^b son^c ²Baki; his son . . .ka . . .^d; his son Anḥotep.

a. filiation lost; b. filiation unclear but probably 'her'; c. the rest of the line appears to be blank; d. form of the name unclear.

³ W. v. Bissing, *Rec. Trav.* 23 (1901), 38–47; id., op. cit. 25 (1903), 119–120.

I

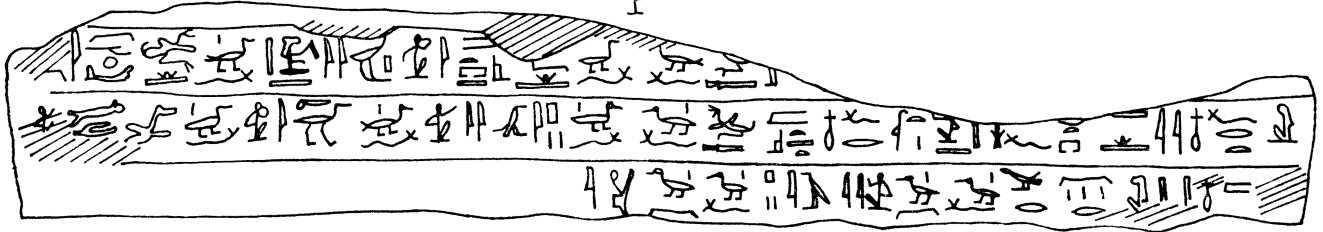


FIG. 2

J

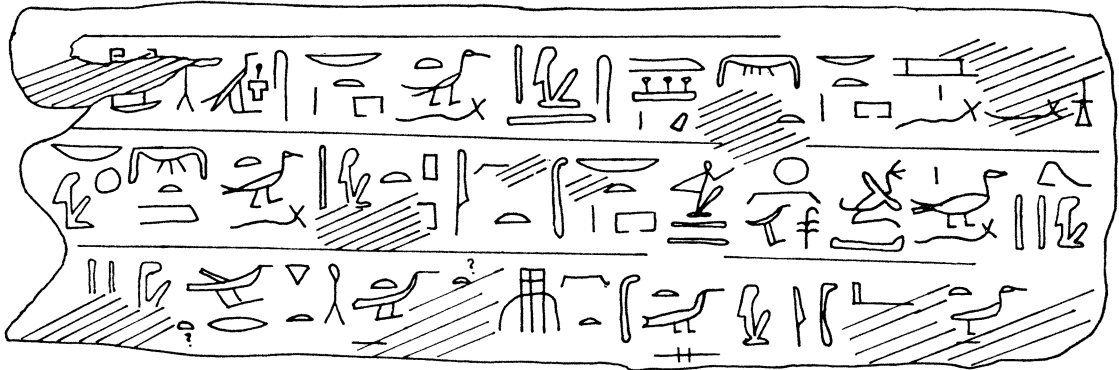


FIG. 3

K

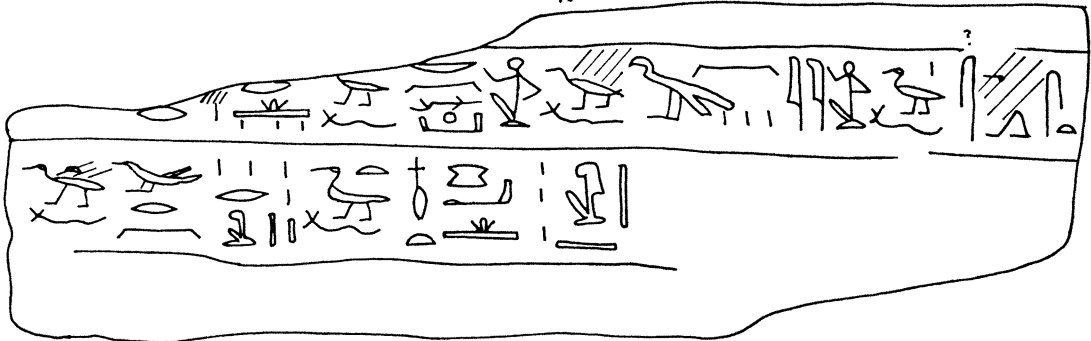


FIG. 4

L

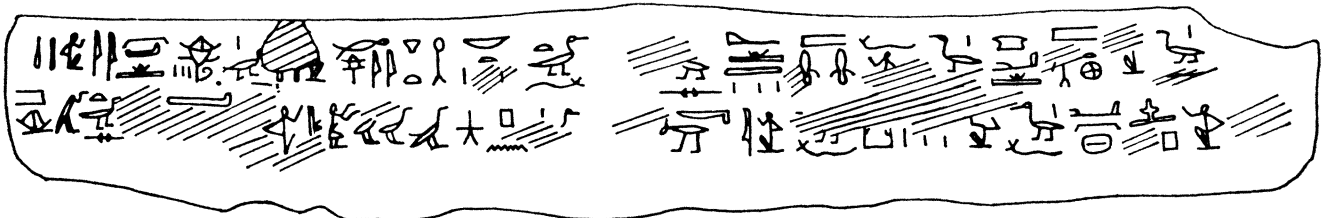


FIG. 5

The sculptor Piay and his family are well-known members of the Deir el-Medina community in the early part of the Nineteenth Dynasty. He himself left at least five other monuments, which, together with those of his children, serve to give a detailed outline of his family (see fig. 6).⁴ His wife Nefretkhau is not named on the surviving inscriptions of the offering-table, but doubtless her name must have followed that of her husband on the destroyed upper portion of the table. With regard to the members of the family who are attested on the table, beginning with the back upper left side (I), his son, the sculptor Ipu, otherwise known as Amenemope, was the owner of Theban tomb 217 and is named in five other tombs of that period. He also appears with his family on several stelae and graffiti.⁵ The second son the sculptor Nakhtamūn was the owner of Theban tomb 335 in which most of the family are named.⁶ He also appears in three other tombs, and his shabti box has survived.⁷ He may be the workman of that name attested in Year 40 of Ramesses II and in other undated ostraca.⁸ With regard to the 'sons' Piay, Baki, and Pashed, who appear in the lower left line on the rear, no sons of these names are attested for Piay. However, three brothers of these names are known as sons of Nakhtamūn, Piay's son.⁹ It can thus be assumed that the three on the offering-table are in fact his grandsons who are placed immediately beneath the name of their father.

The beginning of the inscription on the right rear of the table is destroyed, but one person who must have been named there, as she appears nowhere else, is Piay's daughter-in-law Duaemmerset, the wife of Ipu. Indeed, since all of Piay's known sons are named elsewhere on the table, it is possible that Ipu was named twice on the rear upper line followed on the left by his brother Nakhtamūn and on the right by his wife. The second line on the right names Piay's son Neferrenpet and his wife Hūynefret. He was the owner of Theban tomb 336. He appears in three other tombs, and two stelae of his have survived.¹⁰ The grandchildren in the line beneath can be identified with like-named children of Neferrenpet.¹¹

The first lady named on the left side of the altar (J), Nebuemshaset, is well attested as the wife of the sculptor Nakhtamūn, whose name precedes hers on the end of the

⁴ M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975), 123 n. 43 and Charts V, VI, and VIII; B. Letellier, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 150-63; *KRI* I, 396-7; see also Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 167, where four sons (Nakhtamūn, Ipu, Neferrenpet, and Khons) and two daughters (Hēnutmehyt and Sahte) are named as children of Piay.

⁵ Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 110-12 for Tomb 217; op. cit. 16 for Tomb 2; op. cit. 48 for Tomb 4; op. cit. 76 for Tomb 10; Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 123 for Tomb 335; op. cit. 91 for Tomb 336; Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, no. 50031; J. Monnet Saleh, *Les Antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb* (Paris, 1970), 31 no. 15; J. Černý and A. F. Sadek, *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, IV, 2 (Cairo, 1971), no. 2796. See now *KRI* III, 660-6.

⁶ Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 113-78; see now *KRI* III, 669-74.

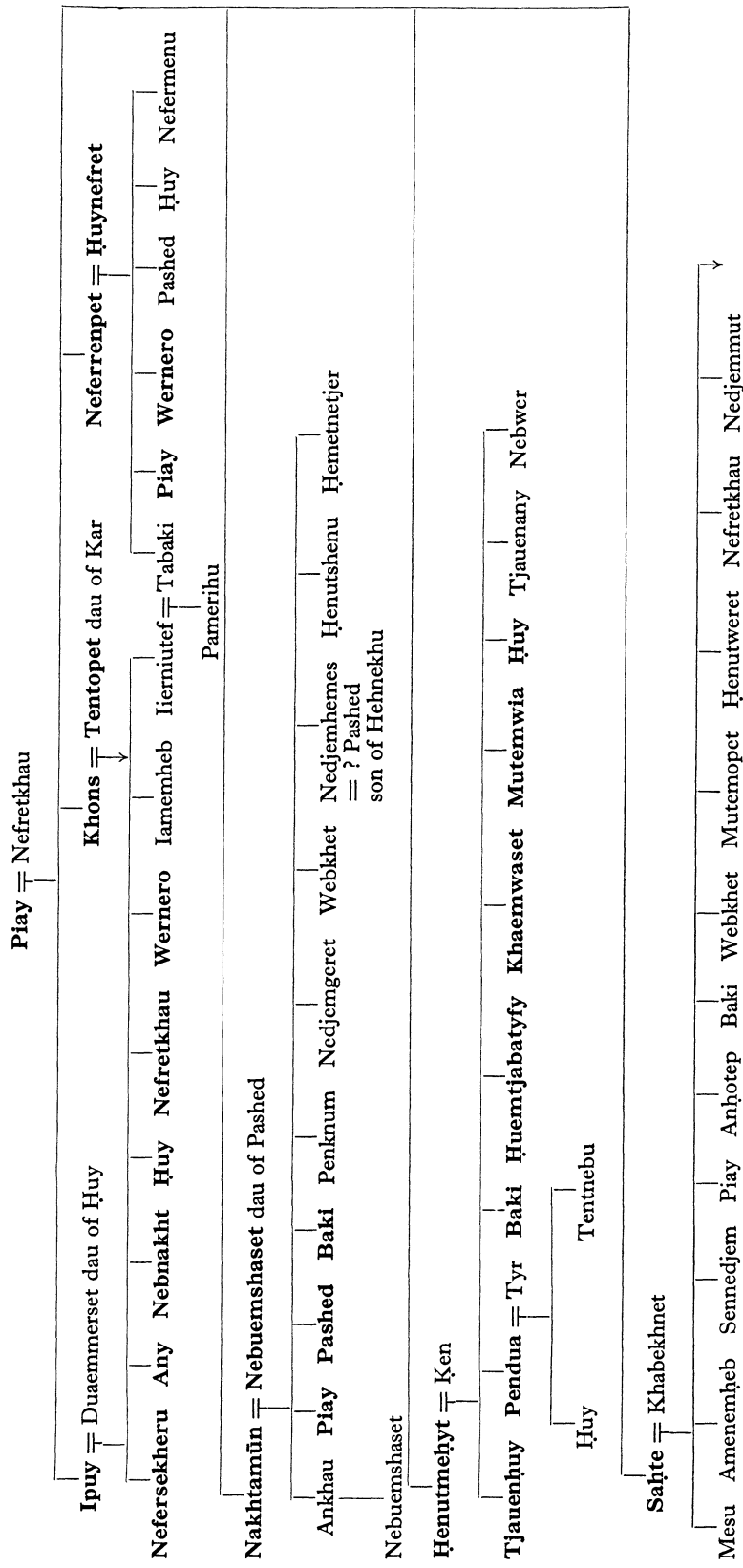
⁷ Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 48 (Tomb 4); Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1927)*, 78; id., *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 91 (Tomb 336); D. W. Phillips, *BMMAN.S.* 6 (1948), 207-12.

⁸ J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca* (Oxford, 1957), pl. lxxxiv l. 19, but there was a contemporary Nakhtamūn, son of Nebrē.

⁹ Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 120, 167.

¹⁰ Bruyère, op. cit. 80-113 (Tomb 336); Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 48 (Tomb 4); id., *Rapport DeM (1927)*, 64 (Tomb 218) id., *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 124 (Tomb 335); Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, no. 50046; see now *KRI* III, 666-9.

¹¹ Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 90; Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, no. 50046.



Names in bold type appear on Cambridge altar E. SS. 15. Several problematic names are omitted.

FIG. 6

first line on the left side of the rear of the table. She can be identified with a like-named daughter of the workman Pashed who mentions her in a draft of his will in the reign of Sethos I.¹² Sahte, the lady who follows, is elsewhere attested as the daughter of Piay and as the wife of the workman Khabekhnet.¹³ Khons, the fourth son of Piay, who follows next, is attested with the rest of the family in Tomb 335 of his brother Nakhtamūn where his name has been garbled through the insertion of a gratuitous *s:f* in the middle of the name, presumably in error. His name is followed on the table by that of the lady Tentopet. This couple can now be identified with a sculptor Khons and a lady Tentopet on a stela now in the Louvre.¹⁴ They are undoubtedly husband and wife. Tentopet may possibly be the like-named daughter of the contemporary workman Kar.¹⁵ Khons must be distinguished from his contemporary Khons, son of Sennedjem, husband of Tameket, and brother of Khabekhnet who was married to Sahte, sister of Khons, son of Piay.¹⁶ The position of the ladies who follow is obscure. Nebuemheb could be an otherwise unattested daughter of Piay or more likely a daughter of Khons and Tentopet. The others could be her daughters or those of Tentopet. The name Auti is attested for the mother of the workman Kasa but not actually at Deir el-Medīna, while the possible alternative Anath is not attested there at all. Henutweret seems to be the name of a sister and a daughter of Khabekhnet by Sahte, although this reference can hardly pertain to her.¹⁷

The text on the right side of the offering-table (K) names 'his' sons Nefersekeru, Nebnakht, Any, and . . .st and his daughters Wenero and Nefretkhau. The first three sons and the first daughter can easily be identified with like-named children of the sculptor Ipuu.¹⁸ The other two must be hitherto unattested children. Therefore it seems likely that the missing right line on the rear of the table contained a reference to Ipuu, as already conjectured, and the names of his children on the right side are a continuation of the description of his family in the same way as the reference to Nebuemshaset on the first line of the left side follows on from the naming of her husband in the upper line on the left side of the rear of the table.

The curved front part of the table names one complete family (L). Henutmehyt is securely attested as a daughter of Piay and the wife of the sculptor Ken, the owner of Theban tomb 4, in which his father-in-law Piay and his brothers-in-law Ipuu, Neferrenpet, and Nakhtamūn and their wives all appear.¹⁹ He himself is shown in the tombs of

¹² KRI I, 409 no. 8; Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 125.

¹³ KRI I, 396 no. 2; Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 10-36; Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 122.

¹⁴ Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 132, 167; id., *Meret Seger*, 123, now Louvre E 13935. P. Deir el-Medīna XV is a letter of Khons to his mother Nefretkhau: see J. Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médīneh* (Cairo, 1978), pl. 30. See now KRI III, 675.

¹⁵ *Hierogl. Texts*, 9, pl. xl no. 2.

¹⁶ Bierbrier, *op. cit.* 30-1.

¹⁷ For Auti see Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 75. For Henutweret see *op. cit.* 3, 16-7, 22, 28.

¹⁸ Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 112 (Nebnakht and Any); Tosi-Roccati, *Stele*, no. 50031 (Nefersekeru, Nebnakht, Huy, and Wenero). See Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 91, for another son, Iierniutef. Nefretkhau, or a like-named cousin, might be the wife of the scribe Huy, son of Thuthermektes, described as a *sn* of Neferrenpet (Bruyère, *op. cit.*, 91). For the use of *sn* to indicate nephew by marriage see Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), 106.

¹⁹ KRI I, 396 no. 2; Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 44-50. Ken also appears to have owned Tomb 337 (Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 76-80; see now KRI III, 675-81).

his brothers-in-law Nakhtamūn and Khabekhnēt.²⁰ He also appears with various members of his family on a large number of stelae and other monuments.²¹ It is clear that he married twice. Probably after the death of Ḥenutmehyt, he married the lady Nefertari, who appears to have been the mother of at least two children, Merymery and Takeri, who are depicted as youngsters in Ḳen's tomb. Tjauenḥuy, Pendua, Ḥuentjabatyfy, Khaemwaset, Baki, and Ḥuy all appear on a stela with Ḳen and Ḥenutmehyt, thus confirming that she was their mother. The only doubtful case is Ḥuy who appears on some stelae with Nefertari, but he might have been a young child adopted by his step-mother. The daughter Mutemwia, who is named on the offering-table, is hitherto unattested. Two sons in Ḳen's tomb, Nebwer and Tjauenany, are not named on the table. The parentage of the last two individuals named on the table, . . . ka . . . and Anḥotep, is uncertain. They cannot be identified with any of the sons of Ḳen, unless double names are assumed. However, the change in personal pronoun from 'her' (i.e. Ḥenutmehyt) to 'his' may be significant. They may well be sons of Baki, who precedes them on the offering-table, and so grandchildren of Ḥenutmehyt.

The children of Piay, by their matrimonial alliances with other families of Deir el-Medīna, play a vital role in fixing the chronology of the members of the community who flourished in the Nineteenth Dynasty. However, all details of Piay's own family are by no means established so that any additional evidence such as the Cambridge offering-table is always welcome. The many monuments of this family name a large number of grandchildren of Piay, but few details are forthcoming about their descendants. Only accidental references such as O. DeM. 325, which names Nebuemshaset the younger, a daughter of Ankhau, and obviously granddaughter of Nebuemshaset the elder, disclose that his descendants continued to form part of the Deir el-Medīna community. Doubtless some of the workmen in the Twentieth Dynasty were descendants of Piay, but that information remains as yet hidden from scholarly view.

²⁰ Bruyère, *Rapport DeM (1924-1925)*, 122 (Tomb 335 where his name must be restored); Černý, *Répertoire onomastique*, 16 (Tomb 4).

²¹ For stelae of Ḳen see *PM* 1², i, 12, adding M.-L. Buhl, *A Hundred Masterpieces from the Ancient Near East* (Copenhagen, 1974), fig. 11 to the bibliography on Copenhagen AA.d. 11 and *PM* 1², ii, 694, 723-4 to which add to (a) Tosi-Rocatti, *Stele*, no. 50074, to (d) *BMMMA* n.s. 21 (1962), 149-53, and to (f) a stela in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Bordeaux: see J. J. Clère, *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 70-7. For other monuments see *PM*, 1², i 12 and ii, 714, 739, 743. He is also named on a stela of his son Pendua: see Tosi-Rocatti, *Stele*, no. 50040; see now *KRI* III, 681-9.



SI-SS

Courtesy the Fitzwilliam Museum
Limestone offering table, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.15



1. Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.15, back



2. Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.15, left side



3. Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.15, right side



4. Fitzwilliam Museum E.SS.15, front

Courtesy the Fitzwilliam Museum

PIAY IN CAMBRIDGE

THE ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE ROYAL CANON OF TURIN*

By JAROMÍR MÁLEK

Introduction

THE most comprehensive list of Egyptian kings compiled by the Egyptians themselves is on the *verso* of the sadly fragmented hieratic papyrus no. 1874 of the Museo Egizio in Turin. Whatever the character of its no doubt more detailed primary source may have been, the list was intended to be an official administrative reference aid and thus, presumably, an objective (non-selective) and unbiased document. It provides us, therefore, with a rare insight, limited though it may be, into the Egyptians' own view and awareness of their past. The list has attracted scholars¹ since J.-F. Champollion studied it in 1824 and is, consciously or unconsciously, the corner-stone of all chronological schemes for Egyptian history before the Ramessides, even though outwardly Egyptologists range in their attitude towards the information provided by the 'Royal Canon of Turin' from 'fundamentalists' to 'rejectionists'.

Before the list can be used as a historical source, a complete reconstruction and clarification of all its aspects are needed in order to understand its character and to evaluate its reliability. A failure to achieve this could result in attempts to endow purely formal features with profound historical significance, a problem which has plagued historians ancient as well as modern. Chronologically, the methods which have been used in the reconstruction can be summarized as follows:

1. The first and most important step: a study of the technical aspects of the papyrus, in particular its fibres, and a transcription of the list. The possibilities offered by this approach were for all practical purposes exhausted when the authoritative edition by A. H. Gardiner² appeared in 1959.

2. A comparative study of the contents of the king-list on the *verso*, i.e. application of historical evidence known from other sources in order to produce a better arrangement of the existing fragments or their more accurate transcription.³

* This is a revised paper originally read at a colloquium at the British Museum on 11 June 1980. For additional help I am grateful to Miss Helen Murray, and for the preparation of the figures to Mrs M. E. Cox.

¹ All bibliographical references of importance can be found in E. Meyer, *Aegyptische Chronologie* (Berlin, 1904), 105–14; G. Farina, *Il Papiro dei re restaurato* (Rome, 1938); Alan H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959). This is not the place to discuss views recently expressed by P. F. O'Mara in *The Palermo Stone and the Archaic Kings of Egypt* (La Canada, Calif., 1979), and *The Chronology of the Palermo and Turin Canons* (La Canada, Calif., 1980).

² In at least one important aspect the publication went significantly further: the *recto* of the papyrus was transcribed and taken into account during the reconstruction of the king-list.

³ Position of Fragment 43: J. von Beckerath, *JNES* 21 (1962), 144–5 fig. 1. Fragments 48+36: id., *ZAS* 93 (1966), 13–20 with figs. Transcription of V. 12: L. Habachi, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 184 fig. 5.

3. A transcription, detailed analysis, and understanding of the Ramesside tax-list on the *recto*. This method is yet to be fully used.⁴

Another attempt to achieve a more complete reconstruction of the king-list is based on the fact that we are dealing with a secondary copy which, in a new guise, retains some of the characteristics of the original. This method is presented here.

Definition of the Problem and the Method

The extant version of the king-list, written on the *verso* of a discarded administrative document, is a copy which in no way aspires to formal perfection: the text is written in progressively smaller signs, and, despite their incompleteness, it is clear that the later columns tend to contain more lines:

<i>Col. I</i> : at least 25 lines	<i>VII</i> : more than 23 lines (really 30)
<i>II</i> : 25 lines	<i>VIII</i> : more than 27 lines (really 31)
<i>III</i> : 26 lines	<i>IX</i> : 31 lines or more (really 35)
<i>IV</i> : 26 lines	<i>X</i> : 30 (?) lines (really 32)
<i>V</i> : 25 lines	<i>XI</i> : too incomplete (really 36).
<i>VI</i> : 27 or more lines (really 29, see below)	

Both features are the result of the scribe's realization that he was in danger of running out of space before the copy was completed.

Much more significantly, in his haste the copyist did not adjust the ditto-marking of the entries in the new *longer* columns to correspond formally to the *shorter* columns of the earlier version. As recognized by W. Helck,⁵ the phrase *ir·n·f m nsyt*, 'he reigned for the period of', occurred in the original version after each break in the sequence of the names, i.e. (1) following a total and, most importantly, (2) at the top of each new column. The following are the cases in which *ir·n·f m nsyt* occurs with a royal name which does *not* follow a total:

<i>Line II. 17</i> : Merbiapen (only traces of the phrase left)	<i>VI. 16</i> : Rensonbe
<i>III. 5</i> : Djoser	<i>VII. 3</i> : Merneferre ^c
<i>III. 19</i> : the name is lost, but no doubt Neferirkare ^c	<i>VIII. 4</i> : Sehebre ^c
<i>IV. 22</i> : the fifth of the Heracleopolitan kings, with an unclear name, completed by Fragments 48+36 (still unplaced in Gardiner's publication)	<i>VIII. 20</i> : Sekhemre ^c
<i>VI. 1</i> : Ammenemes IV	<i>IX. 20</i> : Shemsu
	<i>IX. 27</i> : the name is lost
	<i>X. 30</i> : the name is lost ⁶
	<i>XI. 32</i> (<i>line not numbered by Gardiner</i>): the name is lost.

These should then be the top lines of the columns in the earlier version of the list.

⁴ See note 2.

⁵ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten* (Berlin, 1956), 83-4.

⁶ Von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1964), 23, does not see in X. 29 the remains of a royal name, but of a total.

Column 4 (possible reconstruction)

Column 3 (possible reconstruction)

		1		1
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		6		6
		7		7
		8		8
		9		9
		10		10
		11		11
		12		12
		13		13
		14		14
		15		15
		16		16

Column 6

Column 5

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	12		12
	13		13
	14		14
	15		15
	16		16

FIG. 1. Columns 3-6 of the original version of the Turin Canon. Based on the transcription of Papyrus Turin 1874 in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

Reconstruction of the Original Version of the King-list

The first task is to establish the length of a column ('page') of the original version ('master copy'). If we assume that each line normally contained one entry, and that none was left blank, the only variable factors were the totals and the headings. In the existing copy only one sequence of names between two successive occurrences of the phrase *ir·n·f m nsyt* is unbroken and, apparently, without special features (except for two short 'lost' notes in VIII. 12 and VIII. 14): VIII. 4 to VIII. 19. This (later established to represent Col. 14) suggests that originally there were sixteen lines to a column. If one leaves aside the gods, demigods, and the kings of the first two Manethonian dynasties for the time being, the columns of the original version can be reconstructed as follows:

Col. 5 = III. 5-18

Only fourteen lines were required in the extant copy, but the entry for Djoser is much longer because it also contains an indication of his age and thus originally almost certainly occupied two lines. The as yet unexplained note after the name of H̄u[ni] in III. 8 was probably placed in a special line.

Col. 6 = III. 19-IV. 7 (Nitocris); Col. 7 = IV. 8 (Neferka)-IV. 21; Col. 8 = IV. 22-V. 10; Col. 9 = V. 11-25

The heading (V. 19) and the names of the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty which occur before the phrase *ir·n·f m nsyt* in VI. 1 occupy seven lines, and the same applies to the heading (V. 11) and the names of the rulers of the Eleventh Dynasty. The total for the Eleventh Dynasty (V. 18), now in one line, was probably originally extended over two lines; it will be seen from other examples that this always seems to have been the case (less likely, but with the same result, there may have been a blank line following each total). Therefore, Col. 9 = V. 11-25. Line V. 10 contains the total for the eighteen Heracleopolitans, which can again be assumed to have originally taken two lines. Fourteen names are, therefore, needed to complete the column (V. 1-9 and IV. 22-6). Combined Fragments 48+36, still unplaced by Gardiner, provide parts of five Heracleopolitan (Akhtoy) names. The first of these is introduced by *ir·n·f[m nsyt]* and thus should be found in IV. 22. Using a completely different method, we have thus provided another reason for the position assigned to Fragments 48+36 by von Beckerath. Thus, Col. 8 = IV. 22-V.10.

Lines III. 19-IV. 21 are then left for Cols. 6 and 7. The names of the kings belonging to the Fifth Dynasty of Manetho occupy seven lines here, with the total (III. 26) presumably originally again extended over two lines. Von Beckerath has on historical grounds established that Fragment 43, containing the name of Nitocris and those of the first three kings of the Eighth Dynasty, should be moved one line upward in Gardiner's publication, and the required seven lines are thus neatly taken by the lost names of the rulers of the Sixth Dynasty, concluding with Nitocris. Thus Col. 6 = III. 19-IV. 7 (Nitocris). The section of the list between IV. 8 (Neferka) and IV. 21 is left for Col. 7. This must have been composed as follows: six lines for the kings of the Eighth Dynasty, and four lines for the early Heracleopolitans, leaving another six lines for the very complex total at present occupying only four lines (IV. 14-17).

















Col. 10 = VI. 1-15

Two lines must again be allowed for the long total (VI. 3).

Col. 11 = VI. 16-VII. 2

The extant copy contains fourteen names between two successive *ir·n·f m nsyt* entries. Two names




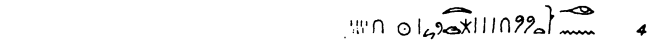

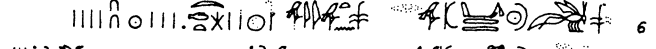










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Column 7

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Column 10

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Column 9




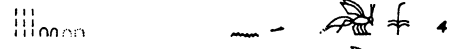


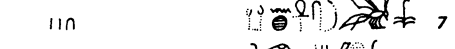
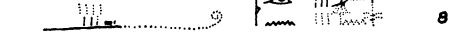

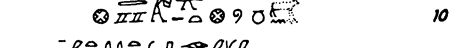
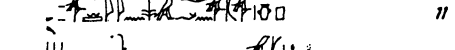





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FIG. 2. Columns 7-10 of the original version of the Turin Canon. Based on the transcription of Papyrus Turin 1874 in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

Column 12

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Column 11

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Column 14

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 11
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 13
 14
 15
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Column 13

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 15
 16

FIG. 3. Columns 11-14 of the original version of the Turin Canon. Based on the transcription of Papyrus Turin 1874 in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

have thus probably been lost at the bottom of Col. VI, between *Hc-nfr-Rc Sbk-htp(w)* and *Hc-htp-Rc*.

Col. 12 = VII. 3-17; Col. 13 = VII. 18-VIII. 3

Indications of altogether twenty-three names are preserved, suggesting two columns of the original version. Assuming that the relative positions of Fragments 86 and 88 are correct, leaving enough space for only one name between them (VII. 10), the last name in Col. 12 would be expected to fall into VII. 18. However, the first entry (VII. 3) is so long that two lines were almost certainly required to accommodate it. Therefore, most probably Col. 12 = VII. 3-17. Only nine names remain for Col. 13, seven names having probably been lost in the lacuna at the bottom of Col. VII of the extant version.

Col. 15 = VIII. 20-IX. 4; Col. 16 = IX. 5-19

This part of the list is broken by three lacunae: after VIII. 27, IX. 3, and IX. 10. Only one name seems to have been lost in the second of these, and Gardiner's edition suggests that the same may be true in the case of the third. However, since the space is large enough to accommodate two names with hardly any adjustment of the position of the fragments, I reconstruct this section as follows:

VIII. 20-7: 8 names; *VIII. 28-31*: 4 names lost; *IX. 1-19*: 20 names (this includes 10A).

Col. 17 = IX. 20-X. 1; Col. 18 = X. 2-13 (of Gardiner's numbering); Col. 19 = X. 14-29 (both of Gardiner's numbering)

This is the most fragmentary part of the list. The reconstruction proposed here seems the best in the circumstances, even though some uncertainty about minor points lingers.

The preserved names and totals suggest that we are dealing with three columns of the original version:

twenty-one names or their parts and a total (probably 2 lines) preceding the Hyksos	23 lines
six (all but one lost) names (probably six lines) and a total (probably two lines) for the Hyksos	8
four names of kings after the Hyksos	4
	<hr/> 35 lines

The transcription of the tiny traces of signs after the name in IX. 27 must be queried because no grounds for the insertion of the phrase *ir-nf m nsyt* appear to be present.

It seems that the names of the Hyksos rulers introduced⁷ Col. 19. The unnumbered fragment with lines X. 14 and 15 probably refers to the first two Hyksos rather than to the preceding total; the position of the fragments in this section of Col. X in Gardiner's publication must then be adjusted to allow space for six names only. The last line in Col. 17 was probably X. 1, with two names at the bottom of Col. IX lost, making the original number of lines in the latter the high thirty-five. This assumes that two lines (rather than one) have been lost between Fragments 41a and 123 in Col. IX. As a result, in Col. X the position of the unnumbered fragment must be adjusted to create space for another four names before the total (X. 13 in Gardiner's publication).

Col. 20 = X. 30-XI. 15

The Theban rulers neatly fill one full column of the original version of the list, with an unclear summary (?) for the last five (?) in the bottom line.

⁷ The case is circumstantial: chronologically, they probably represented one of the list's key-points; this position is suggested by comparison with the number of kings in Manetho's Thirteenth/Fourteenth Dynasties.

Column 16

		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10
		11
		12
		13
		14
		15
		16

Column 15

		1
		2
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10
		11
		12
		13
		14
		15
		16

110

Column 18

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6
	7
	8
	9
	10
	11
	12
	13
	14
	15
	16

Column 17

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6
	7
	8
	9
	10
	11
	12
	13
	14
	15
	16

FIG. 4. Columns 15-18 of the original version of the Turin Canon. Based on the transcription of Papyrus Turin 1874 in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

Column 20		Column 19	
	1	III	1
III 0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	2	III. III 0̄ 0̄	2
III 0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	3	nnnn 0̄	3
I 0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	4		4
I 0̄ (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	5		5
III 0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	6		6
... III 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	7	0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	7
0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	8		8
0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	9		9
0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	10		10
	11	III 0̄	11
	12	0̄ K (I) 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	12
	13	0̄ 0̄	13
	14		14
	15		15
III 0̄ 0̄ 0̄	16		16

Column 22		Column 21	
II	1		1
II 0̄ K	2		2
III 0̄ K	3		3
III 0̄ 0̄	4		4
III 0̄ K	5		5
	6		6
	7		7
	8		8
	9		9
	10		10
	11		11
	12		12
	13		13
	14		14
	15		15
	16		16

FIG. 5. Columns 19-22 of the original version of the Turin Canon. Based on the transcription of Papyrus Turin 1874 in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

Col. 21 = XI. 16–31 (. . . ḥb) (unnumbered in Gardiner's publication)

Altogether thirteen names are lost here.

Col. 22 = XI. 32–6 (unnumbered in Gardiner's publication) and an unknown number from Col. XII (if it ever existed in the extant copy)

In view of the probable lack of separate totals for each group of rulers listed after the Hyksos, Col. 22 probably concluded with a fairly elaborate total. The kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty probably occupied Col. 23.

Now we can return to the beginning of the list:

Cols. 1, 2, and 3 = probably I. 1–25, II. 1–16; Col. 4 = II. 17–III. 4

Since for the first two dynasties the list also gave an indication of the king's age, it is virtually certain that some of the entries in Col. 4 occupied more than one line.

New Information obtained from the Reconstruction

1. The names on Fragment 40, unplaced in Gardiner's publication,⁸ can be assigned to the top of Col. 16 of the original version (= IX. 5–6) on account of the occurrence of the phrase *ir·n[f m nsyt]*. The other possibility, the top of Col. 18, is less likely because of the size of the signs.
2. Two names are lost at the bottom of Col. VI.

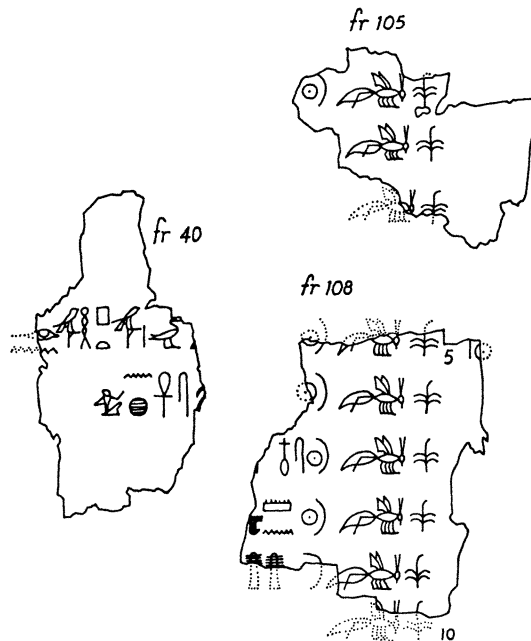


FIG. 6. The suggested position of Fragment 40 in Col. IX of Papyrus Turin 1874 verso. Based on the transcription in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

⁸ Pl. ix.

3. Seven names are lost at the bottom of Col. VII.
4. Four names are lost at the bottom of Col. VIII.
5. In Col. IX, two names are probably lost in the lacuna between Fragments 108 and 112, rather than only one as indicated by the present numbering of the lines. This can be achieved with hardly any adjustment of the position of the fragments.
6. The transcription of the remains of the signs after the name in IX. 27 as the beginning of the phrase *ir·n·f m nsyt* is probably incorrect.
7. The lacuna between Fragments 89 and 123 in Col. IX probably contained two names rather than one as suggested by the present numbering of the lines.
8. Two names are lost at the bottom of Col. IX.
9. The only serious adjustment of the present arrangement of fragments occurs in Col. X. Four names, as opposed to the present one, are suggested to have existed in the lacuna below Fragment 152, but only six spaces instead of the present seven are needed to precede the Hyksos total.

Egyptian Dynasties of Kings as reflected in the Turin Canon

Formally, the reconstructed original version of the king-list appears to be very carefully thought out and designed. The name of Djoser, written in red, was at the top of Col. 5, while the heading for the Thebans of the Eleventh Dynasty, again in red, introduced Col. 9. Also the Hyksos probably occupied a similar position in Col. 19, as did the Thebans contemporary with them in Col. 20. It is reasonable to expect that the same was true for the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty in hypothetical Col. 23. The early kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty and a concluding text perhaps were in the next column, so that the list originally contained twenty-four columns.

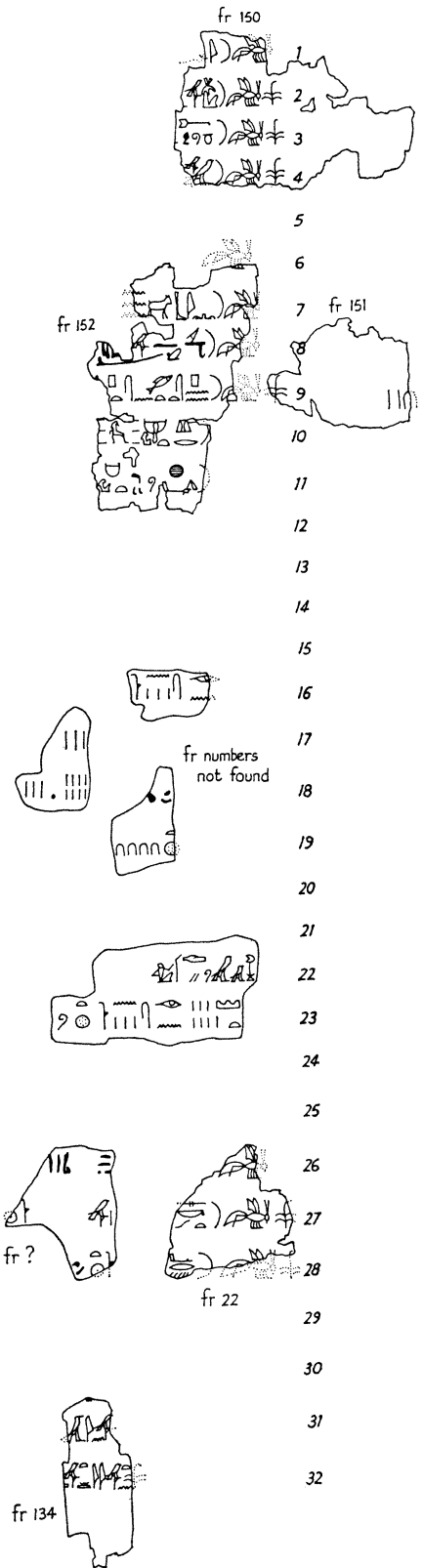


FIG. 7. The suggested arrangement of fragments in Col. X of Papyrus Turin 1874 verso. Based on the transcription in A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin*

The late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period

It has already been noted by von Beckerath⁹ that in the Turin Canon the total number of kings for Dynasties XIII/XIV is very close to the figures given by Manetho:¹⁰ sixty kings for Dynasty XIII, and seventy-six for Dynasty XIV, i.e. altogether 136 rulers. In the original version reconstructed here by using formal criteria these figures can be made to match exactly.

Another set of figures handed down to us by the same historian supports the placing of the Hyksos in our Col. 19. Manetho (Africanus) gives the following information about Dynasties XV–XVII:

- Dynasty XV*: Six Shepherd Kings
XVI: Thirty-two Shepherd Kings
XVII: Forty-three Shepherd Kings
 Forty-three kings of Thebes.

Von Beckerath has explained¹¹ how these figures were arrived at:

<i>The 'original version' of Manetho</i>	<i>Africanus</i>
6 Shepherds	Dyn. XV
32 Shepherds	Dyn. XVI
<u>5 kings of Thebes</u>	
Total: 43 Shepherds and kings of Thebes	Dyn. XVII (as 43 Shepherds plus 43 Thebans)

The corresponding section of our reconstructed version of the Turin Canon gives the following figures:

- 6 *Hyksos*: Col. 19. 1–6 (and two lines of a total)
 8 *unspecified rulers*: Col. 19. 9–16
 15 (*Theban*) *rulers, the last five of whom are summarized in a one-line entry (total?)*:
 Col. 20. 1–16
 16 *unspecified rulers*: Col. 21. 1–16
 9 *unspecified rulers*: Col. 22. 1–9 (and a long total estimated at seven lines; compare the total after Dynasty VIII which occupied six lines).

When summarized, this gives rise to figures leading to von Beckerath's 'original version' of Manetho: 6 Hyksos ('Shepherd Kings'); 43 unspecified rulers ('Shepherds and kings of Thebes'); 5 Thebans.

The Manethonian tradition can thus be well explained from the original arrangement of the names in the Turin Canon, and this makes it likely that a similarly arranged document was used by him. The series of names between the Twelfth Dynasty and the

⁹ Op. cit. 24.

¹⁰ This and the following references to Manetho after W. G. Waddell, *Manetho* (London and Cambridge, Mass., 1940).

¹¹ Op. cit. 19–20.

Hyksos probably was not interrupted. The sixtieth name (VIII. 5 = 14. 2) could have been followed by a remark which was misunderstood as an indication of a division. It seems, however, too much of a coincidence that, if these names were to be divided into two more or less equal 'dynasties of convenience' with the first ending at the bottom of a full column, the number of lines taken up by the first (XIII of Manetho) would be sixty (i.e. fifty-eight names, one of which is a double-line entry, plus the heading); the rest (really seventy-eight) could have been derived by subtracting from the now lost total at the bottom of Col. 18. Historically, the neat homogeneous 'Dynasties' XIII and XIV are probably fictitious; it is much more likely that after the Twelfth Dynasty the Turin Canon simply listed the names of the rulers known to the compilers of the list.¹² All the 136 known rulers preceding the Hyksos were probably summarized in X. 13 (of Gardiner's numbering) = 18. 15-16. No doubt, there were groups within this assembly, but these were not separated in the list. The Hyksos were treated as a distinct unit, but only the last five rulers of the Theban line were bracketed in some way (though von Beckerath plausibly suggested¹³ that this figure might be an ancient mistake for 15). It is remarkable that these did not immediately precede the Eighteenth Dynasty, but were followed by yet another series of local rulers, similar to those immediately following the Hyksos. Neither of these groups was concluded by a total; indeed, if it had been, it would be difficult to explain why Manetho did not regard them as separate dynasties.

The First Intermediate Period

The first four Heracleopolitans are mentioned in Col. 7 of the original version, the remaining fourteen names in Col. 8. The Manethonian (Eusebius) figures of four kings for Dynasty IX and nineteen kings for Dynasty X can be connected with this division, particularly since the name in the now completed line IV. 23 = 8. 2 consists of two cartouches:

4 names in 7.13-16	Dyn.IX
14 > 15 names in 8.1-14	
19 names	Dyn.X

The division of Heracleopolitan kings into two dynasties can thus be based on a Manethonian interpretation of the list.

The Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom

No divisions for kings between Menes and Unas which would correspond to Manetho's dynasties are indicated. The entry for the last ruler of Dynasty VI, Nitocris, was almost certainly followed by a note which gave rise to Manetho's (Africanus) 'seventy kings of Memphis who reigned for seventy days'. Although not accompanied by a total, this would have provided grounds for the division into Dynasties VI, VII, and VIII. Once again, it seems that Manetho's division into dynasties is the result of his own interpretation of available texts.

¹² *Contra* von Beckerath, *op. cit.* 23-4, 26.

¹³ *Op. cit.* 25.

It is somewhat surprising at first, though for the Ramesside Period not quite unexpected, to find that it is the name of Djoser rather than that of Menes¹⁴ which provides the first point round which the list was built. Indeed, one wonders why it is his fairly obscure predecessor Necherophes (Nebka) who is heading Manetho's Dynasty III; historically, this is just as hard to explain as the divisions between Dynasties I-II, III-IV, and IV-V. One, therefore, may conjecture that there were other 'editions' of the list, some of them based on Menes rather than Djoser, and that such a list was available to Manetho. Nebka's entry would have occupied the first two lines of Col. 5 on account of its length. The entries for Userkaf and Saḥurē^c would then have automatically been moved to the top of Col. 6, and those for Merenrē^c-Nemtyemzaf and Nitocris to the top of Col. 7, where an adjustment of the long total would have allowed for maintaining the rest of the list unchanged. Since the entries for the first two dynasties were much longer because of the indications of the age of the kings, Ḥetepsekhemui (*Ntry-bꜣw*, II. 20), the first king of the Manethonian Second Dynasty, could have easily been brought to the top of Col. 4: all that was needed for this was to have seven entries of two lines each and two entries consisting of a single line.¹⁵ This would have resulted in Menes' heading Col. 3. The reasons for the generally accepted division into Dynasties I-V could then be purely formal and unconnected with historical facts; they would result from a Manethonian interpretation of the lists: Menes was the first king from whose reign records were available and thus came to be the first historical king and introduced the First Dynasty; Ḥetepsekhemui became the first king of the Second Dynasty because in one version his was the first name mentioned in Col. 4 of the list, and Nebka was regarded as the first king of the Third Dynasty because he happened to be placed at the top of Col. 5 of the same list. The reason for starting a new dynasty (IV) after Ḥuni was probably the still unexplained note after his name, originally occupying a whole line. Userkaf may have become the first king of the Fifth Dynasty since he was the first king listed in Col. 6. These divisions are generally used and provide us with a reasonably good chronological framework. Nevertheless, to use them as dividing lines in works on history, art, administration, or any other continuous aspect of ancient Egyptian civilization may be arbitrary and historically unwarranted.

¹⁴ Compare D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt* (Berlin, 1969), 4-21.

¹⁵ If such an adjustment had not been made and each of the eight entries in this column consisted of two lines, Ḥetepsekhemui would have occupied the last two lines of the preceding column. That, in fact, *both* these variants existed and were used by Manetho is suggested by his addition of Bieneches/Ubienthes at the end of his First Dynasty as well as his inclusion of Boethos/Bochos at the beginning of the Second (both names derive from Ḥetepsekhemui: W. Helck, *op. cit.* 11-12, 17-18).

TAUSRET UND SETHNACHT

Von HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER

DIE Kontroversen über das Ende der 19. und den Beginn der 20. Dynastie in Ägypten sind zu einem großen Teil in dieser Zeitschrift ausgetragen worden.¹ Obwohl in der Zwischenzeit in der Frage der Abfolge der einzelnen Herrscher vom Ende der 19. Dynastie Einigkeit erzielt worden ist, bestehen noch Unklarheiten über die tatsächlichen Ereignisse, die zur Gründung der 20. Dynastie unter Sethnacht führten. Die Frage dreht sich im wesentlichen um das Problem, ob im Anschluß an die Regierung der Tausret am Ende der 19. Dynastie ein Interregnum von ungefähr 1 Jahr bestanden hat,² oder ob, wie K. A. Kitchen annimmt,³ Sethnacht unmittelbar auf Tausret folgte. Zur Lösung des Problems kann jetzt die Stele des Sethnacht aus Elephantine beitragen, die im Jahre 1971 gefunden wurde und erst kürzlich in einer Neubearbeitung vorgelegt worden ist.⁴

Der Stelentext enthält neben einem Siegesbericht wichtige Aussagen zur Frage der Legitimität des Sethnacht als Herrscher über Gesamtägypten. Drei verschiedene Formen der Legitimation stellt Sethnacht in den Vordergrund, und zwar die Legitimation durch Gotteswahl (Z. 4–6), die Legitimation durch Wirksamkeit (Z. 9–12) und schließlich die Legitimation durch göttliche Berufung, die bei Sethnacht durch ein Orakel in Verbindung mit einer Prophezeiung erfolgte (Z. 13–14).⁵

Die Erwählung des Sethnacht zum König durch Gott erfolgte zu einem Zeitpunkt schwierigster innenpolitischer Verhältnisse. Über die Gotteswahl und ihre Hintergründe berichtet die Stele:⁶

‘(4) Als dieses Land im Chaos war — Ägypten hatte sich entfernt vom Vertrauen zu Gott — streckte [dieser] (5) [Große Gott] seinen Arm aus ((4) *dr wn t3 pn m wš3* — *in t3 mri w3y st r mh ib n ntr* — *3w [ntr]* (5) [*pn 33*] *3f*). Er erwählte seine Majestät LHG [vor] Millionen und setzte Hunderttausende vor ihm zurück und [gab] (6) [Ägypten] unter seine Leitung (*stp3 hm3f 3nh3 wd3 snb [hnti] hh mkh33f hfnw r h3t3f [rdi3f]* (6) [*Kmt*] *hr shrw3f*).’

¹ W. Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 39–52; J. von Beckerath, *ZDMG* 106 (1956), 241–51; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 40 ff.; id., *JEA* 44 (1958), 12–22; von Beckerath, *JEA* 48 (1962), 70–4; C. Aldred, *JEA* 49 (1963), 41–8; J. Vandier, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 165–91.

² Vgl. zuletzt E. F. Wente and Ch. van Siclen III, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (SAOC 39) (Chicago, 1977), 236–7.

³ K. A. Kitchen, *Journal Ancient Near Eastern Society, Columbia University* 5 (1973), 232 n. 26.

⁴ R. Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnacht und ihr historischer Hintergrund* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 36) (Wiesbaden, 1980), 62–7. Zum Fund: D. Bidoli, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 193–200, Tf. 40.

⁵ Zu den verschiedenen Formen der Legitimation: E. Otto, ‘Die Legitimation des Herrschens im pharaonischen Ägypten’, *Saeculum* 20 (1969), 385–411.

⁶ Die von Drenkhahn, op. cit. 62–7 vorgeschlagenen Ergänzungen des Stelentextes bedürfen noch einer Überprüfung und scheinen aus Raumgründen nicht immer sicher zu sein. Hier werden eigene Ergänzungsvorschläge unterbreitet, die sich aus dem Studium des Stelentextes auf der Grundlage eines Fotos ergaben.

In der erfolgreichen Auseinandersetzung mit den Feinden stellt Sethnacht seine durch die Gotteswahl gewonnene Legitimität unter Beweis:

‘(7) Seine Majestät LHG ist wie sein Vater Seth, (8) der seine beiden Arme [ausstreckt], um Ägypten zu bewahren vor dem, der ihn angegriffen hat ((7) *hm:f cnh wd: snb m̄ it-f Swth* (8) [*p̄d*] *rmnwy-fy r šd Kmt m-c th: sw*). Seine Kraft ist umgeben von Schutzzaubern (*phty-fy šnw m s:sw*). [Was] (9) nun aber [die Feinde] vor ihm [anbelangt], so hat die Furcht vor ihm ihre Herzen ergriffen ([*ir*] (9) [*rqw*] *hr h:st-f n̄hm:n sn̄:f ib:sn*). Sie fliehen [zurück wie] (10) [die dem Untergang geweihten] kleinen Vögel, hinter denen der Falke her ist (*wth:sn r [s: m̄i]* (10) [*h̄pw*] *šfyw bik hr s:sn*). Sie lassen zurück das Silber und Gold der (11) [Bewohner] Ägyptens, das sie diesen Asiaten (gerne) gegeben hätten, um herbeizuholen starke Leute [als] (12) Oberhäupter von Ägypten (*iw w:h:sn h̄d nbw [n]* (11) [*imyw*] *t: mri rd̄iw:n:sn n Sttyw r wh: n:w n̄htw [m]* (12) *hryw-tp n t: mri*). Doch ihre Pläne sind nicht erfolgreich gewesen und ihre Drohungen haben sich nicht erfüllt (*šhw:w whyw šcrw:w w[sfw]*).’

Auf den Bericht über die Erwählung des Königs durch den Gott folgt also ein Kampfbericht, der die Protektion durch Gott und die durch Gott verliehene Legitimität des Sethnacht evident herausstellt. Eine neue Nuance erhält der Text durch die folgenden Zeilen, in denen darüber berichtet wird, daß der Sieg über die Feinde durch Gott vorbestimmt war und auch dem König durch ein Orakel vorher mitgeteilt worden ist:

‘(13) Es waren jeder Gott und jede Göttin erschienen und ihr Orakel gegenüber dem Guten Gott war als eine Prophezeiung ergangen ([*hr*] *ir hcn ntr nb n̄rt nbt bi:zywt:sn hr ntr nfr m sr*): “Er wird [standhalten (?)] (14) und die *m̄h:tyw*-Feinde werden unter ihm (als Unterworfenen) sein ([*ch̄c*] *f [iw]* (14) *m̄h:tyw hr:f*). Die Götter haben ihre Entscheidung getroffen, daß weiß die (auf dem Schlachtfeld) ausgebreiteten Feinde sein werden (*w̄dcn ntrw r:s:sn h̄d pr̄hw*)”.’⁷

Es ist nicht weiter verwunderlich, daß die Erfüllung der im Orakel ausgesprochenen Prophezeiung im folgenden erwähnt wird:

‘(15) 10. X. des 2. [Jahres] ([*rnpt sp*] *2 šmw 2 sw 10*). Die Feinde Seiner Majestät LHG in allen Ländern existieren nicht mehr (*nn rqw hm:f cnh wd: snb m t:sw nbw*). Und man [sagte] (16) zu Seiner Majestät LHG (*iw:tw [r d̄d]* (16) [*hr*] *hm:f cnh wd: snb*): Freue dich, o Herr dieses Landes. Das, was der Gott verkündet hat, ist eingetreten. [Deine] Feinde, sie sind [nicht] (17) [mehr] auf Erden (*nd̄m ib:k nb n t: pn, n: srw ntr h̄prw, h̄ftyw·[k n]* (17) [*zn·*] *sn tp t:*). Nicht existiert die Macht eines Heeres und einer Kavallerie außer der deines Vaters (18) [Rē^c (?)] (*nn phty n m̄šc nt-htr wpw-hr it· [k]* (18) [*Rcw* (?)]). Alle Tempel sind wieder geöffnet [für den Kult,

⁷ In den *m̄h:tyw*-Feinden (?) sind vielleicht die ‘Lagunenbewohner’ Unterägyptens wieder zu erkennen (vgl. *Wb.* III, 360). Der Ausdruck *h̄d pr̄hw* (?) bereitet Schwierigkeiten. Zu vergleichen ist eine Stelle aus der Kadeschschlacht P 234 (= *KRI* II, 74), wo von den gefallenen Hethitern gesagt wird: ‘Ich veranlaßte, daß das Land von Hatti weiß wurde und man kannte keinen Ort, auf den man treten konnte wegen ihrer Menge’ (Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II* (Oxford, 1960), 12. 24 f.).

die Gottesopfer] werden wieder in die Magazine eingeführt und die Götter machen reich (19) [deinen Thron (?)] zu deiner Zeit (*rꜥ-pr nb wnw* [*r irit iht, htpw-ntr*] *scqꜣ r wdꜣw, ntrw hr shꜣws* (19) [*st-k* (?)] *m hꜣw-k*).⁷

Nachdem die wichtigsten Stellen des Stelentextes vorgeführt worden sind, stellt sich die Frage, welche historischen Gründe den Autor des Textes veranlaßt haben, die Frage der Legitimität des Sethnacht als Herrscher über Ägypten besonders hervorzuheben und welche Bedeutung in diesem Zusammenhang dem Datum aus dem 2. Regierungsjahr des Sethnacht zukommt.

Die Erwählung des Königs durch einen Gott, durch die Sethnacht in Zeile 5 seiner Stele sein Herrschertum legitimiert, ist eine der gängigen Formen der Legitimierung des Pharaos.⁸ Im Gesamtzusammenhang ist nun aber bedeutsam, daß sich Sethnacht bei der Übernahme des Königtums zusätzlich noch auf ein Orakel und auf eine Prophezeiung beruft, durch die er als Retter Ägyptens dargestellt wird. Der hier durchscheinende Heilsgedanke ist gewiß absichtsvoll und kann als Versuch einer Legitimierung des Herrschers nach einer nach außen hin unrechtmäßig erscheinenden Besitzergreifung des ägyptischen Thrones gedeutet werden. In diesem Kontext sind dann auch die Schilderung der chaotischen Zustände vor der Regierung des Sethnacht und die Beschreibung der Kampfhandlungen zu Beginn seiner Regierung zu sehen. Sie zeigen an, daß der Thronanspruch des Sethnacht keineswegs unbestritten war und daß er sich zu Beginn seiner Regierung gegen Widerstände zu behaupten hatte.

In diesem Zusammenhang hat nun das Datum des 10. X. des 2. Regierungsjahres, das als Datum des endgültigen Sieges über die Feinde des Sethnacht angesprochen werden darf, besonderes Gewicht. Die Bedeutung des Datums liegt vor allem darin, daß es nicht mit einem 1. Jahr, sondern mit einem 2. Jahr verbunden ist. Man muß also damit rechnen, daß sich Sethnacht über ein Jahr mit seinen Feinden auseinandersetzen hatte.

Damit stellt sich die Frage nach den Feinden, mit denen Sethnacht über 1 Jahr lang um die Herrschaft in Ägypten kämpfen mußte. Allem Anschein nach handelt es sich nicht um auswärtige Mächte, sondern um innere Feinde, die — wie es heißt — sich mit Asiaten verbünden wollten, aber durch das Einschreiten des Sethnacht daran gehindert worden sind (Zeile 12). Aus der Sicht des Sethnacht liegt hier ein Bürgerkrieg vor. Wie und warum es zu diesem Bürgerkrieg kommen konnte, soll im folgenden untersucht werden.

Die Feinde des Sethnacht hatten gewiß nicht ohne Grund ihren Kampf gegen Sethnacht aufgenommen. Da anzunehmen ist, daß sie nicht aus partikularistischen Bestrebungen heraus Krieg führten, etwa mit dem Ziel, für die durch den Zerfall des Reiches am Ende der 19. Dynastie sich bildenden Kleinfürstentümer Selbständigkeit zu erlangen,⁹ werden für den Kampf echte machtpolitische Faktoren bestimmend gewesen sein. Bei der sich zeigenden allmählichen Auflösung des Staates am Ende der 19.

⁸ H. Brunner, *Festschrift H. Grapow* (Berlin, 1955), 10; Otto, *Saeculum* 20 (1969), 408.

⁹ Vgl. P. Harris 1, 75, 3-4.

Dynastie ist zu vermuten, daß vor allem das Problem der Wiedervereinigung des Reiches unter einem mächtigen Herrscher im Vordergrund der Auseinandersetzungen stand. Sethnacht sah sich demnach einem Konkurrenten gegenüber, der ähnlich wie er selbst für sich in Ägypten die Gesamtherrschaft anstrebte und zum Erreichen seines Ziels vor einem Bürgerkrieg nicht zurückschrak.

Wer im Lande war nun überhaupt in der Lage, Sethnacht den Thronanspruch streitig zu machen? Hier kommen eigentlich nur Mitglieder des Königshauses in Betracht. Es zeichnen sich also Konflikte ab, die sich aus den dynastischen Verhältnissen vom Ende der 19. Dynastie ergeben. Auf die zu dieser Zeit bestehenden Konstellationen hat R. Drenkhahn bei der Behandlung der Elephantinestele des Sethnacht ausführlich hingewiesen. So konnte sie für das Ende der 19. Dynastie zwei Interessengruppen herausstellen, die sich in der Frühzeit des Konflikts einerseits mit Siptah und seinem Berater Bai und andererseits mit Tausret verbinden lassen und zu denen dann in der Endphase des Konflikts Sethnacht mit seinem eigenen Machtanspruch stößt.¹⁰

Der Konflikt zwischen Siptah und Bai auf der einen und Tausret auf der anderen Seite hat zum Zeitpunkt der auf der Sethnacht-Stele geschilderten Auseinandersetzungen allerdings nur noch historisches Interesse. Der Machtkampf zwischen den Parteien des Siptah und der Tausret, der offenbar niemals bewaffnet ausgetragen worden ist, galt nämlich nur der einen Frage, wer nach dem Tod Sethos' II. für sich die Macht im Staat beanspruchen könne: die Witwe und ehemalige Große Königliche Gemahlin Sethos' II., Tausret, oder das Kind Siptah, das in noch jungem Alter den Thron bestiegen hat. Mit dem frühen Tod des Siptah löste sich dieser Konflikt von selbst. Siptah ist in seinem 6. Regierungsjahr im Alter zwischen 15 und 20 Jahren gestorben.¹¹ Bai, der ihm stets ein treuer Parteigänger und Berater war, hat vermutlich sogar noch vor Siptah den Tod gefunden.¹² Einer Machtübernahme durch Tausret stand also beim Tod des Siptah nichts im Wege.

Der Kampf um die Macht am Ende der 19. Dynastie hat nicht zwischen Sethnacht und Siptah und Bai stattgefunden, da beide potentiellen Gegner zu der Zeit, als Sethnacht seinen Machtanspruch erhob, bereits tot waren. Gegenteiliges ist auch nicht aus dem Großen Papyrus Harris zu erfahren, der auf die Zustände vor dem Regierungsantritt des Sethnacht eingeht und erwähnt, daß vor Sethnacht ein Syrer namens *Tirsw* die Macht im Staat inne gehabt hätte.¹³ Die im Papyrus Harris in die Ära vor Sethnacht gesetzte Zeit des *Tirsw* dürfte, wie J. von Beckerath zu Recht annimmt,¹⁴ die Zeit des Siptah gewesen sein, dessen frühe Regierungsjahre ganz unter dem Einfluß des Syrers Bai stehen, der in den Inschriften aus der Zeit des Siptah geradezu als 'Königsmacher' bezeichnet wird¹⁵ und der für den kaum der Kindheit entwachsenen jungen König Siptah weitgehend selbständig regiert haben dürfte. Eine Gleichsetzung des historisch durch mehrere Denkmäler belegten Bai mit dem

¹⁰ Drenkhahn, op. cit. 52 f.

¹¹ Op. cit. 13 f.

¹² Das höchste Datum für Bai stammt aus dem 4. Jahr des Siptah: Černý, *ZÄS* 93 (1964), 36 ff. Abb. 1.

¹³ P. Harris I, 75, 4-5.

¹⁴ Von Beckerath, *JEA* 48 (1962), 73 f.

¹⁵ *LD* III, 202 a, c.

nur aus dem Großen Papyrus Harris bekannten *Yirsu* ist erstmals von J. Černý und von A. H. Gardiner vorgeschlagen worden und hat auch viel Wahrscheinlichkeit für sich.¹⁶

Daß die eigentlichen Gegner des Sethnacht nicht Siptah und Bai gewesen sind, wird durch den Denkmälerbefund bestätigt. Nach seinem Regierungsantritt, der ja, wie der Große Papyrus Harris und die Sethnachtstele übereinstimmend berichten, auf eine Zeit innerer Wirren folgte, ließ Sethnacht die Denkmäler und Namensinschriften sowohl des Siptah als auch des Bai unangetastet. Hätte Sethnacht irgendwelche politische Vorbehalte gegen einen der beiden Männer gehabt, wären deren Denkmäler mit Sicherheit verfolgt, wahrscheinlich sogar zerstört worden. Dies ist aber nicht der Fall.

Während eine Verfolgung des Siptah durch Sethnacht nicht festzustellen ist, läßt sich dies nicht uneingeschränkt für Tausret behaupten. Tausret hat nach dem Tod des Siptah sich weitgehend der Inschriften des Siptah bemächtigt. Sie hat die Namensinschriften des Siptah an vielen Stellen zerstört und dann durch ihre eigenen¹⁷ oder durch die Namen Sethos' II. ersetzt.¹⁸ Sie hat sogar die Regierungsdaten des Siptah als ihre eigenen übernommen.¹⁹

Betrachtet man nun im Gegenzug den Erhaltungszustand der Denkmäler der Tausret, lassen nahezu alle wichtigen Monumente der Königin Spuren einer absichtlichen späteren Zerstörung erkennen. Aus chronologischen Erwägungen heraus kommt als Urheber dieser Verfolgungsspuren zumindest bei den Denkmälern, die in die Zeit nach dem Tod des Siptah zu datieren sind, nur Sethnacht in Betracht. Auch für die Verfolgung der älteren Denkmäler der Tausret, die vor ihre eigentliche Regierungszeit, also noch unter Siptah zu datieren sind, dürfte Sethnacht verantwortlich sein. Wie die späteren Denkmäler der Tausret hat er auch diese in die allgemeine Verfolgung des Andenkens der Tausret mit einbezogen. Wir dürfen also zu Recht in Sethnacht den ärgsten Rivalen der Tausret sehen. Er war es, der nach dem Tod des Siptah der als Königin proklamierten Tausret den Thron streitig machte. In der Sicht des Sethnacht stellte sich diese Frau, die durch ihre Übernahme der Regierungsgewalt sich dem Machtstreben des Sethnacht ernsthaft entgegenzustellen wagte, als Vertreterin des Bösen und der chaotischen Mächte dar.

Die von Haß geprägte Verfolgung der Denkmäler der Tausret läßt sich am auffallendsten bei der Überarbeitung der Namen und Darstellungen der Tausret durch Sethnacht in ihrem Grab im Königsgräbertal von Theben (KV 14) aufzeigen.²⁰ Kurz vor der endgültigen Fertigstellung des Grabes wurde die Anlage durch Sethnacht usurpiert. Im Schnellverfahren ersetzte er die Namen der Tausret und die bereits

¹⁶ Gardiner, *JEA* 44 (1958), 21. Der Ansicht von Černý und Gardiner folgten: von Beckerath, *JEA* 48 (1962), 74; Aldred, *JEA* 49 (1963), 48; L. H. Lesko, *JARCE* 5 (1966), 30; Vandier, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 186, 188; Drenkhahn, op. cit. 53 f.

¹⁷ Z. B. am Pylon Sethos II. in Hermopolis: G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939* (Hildesheim, 1959), Tf. 64 f.; Lesko, op. cit. 29 ff.

¹⁸ Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 40 ff.; id., *JEA* 44 (1958), 15 f.; Drenkhahn, op. cit. 20 (Phase 2).

¹⁹ Drenkhahn, op. cit. 79-85.

²⁰ Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 40 ff.; id., *JEA* 44 (1958), 15 f.; Drenkhahn, op. cit. 20 ff. (Phase 4).

unter Tausret in die Namen Sethos' II. umgewandelten ursprünglichen Namen des Siptah durch seine eigenen Kartuschen. Entsprechend ließ er die bildlichen Darstellungen der Tausret abändern.²¹

Auf Sethnacht wird auch die Zerstörung einer Statue aus Heliopolis zurückzuführen sein, die Tausret als Königin zeigt.²² Die Zerstörungen betreffen zwar nicht die Kartuschen der Königin, die intakt geblieben sind, sondern nur ihre Gestalt. Der Kopf der auf ihrem Thron sitzenden Königin ist abgeschlagen. Der rechte Oberarm, der zu der vor der Brust liegenden Hand mit dem Zepter gehörte, fehlt. Das Zepter selbst ist abgearbeitet. Ähnlich ist die auf dem linken Oberschenkel liegende linke Hand abgehakt. Die Art der Zerstörungen zeigt an, daß mit dem Zerschlagen der Figur die Vernichtung der Person der Königin geplant war. Man wollte offenbar eine Wiederbelebung der Königin verhindern und beraubte sie daher nicht nur ihrer Herrscherinsignien, sondern auch durch Abschlagen von Kopf und Händen der Möglichkeit zur eventuellen Wiederbelebung.

Rigoroser als mit der Statue der Tausret aus Heliopolis verfuhr man mit einem Gruppenbild, das ursprünglich vermutlich Tausret mit Siptah auf dem Schoß zeigte.²³ Die auf einem Königsthron sitzende Frau ist vollständig abgearbeitet worden, während die Gestalt des in der Königstracht dargestellten Siptah noch einigermaßen gut erhalten ist. In der abgearbeiteten und ohne jeden Namen belassenen Figur einen Mann zu sehen, z.B. Amenmesse,²⁴ Sethos II.²⁵ oder Bai²⁶, ist aus ikonographischen Gründen wenig wahrscheinlich. Das Motiv des im rechten Winkel auf dem Schoß einer Figur sitzenden jungen Königs ist nämlich ausschließlich bei Gruppenfiguren, die eine Frau mit ihrem Kind zeigen, zu beobachten. Das seit der 6. Dynastie bis hin zu Schepenupet in der Königsplastik gut belegte Motiv²⁷ wird dann in der Spätzeit durch das Bild des auf dem Schoß seiner Mutter Isis sitzenden Horuskindes ersetzt.²⁸ Hier bei Tausret, die nach den vorliegenden Belegen allerdings nicht die leibliche Mutter des Siptah war,²⁹ sollte die Figur den Anspruch der Regentin auf den Königsthron bereits unter der Regierung des noch kindhaften Königs Siptah artikulieren. Nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund wird Tausret im Münchner Gruppenbild auf einem Königsthron und nicht auf einem einfachen Sitz gezeigt.

Geht man also davon aus, daß die bürgerkriegsähnlichen Zustände zu Beginn der Regierung des Sethnacht Auseinandersetzungen waren, die sich nach dem Tod des Siptah aus dem Kampf zweier rivalisierender Parteien um den Königsthron ergaben, und nimmt man an, daß der Ausgang dieses heftigen Machtkampfes seine Spuren an den wenigen erhaltenen Denkmälern dieser Zeit hinterlassen hat, gewinnt man den

²¹ Eine einzige Ausnahme scheint es zu geben. In Raum E ihres Grabes blieb offenbar das Bild der Königin, allerdings als Mann, in Verbindung mit einer Vignette zu Totenbuch Kp. 145 erhalten (*PM* 1², 2, 529 (E)).

²² H. S. K. Bakry, *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 46 (1971), 17–26, Tf. 1–8; Drenkhahn, *GM* 43 (1981), 19–22.

²³ München, Glyptothek 122: von Beckerath, *JEA* 48 (1962), 70 ff., Tf. 3.

²⁴ Aldred, op. cit. 45 ff.

²⁵ Lesko, op. cit. 31.

²⁶ Drenkhahn, *Die Elephantine-Stele des Sethnacht*, 35–8.

²⁷ Brooklyn 39. 119 (Pepi II.); Hatschepsut auf dem Schoß ihrer Amme Satre: Kairo, JE 56264 (R. Tefnin, *La Statuaire d'Hatshepsout* (Brüssel, 1979), 134); Louvre E 7826 (Schepenupet): Vandier, *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 11, 6 (1961), 251 f., Abb. 9.

²⁸ Zum Bildtyp: H. W. Müller, *Die stillende Gottesmutter in Ägypten* (Hamburg, 1963), 3–22.

²⁹ Vandier, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 172 ff.; vgl. die Diskussion zum Problem bei Drenkhahn, op. cit. 11 ff.

Eindruck, daß nicht Bai alias *Tirsw*, dessen Denkmäler intakt geblieben sind und der ja auch schon unter Siptah aus dem Blickfeld verschwindet,³⁰ dem Thronprätendenten Sethnacht als Feind gegenüber gestanden hat, sondern Tausret, die nach dem Tod des Siptah für sich den Pharaonthron beanspruchte und sich als Königin mit voller Königstitulatur ausrufen ließ. Nur bei ihren Denkmälern sind absichtliche Zerstörungen festzustellen, die auf Sethnacht zurückgeführt werden können und die belegen, daß Sethnacht nach dem Tod der Tausret das Andenken ihrer Person planmäßig verfolgte.³¹

Tausret, die als Große Königliche Gemahlin Sethos' II. nicht über eine ausreichende eigene Legitimation für das Königsamt verfügte, hat ihre Regierungszeit unmittelbar an die Regierungsjahre des Siptah angeschlossen und durch die Fortführung der Regierungsjahre des Siptah den Eindruck erweckt, als ob ihre Alleinregierung die Fortsetzung einer von Anfang an bestandenen Mitregentschaft der Tausret mit Siptah darstelle — ein Eindruck, den übrigens auch die Gruppenfigur der Tausret mit Siptah aus München aufkommen läßt.³² Sethnacht hingegen, der die Alleinregierung der Tausret nach Siptah's Tod nicht anerkannt hat und gegen Tausret und ihre Anhänger zu Felde zog, mußte seine eigene Regierung als Gegenregierung zu Tausret auffassen und daher seine eigene Regierungszeit mit dem Tod des Siptah beginnen lassen. Geht man von dieser Annahme aus, müßten alle Daten der Tausret bis zum Tage ihrer endgültigen Niederlage Daten sein, die vor dem Siegestag des Sethnacht am 10. X. des 2. Regierungsjahres des Sethnacht liegen. Andererseits dürften dann die Daten des Sethnacht, von denen sich bisher nur ein einziges vom 24. X. des 2. Regierungsjahres gefunden hat,³³ nicht vor den 10. X. seines 2. Regierungsjahres zurückreichen.

R. Drenkhahn hat die erhaltenen Daten aus den Regierungen des Siptah und der Tausret übersichtlich zusammengestellt³⁴ und geklärt, daß der Thronbesteigungstag des Siptah aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auf den 28. IV. *šht* des 1. Jahres fiel³⁵ und das Todesdatum des Siptah im 6. Regierungsjahr im Umkreis des 12. II. *šht* zu suchen ist.³⁶ Die Alleinregierung der Tausret und die Gegenregierung des Sethnacht hätten dann ungefähr mit dem 13. II. *šht* begonnen. Somit fallen in die Zeit nach dem Tod des Siptah und in die Zeit der Alleinregierung der Tausret folgende Daten, die — wie nachstehend — als selbständige Daten der Tausret verrechnet werden können:

$$\begin{aligned} 6. \text{ J., II. } \textit{šht} 18^{37} &= 1. \text{ J. d. Tausret, II. } \textit{šht} 18 \\ 6. \text{ J., IV. } \textit{šht} 19-22^{38} &= 1. \text{ J. d. Tausret, IV. } \textit{šht} 19-22 \end{aligned}$$

³⁰ Der letzte Beleg stammt aus dem 4. Jahr des Siptah: Černý, op. cit. 36 ff., Abb. 1.

³¹ Der Zerstörung entgangen sind kleinere Denkmäler der Tausret, z.B. die Gründungsbeigaben ihres Totentempels (W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897), 13 ff.; Drenkhahn, op. cit. 23 ff.), die Hortfunde (Labib Habachi, *Tell Basta* (Suppl. Ann. Serv. 22) (Kairo, 1957), 6 f.; W. K. Simpson, *AJA* 63 (1959), 29-45, Tf. 11-14), ferner Inschriften auf Kleinfunden wie auf Skarabäen, Gefäßen und Ziegeln (Drenkhahn, op. cit. 26 ff.).

³² In der Statue München, Glyptothek 122 läßt sich die Königin zusammen mit Siptah auf einem Königsthron abbilden (von Beckerath, *JEA* 48 (1962), 70 ff., Tf. 3).

³³ Ostr. University College, London (= *KRI* v, 1 f.).

³⁴ Drenkhahn, op. cit. 84 f.

³⁵ Op. cit. 2; vgl. Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 41 ff.; id., *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), 123 f.

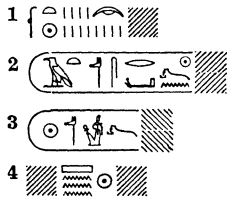
³⁶ Drenkhahn, op. cit. 14.

³⁷ Graffito aus KV 14: Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 43.

³⁸ Ostr. Kairo 25792.

7. J., II. <i>šmw</i> 28 ³⁹	= 1. J. d. Tausret, II. <i>šmw</i> 28
7. J., II. . . . ⁴⁰	= 1./2. J. d. Tausret, II. . . .
8. J., III. <i>prt</i> 5 ⁴¹	= 2. J. d. Tausret, III. <i>prt</i> 5
8. J., IV. . . . ⁴²	= 2./3. J. d. Tausret, IV. . . .

Nur das zuletzt genannte Datum ist problematisch. Denn bei unserer Interpretation der historischen Verhältnisse zu Beginn der Regierung des Sethnacht darf das Datum nicht über den II. *šmw* hinausführen, in dem Tausret dem Sethnacht unterlegen ist. Es darf daher nur den IV. *šht* oder den IV. *prt* nennen. Dem widerspricht auch nicht die volle Transkription des in Frage stehenden Dokuments:⁴³



Wegen der in Zeile 4 erkennbaren Monatsangabe *šmw* dürfte in der Kopfzeile das 8. Jahr IV. *prt* . . . mit hohem Montag kurz vor dem I. *šmw* gestanden haben. Nur wenn dies der Fall ist und an der fraglichen Stelle nicht — wie z. B. R. Drenkhahn vorschlägt⁴⁴ — 8. Jahr IV. *šmw* . . . zu lesen ist, sind die Voraussetzungen für die zeitliche Koinzidenz der Regierung der Tausret und einer hier erschlossenen Gegenregierung des Sethnacht gegeben.

Geht man davon aus, daß die Regierung des Sethnacht sich zunächst als Gegenregierung zur Regierung der Tausret etablierte und daß Sethnacht nach seinem Sieg über Tausret seine eigenen Regierungsjahre mit dem Tod des Siptah beginnen ließ, werden die Ausführungen des Großen Papyrus Harris voll verständlich. Die dort erwähnte Zeit der Wirren und der Anarchie, die im Papyrus vor allem mit der Person des *Yirsw* verbunden ist, fällt in die der Regierung des Sethnacht unmittelbar vorausgegangene Zeit des Siptah, der als Kind zwischen 9 und 14 Jahren den Thron bestiegen hat⁴⁵ und zu Beginn seiner 6 Regierungsjahre bei allen Entscheidungen maßgeblich durch den Syrer Bai, der dann mit *Yirsw* gleichzusetzen wäre, beraten wurde. In die Zeit der Alleinregierung der Tausret nach dem Tod des Siptah, also in die Zeit, als Sethnacht gegen Tausret kämpfte, würden dann die Stellen passen, in denen von der Gottlosigkeit der Mächtigen im Lande die Rede ist. Die Wiederherstellung des

³⁹ M. Marciniak, *Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du temple de Thoutmosis III, Deir el Bahari I* (Warschau, 1974), 59 Nr. 3, Z. 9.

⁴⁰ Graffito aus KV 14: Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 43.

⁴¹ Ostr. Deir el Médineh 594; von Beckerath, *JEA* 48 (1962), 72; E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Äg. Abh. 11) (Wiesbaden, 1964), 97 Anm. 17.

⁴² Ostr. Kairo 25293.

⁴³ G. Daressy, *Cat. gén., Ostraca*, 74.

⁴⁴ Drenkhahn, op. cit. 80 ff.

⁴⁵ Op. cit. 10 f. Nach Vandier, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 177, war Siptah bei seinem Tod 15/16 Jahre alt, nach J. E. Harris und K. R. Weeks etwa 20 Jahre alt (James E. Harris and Kent R. Weeks, *X-raying the Pharaohs* (London, 1973), 160).

Rechts nach einer Zeit des Chaos und der Gottesferne, die Neubelebung der alten Kulte und die Wiedereröffnung der geschlossenen Tempel gaben schließlich Sethnacht die Legitimation, den Thron als erster Pharaos der 20. Dynastie zu besteigen.

Der 20. Dynastie haben sich die Wirrenzeiten unter Siptah und unter Tausret fest eingeprägt. In den Darstellungen des Minfestes von Medinet Habu werden die Statuen der Vorgänger Ramses' III. in einer Statuenprozession mitgeführt.⁴⁶ Nicht ohne Grund fehlen in der Reihe der Königsstatuen zwischen den Statuen des Sethos II. und des Sethnacht die Figuren des Siptah und der Tausret, die ja beide in der gottlosen Zeit vom Ende der 19. Dynastie lebten. Auch beim Statuenkult der Vorfahren wird Tausret Gottlosigkeit und Nachlässigkeit vorgeworfen. Der Papyrus Turin 32 aus der Zeit Ramses' VI. gibt an, daß unter Tausret der Kult für eine Statue Ramses' II. in Deir el-Medina eingestellt worden sei.⁴⁷ In den Augen der Nachwelt hatte also Tausret in diesem Fall ihre Pflichten als Pharaos nicht erfüllt.

Nach Sethnachts Machtergreifung am 10. X. des 2. Jahres wurden Recht und Ordnung im Land wieder hergestellt. Doch scheint Sethnacht nach seinem Sieg über Tausret nur noch ungefähr 10 Monate ohne die verhaßte Gegenkönigin regiert zu haben. Am 25. IX. vermutlich seines 3. Regierungsjahres ist Sethnacht gestorben. Nach seinem Tod ging die Regierungsgewalt reibungslos in die Hände seines Sohnes Ramses' III. über.⁴⁸

Die kurze Zeit der Alleinregierung gestattete dem König nicht, eine eigene Grabanlage zu vollenden.⁴⁹ Daher wurde Sethnacht bei seinem Tod trotz der bestehenden Vorbehalte in das Königsgrab seiner einstigen Gegnerin Tausret im Tal der Könige von Theben (KV 14) gebettet. Man ließ das Grab erweitern und mit den Bildern und Namensinschriften des Sethnacht versehen.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Med. Habu*, IV, Tf. 203, 207; H. Gauthier, *Les Fêtes du dieu Min* (Kairo, 1931), 205, 226.

⁴⁷ Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Abh. Akad. Wiss. u. Lit., Mainz 1960, 11) (Wiesbaden, 1961), 197.

⁴⁸ Helck, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), 124; Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie*, 97.

⁴⁹ Nach E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropolis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 125, war KV 11 als Grab des Sethnacht geplant.

⁵⁰ *PM* 1², 2, 527 ff.; Gardiner, *JEA* 40 (1954), 40-4.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY REVISITED

By K. A. KITCHEN

THE period 1955 to 1972 saw much discussion of the family relationships within the Twentieth Dynasty, going on beyond the earlier work of Sethe and Peet. In the perspective of a decade elapsed since, it seems opportune that we should review the issue critically and concisely, adding fresh factors and seeking to eliminate errors, in the hope of coming closer to a solution.

Ramesses IV as Prince

Opinions still differ¹ over whether Ramesses IV really was the son and heir to Ramesses III as he himself claimed in P. Harris I.² Substantiation for Ramesses' claim from a third party may here be offered from a source not utilized hitherto: Theban Tomb 148, belonging to Amenemope, sometime First Prophet of Mut and Third Prophet of Amūn. The texts from the broad hall (south half) of this chapel show that Amenemope served under Ramesses III, IV, and V, but not demonstrably any later. The time-sequence is as follows:

- A. Rear Wall, upper register, scenes 1-4: events under Ramesses III, but carved under Ramesses IV.
- B. Rear Wall, lower register: two rows of relatives, *temp.* Ramesses IV.
- C. South end-wall, statue-group, texts dated to Ramesses IV.
- D. Front Wall, lower register: relatives, dated to Ramesses V.³

The four scenes under *A* show four successive highlights in the career of Amenemope under Ramesses III, the third being dated explicitly to Year 27 of Ramesses III and described as 'a third favour(?)'. The sequence of scenes and events may be tabulated thus:

- a. Year 27—($x+y$): Amenemope appointed as First Prophet of Mut in the presence of Ramesses III by *the Hereditary Prince, Royal Scribe, Generalissimo, King's Son of his body, his beloved, Ramesses* (in cartouche).⁴

¹ In favour: Monnet, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 218-20; Kitchen, *JEA* 58 (1972), 190-1; Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 33-5; Wente, *JNES* 32 (1973), 233-4; Wente in J. E. Harris, E. F. Wente (eds.), *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies* (1980), 150, 266. Against: Seele, in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* (1955), 307-8; Seele, *JNES* 19 (1960), 197-8; Murnane, *JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 128 and n. 40.

² Expressed as from the mouth of Ramesses III; P. Harris I, 22, 3 ff.; 42, 4-6; 56b, 2-4; 66b, 4-10; 79, 5-7: cf. 'Pharaonic Encomium', 2, 1-2 (Gardiner, *JEA* 42 (1956), 10).

³ *PM*² I, 1, 259 (4/5, 3, 2). For the texts and representations see Gaballa and Kitchen, *MDAIK* 37 (1981) 161-80, figs. 3-11.

⁴ In the main text, the event is apparently set in the (West) Theban palace of Ramesses III; prince Ramesses (again with cartouche) is mentioned a second time.

- b. Year 27—*x*: Offerings (by A.?) before statue of Ramesses III.
- c. Year 27: Amenemope rewarded before Ramesses III (or his statue), as a third favour(?).
- d. Year 27+*z*: Amenemope again rewarded, before a large Hathorian sistrum, and probably appointed High Steward of Mut.⁵

Immediately below this set of scenes, the twin rows of relatives are headed by none other than the high priest of Amūn, Ramesses-nakhte, explicitly termed father-in-law of Amenemope. His known tenure of office runs from the opening years of Ramesses IV to the second year of Ramesses IX,⁶ and, as father-in-law of Amenemope, he is named again in the texts at *C* that include the cartouche of Ramesses IV. These facts would favour dating the execution of all these scenes under Ramesses IV. With this would agree the use of a cartouche for the Prince Ramesses in *A*, scene 1 (twice), at Amenemope's first appointment. By this means, being proud of his former association with the then reigning Ramesses IV while still a prince, Amenemope could mark that prince as his sovereign.

That Ramesses IV as prince played important roles at court before Year 27 of Ramesses III, had the simple name 'Ramesses' (with no other surname), and bore then the specific group of titles *iry-pꜣt*, *sš nsw* and especially *imy-r mšꜣ*, are points that together are of considerable importance. A prince Ramesses just so named with precisely this last title is known from several other monuments:⁷ Tomb 53 in the Valley of Queens, from the first decades of Ramesses III's reign; a lintel in Florence; a scene in the Ramesses III temple in Amūn's forecourt at Karnak; and a scene of games at Medīnet Habu, where a uraeus was later added to the prince's brow as well as his name to the texts.⁸

In this connection, it is especially important to note that the simple name Ramesses—also favoured by Ramesses IV as king⁹—is in no way ambiguous, despite mistaken assertions to the contrary.¹⁰ During this dynasty, no other prince or king can be proved to bear just this simple name.¹¹ All other 'Ramesses' had distinctive surnames.¹² This situation is precisely paralleled under Ramesses II, whose second son likewise bore the simple name Ramesses, all others of the name having their own (sur)names, the Ramesses-element being optional.¹³ Therefore, in the Twentieth Dynasty under

⁵ These scenes, Gaballa-Kitchen, op. cit. figs. 8–11.

⁶ Cf. Černý, *CAH*³ II, 2, 626 with n. 4, and *KRI* VI, 14, 1, for Ramesses IV, Years 1, 3; Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 137, 147, for Ramesses IX, Year 2.

⁷ Cf. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 34, and especially Murnane, *JARCE* 9 (1971–2), 123 ff.

⁸ *Medinet Habu*, II, pl. 111; texts, also *KRI* V, 114, 14.

⁹ As expressed in the simple cartouches Ḥeqmare, Ramesses (no epithets); cf. *KRI* VI, 15, 16, 21–5, and often elsewhere.

¹⁰ e.g., by Murnane, *JARCE* 9 (1971–2), 123, 127, among others.

¹¹ On the supposed non-regnant father of Ramesses VI see section below on the Medīnet Habu lists of princes.

¹² Thus, Ramesses V, VI, X, were each surnamed Amenḥerkhopshef, but employed distinct prenomen: Usimarēꜥ Sekheperenrēꜥ, Nebmarēꜥ, Khepermarēꜥ. Ramesses VII was Itamūn, and VIII was Setherkhopshef. Ramesses IX and XI were both called Khaemwaset, but had distinctive prenomen, Neferkarēꜥ and Menmarēꜥ. Thus, no grounds exist for confusing simple Ramesses (IV) with any other king of the dynasty.

¹³ See conspectus, *KRI* II, 859–60, and following.

Ramesses III, all the corresponding mentions of a Prince Ramesses (no surname), especially if entitled 'generalissimo', should be referred to the future Ramesses IV, unless clear proof for the existence of another identically named individual can be offered. In particular, the Karnak scene occurs in a temple bearing a text of Year 22 of Ramesses III,¹⁴ almost contemporary with Amenemope's appointment involving Prince Ramesses (IV) sometime before Year 27. It is very difficult to avoid the conclusion that we are here dealing with one and the same prince. In the Karnak scene, Ramesses is accompanied by a younger brother, a Prince Ramesses-Amenherkhopshesf, who bears the distinctive title *imy-r ssmt*, 'Chief of Horse', attested specifically of Ramesses-Amenherkhopshesf as Ramesses VI in the famous twin lists of princes at Medinet Habu. On this basis (with other data) the simplest reading of the evidence is that both Ramesses IV and VI were sons of Ramesses III, bearing out the claims by Ramesses IV.¹⁵ This in turn reopens the question of the identity of the Prince Ramesses who heads the Medinet Habu lists immediately in front of Ramesses VI. In view of his name (Ramesses, no surname), his titles (prince, royal scribe, generalissimo), which match exactly those in Tomb 148, and his position as immediately senior in the list to Ramesses VI, this prince fits exactly into the person, titles, and role of Ramesses IV as reviewed above. To this conclusion much opposition has been raised; the basis for that opposition will be critically assessed in our section on the lists just below.

First, however, it should be noted that the future Ramesses IV was neither the eldest son of Ramesses III nor the first heir-presumptive. Four other sons of Ramesses III, known as such from their tombs in the Valley of Queens, had prior claims. Eldest was probably the first Amenherkhopshesf (Tomb 55) with the leading title of 'Hereditary Prince and Chief of the Two Lands' (*iry-pꜣt hry-tp tꜣwy*).¹⁶ After him, we have the pair Prerherwonmef and Khaemwaset, each entitled *ꜣꜣ-nsꜣw tꜣpy* (Tombs 42, 44), 'Eldest (surviving) King's Son', probably by two different mothers. Then, Setherkhopshesf (Tomb 43) entitled *ꜣꜣ-nsꜣw smsꜣw*, 'Senior King's Son', as designated successor,¹⁷ who outlived the first three sons, but long predeceased his father.

Despite suggestions to the contrary,¹⁸ there is no reason to date these tombs or their owners to the last years of Ramesses III, but there is rather some indication that

¹⁴ *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, 1, pls. 18 A, 22-3; texts also in *KRI* V, 214, 4, and 221, 5 ff.

¹⁵ The judgement that Ramesses IV doth protest too much (e.g., Seele, in Firchow, *Ägyptologische Studien*, 308) is a guess unsupported by any specific facts. It would be as easy to assert that, as legitimate heir, in the wake of the conspiracy, Ramesses IV made sure that he exploited to the full the strength of his position, for propaganda purposes. Murnane's curious suggestion (*JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 128 n. 40) that attribution of the 'Pharaonic Encomium' to Ramesses IV would imply his accession as non-royal beneficiary of an oracle is contradicted by the content of the text. See Encomium, 2, 1-2, where the king says that he became crown prince with his father as king; in the 'oracle' context (3, 7-9), we have the usual truism that Amün ultimately raised the speaker to kingship, 'placing a son upon his throne'. This applies to any New Kingdom Pharaoh.

¹⁶ For Tomb 55 see now F. Hassanein and M. Nelson, *La Tombe du Prince Amon-(her)-khepshesf* (Cairo, CEDAE, 1976). For the titles concerned as denoting the heir-apparent cf. Merenptah as heir to Ramesses II (*KRI* II, 903, 9; 904, 15, etc.) and Seti-Merenptah as heir to Merenptah (*KRI* IV, 59, 4; 67, 1; 90, 1).

¹⁷ For the titles *ꜣꜣ-nsꜣw tꜣpy/smsꜣw*, see below, Medinet Habu lists section, Point 1.

¹⁸ Cf. Wente's ingenious suggestion that the deaths of several princes by epidemic illness might underlie the cutting of tombs mentioned in O. Chicago 16991 (*JNES* 20 (1961), 253-4); but there is no necessary connection with the four tombs familiar to us in the Queens' Valley.

throne, and so would expect to become king before needing a tomb. However, eldest sons could die early, which could involve frantic effort to provide fittingly for them in a short time. These problems cannot have been new when Ramesses III ascended the throne; the evidence from the Queens' Valley itself may indicate the solution he adopted. In that valley, no less than five tombs are known (some of good work) for queens and princesses, with names and cartouches left blank.²⁶ One other such was duly assigned to a Queen Tanodjmy at her death, her name being painted in, in the blank cartouches, in time for her burial.²⁷ In short, some kings (from Ramesses II onwards?) prepared blank tombs in advance, fully decorated, which needed only the insertion of the appropriate name when a queen or princess died.²⁸ In the tomb of prince Amenherkhepshef—twice repeated²⁹—is a dedication that has always struck scholars by its generalized tone: 'Given by favour of the King, . . . Ramesses III, (to) the chief royal children' (*msw-nsw ʿzyw*), omitting all mention of the prince himself, present everywhere else in the tomb. It is quite conceivable that, during his reign, Ramesses III commissioned a series of princely tombs, some completed with names of owners not immediately in line for the throne, others with name and titles left to be carved, if an heir-presumptive died prematurely. Princes like Ramesses or Khaemwaset might fall into the first category, and Amenherkhepshef or Setherkhepshef into the second. A further batch of initially blank tombs may be intended in the ostrakon edited by Went.³⁰

The Medinet Habu Lists of Princes

The basic history of these lists³¹ is now generally agreed, except for minor details. Ramesses III had two series of figures of princes (each adoring his cartouche) carved in the portico flanking the door from the second court to the hypostyle hall, but omitted all names and titles. South of the door, blank bounding-lines were provided for future texts, but not so north of the door.³² Later, Ramesses IV added bandeau-texts of his royal titles in large hieroglyphs below the twin lists, but nothing else—unless it were his own titles as prince to the first figure in each list. Thereafter, Ramesses VI inserted the names and titles of himself as prince but with kingly cartouches, and of other princes who were either his brothers or his sons. Finally, Ramesses VIII added his cartouches alongside the figures following those of Ramesses VI, identifying the Setherkhepshef of the lists with himself. His hieroglyphs differ in position and style from those done under Ramesses VI, as does the uraeus on his head, added as king.

²⁶ Queens' Valley Nos. 31, 36, 40, 73, 75. ²⁷ See C. Leblanc, *BSFE* 89 (1980), 45 with fig. 3 (p. 38).

²⁸ In those tombs still left blank the task of painting in names was overlooked at time of burial, or else these tombs were never used for their original purpose.

²⁹ See Hassanein and Nelson, *La Tombe du Prince Amon-(hir)-khepshef*, 105, 114, pls. 29–30, 38–41.

³⁰ In *JNES* 20 (1961), 252 ff. In Year 28, a further ostrakon dealt with by Went (*JNES* 32 (1973), 223 ff.) mentions work done on the (tomb) of a prince in the Valley of Kings; this might be Kings' Valley Tomb No. 3, of a prince rather than of Ramesses III: cf. Went, p. 228.

³¹ Published, *Medinet Habu*, v, pls. 299–302.

³² As can be seen from the state of the unlabelled figures, *ibid.*

So much is certain, thanks to the work of Sethe,³³ Peet seconded by Gardiner,³⁴ Seele,³⁵ Nims,³⁶ Monnet,³⁷ and Murnane.³⁸ However, opinion over the interpretation of these facts has remained divided: are these princes all the sons of Ramesses III (a set of brothers), or (as Sethe thought) is only the first a non-regnant son of Ramesses III and father of Ramesses VI, the latter being father of the rest? The latter view (Sethe's, endorsed by Peet) has been adopted by Seele, Murnane, and Wenté (in modified form).³⁹ This view stands or falls by the validity of Sethe's arguments, which urgently require critical scrutiny in the light of current knowledge. His arguments may accordingly be summarized and examined as follows.

Point 1. That *sr-nsw tpy* means 'first-born king's son', and that *sr-nsw smsw* means 'the eldest-surviving son'. Therefore the Prēcherwonmef, *sr-nsw tpy* of Ramesses III (Tomb 42), is different from the Prēcherwonmef who lacks this title and is only fifth in the Medinet Habu lists. The latter is then a son of Ramesses VI.

Unfortunately, Sethe's interpretation of these *sr-nsw* titles is both demonstrably wrong and, in fact, the opposite of the truth. Thus, *sr-nsw tpy* is used of Meryatum, the sixteenth son of Ramesses II,⁴⁰ and not remotely first-born. But, at a given point in time, it could fittingly indicate that he was the eldest surviving son of a particular queen, in his case Nefertari. In any case, as Seele has acutely noted,⁴¹ both Prēcherwonmef and Khaemwaset were *sr-nsw tpy* of Ramesses III—impossible on Sethe's view, unless they were twins! On the correct rendering, each was at some juncture the eldest surviving son, either successively of the same mother or more probably of two different mothers. In contrast, *sr-nsw smsw* is a purely political term denoting the declared heir-apparent. Thus, under Ramesses II, it was successively borne by Amenherkhopshf, Ramesses, Khaemwaset, and finally Merenptah who duly followed Ramesses II as king. Earlier, in retrospect, Ramesses II explicitly referred to his own public induction as *sr-(nsw) smsw*, 'heir-apparent', in the great 'inscription dédicatoire' of Abydos.⁴² Thus, Sethe's objection to identifying the two Prēcherwonmefs as the son of Ramesses III is, on the ground of these titles, invalid.

Point 2. That more than one prince among the supposed brothers bears the same name; so, Amenherkhopshf, once as Ramesses VI as No. 2/3 of the lists and separately as No. 9 of the lists. However, that a king can have more than one son of the same name is not simply a possibility but a known fact. Meryrē I and II appear as princes Nos. 11 and 18 in the Ramesseum lists of Ramesses II.⁴³ Therefore, two Amenherkhopshfs under Ramesses III is no problem at all: one who died early as heir (Tomb 55), and his replacement who was later Ramesses VI. Sethe's argument here is at best inconclusive, at worst wrong.

Point 3. The improbability that four sons of Ramesses III followed him on the throne. This is inaccurate (only three sons are at issue),⁴⁴ and subjective. The five reigns of Ramesses IV–VIII

³³ K. Sethe, 'Die Prinzenliste von Medinet Habu . . .' in Sethe (ed.), *Untersuchungen*, I (1896), 59–63, 129.

³⁴ *JEA* 14 (1928), 53–7 (esp. 56), partly in reaction to Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, III (1905), 138–41.

³⁵ In Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 296–314; *JNES* 19 (1960), 184–90.

³⁶ *BiOr* 14 (1957), 137–8.

³⁷ *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 230–5.

³⁸ *JARCE* 9 (1971–2), 121 ff.

³⁹ Seele, see n. 35 above; Murnane, op. cit. 127: cf. Wenté, *JNES* 32 (1973), 233–4.

⁴⁰ *KRI* II, 852, 7–8: cf. Capart, *CdÉ* 17 (1942), 72 ff. for photograph.

⁴¹ Seele in Firchow, op. cit. 311.

⁴² *KRI* II, 327, 13–14—'the grandees made obeisance to me when I was inducted as Senior (King's) Son and hereditary prince on the seat of Geb'.

⁴³ Lists R1, R2, *KRI* II, 864, 7–10; 865, 11–12.

⁴⁴ As Peet also noted (*JEA* 14 (1928), 55 and n. 3).

combine to last hardly more than about twenty-five years all told.⁴⁵ Two of these sons were each succeeded by sons of their own (Ramesses IV–V; Ramesses VI–VII) too short-lived to leave adult issue to succeed them. Thus, this argument has no value.

Point 4. That the simple name and cartouche ‘Ramesses’ at the head of the lists would have been insufficient to distinguish Ramesses IV from other princes and rulers, hence this figure is not Ramesses IV.

This argument is totally wrong on the evidence for the use of this name, and its distinctive combination with the title ‘generalissimo’ to denote the future Ramesses IV, already reviewed in the first part of this paper.

Point 5. That Ramesses VI erased and replaced the names of Ramesses IV and V on the monuments, persecuting the memory of these kings. He was hostile to them, therefore, and regarded himself—not them—as the true successor of Ramesses III. Hence, the initial figure ‘Ramesses’ cannot be Ramesses IV, but is conjectured to be an otherwise unknown son of Ramesses III, father of Ramesses VI, supplanted by Ramesses IV, but his name restored to honour by Ramesses VI.

Here, we reach one of the most glaring misconceptions currently held concerning the Twentieth Dynasty. The supposed persecution of Ramesses IV and V by VI is, in fact, wholly imaginary. It bears no comparison whatever with (for example) the merciless and universal hounding of the memory of Amenmesses by Sethos II, whereby the former’s intact cartouches are a great rarity. The usurpations of Ramesses IV and V by VI are limited to two aspects: first, he found the tomb and funerary temple of Ramesses V largely unfinished; short of funds,⁴⁶ or fearing early death, he, therefore, took them over to complete them on his own account. He did not deny burial to Ramesses V,⁴⁷ nor did he in any way tamper with that of Ramesses IV; second, he gave himself quick, economical, and easy prominence along the processional routes of Amūn in Karnak by simply putting his cartouche over that of Ramesses IV only in the most prominent locations.⁴⁸ Elsewhere in Egypt, no monuments of Ramesses IV and V were usurped by VI, whether in Abydos, Coptos, and Hammāmāt in the south, or Sinai, Heliopolis, and Memphis in the north. In Karnak, scores of scenes and texts of Ramesses IV on rear surfaces of the columns of the great hypostyle hall were left untouched,⁴⁹ besides texts elsewhere in Karnak, texts and scores of cartouches in Luxor temple, and many texts in Medīnet Habu—including those large bandeaux of titles directly under the lists of princes from which it has been imagined that Ramesses VI hatefully excluded Ramesses IV! In such a ‘persecution’, these, surely, should never have escaped.

As the persecution was imaginary, so also is Sethe’s mysterious ‘Young Pretender’; he has no *raison d’être* apart from that purely hypothetical assumption.

Therefore, the prince at No. 1 should be accorded his full rights: he is Ramesses IV (distinctively ‘Ramesses’ with no surname). Either he himself had his figure labelled when the bandeaux below were cut, or else Ramesses VI in fact recognized his predecessor’s kingship, and inserted his elder

⁴⁵ i.e., 6+4+7+7+1 years for Ramesses IV–VIII, some twenty-five years, and probably very little in excess of that figure.

⁴⁶ It was Ramesses VI who cut the inflated Deir el-Medīna workforce of Ramesses IV and V from 120 back to 60 men (cf. Černý, *CAH*³ II, 2, 613).

⁴⁷ Although delaying it into Year 2 (ostrakon cited by Černý, *op. cit.* 612)—doubtless to allow preparation of an alternative burial-place as Ramesses VI took over the original tomb for himself.

⁴⁸ Note the observation reported by Nims, *BiOr* 14 (1957), 138. This may also cover the statue Cairo Cat. 42153 (from the Karnak *cache*), if it originally stood in a prominent location in the temple.

⁴⁹ Suffice it to leaf through the plates of L.-A. Christophe, *Les Divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle* . . . (1955), where scene after scene of Ramesses IV can be seen to be untouched; by contrast, Ramesses VI usurped work of Ramesses IV at just one point—the bases of the great central columns along the central nave which no eye could (or can) escape seeing.

brother's princely titles and name in cartouche, his own princely titles and royal names 'writ large' over two figures (assuring himself of full credit), and finally the names and titles of either brothers or sons. We may safely relegate to the realm of lurid romantic fiction that theory which would identify Ramesses VI's non-regnant father with Pentaweret of the harem-conspiracy, together with other gossamer-thin theories further built upon it.⁵⁰

Point 6. In the Valley of Queens, Tomb 51 was given to the King's Mother Isis by favour of Ramesses VI. Both Sethe and Peet⁵¹ made great play of the fact that, in the surviving fragments of decoration in this tomb, Isis is called 'King's Mother' but not 'King's Wife', hence she was the mother of Ramesses VI by a husband who was never king, seeking thereby to support their interpretation of No. 1 in the princes' list.

However, this is negative evidence and is illusory, as parallel data on use of queenly titles quickly make clear. Thus, on several formal public monuments, Queen Tuya is entitled *mwt-nsw* by Ramesses II without any trace of *hmt-nsw*:⁵² 'King's Mother', but not 'King's Wife'. Yet no one today would dream of claiming that Ramesses II was son of Tuya by a husband who never reigned, when other data make it clear that Tuya was also queen-consort of Sethos I as well as mother of Ramesses II. The reason for the occurrence of *mwt-nsw* without *hmt-nsw*—for both Tuya and Isis—is the same: this was the specific title that related them to Ramesses II and Ramesses VI respectively. Once grant that Isis, daughter of Habadjilat in Tomb 51, is King's Mother of Ramesses VI and is none other than the King's Wife Isis Ta- ('she of') Hamadjilat, known as wife of Ramesses III, then the reasoning of Sethe and Peet on this matter simply 'goes to pieces' (to use Peet's phrase about Petrie's theories). Ramesses VI at least is then a son of Ramesses III by Queen Isis, daughter of a lady whose foreign name is transmitted as Habadjilat/Hamadjilat (once, *s* by error for *dj*).

What of the princes that follow Ramesses VI in the lists? If they were his other brothers, everything fits neatly into place. After the death of Ramesses VII, son of Ramesses VI, the latter's next surviving brother, a younger Setherkhopshef, became king as Ramesses VIII, placing his cartouches next to the appropriate figures. The Prēḥerwonmef, Khaemwaset, and Amenḥerkhopshef of the list are then the long-dead elder brothers of Queens' Valley Tombs 42, 44, and 55; Meryamūn and Montuḥerkhopshef are at present otherwise almost unknown to us.⁵³ But Prince Meryatum was serving (like his Nineteenth Dynasty namesake) as high priest of Rē^c in Heliopolis in Year 4 of Ramesses V;⁵⁴ he at least cannot possibly be an appointee of the future Pharaoh Ramesses VI at that point in time. On this basis, the lists are consistent: they commemorate sons of Ramesses III, and *only* sons of Ramesses III.

On the alternative view of Nos. 4–10 as sons of Ramesses VI, the problems mount up to the point of insolubility. If these are Ramesses VI's sons, why is his most prominent son totally omitted, namely his eldest son and successor, Ramesses VII

⁵⁰ As suggested by Schaedel, *ZÄS* 74 (1938), 103 n. 5, and built upon by Seele in Firchow, *Ägyptologische Studien*, 304 ff. and subsequently.

⁵¹ Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 62–3; Peet, *JEA* 14 (1928), 57, asserting that 'the double title "royal wife and royal mother" formed such an integral whole that it is not likely to have been split up'.

⁵² Besides those monuments on which Tuya is entitled Royal Wife, note the following where she is Royal Mother but not Royal Wife: *KRI* II, 543, 14 (Abydos), 664, 5, 8 and 665, 7, 16 (Ramesseum), 752, 15 and 754, 3 (Abu Simbel), 846, 3–12 (Medinet Habu from the Ramesseum), cf. 922, 1.

⁵³ For a possible Mnevis-stela of this Montuḥerkhopshef see Carlsberg Glyptotek, AEIN 589 (e.g., in O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Les Stèles égyptiennes* (1948), 38 and pl. 50).

⁵⁴ See Kitchen, *JEA* 58 (1972), 185 n. 2.

Itamūn? The two had good enough relationships for VII to dedicate a monument to VI.⁵⁵ Again, it is very strange that Meryatum (if the son of Ramesses VI) can serve as High Priest at Heliopolis under Ramesses V, or immediately succeed an identical son of Ramesses III in this office. It is simpler by far to take Meryatum as one man, son of Ramesses III, still in office under Ramesses V, and, if the list is simply of sons of Ramesses III, then his grandson Ramesses VII naturally does not appear.

The Queens and Later Kings

That Queen Tiye-Merenese was wife of Setnakhte and mother of Ramesses III is now generally accepted,⁵⁶ and also that Queen Isis Ta-Hamadilat was a wife of Ramesses III.⁵⁷ As the prefix Pa-/Ta- is an attested way of indicating parentage,⁵⁸ and there is no warrant for needlessly multiplying homonyms of so unusual a name as Ham/badjilat, this Isis should also be taken as Queen Mother of Ramesses VI as argued above.⁵⁹ In turn, we may look afresh at the Cairo statue of either Ramesses IV or V, usurped by Ramesses VI.⁶⁰ Monnet's attempt to attribute this work to Ramesses IV⁶¹ seems now less convincing than Seele's reasons⁶² for assigning it to Ramesses V.⁶³ However, this calls into question the common attribution of the King's Mother and prince on the statue's flanks to Ramesses V (or IV), rather than to the usurper Ramesses VI. There is no reason to doubt the reading of the queen mother's name as Isis Ta(n)t-PLANT = Ham/badjilat.⁶⁴ The execution of the figures is average, and that of the hieroglyphs is only a little better than that of the explicit texts of Ramesses VI (made difficult by being engraved over an older text). Therefore, we should take this Queen Mother Isis as—again—the mother of Ramesses VI (not V); the prince is then a younger son of Ramesses VI. As already indicated,⁶⁵ the prince's name and title are to be read as 'King's Son, ruler of On-of-Rēc, Panebenkem(yt)'.

The simple name Ham/badjilat occurs also as the name of a queen whose tomb was plundered in the late Twentieth Dynasty⁶⁶ and as the name of a queen mother in the text on blocks from Deir el-Bakhit. In both cases, the simplest explanation is to treat the name as an abbreviation for the fuller Isis Ta-Ham/badjilat, retaining the most

⁵⁵ See Kitchen, *op. cit.* 182, with reference to Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1923-1924)*, 1925, 92, § 6.

⁵⁶ Abydos data, *KRI* v, 5-6; Ramesses III as son of Setnakhte, P. Harris I, 75, 10-76, 2.

⁵⁷ Statue, Karnak, in the Precinct of Mut before Ramesses III's temple: cf. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 31.

⁵⁸ So, with Černý, *op. cit.* 31 n. 13, against Seele, *JNES* 19 (1961), 192, who overlooked Deir el-Medina evidence on this construction (for references see Kitchen, *JEA* 58 (1972), 189 n. 9).

⁵⁹ If she were not King's Mother to Ramesses VI, of what king was she the mother, and why then should Ramesses VI trouble about her? This kind of problem is left unanswered (e.g., by Monnet, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 212).

⁶⁰ Cairo, Catalogue général, 42153 (formerly JdE. 37331).

⁶¹ *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 220-6.

⁶² *JNES* 19 (1960), 200-1, seconded by Wente, *JNES* 32 (1973), 230-2, and Murnane, *JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 129-30.

⁶³ On this point, I have changed my mind since *JEA* 58 (1972), 190.

⁶⁴ In contrast to Ventura (as reported by Wente, in Harris and Wente (eds.), *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, 151), whose reading I find incredible.

⁶⁵ See *JEA* 58 (1972), 190 and n. 5. Murnane (*JARCE* 9 (1971-2), 130 and n. 50) has wrongly confused the *ḥwn*-sign with the obelisk-sign which can read *mn* in the Ramesside Period, hence its use in *Ḥwt Mn-mꜣrt-rr* at Abydos and for *Mn-mꜣrt* in Ramesses V's Horus-name.

⁶⁶ For references see Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 32, and Kitchen, *JEA* 58 (1972), 190 n. 1 and 191 n. 7.

distinctive element. In the case of the Deir el-Bakhit block, its attribution to Ramesses VI (written over older scenes) should be retained;⁶⁷ the Votaress Isis is best identified with the known daughter of that title of Ramesses VI. There is no merit in multiplying ladies of that name and title in the absence of confirmatory evidence.

Two other queens remain historically 'unattached' at present. Both (Dua)-Tentopet and Tyti bear the full set of titles: 'King's Daughter',⁶⁸ 'King's Wife', 'King's Mother'. The fact that the kings lacking mothers at present include Ramesses V, IX, X, and XI⁶⁹ may limit the field of choice. It still seems feasible to make Tentopet a possible wife of Ramesses IV and mother of Ramesses V, given her presence in part of the Khonsu temple associated with Ramesses III and IV, not with any later Ramesside.⁷⁰ As Votaress of the god, she would precede in office Isis, daughter of Ramesses VI. On Tyti, nothing new can be said;⁷¹ she was perhaps the daughter of Ramesses IX, wife of Ramesses X, and mother of Ramesses XI, and that is the latest date to which she could be assigned. Any earlier dating would depend on gaining more information than we now have on the parentage of Ramesses IX at least. Here, attention must be paid to Ramesses IX's honouring the memory of Ramesses VII as well as II and III on two offering-stands,⁷² a situation which led Wenté to make the attractive suggestion that Ramesses IX was a brother of Ramesses VII (hence a son of Ramesses VI).⁷³ Support for Wenté's suggestion may be gained from the fact that Ramesses IX named one of his sons Nebmarē, thus honouring Ramesses VI whose prenomen this is.⁷⁴ If Ramesses IX were the full brother of Ramesses VII, then Tyti could at the earliest be Ramesses IX's wife, VI's daughter, and X's mother. This then narrows her place in the dynasty considerably, leaving Tentopet linked with Ramesses V, or just possibly with Ramesses X and XI. A possible rival to her is the King's Mother Nefer(t)-ii mentioned in an ostrakon⁷⁵ dated under Ramesses V and VI—unless this is merely a miswriting of the deified (Aḥmose) Nefertari. Finally, on multiple grounds, we may now definitely retain the succession Ramesses VII Itamūn followed by Ramesses VIII Setḥerkhopshef, rather than the opposite sequence that has sometimes been suggested.⁷⁶

⁶⁷ With Murnane, *op. cit.* 130 n. 51, *contra* Seele. The Ostrakon Cairo Cat. 25,565 can as easily refer to Year 5 of Ramesses IV as VI, as neither king can be assumed to be laying out a plan for his own tomb so late in the reign. Therefore, it is not necessary to date the vizier Neferronpet so late as Year 5 under Ramesses VI.

⁶⁸ A title seemingly washed out in favour of King's Wife in Tomb 74, in Tentopet's case, see *LDT* III, 226 middle. Tyti (Tomb 52) was also *snt-nsw*, 'King's Sister', *op. cit.* 230.

⁶⁹ Assuming that Ramesses VII was probably a son of Queen Nubkhesbed, and that Ramesses IV was probably a son of Ramesses III by Isis.

⁷⁰ So, despite Wenté, in Harris and Wenté, *X-Ray Atlas*, 107; work in some side-rooms of Ramesses III and IV hardly seems of any better quality than that of the Tentopet reliefs.

⁷¹ Except to note that her tomb, also, was given by favour of a king, although unnamed, *LDT* III, 230.

⁷² For which see von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 7 ff.

⁷³ In Harris and Wenté, *op. cit.* 153; this is preferable to my earlier tentative suggestion that Ramesses IX was the son of Ramesses VIII.

⁷⁴ Nebmarē was High Priest in Heliopolis, see M. I. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes* (1972), 73 ff., Abb. 2, Taf. XI.

⁷⁵ O. Cat. Cairo 25,598 (Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, 34, 57*, pl. 50): cf. Wenté, *JNES* 32 (1973), 232.

⁷⁶ Cf. latterly J. J. Janssen, *GM* 29 (1978), 45-6, and Amin A. M. A. Amer, *op. cit.* 49 (1981), 9-12.

THE BANKES PAPYRI I AND II

By I. E. S. EDWARDS

THE two hieratic papyri transcribed and translated here were acquired by William John Bankes in the last century, very probably in 1815–18, when he was in Egypt.¹ Many years ago the late Professor P. E. Newberry told me that the Bankes collection included some papyri which he thought might belong to the tomb-robbery group. After his death, I wrote to Mr H. J. R. Bankes to ask if I might be allowed to see them—a request which he immediately granted in principle, though he warned me that he did not know where to find them. At his suggestion I visited Kingston Lacy, and I accompanied him and the late Mrs Bankes in a search through likely places in the house, but without success. On my next visit, however, we found them, carefully placed between the pages of a folio volume in the library. With Mr Bankes's permission, I took them and a few fragments lying with them to the British Museum, where they were mounted between glass by Mr S. Baker, at that time the Senior Conservation Officer in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities. When the work was finished, I took them back to Kingston Lacy, where they were added to the historic collection of Egyptian antiquities best known for its famous obelisk² and for a small number of Theban tomb paintings.³

Nothing seems to have been recorded about the provenance of these documents, but the heterogeneous nature of their contents and the diversity of their dates preclude any likelihood of a single source.⁴ There is, indeed, nothing to indicate that they were all acquired together. Bankes's visit to Egypt coincided with the time when Drovetti and Salt were working at Thebes and finding large numbers of papyri;⁵ it is not impossible that some of those which came into Bankes's possession were discovered in the course of their operations. We know for certain that Salt's first collection included some of the correspondence of the scribe Butehamūn,⁶ a letter to whom was obtained by

¹ I am greatly indebted to the late Mr H. J. R. Bankes for allowing me to publish these two papyri. The remaining documents in the collection are all fragmentary. They consist of a scrap of what seems to have been a mythological papyrus of a priest (*it-ntr*) of Amūn, named Djedmontef'ankh, three small pieces of a New Kingdom Book of the Dead of a priest (*it-ntr*) of Amūn named . . . akhu, one fragment of another Book of the Dead of a man named . . . 'ankh, two incomplete columns of text from a magico-religious text of the Late Period, an incomplete New Kingdom letter, and two fragments, one inscribed with parts of six lines in hieratic and the other with the words *bs hm*, 'small (metal) vessel', repeated four times in demotic. I have to thank Miss Carol Andrews for reading the demotic text.

² For a description of the obelisk and its removal to this country, see E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, II, 62–85.

³ The three best examples are published in *Egyptian Tomb Paintings with an introduction and notes by Nina M. Davies* (The Faber Gallery of Oriental Art), pls. 2, 5, and 6.

⁴ I have not been able to find any mention of the acquisition of these papyri in the *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati*, translated and edited by W. J. Bankes, London 1830.

⁵ See J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, xv–xvi.

⁶ e.g. British Museum nos. 10100, 10284, 10375 (= Černý, *op. cit.* 44–51), 10411 and 10419. For biographical details etc. see Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, I, 357–83.

Bankes and is published here (No. II). That letter, at least, must have come from Deir el-Medīna.

Stylistic features, particularly in the wording of some of the formulae, seem to point to a Nineteenth or early Twentieth Dynasty date for letter No. I. Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, 47, states that the formula *nd-ḥrt*, which occurs in the first line of the letter, had become obsolete in the Twentieth Dynasty. According to the same authority (op. cit. 62-4, 90), the invocation to the gods, which follows the introductory formula, is expressed in the Nineteenth Dynasty by *imi* followed by the *sdm·f* of *snb* etc., whereas, in the Twentieth Dynasty, *imi n-k*, followed by nouns denoting the favours, is more general. The former is the construction used in this letter. Consistent with the date suggested by the phraseology of these formulae is the syllabic spelling of *thr* in the title *ꜥ n thr*, 'Commander of the Tuhir-troops' (l. 10). The earliest known instance of such orthography dates from Ramesses II and the latest from Ramesses IX.⁷ Letter No. II, like the rest of the Butehamūn correspondence, is firmly dated to the end of the Twentieth or the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

Bankes Papyrus I⁸ (See pl. XII and figs. 1-2)

Translation

The builder Wenienamūn^a (??) of the estate of Amon-Rēꜥ, king of the gods, greets^b the merchant^c Amonkha of the estate of Amon-Rēꜥ, king of the gods. In life, prosperity and health, and in the favour of Amon-Rēꜥ, king of the gods. I tell Amūn, Mut, and Khons every day to let you live, to let you be healthy, and to let you be rejuvenated.

Further: It was after (I) had entrusted to you (my) servant Tenttoendjedet and (5) (my) servant Gemamūn, her son, that you set forth from Ne, having^d given them to the fisherman, Pamershenuty, and the retainer,^e Ḥori, and they having told you that I had been involved^f in taking^g this woman by stealth, so they said to you, (but) you said it was not true;^h it was from the chief of the weavers, Ikhterpay, that I had boughtⁱ this woman, so you said to them, and (furthermore) that I had paid her (full) price.^j They said to you: 'We shall ally ourselves^k with the man who gave (her) to you', so they said to you. (10) I went with you^l before the Commander of the Tuhir-troops,^m Iuḥapi, your superior, and he said to me: 'Dropⁿ (the matter of) the servant (??);^o she has been entrusted to the merchant Amonkha', so he said. I trusted^p you and I entrusted this servant to you until today.^q Now behold, you sent me the scribe Efenamūn saying: 'Your servant has been carried off^r like many (other) things which have been carried off',^s so you said (when) writing^t to me.

(15) Now,^u you knew that it was while I was in Pasebtyenmut^v someone had come and had abducted^w (my) servant. They (?) . . .^x people saying 'Our sister they call her',^y and you attended to her affair^z while you were here.

⁷ See D. Kessler, 'Eine Landschenkung Ramses' III. zugunsten eines "Großen der Thrw" aus *Mr-mšꜥ·f*', 118 n. 89 and 130-1.

⁸ The text begins on the side of the papyrus with the vertical fibres uppermost. On the back of the letter, the text is written upside-down to the front. Measurements: 24.0 × 22.5 cm.

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is organized into approximately 20 horizontal lines. Some lines contain numbers (e.g., 5, 10, 15) at the end, possibly indicating line counts or section markers. The script is dense and stylized, with many characters resembling loops and curves. There are several instances of the word "sic" written in small letters within the text, indicating corrections or specific readings. The text is written in black ink on a light background.

FIG. 1. Bankes Papyrus I (recto)

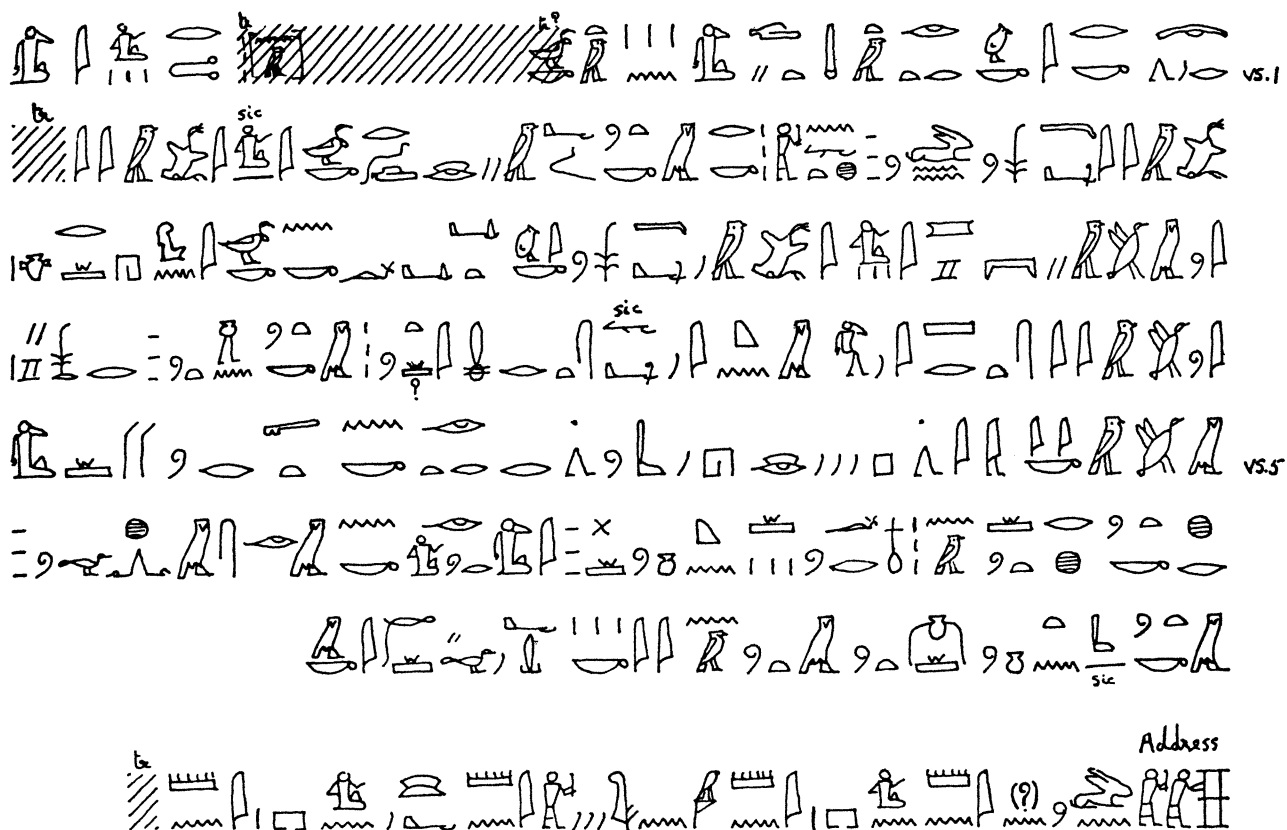


FIG. 2. Bankes Papyrus I (verso)

When this letter (*Vs. 1*) reaches you, you will attend to the affair of the servant (?), [and you will go to (?) the]^{aa} people who stole her—they were too powerful for you^{bb}—and you will know that my servant^{cc} has been abducted^{dd}—it being the chief of the weavers who abducted her^{ee}—and you will cause him to give you my servant without demur,^{ff} and^{gg} her child shall be in her bosom. Furthermore,^{hh} you are to bring them to the South (*Vs. 5*) when you come. See, (I) have written in order to provide evidence for you. Now you know the many good things which I have done for you, do not forget them. If you disobey (me) your guilt will take possession of you.ⁱⁱ

Address

The builder Wenienamūn (??)^{jj} of the estate of Amūn to the merchant Amonkha of the estate of Amūn.

Commentary

a. It is unfortunate that the mutilation of the text in the first line leaves the spelling of the writer's name incomplete. In the address at the bottom of the *verso*, the spelling agrees with the surviving signs in the *recto*, but the reading presents difficulties which I have been unable to solve. Professor

Clère, whom I consulted, was inclined, at first, to read the name as *Wn(·i)-n-ḫmn*, 'I belong to Amūn', on the analogy of such names as *Iw-w-n-ḫmn*, 'They belong to Amūn', and *Iw-f-n-ḫmn*, 'He belongs to Amūn' (see Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 14 nos. 1 and 13), but subsequently he felt misgivings about the correctness of that reading. See further n. *jj* below. The writer, a builder (*ḫkd*) attached to the estate of Amon-Rē, was clearly a man of substance who employed slaves. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 83, comments on skilled craftsmen, including a builder, who were holders of land in the time of Ramesses V and no doubt employed labour.

b. Abd el-Mohsen Bakir, *op. cit.* 46–7, 88, points out that the formula *nd-ḫrt* occurs in letters between members of the same family and persons of equal rank, but not in letters to inferiors. In this instance both writer and recipient belonged to the temple of Amon-Rē.

c. On *šwty* see A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, I, 94–5*, and D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* I (1977), 366.

d. Cf. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 71, 3, for a very similar passage. It is quoted in Černý and Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*, 2nd edn., 370, ex. 1046, and translated 'It was after . . . that you left Thebes', lit. 'you left here (*dy*) from Thebes'. On the construction *ḫr-f sdm* followed by *ḫw sdm-f* see Wenté, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 59 nn. *a* and *b*. It is, however, to be noted that the writer of this letter was in the South (see *verso* l. 4) and not at Thebes, so that *dy*, in this context, would mean 'there' (see Wenté, *op. cit.* 30 n. *w*).

e. For *šms*, 'retainer', see Gardiner, *op. cit.* II, 80*. This meaning, being less specific, seems preferable in the present context to 'letter-carrier' or 'messenger' (see Černý, *JEA* 33 (1947), 57).

f. Gardiner, *RdÉ* 6 (1951), 121 n. *p.*, discussed the idiomatic employment of *chr* in the sense of doing something regularly. Its context here requires a rather different rendering, for which a parallel exists in BM 10052, 8, 9 (T. E. Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies of the XXth Dynasty*, pl. xxx, text 150). Černý and Groll, *op. cit.* 200, ex. 555, translate the passage 'they got involved in a quarrel' (lit. 'they became standing quarrelling').

g. For other examples of the infinitive of *iri* with the prothetic *i-* see Gardiner, *JEA* 34 (1948) 19. See also Wenté, *op. cit.* 47 n. *a*, and Černý and Groll, *op. cit.* 184. For the expression *ḫt m tꜣwt* see Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 95. (I owe this reference to Professor J. J. Clère.)

h. This pregnant use of *cd* is not uncommon, cf. Mayer A, 5, 18, *dd-f cd*.

i. For *ini* in the specialized sense of 'buy' see Peet, *Griffith Studies*, 123, and Gardiner, *JEA* 21 (1935), 143 n. 8. For this construction cf. Černý and Groll, *op. cit.* 371, ex. 1051.

j. For *ḫd*, 'silver', in the sense of 'price' see Peet, *op. cit.* 124–6, and a later note by Černý, 'Prices and Wages in Egypt in the Ramesside Period', *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, I, No. 4, 914.

k. The speakers can only be Pameršhenuty and Ḥori, who have been convinced by Amonkha that the slave and her child were the rightful property of Wenienamūn (??). They had, however, presumably been tricked into handing them over to Ikhterpay. The expression *iri wꜣ irm*, 'join up with, make common cause with', here seems to mean 'ally (oneself) with', the construction being the Third Future (cf. Černý, *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 111).

l. The only person to whom the pronoun 'you' can refer seems to be Amonkha. The whole passage is addressed to him and the words of Iuḥapy are quoted in direct speech.

m. Gardiner, *The Kadesh Inscriptions of Ramesses II*, 40, summarizes briefly the salient historical evidence concerning the Tuhir troops. In *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 81, he remarks that the commanders of 'these warriors of foreign stock were men of high rank who had been put in possession of estates in Middle Egypt'. It seems from the present letter that a commander could also hold a

high civic position in the Theban region. Recently the whole problem of these warriors has been reviewed by D. Kessler in an article called 'Eine Landschenkung Ramses' III. zugunsten eines "Großen der *Thrw*" aus *Mr-mšc-f*', *SAK* 2 (1975), 103-34. Cf. also A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank*, 21-2, and W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 531-5.

n. *Hꜛ*, if I have understood the passage correctly, is used to convey the idea of 'dismiss', 'discard from thought', for which I cannot cite a parallel.

o. Previously in this text Tenttoendjedet has been referred to as a slave (*hmt*) or simply as a woman (*rmꜥ*). Here and for the remainder of the document the term employed is *bꜛkt*, 'servant'. For other instances of the alternation of *hmt* and *bꜛkt* see Gardiner, *JEA* 21 (1935), 145 n. 23.

p. M. Gilula, *JNES* 36 (1977), 295-6, argued that *nḥt*, 'wish, desire, request', could, in certain contexts, mean 'believe' or 'trust', like the Coptic ⲛⲁⲟⲩⲧⲈ, and cited some examples of the occurrence of the word in those senses. The connection with the Coptic word was independently noted by Černý in his *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 118.

q. See Černý and Groll, op. cit. 69-70, ex. 203, and 182, ex. 510.

r. The construction with the initial 'that'-form as the logical subject is the same as in l. 4 above, but it is difficult here to emphasize the predicate.

s. For other examples of the use of the third person plural to express the passive see a note by Wenté, op. cit. 29 n. e, on Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 9, 9.

t. *Hꜛb* is in the infinitive. The construction is comparable with the regular use of (*hr*) *dd* after the verb *i*, 'say': see Faulkner, *JEA* 21 (1935), 177 ff. and in particular p. 185.

u. *Hr-iw* generally means 'although' (see Gardiner, *RdÉ* 6, 120), but Wenté, op. cit. 58, n. b, points out that the concessive force is not invariable.

v. *Pꜛ-sbty-n-mwt* seems likely to be a place-name (cf. Gauthier, *Dict. des noms géogr.* v, 23-6), although names of a comparable formation are generally of a later date than the present text. Gardiner, *AEO* II, 213* n. 444, defines *sbty* as a 'surrounding wall serving as a fortification of a temple area'. Traunecker, *Karnak*, v, 148-9, is also of the opinion that *sbty* means 'a girdle wall of a temple area'. There is no indication of where this enclosure of Mut lay. Since the writer had left Thebes when the servant was stolen, the locality can hardly have been the temple of Mut at Karnak.

w. Wenté, op. cit. 49 n. g, points out that *itꜛ* conveys the idea of taking away 'by force', 'abduct', whereas *tꜛi* bears no such connotation.

x. I am unable to suggest anything to fill the lacuna. The partly preserved sign after *iw* agrees with the upper parts of the other vertical plural strokes in the text, but it is hard to see to whom 'they' can refer. The sense of the whole passage from the lacuna to *dy* in the next line is not clear to me.


y. Cf. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 348 (§ 436), ex. 6. *Hr* may refer to either the present or the past and it is hard to decide to what time it refers in this instance. See also E. F. Wenté, 'Some Remarks on the *Hr-f* formation in Late Egyptian' in *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky* (1981), 528-45.

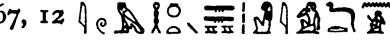
z. The same expression, but with the 3rd pers. masc. suffix attached to the possessive adjective (*tyꜛf*), occurs in Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 43, 5, and is translated by Wenté, *Late Ramesside Letters*, op. cit. 59, 'take up his case', or (n. d) 'make his plea'.

aa. The sense suggests that the missing words should have the meaning 'and you will go to the' (people), but the only surviving traces are the plural strokes of the article.

bb. The phrase *wmn-w nht r-k*, if I have understood it rightly, is an example of what M. Lichtheim, 'Notes on the Late-Egyptian Conjunctive' in *Studies in Egyptology and Linguistics in Honour of H. J. Polotsky*, 6, describes as 'an intervening sentence usually of an explanatory nature' which comes between the initial clause (in this case *tw-k ir-t ts-mdt*) and the second of the two continuative conjunctives. I take the phrase to refer to the time of the theft.

cc. *Bskt* has no determinative. The horizontal stroke under the seated man suffix is probably simply a space-filler.

dd. The traces may be relics of  written very cursively (see the same group in l. 7 of the *recto*), but the reading is far from certain.

ee. Cf. Černý, *op. cit.* 67, 12 , 'it being Henuttawi who said to me' (see Wenté, *op. cit.* 80).

ff. *n hr ib* with *n* for *m*, literally 'in contentment'.

gg. For the circumstantial *tw* in the sense of 'and' see Gunn, *JEA* 41 (1955), 88, § II, 4.

hh. Lichtheim, *op. cit.* 7-8, gives four examples of *m mitt* preceding a conjunctive at the beginning of what is virtually a new sentence (see also Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System*, 148). In the present text, however, not only is the preposition *r*, not *m*, but the second *t* of *mitt* is missing and the 3rd pl. suffix has been inexplicably added. Perhaps it is an instance of anticipatory dittography of the same suffix in the following *mtw-k int-w*.

ii. In this conditional sentence the conjunctive has been used in both the protasis and the apodosis, a construction found occasionally in demotic and having a parallel in Hebrew, cf. Gen. 44: 22, 'If he (i.e. Benjamin) leave his father, he will die', lit. 'And he leave his father and he will die'. See the writer's article entitled 'A Rare Use of the Conjunctive', *MDAIK* 37 (1980), 135-7. Although the horizontal line under the *b* of *mtw-k btn* may be a space-filler, it seems more probable that the scribe carelessly wrote the negative particle *bn*.

jj. See note *a* above. If the name is to be read as Wenienamūn, the sign left untranscribed should be the seated man representing the suffix pronoun of the first person, but what can be seen of the sign bears no resemblance to the other instances of the seated man in this text.

Bankes Papyrus II⁹ (See pl. XIII and fig. 3)

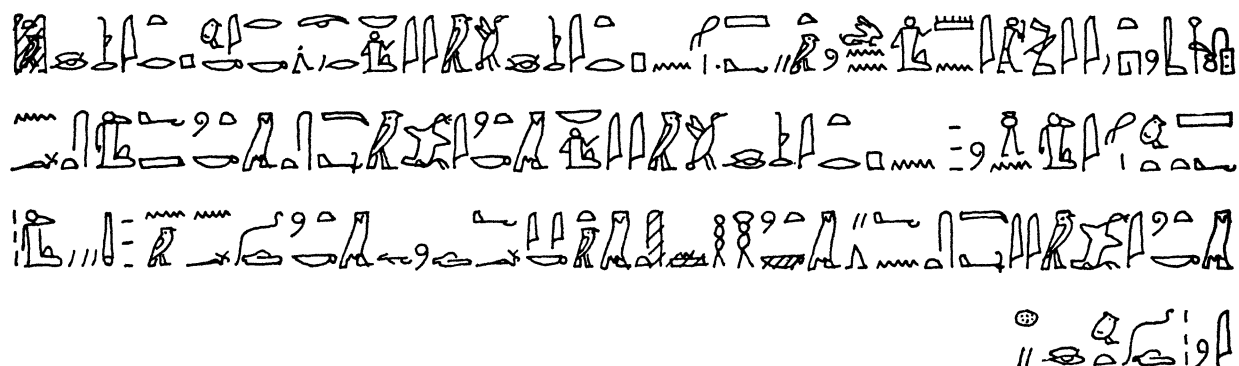
Translation

(To the) scribe Butehamūn. When this letter of Peter(i)payneb reaches you, you will look at the letter which has been brought to Peter(i)payneb, and you will take it and read it to him and you will take it again and you will put it in your box, and you will tell him the very perspicacious^a words (in the letter).

Address (verso)

The scribe of the great and august tomb, Tjaroy,^b to the scribe of the tomb, Butehamūn.

⁹ The letter is written on the side with the vertical fibres uppermost. Measurements: 20.5 × 7.5 cm.

FIG. 3. Bankes Papyrus II (*recto* and *verso*)

Commentary

a. *Ddt* is quoted in the *Wb.* v, 636, 1, where it is translated 'geblendet sein' (of the eyes). The only example given occurs in P. Anastasi I, 11, 4, and is translated by Gardiner, 'My eyes are dazzled(?)'. For notes on two other instances of the word see Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 383, and *id.*, *The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim*, 89-90. The meanings proposed are 'stare, glance piercingly, pierce and penetrate', and it is equated with the Coptic ⲁⲱⲧⲉ (Crum, *Dictionary*, 791b; Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 320). A literal translation of the present passage would be: 'and you will tell him the words (in the letter), they being very penetrating'.

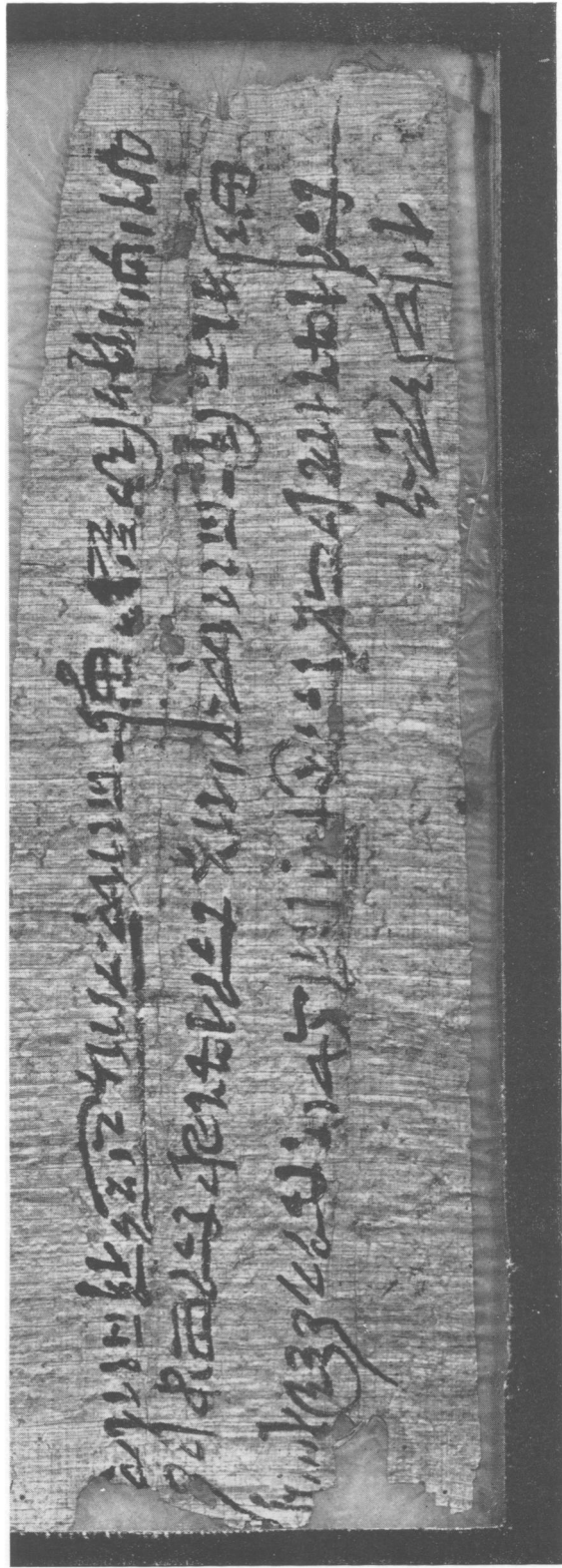
b. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes*, 357 ff., has shown that Tjaroy was identical with the scribe of the Tomb in the time of Ramesses XI, Dḥutmose, and that Butehamūn was his son. He states (*op. cit.* 365) that the reason 'why the surname Tjaroy was given to Dḥutmose escapes us completely'. For the spelling of the name see Černý, *op. cit.* 365-6, and Wenté, *op. cit.* 7 n. 25.



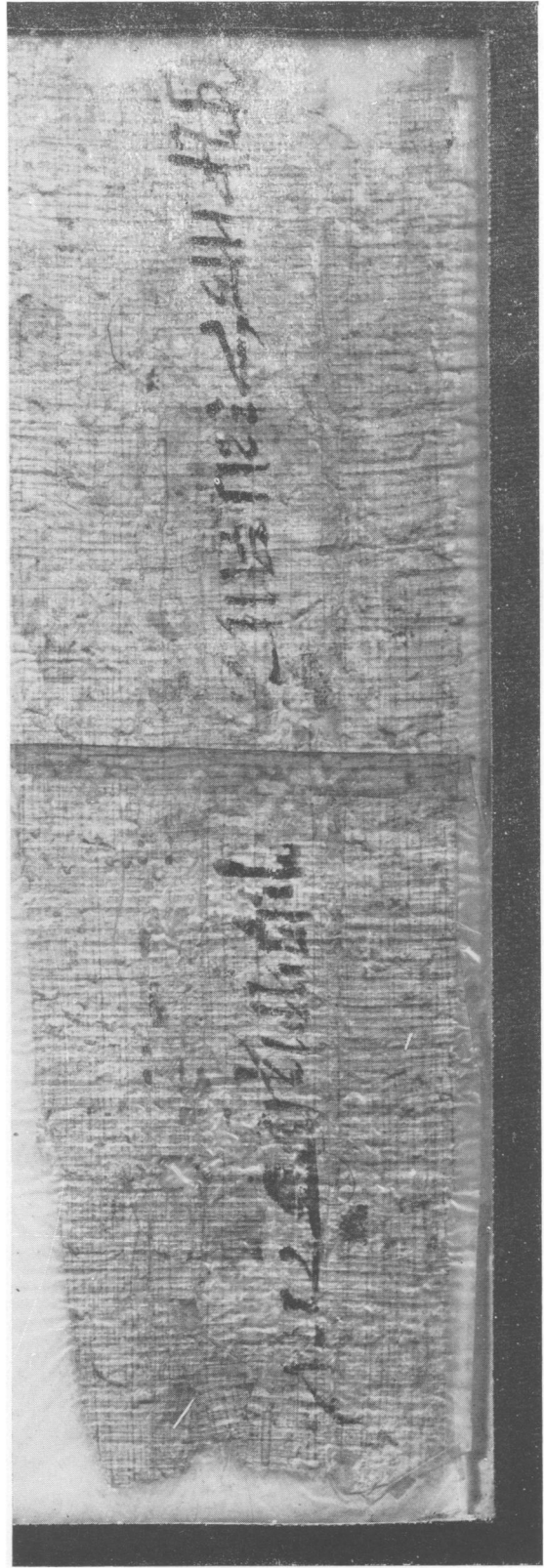
1. Bankes Papyrus I, recto



2. Bankes Papyrus I, verso



1. Bankes Papyrus II, recto



2. Bankes Papyrus II, verso

UN PAPYRUS D'EL-HÎBEH

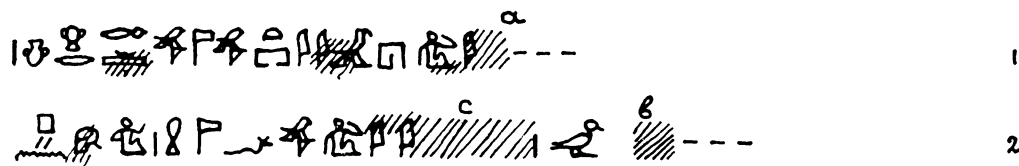
Par GEORGES POSENER

QUAND des fouilleurs clandestins découvrent un lot de papyrus, ils partagent la trouvaille entre eux et chacun négocie pour son compte la part qui lui échoit. Les documents sont acquis par différents acheteurs et finalement aboutissent dans différents musées. C'est ce qui est arrivé, par exemple, aux archives d'Abousir. Ainsi s'explique aussi la présence au Musée des arts figuratifs Pouchkine à Moscou d'un feuillet de papyrus qui, de toute évidence, appartient au groupe de lettres de la XXI^e dynastie provenant d'El-Hîbeh, acheté en 1895 par Spiegelberg et conservé à la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg.¹

Le papyrus de Moscou (voir pl. XIV, 1),² acquis très probablement par Golénischeff, porte les n^{os} 5660 et 1 1 δ 88. Il mesure 0 m 205 de hauteur sur 0 m 195 de largeur. Son côté gauche est intact ainsi que partiellement le haut. Environ le quart supérieur droit manque de même que tout le bas à partir du milieu de la l. 6. Mais au début des l. 3-5, le feuillet n'a perdu qu'une étroite bande de papyrus. Quand il était intact, il devait avoir autour de 0 m 21 de large; certaines lettres d'El-Hîbeh en mesurent autant.³ C'est la dimension caractéristique du demi-rouleau pour l'Époque Ramesside.⁴

Le texte est écrit sur les fibres disposées verticalement, ce qui est normal pour le recto d'une lettre.⁵ Comme le papyrus est collé sur un carton, on ne peut pas savoir si le verso était inscrit. Il aurait dû porter au moins l'adresse s'il ne contenait pas la fin de l'exposé. L'écriture est si caractéristique pour les lettres d'El-Hîbeh qu'il est superflu d'entreprendre la comparaison systématique des formes de signes. On notera seulement que le scribe qui a écrit cette lettre a apporté un soin particulier à calligraphier le texte en grands caractères comparables à ceux du n^o 6 de Strasbourg.⁶ On aura l'occasion d'y revenir.

Voici la transcription du papyrus de Moscou :



¹ Collection publiée par Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 53, 1-30.

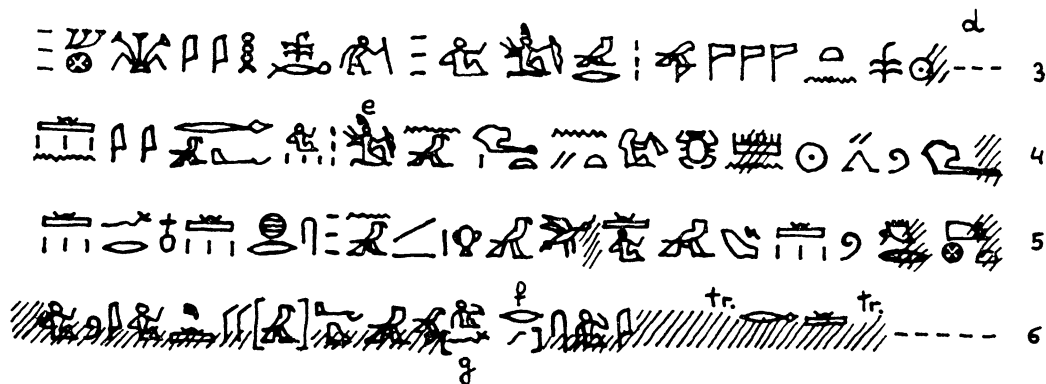
² Cette photographie m'a été envoyée, il y a une vingtaine d'années, par Mme R. I. Rubinstein, à l'époque conservateur au Département de l'ancien orient du Musée de Moscou. Je tiens à lui renouveler ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance.

³ Il s'agit notamment des n^{os} 2 et 5; cf. aussi le n^o 4. La demi-largeur est représentée par le n^o 13.

⁴ Černý, *LRL* xviii; id., *Paper and Books*, 16.

⁵ Černý a expliqué que les scribes écrivaient les lettres en travers du papyrus. Il en résulte que la largeur d'une lettre représente la hauteur du rouleau, *LRL* xvii-xix. Plusieurs lettres d'El-Hîbeh ne suivent pas cette règle et les lignes de leur recto sont parallèles aux fibres.

⁶ Cf. Spiegelberg, op. cit. pl. 5-6.



a. Restituer [□].

b. Le scribe a laissé un blanc devant le premier signe conservé. Dans la lacune qui le précède au début de la ligne, on serait tenté de rétablir le nom d'El-Hïbeh, *Dhnt*, qui revient souvent dans les lettres de Strasbourg. Mais la seule fois où le nom du dieu *P-n-pj-Thry* est suivi, dans ces lettres, des épithètes *ntr c; hry-ib* . . . comme ici, le nom de lieu perdu débute par des signes qui ne conviennent à aucune des graphies connues de *Dhnt*, cf. Spiegelberg, op. cit. pl. 6, adresse.

c. On pense naturellement à compléter [], ce qui comblerait parfaitement la lacune.

d. Restituer [*Imm*].

e. Le signe du soldat, qui a la forme normale à la l. 3, est rendu ici d'une façon particulière, propre à la XXI^e dyn., cf. Gardiner, *PSBA* 31, 7. Quelques exemples de cette forme dans les papyrus d'El-Hïbeh de Strasbourg.

f. Le signe ressemble à mais pour obtenir un mot connu, la lecture est nécessaire.

g. Restitution suggérée par le déterminatif divin qui suit. Dans les papyrus d'El-Hïbeh, les pronoms qui ont pour antécédent un dieu reçoivent souvent ce déterminatif, cf. en particulier le n^o 6.

Traduction

. . . [Penp]ohé, dieu grand, qui réside dans (2) . . . [son] fils, son [aimé], le grand prêtre d'(3)[Amon-]Rê^c, roi des dieux, grand général de Haute et Basse Égypte, (4) le chef Menkhéperrê^c qui est à la tête des grandes armées de (5) l'Égypte entière. J'ai entendu l'exposé⁷ des bonnes mesures (ou projets, décisions, etc.) (6) . . . qu['il] a annoncées à mon sujet (?)⁸ et je . . .

Le principal intérêt de ce petit texte est de nommer le grand prêtre d'Amon Menkhéperrê^c. Les papyrus de Strasbourg ne le mentionnent pas. Le n^o 6 de cette collection concerne Masaharta et Spiegelberg s'est demandé si le 'frère' dont il est question

⁷ Cf. Černý, *LRL* 62, 6.

⁸ Dans Černý, *LRL* 43, 6; 62, 7 et 10-11, ce sens convient à *m c'k*. Wentz, *LRL* 59 et 75, emploie dans ces passages 'in opposition to', ce qui ne convient pas dans le cas présent.

dans cette lettre ne désigne pas Menkhéperrê.⁹ Dans le document de Moscou, ce grand prêtre reçoit une titulature particulièrement développée. A en juger par le *Livre des rois* de Gauthier et les *Hohenpriester des Amon* de Wreszinski, il ne porte rien de comparable dans aucun des textes connus qui le nomment. D'une façon générale, des titulatures aussi étendues sont très rares. Un particulièrement bon exemple figure sur une palette de scribe du Metropolitan Museum de New York inscrite au nom du grand prêtre d'Amon Smendès.¹⁰ Deux autres bons parallèles sont fournis par les inscriptions des grands prêtres d'Amon de la XXII^e dynastie, Ioupout, fils de Shéshonq I¹¹ et Ioulot, fils d'Osorkon I.¹² La principale différence est que, sur le papyrus de Moscou, Menkhéperrê est dit 'à la tête des grandes armées de toute l'Égypte' alors que le commandement de Smendès, d'Ioupout et d'Ioulot se limite aux troupes de Haute Égypte.¹³ Les écritures sur le papyrus de Moscou et la palette de New York sont étonnamment semblables de sorte qu'on est porté à attribuer cette dernière au grand prêtre d'Amon Smendès, fils de Menkhéperrê.¹⁴

La lettre de Moscou s'écarte du type courant et les lacunes rendent son interprétation difficile. Le texte ne contient pas au début les vœux habituels dans le style épistolaire. A la l. 1, le nom du dieu d'El-Ĥibeh, [Pen]ohé, une forme d'Amon,¹⁵ était précédé sans doute d'un titre sacerdotal. Cette restitution faite, il ne reste plus, au début de la ligne, assez de place pour y rétablir le(s) titre(s) et le nom de l'expéditeur de la lettre suivis de *n*, 'à'. Ainsi le scribe n'a pas employé la formule habituelle dans le courrier qui est 'un tel à un tel'. On notera que le papyrus n° 6 de Strasbourg, dans son adresse, ne nomme pas non plus l'expéditeur, se limitant à désigner le destinataire.¹⁶ Autre point commun entre ce papyrus et la lettre de Moscou: comme on l'a déjà indiqué plus haut, le nom du dieu, dans les deux textes, est suivi des épithètes 'dieu grand, qui réside dans . . .', ce qu'on ne trouve dans aucune autre lettre d'El-Ĥibeh. Cette analogie inciterait à restituer le début de la l. 1 de notre document d'après l'adresse du papyrus n° 6, à savoir: [𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲 𐏲], ['Ce noble prophète de Pen]ohé . . .', etc. Cette restitution comble la lacune de la l. 1. Pour ce qui est du début de la l. 2 qui manque aussi, il contenait nécessairement le nom de la ville dans laquelle 'réside' le dieu Penpohé et sans doute le nom du prêtre auquel la lettre était adressée.

Le grand prêtre d'Amon Menkhéperrê nommé ensuite serait l'expéditeur de la lettre. La position éminente du personnage expliquerait l'absence des formules de politesse. La qualité de la calligraphie digne d'une chancellerie conviendrait à cette

⁹ Spiegelberg, op. cit. 4 et 14.

¹⁰ Hayes, *JEA* 34, 47-50; cf. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat*, 182.

¹¹ *LD* III, 254 c.

¹² Legrain, *ZAS* 35, 14, l. 1-2.

¹³ Le grand prêtre d'Amon Shéshonq, fils d'Osorkon I, commande les troupes de toute l'Égypte, mais il ne reçoit pas le titre de 'grand général de Haute et Basse Égypte' comme c'est le cas pour les autres, cf. Legrain, *RT* 30, 89 et 160.

¹⁴ Hayes, op. cit. 49, donnait la préférence à son homonyme de la XXII^e dyn. faute de connaître sous la XXI^e de titulature semblable à celle de la palette. Le papyrus de Moscou en apporte un exemple.

¹⁵ Griffith, *Rylands Pap.* III, 38-9; Spiegelberg, op. cit. 3.

¹⁶ Pour cette forme abrégée de l'adresse cf. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, 35 et 51.

attribution. Le papyrus n° 6 de Strasbourg, qui présente aussi une belle écriture, émane de Masaharta, frère et prédécesseur de Menkhéperrê^c dans les fonctions de grand prêtre d'Amon. Voir aussi l'écriture de la palette de New York avec le nom du grand prêtre Smendès.

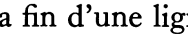



Il a été proposé plus haut de rétablir, devant la titulature de Menkhéperrê^c, les mots '[son] fils, son [aimé]'. Si cette restitution est correcte — et on ne voit pas quelle autre lecture proposer — ces mots établiraient une relation filiale entre le grand prêtre d'Amon et une personne nommée auparavant. Cette personne peut difficilement être le prêtre de Penpohé qui devait être nommé pour commencer. On voit mal Menkhéperrê^c, fils du grand prêtre d'Amon et roi Pinodjem I, qualifié d'enfant chéri d'un desservant d'un culte local. D'ailleurs, au Nouvel Empire, le cliché *sr:f mry:f* s'emploie surtout en parlant d'un pharaon comme fils d'un dieu.¹⁷ C'est donc Penpohé qui serait traité comme le père de Menkhéperrê^c. Comme dans la lettre n° 6 de Strasbourg Masaharta est appelé 'enfant' de Penpohé (r°, x+8), de même Menkhéperrê^c serait dit 'son fils aimé'. Notons à l'appui de cette interprétation la présence du déterminatif divin après [*mr*]y. Comme les grands prêtres d'Amon ne reçoivent pas ce déterminatif, il ne peut viser que Penpohé et aurait dû être placé après le suffixe *·f*. En effet, comme on l'a déjà dit, l'usage suivi dans les lettres d'El-Hïbeh est de déterminer ainsi les pronoms qui se rapportent au dieu, voir notamment le n° 6.

La seule objection qu'on peut soulever contre cette façon de voir est purement formelle. On a vu qu'un prêtre de Penpohé était sans doute nommé à la l. 2, juste avant *sr[·f mr]y·f*. C'est donc à lui, en principe, que devait se rapporter le suffixe *·f* et non au dieu nommé auparavant. Pour tourner cet obstacle, il faudrait supposer que le début perdu de la l. 2 était entièrement occupé par le nom du lieu de culte de Penpohé. Ceci impliquerait que le prêtre n'était pas nommé, qu'il était désigné uniquement par son titre ou ses titres au début de la l. 1. Ou alors il faudrait hasarder une idée pour le moins audacieuse: la lettre était adressée non pas à un prêtre de Penpohé, mais au dieu lui-même. Les deux solutions feraient du papyrus de Moscou une lettre qui s'écarte radicalement de la normale, un document sans analogue dans la correspondance d'El-Hïbeh. Au lieu d'accepter semblables anomalies, il est moins risqué d'admettre, de la part du scribe, un manque de rigueur véniel qui consiste à rapporter le pronom suffixe non pas à l'antécédent immédiat, le nom du prêtre, mais au dieu nommé juste avant. On s'en tiendra donc à la reconstitution des deux premières lignes du texte telle qu'elle a été proposée pour commencer.

A la l. 5, l'auteur aborde le sujet de sa lettre directement après le nom et la titulature de Menkhéperrê^c sans l'introduire par les formules habituelles dans la correspondance comme *hnc dd* ou (*r*) *ntt*. Elles sont absentes aussi dans les papyrus n°s 2 et 5 de Strasbourg. Comme le n° 2 et peut-être le n° 1, le premier mot de l'exposé, dans la lettre de Moscou, est *sdm·i*, 'j'ai entendu'. Ainsi comme souvent le texte débute par un accusé de réception. Celui qui parle doit être le grand prêtre. Il a appris les 'bonnes mesures' (ou décisions, projets, etc.) que Penpohé a annoncées et cet oracle semble le concerner. Le dieu d'El-Hïbeh se préoccupe de 'son fils aimé'. On connaissait déjà

¹⁷ *Wb.* III, 409, 5, *Belegst.*

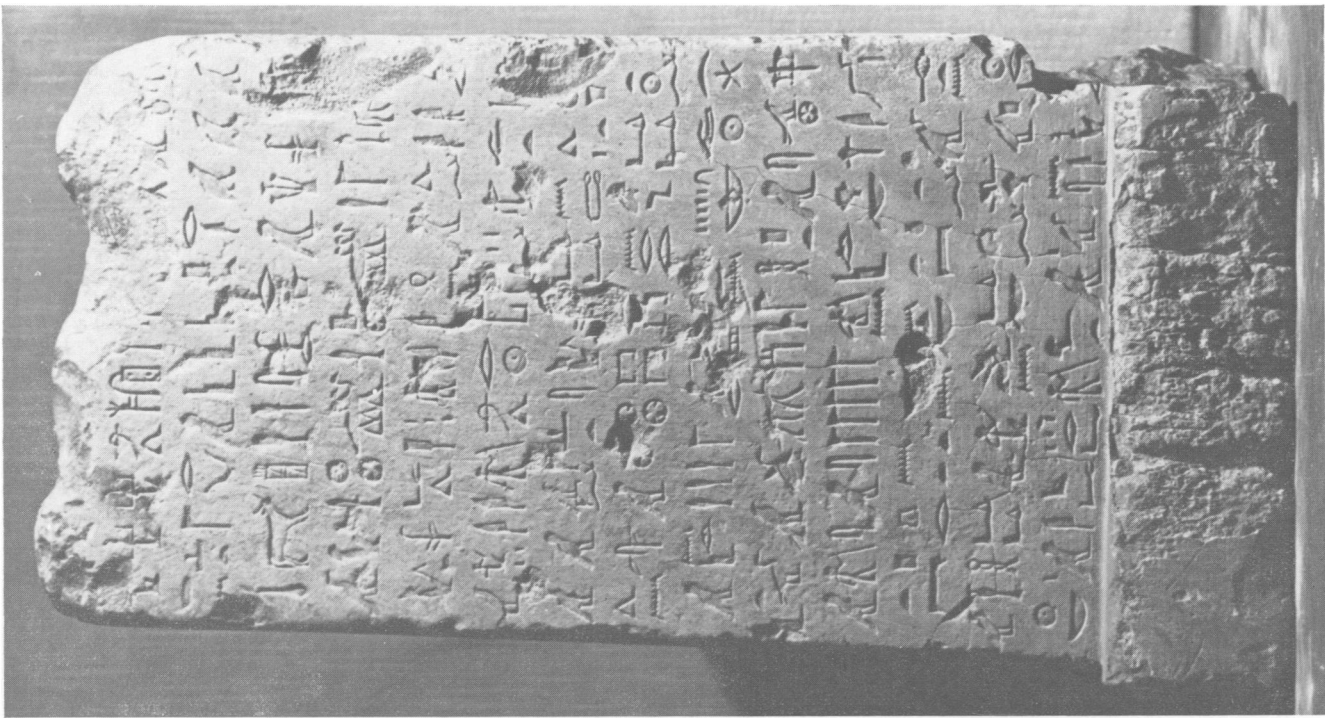
les relations étroites entre ce dieu et Masaharta qui lui demande de le guérir ainsi que son frère dans la lettre n° 6 de Strasbourg. Il n'est pas impossible que Menkhéperrê ait adressé lui aussi une prière à Penpohé. Les 'bonnes mesures' promises représenteraient la réponse favorable de celui-ci. Comme l'a noté Spiegelberg,¹⁸ ces grands prêtres d'Amon, bien qu'ils occupent une position exceptionnelle auprès du plus puissant des dieux égyptiens, préfèrent s'adresser pour les questions personnelles au dieu de leur ville d'origine dont ils se sentent plus proches.¹⁹

Le texte s'interrompt et on ignore à quoi se rapportait l'oracle du dieu. Ce ne sont pas les neuf petits fragments collés sous le papyrus qui aident à en déterminer la teneur. Il est fort douteux d'ailleurs que tous en proviennent. A en juger par l'écriture, celui qui a le plus de chances d'appartenir à la lettre est le premier de la rangée inférieure qui conserve la fin d'une ligne où on lit: . . . [e] , ' . . . sa barque sacrée', qui doit être celle de Penpohé.²⁰ Dans la rangée supérieure, le fragment du milieu garde le mot  suivi peut-être de , 'grande vieillesse'. Ceci fait partie des vœux habituels au début des lettres.  subsiste sur le premier fragment de la même rangée. Ce cliché figure aussi parmi les mêmes vœux. Les deux fragments ne proviennent donc pas de la lettre de Moscou qui omet les formules de politesse.

¹⁸ Op. cit. 14.

¹⁹ Les grands prêtres n'étaient pas les seuls à consulter le dieu d'El-Hibeh. Dans la lettre n° 15 r°, 3; v°, 1, de Strasbourg, il est question de présenter des gens devant Penpohé sans doute pour un jugement.

²⁰ Le fragment voisin, collé à l'envers, porte l'article *p*.



LA STATUE D'UN VIZIR THÉBAIN

PHILADELPHIA, UNIVERSITY MUSEUM E. 16025

Par H. DE MEULENAERE

EN 1901, W. Max Müller acquit à Giza la moitié inférieure d'une statue stélophore agenouillée, faite en calcaire et haute de 44 cm. Elle a été enregistrée à l'University Museum de Philadelphie sous le n° E. 16025 et est restée inédite.¹

La seule inscription dont la statue est pourvue couvre la stèle. Elle n'est pas complète: tout le début du texte a disparu avec le sommet du monument. La partie conservée consiste en quatorze lignes non séparées par des traits horizontaux. Quelques-unes sont légèrement endommagées par des éclats qui ont enlevé par-ci par-là un signe. La gravure se distingue par son irréprochable netteté.

D'après cette inscription, il est clair que la statue appartient à la Basse Époque. Son type ne permet cependant pas de la dater d'une façon plus précise. Si, après la Troisième Période Intermédiaire, les statues stélophores n'ont plus jamais atteint une grande popularité, elles n'en ont pas moins joui d'un certain regain de faveur vers la fin de l'époque éthiopienne jusqu'au règne de Nécho II après lequel elles ne semblent plus se reproduire; c'est, en particulier, l'époque de Montouemhat qui nous en a légué les modèles les mieux connus.²

L'inscription (voir pl. XIV, 2)

Traduction

($x + 1$) . . . l'inspecteur des scribes qui attire des millions (2) et des centaines de milliers (de gens) dans Ipet-sout,^a le préposé aux partages des offrandes (3) divines du Sud et du Nord,^b le préposé à la porte du Sud,^c l'ami, le gouverneur du palais, le bâton d'Apis, le bâton (4) du taureau blanc,^d le prophète [*sic*] des Ames de Pé, le serviteur des Ames de Nekhen,^e le serviteur dont on attend (5) la venue parmi les courtisans,^f à la parole duquel le roi (6) se fie le jour de la convocation des nobles,^g (7) à qui le roi accorde de se mouvoir librement,^h qui apaise Sa Majesté en (8) son moment (de fureur),ⁱ qui donne des instructions aux sanctuaires dans la conduite (9) des fêtes du mois et du quinzième jour, le grand supérieur du nome de Djoufy,^j le chef des prophètes d'Osiris dans

¹ Mr David O'Connor, conservateur de la section égyptienne de l'University Museum, a bien voulu me permettre d'éditer ici les inscriptions de la statue et Mr B. V. Bothmer de reproduire la photographie qu'il en a prise à mon intention (voir pl. XIV, 2); je les en remercie chaleureusement.

² Quelques statues de Montouemhat lui-même appartiennent à ce type: Leclant, *Montouemhat*, doc. 5 (Caire CG 42237), 6 (Caire, commerce), 7 (British Museum 1643); voir en outre Caire JE 44665 (Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoxes*, 31-42), daté du règne de Chabaka, et Louvre A 83 (Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, 74-5), daté de l'an 1 de Nécho II.

(10) Taour,^k le prêtre-*sem* de Ptaḥ, le prophète, le juge et vizir Harsiésis. (11) Récitation: 'Salut à toi, Osiris, premier-né des cinq dieux,' aîné dans (12) le ventre de sa mère Nout, tu es le seigneur de ce qui existe sous le ciel; (13) c'est Rē^c qui n'a pas son supérieur. Puisses-tu donner que je sois parmi^m les loués (14) auprès de Ma^cât, que je sois appelé à la tête des dignitaires. . . .ⁿ chaque jour.'

Commentaire

a. Curieuse addition à un titre banal pour laquelle je ne connais pas de parallèle.

b. Sur ce titre, voir Valloggia, *Recherche sur les 'messagers'*, 29-35 et les références complémentaires signalées par De Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 53 (1978), 84.

c. Vraisemblablement une simple variante du titre 'préposé à la porte des pays étrangers méridionaux' dont l'histoire remonte à l'Ancien Empire. La meilleure étude sur la fonction demeure celle de Posener, *Rev. Phil. Litt. Hist. Anc.* 21 (1947), 118-31. Montouemḥat fut 'préposé à la porte des pays étrangers' (Leclant, *Montouemḥat*, 255). En somme, les titres qui évoquent 'la porte méridionale' ne donnent à entendre que le pouvoir, administratif ou autre, de ceux qui les détenaient, s'étendait jusqu'à la frontière nubienne.

d. Le texte est manifestement corrompu comme en d'autres endroits. Il n'offre aucun sens sauf si l'on admet que le signe 𓆎 a été omis devant *ḥp*. Nous reconnaissons ainsi, dans ces groupes, deux titres obscurs, souvent associés, qui remontent eux aussi à l'Ancien Empire (*Wb.* II, 178, 13-14) et dont les sources de Basse Époque n'avaient révélé jusqu'à présent aucun exemple: cf. Gauthier, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 180; Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten*, 7; Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, 52-3; Kaplony, *Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, 622, 1067. Tout comme les titres *ḥm bꜣw P* et *ḥm bꜣw Nḥn* qui les suivent immédiatement (cf. note suivante), ils sont portés, à l'Ancien Empire, par de très hauts fonctionnaires et des membres de la famille royale.

e. Autre incorrection: *ḥm* (et non *ḥm-nṯr*) *bꜣw P ḥm bꜣw Nḥn* est la séquence classique de deux dignités très anciennes dont seuls de très hauts personnages furent revêtus. Les noms de ceux à qui elles furent conférées à l'Ancien Empire ont été réunis par Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes bꜣ* (Diss. Basel, 1968), 83-4. Sur les âmes de Pé et de Nekhen, voir Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, 15-22.

f. Cliché qui se retrouve, presque sous la même forme, chez Montouemḥat (Scheil, *Tombeaux égyptiens* (MMAF, V), 615); pour son emploi dans l'autobiographie tardive, cf. Vernus, *Athribis*, 172.

g. Pour des clichés analogues, cf. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 25.

h. Pour l'expression *wšḥ nmtt*, voir Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 34-5.

i. Sur l'expression *m ṯt-f*, voir Žaba, *Les Maximes de Ptaḥhotep*, 114; Borghouts, *The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden 1 348*, 108; Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste*, 23.

j. *Hry-tp* ꜣ est un autre titre emprunté à l'administration provinciale de la fin de l'Ancien Empire (Edel, *Die Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa bei Assuan*, II, 1², 89-90; Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 111-14) que les fonctionnaires civils de la Basse Époque ont repris à leur compte (Vittmann, *SAK* 5 (1977), 253 n. 26).

k. *Tꜣ wr*, nom du 8^e nome de Haute Égypte (Caminos, *JEA* 50 (1964), 97).

l. Voir le chapitre 'Considérations sur Osiris et Thot'.

m. Texte corrompu: il faut sans doute lire *mm* 'parmi' au lieu du mystérieux *tw (?) didi*.

n. Autre corruption qui rend le texte incompréhensible.

Le propriétaire

On aurait souhaité que l'information généalogique fournie par cette inscription au sujet de la famille du vizir Harsisés fût aussi détaillée que celle qui se rapporte à sa titulature. Malheureusement, il faut se contenter de son seul nom, alors qu'il y a eu au moins quatre Harsisés qui, entre la Troisième Période Intermédiaire et le commencement de la dynastie saïte, ont exercé la fonction de vizir. La statue de Philadelphie appartient-elle à l'un d'entre eux ?

L'inscription a mis en évidence un souci d'archaïsme et une variété de clichés autobiographiques qui dénotent, sans ambiguïté, l'époque de transition entre la 25^e et la 26^e dynastie. Ceci exclut tout rapprochement avec le vizir Harsisés dont la carrière, d'après la stèle Liverpool M. 13916, se place à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire.³ De trois autres vizirs appelés Harsisés nous connaissons relativement bien la famille; ce sont, respectivement, les fils du prophète d'Amon Pétisis,⁴ du vizir Khaemhor⁵ et du vizir Horkheb.⁶ S'il n'est pas possible de mieux fixer la place du troisième, il est à peu près certain que le second est le petit-fils du premier⁷ et que tous les trois appartiennent à l'époque de Montouemhat. Aucun d'eux ne se distingue par une titulature plus ou moins développée; ils ne cumulaient leur charge principale qu'avec celle de 'prophète d'Amon'. On peut, tout au plus, ajouter que le premier des trois Harsisés se réclame aussi des titres *wr diw*⁸ et *s3 mr-f*⁹ qui indiquent des attaches avec la Moyenne Égypte.

Le 'prophète d'Amon, préposé aux villes et vizir, Harsisés', qui est attesté sur le cercueil Brooklyn 34. 1223, appartenant à sa fille Gaoutseshen,¹⁰ occupe une place chronologique difficile à déterminer. Le nom de son épouse, Tanini,¹¹ interdit de le rapprocher des deux vizirs de la famille de Khaemhor dont les épouses s'appelaient respectivement Babai et Djedmoutiousankh.¹² Rien n'empêcherait, s'il le fallait, de l'identifier au fils du vizir Horkheb, quoiqu'il soit impossible d'en fournir la preuve décisive.

Reste le cas du vizir Harsisés, époux de la dame Cheta, dont la fille Nanefheres nous a laissé une stèle et un cercueil.¹³ Sur ces monuments, il se pare en outre de titres qui n'apparaissent chez aucun de ses homonymes: 'grand des voyants d'Héliopolis,

³ Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 207.

⁴ Vittmann, op. cit. 149-50 (5. 3. 2. 1).

⁵ Op. cit. 152-3 (5. 3. 2. 5).

⁶ Kitchen, op. cit. 483, qui le situe, à tort (cf. *Egyptian Sculpture in the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), 36), à la Troisième Période Intermédiaire.

⁷ Bierbrier, dans *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), 117.

⁸ *L'A* II, 1254-6.

⁹ *Wb.* III, 410.



¹⁰ *PM* I², 823 où la généalogie est incorrectement reproduite.

¹¹ Cf. De Meulenaere, *RdÉ* 12 (1960), 72-3.


¹² Bierbrier, loc. cit. 117.

¹³ Vittmann, op. cit. 39-43.

s'agit des enfants de Geb et de Nout qui sont, dans l'ordre, Osiris, Horus-Mekhenti-irty, Seth, Isis et Nephthys.²⁴ Certaines sources précisent d'ailleurs qu'Osiris est 'le fils aîné de Geb, issu de Nout',²⁵ 'l'aîné dans le corps de sa mère Nout'²⁶ ou encore 'l'aîné de ses enfants (*scil.* Nout').²⁷

Tous ces faits sont bien connus²⁸ à l'exception, peut-être, de l'orthographe exceptionnelle  sur laquelle nous venons d'attirer l'attention. De toute évidence, celle-ci suggère un lien avec le titre hermopolitain qu'on lit habituellement *wr dīw*; en conséquence, il est légitime de supposer que celui-ci, contrairement à l'interprétation donnée récemment,²⁹ se rapporte à un officiant religieux et non à un fonctionnaire de l'entourage royal.³⁰ Un document non encore publié tend à le confirmer de la façon la plus claire: sur le cercueil 17287 de l'Oriental Institute à Chicago, qui appartient à une dame hermopolitaine, appelée *Wnw(t)-hṫp*, le père de celle-ci, *Dḥwti-hr*. . . , porte les titres de .

On s'est souvent interrogé sur l'identité de ce mystérieux groupe de cinq dieux hermopolitains dont on ignore les noms. Il serait téméraire d'affirmer que les orthographes jusqu'ici inédites de la stèle abydénienne et du cercueil hermopolitain versent un nouvel élément au dossier. Néanmoins, on est de plus en plus tenté de supposer l'existence d'un collège de cinq divinités, commun aux deux centres religieux, dont Thot, à Hermopolis, et Osiris ailleurs en Égypte passèrent pour les aînés. Puisque certaines sources confirment péremptoirement que ce cycle divin existait dans la théologie hermopolitaine,³² il ne nous paraît pas nécessaire, comme on l'a suggéré, de superposer Thot aux cinq enfants de Geb et de Nout en traduisant *wr dīw* par 'plus ancien que les Cinq'.³³ Il suffirait d'admettre qu'aux origines les habitants d'Hermopolis, en s'appropriant le mythe héliopolitain de la naissance du monde, ont substitué à Osiris, dieu lointain, leur propre Thot, chef du panthéon local. Nous sommes ainsi amenés à adhérer à l'idée de Sethe qui, bien avant nous, avait conjecturé une allusion à Osiris dans le titre hermopolitain *wr dīw*.³⁴

Reste une question à soulever. Si, dans l'épithète d'Osiris aussi bien que dans le titre hermopolitain,  se rapporte à un collège de cinq dieux, n'en serait-il pas de

²⁴ Yoyotte, dans *La Naissance du monde* (Paris, 1959), 51 (Pap. Bremner-Rhind); Barta, *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, 167.

²⁵ Allen, op. cit. 205.

²⁶ Caire JE 37010 (cf. n. 18).

²⁷ Chassinat, *Le Mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, I, 33.

²⁸ Devant la clarté des témoignages, on s'étonne que le *L'Ā* II, 428 ne connaisse que quatre enfants de Geb et de Nout. Curieusement, Geb, lui aussi, est désigné comme 'l'aîné des cinq dieux' (Faulkner, op. cit. 32* [20, 6]; Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 107; Vernus, *Athribis*, 446 n. 4).

²⁹ *L'Ā* II, 1254-5.

³⁰ Yoyotte, dans *École pratique des Hautes Études, Annuaire 1968-1969*, 112-13, a fort bien résumé les arguments qui plaident en faveur de cette interprétation.

³¹ Chicago, OI 17287 (d'après une photographie).

³² Cf. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris*, 28 (iii, 1-2); Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 259; Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 174.

³³ Yoyotte, loc. cit. 113.

³⁴ Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis*, 39-40. Pour illustrer les rapports d'Osiris et de Thot, il est significatif que, dans deux ostraca démotiques découverts à Abydos, le dieu hermopolitain est appelé *pꜣ wr ty n nṛw*, 'l'aîné des cinq dieux' (Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, II, 124-5).

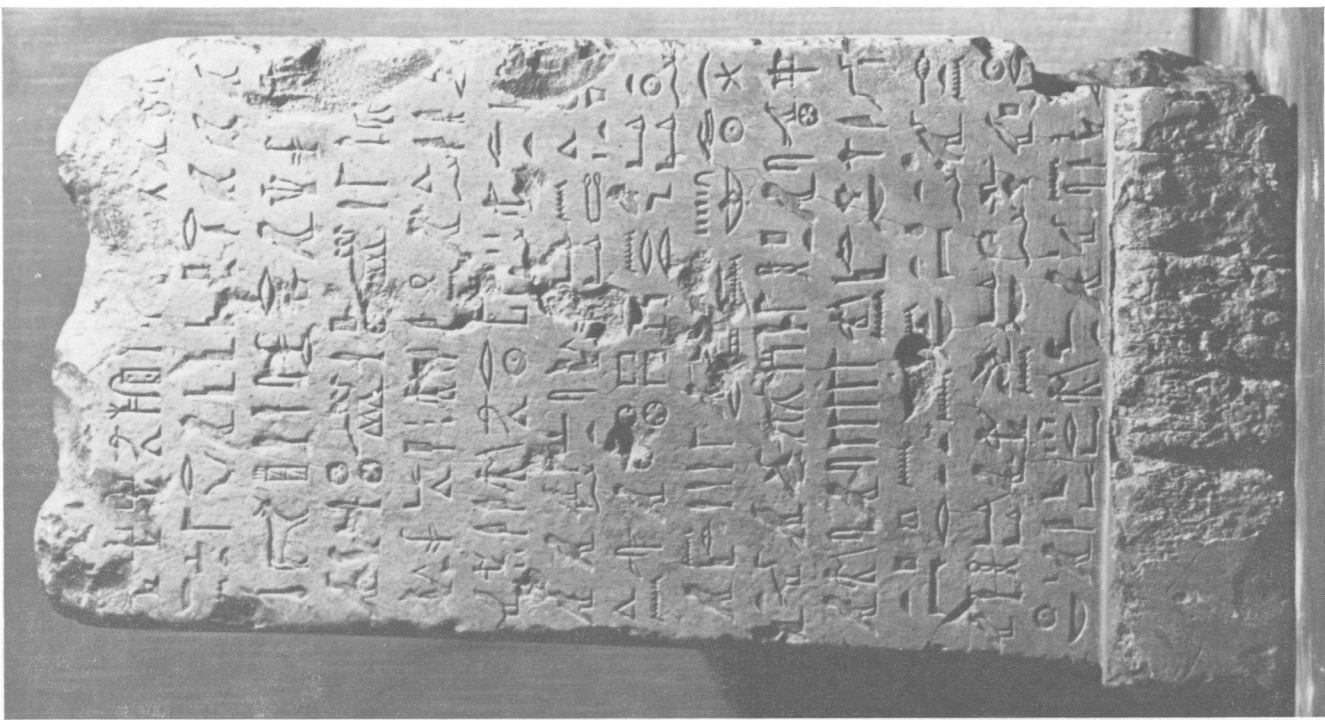
même à Athribis où le titre du prêtre spécifique s'écrit $\overline{\text{ḥbs}} \text{ diw}$? Vernus a posé le problème sans avoir pu y apporter une solution.³⁵ On ne saurait lui en faire un reproche car aucun document, parmi les nombreuses sources athribites, ne nous renseigne sur ce point d'une façon plus ou moins précise. Deux arguments sont cependant à prendre en considération: d'abord le fait que des sources très anciennes, comme les *Coffin Texts*, attestent l'orthographe $\overline{\text{ḥbs}}$, sans déterminatif divin, pour désigner un collègue de cinq dieux;³⁶ ensuite, la proximité relative d'Athribis et d'Héliopolis qui expliquerait, s'il le fallait, pourquoi la doctrine mythologique d'une de ces métropoles ait rejaili sur celle de l'autre. A l'heure qu'il est, on est bien forcé de s'en tenir à cette spéculation abstraite.

³⁵ Vernus, *Athribis*, 446.

³⁶ Cf. *supra*, n. 21.



I




2

LA STATUE D'UN VIZIR THÉBAIN

THE RENDELLS MUMMY BANDAGES

By RICARDO A. CAMINOS

THERE follows an account of a small set of inscribed Egyptian mummy bandages which is now at Newton, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in the possession of The Rendells, Inc., a local firm that trades in manuscripts and fine books. It was purchased by the firm at a Christie's auction held in New York City in April 1980. Nothing is known about the provenance and history of the set previous to the auction.¹

It is a fine coherent set made up of nine linen bands which all proceed, no doubt, from the same mummy and bear excerpts from the Book of the Dead in the hieratic script. The writing, entirely in black ink, and very likely all by one and the same hand, covers the obverse of the bandages almost completely and is arranged not in *selides* but in the form of a continuous single line which runs from end to end of the strips. The characters are sprawling and, for mummy-linen use, uncommonly large; thus a full-height sign like  (see pls. XV–XVII) averages 3.5 cm, and the *ḥ*-bird (see pl. XV, 1) stretches nearly 7 cm from front to back. The general appearance of the writing as well as certain signs such as the bead-collar determinative (see pl. XV, 1)², the *š*-pool with a single inner vertical cross-stroke (see pls. XV, 3; XVII, 2), the hand-to-mouth man (see pls. XVI, 2; XVII, 1), and the rare *ḥḥ*-sign with the kneeling god holding a year-wand in each hand (see pl. XVII, 1)³ all clearly point to post-New Kingdom calligraphy. Convincing palaeographic parallels to every single hieratic sign on the strips could in fact be found in well-dated manuscripts ranging from about 950 BC to AD 200; the earlier of these two dates may be unhesitatingly discounted, however, for a demotic docket on one of the bandages sets c.650 BC as the *terminus a quo*. Our records may, therefore, be assigned to some time or other between c.650 BC and AD 200; admittedly this is vague and unsatisfactory chronologically, but with the materials at our disposal we cannot establish a closer dating. The identity of the man for whom the bandages were inscribed does not afford much help in dating them with greater precision. He was one Ḥarpakhem, *alias* Gayres or Gares, the son of a woman called Taamūn. To his name is prefixed the expected designation *Wsir*, 'Osiris', yet there is no other title, either honorific or occupational, to give a clue either to his station in life or to his *floruit*. A search through the published writings and monuments of Ancient Egypt has revealed no trace of him.

¹ We are much obliged to Mr Ken Rendell for his kind permission to publish these records and to his bibliographer Mr David R. Warrington who brought them to our knowledge, arranged for the photographic work, and helped us in other ways.

² Cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 40, no. 418 *bis*, quoting a single instance from the Tanis Sign Papyrus, c.AD 100. Good hieratic parallels also in C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects*, pl. 25, 1st column from left, l. 5 from bottom, c.AD 300; Akmar, *Les Bandelettes de momie du Musée Victoria à Upsala*, III, 65, frag. 7, left-hand end, l. 2 from bottom, 'XXX^e dynastie ou le commencement de la période ptolémaïque'.

³ Cf. Möller, *op. cit.* III, 4, no. 37 *bis*, a single example c.AD 200.

Made of flaxen cloth or pure linen, the fabric of the nine strips is remarkably similar, as though they had been torn from the same sheet; it is of a sturdy, yet supple texture that has worn admirably and can still be freely handled without detriment. A score of random countings yielded 17 warp threads and 10 weft threads to the centimetre on the average.⁴ The colour is an even brown. The condition of the entire set is upon the whole very good. At no point did the scribe overcharge his brush, so that nowhere have the bandages suffered from the corrosive effect of ink too thickly laid on—a not uncommon mishap in old records written on cloth. The fabric has been affected, however, by some oily or resinous matter used by the undertakers which left dark stains here and there, and in a few places is thick enough to form tiny lumps which still adhere to the cloth and have the appearance of hardened bits of sealing-wax. The extent and location of these occasional discolourings may be judged from the photographs that illustrate this article, and will also be noted in the ensuing commentary.

Our materials yield snippets of Chapters 158, 160, 163, and 164 of the Book of the Dead. Of these only Chapter 160 appears to have been found in New Kingdom manuscripts. Chapters 158, 163, and 164 have hitherto been attested only in records written after c.1000 BC.

The bandages have been consecutively numbered from 1 to 9 in the order in which their contents occur in the Saïte Recension of the Book of the Dead. Explanatory comments, hieroglyphic transcriptions, and photographs on an approximately 1:3 scale are herein presented in the following way:

Bandage 1 (frag. of Chapter 158), pp. 146 f.; fig. 1; pl. XV, 1.	Bandage 6 (frag. of Chapter 163), p. 152; fig. 6; pl. XVI, 3.
Bandage 2 (frag. of Chapter 160), pp. 147 ff.; fig. 2; pl. XV, 2.	Bandage 7 (frag. of Chapter 164), pp. 152 f.; fig. 7; pl. XVI, 4.
Bandage 3 (frag. of Chapter 160), pp. 147 ff.; fig. 3; pl. XV, 3.	Bandage 8 (frag. of Chapter 164), pp. 153 f.; fig. 8; pl. XVII, 1.
Bandage 4 (frag. of Chapter 163), pp. 150 f.; fig. 4; pl. XVI, 1.	Bandage 9 (frag. of Chapter 164), pp. 154 f.; fig. 9; pl. XVII, 2.
Bandage 5 (frag. of Chapter 163), pp. 150 f.; fig. 5; pl. XVI, 2.	

Bandage 1 (see pl. XV, 1)

The length of the strip is 94.5 cm and the width 5 cm almost throughout; only the torn left end is 2 cm wide. The dark spots on the very edge of the right-hand end are not traces of ink or writing but bits of hardened resinous matter, probably the same

⁴ Examination of mummy wrappings has shown that the threads in the warp are almost invariably more numerous than those in the weft: see Macalister, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 23, 104. The texture of the Rendells bandages is quite close to that of no. 31 in Macalister's table (loc. cit.). Note also Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, II (Birch edition), 161 ff.; T. W. Fox in Murray, *The Tomb of Two Brothers*, 68 (J. Thomson's statement), 70 f. (analytical tabulation); the figures in W. W. Midgley's tables in H. Ling Roth, *Ancient Egyptian and Greek Looms*, 29; G. E. Smith, *ASAE* 7, 167 (n. 1 from p. 166). See also Dodge, *Textile World Record* 29, 83.

substance that made the stain affecting the group *rn* at the beginning of the written line. Scanty remains of the same blackish matter may be seen along the edge of the tapering left end of the band.

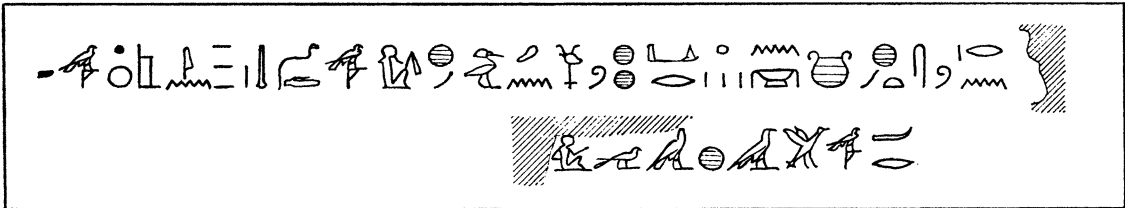


FIG. 1. Bandage 1. Book of the Dead, Chapter 158 (see Postscript below, p. 155)

The text is the beginning, strictly the title, of Chapter 158,⁵ a short spell which the deceased was supposed to recite over an ornamental collar of gold⁶ put on his neck on the day of interment. He is here described as the Osiris of *Hr-pꜣ-hm*, 'Harpakhem', and is again mentioned by name at the left end of Bandage 3. We know of no other occurrence of this name in either hieroglyphic or hieratic records, though it is attested in demotic documents⁷ and found as *Ἀρχήμις*, *Ἀρχίμις* in Greek ostraca and papyri.⁸ The short dash between *Wsir* and *Hr-pꜣ-hm* recurs in exactly the same collocation in Bandage 3⁹ and is an *ꜥ*, this character being sometimes shortened to a dot by the scribe.¹⁰ Yet the dash is not transcribed in figs. 1 and 3 because when these were drawn we were unaware of *Wsir n N.N.* as a variant of the common *Wsir N.N.*; therefore an *ꜥ* seemed to us uncalled-for in this context, and seeing no reason for a space-filler at this point either, we left the dash unresolved in the transcriptions of Bandages 1 and 3.

Bandages 2 and 3 (see pl. XV, 2-3)

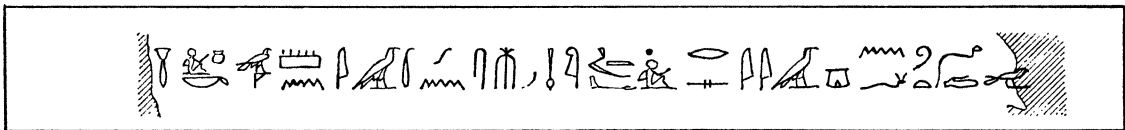


FIG. 2. Bandage 2. Book of the Dead, Chapter 160

It will be well to deal with these two bandages under one heading because they belong together, No. 3 being a direct continuation of No. 2. It is highly probable that they

⁵ Our fragment corresponds to Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, 24, no. 58; pl. 76, 158, rubricated title above the vignette and beginning of col. 1; same version in type, Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. The Egyptian Text in Hieroglyphic*, 404 (bottom line) f. For recent translations of Chapter 158 see Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 226; Faulkner, *The Book of the Dead*, 1, 125; Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, 156.

⁶ Cf. Budge, *The Mummy*², 313 (vi) f.; Smith and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, 150; C. R. Williams, *Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects*, 162 (no. 91) f., also p. 65 with n. 88 and p. 158 on collars replaced by amulets; Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 9 with references.

⁷ Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 360 (*Hr-pꜣ-hm*).

⁸ Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, col. 54.

⁹ Cf. below, p. 150 in reference to pl. XV, fig. 3 *ad fin*.

¹⁰ See the short *ns* before Thoth's name and that of Shu's in Bandage 3 (pl. XV, fig. 3); before *wbn* in Bandage 5 (pl. XVI, fig. 2); before *nḥh* in Bandage 9 (pl. XVII, fig. 2). The short *n* and the full-width *n* alternate in certain manuscripts, e.g. P. Pushkin 127, cf. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe*, 6 (top); P. British Museum 10188, cf. Faulkner, *The Papyrus Bremner-Rhind*, 4 n. f, 12 n. c, 45 n. 9, 78 n. f, 85 n. a.

originally formed one single long inscribed strip of cloth, which then either broke into two pieces by accident or was deliberately so split by the embalmers for the convenience of bandaging.

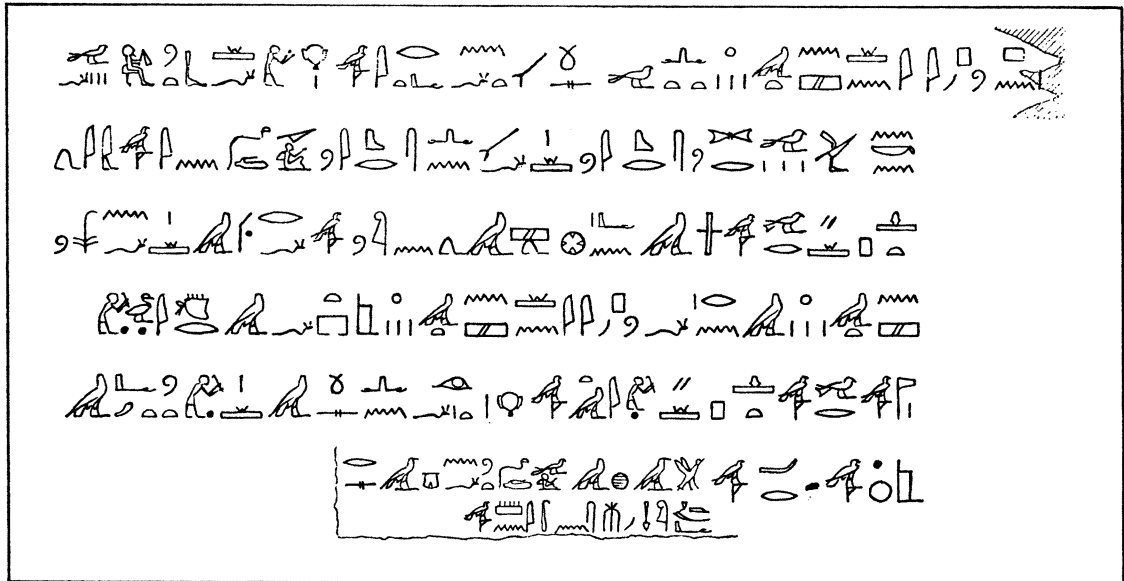


FIG. 3. Bandage 3. Book of the Dead, Chapter 160 (see Postscript below, p. 155)

Bandage 2 is 66.3 cm long and 4.3 cm wide. At the right end, before *dd*, there are black dots and discoloration resulting from an extraneous resinous substance used by the embalmers; the black patch that shows in the photograph directly under *dd* is a hard flattish lump of the same substance. Another such lump is to be seen near the centre of the strip, under *rs*. A resinous stain slightly mars the left-hand end of the linen band.


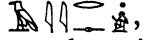






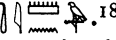
Bandage 3 measures 2.76 m in length and is 4 cm wide throughout. Tiny stains from some oil or resin may be discerned on the lower tip of the jagged right-hand end of the band and again further on, affecting the *m* of *m-dri*, some 65 cm from the left end.

Written on these two bandages is a much garbled and shortened version of Chapter 160 of the Book of the Dead, a spell recited by the deceased over an amulet in the form of a papyrus stem, which was placed on his neck¹¹ and with which he might or might not have identified himself.¹²

The stained right-hand end of Bandage 2 bears faint but unmistakable traces of *𓂏* just before *dd·tw n·f*, lit. 'one said to him', and no sign is lost or was ever written

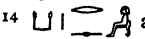
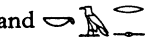
¹¹ Smith and Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies*, 150 with n. 2; Budge, *The Mummy*³, 314 (vii) f.



¹² For the text of Chapter 160 see, e.g., Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch*, I, pl. 183; II, pl. 437 cols 7-8 from right; printed in type, Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. The Egyptian Text in Hieroglyphic*, 406 ll. 3-12. For other versions see the Lepsius, Newberry, and Allen references below, p. 149 n. 23. Recent translations are quoted below, p. 149 nn. 20 and 21.

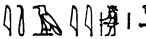
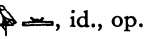

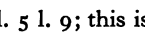




between the evil-bird and *dd·tw n·f*: the dead man's name, *Hr-pꜣ-hm*, must then have been spelt without the seated-man determinative, unlike the writing on Bandage 1. His 'other name',¹³  written  at the left end of Bandage 3, appears not to occur elsewhere, at least in exact counterparts of either of these spellings.¹⁴ His mother's name, *Tꜣ-(nt-)'Imn*, 'Taamūn', though not at all uncommon, is, as written here, calligraphically and orthographically noteworthy. The form of the *ti*-sign, with a very pronounced swelling at the lower end which makes the character indistinguishable from a normal Late-Period hieratic , may indeed be paralleled but remains unusual nevertheless.¹⁵ Even more unusual is the group , with the vulture-sign written out, instead of  or simply , though here again parallels may be quoted.¹⁶ At the beginning of Bandage 6 the mother's name is similarly written, with  for .¹⁷ At the left end of Bandage 3 'Taamūn' is written .¹⁸



The mother's name is followed by the spell or recitation in *oratio recta*: 'To me belongs the papyrus-amulet, etc.', taking *ink*¹⁹ to denote possession,²⁰ which some may think yields better sense in this particular context than taking it as the pronominal subject with the consequent identification of the deceased with his talisman: 'I am this papyrus-amulet, etc.'²¹ It will be seen from the photographs on pl. XV, 2 and 3, that *wꜣd n*, 'papyrus-amulet of', is split between the two linen strips. Only a fraction of the vertical stroke still remains on the torn edge of Bandage 3. The *n* under the stone-determinative is incorrect because of the following demonstrative and genitival exponent *pwy n*; extant versions read here either *wꜣd n nꜣmt*, 'papyrus-amulet of green feldspar',²² or *wꜣd pwy n nꜣmt*, 'this papyrus-amulet of green feldspar'.²³





¹³ Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Orientalia Suecana* 9, 59, h; Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, II, 7 with nn. 3 and 4; Vernus in Helck and Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV, 323 with nn. 62 and 63.

¹⁴  and  are probably only quasi-homophones of the dead man's *alias*: cf. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum. Chester Beatty Gift*, I, 40 n. 10, quoted by Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, II, 321, no. 1 and n. 1.

¹⁵ Cf. *ti* and *hꜣ* in Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques* (CCG), I, pl. 11 l. 1; Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind des Museums zu Edinburg*, Plates, pl. 1 l. 13; pl. 2 l. 5 at end; pl. 16 l. 6. Note also  and  in id., op. cit. pl. 5 l. 2 and l. 9 respectively, where the two groups look alike.

¹⁶ Cf.     given without indication of source by Brugsch, *Hieroglyphisch-demotisches Wörterbuch*, I, 149. See also    , 'Takhabes', in a Twenty-second Dynasty hieratic record briefly described by Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, 52, papyrus no. 34.

¹⁷ A mere *lapsus calami*: the scribe simply left out the dot that distinguishes  from  in hieratic.

¹⁸ Exactly the same spelling in a mummy bandage quoted by Devéria, *Catalogue des manuscrits égyptiens écrits sur papyrus, toiles, tablettes et ostraca qui sont conservés au Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, 97 (iii, 60). Note also    , Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, 53, papyrus no. 36.

¹⁹ On ambiguities arising from the use of *ink* and *nhk* in the Book of the Dead and kindred texts cf. Caminos, *JEA* 56, 127 with nn. 1-3 and literature quoted there.


²⁰ So understood by Faulkner, *The Book of the Dead*, I, 125.



²¹ This is the generally accepted translation of *ink wꜣd*: see, for instance, Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. An English Translation*, 287; Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 227; Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, 156; Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter*, 337.

²² See the Naville (= Budge) reference on p. 148 n. 12 above.

²³ Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, pl. 76, 160 col. 1;

Ts phr, 'vice versa', is slightly marred by purely accidental ink marks; there is no correction or cancellation here. The spelling of *ts-phr* with the coil-of-rope determinative (ϣ) is exceedingly rare; another instance may be quoted from a manuscript of the thirteenth century BC.²⁴

Wr imy m Iwnw, 'Great one who is in Heliopolis'. The localities mentioned at this point in Chapter 160 are either Pe or Pe and Heliopolis²⁵ and, at least in one manuscript, also Egypt.²⁶ Here  must stand for *Iwnw*, Coptic ωη, 'Heliopolis'. The interchange of *i* and *ϣ* is attested,²⁷ and it has been shown that as early as the thirteenth century BC the *w* of *iw*n had, in that place-name at any rate, ceased to be pronounced.²⁸

In the compound preposition of place *m-dri*, 'by', the group  replaces the usual , the spurious bird-determinative is borrowed from the quasi-homophonous *drw*, *drit*, 'kite'.

The character following *ϣt* is certainly a hieratic *m*, here hardly for the genitival *n*, 'of', found after the word for 'limbs' in other manuscripts, but rather a minor lapse of the brush for the plural determinative, which is very close to the more cursive or abbreviated form of *m* in hieratic.²⁹

Here again a tiny dash (hieratic *n*) intervenes between *Wsir* and the deceased's name: see above, p. 147 with nn. 9–10; also Postscript on p. 155, below.

The scribe now reached the end of the linen band and, short of space, entered the dead man's names and filiation in cramped handwriting and even had to append a short extra line to round off his text.

Bandages 4 and 5 (see pl. XVI, 1–2)

We are again concerned with two bandages which, like Nos. 2 and 3, might originally have been a single continuous linen strip. The text on No. 5 is a direct continuation of the one on No. 4, except that two short words, at the most, may possibly, though not necessarily, be lost in between them.

Bandage 4: length, 40.3 cm from tip to tip of the ragged, irregularly torn ends; width, 4.5 cm. The left-hand end shows a heavy blackish stain, unquestionably from the same dab of embalmer's oil or resin that discolours the right end of Bandage 5; there is a much lighter stain at the opposite end of No. 5. Legibility is not impaired by these blemishes. Bandage 5 is 59.3 cm long and 4.6 cm wide throughout.

Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, pl. 24, lower, ll. 17–18; Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, pl. 49, 160/clv, ll. 23–4.

²⁴ Devéria and Pierret, *Le Papyrus de Neb-qed (Exemplaire hiéroglyphique du Livre des Morts)*, pl. 4, col. 21 bottom, rubric. For *ts-phr* in the present context see Westendorf in Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien*, 401 (58).

²⁵ Cf. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, 283 n. e.

²⁶ Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri*, pl. 24, lower, bottom line.

²⁷ Sethe, *Das ägyptische Verbum*, 1, 88 (§ 143, 3), 90 (§ 148, 2, 3).

²⁸ Ranke, *ZÄS* 58, 135. Note also the month-name *P(-n-)Iwnw*, for *P(-)n-Int*, Coptic ηαωηε: cf. Černý, *ASAE* 51, 441 f.

²⁹ Cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 18 no. 196 bis, 54 no. 562.

The text is a fragment of Chapter 163,³⁰ which is a rather long spell meant to ensure the deceased's physical preservation, general welfare, and freedom of action in the beyond. Bandage 4 bears only a fraction of the spell, the name of a marsh or swampy district in the realm of the dead: 𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔 ; this toponym is rendered *Snhkrh*, *Snhkrgn*, *Snhrgp*, and *Shkrgn* in other versions. There is no way of ascertaining whether the town-determinative was or was not followed by 𓆕𓆖 or 𓆗𓆘𓆙 , as in other manuscripts; in any case our text continues on Bandage 5 with the words 𓆚𓆛 n, 'spirit of', still extant and legible though obscured by a large stain on the right end of the cloth.

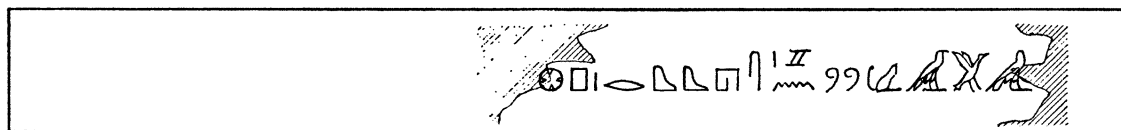


FIG. 4. Bandage 4. Book of the Dead, Chapter 163

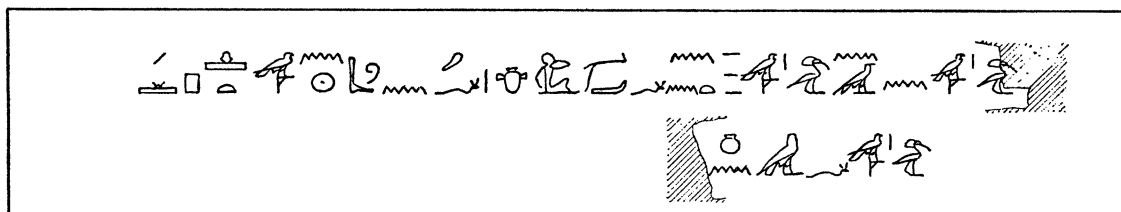


FIG. 5. Bandage 5. Book of the Dead, Chapter 163

The relative adjective *nt(y)* is followed by the *n sdm:f* form (𓆛 for 𓆜)³¹ of the biliteral verb *ft, fd*, 'to feel distaste, be sick (at)',³² here perhaps defectively written with omission of the last consonant of the stem. The transcription 𓆛𓆜𓆝 on fig. 5, is probably correct. Yet 𓆛𓆜𓆞 is perhaps a defensible alternative; for 𓆛 and 𓆜 are often identical in hieratic, and then 𓆞 could conceivably stand for the *t/d* of the verb stem.³³ The verb is here construed with 𓆛 for *m* (*Wb.* I, 580, 9), the hieratic *n* being virtually reduced to a dot.³⁴

³⁰ The text on Bandages 4 and 5 corresponds with Lepsius, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, pl. 77, 163 cols. 2–3 = Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. The Egyptian Text in Hieroglyphic*, 411 ll. 9–12. See also PleYTE, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 174*, III, pls. 42 (lower), 43, 44 (upper), where several known versions of the passage under consideration are set forth in parallel lines. Recent translations: Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 234; Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, 159.

³¹ On the sign 𓆛 avoided and replaced by 𓆛 for superstitious reasons in certain manuscripts of the Book of the Dead: see Lacau, *ZÄS* 51, 64 (4°), cited by Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 88 n. 7. See also Osing in Görg and Pusch (eds.), *Festschrift Elmar Edel* (Ägypten und Altes Testament, 1), 307 with n. 32.

³² The two orthographies are used in the duplicates of the present passage; see the PleYTE reference quoted in n. 30 on this page.

³³ Cf. Fairman, *ASAE* 43, 229 no. 193, *d*; and the writings of the goddess Hededet's name (*Hddt*, *Hddt*) quoted by Meeks in Helck and Westendorf (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 1076 ff.; Goyon, *BIFAO* 78, 446 f.

³⁴ See above, p. 147 with n. 10.

Bandage 6 (see pl. XVI, 3)

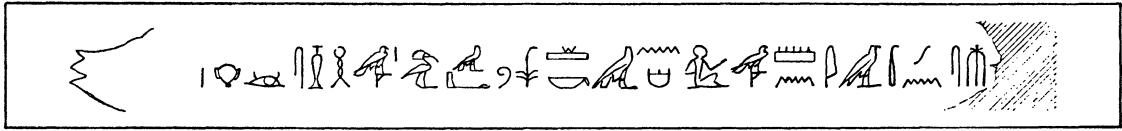


FIG. 6. Bandage 6. Book of the Dead, Chapter 163

Length: 63·8 cm. Width: 4·5 cm almost throughout, increasing to 4·8 cm near the left-hand end. There is a dark stain of resinous matter on either end of the strip, that on the right small and denser than that on the left.

The text, as it stands now, starts with *ms n*, 'born to', on the very edge of the torn right margin, and comes to a stop 13·3 cm before reaching the end of the strip. It has preserved for us the name of the dead man's mother and a few words from Chapter 163 invoking assistance against a fierce-faced demon; the present version agrees with most others in that the appeal is expressed in *oratio recta*: only the Turin hieroglyphic duplicate uses indirect speech.³⁵ For the mother's name, 'Taamūn', here written with the wrong determinative, see p. 149 with n. 17 above.

Bandage 7 (see pl. XVI, 4)

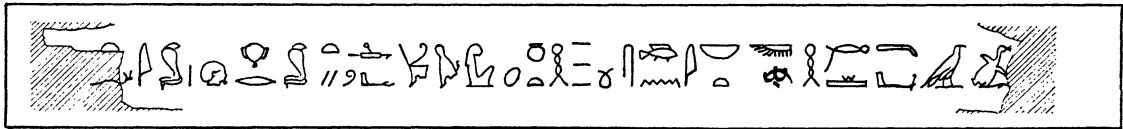


FIG. 7. Bandage 7. Book of the Dead, Chapter 164

Length: 66·5 cm. Width: 5 cm throughout. Resin-stained at either end, the bandage contains a string of epithets of the goddess Sekhmet from the beginning of Chapter 164 of the Book of the Dead.³⁶

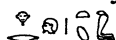

We are at a loss to understand what the scribe wrote under the wing-determinative of *mḥt*, 'feather'. It may be doubted that it is an unwanted sign put down by mistake and clumsily corrected into a Δ or III , though the feminine ending of *mḥt* is in fact written under the wing-sign in the Turin hieroglyphic version, and other manuscripts read $\overline{\text{III}}$. The puzzling scrawl is given in facsimile in fig. 7.

There are two distinct epithets towards the left end of the bandage, *Wrty*, 'the unique', and *Hr(yt)-tp*, 'the one upon the head',³⁷ followed by *it* /// , '[her] father', as a direct

³⁵ Cf. Lepsius, *Das Totdenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, pl. 77, 163 cols. 3-4 = Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. The Egyptian Text in Hieroglyphic*, 411 ll. 14-15. Also Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 174*, III, pls. 44 (lower), 45 (upper). Recent translations are cited above, p. 151 n. 30 *ad fin.*

³⁶ Cf. Lepsius, *op. cit.* pl. 78, 164 col. 1 = Budge, *op. cit.* 415 ll. 4-5; Pleyte, *op. cit.* III, pls. 68 (lower), 69. Recent translations, Barguet, *Le Livre des Morts*, 236; Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, 160; Hoenes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet*, 87 f.: see also Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 518 f.

³⁷ *Wrty*, 'the unique', and *hr(yt)-tp*, 'she upon the head', as designations of the uraeus cf. *Wb.* I, 278, 6; III, 141, 9-11.

genitive. They refer to Sekhmet as the uraeus-serpent on the brow of the sun-god.³⁸ In the duplicate in P. Hay *hryt-tp* occurs again as an appellation *per se*, and is spelt more fully even, , with fem. \circ written out and two determinatives. The writer of the Turin version, however, appears to have viewed it as an adverbial adjunct to *Wrtj*, not as an epithet by itself, for he wrote , 'the unique upon the head of her father'.³⁹

Bandage 8 (see pl. XVII, 1)

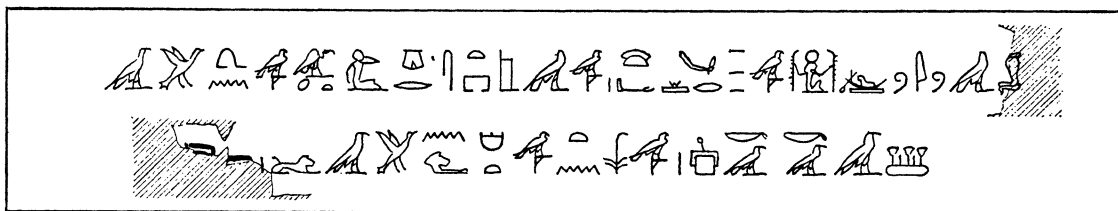








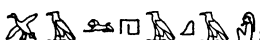

FIG. 8. Bandage 8. Book of the Dead, Chapter 164

Length: 79.3 cm. Width: 5 cm throughout, except the semi-detached fragment at the left end, which is only 2 cm wide. A dense resinous blot darkens the lower left end of the bandage, but does not lessen the legibility of the few signs affected by it.

Excerpted from Chapter 164, the text continues almost directly the series of epithets of the lion-goddess Sekhmet that covers Bandage 7 from one end to the other. She is said to be *wrt-hkꜣw*, a mighty magician accompanying the sun-god in his bark: literally, 'great of magic in the bark of millions (of years)'.⁴⁰ Of *wrt-hkꜣw* only a fraction of the determinative is preserved on the edge of the right-hand end of the bandage; the trace suits  exactly and  not at all.⁴¹

All versions of Chapter 164 known to us write Sekhmet's son's name with a single *ks*, except Bandage 8, which doubles this syllable.



Note  and  further on, each group taking the place of the genitival exponent *n* in other versions, *n*, 'of', yielding what appears to be the required sense. Not infrequently textual aberrations have a discernible rationale or logical explanation; in this particular case, however, we cannot even suggest a reason for the presumably superfluous signs  and .

The Turin manuscript describes Sekhmet as the royal wife of , and most other manuscripts concur. Our text reads  quite clearly; but the agreement between it and other versions goes no further; for *Pꜣ-rw* is followed by

³⁸ On Sekhmet as the uraeus-serpent cf. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 644, 848 *ad fin.*; Roeder in Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, iv, 581 (10), 586 (63), 587 (11).

³⁹ Also, similarly, the duplicate in P. Leyden 16: see the text publications quoted above, p. 152 n. 36.

⁴⁰ See Lepsius, *op. cit.* pl. 78, 164 col. 2 = Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day. The Egyptian Text in Hieroglyphic*, 415 ll. 6-8; Pleyte, *Chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts 162 à 174*, III, pls. 70, 71 (upper). Translations: see above, p. 152 n. 36.

⁴¹ Cf.  (twice) and  in Bandage 7 (see pl. XVI, fig. 4). The P. Hay duplicate writes *wrt-hkꜣw* with the cobra-determinative; note also Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums*, I, 138.

traces which fit neither $h(\dot{s})k(\dot{s})$ nor the reading of P. Leyden 21.⁴² The ill-preserved hieratic sign immediately after rw could hardly be \square ,⁴³ much less 𐀀 , and what follows fits neither 𐀀 nor Δ . We know of no other copy of Chapter 164 which might help to elucidate these traces and restore the name of Sekhmet's spouse in Bandage 8.

Bandage 9 (see pl. XVII, 2)

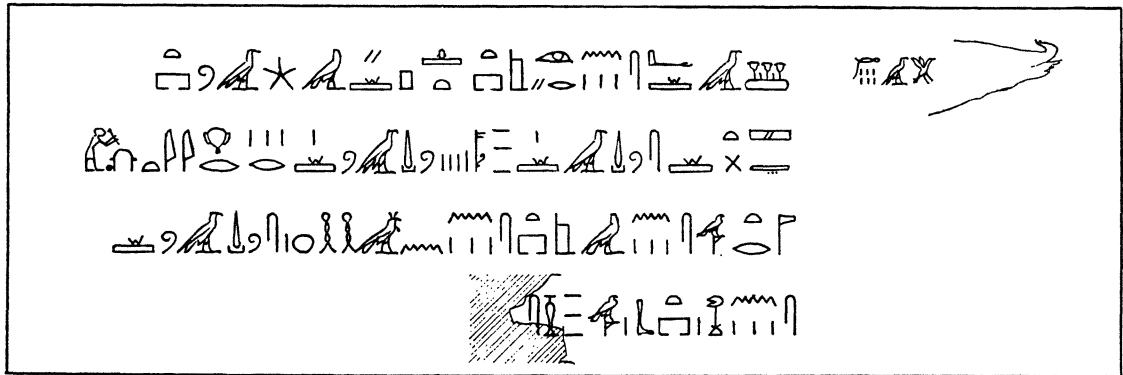


FIG. 9. Bandage 9. Book of the Dead, Chapter 164

Length: 1.75 m, including the loose strands at the right end. Width: 5.8 cm almost throughout; the damaged portion in the middle of the strip is only 3.6 cm wide. There is a small stain at the left end, and a large one in the centre of the bandage, where some of the resinous matter has thickened and adheres to the fabric in small blackish lumps.

The text starts 21 cm from the tips of the loose warp threads at the right end and consists of a few sentences belonging to about the middle of Chapter 164.⁴⁴ The goddess Sekhmet is extolled by the souls of the dead; she is represented as their guardian angel and protectress in the mysterious netherworld.

The reading 𐀀 ($\cdot w r$) before $hryt$, 'terror', is certain. The three strokes are clear of the r -sign; if they seem to rest on it, it is only because of an intervening horizontal dash which is undoubtedly an accidental brush stroke and makes the group look like the \dot{s} -sign at the right end of this bandage and in the name of Sekhmet's son in Bandage 8 (see pl. XVII, 1).

The marginal demotic docket at the right-hand end of the linen strip reads $p' mh 6$, 'the sixth'.⁴⁵ Dockets of this kind, in hieratic and demotic, are occasionally encountered

⁴² Only P. Leyden 21 reads $p' rw 3g\dot{s}$, 'the lion Agai'.

⁴³ The horizontal trace is too low to be the top of \square , and there is no vestige of the vertical stroke that closes the front of the sign; see the hieratic h on Bandage 4 (pl. XVI, 1).


⁴⁴ Cf. Lepsius, *op. cit.* pl. 78, 164 cols. 7-8 = Budge, *op. cit.* 416 ll. 6-9; Pleyte, *op. cit.* III, pls. 77 (middle and lower), 78 (upper and middle). For recent translations see above, p. 152 n. 36.

⁴⁵ The article p' removes all doubt that 𐀀 is the ordinal formative and renders untenable the interpretation of these dockets which we suggested over a decade ago in the *YEA* article quoted in the following footnote.

on mummy bandages and papyri.⁴⁶ They represent a trade or professional practice, and, though they can be readily translated, their actual meaning and import remain problematic. The person who docketed the cloth was numbering something which was a matter of common knowledge to people in his line of business and could, therefore, be left unnamed. To us, however, the precise point of reference of the ordinal is unknown.

⁴⁶ Cf. Akmar, *Les Bandelettes de momie du Musée Victoria à Upsala*, I, 69 frag. 6 right, 75 frag. 13 left; III, 65 frag. 7 right; Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques* (CCG), I, 31, 210, 214; Chassinat, *Rec. Trav.* 14, unnumbered pl. opp. p. 10: P. Louvre 3237, top right corner, and P. Louvre 3239, bottom (the two Louvre dockets quoted by Sethe, *Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern*, 114 n. 2); Caminos, *JEA* 56, 129 with n. 8 in reference to pl. 58, figs. 1 and 2 left margin; also on the right-hand margin of a fragmentary bandage bearing eight hieratic lines with excerpts from the Book of the Dead lodged in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (from the Antonio Vives collection; no museum number, unpublished). The dockets in question form a class in themselves and are to be distinguished from other ink jottings and markings found on mummy wrappings such as those in Murray, *The Tomb of Two Brothers*, 57 (37) f., 64 (52, B), pl. 17 lower; or the more extensive annotations on mummy linens discussed by Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Dér el Bahari* (Mém. Miss. arch. franç., 1), 530 ff.

Postscript

The typescript and illustrations of the present article were already in the printer's hands when a remark in Schneider, *Shabtis*, I, 346, quoting Kákosy, *ZAS* 97, 98 ff., brought to our knowledge the existence of the locution *Wsr n N.N.* used in place of *Wsr N.N.*, the stereotyped designation of the deceased in funerary and kindred texts; subsequently we found it dealt with at length in Dr Mark J. Smith's unpublished study of a demotic funerary composition in which the phrase *Wsr n Hr-m-hb s; P;-ti-mn*, 'the Osiris of Haremhab, son of Petemin', occurs (P. British Museum 10507, col. 3, 8). There could be little doubt, then, that a similar noun-phrase with the genitival exponent was used in Bandages 1 and 3. The unresolved hieratic short dash, almost a dot, in figs. 1 and 3 above should, therefore, be rendered by an , so as to read *Wsr n Hr-p;-hm*, 'the Osiris of Harpakhem', in the two linen fragments. The phrase *Wsr n N.N.* is discussed with lucid erudition by Dr Smith in his work on P. British Museum 10507, which, it is hoped, will go to press before long. Here it will suffice to state our opinion that the phrase in question, on the face of it, points to the existence of a belief that a dead person could have his own peculiar Osiris, not, of course, the great god of the dead himself but perhaps some sort of emanation of him.

Two fragments of papyrus with hieroglyphs. The top fragment is wider and shows a line of text. The bottom fragment is narrower and also shows a line of text. The hieroglyphs are arranged in a single line on each fragment.

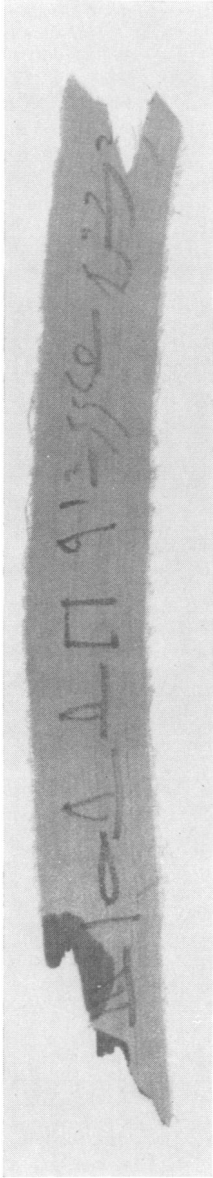
1. Bandage 1. Book of the Dead, Ch. 158

A long, narrow strip of papyrus with hieroglyphs. The text is written in a single line across the length of the strip. The hieroglyphs are clearly visible and arranged in a regular pattern.

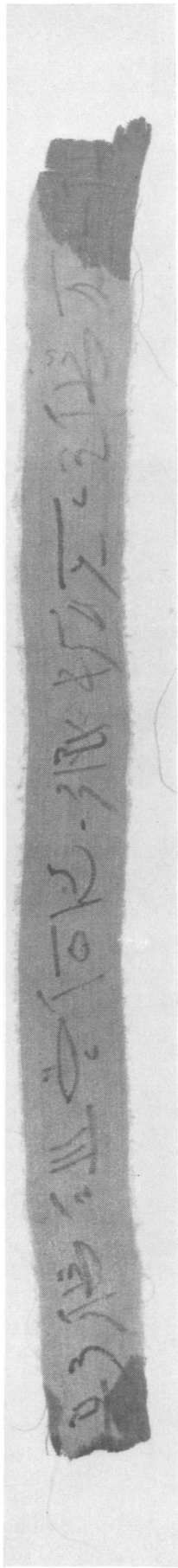
2. Bandage 2. Book of the Dead, Ch. 160

Three strips of papyrus with hieroglyphs, arranged vertically. Each strip contains a line of text. The hieroglyphs are arranged in a regular pattern across all three strips. The strips are of varying lengths and widths.

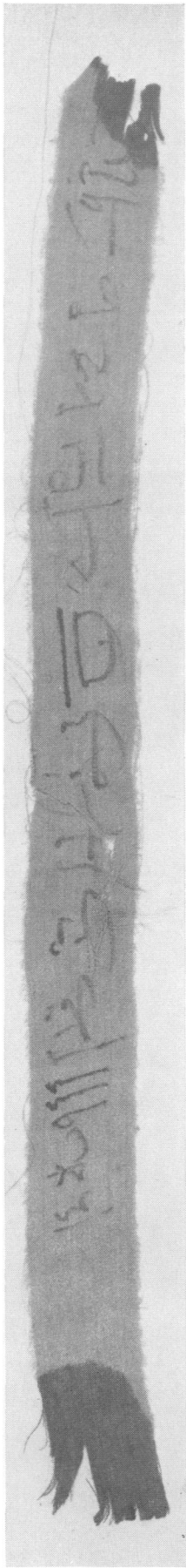
3. Bandage 3. Book of the Dead, Ch. 160
Courtesy *The Rendell, Inc., Newton, Mass.*



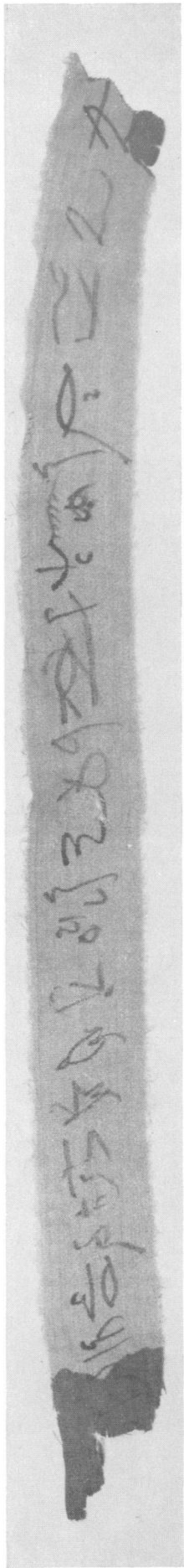
1. Bandage 4. Book of the Dead, Ch. 163



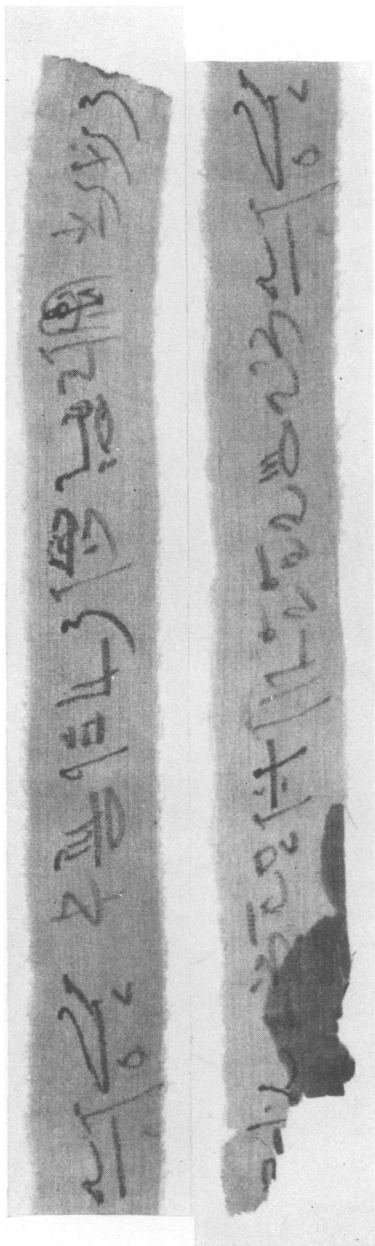
2. Bandage 5. Book of the Dead, Ch. 163



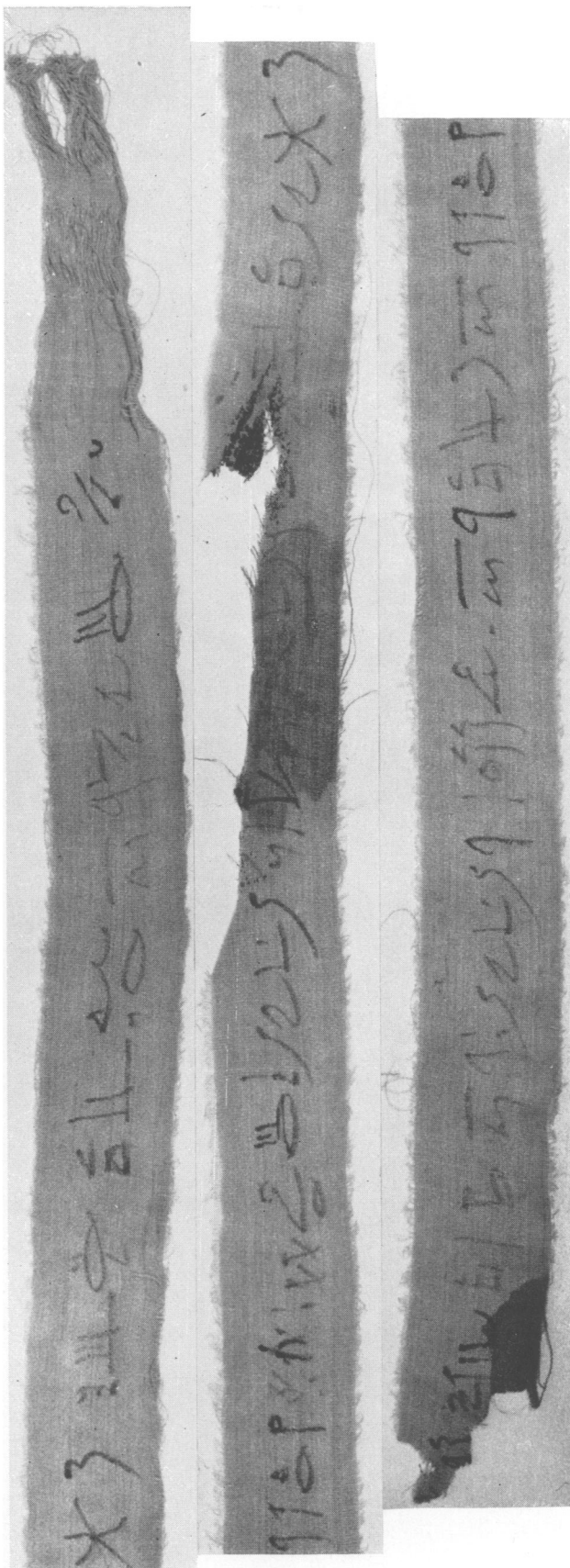
3. Bandage 6. Book of the Dead, Ch. 163



4. Bandage 7. Book of the Dead, Ch. 164
Courtesy The Rendells, Inc., Newton, Mass.



1. Bandage 8. Book of the Dead, Ch. 164



2. Bandage 9. Book of the Dead, Ch. 164
Courtesy The Rendells, Inc., Newton, Mass.

THE RENDELLS MUMMY BANDAGES

A WOODEN FIGURE OF WADJET WITH TWO PAINTED REPRESENTATIONS OF AMASIS

By T. G. H. JAMES

WOODEN objects have survived from Ancient Egypt in great quantity. In the absence of damp and of predatory insects, survival is often miraculous in its completeness. The excellent condition of the funerary equipment of Tutankhamūn owes much to the even, dry environment which it enjoyed from the time of its interment. By contrast, the wood in the surviving burial equipment of Queen Hetepheres was almost wholly decayed, possibly the result of humid conditions.¹ Careful excavation and skilful conservation may enable much to be salvaged when wooden objects, in whole, or in part, are retrieved from their ancient resting places, but, sadly, many of the wooden antiquities discovered in the days before the possibilities of care and conservation were appreciated were so roughly treated when they were extracted from the earth or from the tomb that they survive as poor representatives of one very important part of the Egyptian artistic achievement.

Fragmentary wooden figures exist, mostly unknown, in significant quantities in the older collections of Egyptian antiquities. In the reserves of museums they form sad ranks, superficially unattractive, and inviting little notice. Nevertheless, such figures deserve attention. An object handled, even for the most modest reasons, is on the way to being an object looked at, cared for, and studied. Many wooden figures are no more damaged than the stone sculptures surviving often in fragmentary state, which excite, quite properly, the close attention of scholars.

The wooden figure which forms the subject of this article (see pls. XVIII–XIX) received the modest attention indicated in the last paragraph during a reorganization of storage in the British Museum. It represents a lioness-headed deity, who, in the only published reference to it, is described as ‘the goddess Sekhmet seated on a throne. On the sides of the throne are painted figures of Amasis II making offerings to the gods; on the back is the symbol of the union of the South and North.’² In spite of the specific mention of Amasis II of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in this description, the figure has seemingly escaped the attention of scholars during a period of intensive study of the Saïte Period, even as it has passed generally unnoticed in the British Museum. It may now, however, be taken as a good, perhaps unusually good, example, of what may remain to be found in the examination of divine wooden figures, mostly fragmentary,

¹ See G. A. Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis*, II. *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops*, 20 n. 6, where the cause of the disintegration of the wood is shown not to have been a fungus growth, as was at first suspected.

² BM 11482: see *British Museum. A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room* (1922), 198, no. 142.

not all of which are run-of-the-mill Ptaḥ-Soker-Osiris reliquaries, in the neglected parts of museum collections.

Noticed, as I have indicated, in the course of a general move of parts of the British Museum's reserve collections, this figure has recently been comprehensively cleaned and conserved by the wood subsection of the Organics Section of the Museum's Department of Conservation and Technical Services. Many details of the surviving decoration were revealed in the course of this treatment, and the many loose areas of decorated gesso-plaster made secure. A description of the piece, written in the middle of the nineteenth century by Samuel Birch, indicates that some, although not considerable, damage has occurred to this plaster in the intervening century or more. Birch's account, composed for the purpose of recording the figure for the Museum's archive, is careful and extensive, and notably well informed for the time of its writing; it has been used as a trustworthy control in compiling the description included in this article.³

The figure was presented to the British Museum in 1852 by the third Marquis of Northampton in fulfilment of the wishes of his father, the second Marquis, who had died in 1851. The second Marquis, Spencer Joshua Alwyne Compton, had a more than general interest in archaeology, and in 1850 he paid an extended visit to Egypt.⁴ In a letter to Samuel Birch, written in Alexandria and dated 5 April 1850, he says: 'I have sent to Mr. McCuachan(?), the importer, a tablet and a sarcophagus which I wish to present to the Museum.' The gift failed to reach the Museum before the donor's death, and on 19 January 1852, the following note was received by Birch:

Lord Northampton presents his compts. to Mr. Birch and begs to inform him that there are at his house in Piccadilly some cases containing a sarcophagus in two pieces covered with Hieroglyphics—a tablet also covered with Hieroglyphics, and a wooden Doll or Toy figure which were intended to be presented to the British Museum by his father who bought them in Egypt. These cases were detained by unavoidable circumstances or would have been sent sooner. They are now at Mr. Birch's disposal whenever he will send for them.

Under the date 13 March 1852, the Museum's Book of Presents, 1846–54, records: 'An Egyptian tablet, sculptured and inscribed, and the lid of an alabaster sarcophagus, and a wooden figure of Pasht: from the Marquis of Northampton at the desire of the late Marquis.'

No further details about the provenances of these antiquities are included in the meagre available documentation. The sarcophagus lid is that of Peditḥorḥepḥep of Ptolemaic date;⁵ the stela shows an unidentified Roman Emperor offering adoration to various gods.⁶ The wooden doll, or figure of Pasht, described in the Museum *Guide* of 1922 as 'the goddess Sekhmet seated on a throne', may be considered a Delta piece

³ The Birch slips contain descriptions of the whole Egyptian collection of the British Museum at the time of his Keepership. The bound volumes of the slips are kept in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities.

⁴ See James, 'The Northampton Statue of Sekhemka', *JEA* 49 (1963), 5 ff., where further details about the second Marquis of Northampton may be found. He had become a Trustee of the British Museum in 1849.

⁵ BM 790: see *British Museum. A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)* (1909), 251, no. 934.

⁶ BM 789, op. cit. 283, no. 1056.

in view of the identification of the subject as Wadjet, or Edjō, the deity of Buto in the northern Delta. This identification will be discussed shortly.

Apart from the loss of its head-dress⁷ and its two arms,⁸ the figure, as a wooden sculpture, survives almost intact. The loss of most of the plaster which covered the figure has revealed the way in which the figure was constructed. The main body of the goddess, from the head to the mid-thighs, is carved from a single piece of wood, possibly sycamore, which, subsequent to carving, was then split down the middle to enable the craftsmen to hollow out the body. The same technique was used for the box-throne on which the goddess was seated. It is even probable that the throne was carved from the same piece of wood as the body. The few places where the junction between figure and throne can be observed reveal no certain join; unfortunately, the two places where the seat of the figure forms distinct lines of contact with the throne, on the left and right sides, retain the gesso covering, and this conceals all constructional detail. The throne, however, like the body, is split down the middle for hollowing. A flat piece of wood is applied to the main mass of the throne to form its back. It incorporates the cushion fold over the back which is characteristic of this type of throne. A close examination of the grain of the wood reveals without doubt that the body of the figure is made of one piece, as described above. The grain of the wood of the throne less conclusively supports the suggestion that the throne and body are fashioned from the one piece of wood. The two parts of the split body and throne were stuck together by a black adhesive of a bituminous character, liberally and carelessly applied, which was subsequently covered by gesso.

The thighs and legs of the figure down to the heels are carved out of a single piece of wood, unsplit, and the feet, delicately carved with the toes carefully differentiated, are separately attached to the legs by tenons. A broad dowel extending below the heels of the figure fixes the legs into the pedestal. The bottom of the throne is similarly sunk into the pedestal and the whole figure with its throne is secured firmly in position by wedges.

The pedestal of the figure is repaired in a few places with wooden insertions held in place by pegs. Its underside has a large rectangular hole 18.5 × 12.5 cm connecting with the cavity occupying the centre of the throne and extending up into the body of the deity. This hole is closed by a plug which has not been removed. The pedestal measures 47.3 cm in length, 19.2 cm in width, and 8.9 cm in height. The figure of the goddess is 56.4 cm high, from the tips of the ears to the surface of the pedestal; the width of the throne at its back is 13.7 at the bottom, and 13.1 cm at the top; the distance from the back of the throne to the tips of the toes is 30.5 cm. Overall the height of the figure with its pedestal is 65.3 cm.

From the description of the construction of the figure given above, it is evident that it was made to contain something. No attempt has as yet been made to open up

⁷ From comparable figures published by Vandier, discussed below, possibly the sun-disc or the uraeus.

⁸ Birch notes: 'Her right hand is placed at her side with the palm downwards.' This hand, presumably with its arm, has become separated from the body and has not yet been identified among the large number of detached limbs of wooden figures preserved in the Museum's reserves.

the cavity, but some idea of the nature of its contents can be obtained through the crack in the front of the throne. Through this crack can be seen what appears to be a package wrapped in coarse linen, and it may be judged probable that this package contains the mummified body or skeleton of some creature. It is hoped that by means of X-ray photographs some idea may be obtained of the nature of this creature in the near future. A reasonable guess at the identity may, however, be made from what is already known about the contents of other figures of lioness-headed deities of the Late Period.

B. V. Bothmer was the first to show, with adequate documentation, that in the Late Period lioness-headed seated deities regularly represented the goddess Wadjet.⁹ From the results of the examination of the contents of bronze figures of this kind in the Berlin Museum, he demonstrated that they were used as receptacles for the remains of ichneumons, and that the seated representation was favoured because the throne could provide a cavity of adequate size for the deposit. Further, on the basis of a figure in the Abbott Collection in The Brooklyn Museum, he suggested that 'Hollow wooden statuettes, too, may have been used in this way . . .'.¹⁰ The figure under discussion here appears fully to confirm Bothmer's findings and to support his suggestion. Studies by J. Vandier in the meanwhile have provided extensive additional documentation, and also established the existence of similar seated lion-headed divine figures, contemporary with the lioness-headed figures, and representing Horus of Buto.¹¹

In his survey of these seated bronze figures, Vandier offers explanations for the lioness-headed representation of Wadjet (commonly shown as an uraeus), and for the unlikely association of the ichneumon (an established enemy of snakes) with this goddess. As the uraeus Wadjet was identified with the eye of Rē; the goddesses Tefnut and Bastet, also identified with the eye of Rē, were both commonly lioness-headed. By analogy, therefore, Wadjet in the Late Period came to be represented similarly.¹² This explanation, simply stated, may sufficiently account for the identification, although the common source for the representation of all these goddesses with lioness heads may be Sekhmet. A recent study by J. Yoyotte of the influence of the massive and manifold representations of Sekhmet at Thebes and the diffusion of the conception of the 'dangerous goddess' in the theology of the Late Period both justifies Vandier's explanation with ample evidence, and demonstrates the richness of ideas and confusion of concepts which characterize Egyptian religion particularly in the identification and overlapping of the forms and roles of deities.¹³ One text, quoted by Yoyotte from a study by Goyon, illustrates, for the purpose of the present enquiry, the tenuous basis upon which so many identifications and conjectures rest. A purification formula found in a number of Graeco-Roman temples invokes 'Sekhmet of

⁹ B. V. Bothmer, 'Statuettes of *Wꜣdꜣt* as Ichneumon Coffins', *JNES* 8 (1949), 121 ff.

¹⁰ Op. cit. 122.

¹¹ J. Vandier, 'Oudjet et l'Horus léontocéphale de Bouto', *Mon. Piot* 55 (1967), 7 ff.; id., 'Un bronze de la déesse Oudjet à Bologne', *ZAS* 97 (1971), 126 ff.

¹² Id., *Mon. Piot* 55, 58.

¹³ J. Yoyotte, 'Une monumentale litanie de granit: les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse', *BSFE* 87-8 (March and May 1980), 46 ff.

yesterday, Wadjet of today . . . protect the King (various epithets omitted) with that papyrus (*wꜣd*) of life which is in your hand, in this your name Wadjet (*wꜣdt*).¹⁴ Standing statues of Sekhmet regularly depict the goddess holding a papyrus-sceptre in her left hand.

The association of the ichneumon with Wadjet derives, without much doubt, from a similar amalgam of religious ideas and divine relationships, difficult to analyse and charged with unresolved contradictions. Vandier saw the most probable link as that between the deities of Letopolis, capital of the Second Lower Egyptian nome, and Buto. The falcon-god of Letopolis, Mekhentyirty, a form of Horus, was closely associated in the Late Period with Wadjet, and the ichneumon was an animal sacred to the god of Letopolis.¹⁵ The ichneumon as a sacred animal at Letopolis was, however, a manifestation of one aspect only of Mekhentyirty—the seeing form, while the shrew-mouse represented the blind aspect of the god. This distinction has been more than adequately established by E. Brunner-Traut, who has adduced useful zoological evidence to determine the diurnal and nocturnal habits of the two creatures.¹⁶ Her study includes an examination of the divine relationships between Letopolis and Buto. She has elsewhere demonstrated the divine link between the otter and Wadjet at Buto, an additional source of possible confusion in that the bronze representations of the otter (not a common Egyptian animal) have frequently been mistaken for ichneumons, although the Egyptian artists were quite precise in distinguishing between the two animals.¹⁷

As a manifestation of the Horus of Letopolis, the ichneumon may, simply, by association, have developed a link with Wadjet, through that goddess's divine partnership with Horus. Vandier pointed out that the bronze seated figures of lion-headed gods, representations of Horus of Buto, have cavities similar to those found in the seated lioness-headed bronzes, and might equally once have contained the remains of ichneumons.¹⁸ To pursue the mythological intricacies of these associations and identifications further is outside the requirements of the present study, but it is additionally worth drawing attention to one interesting representation found on the reveal of the doorway to the Sanctuary of the Temple of Hibis in the Oasis of El-Khârga, discussed briefly by E. Brunner-Traut.¹⁹ Wadjet as a cobra and Horus as a falcon are shown accompanied respectively by an ichneumon and a shrew-mouse. It has not, however, been noted previously that the ichneumon is apparently named *Šhmt nb(t)* . . . $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏}$,²⁰ 'Sekhmet, Lady of Si . . . (?)', the most specific textual evidence linking Wadjet, by way of the ichneumon, to Sekhmet.

In returning to the description of the figure of Wadjet, which is the subject of this

¹⁴ Op. cit. 69, quoting from J.-C. Goyon, 'Une formule solennelle de purification des offrandes dans les temples ptolémaïques', *CdÉ* 45 (1970), 269.

¹⁵ Vandier, op. cit. 54.

¹⁶ E. Brunner-Traut, 'Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes', *NAWG* (1965), 123 ff.

¹⁷ Id., 'Ägyptische Mythen im Physiologus', *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 13 ff.

¹⁸ Op. cit. 53 n. 5, citing also Brunner-Traut, *NAWG* (1965), 161.

¹⁹ N. de G. Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khârgah Oasis*, III. *The Decoration* (New York, 1953), pl. 5, north reveal, scene IV; see Brunner-Traut, loc. cit.

²⁰ Davies's facsimile is clear, but the reading and identification of this apparent place-name are in doubt.

study, some comments are first needed on the piece as a wooden sculpture. The painted and gilded gesso covering, which is mostly lost, transformed a simple carved figure into a magnificent representation of the goddess. The remnants of decorated gesso provide ample hints of the original appearance of the finished statuette, and happily much of the most important parts of this decoration survive on the sides and back of the throne. But the wooden figure which served as the ground for this decoration was no mean carving, and the loss of the gesso on the body has made it possible to appreciate the skill and artistry of the unknown craftsman.

The lioness-head of the goddess, represented as usual wearing the tripartite wig, is carved with very sensitive modelling of the cheeks and jawl, the underlying bone-structure of the skull being subtly indicated (see pls. XVIII, 5; XIX, 5). Above the brow a line of thicker hair is carved and the left ear is scored with those striations commonly used to represent the ear-markings, and which may be seen reproduced in gilded and painted gesso on the right ear. The eyes are inlaid, and add strikingly to the appearance of the head. Slightly convex pieces of polished transparent glass form the whole surfaces of the eyes—lost in the case of the right eye—set in eyelids made of pale blue-grey glass, so thin as to seem at first glance to be made of silver. The iris in both eyes is represented by a gilded circle in the centre of which the pupil is painted with black pigment. Touches of red paint (caruncles) can be seen in both the angles (canthi) formed by the junctions of the upper and lower eyelids.²¹

The torso of the figure is slender, and distinguished by a proportional elongation emphasized by the treatment of the modelling to which the name tripartition is sometimes given (see pl. XIX, 5).²² This form of treatment, in which the chest, rib-cage, and abdomen are distinctly separated, very noticeably so in stone sculpture and in bronze figures,²³ is carried out with great skill in this figure of Wadjet; the wooden medium provided the carver with the possibility of rendering the transition from part to part with great subtlety. The junction between the lioness head and female human body is marked by the line of the ruff of fur and the two front divisions of the tripartite wig which come down almost to the point where the breasts begin to swell. These last are modelled with subtle competence: they are full, youthful breasts, wholly in keeping with the slender body of the goddess, and their naturalness is much enhanced by the two rolls of flesh shown swelling gently below them.

The mid-part of the body tapers slightly to a slim waist, passing without noticeable division into the lowest section of the body in the modelling of which the artist has shown his greatest powers of observation. The abdomen swells perceptibly, sagging slightly on to the lap of the figure, while the hips and buttocks spread out in a manner consistent with the posture of a young, slightly plump, female body settling into a seated position. The back of the body is less sensitively carved, but the form originally

²¹ This method of representing the eye corresponds most closely to Lucas's Class IV, cf. *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn. (1962), 121 f. The best examples noted by Lucas are of Fourth Dynasty date, but he found many of similar, but debased, workmanship in Graeco-Roman mummy masks.

²² Cf. B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, xxxv.

²³ See the remarks of C. Aldred, 'The Carnarvon Statuette of Amūn', *JEA* 42 (1956), 7.

achieved by the carver has to some extent been lost by the splitting of the figure and the subsequent generous caulking of the split with a bituminous adhesive.

Only with the carving of the legs below the knees does it become evident that the goddess was represented wearing a long, close-fitting, garment, the hem-line of which is marked on the lower legs and in the gap between the legs. As is not uncommon with Egyptian sculpture of persons wearing close-fitting garments, the contours of the limbs underneath are here clearly indicated. The ridges of the shin bones, and the swelling of the calves are fully distinguished, while the ankle bones are precisely carved. Such detail, certain to be concealed by the gesso-plaster later applied, was not neglected by the artist. Similarly the carefully differentiated toes, already mentioned, are shown with the nails lightly marked.

The remains of gesso on the right side of the head show that much of the ground was painted in a yellowish-white colour, on which significant detail was added, the markings of the ruff in black paint and the striations of the wig in blue. A further surviving area of painted gesso on the back of the head confirms the striping of the wig in white and blue. A patch of gold leaf by the right eye suggests that the whole of the face may originally have been gilded. One or two similar traces of gilded gesso on the otherwise plaster-free body lead one to suppose that the garment worn by the goddess was also represented by gilding. The theft of this gilded plaster would then account for the stripping of the figure, which in other respects is in very good condition.

Apart from the artistic merit of the piece, its principal interest resides in the painted plaster decorations on the two sides and back of the throne. The scenes and individual representations can all be paralleled in the thrones of the bronze Wadjet and Horus of Buto statuettes discussed by Vandier, and, in the following description, Vandier's two studies mentioned above will be referred to for comparative material and for further discussions.²⁴

On the left side of the throne (see pl. XIX, 1, 3) there are two scenes contained within a border consisting of groups of three narrow rectangles painted red, blue, and red, alternating with wider rectangles painted blue; the scenes are separated by a broad blue band of colour, the left corner of which is slightly turned down; it probably represents the sign of heaven (☩). In the upper scene a king offers two pots of wine (?) to a seated goddess. The former, on the left, is named *Hnm-ib-Rc s3 Rc Tch-ms s3 <Nt>*,²⁵ i.e. Amasis, fifth king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (570–526 BC). The signs of the text are outlined in blue; *ib* and *Rc* in the prenomen are filled in with red. The king is shown wearing the blue crown, and a conventional kilt with triangular projection, painted white with the lines of the pleats in blue. Most of the body is lost, but the face, hands, and parts of legs visible are coloured a brick-red. His bull's tail is blue; he is shown without sandals; the pots he holds are painted red above and blue below. An offering table (blue) placed between the king and goddess is shown piled with three

²⁴ See p. 159 n. 11; subsequently the two articles will be referred to as *Mon. Piot* 55, and *ZÄS* 97, with appropriate page numbers.

²⁵ The absence of the expected sign of the goddess Neith in the otherwise well-written nomen-cartouche is unusual and surprising.

loaves (the conical one being red above and blue below, the two circular being red), a goose (blue), and an undetermined object, possibly a duck or a joint (blue). The goddess, recipient of these offerings, only partly survives; she was represented seated on a throne, placed on a low platform, holding a *wꜣd*-sceptre in one hand. Her long tunic, throne, and platform are painted blue, her flesh is yellow, the sceptre greenish-blue, its lower end marked with the characteristic overlapping scales. The goddess, without head, head-dress, and inscription can be identified from comparable representations on bronzes. One side of a bronze throne in the Louvre shows a woman adoring a standing figure of the lioness-headed Wadjet, holding the *wꜣd*-sceptre;²⁶ one side of the throne of a seated Wadjet in the Museo Civico in Bologna has a scene of Apries, the royal predecessor of Amasis, making offering to Wadjet, seated on a throne and holding the *wꜣd*-sceptre.²⁷ There can be little doubt that it is Wadjet to whom Amasis makes offering on the British Museum figure.

The lower scene on the left side of the throne is mostly lost, but enough has survived to show that it contained representations of three (originally perhaps four) Souls of Nekhen, jackal-headed, facing towards the front of the throne. They occupy their characteristic attitude, with one fist raised high and the other placed on the breast; presumably they were shown kneeling with one knee raised, as are the corresponding Souls of Pe on the other side of the throne. The bodies of the Souls of Nekhen are painted brick-red, their heads are black, and their tripartite wigs are blue.²⁸

Two corresponding scenes on the right side of the throne are damaged in part, but their subjects are wholly determinable (see pl. XIX, 2). The decorated border is similar to that on the left side, except that the groups of the rectangles are arranged in the order blue, red, blue. Between the upper and lower scenes is again a broad blue band which cannot be identified with certainty as the heaven-sign. Here in the upper scene a king, identified as Amasis by the prenomen-cartouche written above his head, faces left and offers to a god seated on a throne, most of whose figure is lost, but identified by inscription as 'Horus of Pe'. The royal representation is similar in stance, dress, and colouring to the figure on the left side, except that he is here shown wearing apparently the *nemes*-head-dress (painted blue) not the blue crown. Unfortunately much of the face and front of the head-dress is lost. The principal offering made to the seated deity is the formal representation of a field (𓏏𓏏𓏏) placed on a basket, the whole painted blue. Apart from a leg and a hand holding the *was*-sceptre, nothing survives of the divine figure. The colour surviving on this remnant is bluish black, but its condition is such that it scarcely allows a proper estimation of the original colour. The seated figure of Horus was placed on a mat, outlined and marked with black lines, and in front of the god, also on the mat, stands an offering-table, the pedestal of which is blue, and the top red. It carries a conical loaf (blue), two circular loaves (that on the

²⁶ Louvre E. 3757; *Mon. Piot* 55, 40, fig. 21.

²⁷ Bologna 294; *ZAS* 97, 127 f., pl. ix, a. A further bronze figure, in a private collection, of the lion-headed Horus of Buto, has a scene of a king (possibly Nectanebo I of the Thirtieth Dynasty) offering to a goddess who may be Wadjet: see *Mon. Piot* 55, 74 f.

²⁸ Two further representations of both groups of Souls are found on Cairo 38598 and Berlin 11867; see *Mon. Piot* 55, 32, 45, also 61.

left is tinged pink, that on the right uncoloured), a trussed goose (uncoloured but with fine precise details added in black) and an indeterminate joint of meat (also uncoloured).

In the lower scene on the right side are representations of three (originally perhaps four) Souls of Pe, facing right towards the front of the throne. As mentioned above, they are shown kneeling with one knee raised; in each case one fist is raised high, and the other placed on the breast. The falcon heads are painted black, the tripartite wigs are blue and the flesh of the bodies is red. They wear kilts, painted white with black markings for the pleats.

Two scenes are painted on the back of the throne (see pl. XIX, 4), each contained within borders of coloured rectangles. The upper scene, occupying the part representing the folded cushion over the back-rest, consists of a representation of a falcon with sun-disc on its head, and with its wings outstretched in the downward protective manner. It holds a *shen*-ring in each foot, which may also have held ostrich feathers; a red line passing through the left foot may represent the shaft of an ostrich-feather. This falcon motif is commonly found on the backs of bronze statuettes of Wadjet and Horus of Buto.²⁹ The sun-disc on the falcon's head is painted red, its uraeus (partly visible) is blue; the falcon head is unpainted with detail added in black; the details of the wings and legs are outlined in black, and three rows of feathers are represented by thick strokes of paint, the top row in red, the two other rows in blue, touched at their bottom ends with red. The *shen*-rings are blue. By a very fortunate chance the one piece of plaster surviving in the field above the falcon carries most of a cartouche containing the nomen of Amasis. Birch records the cartouche as if it were complete at his time of writing. He transcribes completely the *Nt*-sign to the left of *ms*, but part only of it can still be discerned; it was omitted, it will be remembered, in the writing of the nomen on the left side of the throne. The signs of *ms* are transposed. The first sign in the cartouche, the crescent moon, appears to be written in the inverted position (☾), although it is not so transcribed by Birch. Damage prevents the settlement of the point, but the reading is not in doubt. In spite of the graphic peculiarities of the writing of the nomen, the individual signs are carefully drawn, as elsewhere on the throne.

The lower scene on the back of the throne is framed at the bottom by a kind of panelled façade motif. Much of the gesso is lost, but the subject is clearly identifiable as that of the union of the Two Lands by two Nile gods. Similar representations are recorded by Vandier on two bronzes,³⁰ and he notes other depictions of the same idea through different symbolism on other bronze statuettes.³¹ Here the Nile gods are painted green; their girdles are red and their 'sporrans' have red tassels; the sign of union (*smꜣ*) is red; the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, and the ropes with which they are being tied to the *smꜣ* are also green. There are no remains of text.

The pedestal of the figure was also originally covered with gesso, of which a very few fragments have been preserved on the two long sides. Traces of large hieroglyphic

²⁹ See *Mon. Piot* 55, 53. The ostrich feathers can best be seen in fig. 4*b*, p. 20.

³⁰ Louvre E. 3757; see *Mon. Piot* 55, 40 and fig. 21; Berlin 11867, *ibid.* 45.

³¹ *Mon. Piot* 55, 52.

signs can be recognized as forming a pattern of ♀ and ♂, a scheme confirmed by Birch's observations. It is not unlikely that the signs were grouped in threes (with ♀ flanked by ♂s) placed on ∩-baskets, a common combination.³²

Vandier came to the conclusion that the symbolism found in the decoration of the thrones of the figures of Wadjet and Horus of Buto could be best understood as an expression of the importance of the idea of the union of Upper and Lower Egypt, and of Buto in this process.³³ The decoration on the British Museum wooden figure in no way contradicts Vandier's thesis. Unification is clearly a major theme, although the simple honouring of the principal deities of Buto might be considered as a separate and adequate theme in itself. Interpretation should not, perhaps, be taken too far in this matter.

What commands special attention, however, is the depiction of Amasis in two places on the throne of the figure. Painted representations of kings of the Late Period are not common,³⁴ and it would be wrong to suggest that those which exist from this period (or indeed from other periods) can be assessed in terms of portraiture on the same level as three-dimensional sculpture or even of representations in relief. The scale and nature of a painting on a votive figure of the kind under discussion do not encourage confidence in the fidelity of the depiction. One only of the two representations of Amasis can seriously be considered; that on the right side of the throne is too badly damaged for serious study. The well-preserved 'likeness' on the left side of the throne (see pl. XIX, 3) is only 2.2 cm high, including the blue crown. It is truly a miniature and suffers from the limitations imposed on the painter working at small scale. Furthermore, there is no reason to suppose that this portrait of Amasis was executed with any intention of producing anything more than a royal representation in the contemporary tradition. The few identifiable sculptured portraits of Amasis are themselves similarly produced,³⁵ to be distinguished by small iconographical details rather than by idiosyncrasies of physiognomy. Nothing in the painting contradicts what is known from the sculptures. It is necessarily neither more nor less a portrait of Amasis. And yet, in its simplicity, it may be seen as the realization of one, not unaccomplished, painter's conception of how the Pharaoh should be shown. For him at least this was Amasis; by inscription the identification was clinched.

³² e.g. on a cabinet from Tutankhamun's tomb, Carter, *Tutankhamun*, III, pl. xxxv, A.

³³ *Mon. Piot* 55, 71; *ZÄS* 97, 129.

³⁴ A painted head of Taharqa has been found at Qasr Ibrim: see J. M. Plumley, *JEA* 61 (1975), 20, pl. xii.

³⁵ For a useful survey see Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 61 f.



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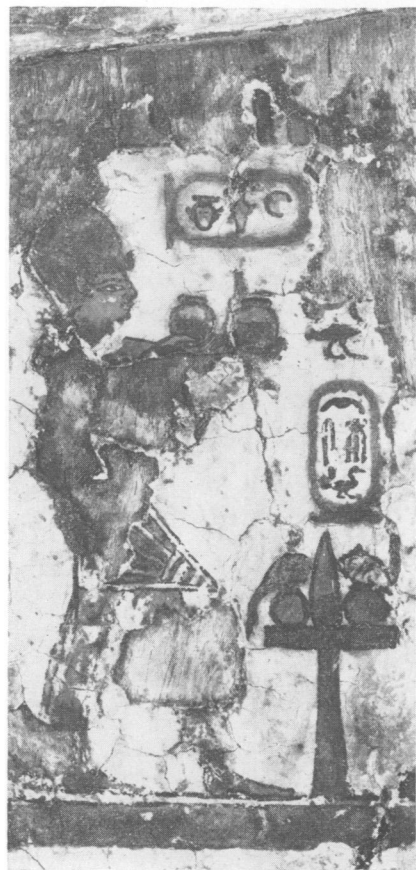
Courtesy the British Museum
A WOODEN FIGURE OF WADJET (BM 11482)



I



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Courtesy the British Museum

A WOODEN FIGURE OF WADJET (BM 11482)

THE INSCRIPTION OF UDJAḤORRESNET* A COLLABORATOR'S TESTAMENT

By ALAN B. LLOYD

THE Persian occupation of Egypt elicited from its inhabitants a predictable range of reactions.¹ Some collaborated, some opposed, most had recourse to acquiescence in a situation which they may not have relished, but could do nothing to change. It is the purpose of the present paper to study the first of these reactions by analysing in depth the most detailed of all surviving texts which give expression to it.

The text in question is the inscription on the naophorous statue of Udjaḥorresnet which was set up in the temple of Neith at Saïs during the reign of Darius I, probably about Regnal Year 3, i.e. c.519 B.C., and discusses the relations between the owner, on the one hand, and Cambyses and Darius on the other.² This document has already been the subject of much good work, and distinguished contributions to its understanding have been made particularly by Posener and Otto. Both have rightly detected an apologetic dimension designed to excuse Udjaḥorresnet's policy of co-operation, but a great deal remains to be said in defining the psychological and cultural concepts which governed his attitude, and it is this concern which forms the main burden of what follows.

Attitudes are the product of the interaction between culturally determined

* I am grateful to Professor J. Gwyn Griffiths, J. D. Ray, D. Jones, and V. A. Donohue, all of whom read and commented upon this article at various stages in its evolution. The views expressed are, however, my own.

¹ The Persian occupation of Egypt fell into two periods, 525–404 and 343–332, separated by a turbulent period of independence under native Egyptian rule. For detailed studies see G. Buchanan Gray in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, iv (Cambridge, 1926), 15 ff.; E. M. Walker, op. cit. v, 75 ff., 83 ff.; W. W. Tarn, op. cit. vi, 21 ff.; H. R. Hall, op. cit. vi, 137 ff.; G. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 11) (Cairo, 1936); A. Klasens, 'Cambyses en Egypte', *JÉOL* 9–10 (1944–8), 339 ff.; J. Schwartz, 'Les conquérants perses et la littérature égyptienne', *BIFAO* 48 (1948), 65 ff.; F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953); E. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954); E. Bresciani, 'La satrapia d'Egitto', *Studi classici e orientali* 7 (1958), 132 ff.; K. M. T. Atkinson, 'The Legitimacy of Cambyses and Darius as Kings of Egypt', *JAOs* 76 (1958), 167 ff.; M. F. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration 663 to 323 B.C.* (Chapel Hill, 1959); É. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte*, 4th edn. (Paris, 1962), 600 ff.; B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (Berkeley–Los Angeles, 1968); E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (New York, 1969, repr. of 1953 edn.); W. Hinz, 'Darius und der Suezkanal', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 8 (1975), 115 ff. There are also useful entries under the relevant Persian and Egyptian kings in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* and Pauly–Wissowa–Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

² Vatican 158 [113]. Full text, translation, commentary and analysis will be found in Posener, op. cit. 1 ff., 164 ff., and A. Tulli, 'Il naoforo vaticano', *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Rome, 1941), 211 ff. There is also a German translation and discussion in Otto, op. cit. 169 ff. (page references to analysis in Index, p. 127, 30), a partial Dutch translation and discussion in Klasens, op. cit., 340 ff., and a partial English translation and discussion in Sir Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 366 ff. It will be clear that I am particularly indebted to the work of Posener and Otto. See also *PM* vii, 416.

thought-patterns and experience,³ which will itself be compounded of two elements: the individual's corpus of experience, and experience specific to the phenomenon in relation to which the attitude has been formed. Therefore, in attempting to define the precise nature of Udjaḥorresnet's position on the Persian Conquest, it is necessary to consider two different, but inseparable aspects of his biography: what actually happened to him, and what were the intellectual constructs which determined the psychological processing, assimilation, and evaluation of those events? Unfortunately, providing answers to these questions is bedevilled by interpretative problems endemic to Egyptian sources: they show a marked tendency to deal in stereotypes; the language is dominated by common-places, and the conceptual framework is permeated by a small number of clearly definable ideal behavioural patterns and ideal character types. Texts dealing with Pharaonic activities are a particular hazard; for they embody the traditional Egyptian philosophy of history according to which historical events are assimilated, to a greater or lesser extent, to a mythological prototype, the cosmic conflict of order and chaos; Pharaoh, as the incarnation of Horus and terrestrial champion of order, is seen as being engaged at all levels of activity in a cosmic struggle against the forces of chaos. This gives rise to a marked tendency in Egyptian texts for the specifically historical elements in a particular event to be stripped away and ignored to enable the author to concentrate on what he considers to be its deeper cosmic significance. This means, in turn, that the modern scholar is often presented with that author's *attitude* to what has happened without being in a position to assess the origin or validity of that attitude against the background of a narrative of events. When attempting to extract information on what actually took place, the historian must adhere to a strict and painstaking methodology: he must first establish the genre to which the text belongs, and strip off the stereotyped elements characteristic of that genre. Then, if anything is left, and frequently there is not, that residue must be evaluated against such comparative material as exists and, with caution, against general probabilities. The detection of attitudes, as distinct from acts, is a more delicate, though often more fruitful pursuit, and depends upon the cultivation of a finely tuned awareness of the fundamental semantic structure of the text as revealed in formulae, vocabulary, and the choice and interrelationship of stereotypes.

In the present instance establishing genre presents no difficulty. The statue of Udjaḥorresnet is an example of the naophorous type which was particularly common during the Late Period. These monuments were set up in temples and combined the functions of traditional funerary stelae and *ex voto* stelae and statues, their location within the temple illustrating the increasing tendency to regard the gods as a surer guarantee of *post mortem* felicity than the provisions of the traditional mortuary cult.⁴

³ For present purposes the term 'attitude' is understood as designating 'inferred *dispositions*, attributed to an individual, according to which his thoughts, feelings, and perhaps action tendencies are organized with respect to a psychological object' (M. Brewster Smith in N. Warren and M. Jahoda (eds.), *Attitudes* (Penguin Modern Psychology Readings) (Harmondsworth, 1973), 26).

⁴ Naophorous statues first appear in the New Kingdom when they may be royal or private (K. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit von der XXII. bis zur XXX. Dynastie* (Äg. Forschungen 1) (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1936), 45 ff.; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III. *Les Grandes Époques. La statuaire* (Paris, 1958), 416, 443, 460 ff.; H. Bonnet, 'Herkunft und Bedeutung

Their ancestry is reflected in several ways: the texts inscribed upon them use the same offering formulae as the stelae, and also share a self-laudatory commemorative or biographical element which usually gives good grounds for suspecting exaggeration, embroidery, and sometimes sheer fabrication; like the *ex votos*, such statues were designed to ensure the owner's permanent participation in divine worship, and were also expected, through the principle of reversion,⁵ to guarantee a steady supply of offerings; again like the *ex votos*, *naophoroi* were intended to testify to the owner's devotion to the divinity, and thereby constituted a plea for, and a claim upon its protection. Inevitably, therefore, the texts which they bear are preeminently concerned with services done, or alleged to have been done, on behalf of the divinity or divinities in whose shrine the statue was erected. Since all biographical information is likely to be tailored to fit this overriding consideration, the historian must always allow for distortion and even falsehood in his analysis.

Having defined both aims and methodological principles, we may now proceed to the analysis of our text.

Introduction (ll. 1–10): This section contains precisely those ingredients which the genre would lead us to expect. It begins with two *hṯp-di-nsw* formulae addressed to Osiris *Hmꜥg* of Saïs⁶ and a supplication to the same god to reciprocate Udjaḥorresnet's sterling service on his behalf (ll. 1–6). Ll. 7–10 are taken up with the owner's titles and ancestry, and reveal that he had been a figure of very considerable importance even before the Persian conquest since he had served as Admiral of the Fleet (*imy-r kbnwt nsw*)⁷ under Amasis (570–26), and Psammeticus III (526–5). This naval office was

der naophoren Statue', *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 91 ff.). Late examples are discussed by B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period, 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (Brooklyn, 1960), Bonnet, op. cit., and C. Aldred, *Egyptian Art* (London, 1980), 203, 228 ff., 233 ff. Instructive Saïte parallels to that of Udjaḥorresnet are those of Peftjuaneith (E. Jelínková-Reymond, 'Quelques recherches sur les réformes d'Amasis', *ASAE* 54 (1957), 251 ff.), Psamtekonbu (W. M. F. Petrie, *Naukratis*, I (London, 1886), 94; E. A. Gardner, *Naukratis*, II (London, 1888), pl. 23, 1a–c), Nakhṯorḥeb (P. Tresson, 'Sur deux monuments égyptiens inédits de l'époque d'Amasis et de Nectanébo 1^{er}', *Kémi* 4 (1931), 126 ff.; Posener, 'Les douanes de la Méditerranée dans l'Égypte saïte', *RdPh* 21 (1947), 120 ff.), Psamteksineith (H. Ranke, 'Eine spätsaitische Statue in Philadelphia', *MDAIK* 12 (1943), 107 ff.), Neferibrēnefer (R. El-Sayed, 'Quelques éclaircissements sur l'histoire de la XXVI^e dynastie, d'après la statue du Caire CG 658', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 29 ff.), and Pairkep (id., 'Deux aspects nouveaux du culte à Saïs', *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 91 ff.).

⁵ It was normal practice for temple-offerings to be presented first to the gods and then to any royal or private statue which stood within the sacred precinct. They would subsequently pass to the priests as part of their stipend. This process was described by such phrases as *wdb ht*, *wdb hṯp-ntr* and *wdb rd* (*Wb.* I, 408, 14–15; R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 76). Amongst other things, this custom was intended to provide a back-up system against the failure of the mortuary service in the tomb: see in general H. Bonnet, *Realexikon der äg. Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), 550; H. W. Fairman, 'Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37 (1) (1954), 180 ff.

⁶ Osiris *Hmꜥg* was the specifically Saïte cult of the god which was intimately connected with that of Neïth. It was centred on the *Hwt-bit(y)*, 'the Mansion of the King of Lower Egypt', which lay in the precinct of Neïth itself, and contained the *Hwt Hmꜥg*, the site of the ritual tomb of Osiris, which was probably similar in design to the Osireion at Abydos and almost certainly identical with the *ραφαί* described by Herodotus at 2. 170, 1: see further El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 69) (Cairo, 1975), 199 ff.

⁷ On the implications of this title for Saïte naval history see Alan B. Lloyd, 'Triremes and the Saïte Navy', *JEA* 58 (1972), 272 ff.

evidently lost after the conquest, and the other titles are civilian. How many of the latter were also acquired during the pre-Persian period is quite unclear, but, since two of them were certainly conferred by Cambyses (l. 13), the same may hold true for the rest. The naval command might be taken to imply that he was a member of the *Machimos* or Warrior Class frequently mentioned in Classical texts,⁸ and that may well be correct. After all, his family was Saïte, and the Saïte Nome is known to have been a centre of *Machimos* settlement. Admittedly, his father's titles were entirely sacerdotal, and those of Udjaḥorresnet himself are mainly non-military, but the case of Smatawytefnakht at the end of the fourth century (see below, p. 178 ff.) indicates that *Machimos* descent was perfectly compatible with administrative and priestly offices. On the whole, therefore, we must reckon with the distinct possibility that Udjaḥorresnet's text reflects the reaction of at least one *Machimos* to the Persian domination.

The Autobiography: This section is mainly taken up with an account of Udjaḥorresnet's relations with Cambyses. The most important passages for our purposes run as follows:

The Great King of All Foreign Lands, Cambyses, came to Egypt, the foreigners of all foreign lands being with him. In its entirety did he gain mastery of this land, (12) they setting themselves down therein. He was the Great Ruler of Egypt, and the Great Chief of All Foreign Lands, His Majesty handing over to me the office of Chief Physician, (13) having caused me to be beside him as a Companion and Controller of the Palace when I had made his royal titulary in his name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt Mesuti-rēc (sc. Offspring of Rēc) . . .⁹

I made supplication (18) in the presence of the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Cambyses, concerning all the foreigners who had settled in the temple of Neith (19) to drive them therefrom so as to cause the temple of Neith to be in all its beneficial powers¹⁰ as in its primal condition, so that His Majesty commanded that all the foreigners (20) [who] had settled in the temple of Neith be expelled, that all their houses be demolished and all their abominations which were in this temple . . . (21) . . . and His Majesty commanded that the temple of Neith be purified, and

⁸ The Saïte Nome is specifically mentioned as *Machimos* territory by Herodotus (2. 165). Their ancestors were the Libyan mercenaries who had played an important role in the Egyptian army since the Ramesside Period and had been settled in permanent camps mainly in the Delta. By the Persian Period they must have been completely Egyptianized, but evidently remained a major component in the Egyptian army (E. Meyer, 'Gottestaats, Militärherrschaft und Ständewesen in Ägypten', *SPAW* 28 (1928), 495 ff.; J. Pirenne, *Histoire de la civilisation de l'Égypte ancienne*, III (Neuchâtel, 1963), 5, 122 ff.; Kienitz, op. cit. 11 ff., 113 ff.; Gardiner, *AEO* I (Oxford, 1947), 119* ff.; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973), 244 ff., 285, 288, 291, 395 ff.; F. Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer* (Wiesbaden, 1974)).

⁹ This translation is based on the following analysis of the verbal forms: *ḥkꜣ·n·f* (11), emphatic *šdm·n·f* to adverbial adjunct *rꜣwt·f*; *wḏ nꜣ ḥm·f* (12), circumstantial *šdm·f* dependent upon *wn·f* . . . *ḥst nb(t)*; *rd·n·f ḥpr·i* (13), circumstantial *šdm·n·f*; *ir·n·(i)* (13), emphatic *šdm·n·f* to adverbial adjunct *m rn·f n nsw-bit(y) Mswti-rꜣ*.

¹⁰ Posener (op. cit. 15), Otto (op. cit. 170), and Gardiner (op. cit. 367) all translate 'splendour'. This is probably inadequate. A survey of the *ḥ*-words recorded in *Wb.* 1, 13, 7-18, 15, strongly suggests that the root combines two complementary notions: splendour and beneficial power. In the present case it seems probable that it is beneficial power which is being emphasized for two reasons: since the text, as a whole, is concerned with the proper *functioning* of the temple, not its appearance, the word's role-aspect would be more apposite; where monuments are concerned, *ḥ*/*ḥw* is certainly used to evoke their 'power', as indicated, amongst other things by its frequent twinning with *mnḥ*, whose role-aspect is beyond doubt (see below n. 22); for examples of the association of *mnḥ* and *ḥ* see Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 68, 4 (cf. 82, 20); *Wb. Belegstellen*, II, 85, 6 (unpublished); A. Mariette, *Abydos*, I (Paris, 1869), pl. 19 d (most instructive); L. Borchardt, *Zur Baugeschichte des Amonstempels von Karnak* (Untersuchungen 5) (Leipzig, 1912), 40.

that all its people be restored to it (22) . . . the priesthood of the temple. His Majesty commanded that offerings should be given to Neith, the Great One, the Mother of the God, and to the great gods who are in Saïs as it was earlier. His Majesty commanded (23) that all their festivals should be [organized], and their feasts of manifestation, as was done earlier. This did His Majesty do because I had caused His Majesty to recognize the greatness of Saïs. It is the city of all gods who shall remain on their thrones therein for ever . . . (25) . . . The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Cambyses came to Saïs. His Majesty betook himself to the temple of Neith and touched the ground before her very great Majesty even as every king had done. He made a great offering (26) of all good things to Neith the Great One, the Mother of the God, and the great gods who are in Saïs even as every excellent king had done. This His Majesty did because I had caused him to know the greatness of Her Majesty; (27) for she is the mother of Rē himself . . . (29) . . . His Majesty completed all that is beneficial in the temple of Neith, establishing the libation for the Lord of Eternity in the temple of Neith even as every king did earlier. (30) This did His Majesty do because I had caused him to recognize how everything beneficial had been fulfilled in this temple by every king because of the greatness of this temple; it is the place of all the gods who live eternally.

The first and most obvious point to make about this narrative is that we are presented with a clear description of Egyptian and Persian coming to terms on the basis of mutual self-interest. Certainly, Udjaḥorresnet no longer figures as Admiral of the Fleet under the Persians, but Cambyses has no compunction in permitting him a high-ranking position at court. Evidently, the Great King was perfectly prepared to use any willing helpers whom he found in Egypt, and quite content to maintain the *status quo*, provided that military security was in no way impaired.¹¹ This policy evidently provided a strong inducement to Udjaḥorresnet, and doubtless many others, to collaborate and even champion the Persian cause, but a careful reading of the text and comparative material demonstrates indisputably that such pragmatism would not have been sufficient in itself to guarantee Cambyses Udjaḥorresnet's good will.¹²

It will be observed that Udjaḥorresnet dwells with particular insistence on the way in which Cambyses had accepted the traditional model of Egyptian kingship, and regulated his behaviour by it. Saïs was a royal city, and Cambyses is represented as showing that city and its cults particular respect. The titles used of Cambyses in ll. 11–12 clearly point to his assumption of Pharaonic status: at l. 11 he is described as *wr ʿ3*, 'Great Chief', and associated with *ḥ3swt/ḥ3swtyw*, 'foreign lands, foreigners', usages which emphasize his initially non-Egyptian status, but, on his conquest of Egypt, he becomes the *ḥk3 ʿ3 n Kmt*, 'the Great Ruler of Egypt', as well as *wr ʿ3 n ḥ3st nb(t)*, 'Great Chief of Every Foreign Land'. This distinction can only mean that his position in Egypt is a special one, and, when we recall that *ḥk3* is a word frequently used of Pharaoh in Egyptian texts, we cannot doubt that an Egyptian reader would have understood the

¹¹ A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago & London, 1959), 237 ff. In the great invasion of Xerxes in 481 the Egyptian fleet was commanded by no less a person than Achaemenes, son of Darius, brother of the Great King himself (Herodotus, 7. 97).

¹² This is not, of course, to deny that pragmatism would have guaranteed *acquiescence*. If we consider relations between Greeks and Persians during the Persian invasions of Greece in 490 and 481, we find that national and personal self-interest and the mortal terror inspired by Persian power were most efficient at inducing a collaborative turn of mind (Herodotus, 7. 138; D. Gillis, *Collaboration with the Persians* (Historia Einzelschrift 34) (Wiesbaden, 1979)).

phrase *ḥkꜣ ꜣ n Kmt* as meaning that, whatever Cambyses might be outside the Nile Valley, within it he was Pharaoh.¹³ This notion is then confirmed by the use of the canonical *ḥm·f* at the end of l. 12 and amplified in l. 13 where Udjaḥorresnet not only gives Cambyses a *nsw-bit(y)* title but devises one which states unequivocally that he is the son of Rēꜥ (*Mswtī-rꜥ*, l. 13). What is more, *Mswtī-rꜥ* does not simply state that he is the offspring of Rēꜥ but, since the word *mswtī* is frequently used of divine offspring and is, therefore, highly charged with ancient religious associations,¹⁴ it makes the point with uncompromising emphasis.

This status established, Udjaḥorresnet next logically proceeds to describe how he instructed Cambyses in the religious duties at Saïs which properly fell under his purview as son of Rēꜥ. Given the genre, it would be wise not to press Udjaḥorresnet's responsibility in this matter too hard.¹⁵ On the other hand, if we compare the substantial number of late biographical inscriptions preserved on naophorous statues and similar monuments, it will become clear that the present example is unique in the prominence given to figures other than the owner. This might be explained by arguing that, in the present instance, the king must have been intimately involved whereas, in other cases, he was not, but such arguments place too much trust in the Egyptian's respect for historical truth. It was standard practice in the Late Period for officials to lay much greater weight on their personal responsibility for a particular achievement than had previously been the case,¹⁶ and they would have had no compunction in playing down royal involvement when it suited them. Such texts are concerned not with truth, but with what the owner wished to be accepted as the truth in a particular context. The fact that Cambyses is most unusually given such prominence must form a significant part of the point, or points, which Udjaḥorresnet was concerned to make.

Cambyses' acceptance of this role is thrown into sharp relief by the detailed account of his cleansing of the temple of Neith, resonant as it is with the religious vocabulary which traditionally described Pharaonic activities: at l. 18 we are told that it is the *ḥm n nsw-bit(y) Kmbtt*, 'the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Cambyses', who is active; at l. 19 the expulsion of the Persian squatters from the temple precinct is expressed by the verb *dr* which is frequently associated with Pharaoh's demiurgic function in that it is often employed of the destruction of forces inimical to the cosmic order;¹⁷ in the same line we hear that Cambyses placed the temple of Neith in *ꜣḥ(w)·s*

¹³ Otto misses the point badly when he comments on the use of this phrase in the tomb of Petosiris: "Terminologisch werden die nicht-ägyptischen Herrscher vorwiegend mit *ḥkꜣ* "Herrscher" bezeichnet" (op. cit. 113 n. 1). Posener rightly observes that the term *ḥkꜣ ꜣ n Kmt* is commonly used of Pharaoh from the reign of Ramesses II (op. cit. 111 n. 0).

¹⁴ *Wb.* II, 151, 10–12. Posener comments: 'En adoptant un nom d'intronisation Cambyse montre son désir de suivre la tradition royale égyptienne' (op. cit. 12). This is true as far as it goes, but leaves out of consideration Udjaḥorresnet's probable personal motivation in the matter.

¹⁵ The inscriptions on all six naophorous statues of Saïte date listed in n. 4 insist on the personal services performed by their owners for the gods: Peftjuaneith on behalf of Osiris as Abydos, all the others on behalf of Saïs and its shrines, though Nakhthorḥeb's good offices are claimed to have embraced other deities as well. This conventional element must induce caution.

¹⁶ Otto, op. cit. 77 ff., 115 ff.

¹⁷ *Wb.* v, 473, 28. An excellent example is provided by the biographical inscription of Khnumḥotpe II at Beni Hasan where he describes the administrative measures taken by Amenemḥet I *m it·f dr·f isft ḥꜣw m*

nb(w), 'all its beneficial powers', using in *šh(w)* another word evoking the cosmicizing role central to the Pharaonic office;¹⁸ again in the same line Cambyses is said to restore the situation in the temple *mī imy·s dr bšh*, 'as in its primal condition', i.e. as it was at the creation, when it stood in a state of maximum efficiency as a source of life-giving power. The expression, therefore, insists that Cambyses is discharging the cosmicizing or demiurgic role of Pharaoh;¹⁹ the word *sdbw* used at l. 20 to describe the objects demolished is frequently employed of impediments to the cosmic order.²⁰

We are next informed that, once the temple had been cleansed, Cambyses proceeded to place it in a fit state for the cult to be performed and himself discharged the sacerdotal office of Pharaoh in the shrine. Throughout, Udjaḥorresnet predictably claims that he has been the guide of Cambyses, and was ultimately responsible for the blessings which have accrued to Saïs and its gods at the hands of Cambyses. Once more the words are chosen very carefully to hammer home Cambyses' role: the title *hm·f* is insistently used throughout; at ll. 22–3 the same emphasis on restoration to the primal time recurs as in l. 19; at l. 25 the royal movements are described by the verb *wḏ*, a high-style word particularly associated with kings and gods,²¹ and the phrase *ds·f* insists on the personal involvement of Cambyses in the cult; at ll. 25–6 Cambyses' compliance with royal precedent is twice expressed in the phrases *mī ir·n nsw* and *mī ir·n nsw nb mnḥ*, and in the second case powerfully reinforced by the addition of the word *mnḥ* which invariably implies in such contexts that the ruler is realizing the ideal of Pharaonic conduct;²² at l. 28 Cambyses is again made responsible for *šh(w) nb(w)* (cf. l. 19 above); at ll. 29–30 we encounter a further insistence on the way in which Cambyses' action conformed to the traditional pattern of royal behaviour. At 31–42

(*Itm ds·f smnḥ·f gmt·n·f wst(w)*, 'when he came subduing disorder having appeared in splendour as Atum himself, setting to rights that which he found in disarray' (A. de Buck, *Egyptian Reading Book* (Leiden, 1970), 68, 5 ff.). The explicit identification with Atum proves that Amenemḥet is conceived of as fulfilling the cosmicizing role of the demiurge himself. For *dr* and similar words in association with *nšn* see *Wb.* II, 341, 8–11. For *dr* in comparable Saïte contexts see the inscriptions of Peftjuaneith (Jelínková-Reymond, op. cit. 277, l. 7) and Psamteksineith (Ranke, op. cit. 114, l. 40).

¹⁸ The readiness of the Egyptians to associate the concepts 'king': '*šhw*': 'gods' is well demonstrated by such phrases as *nsw mnḥ ir(w) šht n (i)t·f*, 'the excellent king who does what is beneficial for his father' (*Wb. Belegstellen*, II, 85, 6) and *nsw wr šhw m Wst nḥt·tī*, 'the king great of splendours in Thebes' (op. cit. I, 260, 1), and by the royal name *šh·n·itn*, 'He who is beneficial to the Aten'.

¹⁹ To the Egyptians reform invariably meant return to ancestral custom, the only criterion of good order. In the present context the phrase *mī imy·s dr bšh*, lit. 'like its former condition' denotes that the temple will be restored to the proper state ordained for temples from the creation. This condition is neatly summarized in the description of a temple at Abydos: *ḥwt·ntr nfrt wbt šht mnḥt* (*Wb. Belegstellen*, II, 85, 16), where *nfrt* evokes the concepts of rejuvenation or life-giving power (V. A. Donohue, '*Pr·nfr*', *JEA* 64 (1978), 143 ff.), *wbt* the pristine state of purity in which strength is at its greatest (cf. op. cit. 145), *šht*, 'beneficially powerful', the role of the temple as a source of divine blessings, and *mnḥt* the fact that the temple is fulfilling, in all respects, the role allotted to temples within the cosmic order (see below n. 22).

²⁰ Posener comments: '*sdb* est employé ici dans un sens matériel qui est rare' (op. cit. 16), and translates 'immondices'. Otto renders 'Unrat' (op. cit. 171) and Gardiner 'superfluities' (op. cit. 367). The abstract nature of the word makes it improbable that it has any precise material point of reference such as 'rubbish'. It is better interpreted as a general value-judgement embracing all the Persians' physical remains and comparable to the English 'abominations'.²¹ *Wb.* I, 403, 2–19.

²² Cf. n. 17. On the implications of *mnḥ* see Lloyd, 'Once more Hammamat Inscription 191', *JEA* 61 (1975), 57 n. 18.

Udjaḥorresnet develops the autobiographic element by speaking of his personal services to Neith, his city, and his family in terms which are drawn from the age-old corpus of commonplaces typical of the traditional ideal biography,²³ but even here he resumes the theme of Cambyses' piety, and affirms that some of his religious activities were motivated *m wd n ḥm:f*, 'at the command of His Majesty'.

The emphasis placed upon the priestly aspect of Cambyses' activities is far from coincidental. The essence of Pharaoh's role lay in functioning as the link between gods and men, and that concept was epitomized in his priestly office. Therefore, to describe Cambyses as discharging the functions of priest in such uncompromising terms is to describe him, by a kind of conceptual shorthand, as not simply assuming the forms of the Pharaonic office but the Pharaonic office in the fullest possible sense.

The more circumspect reader might be inclined to question the historicity of all this in view of the tradition of Cambyses' gross impiety towards Egyptian cults which is preserved in Classical sources. Such doubts are, however, unjustified. Not only do contemporary Egyptian texts confirm the stance described in our inscription, but there are excellent reasons for rejecting the historicity of the Classical tradition itself. In fact, it probably reflects little more than hostile priestly propaganda generated by the restrictive fiscal measures applied by Cambyses to certain Egyptian temples.²⁴ We can, therefore, accept without compunction that the situation embodied in this section of our text was essentially as follows: Cambyses made a genuine attempt to reconcile the Egyptians to Persian rule by adopting the traditional role of Pharaoh with all its implications; Udjaḥorresnet was, therefore, able to accept the change of government much more easily than might otherwise have been the case simply by applying the eminently straightforward principle: 'The King is dead. Long live the King.'

The next section presents a closely similar view of Darius:

The Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Darius, may he live for ever, commanded me to return to Egypt, while His Majesty was in Elam when he was Great Chief of All Foreign Lands and Great Ruler of Egypt, in order to restore the office of the House of Life (44) . . . after the ruin. As the Lord of the Two Lands had commanded, the foreigners brought me from land to land and caused me to reach Egypt. In accordance with that which His Majesty had commanded me did I act, having provided them with all their students who were the sons of men of quality, without there being children of people of low rank amongst them. Under the direction of every scholar did I place them (45) . . . all their works. His Majesty commanded that there be given to them every good thing in order that they might do all their works. With all their beneficial things did I equip them, and with all their requirements as indicated in the writings as it had been before. The reason

²³ Otto, *op. cit.* 89 ff.

²⁴ For Classical accounts see Herodotus, 3. 1-38, 61-6; Strabo, 17. 1, 27 (C 805); Plu., *De Iside*, 44 (*Mor.* 368 F); Justin, 1. 9. This tradition clearly played an important role in the development of such later narratives as the Coptic Cambyses Romance (H. Schäfer, 'Bruchstück eines koptischen Romans über die Eroberung Aegyptens durch Kambyses', *SBAW* 38 (1899), 727 ff.; H. L. Jansen, *The Coptic Story of Cambyses' Invasion of Egypt* (Avhandlingar utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1950, No. 2) (Oslo, 1950) and that preserved in John of Nikiou (R. H. Charles, *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu* (London-Oxford, 1916), Ch. 51). Cambyses' fiscal measures against some Egyptian temples are described in a demotic decree transcribed, translated, and discussed by W. Spiegelberg in *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik* (Leipzig, 1914), 32 ff. I hope to discuss the evolution of this tradition in a subsequent volume of this journal.

why His Majesty did this was because he knew the usefulness of this craft for causing the sick to live and in order to cause to endure the names of all the gods, their temples, their offerings, and the conduct of their festivals for ever.

As with Cambyses, Udjaḥorresnet insists on the Pharaonic status of Darius in a variety of ways: he receives the titles *nsw bit(y)*, *ḥm*, and *ḥkꜣ ʿꜣ n Kmt* (l. 43); Darius is asserted to have been responsible for restoring a sacred edifice at Saïs, and for endowing it with all that was necessary for its proper functioning; the concentration on the humanitarian and pious motives of the king casts him firmly in the traditional mould of Pharaonic kingship; finally, the statement that his activities in relation to the House of Life entailed removing a state of *wꜣs*, 'ruin, disarray',²⁵ imparts to Darius the cosmicizing role which was central to the Pharaonic office.

The foregoing analysis creates the overwhelming impression that the capacity of Cambyses and Darius to assimilate to the traditional model of kingship was of crucial importance in determining the willingness or otherwise of Udjaḥorresnet to accept and co-operate with them. The study of other texts bearing upon the Persian occupation serves only to confirm this belief, and also to demonstrate that it was a principle of general validity. The Ptolemaic Demotic Chronicle provides an excellent example.²⁶ This text is concerned, amongst other things, to explain Egyptian history from 404 B.C. down to the time of its composition through the operation of the law that only kings who lived in accordance with the will of the gods could prosper. Catastrophes, such as foreign invasion, were evidently explained against this background whereas deliverance from such evils is prophesied in the form of a messiah from Herakleopolis who will fulfil the divine law and thereby embody the Pharaonic ideal. At III, 16, we read:

Rejoice over the ruler who will be; for he will not forsake the law.

To an Egyptian this description of the messiah's role would evoke the Pharaonic ideal in all its aspects, but in another passage the priestly dimension is given the same symbolic prominence as in the inscription of Udjaḥorresnet:

The ruler who will be opens [the doors] of the temples, and causes offerings to be brought to the gods (III, 2-3).

A striking iconographic illustration of the principle is provided by a small and rather crude limestone stele from the Fayyûm now in the Berlin Museum. It shows a kneeling figure adoring Darius who is represented simply as a hawk. Beneath this scene runs an inscription which expresses the desire that the Horus, i.e. Darius, will give life to his worshipper Pediosiriprē.²⁷ The interest of this monument for our purposes lies in the

²⁵ Cf. *Urk.* IV, 765; P. Harris, 57, 6-7; 60, 6-7 etc.

²⁶ Text, translation and commentary in W. Spiegelberg, op. cit.; translations: G. Roeder, *Altägyptische Erzählungen und Märchen* (Jena, 1927), 238 ff.; E. Bresciani and S. Donadoni, *Letteratura e poesia dell' Antico Egitto* (Turin, 1969), 551 ff. For recent discussions see P. Kaplony, 'Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Königtum, vor allem in der Spätzeit', *CdE* 46 (1971), 250 ff.; J. H. Johnson, 'The Demotic Chronicle as an Historical Source', *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 1 ff.; Kaplony, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, I, 1056 ff.; Lloyd, 'Nationalist Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt', *Historia* 31 (1982), 41 ff.

²⁷ M. Burchardt, 'Datierete Denkmäler der Berliner Sammlung aus der Achämenidenzeit. 2. Eine Weihinschrift an Darius I', *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 71 ff.; Otto, op. cit. 114 n. 2.

fact that it shows a willingness to identify at least one Persian king with Horus to a degree which is without parallel on any other monument of the Persian Period, and this not simply in an official context, which would not be particularly surprising, but at a relatively humble level in society. It can be no coincidence that this unique monument relates to the Persian ruler who made the most committed and successful attempt to pursue the theory and practice of Egyptian kingship.²⁸

There is a distinct possibility that the preoccupation with adapting the Persian King to the Pharaonic ideal also appears in one of our Greek sources on the Persian occupation. At 3. 2, Herodotus informs us of a claim of the Egyptians that Cambyses was really one of them since he was the son of Cyrus and an Egyptian woman called Nitetis. This assertion is closely paralleled by the later tradition that Alexander the Great was the physical son of Nectanebo II, the last native Egyptian king, and Olympias, the wife of Philip II, a tradition in which we are evidently confronted with nationalist propaganda exploiting the ancient Egyptian dogma of the theogamy which alleged that each Pharaoh was the physical son of the sun-god, be it Rē^c or Amon-rē^c, who visited the queen incarnated in her husband, and engendered the future divine ruler of Egypt.²⁹ It is far from improbable that the Egyptian story of Cambyses' origins preserved in Herodotus reflects a similar notion. Admittedly, the doctrine fits Cambyses rather less well than Alexander since Alexander was supposed to have been engendered by an Egyptian king whereas in Herodotus' tale the king's father is a Persian and only his mother Egyptian, but we must allow for the possibility that the Egyptian tradition which lay behind Herodotus' report claimed that, Persian or no, Cyrus had served as the vessel in which the sun-god had been incarnated and thereby satisfied the requirements of the Egyptian theology of kingship.

The importance of Persian recognition of Egyptian politico-religious sensibilities in determining Egyptian attitudes to Persian domination is demonstrated with equal force by texts which describe the consequences of *failing* to do so. An excellent example is provided by the Satrap Stele of 311.³⁰ This text is concerned with the military achievements and pious benefactions of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, at the very beginning of his career as *de facto* ruler of Egypt. In ll. 7-8 he is represented as interesting himself in the *phw*-land³¹ of Buto which was called Pteneto (*P3-t3-n-W3dt*, 'the Land of Wadjet'). He was informed that this land had been restored to the gods of Buto by King

²⁸ On Darius' Egyptian policy see Posener, *op. cit.* 175 ff.; Olmstead, *op. cit.* 141 ff.; Gardiner, *op. cit.* 365 ff.; Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.* 601 ff.

²⁹ Discussion with full references in Lloyd, *op. cit.* 46.

³⁰ Text in *Urk.* II, 11 ff.; translation and discussions of all or parts in E. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy* (Chicago, 1968 (revised repr. of 1927 edn.)), 28 ff.; W. Spiegelberg, *Der Papyrus Libbey* (Schriften der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Straßburg) (Straßburg, 1907), 2 ff.; A. Spalinger, 'The Reign of Chababash; an Interpretation', *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 147 ff. with addenda in *ZÄS* 107 (1980), 87—to be used with caution and always in conjunction with R. K. Ritner, 'Khababash and the Satrap Stela—a Grammatical Rejoinder', *ZÄS* 107 (1980), 135 ff., and Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*

³¹ The *Wb.* interprets this as 'das Sumpfbgebiet an der Deltaküste (der Burlus-See bei Buto)' (I, 538, 7). Gardiner translates 'hinterland', and, after a detailed analysis of all available evidence, locates it in the area bounded by the Saïte Nome to the South, the Mediterranean to the North, the Canopic Branch to the West, and the Sebennytic Nome to the East (*AEO* II, 193* ff.). It was, therefore, an area of very considerable extent well calculated to excite the rapacity of Xerxes.

Khabbash³² who, during a military inspection of the Delta, had been given the following information about it:

As for the *phw*-land—it is called the land of Pteneto—it was the property of the gods of Pe and Dep in former time (*tp-ꜣ*) before the enemy (*hfty*) Xerxes reversed it (9), nor did he leave anything of it to the gods of Pe and Dep.

Khabbash then summoned the priests and magistrates of Buto and said to them:

'Let me know the souls of the gods of Pe and Dep, (viz.) how they dealt with the enemy (*hfty*) (10) on account of the evil (*sp ḏw*) which he had done. Behold, they have said, "To Pe and Dep had the enemy Xerxes done evil (*sp ḏw*), having taken away its property". And they said in the presence of His Majesty, 'O sovereign, our Lord! Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris, the ruler of rulers, the king of the kings of Upper Egypt, the king of the kings of Lower Egypt, the avenger of his father, the lord of Pe, the foremost of the gods (11) who came into being afterwards, after whom there is no king, drove out the enemy Xerxes even from his palace with his eldest son. It has been perceived in the city of Neith, even in Saïs, this day beside the Mother of the God'.

The moral here could hardly be clearer: the use of the phrase *tp-ꜣ* to describe the title of the gods of Buto to the land of Pteneto implies that their tenure was part of the primal order just as surely as the parallel phrases in the inscriptions of Udjaḥorresnet evoke that state.³³ To impinge upon that tenure is a *sp-ḏw* which brands the perpetrator a *hfty*, 'a Typhonic being, foe of the divine order', and such actions both demand and receive divine retribution. As the inscription subsequently demonstrates, the righteous king, the true Pharaoh, respects such privileges, and does all he can to maintain them.

There is, then, no doubt that Udjaḥorresnet's determination to cast Cambyses in the role of Pharaoh responds to imperatives which were by no means unique to him. However, despite his generally acquiescent tone, we encounter at two points comments about the Persian invasion which have a distinctly hostile ring to them:

I was a man good in his city, saving its people from the monstrous cataclysm (*nšn*) (34) when it happened in the entire land, the like of which had not happened in this land.

. . . I did (40) for them everything beneficial as a father would have done for his son, when the cataclysm (*nšn*) befell in (41) this nome in the midst of the monstrous cataclysm which happened (42) in the entire land.

At first sight, serious doubts about the historicity of these statements are induced by the general parallelism with the comments in the texts of other naophorous statues on the way in which their owners coped with disruption of various kinds, but Udjaḥorresnet seems to be unique in referring to an all-embracing national catastrophe, and that is sufficient to allay any tremors of scepticism. As far as we are concerned, the

³² This enigmatic king was probably the leader of a rebellion against the Persians between c. 342 and 332 BC (Kienitz, op. cit. 185 ff.; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 380 ff.; Drioton and Vandier, op. cit. 612 ff., 621).

³³ See above, p. 172. The nisbe *tpy-ꜣ*, 'ancestor', frequently evokes the age of primal order preceding either a state of chaos or a time when the prescripts of *Maꜣat* had been disregarded: cf., *inter alios*, B. Gunn, 'The Stela of Apries at Mītrahīna', *ASAE* 27 (1927), 224 ff.

most interesting point is the terminology employed. The invasion is described as a *nšn*, a word whose meaning ranges through such concepts as 'rage', 'madness', and 'storm', but whose semantic core clearly lies in the notion of a manifestation of daemonic and destructive power.³⁴ The word's indubitably Typhonic implications brand the Persian invasion as an eruption into Egypt of the chaotic forces which were believed to pose a constant threat to the preservation of the ordered universe, and which it was one of Pharaoh's prime tasks to keep in check. We are, therefore, faced with a view of the Persians which is very different from that expressed elsewhere in the inscription. It might be suspected that the expression of such an attitude marks no more than a momentary slipping of Udjaḥorresnet's official mask, and the intrusion of his innermost sentiments about the Persian conquest, but this interpretation does scant justice to the subtlety of Egyptian thought. It is much more probable that the two reactions expressed in the text reflect a fine and significant distinction already suggested at the beginning of the biographical section: Cambyses began as the *wr ʿ3 n ḥst nb(t)*, 'the Great Chief of Every Foreign Land', and, as such, was an enemy of Egypt, actually or potentially endowed with the role of Typhonic being, but he subsequently adopted, in the fullest sense, the role of a *ḥkʿ ʿ3 n Kmt*, 'Great Ruler of Egypt', thereby, in the Egyptian context, sloughing off his Typhonic nature and assuming that of Horus, the champion of the cosmic order. As far as Egypt was concerned, therefore, the status of Cambyses had changed, and with it, his very essence, irrespective of his role beyond the valley of the Nile. We are not confronted with contradiction, but rather with transmutation.

Confidence in this analysis is considerably strengthened by an intriguing passage in the biography of Petosiris at Tûna el-Gebel.³⁵ In Inscription 81, 28, the owner describes the rule in Egypt of a *ḥkʿ ḥswt*, 'ruler of foreigners', which is uncompromisingly characterized as general chaos: everything was displaced; fighting raged in the country; *nšn* prevailed in the South, *swḥ* in the North;³⁶ personal insecurity was general; the temple

³⁴ Posener renders 'trouble' and interprets as 'trouble politique, désordre' (op. cit. 19) which he relates 'à l'établissement des étrangers en Égypte'. He comments 'le désordre qui s'est produit dans le nome saïte trouve son parallèle dans l'installation des envahisseurs dans le temple de Néith' (op. cit. 169). Tulli opts for 'burrasca' (op. cit. 255), Klasens for 'onheil' (op. cit. 341), Otto for 'Unglück' (op. cit. 172), and Gardiner for 'trouble' (op. cit. 367). These translations, and the interpretations which they presuppose, are all unsound because they fail to recognize the categories of thought within which the events are being perceived. The examples of *nšn*-words catalogued in *Wb. Belegstellen*, II, 340-2, are quite sufficient to prove this. They show beyond dispute that the root meaning is 'rage'. They also demonstrate that the words are frequently used of the daemonic and destructive rage of Seth, Apophis, Ba'al, Sekhmet, and the king in battle, and also of the conflict of Horus and Seth. The meanings 'Unglück, Unheil' given for *nšny* in *Wb.* II, 341, 3, are based solely on a Ptolemaic text published by K. Sethe and O. Firchow (*Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit* (Urk. VIII) (Berlin, 1957), 24, no. 27 f.) and the passage under discussion. In neither case is there any reason to suspect a weakening of the root meaning. In the present instance, Udjaḥorresnet is doing nothing less than assimilating the experience of the Persian invasion to the archetypal cosmic catastrophe of a Typhonic triumph. In such a context the translation 'cataclysm' seems appropriate, though incapable of conveying the full meaning.

³⁵ Text in G. Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris*, II (Cairo, 1923), 53 ff.; translation in op. cit. I (Cairo, 1924), 136 ff.; Otto, op. cit. 180 ff., with page-references to discussions indexed on p. 128, 46.

³⁶ On *nšn* see n. 34. For *swḥ* the *Wb.* offers 'brüllen, rühmen' (IV, 71, 6-17). In the first sense it is often used of the roaring of bulls, lions, the king or the gods in the grip of unbridled and elemental passion. Clearly this is the point of emphasis here, and the word is intended to evoke the presence of chaotic and destructive forces in much the same way as *nšn*.

service was disrupted. Subsequently, however, a spectacular reversal of this situation occurred: Petosiris became *lesonis* of Thoth, and good order was restored to the temple: I caused everything to become splendid (*shc·i*) which was found collapsed (*ws(w)*) in its place; I rejuvenated everything (*(s)nfr·i*) (46) which had decayed (*hr sh*), and was no longer in its proper place.³⁷ These achievements he specifically ascribes to the favour which he enjoyed with a *hkꜣ n Kmt*, 'ruler of Egypt' (l. 87).

There is no escaping the fact that the roles of the *hkꜣ n Kmt* and the *hkꜣ hꜣswt* are associated with order and disorder respectively in exactly the way posited for the inscription of Udjahorresnet. It is probable that the *hkꜣ hꜣswt* was one of the Persian kings of the Second Occupation (343–332), since *hꜣswt* is often used specifically of the Persians in late texts,³⁸ and the last years of their rule are known to have been disastrous. If this identification is correct, we can then assume that *hkꜣ n Kmt* refers to one of the Macedonian liberators. However, whatever the historical details, we can be confident that the change in terminology reflects a changed perception of the role of the country's rulers.

An illuminating contrast to the transfiguration of Cambyses in the biography of Udjahorresnet is provided by the attitude to the Persians which emerges in the early Ptolemaic stele of Smatawytefnakht, who had collaborated with the Persians during the Second Occupation.³⁹ His official career at court must have begun under the Thirtieth Dynasty, if we accept that the phrase *ntr nfr* in l. 7 can only refer to an Egyptian king.⁴⁰ He then proceeds, rather like Udjahorresnet, to describe the second Persian conquest under Artaxerxes III as a disaster by claiming that it had happened because the god Harsaphes had turned his back on Egypt. Subsequently, however, Smatawytefnakht never assimilates the Persian conqueror to the Pharaonic ideal. He is never described as *hkꜣ n Kmt*, 'Ruler of Egypt', but only as *hkꜣ n Stt*, 'Ruler of Asia', a phrase whose pejorative nuance admits of no doubt, not only because *Stt*, 'Asia', traditionally has such overtones in Egyptian texts, but because this colouring emerges forcefully in l. 10, where the inscription's owner gloats unashamedly over the defeat of *Stt* either at the Battle of Issus in 333 BC or at Gaugamela in 331.⁴¹ The reason for such uncompromising hostility is debatable. It may be that it simply reflects the inscription's Ptolemaic date when expressions of hostility to the Persians were both safe, desirable, and theologically sanctioned.⁴² On the other hand, since Artaxerxes III and

³⁷ *shc·i* refers to the splendour of the sun as it rises over the eastern horizon, and seems always to imply the presence of life-giving and cosmicizing power (cf. *Wb.* III, 239, 1–243, 18; IV, 236, 12–238, 2). Its meaning is, therefore, very similar to that of *sh* (see n. 10). For the implications of *nfr* see n. 19.

³⁸ E. Sherman, 'Djedhor the Saviour. Statue Base OI 10589', *JEA* 67 (1981), 82–102, at p. 95.

³⁹ Naples 1035. Text, translation, and commentary in H. Schäfer, 'Noch einmal die Inschrift von Neapel', in *Ägyptiaca. Festschrift für Georg Ebers* (Leipzig, 1897), 92 ff.; P. Tresson, 'La stèle de Naples', *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 369 ff.; discussion and partial translation in Gardiner, *op. cit.* 379 ff. See also J. J. Clère, 'Une statuette du fils aîné du roi Nectanabô', *RdÉ* 6 (1951), 152 ff. Further bibliography will be found in *PM* VII, 418.

⁴⁰ Cf. Schäfer, *op. cit.* 95 ff.; Tresson, *op. cit.* 387 ff.

⁴¹ Schäfer favours Issus (*op. cit.* 97), Tresson Gaugamela (*op. cit.* 390 ff.), but the text is too imprecise to make a decision possible.

⁴² The Pithom Stele of Ptolemy IV provides a good example. When describing the aftermath of the Battle of Raphia in 217 the text narrates the king's pious actions in conquered territory and includes the comment: 'He took earnest thought for the divine images which had been carried away out of Egypt into the land of the Assyrians and the land of the Phoenicians, at the time when the Medes devastated the temples

his successors, unlike Cambyses and Darius, showed a total disregard for Egyptian susceptibilities, it was impossible to transmute them convincingly from enemies into Pharaohs.⁴³ If so, Smatawytefnakht's position on the matter during the Ptolemaic Period may be an accurate reflection of his inmost sentiments at an earlier stage.

One final point needs to be made: Udjaḥorresnet is described as using his favoured position at court solely for the benefit of his native city and its cults. It might be contended that this simply reflects the fact that, since the statue was erected in Saïs as a plea for divine favour, it would not be surprising if the contents of the inscription emphasized the owner's service to its gods to the exclusion of all else. No doubt there is much truth in this plea, but reservations still remain that it is the whole truth. Otto has shown that there is a marked tendency in the Late Period for national considerations to take second place to local patriotism and loyalties,⁴⁴ and in view of this we are justified in suspecting that the narrative reflects at least the main purpose for which Udjaḥorresnet used the good offices of his royal patrons.

Epilogue (47–8): The last lines of the text contain a traditional appeal to the passer-by to intercede with the gods on behalf of the owner and secure his immortality. The subject-matter, therefore, echoes that of the beginning, exploiting the ring-composition technique characteristic of the genre.

At the beginning of this paper we suggested that attitudes are generated by the interaction between two factors: culturally determined thought-patterns, on the one hand, and individual experience, on the other. It was also stated that the experience element must embody both general experience and experience specific to the phenomenon in relation to which the attitude is formulated. When we apply this model to the inscription of Udjaḥorresnet in an attempt to define and explain his attitude to the Persian conquest, we encounter considerable difficulties since the acquisition of data is confused by the nature of the source itself: inasmuch as the biographical element is confined almost entirely to activities at Saïs, we learn very little of the 'general-experience' element in our equation; the fact that the narrative is permeated by stereotyped modes of action makes it difficult to be confident of historical details, and this, in turn, means that we are unable to acquire a precise picture of the ways in which he was affected by Cambyses'

of Egypt [sc. Artaxerxes III]. He commanded that they should be diligently sought out. Those which were found, over and above those which his father had brought back to Egypt, he caused to be brought back to Egypt, celebrating feasts and offering sacrifices [in their honour?]' (demotic text, ll. 21–3; the hieroglyphic and Greek versions are destroyed at this point (H. Gauthier and H. Sottas, *Un Décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV* (Cairo, 1925), 36; Bevan, *op. cit.* 388 ff.). The concepts lurking here and the mechanisms of role-assignment require no exegesis at this stage.

⁴³ See Diodorus Siculus, 16. 46–51; 17. 49. The problem of the source, or sources, of Book 16 is unsolved and insoluble but if, as is probable, this material derives from Ephorus (G. L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus* (Cambridge, 1935), 38 ff.; M. Sordi, *Diodori Siculi Bibliothecae Liber Sextus Decimus* (Florence, 1969), xxxiv), Diodorus was using an author contemporary with the events described. Other Classical accounts of the Second Persian Occupation are also hostile, and become progressively more so the later the author (e.g. Aelian, *VH* 4. 8; 6. 8; Deinon in Plu., *De Iside*, 11, 31 (*Mor.* 355 c, 363 c); Q. Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*, 4. 1 (5), 7 (29); Sulpicius Severus, 2. 14, 4 ff.; 16. 8; Souda, s.v. *ἄσαρο*: cf. Judeich, *RE* II, 1319 ff).

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.* 87 ff.

invasion and subsequent administration of the country. Nevertheless, if the text is appraised with careful attention to its genre, conceptual structure, and language, progress can be made. It emerges that Udjaḥorresnet was perfectly willing to throw in his lot with the Persians, and that national considerations did not play a role of any importance in that reaction. The fact that the Great King was prepared to satisfy his personal and local interests was evidently a most powerful inducement, but it is equally clear that this was not the only factor in securing acquiescence—and this brings us to the other main element in our model: culturally determined thought-patterns. There is strong evidence that Udjaḥorresnet's attitude to Cambyses had changed from one of hostility to one of acceptance, and that these positions were formulated in terms of traditional stereotypes: initially, the conquerors were assigned the role of Typhonic beings in exactly the same way as the Hyksos invaders of the Second Intermediate Period; subsequently, the Persian king was assigned the role of a champion of the cosmic order. The factor mediating this change, and its essential prerequisite, was the development of a capacity on the part of Udjaḥorresnet to invest Cambyses with the role of Pharaoh in the fullest possible sense. This must have depended to a considerable extent on Cambyses' demonstrable willingness to respect Egyptian susceptibilities in this respect, but the evident enthusiasm with which Udjaḥorresnet embraces the opportunity provided allows us a glimpse into deeper and more troubled waters, i.e. into the very psychological predicament in which he and his contemporaries found themselves. How were they to reconcile the catastrophic and humiliating experience of the Persian conquest with their world-view, their very considerable self-esteem, and their time-honoured and still imperious national aspirations? The obvious solution was to subsume the conqueror in the ideal of Egyptian kingship; for such a process had the effect of glossing over and, in a sense, annihilating the unpalatable fact of the conquest itself. At the very least it imposed upon the Persian domination a familiar format, and thereby made it psychologically more tractable, and ultimately assimilable. There is, however, one aspect of this enquiry which particularly commends it to the attention of Egyptologists and cultural historians alike: Udjaḥorresnet's efforts to interpret, evaluate, and come to terms with the Persian conquest constitute the first chapter in Pharaonic Egypt's last struggle to preserve its cultural identity in the face of almost unremitting foreign domination. This struggle was destined to be a long, and by no means discreditable one, but it was, at the last, a struggle which Egypt was destined to lose.

THE CARIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT

















By J. D. RAY

IN a recent article (*Kadmos* 20 (1981), 150–62) the present writer attempted to assign new values to many of the letters in the Carian script, basing his identifications on the non-Egyptian and otherwise obscure names appearing in the hieroglyphic texts which accompany several of the Carian inscriptions from Saqqâra and one or two other sites in Egypt.¹ The obvious next step is to apply the new system to as many as possible of the existing Carian texts and to see what conclusions can be drawn. The Carian texts from Caria proper have been left on one side, partly because it is clear that they are written in a quite different alphabet, or series of alphabets, from the one which appears at Saqqâra, and partly because it is sensible to leave some material out of consideration so that it can provide an independent check, at least for the underlying language. It may as well be added here that the methods of writing Carian found in Egypt themselves vary, and the system or systems used at Abu Simbel and Abydos are not the same as the one used rather later by the Caromemphite community of Saqqâra. This may be due to reasons of chronology as much as to the places of origin of the Carians in question, and in a settled community such as the Carian one in Memphis there is always the likelihood of independent development.

Here is a provisional chart of the Carian letters and their identifications, as realized in June 1981. The numbers of the letters are essentially those used by Masson in *Kadmos* 15 (1976), 82–3 and in his *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen* (1978).

1	A	a	8	⊠	ae(?)	13	∩ ∪	b	20	⊕	i (Caria only)
3	C	g	9	⊗	t(θ)	14	⊙	q			
4	△	d(dr)	10	┌	(see below)	15	þ	š	21	× +	h
5	≡	é				17	M	s	22	∩ ∪	k'
6	∩	r	11	∩ ∪	m	18	└		24	△△	p
7	⊥	ld	12	○	o	19	∨ √	u	25	⊖	ś

¹ The following abbreviations are used in this article: M plus number = text published in O. Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen* (London, 1978); MY plus text letter = O. Masson and J. Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques à inscription carienne* (Cairo, 1956); D plus number = L. Deroy, 'Les inscriptions cariennes de Carie', *L'Antiquité classique* 24 (1955), 305–35; Šev. plus number = V. V. Ševoroškin, *Issledovanija po dešifrovke karijskih nadpisej* (Moscow, 1965), 313–16; F plus number = J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* (Berlin, 1932), 90–107; AS plus number = O. Masson, 'Remarques sur les graffites cariens d'Abou Simbel', *Hommages à la mémoire de S. Sauneron*, II (Cairo, 1979), 35–49 and pls. iv–vi.

26		e	30		= 29 (?)	35) (40		č
27		j (also i)	31		τ	37		42		
28		ju (= w?)	32		ü	38	Η ê (ə)	43		
28*		ju (?)	32		may = 32	39	չ X (= ħ, at Caunus)	43*		may = 43
29		k	33					44		

Notes

5. *é*. The acute accent is really only a distinguishing mark. The sound itself may be closer to *ei* than to *e*, and may have been rather long. Sign 26 seems to represent the short *e*, which sometimes appears in Greek transcriptions as *iota*, and may sometimes have sounded like a short *i*. The symbol *ê* for sign 38 is also rather arbitrary; according to Meier-Brügger, *Kadmos* 18 (1979), 80–6, the real sound of *ê* may have been something like *ə*; or one may even suggest *ö*. Indeed, if the reasons given in the notes to M₃₄ and M₃₆ below for thinking that the sign could occasionally be rendered by Greek *lambda* are correct, the true sound may have been a sonant *l*. The vowel system may, therefore, have been highly developed, as thought by Brandenstein, *RE Suppl.* 6 (1935), 140–1; certainly, if sign 8 is really *ae* (*ai*), then one diphthong at least also had its place in the writing-system. There may even be nasal vowels as well, which might go some way towards explaining the lack of a consonant *n*, but this may be hiding behind a common but unidentified sign such as 35 or 37, or less likely in one of the two forms of the sign number 11.

10. It is tempting to think that this sign is *l*. There should certainly be a sign for this sound, to judge from the frequency of *lambda* in the Greek transcriptions. Indeed, a sign resembling the Greek *lambda* (*λ*) does appear in some of the Abydos and ‘Silsileh’ graffiti, and this may be *l* after all. This sign, however, seems to be absent from Saqqâra, which uses another one with the form Γ . The latter embarrassingly resembles the sign \uparrow in MY Text L (= Cairo 30837) l. 1, which is shown to read *b* by the Egyptian equivalent *Šrrkbym* = Carian *Š-a-r-k-b-e-o-m*. This is sign 13 of the alphabet, and at the moment I find it difficult to distinguish between 10 = *l* and 13 = *b*. The sound rendered in Greek by $-\lambda\lambda-$ or $-\lambda\delta-$ corresponds to the Carian letter no. 7, but the latter does not appear to be used to indicate a single *l*. Finally, it is just possible that sign 38 (*ê*) and sign 6, normally read as *r*, may have taken up some of the slack for the *l*-sound on occasions.

22. It is generally agreed that the sign Ψ represents a sort of *k*, as in some Greek alphabets, but the presence of other signs for *k* and *q* suggests that it should be something different. M. Lejeune (*Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* (Lett.-fil.), serie III, 8 (1973), 783–90) suggests the value *ks* for an identical sign in the Old Phrygian alphabet, perhaps borrowed from a Greek alphabet at a time when its value was not yet fixed. *Ks* does not seem to fit the Carian sign, but it may be that no. 22 is the sound heard by the Greeks as $\kappa\tau$. Brandenstein (*RE Suppl.* 6 (1935), 144) concluded of this sign that ‘ Ψ ist keine Aspirata, sondern palatal, da es auch für *kj* steht’. The value *kt* certainly allows some interesting identifications: (*h*) *-e-k'-u-q* in Šev. 30 and 32 would be a name containing the goddess Hecate, who is almost certainly Carian; the name which appears in several forms, as *p-a-k'-j-ê* (Šev. 18), *p-q-k'-e-j* (Šev. 19), *p-q-k'-u-o(?) -e(?)* (Šev. 38) and *p-g-k'-ju-ê* in MY text M would be the Greek Παιγύης or Πακτύης (Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, § 1193); the name *p-u-k'-ü-š-o-ld* (M₁₃, line 1) var. *p-k'-u-š-o-ld* (M₁₁, line 1) could be a similar

name followed by the ending *-σωλδος*; the first element of the name or title *k'-u-b-e-m-u-d-t-s* in Šev. 63 and the similar *k'-u-o-ld-s* in MY text E may be the one which appears in *Κτρουβολδος* (Zgusta, § 761); and it may even be that the preterite form *k'-u-m-τ-a-k'-j* on the bronze lion (Masson, *Kadmos* 15 (1976), 82–3) is related to the Lydian *katu* ‘to write down’ (see the commentary on this text below). It would be pleasant if the one Egyptian bilingual which deals with this sign helped more, but the text in question, Berlin 21615 (= MY text H), is unfinished, and for the Carian *č-a-k'-a-e-s* we have only the hieroglyphic *T* followed by two horizontal signs which could be almost anything (photograph in W. Eilers, *ZDMG* 94 (1940), Abb. 3 opposite p. 203). I think, therefore, that the value *kt* for no. 22 is plausible, but not entirely certain, and have kept the traditional symbol *k'*, which is intended to be purely conventional.

31. For the consensus on this sign, a sort of palatalized or fricative *t*, see Gusmani, *Kadmos* 17 (1978), 71 and Meriggi, *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa* 8 (1978), 792.

35. This sign is fairly common, but the Egyptian bilinguals do not deal with it. It is, nevertheless, a good candidate for the missing letter *n*, but the only substantial clue to this is the preterite form which occurs on the Karlsruhe bowl published by Gusmani, *Kadmos* 17 (1978), 71. This reads *é-35-p-j-m-τ-a-k'-j*. The middle element, *-pjm-*, may be the Anatolian root meaning ‘give’, in which case *é-35-* would be a verbal prefix. The possible nasal element in *é* is mentioned by Meier-Brügger, *Kadmos* 18 (1979), 86, and *é-n-* is, therefore, a likely combination. The sign frequently follows vowels near the ends of words, a habit which it shares with *ld*; it may even correspond to the consonant-cluster *nd* as in Alinda, Alabanda, etc. But, on balance, it seems best to refer to this sign by its number.

The Carian writing-system is alphabetic, with no trace of a syllabary, although some of the signs represent clusters of consonants (*ld*, possibly *nd*, and perhaps *k' = kt*), while one at least represents a diphthong (*ae*). The vowels are sparingly used, and, as the language seems to have had a marked stress accent, the tendency is for the stressed vowel only to be written, except for those initial or final vowels which it was difficult to ignore. It is as if ‘cathedral’ were written *kθidrl* and ‘Alexandrites’ appeared as *Alksandrts* or even *Alksndrts*. But some words, such as *Šarkbeom*, are written out in full or nearly so, whereas others, such as *šk'k'*, have no vowels at all. The basic principle may have been to write the minimum consistent with avoiding obvious ambiguity, but conventions may well have varied considerably from time to time or from place to place, and may never have been rigidly observed.

I should now like to offer an attempted transliteration of most of the surviving Carian inscriptions from Egypt. In some cases, notably the graffiti from Abydos and ‘Silsileh’ (in fact the Wadi Shatt er-Rigâl), the published texts are far from certain; on the other hand the inscriptions from Memphis, Saïs, and Abu Simbel are excellently published by Masson and his collaborators. In cases where the text is very fragmentary or simply illegible, I have omitted it. Brief notes on some words have also been added.

1. *Stelae and other inscriptions from Saqqâra* (Masson, *Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen* = Egypt Exploration Society, Texts from Excavations, Fifth Memoir, London 1978). Abbreviated M, followed by number.

- MI. 1. *a-r-d-e-š-š u-p-j a-r-d-é-o*
 2. *-m-š-]h-e é-é a-s* [. . .

The Egyptian text gives the names *Iwrš* and *Iwry[m]*, perhaps father and son. For the reading of the second Egyptian name and the reconstruction of the corresponding name in Carian see *Kadmos* 20 (1981), 153. The first name in the Carian text is in the genitive, indicating ownership of the stele, and the opening line of the text must mean something like 'Of Ardeš, son (?) of Ardêom . . .' *Ardeš* may well be the Ἀρρ(σ)οις of Zgusta, § 106; the name recurs in M7, M43, M50, and M51 below, while for the name *Ardêom* see the notes to M34 and M35. The second line is obscure, apart from the element *-he*, which frequently accompanies the genitive ending.

M3. The text is unfortunately almost illegible, but each of the two lines clearly ends with the same word: *m-g-a-j^u-k'*. As the stele in question is the visually remarkable one which features a man taking leave of a woman, there is something to be said for Meriggi's notion (*BiOr* 37 (1980), 35) that the word *mgaj^uk'* means 'spouse'. His suggestion, however, that the double text means 'male name spouse of female name' and 'the same female name spouse of the same male name' is not really borne out by the hand-copy on pl. xxxii. Perhaps the word simply means 'farewell'. The same word certainly reappears at the end of M9, and a similar one, which may mean 'spouse' in this instance, is used in the postscript to M10: see the notes below.

M4. *p-ê-a-b-r-m ü-š-o-ld-š m-ü-g-o-k'-š-h-e k-b-ê-o-m-š m[*

This may mean 'Pêabrm, (daughter) of Ūsold the *mügek'* (and ?) of Kbêom . . .'. *Ūsold* is Ὑσωλδος (Zgusta, § 1629-7 and variants); in Šev. 46 the same name is spelt *Ušold*. The word *mügek'* (once in M36 written *müqok'*) is so common in the Saqqâra inscriptions, and so absent elsewhere, that Meriggi's suggestion (*BiOr* 37 (1980), 35) that it means something like 'Caromemphite' is very attractive. The ending of *Kbêom* is reminiscent of *Ardêom* in M1 and perhaps *Šarkbeom* in MY text L; both are likely to be proper names, and the genitive *Kbêomš* recurs in M24, second word.

M5. *e(?)-g-ê-a-q-š u-p-a ü ü-j-q-š-h-e m-ü-g-o-k'-š-h-e*

This is also the funerary stele of a woman, and *upa* may be the feminine form of the very common *upj*. The isolated word *ü* is something of a mystery. The first word is clearly the genitive of a name ending in *-aq*, as in *Ūdeaq* (MY text I), *Pldaq* (Šev. 22), *Šarükêaq* (MY text D), and several others. The epithet *mügek'* may belong with the final name of the text.

M6. *e-r-o-ü p-e-k-a-r-m-š m-ü-g-o-k'-š*

'Eroü (son) of Pekarm the *mügek'*'. For *Eroü* see also M8, first word. It is probably a name (it occurs in the genitive at the beginning of M19); and perhaps one may compare Ἐροῦ in Lycian (Zgusta, § 357, although this is feminine).

M7. 1. *a-r-d-e-š-š*

2. *u-r-s-h-d-j-š*

3. *k(?)-e-τ-b-s-e-š*

Egyptian text: *Irš s; Nrskr s; K (?)* . . . 'Of Ardeš, son of Urshdj, son of Ketbses (?).' *Ardeš* is probably Ἀρρισοις (Zgusta, § 106): cf. notes to M1 above. *Urshdjš* (genitive) should correspond to hieroglyphic *Nrskr*; the rendering of Carian *d* by *r* is quite plausible, but the initial *n* in the Egyptian is hard to explain unless we assume some sort of nasal vowel in the Carian. See the discussion in *Kadmos* 20 (1981), 161-2. The third name is even more of a mystery.

M8. 1. *e-r-o-ü p(?)-e-k-r-a-š-h-e*

2. *s-j-m-ü-š m-k'-o-š*

3. *m-ü-g-o-k'-š-h-e*

'Eroü, (son) of Pekraš (?) . . . the *mügek'*.' I take it that the two words ending in *-šhe* belong together, and that the second line is intrusive. According to Meriggi (*BiOr* 37 (1980), 34) the word *mk'oš*

denotes some sort of relationship, perhaps filiation or even the status of grandson; the second line of our inscription may, therefore, mean something like 'descendant of *Sjmü*'.² For Eroü see the notes to M6 above. The second name, *Pekra* or *Pekras*, is reminiscent of the *Pekarm* of M6, but the initial *p* is not certain, as the sign is damaged; Masson reads it as *s*.

- M9. 1. *š-a-r-k'-a-e-š*
 2. *u-p-j t-u-t-š*
 3. *43-j-m-š-h-e m-g-*
 4. *a-j^u-k'*

The basic name is *Šark'ae* son (?) of *Tut*, who is possibly a spouse of the person named at the beginning of the third line. For *mgaj^uk'* see notes to M3 above, and for names beginning with *Šar-* see the commentary at the end of this paper. As for the name in l. 3, if sign 43 is really a sibilant which can also be written with *sampi*, the group begins to resemble *sjmüš* in M8, and one must conclude that there were many sibilants in Carian.

- M10a. 1. *q-a-š-u-b-q-š* b. 1. *e-g-m-u-o-k'-š-*
 2. *k-u-a-r-e-š-b-* 2. *h-e m-g-a-é-k'-*
 3. *a-r š-j-k'* 3. *h-e*
 4. *k'-e-t-a-u-š*
 5. *p-q-k'-u-p-e*

The first part is obscure, apart from the initial line 'of Qašubq', which may be yet another name in *-(a)q*. The second part may well be a postscript '(and) of *Egmuok'* his wife', as Meriggi suggests. This reading implies that *mgæék'* is a variant of the *mgaj^uk'* which appears in M3 and M9.

- M11. 1. *p-k'-u-š-o-ld*
 2. *35-m-u-š-h-e*

Again a name and filiation. The first name is probably a variant of the one which appears in M13 as *Puk'üsöldš* (genitive); for a possible link with the name *Πακρύης* see the notes to the letter 22 = *k'* above.

- M12. *u-t-s-e š-r-ü-d-e-š-h-e m-ü-g-o-k'-š-h-e*

'Utse, son (?) of Šrüde(s) the *mügok'*.' The second name may be a member of the *Šar-* family, dealt with in the commentary at the end of this article.

- M13. 1. *p-u-k'-ü-š-o-ld-š s-o-m-k'-j-*
 2. *t-j^u-b-d-s-e-š-h-e*

The first word is taken to be a variant of *Pk'üsöld* in M11. The third name ends as often in *-eš*, here with the extra termination *-he*.

² The inscription D14 from Caunus is relevant here, as Meriggi notes. The text reads *s-i-e-s s-r-e-s-a-s p-s-u-š-o-ld-š m-a-d-š m-k'-o-š*, 'this monument is of *Psuöld*, descendant of *madš*' (*L'Antiquité classique* 24 (1955), 320). This is the only stone inscription from Caria which is palaeographically close to the ones from Saqqâra, although some minor texts, such as the bronze phial from Halicarnassus (Meier-Brügger, *Museum Helveticum* 35 (1978), 109-15), are also readable in terms of the 'Saqqâra' script. So too are the bowls published by Gusmani in *Kadmos* 17 (1978), 67-75, but their provenance is unknown. It is particularly interesting that the well-known Greek-Carian bilingual from Athens also falls into the 'Saqqâra' class, although the text is admittedly short (photograph, Masson, *Kadmos* 16 (1977), 94 and pl.). The Carian text reads *š-ê-a-s s-a-k'-q-u-r-* ['tomb of Sak'qur', which is a reasonable translation of *σημα* and *τοῦ Σκῦλ[ακος]*, but it makes no mention of the first name in the Greek text, whatever it was: cf. also Meier-Brügger, *Kadmos* 18 (1977), 87-8. It looks, therefore, as if the monumental inscriptions from Caria have developed in a separate way. They may, of course, be later in date, and part of a different tradition.

M14. *a-r-q-a-é-s' u-p-j*]

The first name, in the genitive, is reminiscent of *a-r-k'-a-é-s* (nominative) in the Leningrad bronze, Šev. 4 below.

M15. 1. *a-p*-[]-*ü-s*
2. *a*-[]-*e-k-a-r-m-s'-h-e*

The final name resembles *Pekarmš* in M6.

M16. 1. *q-g-u-s'-o-ld*
2. *k-b-o-s š-a-m-s-t-e*]

The first name falls into the *-σωλδος* pattern: note also *Güsold* in M27. The second word begins with *kb*: cf. Zgusta, §§ 560–7, from Caria and elsewhere. The ending in *-os* is presumably nominative; the word is, therefore, in apposition to the first name, and may be a title or epithet.

M17. *é-e-a-s-e* []-*d-a-é-r-e-t p-a-r-p-j-é-m-s'-h-e*

The first words are obscure, and one is driven to wonder whether the ending *-e-t* is not an error for *-e-s'*, with ⊕ written for ⊙. The final word, *parpjém*, is probably a name beginning with *para-*, as in *parajém* (MY text K), and *Παράσωλδος* (Zgusta, § 1203). It may even be that *pjém* is a passive participle meaning 'given', with an ending similar to the Lycian *-aimi* or *-eimi*.

M18.]-*u-s' u-p-j-s-a q-r-e-j-d-s' m-r-s-e-s'*

As Masson remarks, the final word also occurs at the end of MY text B; words ending in *-es'* are particularly common as third or final elements. *upjsa* is a remarkable variant.

M19. 1. *e-r-o-ü-s' p-s-18-j^u-m*-[]-*s'*
2. *p-q-q-u-s' m-k'-o-s'*

'Of Eroü, son of P . . . and descendant of Pqquš.' The first word is the genitive of the name which also occurs in M6 and M8.

M20. 1. *s-a-k'-u-t-s' u-j p-k'-q-m-u-k'-s'-h-e*
2. *m-ü-g-o-k'-s'-h-e*

'Of Sak'ut, son (?) of Pek'qmuk' the *mügek'*.'

M21. *s*-[.]-*j-q-s'* []-*é-k'-j-m-o-r-e-s' m-ü-g-o-k'-s'*

'Of S . . ., son of Ek'imore the *mügek'*.'

M22. 1. *š-a-r-u-s'-o-ld*
2. *p-ld-j-t-s'-h-e š-u-33-ld-e-s'*

'Šarušold, son of Pldjt, son (?) of Šu-33-ldes.' The first name is part of the *Šar-* family, plus the element *ušold*; the second resembles *Pldaq*, and the third also occurs in MY text C and MY text F.

M23. *ü-k'-u-q-e-s' k-ü-a-r-s'-m-18-m-s'-h-e m-ü-g-o-k'-s'-[h]-e*

For the opening of the second word cf. *Κυαρεμος*, Zgusta, § 764. The pattern of name-plus-patronymic-plus-title is repeated in this text.

M24. *e-q-u-r-o-ü-s' k-b-é-o-m-s' h-e-j-k' m-ü-[g]-o-k'-s'-h-e*

'Of Equroü, son of Kběom . . . the *mügek'*.' The first name is reminiscent of *eroü* (M6, M8, M19) and also possibly of *e-k'-u-q* in Šev. 30 and 32.

M25a. *e-g-m-k'-s m-é-r-j-š-h-e m-g-a-é-k'-h-e*
 b. *e-g-m-k'-s m-é-r-j-š-h-e*

'Egmk's, spouse of Mérj(s).' See notes to M₃ above.

M26. *m-j-42-š s-o-m-k'-j-š q-42-h-a-q-a-[r]-š*

In spite of recurrences in M₁₃ and M₃₃ I can suggest no Greek parallels for these names, and, therefore, no value for the sign 42.

M27. *k'-q-o-d(?)r-e-s g-ü-š-o-ld-š m-ü-g-o-k'-š-h-e*

'K'qodres, son of Güsold the *mügek'*.' *Güsold* is an interesting variant.

M28. *t-a-r-p-s-e-š ü-k-s-m-u-š ü-p-j d-k-o-r-š-h-é*

This text, with its remarkable spelling variants (*üpj* for *upj*, *-hé* for *-he*, and the use of signs 29 and 30 in the same line), is best considered along with MY text B. The latter, which is otherwise known as Louvre AM 1477, reads as follows:

1. *u-k-s-m-u d-k-o-r-š*
2. *m-r-s-e-š*

uksmu is an obvious variant of *üksmu*, and it looks as if MY text B means 'Uksmu, son of Dkor (?), son of Mrse (?)'. For the name *Mrse(s)* see also M₁₈ above, and possibly Zgusta, § 995. The present text seems to mean something like 'Of Tarpse, son of Üksmu, son (?) of Dkor (?)'. It is at least possible that we are dealing with three generations, the second of which, Uksmu son of Dkor, has Louvre AM 1477 as his funerary stele, while the third, the grandson, is featured in M₂₈. The provenance of M₂₈ is securely known; Louvre AM 1477, according to S. de Ricci (*CRAIBL* 10 December 1908, 804) was merely found somewhere in Egypt, although Masson and Yoyotte (*Objets pharaoniques*, 4) give reasons for thinking that this text also comes from the Memphite necropolis. This reconstruction is not certain; after all, names recur in most communities. But it is at least worth considering, and a similar idea is put forward in Masson, *Carian Inscriptions*, 38.

M29. 1. *t-d-a-ld-e-š* [
 2. *q-k-r-a-44-e-š*

The first name, *Tdalde(s)*, may be a gentilic derived from the city of Tralles, with Carian *d* rendered as *r* in Greek; see *Kadmos* 20 (1981), 153-4. For a possible nominative in *-es* for this name see the notes to M₃₇ below. The word, however, may simply be used as a personal name without being a certain guide to the man's origins. The first element in the second name is reminiscent of *Κακρας* (Zgusta, § 509).

M30. 1. *š-j^u-e-k'-š u-p-j*
 2. *a-r-e-[]-š-h-e-o-j-g*

This looks like a simple name in the genitive, plus filiation. The missing letter in the second name may be a damaged *m*; but about the final *-ojg* the less said the better.

M31. 1. *]m-k'-o-š*
 2. *]a-r-h-e-d-a-š*

The name in the second line may be one of the many beginning in *Ar-*: cf. the list in Zgusta, p. 541, for those encountered from Caria alone.

M32. *p-d-t-o p-e-d-r-m-š-h-e m-ü-g-o-k'-š-h-e*

'Pdto, son of Pedrm the *mügek'*.' Zgusta, § 1188 gives a Lycian name, *Padrāma* and variants, which bears some resemblance to *Pedrm*.

M33. *o-r-ś u-p-j t-g-a-r-42-o-u-ś q-42-h-a-q-a-r-ś*

The first name looks at first sight like the Lycian *Opas* given in Zgusta, § 1100, but the first vowel of this must have been aspirated. The fourth word has already been seen in M26 above.

M34. 1. *a-r-ê-o-m-ś u-j m-ü-s-a-q-ś h-e m-ü-g-o-k'-ś h-e*
2. *q-b-r-e-g-b-r-ś h-e*

This text is remarkable for the separation of the element *-he* from the ordinary genitive in *-ś*. The first name, *Arêom*, may be a variant of the one which occurs as the second name in M1, where it corresponds to the Egyptian *Ṭwry[m]*; one may at least compare *Ἀρλιωμος* (Zgusta, § 95-3). *Müsaq* is presumably another name ending in *-q* or *-aq*, and the name in the second line has a typically Anatolian combination of sounds, notably the initial *kb*.

M35. *d-j^u-h-s-e-ś u-p-j a-r-t-u-t-ś-h-e k-s-o-d-b-ś a-r-d-e-o-m-ś m-k'-o-ś-h-e*

Text rearranged in accordance with Meriggi, *BiOr* 37 (1980), 35 n. 4. We are clearly dealing with a fair number of names here, together with filiations. *Artut* is one of the *Ar-* names; *Ardeom* is another, which appears in the form *Ardêom* in M1 (= Egyptian *Ṭwry[m]*), and may also be the same as *Arêom* in M34 (first word). The 'family' word *mk'os(he)* also occurs.

M36. 1. *a-p-m-j-k' a-r-t-u-t-ś k-o-ê-o-l-d-h-e*
2. *m-ü-q-o-k'-ś-h-e*

I have again rearranged the order of the lines into a more natural sequence; the word on the cornice of the stele was presumably added after the rest of the text. The text should mean 'Apmjk' son of Artut (and ?) Koêold the *mügok'*'. *Müqok'* is presumably a variant spelling of this common title. For *Artut* see M35 above. *Koêold* may correspond to *Κολωλδος*, Zgusta, § 661, if this name really exists: cf. the possibility that *Arêom* = *Ἀρλιωμος* mentioned in the notes to M34; indeed, it is always possible that the sign *ê* was closer to a sonant *l*.

M37. 1. *t(?)]-d-a-l-d-e-s*
2. *]e-a-m-ś-h-e*
3. *a-d-o-s-h-a-r-k'-o-s*

'Tdaldes, son of [.]eam, the *adoshark'os*.' The first name is tentatively restored from M29; it is a pity that one cannot be certain about this, as it would confirm that the nominative of such names ended in *-es*. The title (?) at the end is discussed by Gusmani, *Kadmos* 17 (1978), 74, since it occurs in a variant spelling on one of his bronze bowls: cf. also Meriggi, *BiOr* 37 (1980), 35. See below for this bowl-inscription.

M38. 1. *j^u-a-s-r-ś é-e-ś-h-b-e-d-s-h-e-ś*
2. *m-ü-g-o-k'-ś-h-e*

Once again I have re-arranged the order of the two lines. The first name bears some resemblance to *Ὀβασίς* and the variants given in Zgusta, § 1145. Indeed, the symbol *j^u* may correspond simply to *w*. The second word is particularly uncouth, and may be wrongly divided. This would at least allow a third word in the line, ending as frequently in *-eś*.

M39. *q-k-q-j-s p-a-r-a-e-43-r-j-l-d-ś-h-e m-k'[-o-ś?*

The second name, presumably that of the father or ancestor, is one beginning with *Para-* (Zgusta, §§ 1203-12 or 1213): cf. notes to M17 above. For sign no. 43 see the notes to M9.

M42. 1. *ś-j-k'-u-r-q*
2. *p-h-s-e-m-q-ś-h-e*

This is a name plus filiation, both names ending in the common *-q*: see the commentary at the end of this article.

M43. 1. *a-r-d-e-š-š p-s-e-k-r-o-k'[-š*
2. *u-j*

'Of Ardeš, son of Psekrok'. For the first name see the notes to M1 and M7. The text looks unfinished.

M44. *a-r-g-é-b-é-r-š m-g-[*

It is tempting to see a link between this name and *Ἀρδυβερος* (Zgusta, § 86–6), but I know of no parallel for the change from *g* to *d*.

M46. *p-s-m-a-[š-k*

This is the one example of this name from Saqqâra, although it is common elsewhere. Since it is either a form of the name Psammetichus or, less likely, a native Carian name assimilated to it, its rarity at Saqqâra is interesting. It may well be that, since the Saqqâra stelae are mostly early Achaemenid, the name of a Saïte king would not have been popular among a community as politically sensitive as the Carians, or perhaps the fashion simply changed. In Carian inscriptions of Saïte date the name is common.

M47. *š-a-r-k[*

The initial letter is *e*, altered to *š*. For the family of names to which this belongs see the commentary towards the end of this article.

M48d. *e-g-é-j-s-š*

'Of Egejs.' The form is interesting in that it shows that at least one noun in *-s* can form a genitive this way: cf. the notes to *Tdaldes* in M37 above.

Inscriptions from Buhen

M50. 1. *]m-s-a-d a-r-*
2. *d-]e-š p-s-m-a-š*
3. *k(?)'-š u-r-m-š a-k'-*
4. *k-43-u-š č-r-j-d-*
5. *k-τ-o-u-š*

'Inscription (?) of Ardeš, son of Psammetichus, son of Urm (or of Euromos?) (and) A . . . uš, son of Črjktou.' The original is no longer clear, and the text has all the weaknesses of a lightly incised graffito. In l. 1 the *m* is fairly sure; hence we are not dealing with the word *jépsad* which appears at the beginning of M55. However, I do think it very likely that the *psmasuš* of ll. 2–3 should be read *psmašš* 'of Psammetichus'; the top of the apparent *u* is missing, and *k* is, therefore, equally possible; and the *š*, which is clear, sometimes takes the place of *š* in this name. *urms* in l. 3 suggests the city of Euromos (cf. the spelling *uroms* in the following text), but this is only a hypothesis; and the ending *-uš* in l. 4 has an Achaemenid look, but may turn out to be as Carian as the *-eš* in *Ardeš*. I suspect that words ending in *-sad* are third-person verbs, meaning 'is inscribing' or the like: see notes to M55 below.

M51. 1. *j-u-m-a-l-k'-a-*
2. *s-a-d a-r-d(?)'-e-š*
3. *p-g-q-o-m-š*
4. *u-r-o-m-š a-k'-*
5. *k-43*-u-š*

'Record (?) of Ardeš, son of Pggom, son of Urom (or of Euromos) (and) A . . . uš.' The link with the preceding text is obvious; indeed, the only significant change, apart from omitting the father of

A . . . uš, is that Ardeš is here called son of *Pgqom* (a name which slightly resembles the Lycian *Πυγομος* of Zgusta, § 1254-1) rather than son of Psammetichus. This may be an example of alternative naming, unless the two inscriptions are quite unrelated. *jumalk'asad* could be a verbal form, ending in *-sad* and also beginning with *j*, like *jépsad* in M55.

M53. 1. *p-s-m-a-š-k(?)*
2. *e-é-r-s-e-š*

Again, it looks as if the first word is a variant of *psmšk*, although it is impossible to check this. The same applies to M54, which may well read *p-s-m-a-š-k*.

M55. 1. *j-é-p-s-a-d*
2. *p-u-o-j-š a-š-r-š*
3. *u-r-s-j-a-h-29-h-e*

The first word could conceivably be a verbal form meaning 'is writing' or 'written by'. The occurrence of two different writings of *š* within the same line (l. 2) is disconcerting, but the original is very lightly incised, and it is difficult to agree with the views of Kowalski about this (*Kadmos* 14 (1975), 74, fig. 1), accurate though he is in some other respects. The word in the third line has the same beginning as the name in M7, l. 2: *urshjš*; the sign 29 may be a sibilant (*z* or *x*), as the element *-he* is usually preceded by *š*, but this may, of course, be one of the rare exceptions. On this sign see further Masson, *Hommages à S. Sauneron* II (Cairo, 1979), 48.

2. *Texts* published in O. Masson and J. Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques à inscription carienne*, Cairo 1956. Abbreviated MY.

MY text A (= Louvre AO 4445). *]q-q-b-a-35-e-[š(?)]* *d-e-u-b-[. .]-g-e-š a-o-r[*

The letter transliterated as *b* may conceivably be *l*: see also the notes to sign 35 at the beginning of this article.

MY text B (= Louvre AM 1477). See the notes to M28 above; the two stelae may be related.

MY text C (= Grenoble stele) *t-o-r-b/l e-s-o-r-š-h-e š-u-33-ld-e-š*

A name and two filiations, with the third ending in *-eš*. This same name occurs in M22, third word, and in MY text F (Lausanne stele), fourth word. If sign 33 is a sibilant (*x* or *z*) the name may correspond to something like *Σωσύλος* (Zgusta, § 1492-3, from Iasos), a name which is probably assimilated to a Greek form.

MY text D (= Brussels stele). 1. *p-e-k-r-j-š u-j*
2. *š-a-r-ü-k-ê-a-q-š m-s-k'-o-r-e-š*

This text corresponds very closely to the Saqqâra type: 'of Pekrj, son of Šarükêaq, son of Msk'ore(s).' The final name may be a gentilic. *Šarükêaq* is one of the extensive *Šar-* family, with the frequent ending in *-aq*.

MY text a (inscribed ring, BM 120265). *e-o-k'-j-ld-š*

'Of Eok'ild.' The text is clearly to be read from left to right, in spite of the orientation of the first *e*. For a name beginning with *Yv-*, which may correspond to *e-o-*; see Zgusta, § 494.

MY text b (vase, Berlin 7206). *p-g-u-b-a* or *p-g-u-l-a*

MY text E (= Cairo 49060). *q-j-r-j^u-j-35-š u-p-j k'-u-o-ld-h-e(?)*[. .] *s|p-a-r-m-r-o-ld-h-e*

Egyptian text: cartouches of Apries *mry Ptḥ* 'beloved of Ptah'. The text is very weathered, but falls clearly into the 'Saqqâra' type, in spite of its pre-Achaemenid date. It consists of a name and two

filiations. The second name is reminiscent of *Κτουβολδος* (Zgusta, § 761). The third name is damaged at the beginning; it is possible that the apparent *s* which commences the word is a *p*, which would allow a name beginning with *par-* or *para-*, but it is difficult to be sure of this from the photograph.

MY text F (= Lausanne stele). *p-s-m-š-k-ü(?) -k'-j-e-q-š u-j(?) k'-a-r-e-a-š š-u-33-ld-e-š s-a-r-a*
 Egyptian text: *Psmṯk-ꜣwy-Nit sꜣ Wꜣh-ib-Rꜣ* [. . .]

'Sara of Psmšk-ük'jeq, son of K'area, son of Šu-33-ldes.' *Sara* may mean something like 'monument', to judge from this context alone. The deceased man's name is a combination of the name Psammetichus followed by another element, *ük'jeq*: cf., among others, the name *üdeaq* in MY text I below. In Egyptian this man called himself by a typically honorific name involving the same royal name Psammetichus, but followed this time by the epithet 'in the hands of Neith'. Whether this has anything to do with his Carian name is rather doubtful while the meaning of that Carian name is unknown, but there may be some influence at work. The man's father, *K'area*, also took an Egyptian name, *Waḥibrēꜣ* [. . .], and this was certainly different from his Carian one. For a general discussion of such double naming see *Kadmos* 20 (1981), 159. The third name, *Šu-33-ldes*, is dealt with briefly in the notes to MY text C above.

MY text G (= Sydney stele). 1. *q-r-e-t-š p-a-r-m-a-š-š-h-e*

2. *k-d-o-r-u-ld-h-e*

Egyptian text: *Pꜣ-di-3st ms Tꜣ-di-Wsꜣr*

'Of Qret, son of Parmaš, son of Kdoruld.' The possibility that Qret is a personal name based on the island of Crete should not be ruled out, in view of the Carian connections (real or imaginary) with this island; other names based on localities may include *Tdaldes*, *Urom(š)*, and *Padsš* in M29, M51, and Šev. 22. The following name, *Parmaš*, is interesting both as being part of the *Para-* family and as giving a rare example of the *-assos* ending. The third name also sounds distinctly Carian. In contrast to this, the hieroglyphic names are purely Egyptian, and must be by-names. The second, *Tꜣ-di-Wsꜣr*, is feminine, and it may well be that either *Parmaš* or *Kdoruld* was the mother or grandmother. Similar use of female names is seen in MY text M below.

MY text H (= stele, Berlin 21615). *č-a-m-o-u č-a-k'-a-e-š t-a-r-s-e-š*

Egyptian text: *Tꜣ-Ḥp-mw sꜣ Tꜣ . . .*

'Čamou, son of Čak'ae(s), son of Tarse(s).' For *Čamou* see the entry for *Σαμω(ν)ος*, Zgusta, § 1367. This may or may not be the same as the well-known Egyptian name *Tꜣy-n-īm-w* (*Ταμῶς*, *Σαμαῦς*); at some point a genuine Carian name may have been assimilated to an Egyptian one.³ The interest lies in the nomenclature chosen for the Egyptian version of this text: *Tꜣ-Ḥp-mw* is an alternative spelling of *Tꜣy-Ḥp-n-īm-w* 'Apis has seized them', and this could always be abbreviated as *Tꜣ-n-īm-w*. The Egyptian name might have been chosen because of these resemblances. As for the second name, *Čak'aeš*, the scribe of the hieroglyphic version should be brought back from the dead and shot; for it looks as if he was about to give us an Egyptian rendering of *k'*. The two horizontal signs which he wrote are clearly unfinished, but perhaps a second Egyptian name was all that was intended. The third word is reminiscent of Tarsus, but this is probably no more than a coincidence.

MY text I (= Munich 1385). *Ḥr di ꜣnh ü-d-e-a-q*

'Horus preserve Üdeaq.' Inscribed on the base of a rather poignant ichneumon. The name is yet another ending in *-aq*, and may possibly be compared with *Ἰδακος* (Zgusta, § 451-5), although this may be a purely Greek word.

³ The same may hold true for *Πίρωμυς* (Zgusta, § 1266): cf. Herodotus, 2. 143. The use of the Egyptian name Psammetichus is rather different, as this had become almost international by the beginning of the sixth century. The form *Psmšk* suggests a borrowing from Aramaic. In a similar way, several Greek names, such as *Mῶς*, *Σωσίλος*, and *Σκύλαξ*, are used as approximations to Carian names and as equivalents for them.

MY text K (= Cairo 49061). 1. Egyptian text: *Hp di cnh Prim*

2. *pꜣ whm p-a-r-a-j-é-m a-r-m-o-k'-h-e*

3. *p-a-r-ae-j-é-m s-b/l/p-o-d-o*

The Egyptian clearly means 'Apis preserve *Prim*', followed by either the epithet *pꜣ whm* 'the herald' or the same used as a name, which presumably would be that of *Prim*'s father. On balance the first is more likely. This text is, therefore, one of the few testimonies we have to the Carians' functions in their new homeland. The Carian name is kept in the Egyptian text without change. The Carian part of the inscription reads 'Parajém, son of Armok', two names which fall into familiar patterns. The final word *sb/l/podo* is obscure. It may be a translation of 'the herald'; it may be a wish 'may he live', or something similar; alternatively, since in D15 we find *sb/l/mk'os'*, which looks like a derivative of *mk'os'*, *sb/l/podo* may be another word for 'descendant' or 'grandson'. The most interesting possibility is that we are dealing with a dative of dedication, and that the word is somehow the Carian name for Apis, as Sayce suggested. Other words ending in *-o* also occur: cf. the following text.

MY text L (= Cairo 30837). Egyptian text: *Itm ntr cꜣ di cnh snb Šꜣrkbym*, 'Atum the great god give life and health to *Šarkbym*.'

Carian text: 1. *š-a-r-k-b-e-o-m 35-e-g-k-s-m-τ-a-k'-j j^u-k'-[.]-*

2. *-m-o τ-j-k' q-u-m-k'*

The name *Šarkbeom* is clear; it also appears in the Egyptian text and may be an Asianic name meaning 'given by the mighty one', although this is none too certain, since the verb 'to give' may also appear in Carian written with *p* instead of *b*. The second word is a preterite: 'has dedicated', or the like. The third word again ends in *-o*, and it would be tempting to see in this a Carian equivalent of the god Atum mentioned in the hieroglyphs, but I can do no more than suggest this. The rest is equally obscure.

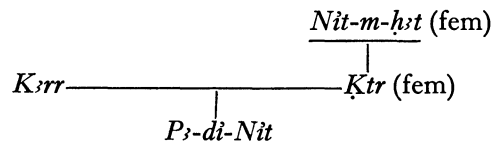
MY text M (= Berlin 13785). Egyptian text (in part): cartouches of Psammetichus I accompanied by

Nit . . . di cnh . . . Pꜣ-di-Nit sꜣ Kꜣrr ms n nb(t) pr [Kꜣpr]kꜣtr ir n nb(t) pr Nit-m-ḥst ti Wꜣḥ-ib-Rꜣ

Carian text: *p-g-k'-ju-é q-t-j^u-r-e-š-h-e*

'Pegk'jué, son of Qtj^ure.'

The hieroglyphic text is discussed in Masson and Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques*, 55–62; see also *Kadmos* 20 (1981), 159–60. Omitting the final name, which may be an ancestor or may simply be part of a composite name *Nit-m-ḥst-Wꜣḥ-ib-Rꜣ*, we obtain the following family tree:



The Carian text names *Pegk'jué* = Pagtyes (?), son of *Qtj^ure*, which looks very much like the mother's name in the Egyptian. For alternative spellings of the Carian name Pagtyes see Šev. 18, 19, and 38 below. *Pꜣ-di-Nit* is presumably an Egyptian by-name, and was certainly an appropriate one for a foreigner employed by the Saïte dynasty to choose. The parents' names both seem to be Carian; the maternal grandmother has an Egyptian name, but, in view of the way she named her daughter, she was either Carian herself or was married to a Carian.

3. *Texts* collected in V. V. Ševoroškin, *Issledovanija po dešifrovke karijskih nadpisej*, Moscow 1965. Abbreviated Šev.

Šev. 4. Bronze of Isis and Harpocrates in Leningrad. See also Ševoroškin in *Vestnik drevnej istorii* 88 (1964), 128–34; Golénischeff, *Inventaire*, no. 288.

3st di cnh a-r-k'-a-ê-s s-b-š|q-a-t-b-o-s

'Isis preserve Ark'aês the sbš/qatbos.' For the name see also the notes to M14 above. The second word is not a genitive, and looks more like a title, resembling the word *adoshark'os* in M37 and possibly *k'oredams* in D15 from Taşyaka in Caria. Note again the element *sb* as in *sbmk'oš* and *sbpodo*.

Graffiti from Abydos (= F 1–29). Text sometimes corrupt.

Šev. 17. p-e-s-e-r-e

Šev. 18. p-a-k'-j-ê q-e-a-r-ê-a-š

'Pactyes, son of Qearêa.'

Šev. 19. p-q-k'-e(?) -j e-r-a-r-s-e-š

'Pactyes, son of Erarse.'

Šev. 20. š-a-m-o-ü-d-q a-r-e-š (or š-a-m-o-ü-d q-a-r-e-š, in which case cf. *Kappeis*, Zgusta, § 540–3). Note the variants given in F3b and c; Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, 93.

Šev. 21. e-a-r-š-o-ld j^u-r-s-l(?) -j 37-g-u-b-e-š (š-a-r-š-o-ld is equally possible for the first word).

Šev. 22. p-ld-a-q p-a-d-s-š

The first name is probably Πέλαγηκος (Zgusta, § 1234); the second is equally interesting, and may be derived from the city of Pedasa. The change from *ā* to *η* is due to Ionic influence, and may appear both in Πέλαγηκος and in Πήδασα. For a portrait of this individual see Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, 93.

Šev. 23. p-e-u-m-j^u-35-š u-r-b|l-o-š(?)

The first name may contain part of the verb 'to give'. One wonders whether the same word is to be seen in Šev. 27 (cf. the copy shown in F10).

Šev. 25. u-k'-o-r-e h-a-k'-q-r-p-a-u-t(?)

Šev. 28. k'-p-r-o-s-k'-š

Šev. 29. p-d-u-e-k'-u-q-š

This may be two names, the second being *ek'uq* as in Šev. 30 and 32.

Šev. 30. q-r-m-o-s-e e-k'-u-q-š

'Qrrose, son of Ek'uq.' *Qrrose* has a very Egyptian look ('a Carian is born'), but this may be illusory; *ek'uq* may well contain a reference to the goddess Hecate (note the variant *hek'uq* in Šev. 32 below): see the notes to sign no. 22 above.

Šev. 31. q-r-m-o-s-u q-k'-u-q(-š)

This looks very much like a variant of Šev. 30. The variant *qrmosu* is notable.

Šev. 32. h-e-k'u-q q-r-m-o-s-e-š

Here the two names are reversed, and it would seem that we are dealing with a father and a son,

with names in the same family alternating according to papponymy ('A, son of B, son of A'). The two names appear together in the second line of Šev. 33, but unfortunately the preceding line is largely destroyed. This is a pity, as it might have told us something valuable.

Šev. 35.]-j-š-o-ld

Šev. 38.]p-r-e p-q-k'-u-o(?)-e(?)

The second name may be a variant of Pactyes: see notes to sign 22 above.

Šev. 42. 1. b|l-e-τ-š-d-j-m-s-a š-a r-[.]-š-o-ld š-a-j^u-g-e-t-š
2.]a-d-ld-e-a l(?)-s-e-s

The second and third words may be one and the same, part of the Šar- family. The rest is completely obscure.

Šev. 44. š-a-r-p-q-š p-š-u-š[

The first name is again part of the Šar- group. The second recalls *Psusoldš* in the tomb-inscription from Caunus, D14. However, the text is far from certain.

Šev. 46. u-š-o-ld m-e-h-š t-u-τ-[.]-s-e-š

This looks like a name with double filiation, the third ending in -eš; hence the word division I have adopted. *Usold* is a clear variant of the name written *Ūsold* at Saqqâra: see notes to M₄ above.

Graffiti from Thebes (tomb of Montuemhêt)

I have reluctantly decided to omit these, until the texts can be properly collated. Šev. 57 seems to contain the name p-s-m-š-[k 'Psammetichus'.

Graffiti from Silsileh (Shaṭṭ er-Rigâl)

Šev. 61. 1.]-b-j-h-a-τ č-a p-s-m-a-š-k-š

2.]u-k'-e-č-o-k q-d-t-k k'-a-t e-s-j-r-ê-j-q

The first word is obscure; the second looks like a particle of some sort (cf. perhaps *ša* in Šev. 42 above, if this text is correctly divided). The third is a clear attempt at the name Psammetichus, even if it seems to have been written by some one standing on his head. For the spelling p-s-m-š-k for p-s-m-š-k see also M₅₀ and M₅₃ above; it seems to be a genuine variant. The second line is incomprehensible to me.

Šev. 63. a-d-t-s k'-u-b-e-m-u-d-t-s q-k'-ae-l-j-l-q

It looks as if the second word is another title, like *sbš/qatbos* and *adoshark'os*. For the opening syllable cf. *Κτρουβολδος* in Zgusta, § 761. The first word will then be a proper name.

Šev. 66. p-s-m-a-š-k

Again the variant spelling, as in Šev. 61. The vertical stroke after the *s* is probably intrusive.

Šev. 71. (= F39, from Heshân⁴) h-e-t-u-b m-a-r-a-r-š s-o-[

Probably name and filiation. Several names beginning with *Map-* appear in Zgusta, §§ 873-4.

⁴ This is the form which has entered the literature, following Sayce, *PSBA* 30 (1908), 28, but it seems to be wrong. P. Červíček, *Felsbilder des Nord-Etbai, Oberägyptens und Untermubiens* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 25, Abb. 6, gives a form Gebel Hoscham (= Hoshâm?) for the second spur to the north of the Wâdi esh-Shaṭṭ er-Rigâl, which is presumably the site in question. I owe this reference to T. G. H. James.

4. *Graffiti from Abu Simbel* published by O. Masson in *Hommages à la mémoire de S. Sauneron*, II (Cairo, 1979), 35–49. Abbreviated AS.

AS 1. *p-a-r-š-o(?) -d(?) -o-u*

2.]-o-j

The first name may be part of the *Para-* family.

AS 2. The edition by Masson, op. cit. 38 is very clear. Nevertheless, I wonder whether the group as shown in Fig. 2 ought to be read *š-a-r-k-a-e-* []-a-d. This would fall into a known pattern of names, although the ending *-ad* is more reminiscent of the opening words of M50 and M55, which may well be verbs. It is, therefore, better to reserve judgement about this text.

AS 3. *p-e-s-m-a-š-k š-a-r-k'-ü-š j^u-k'-s-m-s-o-s*

'Psammetichus, son of Šark'ü the *j^uk'smsos*.' The first name is clear in spite of the small *š*. The second is part of the *Šar-* family; Ševoroškin's copy (Šev. 74) favours the reading *Šark'üe*. The third word may be another title ending in *-os*: see the notes to Šev. 4 and Šev. 63 above.

AS 4. Apart from a feeling that this text should be read from left to right, I can make nothing of it.

AS 5. *p-k'-e-r-e o(?) -r-u- []-e-j^u-k-r-š š-a- [. .]-e-š r-ü-k'.*

Text very doubtful.

AS 6. 1. *P-ld-a-q č-*

2. *s-d-a-j^u-š-h-e*

The first name is clearly the same as that in Šev. 22, although the division of words in the two lines is rather strange. It may be explicable by the nature of the surface. I can find no parallel for the second name, which is in the genitive, but Carian names in $\Sigma\alpha\sigma-$ and $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma-$ can be found in Zgusta, §§ 1379–81; 1410–1.

AS 7. *k'-a-35-h-e-h l(?) -j^u-š(?) j-s-a-33-τ-o-ü-š m-j-t-u-b-j-m p-e-s-[m]-a-š-k l-j^u-l-e-q [.] p-s-j^u-.-a-e.. [*

In spite of its difficulty, this is a remarkably interesting text, and may even be historical, as Masson suspects. The third word, if it really ends in *-üš*, is reminiscent of the names terminating in *-uš* in M50 and M51. The fourth word, *mjtubjm*, looks very much like a passive participle (compare the ending *-aimi* or *-eimi* in Lycian), although it may, nonetheless, be a personal name. The following name is Psammetichus, and possibly the next word has something to do with the Leleges, as Ševoroškin and Masson suspect. The edition in Friedrich (F37) records other words which are now missing: *m-o k'-j p-s-j^u-s-a-e- ?-e-t-o-m*. The unread letter looks like a Greek *kappa*, which is not convincing, unless it is a writing of *k'*. I can make nothing of this part of the text.

AS 8. *k'-e-g-š-k-u-s-a-s m-j-j^u-t-a-k . . .*

The rest of this inscription is highly obscure, with the apparent repetition of similar-sounding words in a way which is not promising. The fifth word appears to read *š-u-k'-e-š*, with the common ending *-eš*.

5. *Miscellaneous inscriptions on bronzes*

a. Bronze lion from Egypt (Masson, *Kadmos* 15 (1976), 82–3)

1. *k'-o-r-o-s p-r-37-e-g-a-s*

2. *o-r-š-a*

3. *k'-u-m-τ-a-k'-j u-k-s-e-ü-r-m-š*

A name *Kópos* appears in Zgusta, § 692, where it is said to be Greek and may, therefore, be irrelevant. The second word looks like one of the *Para-* family. The first word in the third line is a preterite verb; an outside possibility, if we take *k'* as the combination *kt*, is to relate the word to the Lydian *katu* 'to write down' (Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 147). The word would then mean 'has inscribed'. The following word reminds one both of *uksmu/üksmu* in M28 and MY text B, and *urms* in M50, although the latter may be an abbreviation for *uroms*. The whole text is clearly a dedication; perhaps *orša* is the direct object of the sentence.

b. Two inscriptions on bowls of unknown provenance (Gusmani, *Kadmos* 17 (1978), 67–75).

i. (MMA, New York): *e-r-t-u-t t-q-b-a-j-m-s j^u-b-q s-k'-k' o-r-k-k' k'-q-r-o p-ê-g-a*

The first word is reminiscent of *Artut*, a proper name in M35 and M36. The second word is also a name, but one that closely resembles, not only *mjtubjm* in AS7, but also the Lycian passive participles in *-aimi* (cf. G. Neumann in *Kleinasiatische Sprachen = Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1, 2, 2 (Leiden, 1969), 389). The fourth word, *sk'k'*, recurs in the bowl inscription from Halicarnassus published by Meier-Brügger, *Museum Helveticum* 35 (1978), 109–15, where it is the final word of the text. This dedication seems to be made by a man named *Smrj^ubrs* son of *Psk'ld*, who clearly also shared a liking for obscure words ending in *-k'*.

ii. (Badisches Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe): *j^u-s-b-e-k-s-k'-o-q a-d-o-s-τ-h-a-r-k'-o-s-τ ê-35-p-j-m-τ-a-k'-j*

The first name is elusive. For the title *adoshark'os*, here spelt slightly more fully, see M37 above. The final word is clearly a verb, and, if the central element *-pjm-* is really the verb 'to give' the whole may well mean 'has donated' or something similar. The prefix *ê-35-* may, as a working hypothesis, be compared with the Lydian *ên-* (Gusmani, *Lydisches Wb.* 105–6).

6. Rock-inscription from Lower Nubia (Žába no. 196)

This inscription is published in the magnificent volume of Z. Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (Prague, 1974), 193–4 and fig. 323. According to the map on p. 182 of the publication, the graffito was situated some way inland on the west bank, about two kilometres north of the former site of the temple of Dendur, and seems to have been completely isolated. It may well be a by-product of the Nubian campaign of 593 BC (not 591), as the editor suggests. The text is reasonably clear from the photograph:

1. *p-o-ü-k ü-d-ê-o(?) -q-s j^u-k'-s-m-s-o-s*
2. *[[s-a-š(?) -ü-o(?) -k']] s-'a'-š(?) -ü-o-k'*

The first two words are clearly a name followed by a filiation. The father's name is very reminiscent of the *üdeaq* of MY text I, and it is possible that the *o* in the present text is really an *a*. The third word is a title or epithet, and has already been met with in AS 3 above. Since both these graffiti are probably related to the Nubian campaign of Psammetichus II, it may be that *j^ukmsos* is a military title. Other epithets or titles ending in *-os* are *adoshark'os* in M37, together with the variant spelling *adosrhark'osτ* on the Karlsruhe bowl, and *sbš/qatbos* on the Leningrad bronze (Šev. 4). A rather similar ending can be seen in the words *adts* and *k'ubemudts* in Šev. 63, as well as *k'oredams* in D15 from Caria. The form *k'oros* at the beginning of the bronze lion may or may not be related; its position as first word in a text is unique for a word of this kind.

The second line consists of the same word written twice, and it is possible that the first writing was erased for some reason. The second attempt omitted the letter *a*, which has been inserted below the line after the initial *s*. The reading is far from certain: the third letter (š) may be a garbled writing of *a*, although a double *a* in Carian does not seem very convincing, and the penultimate

o may really be *j*. In this case the ending would be reminiscent of *hejk'* in M24. Short words ending in *-k'* are common enough at or near the end of inscriptions (cf. for example MY text L, AS5, and the New York bowl discussed above), and there is something to be said for Ševoroškin's idea (*Issledovanija*, 327) that these words in *-k'* are verbs of some sort. This is particularly interesting if the sign *k'* really stands for *kt*, as the ending then begins to look Indo-European, with one of the characteristics of the third person, but this is speculation, and it is difficult to reconcile this notion with the ending *-(s)ad* which appears in M50, M51, and M55. The question is better left open for the time being.

In spite of much which is still uncertain, I believe that the values given for the Carian alphabet in this article are substantially correct, and that there are enough correlations between the names in these inscriptions from Egypt and the Greek forms known from Classical sources to suggest that we are now on the right path. Yet obviously there is still a long way to travel: with the exception of a very simple text like the second bowl published by Gusmani there is not a single connected inscription, other than one containing mere names and filiations, which has yet yielded the whole of its meaning. An expert in the Asianic languages will probably be able to make much greater sense of these inscriptions, since I strongly suspect that Carian is a member of this group; certainly the elements which go to make up Carian names are explicable in this way. The language is therefore very likely to be Indo-European.

The grammatical endings used in our texts rather support this view. *-ś* is the sign of the genitive, and, as such, is regularly used in filiations. Many, though not all, of the first names on the Saqqâra stelae are also in the genitive, and this must serve to indicate ownership of the monument. This point was fully understood by Meriggi (*BiOr* 31 (1980), 34). It is for this reason that the ending *-ś* leaves no trace in the Egyptian transliterations, since these are naturally based on the nominative. For a similar reason the names which occur in the graffiti from Abydos, Abu Simbel, and elsewhere are more often in the nominative than in the genitive; one does not really own a graffito. But there are some exceptions even to this; perhaps some Carians felt that they did.

The ending *-eś* is also extremely interesting. In some cases, it may be a simple genitive from a noun ending in *-e*; this might explain M23, where the first word ends this way. But the most common use of this ending is in the third element of filiations, and it looks in some cases as if the pattern *A B-ś C-eś* ought to mean 'A, son of B, of the family of C'. M7, which falls into this group, means, according to the accompanying Egyptian text, 'A, son of B, son of C', but the difference in meaning is not very great. If my interpretation of *Tdaldeś* in M29 is correct, and if the restored form in M37 is the nominative of this name, then *-es* would be the nominative of the gentilic ending, rather like the Greek *-εύς*.

Much more difficult is the termination *-he*. If the word-division in M34 is anything to go by, this element could even be felt as a separate word. It commonly follows the genitive *-ś* in the combination *-she* (see the analysis by Meriggi in *BiOr* 37 (1981), 36-7), but this is not necessarily the case, and in M10b the group *mgaék'he* clearly serves as a genitive in its own right. It may be that we are dealing with a composite word, or even two or more homonyms, one serving as a connecting particle like $\tau\epsilon$ and

-que, another acting as a genitive marker. We may even be dealing with a 'secondary' genitive such as exists in some languages: note the use in M28. In one case at least (MY text M) the form *qtj^ureshe* must be a feminine genitive, and this probably holds true of M10 and M25 as well. In other cases, however, *-he* seems to be used as a postposition to mark which element goes with which; thus in M12 the *-he* at the end of *mügek'* seems to point to the second name, which also ends in *-he*, rather than the first name, which does not. Something similar happens in M5 and M8, and probably elsewhere. Perhaps there is a simple explanation for all this.

In two or possibly three cases there are words which resemble the passive participles in Lycian: *mjtubjm* in AS7, *tqbajm's* in the New York bowl-inscription, and possibly the name *parpjém* in M17. The last may be connected with an Anatolian verb 'to give' which appears in *ê-35-p-j-m-τ-a-k'-j* (Karlsruhe bowl) and possibly *p-e-u-m-j^u-35-s* in Šev. 23; even perhaps the *šarkbeom* of MY text L.

The last name brings us to a most interesting family, with which it is right to conclude. A comparatively large number of names begin with the element *Šar-* or *Šark-*, as the following list shows:

<i>Šark'aes'</i>	M9, 1	<i>Šariükéaq's</i>	MY text D, 2
<i>Šrüdeshe</i>	M12, second word	<i>Šarkbeom</i>	MY text L, 1
<i>Šarusold</i>	M22, 1; Šev. 42 (?)	<i>Šarpq's</i>	Šev. 44
<i>Šark[</i>	M47	<i>Šark'üs</i> or <i>Šark'üe</i>	AS3

The underlying root may be an Asianic word meaning 'mighty' (Masson and Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques*, 53 n. 2), and it is at least possible that the *-k* of *Šark-* is a suffix denoting relationship. In other words *šar(u)* would mean 'mighty' and *šark* 'a mighty one'. This suffix may be connected with the common *-aq* which terminates several names (*Üdeaq, Pldaq, Müsaq, Qaşubq, Šjk'urq*). I believe that a similar suffix occurs in the Slavonic languages, in Greek (*-akós*), and even possibly in Etruscan. If we speculate a little further, it is interesting to see that the name for 'Carian' in other contemporary languages presents two different forms: a root *kar-* with various vocalic endings, and a form *kark-* (O. Masson, *Mélanges linguistiques offerts à E. Benveniste* (Paris, 1975), 407-14). It may be that the simple form *karu* was an adjective, 'Carian', while the form with an extra *-k* meant 'a man from Caria'. Both forms will have passed into neighbouring languages.

Let us now stop speculating, before we travel as far as the Carians themselves. All that interests us here is that they travelled to Egypt, the most populous country and the greatest melting-pot of the ancient Mediterranean. The work of the Egypt Exploration Society has by definition concentrated on the Nile Valley, but such was the importance of Egypt, and so extensive the foreign communities who lived there, that work done in Egypt will always have repercussions upon Classical, Near Eastern, Aegean, and African studies. The decipherment of Meroitic, which was achieved through Egyptian hieroglyphs, is an obvious example of this; so too, in a lesser way, it appears that the excavations at Saqqâra are beginning to shed light on the relatives of Mausolus and Herodotus.

A LETTER TO A FOREIGN GENERAL

By H. S. SMITH and A. KUHRT¹

Two papyrus fragments² discovered by the late Professor W. B. Emery in 1966 in the courtyard in front of the entrance to the Catacomb of the Mothers of Apis at North Saqqâra were later recognized by Dr W. J. Tait on the basis of correspondence of fibres and hand as belonging to a single demotic letter, though no actual join is present (see pl. XX). It is written on a rectangular strip of light-coloured, well-made papyrus, measuring approximately 33 cm × 9 cm, which may have been cut from the margin of a larger document though there are no traces of previous usage. The text of the letter has been written along the length of the strip across the fibres ('front') in five lines of demotic script, leaving a margin of *c.* 1.8 cm at the top but no appreciable margin at the bottom. If, as seems probable, the right-hand edge of the strip has been preserved opposite to l. 4, then a margin of *c.* 1.5 cm was left at the beginning of the text. The address is written on the other side of the sheet ('back') the opposite way up in a single line of demotic script running along the fibres, in a position corresponding to that of l. 1 of the front. The back exhibits some dark staining, which has spread to the front where the two fragments nearly touch in the centre of ll. 4–5 of the front. The script is a firm, well-rounded professional hand, in general even, consistent, and well-disciplined. Unfortunately, there is no internal evidence for the place of origin of the document. While the hand is fairly clearly Lower Egyptian, in the sense that it is closer to Memphite and Delta hands than it is to documents from Thebes, more cannot safely be said on present evidence. The hand is evidently one of the earliest among the series of epistolary hands among the Saqqâra papyri, and is, therefore, likely to belong to the fifth–fourth centuries BC, but an accurate palaeographic dating is not at present possible.³ Presumably, in view of the position in which it was found, the letter was received somewhere in the Memphite area. It is certainly not safe to assume that the recipient was ever at the Sacred Animal Necropolis site; for many of the papyri found there do

¹ Smith is responsible for the demotic, Kuhrt for the Persian sections of this article.

² The excavation number of the fragment standing to the right on pl. XX, 1, containing the beginnings of the lines of the letter on the front, is Saqqâra H5 DP 269, and its Egyptian Antiquities Service registration number EES Saqqâra no. 1867. The excavation number of the fragment on the left in pl. XX, 1, is Saqqâra H5 DP 284 and its Egyptian Antiquities Service number EES Saqqâra no. 1882. I am grateful to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish this document in advance of its appearance in the Society's Texts from Excavations Series in a volume entitled *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, II, edited by Dr W. J. Tait and myself. The letter was initially transcribed by Professor R. H. Pierce, who had originally intended to publish it; to his shrewd readings and interpretative acumen this edition owes much. Dr Tait also generously read my manuscript in draft, and has contributed some very valuable notes and suggestions which are incorporated in this article, though he is not to be held responsible for the views put forward here.

³ The writings of the following words suggest a relatively early date: *pri*(= *y*) (ll. 1, 2, 4); *nti* (ll. 1, 4); *ḫi* (l. 3); *diti* (ll. 3, 5). These indications are not however decisive for a fifth-century as against a fourth-century BC date.

not refer specifically to places, cults, and persons connected with that necropolis, while certain documents, notably reports of legal cases heard at Pharaoh's palace, clearly originated in central Memphis. Many of the documents may, therefore, have reached the Sacred Animal Necropolis some time after their date of writing; as the latest regnally dated papyri in the group with which this letter was found bear the cartouche of one of the Alexanders, it could have reached Saqqâra long after it was of any further value to its recipient.

Transliteration

Back: Address

hrw-b:k P3-di-Imn

m-b:h [.].^a

Front: Text of Letter

1. [.] *P3-di-Imn*^b *m-b:h p3i(=y) hri*^c *Šlytrh*^d *p3 hri p3 mšc* [.] . . . *t3i šc(t)*^e *n p3 cwī nti iw p3i(=y) hri*
2. [.] . . *p3 s 2^f i-ir-hr p3i(=y) hri dd wn w^c rmt r-dbh=k-s mtw*^g [.] *dī =y-s^h iw(=w)ⁱ r in-t^f=f^l n=k^j*
3. *p3^l* *m3ct^l i-ir-hr p3i(=y) hri m-s3 hpr* *t3i^l p3 ssw^m n ditⁿ* [.] *bn(-pw)=y^o nw r-r=f bw-ir-rh=y*
4. *p3 cwī^{lp} nti iw=f n-im=f cn hb=w n(=y) r-db3 nw^a wn nw 15 r-dī=y . . [. .] . . .* *nw^l r in=w r p3 cwī nti iw p3i hri n-im=f iw=f hpr r ph^s*
5. [. . .] . . [. . .] *[n3]-[cn^l=f^t bn-iw(=y)^u hrr n dit in=w r p3 cwī nti iw p3i(=y) hri n-im=f^v [. . .] . n 3bd-4^w prt^l (ssw) 7^x*

Textual Notes

a. Probably to be restored *m-b:h Šlytrh p3 hri p3 mšc*: cf. Front l. 1; the final trace is compatible with *mšc*. For the original meaning of *hrw-b:k* see G. R. Hughes, *JNES* 16 (1957), 58–9, and 17 (1958), 6–8.

b. On the assumption that the beginnings of ll. 3–4 are preserved (nn. *k*, *p*), *hrw-b:k*, restored from the address, precisely fills the lacuna.

c. The first stroke of *p3i(=y) hri* has merged with *m-b:h*: cf. ll. 1 (end), 2, 3, 5.

d. While the first sign of the name approaches the normal form of *š* more nearly than that of *m*, certain texts from Saqqâra do not distinguish clearly or consistently between them. As no other examples of either appear in this letter, the possibility that *Mytrh* was intended must be borne in mind. For discussion of this name see below, pp. 205 f.

e. The form of the complete sign after the lacuna differs perceptibly from that of the following *t3i*, but differs from that of *n(=y)* in l. 4 only because the latter is ligatured. A preceding verb is clearly required; *in=w n(=y)* (Pierce) or *hb=w n(=y)* suggest themselves. For the problem of how to interpret *t3i šc* (*t*) and of what else to restore in the lacuna see below, p. 203 n. *b*.

f. *n-im=f* should almost certainly be restored at the beginning of l. 2: cf. the same phrase in ll. 4, 5. If we assume that the beginnings of ll. 3–4 are preserved (nn. *k*, *p*), this leaves *c.* 7 mm of space. The nature of the trace after the lacuna is uncertain; it does not correspond with this scribe's writings of *=y* (cf. *dī=y*, l. 2) or of *iw* (cf. l. 1, end), nor precisely to those of *iw=f* (l. 4 *bis*) or *t=f* (cf.

in·t̄=f, l. 2 end). The third person plural suffix pronoun =*w* in *hb=w n(=y)* in l. 4 exhibits a somewhat similar curled base, but this is because it is ligatured. As a verb-form appears to be required by the following *p̄ s 2* (a certain reading; the tick above *s* appears at all periods, though Roman Period examples alone are quoted by *DG* 400, 1), =*w* appears quite probable; the final flourish might then perhaps be explained as representing the *n* of ¹*n* *p̄ s 2* ligatured to =*w*. For possible restorations see below, p. 203 n. *b*.

g. As *w^o rmt* is undefined, *r-dbh=k* should be analysed as the Circumstantial of the Past *sdm=f* (with *r* for *iw*), rather than as the Past Relative Form; thus the reading of the following group as the object pronoun *s[t̄]*, as its form suggests, is grammatically justifiable. The trace following *mtw=* might represent part of either =*y* or =*f*; if the preposition *mtw=* (used frequently after *dbh*, *DG* 624, 5) is to be understood rather than the Conjunctive, *mtw=y* seems contextually more probable.

h. The ambiguous group following *di=y* cannot be the definite article, as no noun follows; its form differs from that of *n(=y)* in ll. 1, 4 (note *e*) and from that of *dit* in ll. 3, 5. Though slightly differently formed because it is ligatured, it is in essentials similar to that read as the object pronoun *s[t̄]* earlier in the line (n. *g*). This leaves two possibilities: that it is the object of *di=y*, or that the whole group is a writing of the exclamation *tw=s*, 'behold', for which *DG* 612, 3 quotes a Ptolemaic and a Roman parallel (Tait). See further below, p. 203 n. *c*.

i. The group must be read as some part of the verb *iw* 'come'; presumably a suffix-pronoun is omitted. The first person singular =*y* is written out in this text except in *bn-iw(=y)* in l. 5. It is not uncommon for the final stroke of the third person plural *iw(=w)* to be absorbed into the upright determinative of *iw*.

j. Palaeographically and contextually, *in·t̄=f* seems a preferable reading to *in·t̄=y*.

k. Before the first group of l. 3 the papyrus is blank; this is probably to be interpreted as part of the margin of the document. Pierce's reading of the first group as ¹*p̄* may be correct, though the form is small and cramped compared with those elsewhere; the form does not suit this scribe's writings of *n* or *r*. The following group resembles *rmt* more than it does *w^o* when compared with *w^o rmt* in l. 2, though either appears possible.

l. The traces are too damaged for any reading to be advanced with confidence, though Pierce's suggestion that the final damaged word may be ¹*m̄r·t̄* is plausible. There appears to be an insertion above the earlier part of the damaged passage, written small; what survives might comprise the 'speaking man' and plural determinatives.

m. The group following *m-s̄ hpr* is distorted by a blotch below the line, but the reading ¹*t̄i* seems probable.

n. For the reading *n dit* cf. l. 5. For possible restorations in the following lacuna see below, p. 204 n. *e*.

o. This scribe distinguishes the Past Negative Tense *bn(-pw)=f sdm* here from the Future Negative Tense *bn-iw=f sdm* (l. 5) in the same manner as hands from the Memphite region.

p. ¹*p̄* *rw̄i* appears almost certain here, cf. ll. 1, 4 (end), 5, despite an extra stroke following the determinative. In the context ¹*p̄* *rw̄i* *nti iw=f n-im=f n* seems almost certain to be the object of *bw-ir-rh=y* at the end of l. 3, so that ¹*p̄* should be the first word of the line, and the blank area before it margin: cf. n. *k*.

q. *nw* 'spear, lance', regularly has the 'wood'-determinative as here, though the 'knife'-determinative is often added (*DG* 210, 2: cf. hieroglyphic *n̄wi*, *Wb.* II, 202, 15, and Coptic^B *ⲛⲁϣ̄i*, Crum, *CD* 235b, Černý, *CED* 114, 3).

r. The distance between the two papyrus fragments in pl. XX, 1 is estimated, and is not necessarily exact. Before *r in=w*, what are almost certainly the initial sign and determinative of *nw*, 'spear', are preserved. The preceding group is damaged and partly obscured by blotches, though it might conceivably represent $\lceil t_i \rceil$ (cf. l. 3) (for $t_i n w$ cf. S. Hassan, *Le Poème dit de Pentaour*, 65). The preceding traces are of uncertain reading, as are those following *r-di=y*, though the latter might perhaps represent $\lceil p \rceil$. Whether *r-di=y* is to be parsed as the Past Relative Form or the Past Circumstantial depends upon whether *nw* 15 was regarded as defined or undefined (cf. n. g).

s. For the writing of *iw=f* cf. *nti iw=f n-im=f* early in l. 4. *iw=f hpr r ph* must introduce an open condition with a noun subject lost in the lacuna at the start of l. 5, *r* being written for *iw*. The time reference might be past or future. Conceivably a short phrase (e.g. *r-r=y*, *r-r=k*) may have followed the noun subject in the lacuna.

t. The traces at the beginning of l. 5 are minimal. The following word was read $\lceil n \rceil \lceil -rn=f \rceil$ by Pierce, and, though neither the first sign nor the determinative appears to be quite of the normal form (*DG* 62, 5), I cannot suggest an alternative as satisfactory.

u. The apparent trace before *bn-iw=(y)* in the photograph may be a shadow from a raised fleck of papyrus rather than *r*; I have not been able to check the original.

v. Cf. l. 4, beginning and end, for the writing of *n-im=f*.

w. Pierce read simply $\lceil sh \rceil n \text{ } \textit{ybd-4}$; yet there is a high trace of original ink before *n* which is hardly consonant with early writings of \textit{sh} . It might be part of the numeral $\lceil 5 \rceil$; but, even if there was originally room for $\lceil sh n \textit{hwt-sp} \rceil \lceil 5 \rceil$, the presence of *n* between 5 and \textit{ybd} would then not be easily explicable. I suggest, very tentatively, that the broken sign might represent that occasionally used in scribal dockets to documents to indicate that the first party to the document was also the scribe; the reading is still to the best of my knowledge not certain.

x. $\lceil prt \rceil$ (Pierce), though not quite certain, seems a superior reading to $\lceil smw \rceil$.

Literal Rendering

Address: *The voice of the Servant Pediamūn before*

Text of Letter: (1) [.] *Pediamūn before my master Šytrhꜣ, the chief of the 'army'.^a [.] this letter from the place [in] which my master is, (2) [.] as two men in the presence of my master,^b to the effect that there is a man whom you have requested from [.]. Behold, [.] came to bring him to you^c (3) [.] in the presence of my master.^d But since the day of [.]^e I have not seen him, nor do I know (4) the place in which he is either. I have been written to about lances.^f There were fifteen lances which I gave [.]^g to bring them to the place where my master is. If there should reach (5) [.] good;^h I will not delay in causing them to be brought to the place in which my master is. [.]ⁱ in month 4 of 'Winter', day 7.*

Notes on Translation and Restoration

As may be seen from the above rendering, which includes only what is reasonably certain, some reconstruction is necessary in order to understand what this letter is about.

a. The use of the phrase *pꜣi(=y) hri*, 'my master', and of the honorific preposition *m-bꜣh* shows that $\lceil Š \rceil \textit{ytrhꜣ}$, the recipient of the letter, was superior in rank to Pediamūn, the writer, whose title

was almost certainly not given in the text. $\text{Ṣ}^1\text{ytrh}$'s title, $p\text{: hri } (n) p\text{: mšc}$, appears linked with the title $\text{hri } p\text{d}t$ in the titulary of the Chief of Works Khnumibrē, who led expeditions to the Wadi Ḥammâmât, first with his father Aḥmosesineit in year 44 of Amasis and subsequently between Years 26–30 of Darius I (G. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte*, (Bibliothèque d'Étude 11), Docs. 13, l. 10; 14, l. 6; 16, l. 2; 17, l. 4; 18, l. 4; 19, l. 5). Otherwise, the title appears alone in the Late Period and under the Ptolemies; Posener refers to *Urk.* 11, 50, ll. 8, 16; *RT* 4 (1883), 38, and Burchardt's discussion in *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 70. The use of the title by Khnumibrē might dispose one to believe that the title meant 'chief of the expedition' rather than having the specifically military connotation of $mr\text{-mšc}$, 'general'. On the other hand, a Copenhagen Demotic Papyrus, discussed by Dr W. J. Tait before the Papyrological Congress at Brussels (*Actes du XV^e congrès international de papyrologie*, 4e partie: *Papyrologie documentaire* (Papyrologica bruxellensia, 19), (Bruxelles, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1979), 49–50), under the title 'The Offices of the House of Pharaoh', lists in col. 3 the titles $\text{hri } p\text{: mšc}$, $\text{h}^1\text{st-}^1\text{tpcy}^1(?)$, $\text{wr } r\text{pcy}$, wr-m-šs ,, $mr\text{-mšc}$, $\text{rmt-}^1\text{n}^1\text{w}^1\text{-h-pr}$, et al., in that order. This led Dr Tait, to whom I am most grateful for this information, to suppose that $\text{hri } p\text{: mšc}$ was a high military and court rank, possibly superior to $mr\text{-mšc}$, in which case we may perhaps translate 'army-commander'. In view of the alphabetic writing and the 'foreigner' determinative, $\text{Ṣ}^1\text{ytrh}$ must represent a foreign name: see below, p. 205 f.

b. If either of the restorations $[\text{in}]=\text{w}/[\text{hb}]=\text{w } n(=\text{y}) \text{t}^1\text{i } \text{šc } (t)$, 'this letter has been brought/sent to me', is adopted (see transliteration n. e), then $\text{t}^1\text{i } \text{šc } (t)$ cannot here refer to the letter the writer is in the course of sending, as appears normally to be the case in Late Egyptian and demotic letters. However, an example in J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 45, no. 28, l. 1, 'We have heard everything concerning which our lord has written to us, (in particular) the sending to us of this letter by the hand of Ḥori the Sherden, this servant of our lord' ($p\text{: h}^1\text{b } i\text{-}^1\text{r } n\text{-}n \text{t}^1\text{i } \text{šc } t \text{m-drt } \text{Hri } p\text{: Šrdn}$), is parallel to the usage here. The use of the definite article t^1i (in the 'strong' form with the following dot) may however suggest that the particular letter concerned was defined in the text, e.g. by a relative form in the lacuna at the beginning of l. 2 such as $r\text{-hb}=\text{w}$, $r\text{-r}^1\text{š}=\text{w}$: 'they have brought to me this letter from the place [in] which my lord is, which [they sent/read] as two men in the presence of my master'. This is grammatically awkward, because of the interposition of an adverbial clause between the antecedent and the relative form, but provides a slightly more convincing background for the introduction of 'the two men'. The identity of these two men is not given in the extant text, which is surprising since it is apparently what they allege which the writer Pediamūn wishes to deny responsibility for. Possibly their names, if very short, could be restored in the lacuna in l. 1: ['X and Y], they [have brought/sent] to me this letter'; but it would be unusual for a demotic letter to begin without the usual greeting formula $i \text{di } N \text{ky } p^1\text{i}=\text{f } \text{c}^1\text{h}^1$, 'O may god N prolong his life' (for which there is just about room), more especially in a letter from a subordinate to a superior.

c. The statement 'There was a/one man whom you demanded from me [.]' is clearly answered by Pediamūn's words in ll. 2–3, which may be translated either 'I gave him¹ (and) they came to bring him to you, (that is) this man' or 'Behold¹, they came to bring him to you, this man'; some such restoration as ['whom I did not send to you'] or ['who is still here'] thus seems plausible in l. 2. Dd preceding the statement might be interpreted either to mean that this was a quotation from 'this letter' or from something the two men were reported in the letter as having said, depending on what is restored at the beginning of l. 2 (transliteration n. f, translation n. b). If $i\text{w}[\text{=w}]$ is the correct interpretation (transliteration n. j), then the subject was probably 'the two men', though here, as elsewhere, a passive periphrasis is possible.

d. A tempting restoration of the beginning of l. 3 might be 'without their having told¹ the truth

before my master' (e.g. $\text{᳚}i\text{w } b\text{n-}p\text{w}=\text{w } \underline{d}d \text{ } m\text{d}\cdot\text{t } m\text{s}\cdot\text{t}^1 \text{ } i\text{-}i\text{r-}h\text{r } p\text{s}i(=y) \text{ } h\text{r}i$); or alternatively 'they have answered speaking¹ the truth before my master, but . . .' (e.g. $\text{᳚}w\text{s}b=\text{w } \underline{d}d \text{ } m\text{d}\cdot\text{t } m\text{s}\cdot\text{t}^1 \text{ } i\text{-}i\text{r-}h\text{r } p\text{s}i(=y) \text{ } h\text{r}i$), but neither can be convincingly demonstrated to fit the traces.

e. Some such restoration as $\text{᳚}i\text{ } p\text{s} \text{ } s\text{sw } n \text{ } d\text{it} \text{ } [i\text{n-}w\text{-}t\text{-}f \text{ } i\text{-}i\text{r-}h\text{r } p\text{s}i(=y) \text{ } h\text{r}i]$, 'since the day of causing them [to bring him before my master]' might suit the context and space available.

f. The word *nw* appears to be first attested in Ramesside times (*Wb.* II. 202. 15 under *njw*); references to both a 'long' and a 'short' *nw* may suggest that the term was a general one for throwing weapons, while a reference to a *nīw n drt*, lit. 'hand-spear' suggests that some form of the weapon could also be used for hand-to-hand fighting. The word occurs in Bohairic Coptic in the forms ⲛⲁϣϯ , ⲛⲁⲃⲏ , ⲛⲁⲟⲃⲏ with Greek and Arabic equivalents applied to throwing weapons ('spear', 'lance', 'javelin': Crum *CD* 235b, 6); in demotic, it does not seem to be common outside the Petubastis-Inaros cycle (*DG* 210. 2). There seems to be no clear evidence, either at its introduction or later, that the word describes a weapon particularly associated with foreign troops.

g. As it is clear from what follows that Pediamūn did not himself convey the lances, it seems best to restore here the title of an officer to whom he may have given them to transport, e.g. 'the chief lance-bearer' ($p\text{s}[mr]\text{᳚}i\text{-}n\text{w}$ or $p\text{s} \text{ } [wr] \text{᳚}i\text{-}n\text{w}$ or otherwise? See transliteration n. r).

h. The lacuna at the beginning of l. 5 leaves it doubtful whether $n\text{s-}c\text{n}=\text{f}$ or $b\text{n-}i\text{w}=\text{y } h\text{r}r$ should be regarded as the apodosis to $i\text{w}=\text{f } h\text{p}r \text{ } r \text{ } p\text{h}$. If the latter, it would seem necessary to restore $n\text{t}i \text{ } i\text{w} \text{ } n\text{s-}c\text{n}=\text{f}$ with a preceding noun, which would leave little room; for example, 'Should [the lances] reach [the place] which is satisfactory' ($i\text{w}=\text{f } h\text{p}r \text{ } r \text{ } p\text{h} \text{ } [n\text{s } n\text{w } r \text{ } c\text{w}i \text{ } i\text{w}] \text{ } n\text{s-}c\text{n}=\text{f}$) seems overlong. Some such restoration as $i\text{w}=\text{f } h\text{p}r \text{ } r \text{ } p\text{h} \text{ } [p\text{s} \text{᳚}i\text{-}n\text{w} \text{ } n\text{s } n\text{w } r\text{-}r=\text{y}/r\text{-}r \text{ } k] \text{ } n\text{s-}c\text{n}=\text{f}$, 'Should [the lance-bearer the lances] reach [me/you/, it is well] might be preferable.

i. Perhaps read: 'The same wrote it', meaning that Pediamūn acted as his own scribe: see transliteration n. w.

Suggested Reconstruction

Address: *Letter of Pediamūn to [᳚Š¹ytrh₃, the army-commander].*

Text: [*Letter of*] *Pediamūn to my master [᳚Š¹ytrh₃, the army commander. [O may Prēc prolong his life.] There has [been brought] to me from the place where my master is this letter, which they, the two men, [have sent] to my master, to the effect that there is a man whom you have requested from me [whom I have not sent]. Well, they came to bring him to you, the man (in question), and [they have not told the] truth to my master, but, since the day of causing him to be brought to my master, I have not seen him, nor do I know the place where he is either.*

I have been written to about lances. There were 15 lances which I gave to the [chief lance-bearer] to bring to the place where my master is. [Should the lances] reach [you/me], it is well, (but) I will cause them to be brought to the place where my master is without delay.

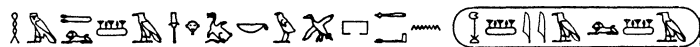
Written by [the same] in month 4 of 'Winter', day 7.


Historical Comment

The letter is written by an Egyptian subordinate to a high-ranking military officer of foreign extraction, probably stationed in the Memphite area, about missing personnel

and weapons. Unfortunately, the letter is not regnally dated; on palaeographical grounds, it should belong either to the period of the Achaemenid Twenty-seventh Dynasty, or (perhaps less probably) to that of the native Twenty-eight–Thirtieth Dynasties.⁴ In both these periods foreign mercenary commanders were employed in Egypt. Is *Š/Mytrh* known from other documents? What is his nationality likely to have been?

Among Egyptian hieroglyphic sources, only one very doubtful parallel for the name has been traced. This appears on an enigmatic fragment of a quadrilingual inscription published by G. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte*, no. 36, pp. 131–6 and pl. xvi. Posener read the four lines of vertical inscription



hmt-rš (*šhm-hry*) *tkwp* *z n Hšy:rsš*, ‘chief superintendent (?) of the great barracks of Xerxes’, and regarded the horizontal top line:  [trace = or —] as containing the name of this official. E. Benveniste suggested that it might represent the Persian name *Πισσοουθνής* (known as that of a satrap of Lydia between 450–15 BC), which he reconstructed as OP *pišyauθna*. However, this tentative identification fails to explain the last extant sign *z r* in the hieroglyphic form, and it is just possible that the name should be restored *Pš-Šytr[h]* and compared with the name in the letter. This assumes that the Egyptian definite article *pš* might have been added to a name of foreign origin, which seems unlikely unless *Šytr[h]* represented an ethnic or trade name. The cuneiform portion of the inscription preserves the end of the titulary of Xerxes in Old Persian, Babylonian, and Elamite, and the cuneiform numeral 12; if this represented a year-date, the inscription would belong to 475/4 BC.

If, as seems prudent, this possible identity is rejected for lack of confirmatory evidence, then a wide field of languages might be sought for possible parallels to the name *Š/Mytrh*; mercenary generals with Semitic, Greek, Carian, Lycian, and other unidentified names are recorded in Egypt in the sixth–fourth centuries BC. However, Professor J. B. Segal has kindly communicated to me ‘that my feeling is that *Šytrh* is not Semitic’, with which one can but agree. No obvious Greek counterpart suggests itself (the idea that it might represent *στρατάρχης*, this being a title equivalent to the demotic *pš hri pš mšc*, ‘army-commander’, seems to fail on phonetic grounds: *στρατιώτης* is written *srtiis*, *srtiis*, or *srtiis* (*DG* 443, 12) and *στρατηγός* *srtks* or *srtikws* (*DG* 443, 13), showing that while the first *τ* of *στρατ-* is assimilated to the second, the *ρ* is always present). As Mr J. D. Ray writes, ‘the name *Š/Mytrh* doesn’t look Carian—though who can be sure?’. The possibility that the name is Carian, Lycian, or belongs to one of the lesser known languages of Asia Minor or the Aegean must simply be left open. Professor I. Gershevitch has suggested (by letter) that one compare the name with Gutian personal names; for a discussion of these in Babylonian sources cf. W. B. Henning in G. L. Ulmen (ed.), *Society and History* (Essays in Honor of Karl August Wittfogel), (Mouton, The Hague, 1978), 226–8. In the following section Amélie Kuhrt examines the assumption that it may have been Old Persian and belonged to an Achaemenid general of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.

⁴ Grounds for such an opinion cannot be given here, but see above, p. 199 n. 3.

Š/Mytrḥ

By AMÉLIE KUHRT

The Name

Given the suggested range of dates (above, p. 205) and the unlikelihood of the name's being Semitic, Greek etc. (cf. above, p. 205), the possibility of its being Iranian is attractive; if one takes the apparently high rank of the individual into consideration (cf. above, p. 202 n. a), a Persian official (or at least Persianized Egyptian) is indicated. As the first letter of the name is doubtful, two separate proposals for identification must be put forward. Owing to the incomplete rendering of vowels in Egyptian, any such proposals are hazardous, and a further problem is presented by the comparative meagreness of published demotic and/or hieroglyphic renderings of Iranian personal names;¹ the only such transcriptions that are attested with any frequency pertain to royal names, and demonstrate that the peculiar difficulties presented by Old Persian phonetics resulted in quite a variety of Egyptian transcriptions.² If we bear these factors in mind, it is clear that any of the following suggestions must be regarded as hypotheses rather than hard facts.

Šytrḥ: The immediate problem presented by this reading is determining which Old Persian sound Egyptian š is used for; both *xš* or *č* are possible candidates, although one might expect Eg. *d/t* for the latter.³ This suggests as possible candidates for an Iranian personal name either (a) **xšaustraka*⁴ or perhaps **xšabraka*⁵, neither of which really accounts for the vowel-sound -y- given in the Egyptian, or (b) **čītraka*, as suggested by Mayrhofer⁶. Possibility (b) would account for the use of Eg. -y- in the name. Another factor to be taken into account is the aspirate -h- in the name: Why should Old Persian -k- be rendered in this way in Egyptian? One way of solving the problem is to follow Mayrhofer's suggestion, based on Kuryłowicz, and regard the hypocoristic form -ka as -xa.⁷ As a non-specialist in the varied complexities of Iranian philology I am not competent to judge the merits of this solution, and will simply limit myself to putting forward another possibility.⁸ A recurring figure in the Persepolis texts⁹ is *Ziššawiš*, variant forms of which name include *Zišš-ukka* and *Ziššumakka*; this name has been plausibly derived¹⁰ from the Iranian form *Čītra-vahu-ka* (= OP **Čiça-vahu-ka*)¹¹. It is conceivable that the name appearing in the letter as *Šytrḥ* also renders this Iranian form and that the -vahu- element has resulted in the formation of an aspirate (*h*) where one would have expected to find a *k*. If this is a possible interpretation of the personal name then it is conceivable (though not provable) that *Šytrḥ* is identical to the prominent official *Ziššawiš* of the Persepolis material who is attested there between regnal years and 18–25 of Darius I (504–497).¹²

¹ M. Mayrhofer, *Onomastica Persepolitana* (1973), 341 section 12. 1. 3. 5.

² G. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte* (1936), 161–3; M. Burchardt, *ZÄS* 47 (1911), 69–80.

³ A further fact that might be noted in passing is that Old Persian š in the royal name Darius (= Old Persian *Dārayavauš*) is sometimes transcribed as Eg. *t*: cf. Posener, op. cit. 162 h. While not adding anything to the present problem, it helps to underline the inadequacy of knowledge concerning the rules of transcription from Iranian into Egyptian.

⁴ Cf. W. Hinz, *Altiranisches Sprachgut der Nebenüberlieferung* (1975), 137, for Elamite spelling and references.

⁵ Op. cit. 136.

⁶ M. Mayrhofer by letter (16 Aug. 1981).

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ The following suggestion is owed to personal discussion with Dr Nicholas Sims-Williams of SOAS, London.

⁹ Cf. R. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (= PF) (1969), 775; G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (= PTT) (1948), 133.

¹⁰ PF, loc. cit., and add I. Gershevitch 'Amber at Persepolis', *Studia classica et orientalia Antonino Pagliaro oblata* 2 (1969), 249–50.

¹¹ Cf. W. Brandenstein and M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen* (= *Handbuch*) (1964) s. vv. *čiça-* and *vahu-*.

¹² Cf. PF, 23–4.

Mytrh: What immediately suggests itself when one takes this reading is that it is an Iranian name compounded with the theophoric element *Miθra*-; personal names of this type are common and widely attested in the Persepolis texts,¹³ the Aramaic documents from Egypt,¹⁴ and Babylonian cuneiform sources.¹⁵ This reading of the name in the demotic letter would thus present fewer problems than the one previously discussed, although similar difficulties to those indicated for the reading *Šytrh* are presented by the ending *-h*. Mayrhofer's suggestions are both plausible,¹⁶ and the personal name **Miθraka* (Old Persian **Miçaka*) figures in the Elamite texts¹⁷ as well as the Aramaic material from Persepolis.¹⁸ The same possibility exists, however, that the Iranian form of the name may perhaps be **Miθra-vahu-ka*, and might thus be connected with *Misranka*/*Misraka* in the Elamite texts.¹⁹

The Title

As all proposals for the name remain tentative it is correspondingly difficult to identify *definitely* the individual addressed and thus provide a guide to the date of the letter. In any case, an attempt at such an identification is bound to remain in the realm of hazardous guesswork as the information on Persian administration is sporadic both in time and place. If the precise implications of the title, *hri mšr*, could be elucidated it might help, but, in fact, the problems involved in attempting to define and correlate the various administrative titles attested for the Persian Empire are so complex that even with fuller understanding of the Egyptian term it would prove difficult to place it with any degree of certainty within the Achaemenid imperial system.²⁰ The evidence for the use of the title has already been discussed above in translation n. a. While it is clear from the text discussed by Dr W. J. Tait that the office is of high court rank, such titles are subject to fluctuations of meaning under different régimes, so that one cannot at present use that evidence unreservedly. What is interesting is that the title usually occurs in lists of the king's entourage, which in the case of the Persian Period in Egypt would presumably mean the satrapal court. It is notoriously difficult to separate military and court ranks in the Achaemenid empire and may indeed be a pointless exercise.²¹ Two important officials who formed part of the governing system in Achaemenid Egypt are **frataraka* (Aram *prtrk*), interpreted as nomarch by Porten,²² equated with *šaknu* by Grelot²³ and suggested as equivalent to the Seleucid eparch by Frye on the basis of the Elephantine evidence;²⁴ the office certainly combined military and civil duties and the **frataraka* may be the

¹³ Cf. *PF*; *PTT*; R. Bowman, *Aramaic Ritual Texts from Persepolis* (= Bowman) (1970); for a complete study of *Miθra*- names cf. Rüdiger Schmidt, *Études mithraïques* (Acta Iranica 17 (1978)), 395–455.

¹⁴ For a convenient (though incomplete) list of personal names in the Aramaic documents from Egypt cf. P. Grelot, *Documents araméens d'Égypte* (= Grelot) (1972), ch. 11 and App. 2.

¹⁵ Cf. generally W. Eilers, *Iranische Beamtennamen in der keilschriftlichen Überlieferung* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 25 (5), 1940).

¹⁶ M. Mayrhofer (in the letter cited in n. 6, above) suggests either **Miθra-xratu*- ('with the spiritual strength of Mithra') or **Miθra-xšaθra*- ('with Mithra's rule'), the hypocoristic form of both of which would be **Miθra-x-a*/**Miθra-x-aya*.

¹⁷ Cf. *PF*, 1946: 73, 77.

¹⁸ Bowman, 18, 1: Aram. *mtrk*, *šaknu/s^ogan* from 467/6–458/7.

¹⁹ These names are regarded as connected forms by Hallock, *PF*, 731b, but should be kept separate according to Mayrhofer, *Onomastica*, 201 sub 8. 1110.

²⁰ For a summary of the problems see R. Frye, *The Heritage of Persia* (1964), 102–15 and id., 'The Institutions' in G. Walser (Ed.), *Beiträge zur Achämenidengeschichte* (1972).

²¹ Cf. R. Frye in Walser, *Beiträge*, 91.

²² B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine* (= Porten) (1968), 44 f.

²³ Grelot, 75; *šaknu/s^ogan* is a very difficult term to interpret at all times and in all places: cf. N. Postgate, 'The Place of *šaknu* in Assyrian Government', *AS* 30 (1980), 67–76; M. Stolper, 'Management and Politics in Late Achaemenid Babylonia' (Ph.D. Thesis 1974), 123 ff.; Bowman, 25 ff.; Frye, *Heritage*, 113–14.

²⁴ Cf. above, n. 21.

'lord' referred to in legal documents.²⁵ One should note, however, that the Persian title is possibly represented in a demotic Egyptian text of the time of Darius I.²⁶ The other important office with specifically military functions is that of garrison commander (*rab ḥaylā'*) who certainly acted in some judicial function as well.²⁷ A further point to note is that all known garrison commanders in Egypt bore Iranian personal names and may indeed have been Persians.²⁸

Speculations

There are two further extremely speculative and tenuous suggestions that might be made and on which the reactions of Iranian philologists would be most welcome. First, given the possibility of a consonant change from *v* to *m*, as evidenced, for example, by PF 1596, 6: *mi-šá-kaš-be* which I. Gershevitch²⁹ has compared to Aramaic *wyš'k* and would then derive from Iranian **višyaka*,³⁰ one might take Egyptian *m* to render an Iranian *v*. In this case one could perhaps relate Egyptian *Mytrḥ* to Aramaic *wydrng* and derive it from Iranian **vi-θranga* (= 'at ease, free from pressure')³¹; if this is acceptable, it becomes tempting to connect *Mytrḥ* with the Persian garrison commander who appears in the Elephantine documents.³² The objections to this hypothesis are that there are as yet no clear parallels for a *v* to *m* change from Iranian into Egyptian and there is no reason to suppose (at present) that Eg. *-ḥ* would represent the sound *-nga*. The attraction of such an interpretation, and again I am skating on the thinnest ice, is that the Vidranga of the Elephantine documents was a garrison commander in 420, a 'chief of the seven' **haftahopātā*³³ in 416 and became a **frataraka* in 410. This would put him into the ranks of important officials who fulfilled both military and civil duties, consonant with the position suggested for the addressee of the letter. Whether he ever moved away from the Elephantine region to Memphis is, of course, unknown and it is in the nature of the very partial evidence available at present that such an identification must remain extremely hypothetical.

Secondly, Brandenstein and Mayrhofer³⁴ suggest that the Iranian original form of Gr. *Τιθραύστης* is **čiça-vahišta* (*vahišta* being the superlative of *vahu-*). Would it be possible that Eg. *Mytrḥ* actually represents the hypocoristic of an Iranian form such as **Miθra-vahišta*, which appears (once only) in the Aramaic documents from Egypt as *Mtrwḥšt* (transl. Mithravahišt)³⁵ Mithravahišt's position is unknown, but he is addressed as 'my lord', a type of address more generally reserved for the satrap³⁶ and other high-ranking Persian officials.³⁷ Porten³⁸ suggests that it may also have been used with reference to the **frataraka* in legal contexts, in which case one might credit Mithravahišt with such a post. This might account for the term 'my master' in the Saqqāra

²⁵ Porten, 47.

²⁶ Porten, 44 n. 62.

²⁷ According to E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri* (1953), 37, it is the *rab ḥaylā'* who is referred to as 'lord' in legal contexts.

²⁸ A rather suggestive aspect of the title *rab ḥaylā'* is the apparent Greek translation (restored) στρατηγός for it; cf. M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 3 (1900-15), 67 (Asia Minor); this title exhibits exactly the changes of meaning that I envisage for *hri mšr*.

²⁹ 'Iranian Nouns and Names in Elamite Garb', *TPhS* 1969, 175.

³⁰ Cf. Hinz, op. cit. (n. 4), 268.

³¹ For a full discussion of this suggestion, already put forward by Benveniste, and improvements on it cf. Gershevitch, *Amber*, 210-11.

³² Cf. Grelot, 496 and 508.

³³ For this title cf. W. B. Henning, 'Ein persischer Titel im Altaramäischen', *BZAW* 103 (1968), 136 ff.

³⁴ *Handbuch*, sub *čiça-*.

³⁵ A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century BC* (1923), no. 70, l. 1.

³⁶ E.g. Arsames: cf. G. R. Driver, *Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century BC* (1954, rev. 1957), no. 3 ff.

³⁷ E.g. Bagohi, governor of Judah is addressed in this way: cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 30, l. 1 ff.

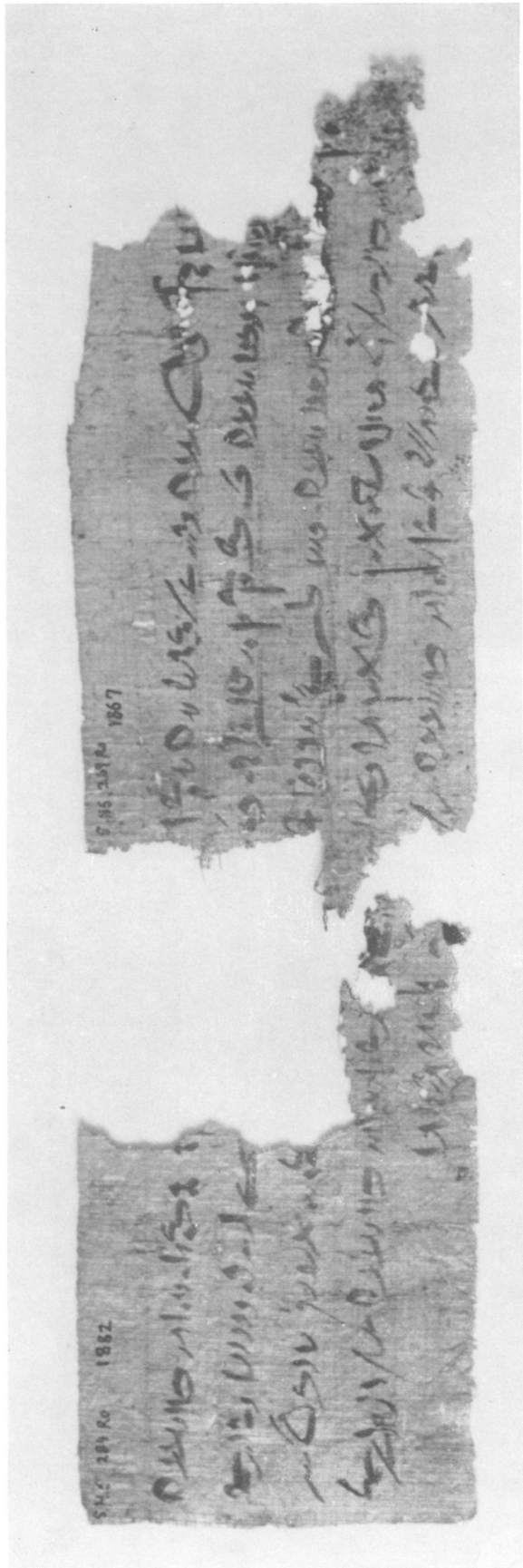
³⁸ Porten, 48.

letter, but we must always bear in mind the extremely tenuous nature of the hypothesis. One should also remember that the term 'my lord' is frequently rather unspecific so that Mithravahišt may have filled any fairly high post, perhaps even that of garrison commander at Memphis.

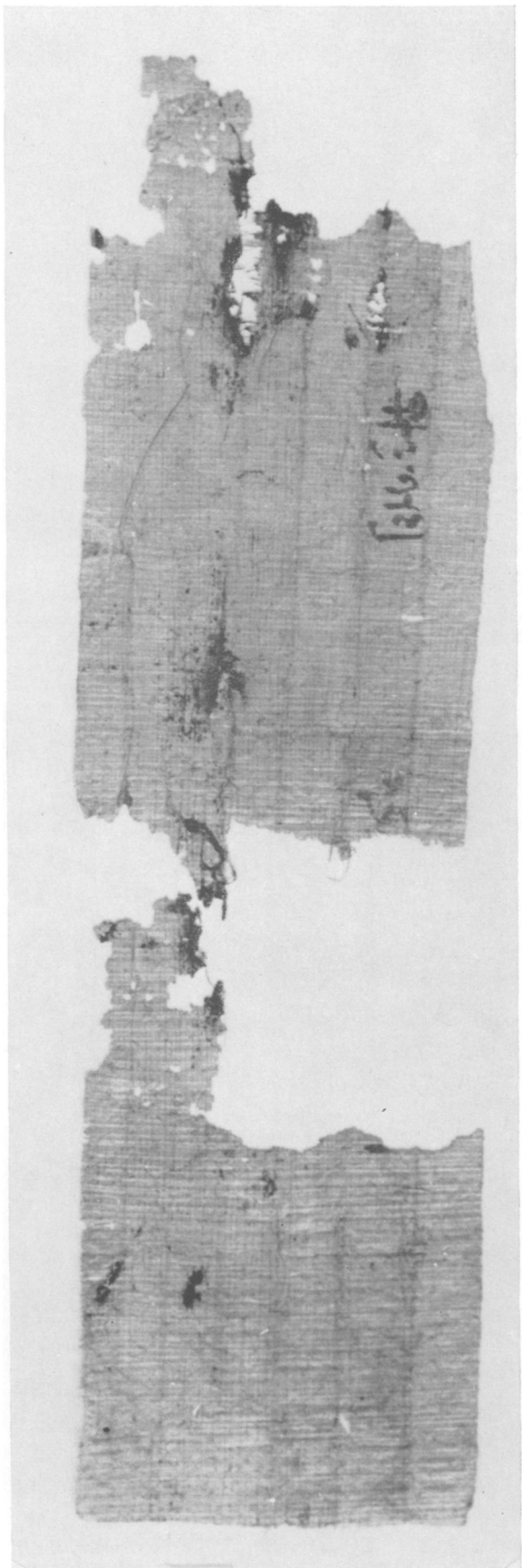
Both these suggestions depend on circuitous and laboured arguments, simply suggested to me by the presence of these Persian officials in Egypt; they may well be simply untenable since they depend on an unsound approach and there are no direct parallels to support them. I hope that they may, however, stimulate both Egyptologists and Iranologists to further discussion of and research into the vexed problems of Egyptian spellings of Iranian names and related matters.

Postscript

Professor I. Gershevitch has suggested (by letter) that *Mytrh* 'may be an instance of a foreign name taken over not in its own nominative but in an oblique case. The Old Persian genitive (which also served as dative) of *Miθra-* was *Miθrahyo*, and the corresponding Avestan form is *Miθrahe*, the final form of which might possibly have been heard as *-hə*. rendered in demotic as *-h*.' Professor Smith points out that Egyptian, of course, had no cases, but that the name does follow a preposition and is, therefore in an *oblique* case although it is not strictly *genitive* (or, indeed, *dative*).



1. S. H5-269+284, front



2. S. H5-269+284, back

A DEMOTIC WORD-LIST FROM TEBTUNIS:

P. CARLSBERG 41A

By W. J. TAIT

It is a pleasure to join in celebrating the centenary of the Egypt Exploration Society by editing a fragmentary text from Copenhagen¹ which in all probability belongs to the same papyrus as two small fragments that are the property of the Society, and have been published by it.²

The Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen acquired its large collection of papyri, the Carlsberg papyri, in the thirties of the present century.³ They are generally presumed to have come from the town site at Tebtunis in the south of the Fayyûm. A number of scholars have edited texts from the collection, but it was the late Dr A. Volten who, up to his death in 1963, devoted many years to the task of sorting through the thousands of fragments, bringing together related material, and, where possible, reconstructing individual texts. The papyri dealt with in this article form the contents of one folder that Volten had set aside for study. Evidently it contained all the fragments of demotic word-lists that Volten had been able to identify, except for the one such text that he actually published, P. Carlsberg 12 *verso*. Several searches through the Copenhagen collection have failed to discover any more pieces that might belong to the chief text (P. Carlsberg 41a), but a further unimportant fragment of a

¹ I am glad to thank the Egyptological Institute of the University of Copenhagen for permission to publish P. Carlsberg 41-5, and I thank the present Director, Professor J. Osing, and all the staff of the Institute for their assistance. I am deeply grateful to Professor J. R. Harris, Dr K. H. Kuhn, and Professor T. W. Thacker, who have each kindly read drafts of this article, for their help and encouragement, and for many useful suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due to Mrs J. Butterworth, Mr W. V. Davies, Dr J. F. Healey, and Dr G. R. Smith for their valuable comments on a number of points. At a later stage Professor H. S. Smith has very kindly read a draft, and I am most grateful for his observations, which have led me to remodel several passages.

The following short abbreviations are used for standard works: Černý, *CED* [J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976)]; Crum, *CD* [W. E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939)]; DG [W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen, 1954)]; Gardiner, *AEO* [A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1947)]; *Lex. Äg.* [*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, ed. W. Helck and E. Otto, 1- (Wiesbaden, 1975-). In progress. From 11, ed. W. Helck and W. Westendorf]; Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* [R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1879-1901)]; Spiegelberg, *KH* [W. Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1921)]; *Urk.* IV [K. Sethe and W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, 22 parts (Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, 4) (Leipzig-Berlin, 1906-58)]; *Wb.* [A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. (Leipzig-Berlin, 1926-63)]; *Die Belegstellen*, 5 vols. in 6 (1935-53)]; Westendorf, *KH* [W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965/1977)]. The abbreviated references to papyri and editions of papyri listed in the 'Abkürzungen' of *DG* are used; for later publications full details are given at their first occurrence.

² P. Tebt. Tait 21, in *Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and in Greek* (Texts from Excavations, 3) (London, 1977), 70-1, pl. 5.

³ See especially the general account by A. Volten, 'The Papyrus-Collection of the Egyptological Institute of Copenhagen', *Archiv Orientalní* 19 (1951), 70-4.

word-list has come to light, and this has tacitly been added to Volten's material. In publishing P. Carlsberg 12 *verso*, Volten twice referred to a 'second' Carlsberg 'dictionary' or 'word-list', which must in fact have been part of P. Carlsberg 41a and P. Carlsberg 43 (see further, pp. 212-13, below, and for the latter fragment see p. 226, below).⁴ Apart from these mentions, however, he did not edit the fragments, and no transcription or notes of any kind relating to them are known.

P. Carlsberg 41a

The principal fragment (P. Carlsberg 41a) has been reconstructed from three separate pieces (see pl. XXI). The correctness of the joins between them is hardly open to doubt. The fragment as a whole measures 20 cm in height by 12 cm in width. The edges are torn on all sides, and there is no sign of any sheet-join. The demotic text, which is written parallel with the fibres, presumably stands on the inside surface of the papyrus roll. The original height of the roll may well have been little greater than the 20 cm that is preserved. The back is blank.

The papyrus is rather coarse-textured and uneven, particularly on the back surface. Its shade is just a little darker than the average straw colour. Parts of three columns of the demotic text survive. The full extent of col. $x+3$ alone is preserved. It measures 16.5 cm in height and contains twenty-three lines. In general each line of text consists of a single word. Slightly longer phrases occur at several points in col. $x+3$. The few damaged signs preserved in col. $x+1$ appear to stand upon roughly drawn horizontal rulings, but no such rulings are visible elsewhere. The end of a rubric is preserved to the right of l. 19 of col. $x+3$. It is not certain if this belongs in col. $x+2$, or relates to col. $x+3$, l. 19 ff.

The script is a neat but freely written literary hand of the Roman Period. A pen (i.e. reed rather than rush) has been used, but one allowing considerable difference in the thickness of strokes. Thick vertical strokes and thin horizontal ones are clearly a feature of the hand. It is, in general terms, similar to a number from Tebtunis, but, apart from the minor related Copenhagen and Oxford fragments mentioned in the present article, no other papyri plainly written in this same hand are yet known. To suggest a date in the second century AD would perhaps be uncontroversial, and the second half of the century seems likely.

The nature of P. Carlsberg 41a is clear: it is a word-list. The well-preserved sections deal with: (a), in $x+2/6-12$, metal vessels (a wider range of metal objects may be included, possibly all items of temple equipment); (b), in col. $x+3$ as a whole, metal tools. The text is plainly not a document, that is, an inventory of any kind. Such texts invariably indicate the quantity of each item listed, even if this is merely 'one'.⁵ The literary nature of the hand does not suggest a document. It might be argued that the list cannot deal with everyday objects, because it includes obscure foreign loan-words, and words of Egyptian origin that seem to have become obsolete in the contemporary language. However, this argument is precarious, as our knowledge of such 'technical'

⁴ A. Volten, 'An "Alphabetical" Dictionary and Grammar in Demotic', *Archiv Orientalní* 20 (1952), 496-508.

⁵ See, for example, Berlin 6848 and Kairo 30691.

vocabulary is simply insufficient. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to see in what documentary context the ritual vessels of col. $x+2$ and the wide range of tools of col. $x+3$ might be expected to occur together. Finally, the instances in which different phrases employing the same key-word are listed in turn suggest an interest in words rather than any practical purpose. This is especially evident in the case of *hr̄y* ($x+3/18$ ff.), which is probably a general word for 'tool'. There the compound expressions that follow seem to indicate very different types of object.

A number of word-lists survive written in the demotic script. They derive from the Pharaonic Egyptian tradition of systematic word-lists, the so-called *onomastica*, in which are listed 'all things that exist'.⁶ The material is grouped by subject, and often the order both of groups and of individual items can be seen to be significant. Arguably, the primary purpose was to impart knowledge of things rather than of words,⁷ but another aim was to teach scribes how words were to be written. To a lesser extent, in common with other kinds of text, they recorded an impressive vocabulary of obscure, obsolete, or technical words. The words are not defined or explained in any way, and there is no question of listing equivalents in different languages.

Most of the demotic examples surviving from the Late Period are merely brief students' exercises. As is the case with other types of text, it is problematic whether or not these are extracts or derived in any way from more elaborate standard texts.

The present text is the most detailed demotic word-list yet found, and the clearest evidence that the tradition of lists arranged by subject persisted in demotic literature.⁸ Its original extent and some details of its arrangement are still debatable (see pp. 223–4 below). The two small fragments already published as P. Tebt. Tait 21 very probably belong to the same papyrus. They come from a section devoted to types of cloth. Their existence gives some encouragement to the belief that the present text was extensive and systematic.

Another method of arranging word-lists is attested among demotic texts (it is unknown before the Late Period). In this, the items are grouped together according to the assonance of their initial sounds.⁹ At the time when he published P. Carlsberg 12 *verso*, Volten evidently believed that some of the material now dealt with in the present article showed this kind of arrangement. He wrote: 'Our collection also possesses small fragments of a recto-text with a demotic dictionary that seems to have been arranged on the same principle' (i.e. 'the words have been arranged according to the pronunciation of their first sound'),¹⁰ and 'In the fragments of the above-named second "alphabetical" demotic word-list belonging to the egyptological institute of Copenhagen we find *m* preceding *h* and *w* preceding *s*.'¹¹ At this time the papyrus had not yet been reconstructed, and evidently the first of these two comments referred to the lower

⁶ The standard edition and discussion of the major surviving examples remains Gardiner, *AEO*.

⁷ See Gardiner, *AEO* I, 1–5.

⁸ It should be pointed out that no passage in what survives of the Pharaonic *onomastica* deals with the same subject-matter as P. Carlsberg 41a.

⁹ This kind of text has recently been discussed by H. S. Smith and the present writer in publishing text 27 in the volume *Demotic Literary Papyri from North Saqqâra* (in press), and bibliography may be found there.

¹⁰ Op. cit. [p. 211 n. 4], 496–7.

¹¹ Op. cit. p. 507 n. 5.

portion of col. $x+3$.¹² The second presumably referred to P. Carlsberg 43 (see p. 226 below).¹³ It is now quite apparent that P. Carlsberg 41a shows no sign whatever of an arrangement by assonance.¹⁴ P. Carlsberg 43 might still be a fragment from such a word-list. However, if it is accepted that it does not belong with P. Carlsberg 41a, alone it furnishes less impressive evidence.

The present list is of considerable interest for Egyptian lexicographic studies. Although it is naturally to be hoped that the edition will also be read by Semitists, it would be out of place to try to give a general account of the orthography of the demotic script, or the phonological problems raised by it,¹⁵ or of the way in which loan-words are transcribed in demotic, or in Egyptian and Coptic.¹⁶ A brief explanation must, however, be given of the dialect of this particular text, which otherwise may seriously mislead. Only points relevant to the present word-list will be mentioned.

Virtually all the Roman Period demotic texts known from Tebtunis¹⁷ show, in their use of the uniconsonantal signs, consistent evidence of representing a dialect that plainly is in some way related to the well-documented Fayyûmic dialect found in Coptic.¹⁸ The study of pre-Coptic dialects in Egyptian is notoriously problematic.¹⁹ Among other difficulties, the demotic script in various ways fails to respect the contemporary pronunciation or even the contemporary phonetic structure of the language. This is often

¹² It should be noted that Volten's general practice was to use *h* in transliterating words in historical writings involving Eg. *h*, but to transliterate the uniconsonantal sign in question in $x+3/18$ ff. as *h*.

¹³ It is perhaps conceivable that Volten had in mind, or also had in mind, what are now the opening lines of col. $x+3$, although *bšwł* intervenes between *wby* and *swsʃ*, and its reading is perfectly plain.

¹⁴ The most that could be said is that *swsʃ* is followed immediately by *srhc* ($x+3/3-6$: see also the note on $x+3/7$), and that *mđy*, *mlhb*, and *mnšlg* occur in sequence ($x+3/13-17$). Note that *wby* ($x+3/1$) and *wyhy* ($x+3/10$) are separated.

¹⁵ It is perhaps still best to refer the non-specialist to the opening sections of W. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925). Much material is contained in F. Lexa, *Grammaire démotique*, 7 vols. (Prague, 1949-51) (vols. I-II are sometimes referred to as '2nd ed.'). Note also the various relevant surveys in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique . . . : Hommage à Jean-François Champollion*, I (Bibliothèque d'Étude, 64, 1) (Cairo, 1974); and see E. Lüdeckens, 'Demotisch', *Lex. Äg.* I, cols. 1052-6.

¹⁶ See especially M. Burchardt, *Die althanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1909-10); J. J. Janssen, 'Semitic Loan-Words in Egyptian Ostraca', *Ex Oriente Lux* 19 (1965-6), 443-8; W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 5), 2., verbesserte Aufl. (Wiesbaden, 1971), 505-75; W. Vycichl, 'Les emprunts aux langues sémitiques', *Textes et langages . . .* [n. 15 above], I, 219-30; and F. Junge, 'Fremdwörter', *Lex. Äg.* II, cols. 321-8.

¹⁷ For several reasons it is convenient to concentrate upon texts from Tebtunis. Broadly similar observations could no doubt be offered if all texts thought to come from the Fayyûm were taken into account. Note, however, that nothing is said here about texts from before the Roman Period.

¹⁸ See especially W. Till, *Koptische Chrestomathie für den fayumischen Dialekt mit grammatischer Skizze und Anmerkungen* (Schriften der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Ägyptologen und Afrikanisten in Wien, 1) (Vienna, 1930); id., *Koptische Dialektgrammatik*, 2., neugestaltete Aufl. (Munich, 1961). Useful information and examples are given in Crum, *CD*, at the head of the entries for each letter of the alphabet.

¹⁹ See especially F. Lexa, 'Les dialectes dans la langue démotique', *Archiv Orientální* 6 (1934), 161-72; R. Kasser, 'Dialectologie', *Textes et langages . . .* [n. 15 above], I, 107-15; J. Osing, 'Dialekte', *Lex. Äg.* I, cols. 1074-5; J. H. Johnson, 'The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384', *OMRO* 56 (1975), 29-64; ead., 'The Dialect of the Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden', *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, 39) (Chicago, 1976), 105-32; R. Kasser, 'Prolégomènes à un essai de classification systématique des dialectes et subdialectes coptes selon les critères de la phonétique', *Le Muséon* 93 (1980), 53-112, 237-97; 94 (1981), 91-152.

referred to as the 'historical' character of the script. It should be noted that the principles of modern conventional scholarly transliteration are more concerned to do justice to the way words are written than to attempt to reconstruct how they were pronounced.

In the vast majority of words, the commonest uniconsonantal sign for *r* is replaced by that for *l* (e.g. $x+3/2$ *bšwl* for *bšwr*). However, where *r* is written in other ways or concealed within a historic writing, it will necessarily appear in transliteration as *r*, even where Coptic might suggest that *l* was pronounced. Apart from these misleading aspects of orthography and transliteration, it seems that in demotic texts from Tebtunis *r* is not universally replaced by *l*, and it should also be noted that, conversely, *l* is found in its own right in usual writings of a relatively small number of words in demotic texts from areas of Egypt outside the Fayyûm. Feminine nouns of Egyptian origin often show an ending, presumably vocalic, written *y* (e.g. $x+3/13$ ff., *m̄dy*). Such an ending, however, is also found elsewhere (cf. $x+3/18$ ff., *hcy*, presumably masc.). Demotic texts from Tebtunis also show less consistent peculiarities in the use of *r* as against *s*, and in the employment of *q*, *k*, and *g* (instances may occur in the present text, but none can be securely documented). None of the various occurrences of *š* in the word-list seems to reflect matters of dialect. For example, *bšwl* with a *š* ($x+3/2$), where Old Testament Hebrew has a *šîn* and Aramaic has a *sāmekh*, is an instance of a general tendency in demotic and in Egyptian, and in Coptic it can be seen that only forms with ϣ , *š*, are found (in all the major dialects).²⁰

At the risk of over-simplification, it may be worth summarily stating the practical consequences of some of these points, as they affect the consideration of possible Semitic derivations for words in the list: *l* might represent Semitic *l* or *r*; 'āleph and 'ayin may interchange, as also may *q*, *k*, and *g*, and *š* may represent Semitic *šîn* or *sāmekh*, as well as *šîn*.

Transliteration		
Col. $x+1$	Col. $x+2$	Col. $x+3$
probably 5 lines lost	top margin	top margin
— —		
$x+1$].	1 [. . . .]ᵛᵛ.	1 <i>wby</i>
]. [.	<i>bšwl</i>
]. [.	<i>swst</i>
]. .	[.	ᵛᵛ <i>swst n ph</i> ᵛᵛ[
$x+5$].	5 <i>hᵛl</i>	5 <i>schc</i>
— — —	ᵛᵛ <i>mlšt</i>	<i>schc n g</i> . . . [
the rest of Col. $x+1$ is lost	<i>lqnt</i>	[.]ᵛᵛ <i>sf</i>

²⁰ In the Fayyûmic dialect of Coptic, phenomena precisely analogous to the first two points mentioned (*l* and *r*, and the *-y* ending) can readily be seen. The remaining points cannot be illustrated in Coptic without elaborate discussion, although the chief difficulties are presented simply by the nature of the demotic script.

	<i>šft</i>		<i>.t^ry^r</i>
	<i>qndwz</i>		<i>.y</i>
10	<i>. .</i>	10	<i>wyhy</i>
	<i>wyw</i>		<i>rgt</i>
	<i>nmsy</i>		<i>hri-ib</i>
	<i>s. . .[</i>		<i>mdy</i>
	<i>.[</i>		<i>mdy . .[</i>
	— — —	15	<i>mdy .[</i>
	the rest of Col. <i>x+2</i> is lost, apart from the rubric trans- literated below. Other very slight traces of ink may merely be accidental marks.		<i>mlhb</i>
			<i>mnšlg</i>
			<i>hcy</i>
			<i>h^rc^ry ph š[</i>
		20	<i>hcy n w^rt^rb</i>
			<i>hcy ^rn hy][</i>
			<i>hcy . . .[</i>
			<i>hcy n . .[</i>

bottom margin

To the right of Col. *x+3/19*,
written in red:

---]y.w (*wpt*)

Commentary

Col. *x+1*

1. *x+1*. All five lines of which anything survives in this column appear to stand upon black ink rulings. Traces of the rulings are in fact all that remain in ll. *x+1* and *x+5*. The lines vary in thickness, and are not very carefully drawn. Compare the rulings in P. Tebt. Tait 21 (see p. 224 below).

1. *x+2*. A restoration of the final traces as the adjective *wr*, 'great', is possible, but not entirely convincing.

1. *x+3*. The last sign is clearly not the 'heart'-sign, to judge from its form and the lack of any following stroke (cf. *x+3/12*). Conceivably a determinative of some kind of pot is in question, but this is far from certain.

1. *x+4*. The 'metal'-determinative might be restored at the end of the line, thus suggesting a connection with the contents of col. *x+2*, but other determinatives of similar form are possible.

Col. *x+2*

1. 1. The final signs are plainly the 'heart'-sign, with the expected following stroke (cf. *x+3/12*), and no kind of 'pot'- or 'vessel'-determinative seems possible. The preceding trace would suit the last stroke of the group *y*.

1. 2. Possibly at the end there is a plural-determinative, although, if so, in a form found only with a limited number of words.

1. 3. The final traces would allow the 'metal'-determinative to be restored, as in ll. 6-12 below, although many other restorations are possible.

l. 4. The slight first trace might suggest *w* (cf. $x+3/1$, 10). The final trace might plausibly be read as the 'metal'-determinative. If, therefore, a metal vessel or similar metal object is in question, a number of restorations are possible, of which perhaps the most obvious is *wth* (*DG* 107, 5, *wth*, 'Gefäss, Schale. masc. Auch als Mass für Flüssigkeit').

l. 5. For the form of the *h*, see $x+3/16$ and P. Tebt. Tait 21/4. The reading of the *l* seems convincing, but not absolutely certain. Only the slightest trace of the determinative remains, but the 'metal'-determinative is a possibility. After *hl*, probably *p*, *q*, *g*, or *d* can be read, but thereafter the fibres are disturbed, and, although the Coptic dictionaries suggest a number of possibilities, it is hazardous to suggest a reading.

l. 6. *mglst* is not otherwise attested in Egyptian, demotic or Coptic, and has no likely Eg. cognates or etymology. The form suggests a Semitic *mim*-formation with the final *t* representing a Semitic feminine ending. (The dem. *t* here has the long form deriving from Eg. *d*; thus there is no doubt of the reading, or that it represents a pronounced consonant rather than the Eg. and dem. feminine ending *.t*, which in the case of a noun without a suffix is unpronounced or at most indicates a vocalic ending.) The Semitic root *שגר, סגר, جرش*, some forms from which can have the transitive meaning 'to crush', seems a possibility, and the word might signify a vessel in which something is crushed: cf. Syriac *ܩܫܘܬܐ*, fem., 'a mortar' (Payne Smith, *The. Syr.* col. 2008). Two complications must be mentioned: (a) Possibly the same Sem. root is represented by dem. *qrš*, occurring only in Totb. 2/7 (*DG* 545, 3, *krš*, 'zerbrechen'). The reading appears fairly secure. The meaning is assured by the equivalent word in the standard text of the *Book of the Dead*, *šd*, 'to break' (*Wb.* iv, 373, 8 ff.). Spiegelberg suggested in a note on Totb., p. 15 (cf. 'Glossar' no. 258, p. 51) that this was the same word as Coptic *κωωυε* (Crum, *CD* 130b; Spiegelberg, *KH* 47, 8; Westendorf, *KH* 72. 22; Černý, *CED* 67, 1). Spiegelberg, *KH*, cites not the dem. word but Eg. *gwš*, 'to be bent' (*Wb.* v, 160, 12 ff.), and thus Spiegelberg may have abandoned his first suggestion, although it is upheld by Westendorf and Černý. As *mglst* in the present text is plainly a loan-word, the possibility that the same root may occur in Egyptian with quite a different appearance does not cast doubt on the interpretation offered above; (b) It is tempting to suggest a connection with the word *gršt* (*DG* 586, 1, 'Wache o.ä.') found only at Ryl. 9, 2/7. Griffith plausibly argued that the context demanded that the word signify persons, not things, and suggested that the apparent 'wood'-determinative was present because the word referred to guards carrying heavy staves, 'club-men'. He also indicated that the reading *grše* (in his system of transliteration) was equally acceptable. (See Ryl. III, 221 n. 17; 'Glossary', p. 399). Griffith's points may well be accepted. Further, it may be suggested that the word might conceivably be a loan-word from the same Sem. root discussed above. The reading with a vocalic ending rather than *t* might in this case be the more likely in Ryl. 9.

l. 7. *lqnṯ* is not attested in Egyptian, and is not otherwise found in this form in demotic, unless conceivably the writing in M. A. A. Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Collections of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden, 1) (Leiden, 1974), 200, 1/x+5, might be read *lqnṯ* rather than *lqn* (note that this writing, like that in the present text, has the 'fire'-determinative). Related words do occur in demotic: see *DG* 265, 2, *lgns*, 'Krug'; and add S. V. Wängstedt, *Ausgewählte demotische Ostraka* (Uppsala, 1954), 62/5, *lgn*, with n. p. 163; 64/3, *lgn*, with n. p. 165; cf. 'Glossar', p. 205 (the word in the Leiden ostrakon mentioned above might belong with these, if it is to be read *lqn*). The form in the present text is plainly identical with Copt. *ΛΑΚΝΤ* (Crum, *CD* 139b; Spiegelberg, *KH* 50. 3; Westendorf, *KH* 77, 7; Černý, *CED* 71, 3). The entry in Černý, *CED*, appears to contain some errors, and also the basic scheme proposed there, that all the Coptic forms derive from Greek forms, and that the Greek word derives from a Semitic source such as Aramaic (what precisely is meant by 'cf.' is not clear),

is highly questionable. The generally accepted position may perhaps fairly be summarized as follows: the basic Greek word is *λάγνος*. From this various diminutives etc. derive. Later forms such as *λάγνος* arose possibly because Latin derivatives passed back again into Greek, or more simply because of phonetic changes within Greek. The Greek word is not thought to come from, for example, Aramaic. Although it now may be suspected to be a loan-word, the borrowing will have been effected earlier. Aramaic has the word in a variety of forms. Most of the dictionaries have no doubt that the word derives from the Greek (note that Jastrow attempts a derivation from a Semitic root): see S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter* (Berlin, 1898–9), II, 305–6, לַגְנִי, לַגְנִיתָא; G. H. Dalman, *Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch* (2. verbesserte und vermehrte Aufl.) (Frankfurt a. Main, 1922), 214. לַגְנִי, לַגְנִיתָא; M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim* . . . (Berlin, 1898–9), 692, לַגְנִי etc.: cf. Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.*, col. 1892, ܠܘܓܢܐ (also col. 1891, ܠܘܓܢܐ). Although often the vocalizations of loan-words offered in the dictionaries are entirely arbitrary, the Aramaic forms attested do seem to vary in the extent to which the word has been adapted to conform to the typical word structure of the language (Syriac, has, as often, considerably adapted the word). The Aramaic feminine forms such as ܠܘܓܢܐܢܐ are plainly a secondary development from the masculine (as explicitly stated by Krauss).

Thus it may be suggested that dem. *lqnt*, Copt. 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩩𐩣 derives in the first instance from a Semitic source such as Aramaic ܠܘܓܢܐܢܐ. Dem. *lgn* (Roman Period) plainly derives from Greek. Concerning the other dem. and Copt. forms there might reasonably be doubt. The complete history of the word(s) has yet to be worked out.

It should perhaps be pointed out that there is no other clear case in the present text of *t* used to represent a Semitic feminine ending, whereas we find one probable and one possible case of long *t* so used. However, it would be reasonable to claim that *t* is the sign that would most have been expected to be employed for this purpose, and these considerations perhaps do not cast doubt on the suggestion made here.

Although in Semitic and in Greek the word consistently has the sense of a vessel or measure for liquids, this is not the case with the Copt. form 𐩧𐩢𐩨𐩩𐩣. In the present text *lqnt* has, in addition to the 'metal'-determinative common to all the words in this section of the text, a 'fire'-determinative, which may help to decide its meaning here; see the following note.

1. 8. *šft* is otherwise attested in demotic only in P. Berlin P 15683/13 (K.-T. Zauzich, 'Aus zwei demotischen Traumbüchern', *AfP* 27 (1980), 91–8), and is apparently not found in Coptic. It is plainly identical with Eg. *šfdw*, 'spoon' (as used in the offering of incense): see *Wb.* IV, 462, 1; *Urk.* IV, 1296, 5–6; I. Wallert, *Der verzierte Löffel* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 16) (Wiesbaden, 1967), 55–60 (where the nature of the object in the Amenophis II texts was first correctly explained. Although Wallert discusses the view taken here, that the spoon *šfdw* and the dish *rb* form a pair, she appears eventually to prefer a different interpretation). The word is no doubt from the same Eg. root as Copt. 𐩠𐩮𐩣𐩩, 'handful' (see *Wb.* IV, 461, 9–10, *šfd*, 'fassen, packen'; Crum, *CD* 611b; Spiegelberg, *KH* 215, 14; Westendorf, *KH* 340, 8; Černý, *CED* 262. 2).

The Pharaonic Egyptian spoon for offering incense was essentially used in conjunction with a dish. In the present text, the 'fire'-determinative that occurs before the 'metal'-determinative suggests that it is precisely this kind of spoon and this use that is in question here. It is, therefore, natural to ask if either of the adjacent words in this list could be understood as the name of the accompanying dish. Obviously neither is the *rb* of *Urk.* IV, 1296, 5–6, and that word does not occur in what survives of the present list (note, however, the existence in demotic of *DG* 58, 8, *rb*, 'Napf'—apparently only at Mag. Pap. 14/21). The precise meanings of *lqnt* (l. 7) and *qndw* (l. 9) in the present text cannot be determined, but either might signify such a dish. As *lqnt* is the only word that has the same 'fire'-determinative as *šft*, it is plausible to suppose that *lqnt* and *šft*

form the expected pair, in the same order as in *Urk.* IV, 1296, 5–6. In P. Berlin P 15683, *lqnṯ* does not occur in what survives. No doubt Zauzich is correct in his interpretation of *gnṣw*, p. 95, l. 14 n. (the reading seems secure). The fact that *lqnṯ* has its two determinatives in the reverse order to that of the determinatives of *šft* is perhaps of no great significance. Even if the ‘fire’-determinative of *lqnṯ* was added as an after-thought, it hardly casts doubt on the suggestion just offered.

1. 9. *qndw*: see *DG* 543, 3, *ḥndw*, ‘Behälter, grosse Schale. fem.’ (cf. E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen, 1) (Wiesbaden, 1960), 300; Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca* . . . [l. 7 n. above], 199/3) and Copt. *ⲕⲟϥⲏⲗⲟϥ*, Crum, *CD* 113a; Spiegelberg, *KH* 42, 12; Westendorf, *KH* 66, 6; Černý, *CED* 60, 5. Černý alone suggests a possible Eg. derivation, citing the *q(š)ḏ(š)* of 347/1 in J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médîneh*, v (Documents de Fouilles, 7) (Cairo, 1951).

The small sign immediately before the determinative is presumably a small form of *ṣ*. It is most unlikely to be any form of determinative. A sign of similar shape and size occurs in P. Tebt. Tait 21/8 and 10, and in each case there it is plausible to transliterate *ṣ*. An ‘aleph’ of this kind is not uncommon at the end of dem. words, the Copt. equivalents of which end in *-ū* (see, for example, *šmw.t* (*ⲩⲙⲉⲟϥ*), *DG* 510, 4). In such writings, the sign probably marks the close of the long vowel, and thus, as a matter of orthography, precisely corresponds to such writings as for example that of the Old Testament Hebrew and Aramaic personal pronoun *אני*.

1. 10. The only reading that presents no problems as a reading is of the ‘metal’-determinative preceded by the group that in the Ptolemaic Period is read *rtb*, ‘artaba’, but earlier might be read *ḥṣr* (*DG* 259, 3, *rtb*, ‘das ägyptische Kornmass: Artabe’; Crum, *CD* 305b, *ⲣⲧⲟḥ*; Spiegelberg, *KH* 105, 1; Westendorf, *KH* 168, 4; Černý, *CED* 141, 4: see especially M. Malinine, ‘Un prêt de céréales à l’époque de Darius I’, *Kémi* 11 (1950), 1–23 (see 16–22); cf. *Wb.* III, 363, 1–2, *ḥṣr*, ‘Behälter und Mass für Korn’). An official bronze measure such as those kept, for example, in temples might be in question. The only difficulty is that none of the most relevant dem. words seems to be attested written with the ‘metal’-determinative (cf. *DG* 29, 1, *ḥpj.t*, ‘Art Mass’; *DG* 346, 2, *ḥṣj*, ‘messen. Mass’). Other possible interpretations are more problematic as readings. On close inspection, it does not seem plausible to interpret the first sign(s) as a *ḥ* with a vertical stroke below (and thus there is presumably no connection with *DG* 345, 4, *ḥ.t*), ‘Räucherbecken (?)’, Kerze o.ä.’; cf. 345, 3, *ḥ.t*, ‘das Feuer’). Evidently the form before the determinative might be taken as a unity, and represent a hieroglyphic sign in dem. guise, although no dem. sign of quite this shape appears to be known. If a vessel is in question, then *ḥs* seems the obvious possibility, although the forms of the *ḥs*-sign actually attested in demotic (see *DG* 329–31: cf. J. H. Johnson, ‘The Demotic Magical Spells of Leiden I 384’, *OMRO* 56 (1975), 29–64, see col. ii*/6) are not greatly similar and instead resemble hieratic forms (the forms of such signs in Mag. Pap. are, however, sometimes untypical of demotic in just this way). If the contents of this portion of the text are to be seen as rather more varied, then a number of other words might be considered. They are listed here without further comment, although substantial objections might be raised in the case of each one: ‘mirror’, *cnḥ* (*mṣṣ-ḥr*), *DG* 64, 3; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* [l. 9 n. above], 292–3; P. Berlin P 15683 [l. 8 n. above]/6; ‘silver’, *ḥd*, *DG* 335, 2, *ḥt*; the two words for ‘sistrum’, *šḥm* (*sšm*), *DG* 455, 1 and *sšy*, *DG* 465, 3, *sšj*; P. Berlin P 15683/10; ‘ring’, *kswr*, *DG* 568, 3; Johnson, ‘The Demotic Magical Spells’, col. ii*/6–7.

1. 11. Despite the strange appearance of *ṣwyw*, it may well be Eg., and in fact no plausible foreign word suggests itself. The initial two signs *ṣw* are found in demotic corresponding to Eg. *ṣw* or *ṣw* (see *DG* 2). Eg. *ṣw.t* (*Wb.* I, 5, 13 (cf. 14), ‘Altar’) might be considered, or *ṣwy.t* (*Wb.* I, 172, 9 (cf. 8), *ṣwj.t*, ‘Substantiv’ (with ‘vessel’-determinative). Either Eg. word could give rise to the

dem. form *ꜥwyw*, apart from the problem of the final *w*, which certainly cannot be explained as a determinative. The *y* of the dem. writing is a plausible feminine word ending. Possibly the *w* derives from an older Eg. (hieratic) writing with final *-w*, the old and the new writings being conflated. If the writing is to be taken at its face value, it is difficult to see what kind of phonetic shape it represents ('*auyū?*' *ewiw?*), or to suggest a plausible etymology. It must, however, be pointed out that, wherever a judgement can be made, the orthography of the present text is impeccable, and it may be rash to assume such a conflation.

l. 12. This is plainly the common Eg. vase-name *nmst Wb.* II, 269, 7–8: cf. M. É. L. R. du Mesnil du Buisson, *Les Noms et signes égyptiens désignant des vases ou objets similaires* (Paris, 1935), 131–7; J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn* (Tutankhamūn's Tomb Series, 2) (Oxford, 1965), 9). It is apparently not otherwise attested in demotic and not attested in Coptic.

l. 13. The reading is uncertain. The first sign is presumably *s*. To read *st*, as in the preformative of the First Present, either in its own right, or as part of the writing of a word, is not convincing. The following sign might be read *cn*, *bn*, *rn*, *rt*, *qn*, or *tn*. This sign may occur twice, suggesting readings such as *scnꜥn*, *sbnbn*, etc. The unequal spacing may simply be due to the way in which the horizontal stroke of the second sign crosses the initial *s*. Conceivably the word is to be read *sqnꜥn*, and to be connected with Copt. ⲠⲚⲚⲚⲚ (Crum, *CD* 619a; the entry merely refers to ⲠⲚⲚⲚ, 618b: 'S nn m, among metal objects, meaning unknown'. The only reference for the reduplicated form is to W. Pleyte and P. A. A. Boeser, *Catalogue du musée d'antiquités à Leide . . . Antiquités coptes* (Leiden, 1900), 79, from a list of miscellaneous objects in a Sahidic letter, text 157/3; the reading is (apparently) Crum's own, not that of the edition).

l. 14. No reading is possible, although it might be noted that conceivably the same word could be restored in l. 14 as in l. 13 (cf. the way in which words are elaborated in *x+3/3-6*, 13–15, 18–23).

Col. *x+3*

l. 1. No word that may plausibly be connected with *wby* seems to be attested in demotic or Coptic. Presumably the name of a metal tool is in question. Perhaps the word derives from Eg. *wꜥ* (*Wb.* I, 302, 4, 'Messer oder ähnl. Werkzeug aus Kupfer. Nā.'). J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 323–4, with further bibliography). Apparently only masculine forms are attested. The form *wby* with the *-y* ending is likely, although not certain, to indicate a feminine word (and a word of Eg. derivation). Although Eg. *b* passing into Copt. ⲛ is common, the reverse is very rare: see Eg. *pr.t*, *Wb.* I, 530, 9 ff. > Copt. ⲉⲃⲣⲁ, Crum, *CD* 53a; Eg. *ꜥpd*, *Wb.* I, 9, 5 ff. > Copt. ⲱⲃⲧ, Crum, *CD* 518b (in such instances it is generally accepted that the *d* etc. has influenced the *p*). In any case, the *b* may be a peculiarity of the present text, and not the usual dem. form: it hardly makes the derivation from Eg. *wꜥ* untenable. Plainly, however, this suggestion is problematic. Another possibility is to suppose that *wby* is derived from the original Eg. name of the tool represented by the *wbꜥ*-hieroglyph, a light-weight drill used typically for boring the hole through beads (Gardiner, 'Sign-list' U 26–7). No such name of this object is attested, only the basic verb *wbꜥ*, *Wb.* I, 290, 1–291, 7, *wbꜥ*, 'bohren; öffnen u.A.' (for the literal sense of 'drilling', see I, 290, 1–2). None of the words written with the *wbꜥ*-hieroglyph listed in *Wb.* I, 290, 1–292, 8 is reckoned to have survived into Coptic. For the dem. derivatives see *DG* 85, 1, *wbꜥ*, 'in der Verbindung *wbꜥ tꜥ* (Mag. Pap. 10, 29) "der Erdöffner" o.ä.'; and *DG* 85, 2, *wbꜥ*, 'Vorhof des Tempels'. The dem. preposition *wbꜥ* (*DG* 84, 13), which is the origin of the Copt. ⲟⲩⲃⲉ- (Crum *CD* 476a), is generally supposed not to have derived from Eg. *wbꜥ* (i.e. *Wb.* I, 290, 1 ff.): see Spiegelberg, *KH* 166, 2; Westendorf, *KH* 267, 4; Černý, *CED* 210, 3. (This conclusion might be disputed, but the point is not essential for the argument here.) However, as reported by Westendorf and Černý, three instances of hieroglyphic writings of the preposition

have been noted in Roman Period texts: see S. Sauneron, 'La forme hiéroglyphique de la préposition copte ⲟϣⲏⲉ', *BIFAO* 55 (1955), 21–2. In two cases, the word is written with the *wb*-hieroglyph. These facts are sufficient to suggest that the form *wby* would in the present text be an acceptable one for a feminine noun from the *wb*-root. The only difficulty, naturally, is that no noun from the root, signifying the drill, is actually attested.

l. 2. *bšwl* (with 'Fayyûmic' *l* for *r*) is plainly identical with Copt. ⲃⲁⲱⲟϣⲣ, 'saw', the Semitic origin of which is well documented (Crum, *CD* 47*b*; Spiegelberg, *KH* 21, 2; Westendorf, *KH* 29, 13; Černý, *CED* 29, 6); the word is not otherwise attested in demotic, and is not attested in Egyptian.

l. 3. *swst* is apparently not otherwise attested in demotic, and no plausible derivative seems to be attested in Coptic. Possibly there may be a connection with the Eg. term recorded at *Wb.* IV, 275, 10. *ššw.t*, 'Art Zierrat aus Metall'. The only reference offered is to *Urk.* IV, 692, 11. This word might perhaps be read *sstw*, and might conceivably be understood as the name of an engraving tool, or other metal-working tool. Although each of these suggestions would make the identification, or a connection, with *swst* more convincing, neither is absolutely essential to it. If the interpretation of l. 4 offered in the following note is correct, then dem. *swst* cannot exclusively be a metal-working tool.

l. 4. *swst*, the same word as in l. 3, is followed by a qualifying phrase. An identical phrase probably occurs in l. 19 below (both are damaged at exactly the same point; in l. 4, *š* may be read with some confidence). Plainly the verb *ph*, 'to break, to tear' is to be read (not in *DG*: see R. A. Parker, 'A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement', *JEA* 26 (1940), 84–113 (see p. 108); K.-T. Zauzich, 'Spätdemotische Papyrusurkunden 1', *Enchoria* 1 (1971), 29–42 (see p. 38); G. Mattha, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West* (Bibliothèque d'Étude, 65) (Cairo, 1975), 99 [n. by G. R. Hughes]; Crum, *CD* 280*a*, ⲡⲱⲟ, 'break, burst, tear'; Spiegelberg, *KH* 97, 9; Westendorf, *KH* 156, 11; Černý, *CED* 131, 5; *Wb.* I, 542, 12–543, 7, *ph*, 'spalten, durchschlagen . . .'). In view of the attested Copt. phrase ⲡⲉϥⲡⲉϩⲱⲉ, Crum, *CD* 281*a* (= ⲉϥⲓⲗⲟⲕⲟⲡⲟⲥ, 'wood-cutter'), it is tempting to understand the qualifying phrase both in l. 4 and in l. 19 as signifying that the tool is 'for cutting (or splitting, or merely working) wood'. One major difficulty is presented by the fact that Copt. ⲱⲉ (Crum, *CD* 546*a*) is basically derived from Eg. *ht* (*Wb.* III, 339, 10–341, 11), and the dem. equivalent *ht* (*DG* 370, 2) does not appear to be attested written with the uniconsonantal sign *š*; nor is dem. *šn* (*DG* 513, 2), which tends to be confused with *ht*. However, no other equally plausible restoration of a word beginning *š* is forthcoming.

l. 5. *šhr* is apparently not otherwise attested in demotic as the name of a tool, or anything similar. The writing (before the determinatives) is identical with the *s*-causative form of the verb *rh*, 'to cause to stand up' (*DG* 411, 6, *šhr*, 'aufstellen, tadeln': cf. *Wb.* IV, 53, 2–54, 8, 'aufstellen, aufrichten'; Crum, *CD* 380*b*, ⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ (both); cf. ⲓⲟⲟⲩⲉ, 380*a*), but at no stage of the language does this seem to be found as the name of a suitable object. One possibility is, however, that *šhr* is the name of a tool, otherwise unattested, that characteristically 'made' something 'stand up' (or 'supported' or 'corrected' or 'removed' something). Another possibility is to suppose that *šhr* is a writing of the dem. equivalent of the Copt. ⲓⲁⲩ (Crum, *CD* 379*b*, 'awl, borer'; Spiegelberg, *KH* 133, 2; Westendorf, *KH* 209, 13; Černý, *CED* 172, 1). It is, however, difficult to see why *šhr* should be used to write this word, and the Eg. word *s(š)h* (not in *Wb.*), cited by Spiegelberg, *KH*, Westendorf, *KH*, and Černý, *CED*, shows a more plausible orthography. Note, however, that there is one parallel for such a writing: dem. *šht* (*DG* 449, 3, 'aussätzig sein, Aussatz') is found in the curious form *šhr-dy*. It is perhaps just conceivable that *s(š)h*, *šhr*, and *šhr* are all to be identified as writings of a single word.

l. 6. *schc*, the same word as in l. 5, is followed by a qualifying phrase. The reading *schc n g^flnt¹* (or *g^flnt¹*) seems possible, perhaps with a trace indicating that the final word was no longer than just *glnt*, and had the same two determinatives as *schc*, but the surface of the papyrus is damaged, and there are several uncertainties.

l. 7. There seems to be room for only one, narrow sign before *-yšf* (a reading of simply *yšf* is, to judge from the spacing, unlikely but not entirely impossible; however, no explanation of such a form seems to be forthcoming), and the obvious readings are [*h*]yšf and [*s*]yšf. The latter possibility would mean that three words beginning with *s* were dealt with in turn in ll. 3–7. Conceivably there might be a connection, either with *ⲉⲱⲩⲩⲉ*, ‘to break’ (Crum, *CD* 740b: cf. *ⲉⲱⲩⲩⲉ*, 629b, and see esp. Westendorf, *KH* 405, 11 with ref. to *Wb.* III, 339, 6, *hšb*), or with *ⲉⲱⲩⲩⲉ*, ‘fragment, flake’ (Crum, *CD* 378a: see esp. Westendorf, *KH* 208, 4 with ref. to *Wb.* IV, 116, 2–117, 5, *šfh* and *DG* 454, 3, *šhf*).

l. 8. A reading [*š*]*t^fy* seems possible (not . *t^f*).

l. 9. The first traces are not quite right for the reading [*g*]y (cf. *DG* 571, 7, *gj*, ‘Steinmetz o.ä.’). Readings such as . *dy* or . *by* seem more probable, but there are many possibilities and no obvious restoration suggests itself.

l. 10. *wyhy* is apparently not otherwise attested in demotic, and the word does not seem to be attested in Coptic as the name of a tool. It is highly probable that the word derives from *Wb.* I, 355, 13, *wħrj.t*, ‘Tischlerwerkzeug’ (the loss of the *r* is not unexpected, although it does not seem possible to cite another word of the formation *xxry.t*, the later history of which can be documented; in any case the derivation might not be from precisely the form *wħry.t*). Note the Copt. *ⲟⲩⲁⲩⲩⲉⲣ*, attested only once (Crum, *CD* 503b, ‘*S nn f(?)*, meaning unknown’), which Westendorf, *KH* 282, 12, convincingly explains as ‘Abteilung des Klosters: *Tischlerei (?)*’: see also S. R. K. Glanville, *The Instructions of ‘Onchsheshonqy* (Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum, 2) (London, 1955), 10/3.

l. 11. The reading *rgt* seems secure. (Conceivably, if the first sign is damaged, *lgt* might be read, but there is no indication that this is likely.) The *t* is a pronounced consonant, not the dem. feminine marker (cf. the note on *mglšt*, *x+2/6*). The sign *ϣ* is most naturally taken as the consonant *rayin*, in which case the root of the word would probably be *rgc*, and the *t* be a Semitic feminine termination; *a fortiori* the word would necessarily be a Semitic loan-word. The sign *ϣ* is found, especially in later Roman demotic, marking a long vowel, in which case the root would be *rgt*, and the word might be either Eg. in origin, or a loan-word. However, no explanation of the word suggests itself.

l. 12. *ħri-ib* is apparently not otherwise attested in demotic. The word is plainly identical with Copt. *ⲉⲣⲉⲥ* (Crum, *CD* 702a, ‘chisel’; Spiegelberg, *KH* 243, 10; Westendorf, *KH* 385, 8; Černý, *CED* 293, 1). See Černý, *CED*, for the derivation from Eg. *ħry-ib*, an abbreviation of *mđst ħry-ib* (not in *Wb.*).

l. 13. For *mđy*, ‘chisel’, see *DG* 194, 4, *mđj*: cf. *Wb.* II, 188, 5, *mđj.t*, and 188, 6–10, *mđj.t (?)*; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 71–2*, *łry mđst* (cf. I, 69*); Janssen, *Commodity Prices* [l. 1 n. above], 317–18; Crum, *CD* 213a, *ⲁⲉⲁⲩⲉ*, ‘axe, pick’; Spiegelberg, *KH* 71, 6; Westendorf, *KH* 113, 7; Černý, *CED* 100, 6.

ll. 14–15. In each line, *mđy*, the same word as in l. 13, is followed by a qualifying phrase. The traces are too damaged to discuss possible readings of these: in l. 14 conceivably *mđy ħ.* (but not *mđy ħc[y]*).

l. 16. *mlhb* does not appear to be otherwise attested in demotic, or attested in Egyptian or Coptic. The form suggests a Semitic *mim*-formation (such forms are, of course, also found with apparently native Eg. words). The Semitic root לָהַב, להב, 'to blaze, to kindle, to burn, to thirst' etc. seems inescapable; the root is found in Egyptian (only in the Late Period), in demotic, and in Coptic, but (at any rate in demotic and Coptic) only with the meaning 'steam, vapour' (*Wb.* II, 440, 3, *rhb*, 'Glut des Feuers'; Burchardt, *Fremdworte* [p. 213 n. 16], II, 33, no. 626; *DG* 263, 5, *lhb*, 'der Rauch'; Crum, *CD* 149b, λϩωϡ, 'steam, vapour'; Spiegelberg, *KH* 25, 1, ελϩωϡ; Westendorf, *KH* 82, 8; Černý, *CED* 75, 8). Two possibilities suggest themselves: (a) *mlhb* may signify a tool concerned with fire, conceivably a fire-drill or part thereof, or perhaps an object or piece of equipment associated with the hearth or the smithy, etc.; (b) in view of Old Testament Hebrew לָהַב and לָהַבָּ, both of which are used of the 'point' or 'blade' of a weapon, as well as in the sense 'flame', *mlhb* may signify a tool with a blade.

l. 17. *mnšlg* does not appear to be otherwise attested in demotic, or attested in Egyptian or Coptic. The form suggests a Semitic *mim*-formation, and, as *šlg* represents a plausible root, 'to cut, to slice', the *n* has perhaps intruded for phonetic reasons. For the root cf. شلق (only in post-class. Arab.), and see Copt. ⲙⲟⲗⲁⲥ, 'to cut', and ⲙⲟⲗⲁⲥ, 'spike', etc. (Crum, *CD* 562b-563a; Westendorf, *KH* 313, 1; Černý, *CED* 242, 2). Westendorf, *KH*, and Černý, *CED*, under the substantive ⲙⲟⲗⲁⲥ, refer to *DG* 520, 8, *šlt.t*, attested only in the phrase *šlt.t šbt*, 'forked stick' of l. Kh. 4/35. The possibility should perhaps be mentioned, although it does not seem a likely one, that *mn-* might represent a phonetic writing of *mn*, 'place of', forming a purely Eg. compound noun: see Copt. ⲙⲙ ⲛ-, Crum, *CD* 153b. See also P. Berlin P 15683 [*x*+2/8 n. above]/4.

l. 18. *hry* is well documented in demotic and Coptic (see *DG* 378, 4, *hrj*, 'ein Werkzeug'; Crum, *CD* 635a, ϩⲁ, 'winnowing fan'; Spiegelberg, *KH* 220, 5; Westendorf, *KH* 348, 8; Černý, *CED* 269, 3). Westendorf, *KH*, reports Osing's suggestion that the noun derives from Eg. *hr* (*Wb.* III, 227, 3-228, 25, 'werfen, legen . . .'): see now J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1976), 170 with n. 754, p. 676. For the problems of the Eg. derivation see also Janssen, *Commodity Prices . . .* [l. 1 n. above], 312-17, a discussion of the word *hr*, with further references.

l. 19-23. These lines all contain *hry*, as in l. 18, followed by a qualifying phrase. For *hry ph šl* in l. 19, see l. 4 n. above. The expression in l. 20 is plainly *hry n wtb*, the precise equivalent of Copt. Ⲫⲁⲓ ⲛⲟϥⲱⲧⲉⲃ, which is the Bohairic term for 'winnowing-fan', for which Sahidic uses simply ϩⲁ (see Crum, *CD* 635a). In l. 21, the reading *hry n hy* is very probable, and *hy* may in fact be the complete word. Perhaps a writing of *hwy*, 'to throw, to beat', may be in question (*DG* 296, 1, *hwj*, 'werfen, schlagen, dreschen'). Possibly *hy* is not a variant, but actually the correct dem. form when the word signifies 'to thresh' (cf. the two Copt. forms ϩⲁ, Crum, *CD* 643a, 'thresh, beat, rub', and ϩⲓⲟϥⲉ, Crum, *CD* 732b, 'tr. strike, cast, lay'). In either case, it is possible that a threshing-flail is meant, and this interpretation is made more likely by the certain occurrence of 'winnowing-fan' in the preceding line.

Although substantial traces are preserved in ll. 22-3, no convincing reading or interpretation can be offered of these expressions.

The obvious explanation of these lines (18-23) is that *hry* in demotic is a very general word for 'tool', which was naturally used in a variety of expressions for particular types of tool, and that the Sahidic Copt. use of ϩⲁ alone for 'winnowing-fan' is a secondary specialization of the word's use in one dialect. It is, however, conceivable that the word's (or words') development was a more complicated matter (and it may be that the basic meaning of the dem. *hry* was indeed 'shovel').

Of the rubric to the right of *x*+3/19, there is preserved the -y termination of a noun followed by a 'weapon'- or 'tool'-determinative (which differs from the form found throughout col. *x*+3 in

having an extra curved stroke drawn through the horizontal stroke), a 'metal'-determinative, the plural marker, and finally a sign, which, despite the unexpected cross-stroke, is presumably the sign frequently found at the end of the headings of lists (see *DG* 85, 7, *wp.t*, 'Spezifikation'). Plainly the rubric forms a heading of a list. Two possibilities suggest themselves:

(a) The rubric may have been added to the right of $x+3/19$, to mark the beginning of the listing-out of compound expressions involving the word hry . Perhaps this list was extensive, and continued in a further column, now lost, or was in some other way remarkable. The heading might have read simply $n hry.w$ (*wp.t*), 'The tools, viz:'. The different form of the 'tool'-determinative is hardly significant (possibly the scribe faithfully followed the forms in his exemplar within the list, but felt free to use a form more familiar to him in a heading). One difficulty is that the entry in the corresponding line of col. $x+2$ must have been a very short one to leave sufficient room for such a heading to the left, or there must have been some other peculiarity in the lay-out.

(b) What survives may have been the end of a rubric that belonged in col. $x+2$. It may have marked the end of the listing of vessels, and have headed the list of tools (such systematic headings are sometimes found in Pharaonic Eg. and dem. word-lists). What general word might have been used for 'tool' is uncertain. It is tempting to think of hry , although in that case hry and its compounds might have been expected to have headed the list, rather than to have been postponed to $x+3/18-23$. A form of *stbh* (*DG* 476, 5, *stbh*, 'Gerät, Waffe'), which is attested in a heading in P. Berlin P 15683 [$x+2/8$ n. above]/2, would hardly have served to distinguish the list of tools from that of vessels, as indeed the contents of the Berlin papyrus clearly show.

The second of these two possibilities is perhaps the more probable.

Discussion

For the reader's convenience, the general nature of the text has already been outlined in the introduction, pp. 211-13 above. Just one or two points require further comment here, in addition to what has been said in the notes.

What can be argued in favour of the view that the text was originally systematic and well organized has perhaps already been made clear. Names of vessels are listed, and then, probably after a specific heading, names of tools. However, a number of problems remain. It may be possible to trace the list of vessels back to $x+2/4$, or even $x+2/3$, but the little that survives in $x+2/1-2$ is difficult to explain. In particular the expected 'metal'-determinative does not seem to occur at the end of either of these two entries. There is apparently no sign of consistent determinatives in $x+1/x+2-4$. Of course, these problems concern extremely badly damaged portions of the text.

Because of uncertainties of reading or in the identification of words, it is not clear if the top half of col. $x+2$ contains metal vessels or also other kinds of metal object. The 'metal'-determinative is naturally found with a fairly wide range of words. The incense-spoon ($\check{s}ft$, $x+2/8$), which might at first glance not be thought a 'vessel', may have been included because of its close association with the preceding object, which clearly is. Just how consistent the determinatives were in the text is difficult to judge. No word already known appears with a determinative that is actually unexpected. Two words have an 'extra' determinative. Presumably lists and categories like those in the present text strongly influenced a scribe's practice in the use of determinatives.

The two columns $x+2$ and $x+3$ show no sign of rulings, but traces of rather rough

rulings are found in col. $x+1$. It is perhaps not too surprising if a scribe abandoned such rulings in the course of writing a text, especially if it was in some way a scribal exercise. The small fragments of P. Tebt. Tait 21 are written upon fine, neat rulings. There is every reason to suppose that they come from another (and, presumably, because of the rulings, earlier) part of the present papyrus, but there is no positive proof of this. The fragments might come from two separate word-lists.

Although it may on balance be probable that the text contained sections on cloth, on vessels, and on tools, it is impossible to judge if it originally comprised 'all things that exist', as did the Pharaonic *onomastica*, or concentrated on domestic and temple chattels, the kinds of object that a scribe might well have need to list when undertaking the mundane tasks of composing an inventory or drawing up a marriage contract.

Concerning the order of the items in the list, little more can be said. A pair of items has been noted in $x+2/7-8$. It may be pointed out that two terms for types of 'chisel', *hri-ib* and *mdy*, occur together ($x+3/12-15$). Conceivably the tools in col. $x+3$ progress from those requiring most labour in their manufacture to the simplest and crudest. In any case, however, it is likely that any logical order will have been disturbed by the listing together of compound expressions containing the same key noun designating different kinds of object. In no instance is it very probable that actual synonyms have been placed together, and certainly there are no examples of variant writings of the same word.

Although at a first glance the proportion of Semitic loan-words in the text appears high, in fact the words of Egyptian origin are on any reckoning in the majority (disregarding of course repetitions of the same word). At the least, seven or eight Egyptian words can be identified as against five or six Semitic words, and a case could be made out for supposing thirteen or even fifteen words to be Egyptian. Of the five or six Semitic words, not one has previously been found in Egyptian or in demotic, and only two are attested in Coptic, although in three further cases it is possible that the same root may occur in Coptic and demotic.²¹ In three cases it is certain or probable that the loan-word signifies an object for which a native Egyptian word is used in the New Kingdom, and in two cases this even survives into Coptic. Of the Egyptian or probably Egyptian words roughly half seem to be found in Coptic also.

Of the origin of the Semitic loan-words, others will better be able to speak, but it may be worth recording the impression that they come from North-West Semitic sources, possibly from Aramaic.

If the vocabulary found in this text, taken as a whole, represents the current vocabulary of any one time, then plainly it will belong in the Late Period. Certainly the material

²¹ On balance, all of the *mim*-formations in the text are likely to have been borrowed as such from Semitic sources, and not to have been formed within Egyptian. For *mim*-formations in Egyptian see especially H. Grapow, *Über die Wortbildungen mit einem Präfix m- im Ägyptischen* (Aus den Abhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss., Jahrgang 1914, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Nr. 5) (Berlin, 1914). Note the recent analysis of Osing, *Die Nominalbildung* [$x+3/18$ n. above], 119, 206-10, 256-7, 321-3, and the discussion of Late Period evidence in H. S. Smith, 'Varia Ptolemaica, 1: Words with *mim* Prefix in the Ptolemaic Period', *Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum: Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman*, ed. by J. Ruffle, G. A. Gaballa, and K. A. Kitchen (Warminster, 1979), 161-3.

cannot well derive from a word-list of any great antiquity, say as early as the New Kingdom. There is, however, no way of disproving the possibility that the text contains Late Period vocabulary enriched with older Egyptian words picked unsystematically from traditional word-lists or other texts. The text might even have been compiled in the second century AD, although the striking absence of any Greek loan-word (leaving the dubious case of *lqnt* aside) might reinforce the idea that the text dates back perhaps to somewhere between the First and Second Persian Periods.

P. Carlsberg 41b

6 cm *h.* × 5.5 cm *w.* The text is written parallel with the fibres, and the back is blank (see pl. XXI). The texture etc. of the papyrus is very similar in appearance to that of P. Carlsberg 41a, although an examination of the fibres suggests that the fragment cannot belong to the same papyrus sheet, and thus the contents, as is to be expected, certainly cannot form part of col. $x+1$ or $x+2$. The hand closely resembles that of 41a, but it is not possible to claim that they are manifestly identical. The date is perhaps also the second half of the second century AD. The fragment seems to preserve a portion from the middle of a tall narrow column similar in format and spacing to those of 41a. There is no trace of any rulings.

Lines $x+2-4$ list three signs of the zodiac in their usual dem. forms: *pꜣ gnhd*, 'the crab' (*Cancer*); *tr dl*, 'the scorpion' (*Scorpio*); *nr tby*, 'the (two) fish', (*Pisces*). The signs are those that might be expected to correspond to the first months of the three Egyptian 'seasons'.²² In l. $x+1$, it does not seem possible to read another zodiacal sign. Perhaps *tw-st nr* .[, 'Behold, the . . .' might be read, although the obvious restoration, *sw*, 'star', seems impossible. A sign does not appear to be identifiable in l. $x+5$ either. Perhaps the three signs form an astrological grouping.

The fragment can hardly belong to a horoscope, the format of which is quite different.²³ It may be from a word-list. Conceivably all the twelve signs were arranged upon three lines of text, and the appearance of a narrow column is deceptive. On balance, it seems best to dissociate this fragment entirely from P. Carlsberg 41a, although it remains a remote possibility that it belonged to a different portion of the text.

P. Carlsberg 42a-c

These three fragments (see pl. XXII) are likely to belong to one and the same text. The papyrus is quite fine-textured; fr. *a* and *b* are more discoloured than *c*. The text is written parallel with the fibres and the backs are blank. The hand is small, written with

²² On the assumption that the correspondences found in O. Straßburg D 521 (see pp. 121-3 in O. Neugebauer, 'Demotic Horoscopes', *JAOs* 63 (1943), 115-27), perhaps relating to the situation when the Greek zodiac was first adopted in Egypt (third century BC?), subsequently remained fossilized in Egyptian tradition.

²³ The basic study of demotic horoscopes is Neugebauer's article cited in the preceding note. Full bibliography and further discussion of the zodiac may be found in O. Neugebauer and R. A. Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, III, [i]: *Decans, Planets, Constellations and Zodiacs: Text* (Brown Egyptological Studies, 6, i) (Providence, RI, 1969), 203-55. Subsequently, note especially R. A. Parker and K.-T. Zauzich, 'The Seasons in the First Century B.C.', *Studies Presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, ed. by D. W. Young (Beacon Hill, East Gloucester. Mass., 1981), 472-9 (the *four* seasons of the year, as in modern usage, are meant).

a fine pen, and apparently not at all skilled. The forms of some signs and, apparently, the writings of some words are idiosyncratic or extremely careless, and a number of signs have a hieratic rather than demotic form. Although the appearance is greatly different from that of 41a, a roughly similar date is likely (second century AD?). In fr. *a* and *c*, there occur sporadic examples of a small red dot, set above the line, punctuating the ends of the entries, or perhaps placed there by a teacher in checking through his pupil's work. The text is apparently a rough writing exercise in the form of a word-list. Although the words (in common with those in 44–5) give an impression of belonging to the vocabulary of medical/magical texts, it is difficult to detect any logical order among them. Sometimes there is a mere association of ideas between adjacent items. It may be worth mentioning the possibility that the words have been noted down, more or less in demotic, by a student reading a hieratic text.

Fr. *a*. 10 cm *h.* × 7 cm *w.* Part of the top margin is preserved. Nothing can be read for certain in the first column except for ¹*Sbk*, 'Sobk'; and ⁴. . . *sh̄t* . . . 'field'. In the second column, ¹*snf*, 'blood'; ²*sh̄f*^r; ^t (*DG* 454, 5?); ³*pn*, 'mouse'.

Fr. *b*. 7 cm *h.* × 6.5 cm *w.* Nothing can be read in the first column. In the second column: ³*iwf*, 'flesh' (or the determinative of this word and of *ibi(t)* might both be 'bird'-determinatives, and *f*, 'fly' might be meant), followed by *ibi(t)*, 'bee' or 'honey', in the same line; ⁴*nfr*, probably the adjective 'good' with a hieratic determinative rather than the parts of the body depicted by the *nfr*-hieroglyph, *Wb.* II, 252, 12 (cf., however, Gardiner *AEO* I, 214*, no. 299); ⁵. . . ; ⁶*dy* . . . ; ⁷*hyl* . . . (possibly *DG* 325, 6, *hr.t*, 'Kot'?).

Fr. *c*. 5 cm *h.* × 6 cm *w.* ¹?; ²*l* (?), perhaps, from the determinative, a form of *rl*, 'stone'; ³*snqy*, 'to suckle'; ⁴*irty*, 'milk' (?); ⁵*hb̄s* (or *hb̄h*), with 'gland'-determinative: conceivably Eg. *hps*, 'navel' ?; ⁶*qs*, 'bone'.

P. Carlsberg 43

8 cm *h.* × 3.5 cm *w.* (see pl. XXII). The papyrus is coarse-textured, and a little coarser and thicker than that of 41a. The text is written parallel with the fibres, and the back is blank. On close inspection, the hand has no great similarity to that of 41a, and is more carelessly and irregularly written. (Date: second century AD?) The possibility, apparently considered by Volten, that the fragment belongs with 41a has been mentioned above (pp. 212–13), but this is rejected here. The fragment seems to preserve the first few signs of the last nine lines of a column. No word can actually be identified. The readings are: ¹*wr*[; *wr*[; *w*[; *w*[; ⁵*sw*.[; *sy*[; *s*[; *sy*[; *s*[. Plainly it is possible that the fragment is from a word-list, in which words beginning with the sound *w* preceded those beginning with the sound *s* (see p. 212 n. 9 above).

P. Carlsberg 44

9 cm *h.* × 5 cm *w.* (see pl. XXII). The papyrus is fairly fine-textured. The text is written parallel with the fibres, and the back is blank. The hand is similar to that of 42a–c, and in view of the peculiarities of orthography found in these fragments it is not inconceivable that they all belong together, although the differences between them make this unlikely.

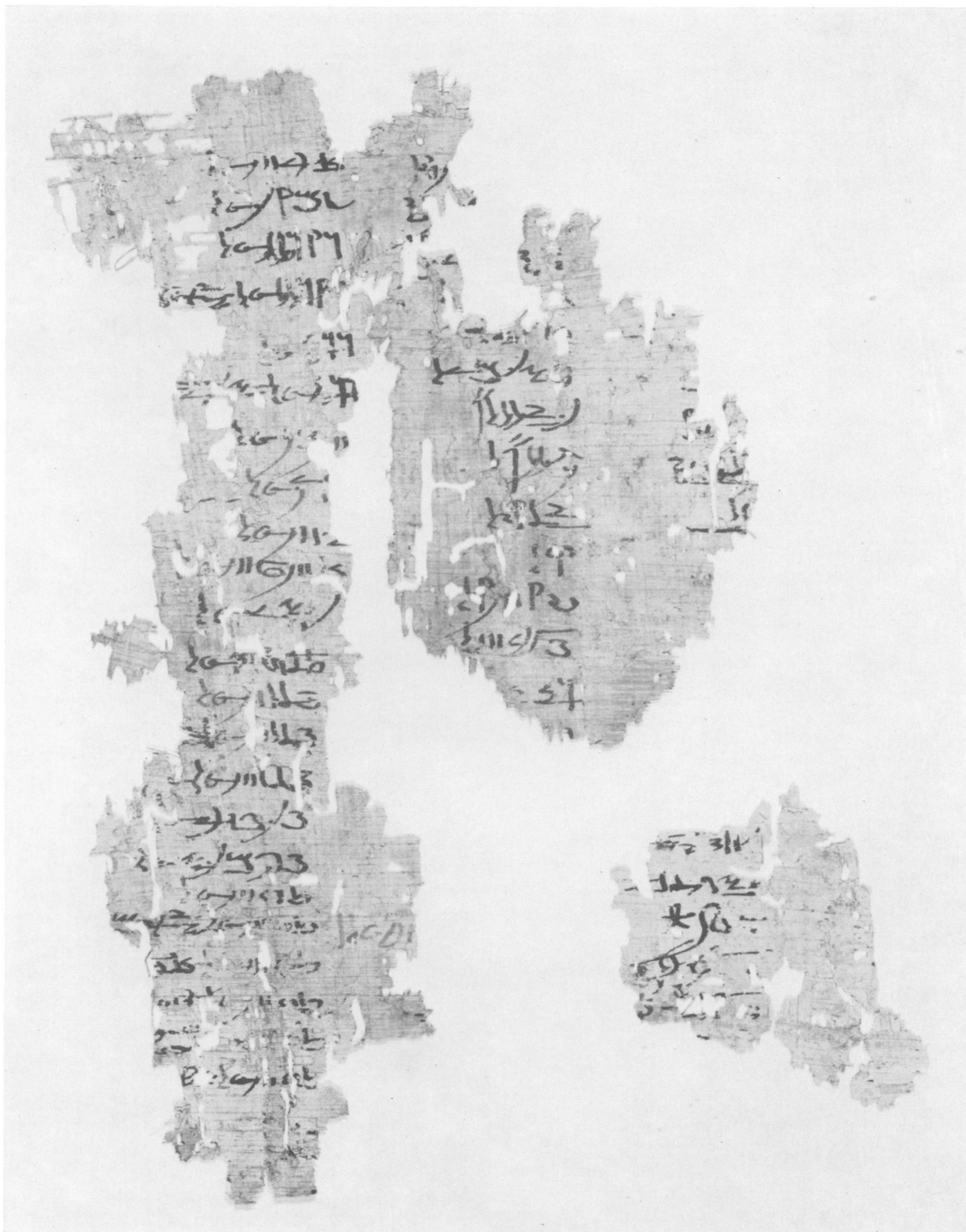
*+1 \overline{Imn} , 'Amūn'; 3 \overline{st} , 'Isis'; \overline{Wsr} , 'Osiris'; $\overline{Dḥwti}$, 'Thoth'; *+5 \overline{snf} , 'blood'; $\overline{ḥt}$, 'the(?) heart'; $\overline{ḥti}$, 'horse'; $\overline{šnb(.t)}$, 'throat'; \overline{Imn} , 'Amūn'.

For the listing of gods' names cf. Kairo 31168–9. The writing of \overline{snf} in l. $x+5$ is entirely different from that in 42a. The word $\overline{ḥti}$ is unquestionably the word for 'horse', as it has an 'animal'-determinative, and contains the group \overline{tr} as well as the \overline{ti} ending (a mechanical transliteration might be $\overline{ḥtr-ti}$). However, it is possible that the word has displaced from the list one of the other $\overline{ḥst}$ words, or has been included here merely because its pronunciation was similar to that of $\overline{ḥst}$ preceding. For $\overline{ḥtr}$ and similar words in a word-list arranged by assonance see Demotica, i, 7. Probably $\overline{šnb.t}$ ends with a cramped form of the 'flesh'-determinative, but the preceding sign is unclear (just a \overline{t} ?). The simple repetition of Amūn seems a certain reading, despite the damage.

P. Carlsberg 45

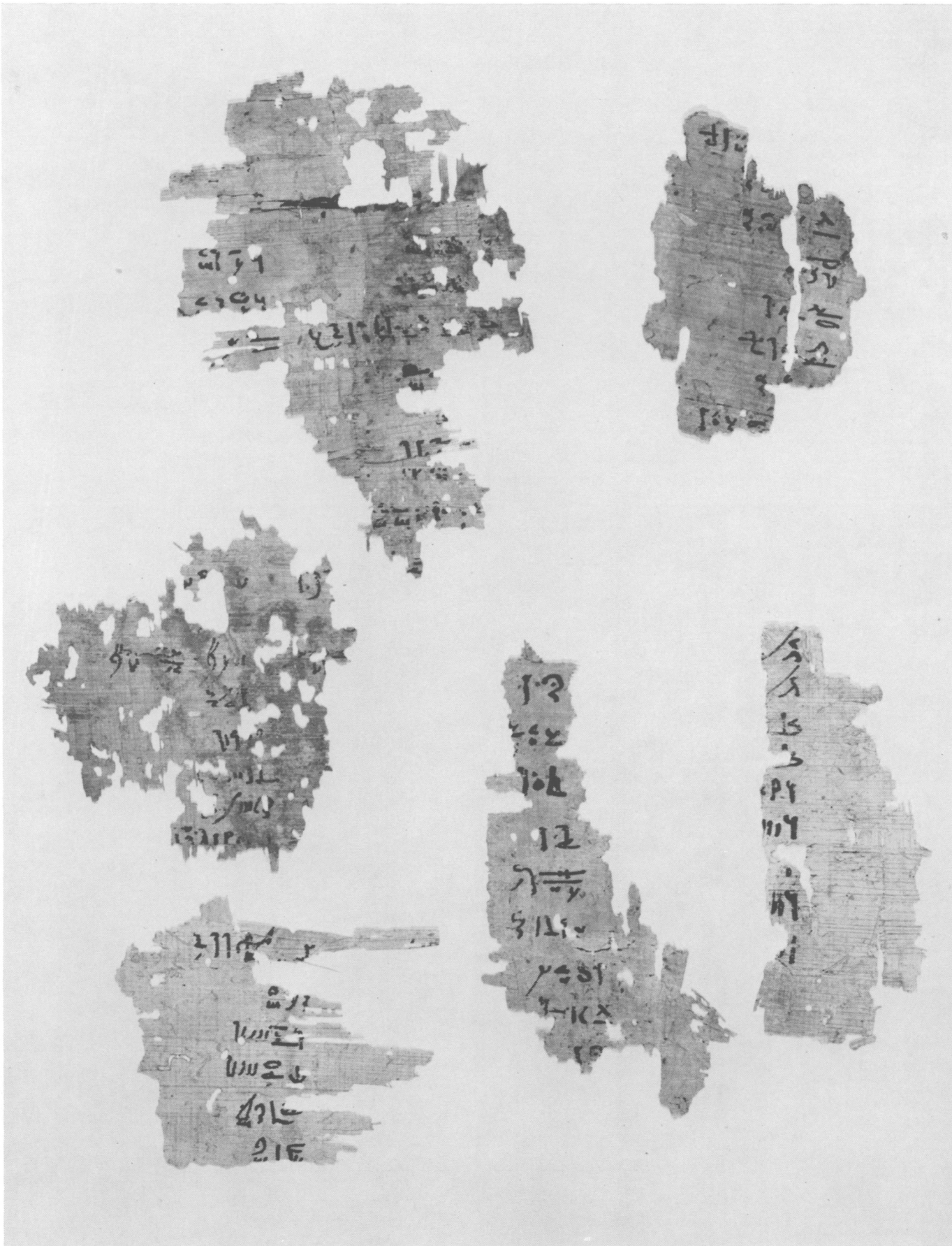
6 cm $\overline{h.}$ × 4.5 cm $\overline{w.}$ (see pl. XXII). The papyrus is quite fine-textured, and considerably discoloured. The text is written parallel with the fibres, and the back is blank. The hand is similar to that of 42a–c and 44. There is a slight possibility that it might belong to the same text as either (or both) of these. (Date: second century AD?)

In l. $x+1$, the determinatives indicate a geographical name. *+3 $\overline{šn}$. . (in view of the 'flesh'-determinative, conceivably a writing of $\overline{šnb.t}$, 'throat', although very different from that in 44/ $x+8$); *+4 \overline{swnw} , 'doctor' (?); *+5 \overline{grg} (the ill-formed determinative does not help to identify the word); *+6 \overline{hb} . (unidentifiable—apparently the final determinative is that of foreign persons); *+7 $\overline{w[ḥ]f}$? (the 'flesh'-determinative is clear: the spacing seems wrong for \overline{iwf} —perhaps *DG* 87, 6, \overline{wf} , 'die Lunge'); *+8[. . .] $\overline{Skr-Wsr}$, '. . . Sokar-Osiris' (with a short word lost from in front).



P. Carlsberg 41a (left) and 41b (bottom right)

A DEMOTIC WORD-LIST FROM TEBTUNIS



P. Carlsberg 42a (top left), 42b (middle left), 42c (bottom left), 43 (bottom right), 44 (bottom middle), and 45 (top right)

A DEMOTIC WORD-LIST FROM TEBTUNIS

EIGHT FUNERARY PAINTINGS WITH JUDGEMENT SCENES IN THE SWANSEA WELLCOME MUSEUM

By J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

EIGHT funerary paintings on linen in the Swansea Wellcome Museum (Inv. Nos. W 649–56)¹ are concerned with the reawakening of the deceased and with the episode of judgement. Although these paintings exist now as separate pieces, the material, colour, style, and thematic sequence indicate that they belong together and undoubtedly formed part of a wrapping or shroud with which a mummy was covered. It would be a vain task, however, to attempt to join these parts together by a study of the existing shape of the edges in the manner of a jigsaw; for in each case it is quite clear that the edges have been cut in order to produce a fairly even, though not always a consistently even, rectangular form. Probably the edges, in a previous state, were frayed and jagged and the garment may have been torn through decay and maltreatment. It is also possible that in its original state it contained several other painted scenes.

The combined measurements of the extant pieces, if arranged in vertical sequence, would produce a garment about 191 cm high and 24 cm wide, though a generous margin of unfilled space should doubtless be allowed. A parallel series of similar scenes arranged vertically would result in a garment of at least double this width—48 cm, about a foot and a half. A total size of about $6\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ feet would thus be achieved, rather short, especially in width, of the '8 feet by 4 feet' mentioned by Budge² as a typical size. Perhaps the most convincing way of reconstructing a satisfactory size would be to assume an over-all pattern like that exhibited on a shroud made and painted in the Ptolemaic or early Roman era, where a large central figure of Osiris is flanked by two vertical columns which are divided into small scenes of a religious character (see fig. 1).³ Certainly the extant episodes depicted on the Swansea shroud would suffice to make up one such column of scenes. If a central figure of Osiris had not been present, then a double column of scenes would have produced a width of about 3 feet, and the depiction of the winged scarab, which is wider than the other items, might well have surmounted such a double column.

Parlasca⁴ presents several other examples of this kind of pattern, including two in

¹ I am grateful to the Hon. Curator, Dr Kate Bosse-Griffiths, for drawing my attention to them and for much helpful discussion. Transparencies of certain scenes have been shown in lectures at the universities of Wales, Liverpool, Birmingham, Budapest, and Tübingen, and I have profited from remarks made on these occasions. I am also grateful to the Editor, Dr Alan B. Lloyd, for valued comments.

² *The Mummy*² (Cambridge, 1894, repr. 1972), 191.

³ See K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 159 with Abb. 8 (p. 158). There is also a further inner row of deities, flanking the Osiris-figure, and the whole shroud has a border of hieroglyphs. For shorter, apron-like shrouds see *op. cit.* 167 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.* 159 f. with pl. 58, 1–2.

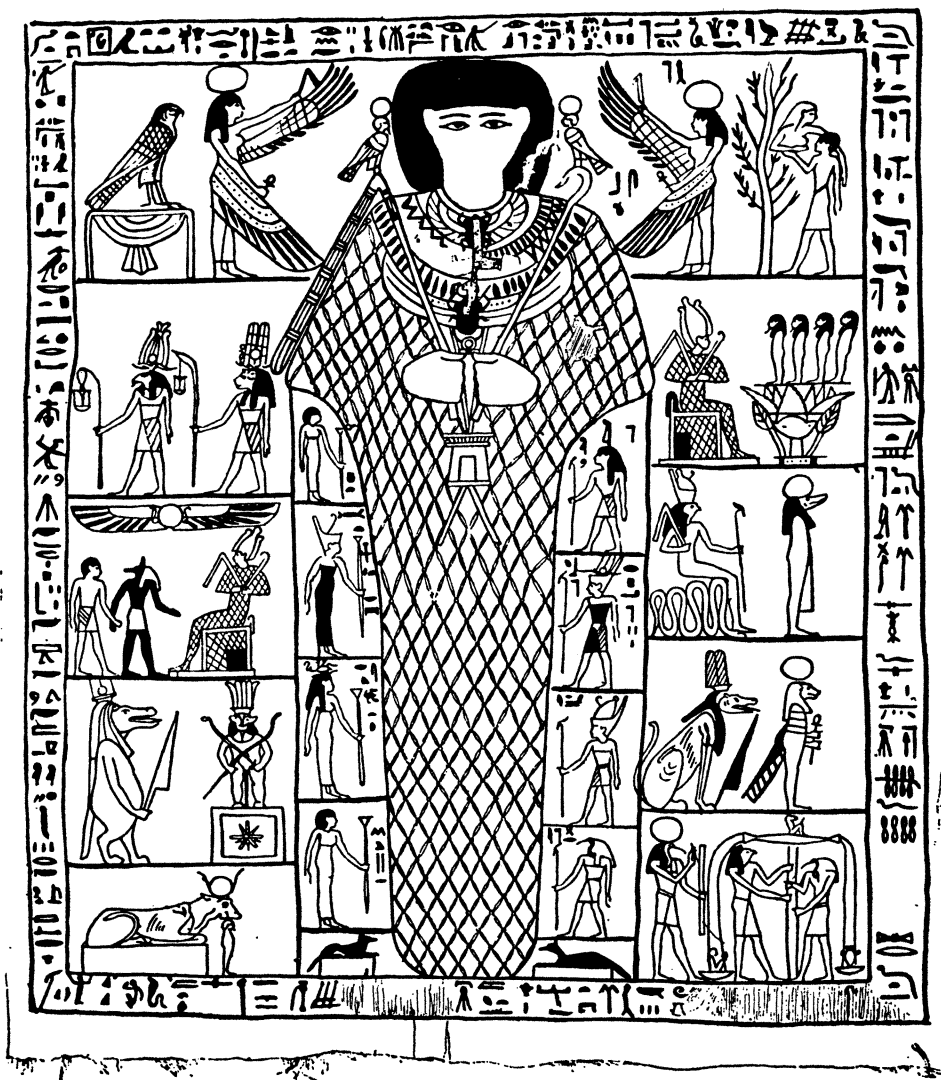


FIG. 1

the British Museum, on one of which the Osiris-figure is replaced by a figure of the deceased accoutred with Osirian attributes,⁵ thus illustrating the theme of 'becoming Osiris' which was popular in the Graeco-Roman era.⁶ A portrait of the deceased sometimes occurs on the mummy-shrouds,⁷ but more commonly scenes involving

⁵ BM Eg. Inv. 26453 = Parlasca, *op. cit.* pl. 58, 1. Cf. *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms* (BM 1924), 137: cf. I. E. S. Edwards, *A Handbook to the Egyptian Mummies* (BM 1938).

⁶ Cf. L. Kákósy, 'Selige und Verdammte in der spätägyptischen Religion', *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 95-106, with a publication of relevant depictions on cartonnage in the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts and references to the important studies by Morenz. Parlasca does not mention this feature of his pl. 58, 1, but in general he rejects the interpretation offered by Morenz.

⁷ Parlasca, *op. cit.* pl. 32, 1 and 4; pl. 33, 1-4. For a reference to the profession of such a person on a canvas shroud see A. F. Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* (2nd edn., London, 1972), 17.

the gods were presented, often with the deceased in their company.⁸ The scenes may be embellished with hieroglyphs, but a distinction is called for between the painted linen coverings which present vignettes that relate closely to texts which they accompany and those which give pride of place to the depictions; the former are predominantly textual documents, whereas in the latter the textual matter can be regarded as briefly adjunct, almost in the manner of captions, to the pictures. As it happens, the Swansea Wellcome Museum contains also a good example of the former category. In this instance (Inv. No. W 869) part of a mummy-cloth from Deir Rifeh near Asyût belonging to a man called Ḥapy contains texts and vignettes relating to several chapters of the Book of the Dead; it should probably be dated to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty.⁹ Mummy-bandages were also adorned sometimes with material of this kind.¹⁰

A notable feature of the scenes depicted on the Swansea shroud is that several are concerned with the judgement of the dead. One of the earliest instances of the treatment of this theme on mummy-shrouds derives from the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in a scene intended as a vignette for *BD* 125, but the practice of preparing painted shrouds did not become popular until the Ptolemaic and Roman eras.¹¹ Dr Seeber,¹² whose admirable study of the subject much facilitates our present task, points out that the portrayals of the judgement in the Graeco-Roman instances are often more schematic and also more abbreviated.

Provenance

These objects were acquired for the Wellcome Collection in London through Sotheby's auction rooms, and an accompanying envelope gives the date of the transaction as 13 January 1931. No indication of provenance is supplied, but two points arising from the internal content suggest that El-Ashmunên or the adjacent Tuna el-Gebel may have been the place of origin. One is the allusion to Thoth (in W 651, scene 4) as 'Lord of Hermopolis' (*nb Ḥmnw*). Whereas Thoth is given this epithet as early as the Fifth Dynasty,¹³ the writing of the place-name which appears here is first attested in the Graeco-Roman era.¹⁴ The other point which might indicate an association with the same area is the Graeco-Roman dress of the deceased, which recalls the manner in which a deceased female is represented at Tuna el-Gebel in the second century AD.¹⁵

⁸ Parlasca, *op. cit.* pls. 56–61. Cf. Günter Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden, 1974), 54.

⁹ See M. Heerma van Voss, 'Een dodendoek als dodenboek', *Phoenix* 20 (1974), 335–8.

¹⁰ See R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 56 (1970), 117–31, where the first item is part of a shroud which Caminos (p. 121) tentatively dates to a point between the late Seventeenth Dynasty and the middle of the Nineteenth. On mummy-shrouds in general see also Bonnet, *RÄRG* 420; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge, Mass. 1959), 224 ff.; W. Helck in *LÄ* III (1980), 995–6.

¹¹ C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35, Munich, 1976), 25–7 ('Leichtentücher'). Hereafter = Seeber.

¹² Seeber, 26.

¹³ Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (Oxford, 1947, repr. 1968), II, 80.

¹⁴ Cf. *Wb.* III, 283, 2. Cf. Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.* 749; Gauthier, *Dict. Géog.* IV, 176.

¹⁵ Cf. Sami Gabra, *Chez les derniers adorateurs du Trismégiste* (Cairo, 1971), 96.

Description

1. *The Winged Scarab*. W 656 (see pl. XXIII, 1). 13 cm h. × 30 cm w. As with the other depictions, the object is painted in a dark colour against the light brown of the linen. The wings are partly coloured red, as are, in the other scenes, parts of the crowns of deities, stripes on the dress of the deceased, and various other items. The outstretched wings are those of a falcon; a *shen*-sign is often held in its talons,¹⁶ but the signs here projecting above are *heb-sed* signs attached to curved palm-ribs as symbols of longevity: cf. the shroud in our fig. 1 (second register from top, left).¹⁷

The curve of the wings appears to be rather unorthodox, and the *shen*-sign is sometimes held between the legs of the beetle itself, as opposed to the borrowed legs and talons of the falcon.¹⁸ However, the degrees of curvature in the wings vary a good deal,¹⁹ and our example seems to belong to those 'where the wings are adapted to curve around the fore and hind legs'.²⁰

The general significance of the winged scarab is not in doubt. Basically it represents the god Khepri who signifies the rising sun and also rebirth after death, a notion that includes the faculty of assuming various forms in a new life.²¹ The unwinged scarab—or that with its own small beetle's wings—doubtless expresses these ideas in its popular amuletic form,²² and the precisely distinctive connotation of the added falcon's wings is not instantly apparent since the Winged Disk of the sun contains the same element.²³ Certainly the Winged Disk is more commonly exhibited on funerary stelae,²⁴ but from the Twenty-first Dynasty the Winged Scarab appears on sarcophagi as well as on mummy-coverings.²⁵ Funerary papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty used both winged and unwinged forms.²⁶

An emphasis on rebirth and reawakening makes the Winged Scarab a suitable

¹⁶ Cf. I. E. S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1972), pl. 30: H. De Meulenaere, *Scarabaeus Sacer* (Hoechst Belgium, 1972), 9 and 27.

¹⁷ I owe this explanation to Dr K. Bosse-Griffiths.

¹⁸ Cf. Bonnet, *Bilderatlas* (1924), 12 and 13, two instances from the Twenty-first Dynasty in which the wings are stretched out in a straight horizontal line, as in most cases of the Winged Disk of the sun.

¹⁹ Cf. Beatrice L. Goff, *Symbols of Ancient Egypt in the Late Period* (Religion and Society, 13, The Hague, 1979), 209 f. Her fig. 44 (bracelet of Psusennes) shows wings sharply upturned. The ends of the wings are upturned also in the Ptolemaic writing of *ʿbb*, 'winged beetle', as in *Edfou*, VI, 131, 1, where it is equated with Horus of Behdet: cf. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 98.

²⁰ Goff, *op. cit.* 209. Of the figures reproduced by Miss Goff (all of the Twenty-first Dynasty) her fig. 136 (a pectoral) seems to come nearest to our instance. In some cases it is not easy to decide which is the upper and which the lower side, but the talons must of course emerge from the lower part.

²¹ Budge, *The Mummy*² (Cambridge, 1925), 278; Goff, *op. cit.* 211–20. For the intensifying and characterizing force of the reduplication in the form Kheprer, see V. Wessetzky in *Mélanges Vycychl* (Geneva, 1980), 97 f.

²² See E. Brunner-Traut, 'Der Skarabäus' in *Gelebte Mythen* (Darmstadt, 1981), 7–17, repr. from *Antaios* 6 (1965); V. Wessetzky, 'Herz und Skarabäus' in his *Ausgewählte Schriften* (= *Studia Aegyptiaca*, VI, Budapest, 1981), 1–10 (first publ. 1937); E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette*, 1 (Mainz, 1976); on the heart scarab see M. Malaise *Les Scarabées de cœur dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels, 1978).

²³ Occasionally, as on a gate in Philae, the Winged Scarab replaces the expected Winged Disk: see H. Schäfer (tr. Baines), *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 224.

²⁴ See P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (ÄF 25, Glückstadt, 1973), where the great majority of the stelae are surmounted by the Winged Disk.

²⁵ Bonnet, *RÄRG* 721.

²⁶ Goff, *op. cit.* 210.

introduction to funerary depictions of the pleasures and privileges which await the deceased after death, especially to the scenes of sexual reinvigoration which our first two scenes represent. Bonnet²⁷ tends to support the view of Georg Möller²⁸ who sought to segregate the funerary Winged Scarab from its more general significance, preferring rather to adduce the legend of a beetle which flew out from the forehead of Osiris, so that Khepri for the moment has been replaced by Osiris. It may be questioned how widespread this legend was, and the traditional significance of the Winged Scarab is much more likely to apply. Whether it applied in a special sense to the judgement scenes is, however, doubtful. Success in the tribunal opened the door to a blissful afterlife, and in this way the symbol of new life is appropriate. A depiction in the tomb of Nakhtamūn (Nineteenth Dynasty) shows a winged male figure over a representation of Nakhtamūn's heart being weighed.²⁹ W. Stevenson Smith³⁰ refers to this being with just caution as a 'male spirit'.

2. *Physical revival of the dead, with Isis.* W 650 (see pl. XXIII, 2). 28.2 cm h. × 20.2 cm w. Beneath the canopy of heaven, shaped as a *pt*-sign and punctuated with stars, a large falcon is shown alighting on a mummy who is lying on a lion-shaped bier. The lion's head is inordinately large, and his tail is depicted as curling upwards over the mummy's feet. The falcon likewise appears to be disproportionately large, especially in relation to the mummy, whose immediate support on the bier is a high rectangular bed patterned with red stripes of woven cloth. On the looker's left is the slim figure of Isis, with her left hand upraised towards the falcon. Her left breast is bare in the manner of Egyptian representations in the Graeco-Roman era,³¹ but she is rendered on the whole in a style quite unlike that of the Egyptian tradition. Indeed she would not be recognizable were it not for the throne sign on her head and the inscription above her to the right $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$ *3st wrt*, 'Isis the Great'. Here the last sign has almost faded out, and an upright mark interferes with the writing of *Wrt*. The writing of *wr* with × does not begin until the Graeco-Roman era.³²

At the feet of Isis and below the lion-bier are shown the four Canopic vessels.³³ The vertical row of hieroglyphs to the top right of Isis is resumed below her elbow, and

²⁷ *RÄRG* 721.

²⁸ In his *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind* (Leipzig, 1913), 33 and 85. On p. 85 he says of this legend 'sonst anscheinend nicht bekannt', but argues that the custom, attested from the Twenty-first Dynasty, of showing a scarab, whether winged or not, on the top of mummy coverings must be connected.

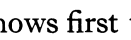


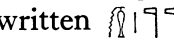
²⁹ W. Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pl. 166 (B) = Seeber, Abb. 11 with p. 206, no. 10. Cf. Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *BIFAO* 45 (1947), 201 ff., on the winged royal figure. The goddess Nut with wings outstretched sometimes appears above the scene of weighing: see Seeber, Abb. 19 and 23.


³⁰ *Op. cit.* 227.


³¹ H. Stock and K. G. Siegler, *Kalabsha* (Wiesbaden, 1961), pl. 22 ('Die "Isis von Kalabsha"'); H. Junker and E. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien, 1965), 74 and many others.

³² *Wb.* 1, 326.

³³ Cf. their depiction under a lion-bier on a painted wooden anthropoid coffin from Gamhūd, Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, 137, following A. Kamal, 'Fouilles à Gamhoud', *ASAE* 9 (1908), 8–30, this on pp. 23 f. and pl. 1. The Canopics appear in several other coffins described by him. An Oxyrhynchus fish is depicted above the mummy, and Kamal appears to assign this coffin to the Ptolemaic era; cf. Wessetzky in *Bull. Mus. Hong. des Beaux-Arts*, 42 (1974), 7.

appears to begin with †, a group signifying *m* in the Ptolemaic era, but not before.³⁴ The reading † seems also possible, with the same value.³⁵ What follows is partly damaged, but *wrt* is clear. Perhaps *mwrt wrt* was present, followed by *ntr*. Certainly *mwrt wrt ntr*, ‘Great Mother of the God’, with an allusion to Horus, was a phrase often used of Isis.³⁶ Towards the end of the section △ appears. Beneath the fore and hind legs of the lion are the usual supports, and it is between these that the Canopic jars are arranged. Their heads are presented as larger than the stereotype demands, and the jars are smaller and thinner.³⁷ It seems that in the Graeco-Roman era there was sometimes a tendency for the heads of the whole set to be uniform;³⁸ yet even before this, in the reign of Taharqa, a return to the full details of the practice is attested, after a period when ‘Scheinkanopen’ (‘dummy Canopics’) with no hollow interior were used, and this persisted into the Ptolemaic era, with a marked variety in the forms of the jars.³⁹ Of course we are dealing here not with instances of the objects themselves, but with mere depictions of them, and the artist must be following some earlier exemplar of funerary pictorial work. For all his crudities he has differentiated the heads of the jars. From left to right he shows first the human-headed Iemsety, with  written above him, the second and last signs being damaged. Both form and name of the second jar are not now discernible. A part of the jackal head of the third jar is visible and the third name begins with ✕ (cf. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, 29, no. 314). More problematic is the rendering of *mwrt* since a separate sign seems to follow that for *mwrt* instead of the appendage seen in late hieratic (see Möller, *op. cit.* III, 17, no. 193), but  and the upper part of  are clear; for these see Möller, *op. cit.* III, 55, no. 575 and 23, 250. Duamutef is obviously intended. Hapy is, of course, the missing name before that. The fourth of the Canopic jars is given a large falcon-head and divine wig, his name, Qebehsenuf, being apparently written .⁴⁰ At least the three deities are correctly identified.⁴¹

Below all this, but not necessarily connected with it—it may have linked with something that followed—is a sequence that reads  *sš crwy*

³⁴ Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 243, no. 286; cf. id., *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 71. *Wb.* II, 1, gives  for *m* in the Late Period.



³⁵ Fairman, *ASAE* 43, 243, no. 287.

³⁶ *Wb.* II, 54, 13: e.g. J. de Horrack, *Les Lamentations d'Isis et de Nephthys* (Paris, 1886), the second vignette (with Isis).

³⁷ Cf. the Canopic jars of Neskhons (Twenty-first Dynasty) in Edwards *et al.*, *Guide to the Egyptian Collections* (BM 1964), 147.

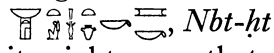



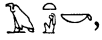
³⁸ *Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms* (BM 1904), 126.

³⁹ K. Martin, s.v. Kanopen II in *LÄ* III (1980), 316. See also Wessetzky in *Ausgewählte Schriften* (Budapest, 1981), 55–63 (first publ. 1957); G. A. Reisner and M. H. Abd-ul-Rahman, *Canopics* (CCG 1967). E. Brovarski *Canopic Jars* (Mainz/Rhein, 1978), notes in his Introduction, p. 4, that Reisner found in the Cairo Museum ‘only two sets of jars dated to Dyn. 21 and none at all dating to Dynasties 22–25’. He also notes (p. 3) that the covers showing the heads of the four genii first appear in the Ramesside era, but he cites some possible examples (p. 5) from the Ptolemaic Period. They are differentiated on a mummy-mask of AD 25–50: see Grimm, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit im Ägyptischen Museum, Kairo* (Mainz, 1975), pl. B opp. p. 6.

⁴⁰ Cf. some of the writings recorded in *Wb.* v, 31. The  is for , a common Ptolemaic writing of *f*.

⁴¹ Cf. J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1898), 11 (on Canopic vases): ‘In one set, the lower in Pl. XIX, all but Amset are wrongly named’; and a similar case in a coffin of c.700 BC in Budapest: see E. Varga, *Bull. Mus. Hong.* 51 (1978), 50.

⟨in⟩ Hꜣ[py] [n p]t wr sꜣ mr·f, ‘The double doors are unlocked (in = by) Hꜣ[py] of the heaven, the Great One. His Beloved Son. . .’. The expression sꜣ⁴² rꜣwy is found often in the *Book of Gates*,⁴³ but our scribe seems to be giving us a shortened and garbled excerpt from *BD* 60: see Naville, 60 f., 2–4: *Opened for me are the double doors of heaven, unlocked for me are the double doors of the watery sky by Thoth, by Hꜣpy, that is, Hꜣpy the Great One of heaven, great in the early morning.*⁴⁴ A mis-spelling Hꜣ[py] occurs in our text, but in the *BD* locus too there are variant spellings, some clearly indicating Hꜣpy the Nile god, others Hꜣpy the son of Horus, although the former is favoured by the context.⁴⁵ Our text, however, goes on to mention *His Beloved Son*, presumably as the subject of a new sentence which has no immediate connection with what precedes—not that the phrase is at all out of place in a funerary text. ‘The son whom he loves’ is normally the son of the deceased, patterned on the *pietas* of Horus towards Osiris; if a son was not available, an Osirian priest would act instead of him, and such a priest bore the title of sꜣ-mr·f.⁴⁶

3. *Physical revival of the dead, with Nephthys.* W 649 (see pl. XXIV, 1). 22.3 cm h. × 21.3 cm w. A similar scene, but with Nephthys instead of Isis. Like her sister, Nephthys appears as a sleek figure. On her head are the hieroglyphs for her name, *Nbt-ht*, but within these are other hieroglyphs, which read *drt ntr(t) rꜣ(t)*, ‘the Kite, the Great Goddess’. The reference is to the role of Nephthys as one of the Two Kites (*drtꜣ*) who mourned the dead Osiris, the other being Isis. Above Nephthys, on either side of her eponymous head-dress, are the words , *Nbt-ht snt ib-k mr-k*, ‘Nephthys, darling sister, whom thou lovest’. Here it might seem that  has been wrongly written for . It is true that the former sign would make sense if given the possible phonetic value *mḥ* in the phrase *mht ib-k*, ‘who fills thy heart’, i.e. ‘is thy trusted one’: see *Wb.* II, 118 f., but without this writing of the verbal form. See, however, the rather similar writing  in 7. (upper). For *snt ib-k*, ‘darling sister’, lit. ‘sister of thy heart’, cf. *Wb.* I, 60, 2, *nj ib*, ‘Liebling’. Osiris is being addressed. *Mr-k* is of course for *mrt-k*. Under the lion’s head (a much smaller head, this time) are further words applying perhaps to the goddess, , *mwt-k*, ‘thy mother’, or perhaps (with the wrong pronoun), to one of the Canopic genii, (Dua)mutef. This time the Canopic jars have, however, been huddled into a smaller space, and a part of the picture has been damaged, not to speak of the more cramped space made available by the lion’s legs. Both fore and hind legs are now shown resting on supports. The result is that the row of hieroglyphs inserted above the Canopic jars has been rendered somewhat impressionistically, so

⁴² For the separation of the walking legs (D 54) in the second determinative, see a few similar forms in Möller, *Pal.* III, 11, no. 121.

⁴³ e.g. I, 1 ed. Hornung *et al.* (Geneva, 1979), 13, with the reading *sn* in some texts. Cf. Zandee in *Liber Amicorum* for C. J. Bleeker (Leiden, 1969), 283 and often.

⁴⁴ Cf. the version by T. G. Allen (Chicago, 1974), 55. E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich, 1979), 131, effectively renders, ‘HAPI, jener größte des Himmels, / groß (schon) am frühen Morgen’.

⁴⁵ Cf. *Hꜣpy n pt*, ‘Nile of heaven’, in *BD* Naville 57, 1; see also Hornung, *op. cit.* 450 with refs.; Barguet, *Le Livre des morts* (Paris, 1967), 94, regarding *BD* 60 as a variant of *BD* 57; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I (Warminster, 1973), 284 f.; J. Zandee, *JÉOL* 24 (1975–6), 1–47.

⁴⁶ Cf. J.-C. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l’ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1972), 98.

that few can be firmly identified; the first name (from the right) appears to be Iemsety. It will be noted that the canopy of heaven is missing here, save that the ends of the *pt*-design are discernible.

Obviously scenes 2 and 3 belong together as illustrations of the renewed physical power which is warranted for the deceased on the analogy of Osiris. In the case of the god it is Isis who is normally shown alighting on his recumbent form in the shape of a falcon; she is envisaged as reviving the potency of his generative member. In literature it is the Eighteenth Dynasty Hymn of Amenmose that is the clearest record of this tradition;⁴⁷ in iconography the earliest representation comes from the temple of Sethos I at Abydos.⁴⁸ Probably the legend of the posthumous procreation of Horus by Osiris should also be linked with the tradition.⁴⁹ But how can Nephthys be brought into the process? In this respect our representation seems to be unique, at least in the sense that Nephthys is shown independently in such a scene, and not merely as a partner of Isis. Yet the literary tradition supports the idea; for in the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys* Osiris is 'the Bull of the Two Sisters'.⁵⁰

At this point it may be objected that the sexual motif of the two scenes with the alighting female falcon is thoroughly unsuited to our material since the deceased is herself female. Such an objection must face the fact that a traditional funerary theme is being followed without regard to the individual particularities of the deceased person. Indeed the constant identification of the deceased, whether male or female, with Osiris sustains the approach; for only in a minority of cases was the female deceased identified with Hathor instead.⁵¹ In both our relevant scenes the goddesses are figured twice: each is identified with the alighting falcon, but each is also shown standing near the lion bier in human form. This is entirely in accord with the tradition. In a relief from the temple of Sethos I at Abydos Isis is named as the falcon and also as the goddess standing at the head of Osiris.⁵² A relief from the temple of Dendera which was completed under Cleopatra VII⁵³ shows both Isis and Nephthys at the ends of the bier, but the identity of the alighting female falcon is not given. This representation is the one that approaches our paintings most closely, the difference being that in these depictions

⁴⁷ See A. Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 743.

⁴⁸ H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 40 and 356 n. 15 with fig. 18; E. Otto (tr. K. Bosse-Griffiths), *Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon* (London, 1968), 60 with fig. 5; 69 with pls. 16–20, including instances from the Ptolemaic era: cf. M. A. Leahy, *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 424–34 and Bonnet, *Bilder-atlas*, 150.

⁴⁹ Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* 19 (358 D) and my comm. ad loc. 353 f.
⁵⁰ *K: n snty*: P. Bremner-Rhind ed. Faulkner, 2, 6, a text of the fourth century BC. See Faulkner's translation in *JEA* 22 (1936), 121 ff., this locus on p. 123. Isis and Nephthys proceed to urge Osiris, *Consort thou with us after the manner of a male*. Cf. *snt ntr*, 'sister of the god', seen by me with a depiction of Nephthys inside a coffin at Truro; on the mummy see P. H. K. Gray, *JEA* 56 (1970), 132 ff.

⁵¹ This occurs in the Graeco-Roman era. See S. Morenz in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine*, ed. Ph. Derchain (Paris, 1969), 81, where the phrase 'nicht selten' is used. In his n. 3 Morenz refers to an example of 'Osiris-Hathor' from Hermopolis (third century BC)—a case without parallel. For an example of the female dead being represented as Osiris see Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 161 with pl. 13, 1. The transcendence of sexuality in religion recalls the idea that, although the Buddha is male, the spiritual being called the Bodhisattva may be male or female; and these beings could be identified with Hindu deities: see T. Ling, *The Buddha* (Harmondsworth, 1976), 243 f.

⁵² E. Otto, *Egyptian Art and the Cults of Osiris and Amon* (1968), pl. 17.

⁵³ Op. cit. pl. 20 with p. 69.

the goddesses are shown in separate scenes—a principle repeated later in the series. In the Dendera relief the goddesses are shown in flimsy dresses, although with crowns, wigs, and necklaces; the Ptolemaic style and treatment, including the kneeling posture, is certainly more free than those of the Pharaonic convention. Yet the closest parallels to the goddesses in our paintings, with their crowns, long wigs, necklaces, and flowing dresses, come from the Roman era.⁵⁴

Another common type of representation which concerns the recumbent Osiris-mummy on the lion bier and a bird which hovers or descends above it is the one where the *ba*-bird is involved. A spell in the Book of the Dead (*BD* 89) is called a *Spell for Causing the Ba to Unite with its Body*, and concomitant vignettes show the *ba* alighting on the body or embracing it. In one instance⁵⁵ Isis and Nephthys are shown as falcons at the head and feet of the mummy. An example from the Roman era occurs in the lowest register on the cartonnage case of Artemidorus from Hawara, of the second century AD.⁵⁶ There is some variety in these representations,⁵⁷ but in all of them the *ba* has the form of a human-headed bird.⁵⁸ There can, therefore, be no doubt that the descending falcon in our paintings has nothing to do with the *ba*; for it is definitely not human-headed. It clearly belongs to the iconographical tradition which we have outlined. On the other hand, there may perhaps be a possibility of reinterpretation. By Ptolemaic and Roman times the Greek concept⁵⁹ of the soul, *psyche*, as a bird may have sometimes merged with Egyptian ideas,⁶⁰ and the falcon of the paintings may have been thus interpreted, with the result that the original theme of sexual revival became atrophied. But this is a change of meaning that cannot be firmly established.

4. *Psychostasia, with the female deceased, Thoth, and Horus*. W 651 (see pl. XXIV, 2). 24.8 cm h. × 22 cm w. The deceased, a female, is shown with her right hand raised in adoration while her left hand is lowered in a gesture of abject appeal and almost touches the right arm of Thoth.⁶¹ She is concerned about a scene where her heart is being weighed in a balance against a figure of the goddess Ma'at. Unlike all the other persons shown here, the deceased is depicted frontally; the others are shown in profile

⁵⁴ Cf. Parlasca, op. cit. pl. 13, 2 (second register); Grimm, *Kunst der Ptolemäer- und Römerzeit*, pl. 79 (late Ptolemaic-early Roman); id., *Mumienmasken*, pl. A (opp. p. 46): cf. pl. 3, 4.

⁵⁵ Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (BM Handbook, 1920, repr. 1933), 39.

⁵⁶ A. F. Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* (1972), 26 with pl. 19.

⁵⁷ Wessetzky in *Bull. Mus. Hong. des Beaux-Arts*, 42 (1974), 7 with pls. 4 and 5; cf. Posener, *Dict. of Egyptian Civilization* (London, 1962), 267 with fig. (Ramesside); O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Cat. des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens* (Copenhagen, 1951), 34 with pl. 76, where the *ba*-bird appears in a small shrine (Late Period). See too the valuable survey 'The Ba in Pictorial Representations' by L. V. Žabkar in his *A Study of the Ba in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (Chicago, 1948), 143 ff. For a recently published instance see J. Bourriau in *JEA* 64 (1978), 126, no. 89 with pl. 22, 4 (Ptolemaic).

⁵⁸ Cf. Žabkar, op. cit. 147.

⁵⁹ Actually well-nigh universal: see A. Bertholet rev. K. Goldammer, *Wb. der Religionen* (3rd edn., Stuttgart, 1976), 536; but the Greek world is the likely area of influence here.

⁶⁰ Cf. Brunner-Traut, *Gelebte Mythen* (1981), 64: 'Der Ba entspricht fast genau der griechischen Psyche . . .'. A rare combination of *ba* and falcon occurs on a miniature wooden effigy of Tutankhamun: see Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (1972), 10.

⁶¹ Cf. Seeber, 89, fig. 27 = Abb. 13 (with Horus leading on), though the right arm is here raised across the breast to touch the left shoulder.

following the traditional Egyptian manner. Her Greek frontality is matched by her Greek coiffure and dress. She is wearing a long flowing dress. Above it, near the neckline, is a heavy necklace of dark colour which is adorned with a series of oval-shaped decorations of lighter hue.

Two deities, Thoth and Horus, are shown handling the balance; Thoth attends to the scale on the left which contains a rather large heart-sign; the cross-like upper appendage is really that of F 35 (Gardiner, 'heart and windpipe'). In the other scale, attended to by Horus, is a partly damaged figure of the goddess Ma'at and, on her head, where one expects to find the feather, damage has blurred the depiction. The whole treatment of the balance shows a crudely daring bravura; a big lotus capital crowns the head of the central pivot, and the sweeping lines of the beam end in flowering papyrus plants. There are other examples of the papyrus motif in the delineation of both centre pivot and beam, and it is noteworthy that the representation of the beam as papyrus stalks and also the general style of the treatment here have their nearest parallel in a depiction of the Roman era now in Berlin.⁶² Papyrus designs may well reflect a benign symbolism emanating from *w3d*, 'to flourish'. Our artist has clearly luxuriated in the tradition, and he alone seems to provide the lotus capital,⁶³ whereon he locates a seated Thoth-baboon. Elsewhere Thoth sits on a papyrus stalk.⁶⁴ Here he has a moon-disk on his head, and his body flaunts a design intended to convey a baboon's furry skin.

In his other appearance, handling the balance, Thoth again has a moon-disk on his head, but his form now is human save for the ibis-head. Both roles of Thoth are prominent in the pictorial tradition of the psychostasia. In the Eighteenth Dynasty he appears in his baboon form in close proximity to the balance,⁶⁵ but in the Twenty-first Dynasty and later it is in his ibis-form that he appears in this position, often now as a recording scribe. In the Ptolemaic era he appears frequently as the baboon seated on the central pivot,⁶⁶ a function assigned to him also in the Twenty-first Dynasty.⁶⁷ It persists into the Roman era.⁶⁸

Horus is depicted wearing the Double Crown. His action in handling the balance is exemplified in the Eighteenth and Twenty-first Dynasties,⁶⁹ but Anubis becomes prominent in the role in the Ramesside era.⁷⁰ Ptolemaic examples show Horus and Anubis sharing the function,⁷¹ and the combination is attested too in the Roman

⁶² Seeber, 68 and 70, with examples from the Late Period. For the parallel in Roman times see Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 137, 2.

⁶³ Lotus buds are sometimes shown on small figures of the deceased as symbols of rebirth: see Seeber, 102 and 105.

⁶⁴ Seeber, 68 with Abb. 26.

⁶⁵ Seeber, Abb. 1 and 3 and pp. 32 ff.; also pp. 237 ff.; cf. Abb. 8 (Nineteenth Dynasty).

⁶⁶ Op. cit. Abb. 23-6.

⁶⁷ Op. cit. Abb. 5, 6, 14, 18.

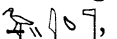

⁶⁸ Op. cit. Abb. 27; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 137, 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, pl. 58, 2; op. cit. 158, Abb. 8 = fig. 1 above (Ptolemaic or early Imperial), where Thoth not only handles the balance but also records the result, as well as appearing as a small baboon on the pivot; this example shows the beam, in addition, as a papyrus stalk.

⁶⁹ Seeber, Abb. 4, 5, 6.

⁷⁰ Op. cit. Abb. 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 (Nineteenth-Twenty-first Dynasties).

⁷¹ Op. cit. Abb. 23-6.

era.⁷² It is significant that the grouping of Thoth and Horus in this function, as our picture shows them, occurs in the Roman era,⁷³ and not apparently before that.⁷⁴

Above the figure of Horus is written his name, *Hr*, by means of the ideogram of the falcon with flagellum (G 6). Above the figure near the balance is written his name *Dhwtj*, , where the ibis (G 26)⁷⁵ is written into the left papyrus flower with the *y* just below it, and the penultimate sign probably has the value *t*, though it might be expected to precede the previous sign.⁷⁶ The *ntr*-sign determinative is commonly used with names of gods, and it occurs also in the form of *Dhwtj* which is written to the left of the shape of Thoth as baboon above the balance. This form, , is found in the Late Period.⁷⁷ There follow four horizontal figures facing upwards; they represent the four sons of Horus, with the heads respectively of jackal, ape, man, and falcon; hence Duamutef, Hapy, Iemsety, and Qebehsenuf. The subsequent *ntr*-sign qualifies them all. We have encountered this tetrad in their Canopic function under the lion-bier. In a judgement scene their role is partly to defend the deceased, with whom they are sometimes identified (not illogically in view of their Canopic function), and partly to uphold the judicial standing of the court as gods in the following of Osiris.⁷⁸ If a contradiction seems to emerge here, it is at least consonant with the duality which marks Osiris himself. Pictorially they are often shown in a judgement scene standing on a lotus flower and thus symbolizing rebirth after death.⁷⁹ In our context, where they are named after Thoth, it is their judicial function that is apparent.


It may be noted that the head of the baboon-figure of Thoth above the lotus flower which crowns the central pivot of the balance is adorned with a moon-disk. In this position the god is not often thus depicted,⁸⁰ but the moon-disk is a frequent attribute

⁷² Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 111, 3; Brunner-Traut, *Gelebte Mythen*, fig. on p. 76 (from a tomb-painting of the second century AD in Akhmîm).

⁷³ Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 137, 2; Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 158, Abb. 8 and pl. 58, 2; Seeber, 52, fig. 4 (second-third century AD).

⁷⁴ Thoth and Horus are grouped together previously, but usually with Thoth as recorder and not with both in charge of the balance: see Seeber, 237, 240 (they share the communication of the result). On p. 242, which includes the Roman era, 'Waage mit Anubis und Horus' should be expanded to 'oder mit Thot und Horus'. For a further Roman instance of Thoth and Horus handling the balance, see W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period* (Toronto, 1973), 12 with pl. 7, where Thoth is likewise on the left of the balance, and Horus on the right; the beam here too has the papyrus motif. Miss Needler tends to a date in the third century AD. The role of Thoth in judgement doubtless contributed to his importance as *cr cr wr* and Hermes Trismegistus; cf. my comm. *ad* Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 439.

⁷⁵ Cf. Möller, *Pal.* III, 19, nos. 207 and 207B, but with a nearer approximation in II, 18, 2078 (abbreviated form).

⁷⁶ Cf. the writing of *3st* in 2 and Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 78 (284 a). Less likely is the possibility that we have here a small form of .

⁷⁷ Cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 324, where the falcon determinative is of course equivalent to the *ntr*-sign. Variants of the ibis-sign provide the common reading of the god's name in the Graeco-Roman temples at Edfu and Philae.

⁷⁸ Seeber, 130 f., with attention to both texts and iconography. Identity with the deceased is implied by the form 'Osiris Iemsety': cf. E. Varga, *Bull. Mus. Hong.* 51 (1978), 50 n. 17 with fig. 45.

⁷⁹ Cf. Seeber, 131, where the P. Rhind (of the Roman Period) is shown to portray them as witnesses and pleaders on behalf of the deceased.

⁸⁰ Cf. Seeber, Abb. 18 (Twenty-first Dynasty). In Abb. 2 (Twenty-first Dynasty) he is similarly equipped but on the left of the balance; see also *op. cit.* 72, fig. 18 (Twenty-first Dynasty).

of his in both ibis and ape forms.⁸¹ On the right of this figure is a description of Thoth as $\cup \text{X} \circ \otimes$, *nb Hmnw*, 'Lord of Hermopolis'. Here the upper half of the chiasmic figure surmounted by rams' heads has a horizontal connecting line.⁸² Probably the figure represents four intertwined ram-headed⁸³ snakes, and it has been argued with some cogency that it originated as a mode of writing the name of Thoth, in the sense of 'he of Khemenu'.⁸⁴

Above the figure of the deceased is given her name. It occurs four times and is discussed in 5 below.

5. *Presentation of the deceased by Anubis to Osiris-Sokar* W 653 (see pl. XXV, 1). 22.8 cm h. × 20.4 cm w. The remaining scenes are all concerned with the triumphant result of the psychostasia. In this scene the whole process is conveyed in a shortened form, whereas the following scenes supply additional details. On the left the figure of the deceased, still frontally conveyed, has her right hand upraised and her left hand lowered to clasp the left hand of Anubis, who is the central figure. The god's right hand is upraised in a mode similar to that of the deceased—a gesture of veneration before the presiding deity—and the result is to give him the unusual feat of crossed arms. It is noticeable that the figure of Anubis, unlike the others, is shown as black for the most part, with the exception of his wig and kilt, the latter being equipped with the long tail of royal or divine dress and a belt or girdle with the ends hanging down. A falcon-head and wig mark the figure of Osiris-Sokar, which is partly damaged; he is wearing the *atef*-crown, and his hands are grasping the *was*-sceptre with the Seth-animal as its top.⁸⁵ Vertically above Anubis we read $\downarrow \square \uparrow$, *Inp*, 'Anubis', followed on the right by $\text{Z} \text{N} \text{Z}$ *hnty sh-ntr* . . . *rp* 'he who is in front of the god's booth . . .'. This is an ancient epithet of Anubis, and the writing of *hnty* in this form begins in the Late Period;⁸⁶ the expression probably alludes to the embalming-tent in which Anubis, the embalmer *par excellence*, attends to the dead Osiris; the latter is presumably *the god* referred to.⁸⁷ It is Anubis, however, that bears the epithet; in the Ptolemaic era it is transferred to

⁸¹ C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden, 1973), 110; Seeber, 149, with many examples.

⁸² It is less likely to be a \circ in a late writing of *nb* as \cup (*Wb.* II, 227): cf. the form of this sign in the writing of *Hmnw*. Another possibility is that *n* is meant, although *nb n* is 'ungewöhnlich' (*Wb.* II, 227).

⁸³ However, *Wb.* III, 283, 2 represents the heads as bowls (W 24). Rams' heads are shown in Brugsch, *Dict. géog.* 749 and Gauthier, *Dict. géog.* IV, 176, who also refers to the final \circ ('et avec le \circ final des noms de lieux'). See also Parlebas in our n. 84.

⁸⁴ J. Parlebas, *SAK* 4 (1976), 273–5. For the writing of the place-name in the manner of our text cf. *Edfou*, IV, 14, 8, cited by Parlebas; but in VI, 62, 9 it is written $\downarrow \square \uparrow$.

⁸⁵ That Osiris can be depicted with the *was*-sceptre joined to the crook and flail, and all held together, is shown by G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Wien, 1978), 69 with pl. 5.

⁸⁶ *Wb.* III, 304 and 305, 18.

⁸⁷ Kees in Bonnet, *RÄRG* 43. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 21, points out that the title is occasionally borne by Thoth: see also her remarks in *LÄ I* (1975), 328. Cf. my *Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 60 f.; H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 170, with a ref. to the 'Gotteshalle des Anubis'. *Wb.* III, 465, apparently takes the *ntr* to refer to Anubis, but goes on to say, 'die Halle, in der Anubis den Osiris reinigt und balsamiert', so that *ntr* may well refer to Osiris.

Osiris,⁸⁸ as on the statue of Sennu (temp. Ptolemy II Philadelphus), where the very same writing as in our text occurs.⁸⁹ Below the left hand of the deceased, but perhaps with reference to Anubis (cf. the arrangement in 2 and 3) we read $\ominus \overset{\curvearrowright}{\text{rdi}}$,⁹⁰ 'he who bestows', followed by three unclear signs which should perhaps be read $\text{c}nh$, \underline{dd} , $w\text{3}s$, 'life, stability, power'.⁹¹ A sign for t or hr follows; then a falcon and seated jackal or dog are grouped above a lotus flower⁹² which is elevated above a curved base. The jackal is doubtless Anubis, and he often faces a falcon on Roman funerary monuments from Egypt.⁹³

Above the figure of the deceased and immediately below the canopy of the pt -sign is written the name of the deceased. It also occurs in 4, 6, and 7. Here the form is well-written: $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆒} \text{𓆓} \text{𓆔} \text{𓆕}$. The version in 6 is incomplete. Otherwise variations are slight. In 6 and 7 the initial element is given as 𓆎 ; in 7 the seated-woman determinative is omitted before the snake. Since the name ends with the determinative of an honoured lady holding a flower (B7), there is unusually a double female determinative, but this serves the purpose of denoting a female who yet bears the name of a goddess. At first one might be disposed to read the first element as Ti -, a well-attested name in Egyptian,⁹⁴ but the spelling is found several times with a feminine name $\underline{T}hn(t)$ which is attested in the Late Period and afterwards.⁹⁵ It is also found with masculine endings in the New Kingdom and Graeco-Roman Period.⁹⁶ Ranke does not here append a translation, but one is not far to seek. The object which the sign (S 15) represents is a pendant of faience pearls, and $\underline{t}hnt$ is used of green-blue faience.⁹⁷ It is only in a later form of the sign that the pt -element tops the pendant, and it is explained as 'the heaven that is gleaming or radiant'.⁹⁸ Such is the meaning of the root verb $\underline{t}hn$: and $\text{Ḥ}a\text{ḥ}o\text{r}$ is said to love the gleaming faience.⁹⁹ $\underline{T}hny$, 'the gleaming one', is an epithet of the sun-god, but in the Late Period $\underline{T}hnt$ is used of a goddess, especially $\text{Ḥ}a\text{ḥ}o\text{r}$.¹⁰⁰ It seems very likely that our deceased female, Tjehent, 'The gleaming one', has been given a name which recalls the goddess $\text{Ḥ}a\text{ḥ}o\text{r}$. A form with a serpent-determinative is cited for the

⁸⁸ *Wb.* III, 465, 4. It may indeed apply to Osiris-Sokar here, as Dr A. B. Lloyd suggests. If the \square be taken as a truncated 𓆎 , the reading may be $hnty sh-ntr Wsir$ [*Skr*].

⁸⁹ *Urk.* II, 63, 11: cf. v (1937, repr. 1962), 132; J. Quaegebeur, *BIFAO* 69 (1971), 215 and in *Das ptolemäische Ägypten*, eds. H. Maehler and V. M. Stroka (Mainz, 1978), 249.

⁹⁰ For the Late writing with t see *Wb.* II, 464.

⁹¹ Cf. Gardiner, *Gr.* 559; *Wb.* I, 197, 10. The first sign may possibly be $t\text{it}$ (V 39), 'welfare': cf. Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 124, 2, where it occurs with \underline{dd} .

⁹² Cf. Brunner-Traut, 'Lotos', in *LÄ* III (1980), 1094, for its frequent use in a way that is both decorative and symbolic.

⁹³ F. A. Hooper, *Funerary Stelae from Kom Abou Billou* (Ann Arbor, 1961), 23.

⁹⁴ Ranke, *PN* I, 377 f., where examples include compounds such as $Ti-m-hb$: cf. M. A. A. Nur El-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden, 1974), 555.

⁹⁵ Ranke, *PN* I, 393, 16.

⁹⁶ *Op. cit.* 18 and 19, $\underline{T}hny$ and $\underline{T}hnw$ (?). A compound in 17, $\underline{T}hn-biw\text{3}w$ (?), may mean 'There gleam the minerals of Nubia' (Wawat).


⁹⁷ *Wb.* v, 390, 9: cf. Gardiner, *Gr.* 505.

⁹⁸ *Wb.* v, 390, 10: cf. Möller, *Pal.* III, 40, 417, a closer approximation than earlier forms.



⁹⁹ *Wb.* v, 391, 14 (Gr.): cf. Junker and Winter, *Geburtshaus* (Vienna, 1965), 300 f., l. 10. F. Daumas, *Les Mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Paris, 1958), 213, 229, and 353, instances the use of the term to refer to various glittering substances.

¹⁰⁰ *Wb.* v, 394, 1 and 2.

Graeco-Roman era, exactly as in our text. Whereas the erect uraeus (I 12 and 13) occurs commonly as a determinative for goddesses,¹⁰¹ the snake in movement (I 14 and 15),¹⁰² which is the form used in the present name, must denote a snake deity. Ḥathor and Ḥathor-Isis had affinities with several snake-deities, especially with Wadjet¹⁰³ and Renenutet.¹⁰⁴

Another possible reading of the name is suggested to me by Dr Alan B. Lloyd: he would read *Tš(-nt)-šy* which he would interpret as 'She who belongs to the Agathodaimon'. He cites *Wb.* iv, 404, 4 ff., rightly remarking that the snake determinative suits very well. Such a reading views the middle hieroglyph as . A simplified hieratic form is indicated by the five writings, and they are rather ambiguous: if they lack the broad pool which is the base of the *šy*-sign, they also lack the *pt*-sign which is sometimes found with *thn*; the verticals in 4 suggest flowering plants, but in 5, 6, 7, and 8 they are forked verticals very close to Möller's no. 417 (the *thn*-sign). *Tš-šy* as a name is not at first so richly attested as *Thnt*: Ranke, *PN* 1, 367, 19, cites one example after some of *Tš-š* (?); they are of the Late Period (his 'spät' does not include the Graeco-Roman Period). J. Quaegebeur *Le Dieu égyptien Shaï* (Leuven, 1975), 241, discusses these, and also points to a name *Tš-š* on a stela of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but in this case he doubts whether the god Shaï is meant. He provides many instances of Greek names comprising *Ti* followed by the god's name (see his p. 343), but it is noteworthy that his Index of hieroglyphic and hieratic writings of Shaï (pp. 276 f.) shows that the great majority end with *y* or *w*.

6. *Presentation of the deceased by Anubis to Osiris-Sokar and Isis.* W 652 (see pl. XXV, 2). 25 cm h. × 23.2 cm w. The deceased is shown in the same posture as in 5. Anubis is again shown standing before Osiris-Sokar, but this time his left hand is raised to touch the upraised hand of the deceased, so that for the moment his attention is focussed entirely on the deceased. A few minor differences mark the form of Anubis here: his wig now shows striations and the upper addition to his kilt has a pattern of crossed lines in the style of divine waistcoats. The figure of Osiris-Sokar brings out, in this case, clearer depictions of his *atef*-crown and *was*-sceptre. Behind him stands an additional figure, that of Isis, recognizable by her head-dress; she raises her right hand to touch the back of the god's wig in a gesture of protection.

Above the figure of the deceased is an incomplete form of her name, ; the determinatives have disappeared, but the reading *Thnt* is still clear below a part of the *pt*-sign. Above Anubis we read his name, *Inp*, as in 5; but this time there is added , *nb tš dšr*, 'Lord of the Necropolis', a stock title of the god.¹⁰⁵ Below him is a repetition of words found in the same position in 5, *rdi dd wdš cnh*, 'who bestows stability, prosperity, life', with a slight variation in the last three words. The line ends in the same way as the parallel in 5. Above Anubis, however, are words that seem to apply to the deceased, continuing the horizontal plane which begins with the name of the

¹⁰¹ Gardiner, *Gr.* 476.

¹⁰² For the difference in late hieratic, see Möller, *Pal.* III, 23, nos. 245 and 248.

¹⁰³ See my *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (1970), 337.

¹⁰⁴ J. Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet* (Assen, 1971), 25 ff. with cover-picture.

¹⁰⁵ For the ending of *dšr* cf. *Wb.* v, 228, 9.

deceased. Beneath this level, but apparently connected with it, is the phrase, $\overset{\circ}{\text{t}} \overset{\circ}{\text{t}}$, *tît hmt*, 'image (or model) of a wife'; cf. the use of *tît* with reference to a dead person who retains his earlier form;¹⁰⁶ and the phrases *tît nfrt*, 'beautiful image' and *tît dsrt*, 'sacred image', as designations of goddesses.¹⁰⁷ She is described in the line above this as *wr(t) Thmt* the elder¹⁰⁸ Tjehent, perhaps to distinguish her from a daughter of the same name. Above Isis are the words $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆐}$, *3st wrt*, 'Isis the Great'; cf. the same phrase in 2 and 7. Below, and flanking Osiris-Sokar, are the words *ntr ʿ3*, in which ʿ3 is written unevenly and horizontally across the first sign;¹⁰⁹ then $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆒}$, *m štyt*, a phrase which perhaps refers originally to the Memphite shrine of Sokar-Osiris in Rosetaw.¹¹⁰

7. *Appearance of the deceased before Osiris-Sokar and Isis.* W 652 (see pl. XXVI, 1). 25 cm h. × 23.2 cm w. In this scene Anubis is no longer conducting the deceased. Holding her left hand forward and downward in a gesture of humility, she stands alone before Osiris-Sokar, who is accompanied by Isis. The deceased raises her right hand towards the god in homage. The god here regarded as the presiding judge at the tribunal is seated on a stately throne which is adorned with three types of decoration: (1) the upper part has a pattern of feathers, often found on the sides of thrones from the Eighteenth Dynasty down to the Graeco-Roman era;¹¹¹ (2) a rectangular space in the lower right corner is segregated to show a rosette design;¹¹² (3) the narrow base of the throne, on which the god's feet rest, is adorned with a row of four shrines, perhaps of the *kʿri*-type,¹¹³ each enclosing a *shm*-sign (?). The third shrine from the left is slightly larger than the others, and an upright sign, possibly a *djed*,¹¹⁴ occupies each space between

¹⁰⁶ *Wb.* v, 239, 19.

¹⁰⁷ *Wb.* v, 239, 22. *Tît hmt* may apply to Isis here, as a brief appendix to the words applied to her on the top right—a suggestion I owe to Dr Lloyd. The direction of the writing agrees with that. On the other hand, the words appear above Anubis, and they would suit his action in presenting the deceased with a word of praise.

¹⁰⁸ This meaning of *wr* is frequent: cf. Faulkner, *Concise Dict.* 63. The sign of the moving legs (D 54) is unexpected in the writing; it occurs in 2 in the writing of *sš*, but *wrt* is correctly written later in the line, of Isis. Dr Lloyd reads the group as *Wp-wʿwt*, taking it as an epithet of Anubis.

¹⁰⁹ For this type of writing, though without this particular combination, see Fairman on 'Composite Signs', *BIFAO* 43, 117 ff. The phrase is often used of Osiris: cf. *Wb.* III, 361, 2.

¹¹⁰ *Wb.* IV, 559, 11; cf. Gardiner, *Gr.* 524 on V 19; for the form of *m* cf. Möller, *Pal.* III, 18, no. 196 and II, 17, no. 196. On the location of *Shetjyt* see also Gaballa and Kitchen, 'The Festival of Sokar', *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 46.

¹¹¹ Petrie, *Egyptian Decorative Art* (London, 1895), 52 f.: cf. P. Fořtová-Šámalová, *Egyptian Ornament* (London, 1963), pl. 38, no. 129 (tomb of Rekhmirê); C. F. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* (London, 1965), pl. 72, facing p. 145; Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1972), 25 (the King on his throne).

¹¹² Petrie, op. cit. 57, fig. 102; Fořtová-Šámalová, op. cit. pl. 49, nos. 157, 158. A similar segregated rectangle occurs in Nims, loc. cit., but the design there concerns Uniting the Two Lands (*smʿ tʿwvy*), a common motif on the sides of thrones: cf. C. Aldred, *The Development of Ancient Egyptian Art* (London, 1962), pls. 47 (Sesostris II) and 64 (Ammenemes III); Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 116 with pl. 129, 2, from Minet el-Bassal, Alexandria (early third century AD). The throne of Osiris as judge often has the motif of Uniting the Two Lands in this place: see Seeber, Abb. 19, 23, 24, 25, 26; and the upper part of our design also suggests this origin.

¹¹³ Or possibly of the type in O 20 or O 21; a projecting roof is indicated. The *kʿri*-shrine is sometimes the kind transported in barques, which would suit Sokar: cf. *Wb.* v, 108, 2; Gaballa and Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 54 ff. with pl. 1.

¹¹⁴ The last shrine has a sign which resembles the reed (M 17). But cf. Petrie, op. cit. 95, fig. 175, for the intervening *djed*-signs.

the shrines and also to the left of the first one.¹¹⁵ Osiris-Sokar here holds the Osirian crook and flail, and only here are these attributes displayed—a suggestion, perhaps, that Osiris is, after all, the traditional judge. Behind the seated god stands Isis, the throne-sign resting on a basket-base; her right hand is raised protectively behind the god's shoulder.

The deceased's name is finely written here, and the final determinative, a seated diademed woman holding a flower, is clearer than elsewhere. Three strokes, however, instead of two, follow the initial \mathfrak{h} , which has the value of t .¹¹⁶ Above the seated god we read $\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{r}$, *Wsr-Skr*, 'Osiris-Sokar'. Only in two of his four appearances is this deity named: here and in 8; and in both instances his name takes this form. Above Isis, to the right, are the words $\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{t}$, *3st wrt snt*, 'Isis the Great, the Sister'. The spelling of *snt* includes z for s . What follows in the resumption below is more puzzling: $\mathfrak{m}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{r}\mathfrak{w}$, *Mn-hpr(w)*, *nb mrwt*, '(of) Men-kheperu, Lord of Love'. The phrase *nb mrwt* is used of several gods,¹¹⁷ and especially of Osiris, as in *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, 8, 13, where he is called 'the husband, brother, Lord of Love'.¹¹⁸ Here, however, the phrase is applied to Men-kheper, which is found as a common personal name in the New Kingdom;¹¹⁹ we would expect a name of Osiris, such as Wenen-nefer (Onnophris).¹²⁰ Probably the phrase used here is *Mn-hprw*, 'enduring in forms', and may be compared with the epithet applied to Osiris in the *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, 16, 19: 'Endure, endure, in thy name of Enduring One', where the verb, used three times, is, however, *dd*.¹²¹

To revert to the form and significance of Osiris-Sokar, it is at once clear that such a form is less common than Sokar-Osiris. Osiris-Sokar occurs in the New Kingdom,¹²² but it becomes fairly frequent only in the Graeco-Roman era.¹²³ In general Sokar becomes thoroughly Osirianized after the New Kingdom—'little more than a name or aspect of Osiris'.¹²⁴ This is reflected in three types of names: Ptaḥ-Sokar-Osiris, Sokar-Osiris, and Osiris-Sokar, especially of course the last two, the variation of which is paralleled by Apis-Osiris and Osiris-Apis, though without the distinction that originally demarked those names—the living Apis and the dead Apis.¹²⁵ It is true that Sokar preserves his independence of nomenclature in the 'Ritual of bringing in Sokar',

¹¹⁵ The general arrangement is paralleled in the realities of architecture in the Roman era: cf. F. Dumas in C. Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, 15, Berlin, 1975), 210, on the façade of the Ḥathor-temple of Dendera, with pl. 108.

¹¹⁶ Cf. J. Černý and Sarah I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1978), 7. The third stroke is probably for \mathfrak{s} .

¹¹⁷ *Wb.* II, 102, 8 (Rēt, Min, Harpocrates, Ḥathor).

¹¹⁸ Cf. op. cit. 3, 5; 4, 22; 12, 7; 12, 24; 14, 4; and see Faulkner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 124 ff.

¹¹⁹ Ranke, *PN* I, 150, 13; cf. p. xxiii. *Mn-hprw-Rc* is a name of Tuthmosis IV. [Or is it *mnht*? Ed.]

¹²⁰ Cf. *Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, 9, 22 and 16, 20.

¹²¹ Cf. Faulkner, op. cit. 121. Cf. too its application to Amūn in the phrase *mn m ht nbt* (Nineteenth Dynasty): *Wb.* II, 61, 5; also the phrases *mn mrwt* and *mn hswt* in *Wb.* II, 62, 22 and 23.

¹²² *BD* Naville, 141–3, 70 (*Wsr-Skry*); in 65 he is *Osiris as Sokar*.

¹²³ See Roeder in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.* IV (1909–15), 1131 s.v. Sokar.

¹²⁴ Gaballa and Kitchen, op. cit., this on p. 36.

¹²⁵ A distinction which eventually disappeared: see Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1938, repr. Hildesheim, 1964), 28.

a text of the Ptolemaic era, but the ritual itself occurs at the end of Osirian celebrations, and the text ends with the praise of Osiris.¹²⁶ In our text it is in the allusions to the sanctuary called Shetjyt that Sokar's distinctive traditions are seen; also in his falcon-headed form. As far as the judgement is concerned, Ptaḥ-Sokar-Osiris appears as the presiding judge in the Twenty-first Dynasty and the Ptolemaic era; and Sokar-Osiris in the Twenty-first Dynasty.¹²⁷ Only in our text is Osiris-Sokar, in this form of the name, present as judge. It may be noted that the scribe includes the *ntr*-sign as the determinative after the name of Osiris, as with the names of other gods.¹²⁸ In some cases a Sokar-falcon is portrayed emerging from the roof of the naos in which Osiris appears in the post-tribunal scene with the result that the naos is transformed into a hill or is depicted as part of a hill which is perhaps connected with the Shetjyt of Sokar.¹²⁹ Our paintings do not include this feature although they refer twice to the Shetjyt. The presiding god appears simply under the canopy of heaven.

8. *Appearance of the deceased before Osiris-Sokar and Nephthys*. W 654 (see pl. XXVI, 2). 24.8 cm h. × 20.9 cm w. A scene that is broadly similar to that in 7 save that Nephthys replaces Isis. The deceased holds her hands in the same way, but this time Osiris-Sokar is standing, and the *was*-sceptre which he grasps is carefully depicted. Whereas in 6 it has the normal Seth-headed top, with the outline of an *ankh*-form some way below, here it displays elaborately the elements of the triple sceptre, combining the insignia of the *was*, the *ankh*, and the *djed*. At first the Seth-head of the *was* seems to resemble the antelope-head which adorns Sokar's *henu*-barque,¹³⁰ and there may indeed be an impress of that shape. In 5 the form of the sceptre is not fully clear, although its lower end is that of the *was*, and we saw that in 6 the seated Osiris-Sokar abandons the sceptre for the crook and flail of Osiris. The triple sceptre is found with Ptaḥ,¹³¹ Khons,¹³² Khons-Thoth,¹³³ and doubtless with other gods.¹³⁴ In the temples of the Graeco-Roman era (but not before) there are many representations of the king presenting the symbols of *ankh*, *djed*, and *was* to a deity, and it has been shown that the Osirian *djed* is thought of as being protected by Shu and Tefnut, who thus symbolize life and power respectively.¹³⁵ Evidently such sophistication should not be read into our context, not even into the triadic groups which include *nh* and *dd* in 5 and 6.

¹²⁶ Faulkner, *JEA* 23 (1937), 12 ff.; cf. Gaballa and Kitchen, op. cit. 58.

¹²⁷ Seeber, 124. Osiris-Sokar appears enthroned in W. Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed of the Roman Period*, 10 with pl. 4, but not specifically in connection with the judgement. See, however, n. 181 below.

¹²⁸ Cf. A. Leahy, 'The Name of Osiris Written $\overline{\text{𓂏}}$ ', *SAK* 7 (1979), 141-9, where many examples are assembled. The usage is not distinctive of Osiris, as Leahy himself suggests on p. 143 n. 9.

¹²⁹ Seeber, 126 f. with fig. 46 and Abb. 12, 14.

¹³⁰ Cf. Gaballa and Kitchen, op. cit. pl. i. The identity of the animal on top of the sceptre has itself been debated: cf. Bonnet, *RÄRG* 840.




¹³¹ Bonnet, *Bilderatlas*, 90 (Ramesses II).

¹³² E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Vienna, 1968), pl. 11 (Ramesses III, Medinet Habu).

¹³³ Op. cit. Abb. 1, facing p. 25 (Ptolemy III, Euergetes Gate, Karnak).

¹³⁴ Bonnet, *RÄRG* 840, states that the combination is much favoured. A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten* (Munich, 1976), 171, shows that the *was*-sceptre was used especially in representations of gods. He does not seem to discuss the triple sceptre; perhaps it does not occur before the end of the New Kingdom.

¹³⁵ Winter, op. cit. 69 ff.; cf. my remarks in *JEA* 56 (1970), 228 ff.

In this scene the textual captions are brief. Above Osiris-Sokar is written the double name , *Wsir Skr*; and to the left , *m štyt*, 'in the sanctuary'; above the whole scene is the usual *pt*. Below and to the left of the figure of Tjeḥent is written her name once more: .

Tjeḥent makes five appearances in all, and a synoptic view of her properties is now desirable. In all cases she preserves her frontality, and this contributes strongly to the stylistic contrast between her and the divine figures portrayed; another factor is the keener sensitivity with which she is depicted as opposed to the rather loose treatment of the deities,¹³⁶ although Osiris-Sokar makes a more respectable impression in 7 and 8. Chronologically, frontality provides some pointers. Although Egyptian art indulges in it occasionally, as in the treatment of the Ḥathor-head, it becomes conspicuous in painting only under foreign influences, probably Greek and Near Eastern. It is after the conquest of Alexander in 332 BC that tomb-paintings in Sîwa, Tuna el-Gebel, and Alexandria show degrees of Greek influence in style and motif.¹³⁷ Frontality was a part of the process,¹³⁸ evident in Egypt from about AD 200.¹³⁹

A feature of Tjeḥent's coiffure is that the hair is parted in the middle. This is paralleled in several mummy-masks.¹⁴⁰ At the same time the hair is arranged in ordered ringlets without any suggestion of its falling loosely on to the shoulders, and on top it is gathered into a small bun-like roll. Whereas it might recall the circlet above the hair which the statue of a Ptolemaic queen displays as a base for a uraeus in the Egyptian mode,¹⁴¹ it probably has more affinity with a piece of temple sculpture of the Late Ptolemaic or Early Roman era where the statue of a woman shows the hair parted in the middle with a 'snail-like bun' crowning the back.¹⁴² Here the mode is Hellenistic and is paralleled in other ways by works of the Alexandrian school.¹⁴³ While the parting in the middle is common in the Graeco-Roman era,¹⁴⁴ the surmounting roll or circlet is also found plentifully.¹⁴⁵

¹³⁶ Cf. Needler, *op. cit.* 11. The female deceased's husband also appears in these scenes. (It is very probably her husband.)

¹³⁷ Cf. M. Müller, 'Malerei', *LÄ* III (1980), 1168–73, this in col. 1170. For the art of the Roman era in Egypt, see L. Castiglione, *Acta Ant. Hung.* 15 (1967), 107–52; also *op. cit.* 9 (1961), 209–30 (on stylistic dualism).

¹³⁸ S. Morenz in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig* 3 (1953–4), 79 points to an example on a Berlin sarcophagus (no. 12442) where Anubis is shown in the Egyptian manner, but the deceased in full frontality. He adds, however, that the Syrian goddess Qadesh is thus represented in Egypt in the New Kingdom. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 172 f., rightly wishes to widen the field of possible influence.

¹³⁹ Parlasca, *op. cit.* 173 ('seit der severischen Zeit'—AD 193–211). But he finds a tendency in this direction emanating from the Greek East and influencing Classical art in the late Hellenistic and early imperial era.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. S. Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermopolis-Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1941), pl. 51: 'Masques trouvés dans le puits de Padykam'; see also *id.*, *Chez les derniers adorateurs etc.*, facing p. 126, 'Masque de momie de femme (de face)'.

¹⁴¹ B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1963, repr. 1973), 134–5, no. 105 with pl. 98, figs. 261–2 (dated 'about 240–200 BC'); cf. 63 f. 'Head of a Goddess', no. 55 with pl. 52.

¹⁴² *Op. cit.* 180 f., no. 138 with pl. 130 ('about 50–1 BC').

¹⁴³ Antecedents could be sought in earlier Egyptian modes, it is true. A popular Egyptian mode in the Twelfth Dynasty was to part the hair in the middle: see A. C. Mace and H. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht* (New York, 1916), 45; they also refer to a tying of the end hair at the back.

¹⁴⁴ Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 108 with pl. 6, 2, an example in which the hair reaches a lower point;

In 6 Tjeḥent appears to be shown wearing ear-rings; there is not enough detail, naturally, to indicate the kind. In the New Kingdom and afterwards ear-rings were a well-known feature of personal decoration in Egypt with both females and males.¹⁴⁶ They were known also to Greeks¹⁴⁷ and Romans;¹⁴⁸ and they often appear in the funerary material from Egypt in the Graeco-Roman era.¹⁴⁹ No clear indications of origin or chronology emerge.

Above the neckline of her dress, or impinging on it, Tjeḥent wears in all five appearances a dark, heavy necklace which is lightened by a series of oval-shaped decorations intended to suggest white pearls. In 4 they give the impression of being attached to pendants, but on closer scrutiny these latter objects are seen to be bracelets on the upraised right arm. Depictions of necklaces are so numerous in portraits of women on coffins, masks, and shrouds that it would be superfluous to cite examples. They are often in double or triple formation, and their elaboration varies.¹⁵⁰ As for bracelets, they are visible in 4, 5, and 7 on the right arm; and on the left arm in 6, 7, and 8. A serpent motif is suggested by those on the left arm in 7. The form of a bracelet lent itself readily to such a motif,¹⁵¹ but details of this kind could not be easily conveyed in our paintings.

The main item of dress is the long *chiton* or tunic which reaches to the calves of the legs. In 5 the left arm appears to show a sleeve reaching to near the elbow: cf. 7. Such a dress is sometimes accompanied by an upper garment, the *himation* or cloak, but here only the *chiton* appears. The contrast between this mode and that of the Egyptian

207 n. 74 with pl. G (near p. 169), dated to after AD 350; 102 with pl. 15, 1 (mid-first century AD); 130 f. with pl. 32, 2 (mid-second century AD); 185 with pl. 43, 2 (end of second century AD); 185 with pl. 34, 1 (end of second century AD). See also Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 92, 1-4 and 93, 1-3, including two examples from Tuna el-Gebel.

¹⁴⁵ Parlasca, op. cit. pl. 51, 1 (third-fourth centuries AD?) comes close to our type: cf. his remarks on p. 198 f. and 200; also Needler, op. cit. 19 with pls. 8-9, 12, a coiffure described (p. 19) as having 'a centre part and tight waves drawn to the back of the head'; third-fourth centuries AD is the date proposed. See too the examples in C. C. Edgar, *Graeco-Egyptian Coffins, Masks and Portraits* (CCG 1905), nos. 33,151, 33,152 (both on pl. 20); 33,153 (pl. 21); 33,164 (pl. 23); 33,165 (pl. 24); 33,168 (pl. 24); 33,176, 33,180, 33,181 (three on pl. 25). On p. vi Edgar would date the heads on his pl. 24 to the middle of the second century AD or the beginning of the third, basing his view on the style of coiffure then fashionable as indicated by the 'coin portraits of the Empresses'; he thinks that the knot at the back of the head became 'large and flat' in the later examples. On no. 33,180 (pl. 25) he states on p. viii that 'the coiffure resembles that of the elder Faustina' (wife of Antoninus Pius); here the surrounding coil is large and flat. For the bust of Faustina the Elder in the Louvre, see Mary G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Costume* (2nd edn., London, 1947), 115-16, fig. 129 f. Grimm, op. cit. 63, advises caution in these matters, for the period in which a fashion continues to be influential is not easy to define, but he accepts the influence of the Faustina-style on a coiffure from Tuna el-Gebel (his pl. 86, 4, with locks raised elaborately at the back).

¹⁴⁶ C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), 142; A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 44. Tutankhamun wears one in Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), pl. 1.

¹⁴⁷ E. B. Abrahams, *Greek Dress* (London, 1908), 29 and 125.

¹⁴⁸ L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore, 1938), 34. They were not worn by men: see also 'Inaures' by von Netoliczka in *RE* (1914), 1229-41.

¹⁴⁹ e.g. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, pl. 14, 1 and 2; pl. 15, 1 (the Cambridge 'Hermione') and 15, 2; pl. 43, 2; pl. G near p. 169; Needler, *An Egyptian Funerary Bed*, pls. 8 and 12 with p. 19.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. E. Feucht, 'Halsschmuck', *LÄ* II (1977), 933-5; Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt*, 14 f.

¹⁵¹ Cf. M. Vilimková, *Altägyptische Goldschmiedekunst* (Prague, 1969), pls. 86 and 87, two examples from the first century AD: see also S. Wenig in *LÄ* I (1975), 441-3 ('Arm- und Fußbreife').

tradition is well illustrated by the pictures of the female deceased in House 21 at Tuna el-Gebel, where she is sometimes shown in the close-fitting Egyptian dress with wig,¹⁵² and in another instance in a Graeco-Roman tunic and cloak with freely flowing hair.¹⁵³ Tjeḥent's dress differs, however, from the latter model in that in each case there are long lines at the sides coloured in light-reddish hue and extending from neck to base. These indicate stripes¹⁵⁴ which were woven into the garment—the *clavi* which were a feature of Roman costume.¹⁵⁵ A mummy-mask dated by Grimm to pre-Flavian times (i.e. before AD 70) shows dark *clavi* on a reddish dress;¹⁵⁶ in this case the stripes run down the central part of the dress, roughly in line with the breasts;¹⁵⁷ in our paintings they are located rather on the outer sides of the dress.¹⁵⁸ Beyond indicating the Roman era, this distinctive feature gives no precise chronological pointer; while red *clavi* were especially popular in the later centuries,¹⁵⁹ they were also found in the first century. With the jewellery of the ear-rings, bracelets, and necklace the dress does point to the very respectable social status of the deceased, although the *clavi* did not imply, as in Rome, a particular status. That she is also wearing sandals is not surprising. In all five appearances her left foot is shown resting firmly on the ground, but the right foot, which is slightly raised, reveals the sandal: it is the type which allows one strap to pass between the toes and the other over the instep, the knot being tied in the middle of the foot.¹⁶⁰ In 6 the projecting ends of the straps are shown as well.

Date and import

Although no extended text is presented, the brief headings and descriptions comprise a sufficient modicum of written material to enable a broad assessment to be made. The script is mainly in hieroglyphs, but with some hieratic forms which have parallels in the third volume of Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie* rather than in his earlier volumes; his third volume ranges from the Twenty-second Dynasty to the third century AD. Among the writings which indicate the Ptolemaic or Roman Period are that of *wr* in 2, 6,

¹⁵² S. Gabra and E. Drioton, *Peintures à fresques et scènes peintes à Hermoupolis-Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo, 1954), pl. 28 with the remarks of Drioton on p. 13.

¹⁵³ Op. cit. pl. 25.

¹⁵⁴ Not merely folds, although these were indicated by Egyptian sculptural artists of the Ptolemaic Period: see R. S. Bianchi, *Bull. Egyptol. Seminar Brooklyn* 2 (1980), 22. He shows too that the 'Isis-knot' in female dress does not necessarily involve Isis.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 62 f. on the 'Roman Group' of Meir-masks. Usually here, states Grimm, the deceased wears a *chiton* with two *clavi*, and occasionally a *himation* in addition.

¹⁵⁶ Op. cit. 62 with pl. C, 2.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. op. cit. 51 with pl. 13, 1 (white *chiton* with black *clavi*; early first century AD); Shore, op. cit. pl. 11 (red tunic with black stripe; second century) and pl. 18 (purple tunic with black stripes edged with gold; fourth century AD). Portraits of this type cannot, of course, normally show the full dress.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. Parlasca, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano* (B. 1, Palermo, 1969), 30 with pl. A, 1 (in colour: white *chiton* with red *clavi* on sides; Claudian era); id., *Mumienporträts*, 182 f. with pl. 13, 3, dated by him to the early Flavian era: Needler, op. cit. 11 with pls. 9 and 10 (white tunic with red *clavi*; third-fourth centuries AD).

¹⁵⁹ Shore, op. cit. 161; Needler, *ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Brunner-Traut, *Die alten Ägypter* (Stuttgart, 1974), 206, fig. 70 a, b; Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, pl. 115, 1 and 3. A. Wiedemann, *Das alte Ägypten* (Heidelberg, 1920), 126, states that only in the late Roman Period did the all-sided shoe emerge in Egypt.

and 7; the form of *m* in 2 and of *f* in *Qbhsnzwf* in 2: cf. the form of *hnty* in 5, although this writing begins in the Late Period, and the place-name *Hmnw* in 4. The script often lacks finesse and in one instance, a group of hieroglyphs above the Canopic jars in 3, it becomes illegible. That painting hieroglyphs on linen was never an easy task is shown by examples of shrouds from the New Kingdom and Late Period assembled by Parlasca (pp. 152 ff.), but an instance from the Ptolemaic Period shows effective order and clarity.¹⁶¹ On the other hand, our scribe has his strong points and they concern content rather than calligraphy. He correctly differentiates and names the Canopic genii in 2; he provides traditional epithets of Anubis in 5 and 6, and of Osiris-Sokar in 6. In 2 he even rises to the task of presenting an excerpt from *BD* 60, although the result is a garbled and shortened snippet. He provides with some care the name of his departed client, and Tjehent is a name which recalls the goddess HATHOR and has a precise parallel only in the Graeco-Roman era. The name is not prefaced, be it noted, by that of Osiris or HATHOR; we are not told who her father and mother were; her titles are also missing, but this is not unexpected in the case of a woman; missing likewise is the final formula *msr-hrw*. The last-named custom was upheld in Ptolemaic times,¹⁶² but in the Roman era the norms of Egyptian tradition in these matters were rarely followed *in toto*, and even the recording of personal names in hieroglyphic was rather uncommon, Greek or demotic or Coptic being often used for this purpose.¹⁶³ In a public and official sense the vigorous survival of hieroglyphic well into the second century AD is evident in the temple of Esna.¹⁶⁴ Prolific writings in hieratic emanate from the first century, notably the *Ritual of Embalment*, and in the second century an epitome of the *Book of Breathings* (Louvre 3161) mentions the *Osiris Petromius*,¹⁶⁵ son of *Candace*.¹⁶⁶ A shroud of the second century AD (see fig. 1) shows more consistency in its ordering of hieroglyphs than does ours, but comparison with hieroglyphs on many shrouds of the Roman era is difficult since they are often content with symbols and scenes which have no explanatory text. A shroud at Oxford is classified by Parlasca¹⁶⁷ as a Theban shroud of the middle imperial period; its hieroglyphs, although unclear at times, are certainly more ambitious

¹⁶¹ Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 157 with pl. 57, 2: cf. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 174.

¹⁶² Cf. Otto, *Die biographischen Inschriften der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Leiden, 1954), 53.

¹⁶³ Cf. Needler, op. cit. 8 ff.; D. Mueller, 'Three Mummy Labels in the Swansea Wellcome Collection', *JEA* 59 (1973), 175–80. For a number of personal names in hieroglyphic from the first–second centuries AD see *BM Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms* (1904), 109, 111 (three examples, one time of Hadrian), 112 (two), 116, 122, 123. Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (CCG, 1904–5), nos. 2,2208 and 2,2211, gives two of the Roman Period, the first being a Wenamün. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, 251–3, records several names on Edfu stelae of the Roman Period: cf. the three names on Theban stelae of the same period on his p. 246. The Swansea Wellcome Museum contains a wooden stela from Edfu (Inv. W 1241) of the early Roman Period with names in hieroglyphs.

¹⁶⁴ Into the reign of Antoninus (AD 138–61). See Sauneron, *Le Temple d'Esna*, III (Cairo, 1968), xxii; on p. ii he refers to the vitality of the religious festivals in the same era. See also his remarks on the final phase of Egyptian epigraphy in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique*, III (Cairo, 1974), 255; Winter, *ibid.* 231 f. refers to second-century phases at Philae.

¹⁶⁵ There are two examples of the Osirian prefix in the Toronto text, although W. Needler prefers to restore an *n* after each prefix: see her p. 9. Parlasca, op. cit. 92 n. 9, refers to 'Osiris Horion', written in Greek on a mummy-mask of the first century AD now in Edinburgh: cf. Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 74 with pl. 25, 1.

¹⁶⁶ Goyon, *Rituels funéraires*, 291 and 293.

¹⁶⁷ Op. cit. 165 with n. 85.

than those of the Swansea shroud, and the owner's name has 'Osiris' before it.¹⁶⁸ Painted coffins are also worth comparing. One in Berlin¹⁶⁹ with a judgement-scene presents hieroglyphic captions of similar type and quality; it has similarities too in the composition of the judgement-scene in that Thoth and Horus handle the balance; the deceased (a female) is shown frontally, but her coiffure and dress differ in some ways. This coffin is probably of the second century AD. To the same century belongs some of the material from Akhmîm, but a judgement-scene there features some startling departures from earlier usage;¹⁷⁰ closer to our material is the mummy-mask with shroud which represents a *chiton* adorned with two *clavi*; the serpent bracelets and brief designations of gods in hieroglyphic also point to affinities.¹⁷¹ Comparison with the painted funerary bed in Toronto, which has been dated to the third century AD, is instructive. 'Corrupt and careless in the extreme' is the description applied to both scenes and hieroglyphs.¹⁷² The general crudity of the presentation is shared by the Swansea shroud, and the brief texts in each case supply only a simple name without filiation or titles.¹⁷³ There is a difference, however, in that our texts are for the most part legible and coherent, and this would indicate a slightly earlier date.

Clues are provided too by iconography, especially that relating to the figure of the deceased. The frontal treatment and details of costume and coiffure segregate her from her divine associates. In the sepulchral art of the Roman era a theory of a 'Mischform' has naturally been applied, and then emended to 'Zwitterstil' with a stress on its hybrid nature;¹⁷⁴ perhaps 'Zwillingsstil' would be a still better term; for what we see is the coexistence of two separate modes. The female deceased of the second century AD at Tuna el-Gebel exemplifies this; so does Tjehent in our shroud; and so does Senentêris on the sepulchral bed in Toronto. Around them the symbols and episodes are thoroughly Egyptian, and they are presented in an Egyptian style, although sometimes debased. Graeco-Roman style and form affect only the figure of the deceased. Grimm¹⁷⁵ has cogently argued that after about AD 150 it was usually only in Upper Egypt that this genuine dualism persisted; elsewhere Egyptian motifs were given a far less prominent showing.

We have seen that red *clavi* displayed laterally on Tjehent's dress indicate the Roman era without decisively delimiting the period. A white tunic with red *clavi* is usually worn

¹⁶⁸ I have examined this (Ashmolean Museum 1913, 924) and note that the museum label describes it as Ptolemaic. See P. R. S. Moorey, *Ancient Egypt* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1970), 66, fig. 34, where it is said to be 'Late Ptolemaic or Roman Period'. The jackals below the Osiris-figure have keys round their necks, and Parlasca, op. cit. 163 f., shows that this attribute does not occur before the first half of the second century AD. Cf. Morenz, op. cit. in n. 138 above ('Anubis mit dem Schlüssel'), 79 ff.; Grimm, op. cit. 93 f. and 117.

¹⁶⁹ Morenz, op. cit.; Kákosy, *ZÁS* 97 (1971), 98; Grimm, op. cit. 117 with pl. 137, 2.

¹⁷⁰ F. W. F. von Bissing, 'Tombeaux d'époque romaine à Akhmîm', *ASAE* 50 (1950), 547-76, especially pp. 557, 568, 570 with pl. 1: see also Seeber, 186, fig. 79; Brunner-Traut, *Gelebte Mythen*, 76; Needler, op. cit. 21 ff.

¹⁷¹ Grimm, *Mumienmasken*, 100 with pl. 117, 5 would date this to the first-second centuries AD, positing Middle Egyptian influence: cf. Parlasca, op. cit. 41 ff.

¹⁷² Needler, op. cit. 16.

¹⁷³ Ibid. 8 f.

¹⁷⁴ L. Castiglione, *Act. Ant. Hung.* 15 (1967), 132: cf. his discussion on dualism of style, *ibid.* 9 (1961), 209-30: 'un style hybride' (p. 212).

¹⁷⁵ *Mumienmasken*, 123.

by the female deceased on the Toronto bed, but this is possible too in the first or second century.¹⁷⁶ The style of the coiffure is not shown on our shroud in much detail. It is again broadly similar to that in the Toronto example: there is a centre parting with some hair drawn back to the crown of the head. Parallels are plentiful, but difficulties abound too, one of which is that a mummy-portrait may reflect a style that is much earlier in origin than the date assigned to the portrait.¹⁷⁷ Parlasca and Grimm are the experts in these matters, and similar styles found in mummy-masks, including one from Hermopolis West, are assigned by the former to the Flavian period, while the latter favours the early second century.¹⁷⁸ A second-century date for our shroud seems likely on grounds of palaeography and general style; it is certainly not ruled out, then, by considerations of iconography. Admittedly the deceased female from House 21 at Tuna el-Gebel belongs to the second century, and she differs from Tjeḥent in respect of both costume and coiffure.¹⁷⁹ But it would be a mistake to look for uniformity within a given time-scale or even within the same area.

The lady Tjeḥent was clearly of Egyptian origin, as her name testifies. Probably she had married a member of a Greek community, and she identified herself in some ways with this community. Certainly in outward appearance she is presented as one of them. But it was a community, it seems, which had accepted the religion of Pharaonic Egypt wholeheartedly. The shroud in which her body was wrapped contained depictions and texts which affirmed the beliefs of that religion concerning life after death. These beliefs included the warrant of rebirth associated with the sun-god Khepri, the assurance of physical revival on the pattern of Osiris, and, in particular, the guarantee of a triumphant result in the scrutiny of the life-record before Osiris, after which occurs the divine approval and acceptance. By and large, the paintings bear witness to the vitality of the Osiris religion in Egypt during the Roman era,¹⁸⁰ especially since they may concern a Greek community.

In the presentation of these beliefs there are several distinctive points. Osiris is named and depicted as Osiris-Sokar, and there is some emphasis on the second element, which involves a funerary falcon-god of Memphite origin. He is here given human form, but with falcon-head.¹⁸¹ He is ascribed the traditional epithet, *within the Shetjyt*,

¹⁷⁶ Cf. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts*, 138, on a portrait on a shroud from Antinoöpolis which he believes to be not later than AD 200.

¹⁷⁷ Parlasca, *op. cit.* 129, points out that the founding of Antinoöpolis by Hadrian in AD 130 does not exclude the possibility that hair-styles attested there may have been fashionable a good deal earlier.

¹⁷⁸ Grimm, *op. cit.* 68 with pl. 75, 1-4. No. 4 is from Hermopolis West, but no. 3 has a more marked parting.

¹⁷⁹ She is wearing the *himation*, but *clavi* are visible on her tunic. Her hair-style is quite different. Grimm, *op. cit.* 122, thinks that this material is Hadrianic in date (AD 117-38).

¹⁸⁰ Cf. V. Wessetzky in *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1980), 175-80 (first publ. in 1976). Grimm, *op. cit.* 122, refers to the increasing prominence of the Greek pantheon in Lower and Middle Egypt in and after the time of Hadrian. In an allusion to Antinoös as a figure who symbolized life after death he seems to ignore the concept of Osiris-Antinoös, for which see M. Malaise, *Les Conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (Leiden, 1972), 116 and 422 ff.

¹⁸¹ Sokar as a falcon on a pedestal appears to overlook the psychostasia on the Toronto bed: see Needler, *op. cit.* pl. 7, although she prefers to explain this as a heron (p. 12). On the falcon as both Sokar and Osiris, see Morenz in *Religions en Égypte etc.*, ed. Derchain, 89 f.

referring to his Memphite sanctuary. In the one scene, however, where he appears as enthroned judge, he is equipped with the Osirian crook and flail. Again, the scene of physical revival figuring Isis is duplicated to show Nephthys in a similar role; and the scene of presentation to Osiris-Sokar is likewise duplicated to show Nephthys replacing Isis. A motive for this rare type of repetition might lie in the fact that the deceased is female; consonant with this is the allusion to Osiris as *Lord of Love*. In the scene of weighing the heart supervision of the balance is assigned to Thoth and Horus; this is not so rare, but parallels emerge only from the Roman era. In the same scene Thoth is given some prominence above the balance, with a stress on his title, *Lord of Hermopolis*. Some detailed attention is given in the two introductory scenes to the four sons of Horus in connection with the Canopic vessels, and in 4 in connection with the judgement; this was a marked trend in the Late Period¹⁸² and the Roman era,¹⁸³ when these beings were regarded as guardian deities and as defenders of the dead before Osiris, thus achieving a more exalted function.

Points of chronology and topography relating to these distinctive features have been discussed above. The popularity of Osiris-Sokar (or Sokar-Osiris) as a judge of the dead in the Roman era is attested by the Setna-romance (the second), a demotic text of the end of the first century AD. There the description of the psychostasia names Osiris as the enthroned judge, but he who achieves an equilibrium of the balance is placed among the blessed who serve Sokar-Osiris.¹⁸⁴ It has been pointed out¹⁸⁵ that the Demotic Book of the Dead, which emanates from the time of Nero, contains a detailed text of the 'Protestations of Innocence' associated with the judgement. That the concept persisted into the third century is shown by the Toronto bed, one of the latest representations of the judgement scene to come from Egypt.¹⁸⁶ Our shroud probably belongs to a somewhat earlier stage.

During the Roman era the Canopic jars were abandoned as a real funerary practice. Yet their conspicuous presence on our shroud reveals little; for the tradition of representing them probably persisted long after the end of the practice.¹⁸⁷ As for topography and provenance, the prominence of Osiris-Sokar might point to an area where Memphite influence was strong, but Thoth as the principal god of Hermopolis is also emphasized. Tuna el-Gebel (Hermopolis), Antinoöpolis, and Meir are places in Middle Egypt where Memphite influence was likely to be potent and where numerous finds of the Roman era have revealed Egyptian and Greek elements.¹⁸⁸ If we accept Grimm's

¹⁸² Cf. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period*, 19, no. 17 with pl. 15.

¹⁸³ See L. Kákósy, 'Probleme der ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit' in *Religions en Égypte etc.*, ed. Derchain, 59-68, this theme on pp. 66 ff., where the material cited from the Roman Period includes P. Rhind I and stelae from the Bucheum (Armant).

¹⁸⁴ F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis* (Oxford, 1900), 152: cf. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (2nd edn., Düsseldorf, 1965), 195; L. Kákósy, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 96.

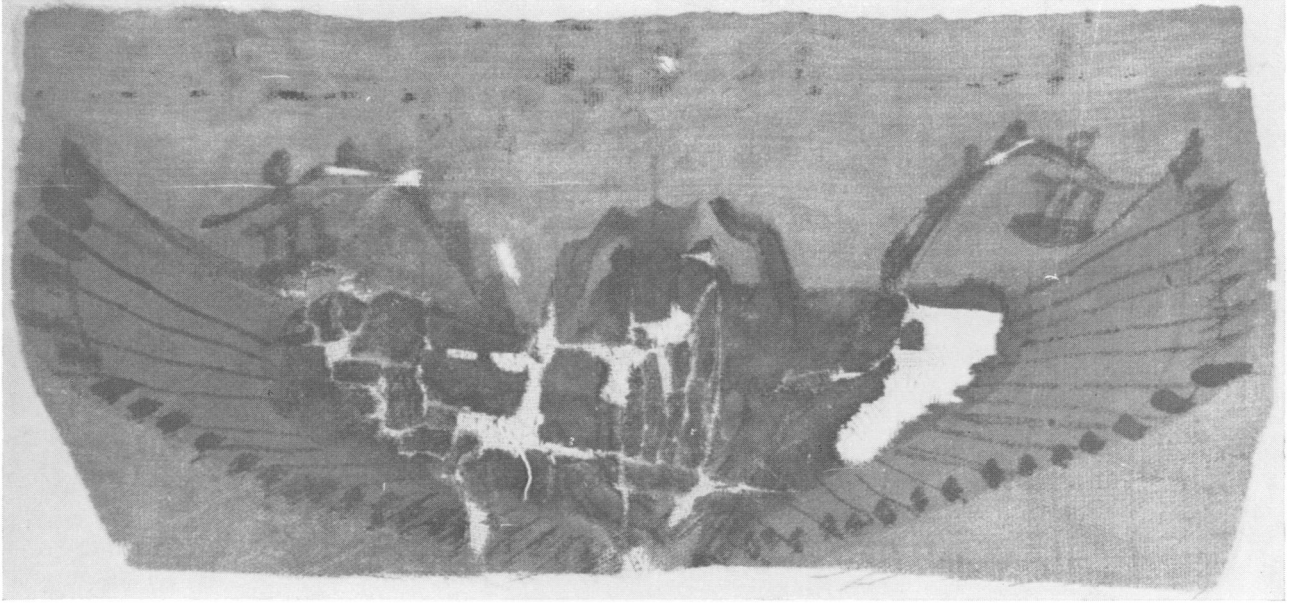
¹⁸⁵ Kákósy, loc. cit.

¹⁸⁶ Cf. Seeber, 163 and 193. It is perhaps of Theban origin.

¹⁸⁷ For a good example see the formula naming the four gods in stelae of the time of Antoninus Pius, although no Canopic jars were found in the Bucheum: see L. Kákósy in *Religions en Égypte etc.*, 67 f.

¹⁸⁸ Grimm has given special attention to local traditions: see his pp. 38 ff., 81, and 122 for Tuna el-Gebel, 66 ff. for Antinoöpolis, and 59 ff. for Meir.

chronological distinctions concerning the ebb of Egyptian symbolism and belief in Lower and Middle Egypt after about AD 150, then we may conclude that our shroud, deriving as it probably does from an area in Middle Egypt, should be dated to the first half of the second century.



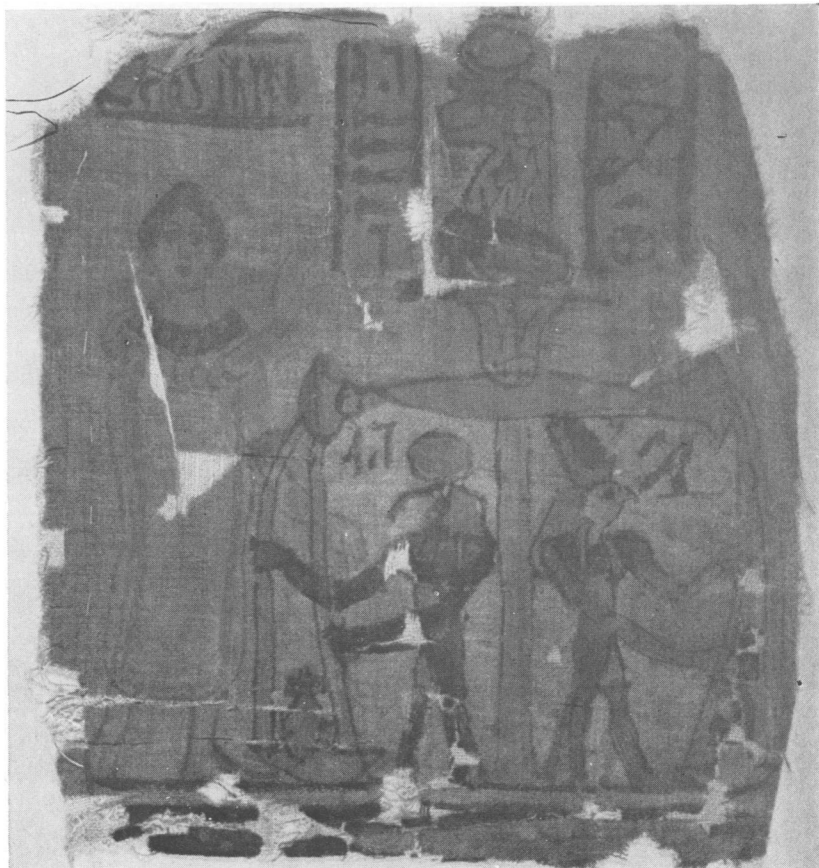
1. The winged scarab



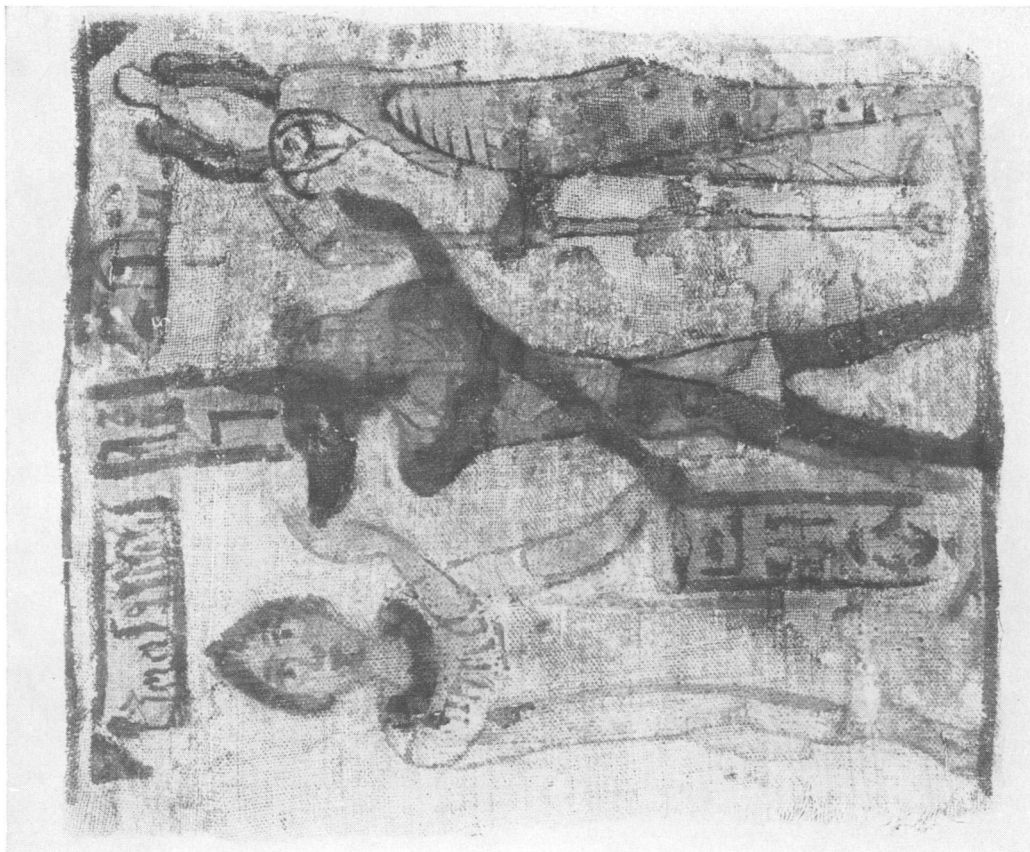
2. Physical revival of the dead, with Isis



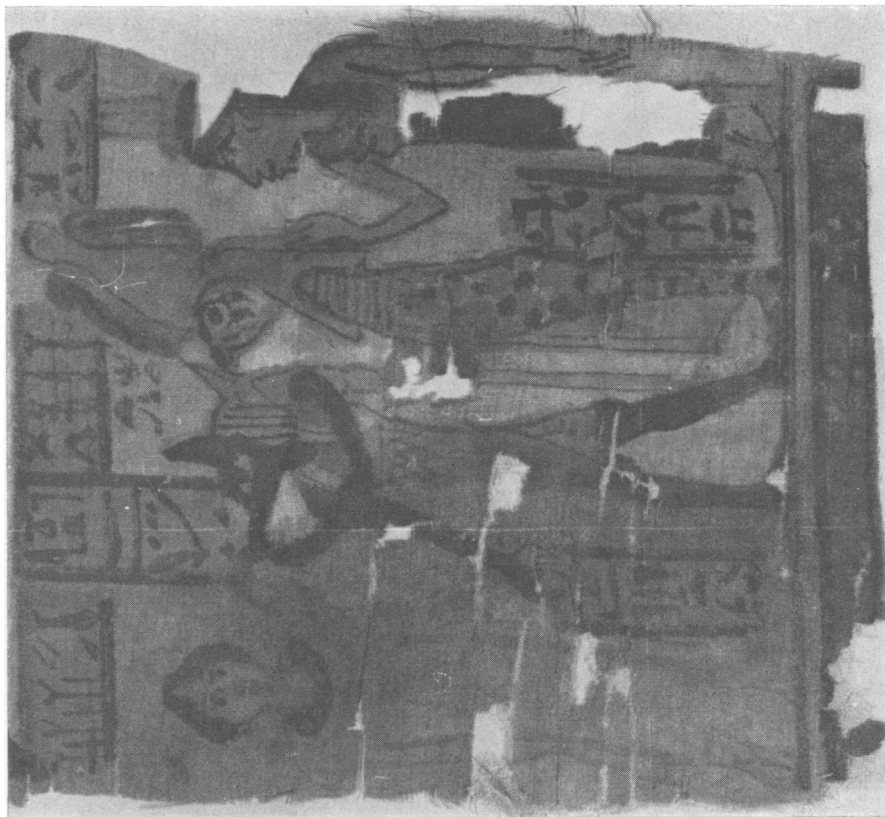
1. Physical revival of the dead, with Nephthys



2. Weighing of the heart, with the deceased, Thoth, and Horus



1. The deceased presented by Anubis to Osiris-Sokar

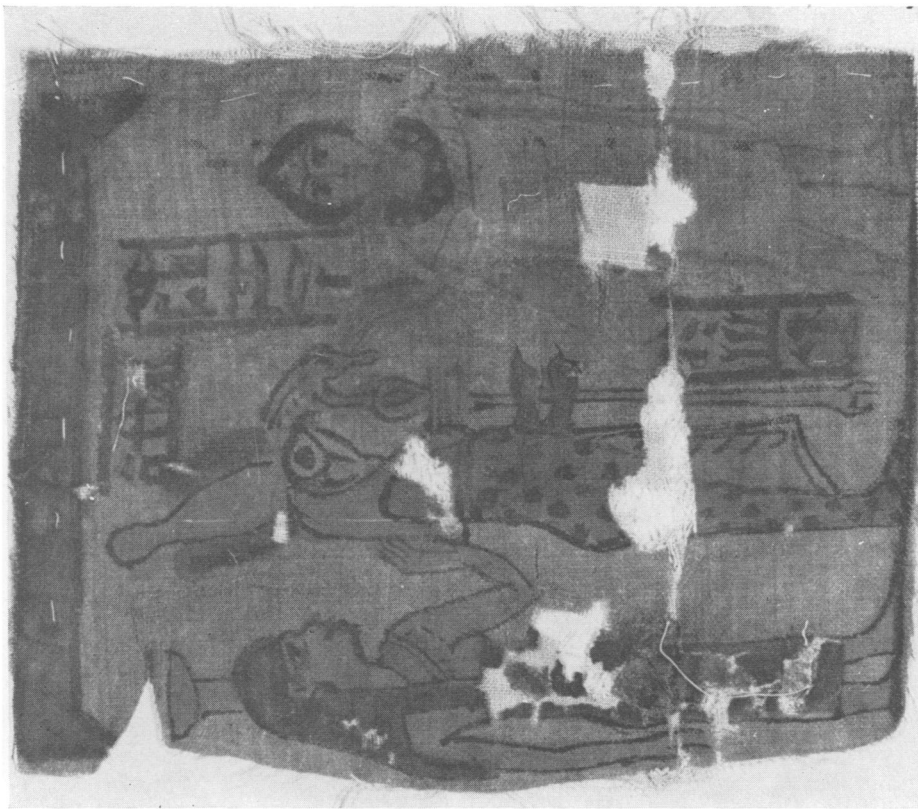


2. The deceased presented by Anubis to Osiris-Sokar and Isis

EIGHT FUNERARY PAINTINGS IN THE SWANSEA WELLCOME MUSEUM



1. The deceased before Osiris-Sokar and Isis



2. The deceased before Osiris-Sokar and Nephthys

EIGHT FUNERARY PAINTINGS IN THE SWANSEA WELLCOME MUSEUM

GIFT-GIVING IN ANCIENT EGYPT AS AN ECONOMIC FEATURE*

By JAC. J. JANSSEN

THE model-concept has as yet hardly been used in Egyptology,¹ despite its important function in the social sciences. The following may show that it can be applied with profit for discovering unrecognized phenomena, thus contributing to our knowledge of the structure of Ancient Egyptian society.

Egypt's economic structure as a whole can best be described as organized on the principle of redistribution, which means that the surplus of the peasant households was collected by the authorities, state and temple, in order to be redistributed among particular sections of the society: officials, priests, the army, necropolis workmen, and so on. This redistribution system, which was probably concentrated in the cities and the towns, rested as a superstructure upon a 'peasant society',² consisting of households that were largely self-sufficient as far as the necessities of life were concerned. Those goods which they did not produce themselves (e.g. salt, copper, particular types of trinkets, and other luxuries), or which did not come to them through redistribution, they acquired either by direct barter from their neighbours³ or, to a minor extent, on the market.⁴ In such a type of society markets, if present at all, would have played a peripheral part only.

A third way by which commodities were acquired—particularly the relatively large amounts of food needed for festive occasions in the household or services for exceptional activities such as the building of a new house—was reciprocal gift-giving. Actual profit-motivated trade hardly touched the peasant households. Even at the market, and certainly in barter transactions among neighbours, prices were largely fixed by the use-value of the goods, not by their exchange value.⁵

There is textual evidence which demonstrates that almost every trait in this model occurred in the Ancient Egyptian economy, although the relative significance of each

* A version of this paper has been presented to the Second International Congress of Egyptologists at Grenoble in 1979.

¹ For an exception see Paul Frandsen, 'Egyptian Imperialism', in M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda. A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (= Mesopotamia, 7), particularly p. 174.

² The term indicates here not an occupation but a social type, as appears, for instance, in the classic example, R. Firth's book *Malay Fishermen: Their Peasant Economy* (London, 1946).

³ This barter was the main subject of my *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975).

⁴ Cf. Janssen, *De markt op de oever* (Leiden, 1980).

⁵ For this model and the considerations that follow a wide anthropological literature can be quoted. For a choice I mention: G. Dalton (ed.), *Tribal and Peasant Economies* (Garden City, New York, 1967); R. Firth (ed.), *Themes in Economic Anthropology* (London, 1967); E. R. Wolf, *Peasants* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966); T. Shanin (ed.), *Peasants and Peasant Societies* (Harmondsworth, 1971). For redistribution and reciprocity as major modes of distribution see e.g. K. Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (ed. by G. Dalton, Garden City, New York, 1968).

is still uncertain. It is only the custom of reciprocal gift-giving⁶ that has not yet been signalized in the literature. From the model we can surmise that it must have played a part in the Egyptian society, but its actual existence has still to be proved.

Gift-giving in primitive and peasant societies is not merely a social custom. As such it occurs everywhere, even in modern Western society, as a means to express and strengthen ties of affinity and friendship. Its non-economic character in our world clearly appears from the contents of our gifts: toys, jewellery, flowers, mechanical gadgets, wine, and suchlike, never articles of everyday food or simple handicrafts. Among non-Western peoples, however, gift-giving is one of the distribution patterns for goods and services. Moreover, it is not a free manifestation of generosity; the receiver is generally obliged to present a counter-gift, either immediately or after a lapse of time. This is called reciprocity,⁷ and it constitutes one of the typical modes of exchange among primitive peoples—though by no means the only one. Although in peasant societies redistribution usually dominates the economic structure as a whole, reciprocity is the preponderant exchange pattern within the peasant sphere. It is only in the industrial world that gift-giving lost its economic function.

Among the numerous non-literary ostraca from Deir el-Medîna there is one fairly frequent type whose meaning has intrigued me for years. These texts consist of a list of names, each name followed by the mention of small quantities of food: beer, bread, fish, vegetables, etc., in some instances also including one or two small objects of daily use, e.g. baskets. Helck, who has collected the data from a number of these texts, stated, after noticing that most names belong to women: 'es dürfte sich um die Zuweisung der Lebensmittel für die Frauen der Arbeiter von Deir el-Medineh handeln, die durch die Gatten vorgenommen wurde.'⁸ This, however, looks highly unlikely. Why ever would a man call a scribe to note down the gift to his wife of a few loaves or a fish? And why are so many names recorded on one and the same ostrakon? Moreover, in between the names of women those of several workmen are listed; in a few texts they even constitute the majority. Obviously, there must be a different explanation for this type of text.

The answer dawned upon me when, in April 1978, I was allowed once more to consult the priceless notebooks of the late Jaromír Černý,⁹ and I came across his transcription of O. IFAO. 1069. I have no permission here to publish the text since, as Professor Vercoutter informs me, it is reserved for one of the volumes of the 'Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires'. Moreover, by an unfortunate coincidence I have been unable to collate Černý's transcription.¹⁰ To publish it as it occurs in his

⁶ For a recent study of reciprocity in general see J. van Baal, *Reciprocity and the Position of Women* (Assen/Amsterdam, 1975).

⁷ In this paper I use the term in the restricted, economic sense, indicating a pattern of distribution. Van Baal (op. cit. 33) calls it 'gift-giving', using 'reciprocity' in a wider sense.

⁸ *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, IV, 651.

⁹ For permission to do so I am grateful to the Trustees of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, and, for her help on this occasion, to Miss Helen Murray. Although I have expressed my thanks to her elsewhere, it is a real pleasure to be able to repeat them here.

¹⁰ Dr Y. Koenig kindly traced the original for me in the store-rooms of the French Institute. For his readiness to help me I render him my sincere thanks. Whether study of the original would have produced any

Notebook 110 (p. 39) seems to me unwarranted as he never intended his transcriptions for publication until he had collated them once more. Therefore, I will restrict myself here to presenting a summary of the text.

The beginning of the recto is the most significant part for our present purpose. Although the first word of l. 1 is lost, the meaning seems clear. The first lines run:

1. . . .^a given (rdyt) to him at the
2. confinement^b of his daughter:
3. 1 wooden ytit^c
4. spread^d in her place.^e

- a. Černý suggested 'whm?', but *nty* looks more likely.
- b. *msw* (𓄏 𓄏 𓄏) could in itself also mean 'birth', but if the *s* of *ty:s* (*st*) in l. 4 refers to the daughter (and not to *ytit*) it follows that the daughter is an adult.
- c. *ytit* (written 𓄏 𓄏 𓄏): see my *Commodity Prices*, 239–40. To the various writings there listed add: P. DeM. II, 5 (𓄏 𓄏 𓄏), and perhaps also 𓄏 𓄏 (Hier. Ostr. 65, 1, 2) and 𓄏 𓄏 (O. Varille 19, III, 10; unpubl.). Neither the exact meaning of the word nor the use of the object are certain beyond doubt, but clearly it belongs to the funerary equipment.
- d. *sš-ti* (𓄏 𓄏), 'spreading' of a bed: cf. *Wb.* III, 482, 19.
- e. After *st* Černý's transcription has a vertical stroke, as if 'one' was meant.

The following lines enumerate quantities of food such as *ckk*-loaves, a *dss*-fish, meat, and beer, stated as being presented together on a basketry food-platter (*htp n wnm*). The last lines of the recto are too damaged to be legible, but on the verso more food is recorded, including *sš*-loaves, beans (*iwryt*), vegetables (*smw*), etc. Then, in l. 11, the list is interrupted by the words: 'place of the hard drinking' (*bw (n) pš swi rš*), after which follows (l. 12) the mention of 6 *mnt*-jars of beer and 20 *sš*-loaves. In the last lines 1 *hin* of oil, some *rhs*-cakes (on an *inr*-platter),¹¹ vegetables, etc. are recorded. Note that some types of food occur more than once in the text.

What does this mean? All the food is stated as having been given to a man when his daughter had been confined. The main object, a *ytit*, was 'spread in her place', although presented to the grandfather, not to the young mother. If indeed it is a funerary object, it would not have been very delicate to present it to her at that moment. Probably the grandfather received it for himself. Part of the food and drink is said to have been handed over to him during the party at which the happy event was celebrated.¹² Whether the offering of food on a platter was a ceremonial gift is uncertain, but not impossible.

For what may be a close parallel to this text I refer to O. Michaelides 48 rt.¹³ It records various kinds of food, some at least in connection with private feasts (see below),

improvement on Černý's transcription is doubtful since, as Dr Koenig wrote to me (31 May 1980): 'il est malheureusement trop salpêtré pour que l'on puisse en faire une photographie'.

¹¹ For *rhs inr* see Černý, *JEA* 23 (1931), 60–1.

¹² A similar occasion may be recorded in O. Berlin 14328 (unpubl.), which begins with the words: 'List of the things (*pš nkt*) which the workman Minkhew got (*itš*) when (*m-dš* for *m-dr*) drinking . . .'. Unfortunately, several words of the text were illegible to Černý, but it seems clear that it records names of workmen and their wives, and quantities of food.

¹³ Goedicke and Wente, *Ostraka Michaelides*, pl. 71–2.

and in col. II, 1 we read: 'The purification (*sḥ*) of his daughter',¹⁴ followed by what also seem to be quantities of food (the text is partly broken off and illegible).

Two other unpublished ostraca can be discussed briefly here, although their contents are of a slightly different nature:

In O. Berlin 12406¹⁵ the first two lines run:

1. *List of all objects which Usekhnemte^a gave to*
2. *his father^b when he made Ēse [his] wife.^c*

- a. *Wšht-nmtt* is a workman whose name occurs frequently in ostraca from the time of Ramesses III and his successors. He is mentioned for the first time in the duty roster in II *šht* of year 1 of Ramesses IV (O. DeM. 41, vs. 2).
- b. This may also mean 'father-in-law' (cf. Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 [1980], 101), which, in view of the mention of the marriage, is more likely.
- c. *irwyf X m hmt* is a common expression. For instances from Deir el-Medīna see, e.g., O. DeM. 663, 4 (the Ēse here mentioned cannot be the same as in our text since O. DeM. 663 is far older than O. Berlin 12406) and Pap. DeM. 27, 3 (= Allam, *Hier. Ostraka*, pl. 98).

The rest of the text, the recto as well as the verso, records food given to the father(-in-law?) on various occasions.¹⁶

By chance an ostrakon in Glasgow (O. Hunterian Museum D 1925.71, formerly O. Colin Campbell 6)¹⁷ has exactly the same beginning: 'List of all objects which Usekhnemte gave to his father.' There is no mention of marriage here, however, and the quantities of food stated to have been given at various times, e.g. on New Year's Day, differ from those recorded in O. Berlin 12406. Moreover, among the gifts (rt. 9) an *idg*-garment and a *ghalabiyah* (*mss*) are mentioned.

It thus appears that on special occasions (the birth of a child and festivals such as New Year's Day) the people of Deir el-Medīna presented each other with small quantities of food and, in a few instances, with objects in daily use. This, in itself, is not surprising. The main point, however, is that they took the trouble to note down these gifts.

The majority of the non-literary ostraca do not consist of official documents, but *aide-mémoire*. This appears, for instance, from those relating the salient points in a lawsuit or an oracle: its date, the principal argument, the names of those who were present. These texts were not legal documents. Neither are the ostraca recording sale transactions actual contracts: no witnesses are ever mentioned. They were all intended to jog the author's memory on the most important points at some later stage. Why then should a man note down the small quantities of food and drink he received when he became a grandfather, or the food he gave at some period to his father(-in-law?) on various days? The only explanation seems to be: these were no free manifestation of friendship and love, they were socially obligatory, and the recipient was either expected

¹⁴ For this purification see *SAK* 8 (1980), 142.

¹⁵ Dr W. Müller readily provided me with a photograph and allowed me to publish the text. However, the present condition of this ostrakon, too, is so bad that a reliable collation of Černý's transcription is impossible from the photograph. Hence I prefer here to give only a summary of its contents.

¹⁶ ll. 6-9 seem to refer to a different matter.

¹⁷ I am grateful to Mr M. Jones for sending me a photograph. Although this one is clear enough I renounce the permission to publish it since it would be the only one of the three.

to present a similar gift on a similar occasion in the future, or he had previously obliged the giver in some way.

The gifts, thus, were not free. They also had, beyond their social meaning, an economic relevance. How far the father(in-law?) of Usekhnemte was dependent on the food for his upkeep, and whether, perhaps, the gifts formed part of the bridewealth paid over a number of years—as frequently happens in primitive and peasant societies—we do not know. The jars and the *sš*-loaves¹⁸ which the grandfather of O. IFAO. 1069 received during the drinking party were very probably consumed during the event. They may have been needed by him in order to treat his friends.

Bringing food and drink to a feast may occasionally occur in particular circles in Western society; it is, as said before, a common economic phenomenon elsewhere in the world. In peasant societies people would be unable to serve their—usually numerous—guests the large quantities of food that are consumed during a feast, if the guests themselves had not contributed *in natura*. Since the host, in his turn, would have to bring a similar gift to the feasts of his visitors, he either had to keep in mind what everyone brought, or to note it down. This still happens at Egyptian parties today, for instance at a wedding.¹⁹

Such, then, would seem to be the explanation of the ostraca that record a list of names, each followed by the mention of some quantity of food. A clear instance may be O. DeM. 222, a very large ostrakon (29 × 26 cm, inscribed on one side only, but with six columns), on which no less than twenty-two names of workmen are enumerated, including a chief workman (III, 18) and a scribe (VI, 15), but only two or three women. Each name is followed by a record of food: loaves, cakes, fish, beans, vegetables, etc. The last line of col. v mentions the date: 'Year 22 [certainly of Ramesses III], III *šmw* 8. On this day' (*sic!*). This proves that all the gifts were brought on one single day.²⁰ That they were given *to* the people mentioned seems highly unlikely; why would one record such small quantities? If all were given to one person, it is obvious that, afterwards, he would scarcely have been able to remember who had presented what. When combined, the food may have been a real contribution to a meal for the guests.

In O. DeM. 222 the names recorded are mostly of men. Whether this implies that a man was the object of the feast is not certain. In other texts of the type female names predominate. From the published ostraca of this category²¹ I mention : O. Petrie 31 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 35, 1; in several entries the gifts of one person are separated from those

¹⁸ Or cakes? Whether *sš* indicates material or shape, and whether it was common food or a delicacy is uncertain. For some references see Helck, *Materialien*, iv, 674. The word occurs more frequently in the ostraca than suggested there.

¹⁹ Cf. Fakhouri, *Kafr el-Elow* (New York, 1972), 67. One could refer to numerous instances from anthropological literature. For an example I quote from E. Meyerowitz's description of the burial of a prince of Bono-Tekeyiman (Ghana): 'As the people came in, the amounts of their funeral donation were announced by the heralds. . . . [The officials] each had a book and wrote down the name of the donor and the amount given, to prevent mistakes' (*At the Court of an African King* [London, 1962], 124).

²⁰ So far as we know III *šmw* 8 was not a religious feast-day: cf. Helck, *JESHO* 7 (1964), 152.

²¹ Unpublished ones known to me from Černý's notebooks are: O. IFAO. 1322 + O. Varille 38 + O. Cairo 25705; O. Or. Inst. Chic. 17005 (formerly O. Nelson 14); O. Hunt. Mus., Glasgow, D 1925.76 (formerly O. Col. Campbell 11) + O. Gardiner 52. Others, small fragments mostly, may or may not belong to these or to one of the published texts.

of others by a line);²² O. DeM. 134 (female names only); O. DeM. 643; O. DeM. 666 (only male names); O. Cairo 25624; O. Cairo 25660A. The most frequent type of gift in these texts consists of various kinds of bread, but fish, fruit, meat, etc., also occur.

O. Cairo 25624 is in some respects an exception. Among the presents listed there are wooden containers, baskets, and, twice, a pair of women's sandals. These are presents in our sense, and the last item may indicate that the recipient was a woman. That may perhaps also be concluded from the beginning of col. II, which, like O. DeM. 222, is dated to a single day, namely year 27 (of Ramesses III, as the names prove), IV *ḥt* 29.²³ The next words are (ll. 3–4): 'what he gave to Tsake for passing(?) to the waters of *Hnwṯ-hn.*' What this may mean I do not know, but it may explain the reason for giving the food enumerated in the following lines. Possibly this col. II is to be separated from col. I²⁴ and deals with a different matter, for the woman Tsake seems to occur in I, 5, as one of those bringing gifts.

All these texts record, in my opinion, presents brought to a party. In O. Berlin 12406 and O. Hunterian Museum D 1925.71, which list the gifts of Usekhnemte to his 'father', the situation is different: one person receives gifts from only one other person at various times. There are more instances of that type too, e.g. O. Hunterian Museum D 1925.66 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 66, 1; formerly O. Colin Campbell 1); O. Queen's College, Oxford, 1115 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 31, 1); O. Michaelides 48 (Goedicke-Wente, pl. 71–2; see above, p. 255); O. Berlin 10631 (= *Hier. Pap. Berlin*, III, pl. 36); P. DeM. II.²⁵ In many instances the gifts are stated as having been presented—in some cases 'by the hand' of a number of persons—on the occasion of a private feast. Why this was done is never explained in the texts; it was clear to the people concerned, though not to us. For my argument the point is that these gifts were noted down, which demonstrates that they were not pure presents for generosity's sake, but in some way obligatory, hence an economic phenomenon.²⁶

Certainly, in a primitive or peasant society the line between social and economic phenomena is hard to delineate, or, as Dalton put it (in his survey of Polanyi's theories):²⁷ 'the "economy" functioned [in primitive and archaic societies] as a by-product of kinship, political and religious obligation;' also: 'gift-giving is simply a material expression of those socially cohesive relations that we call friendship and kinship.'²⁸

The aim of the present paper has been to demonstrate that gift-giving was both a social and an economic feature of Egyptian society too, and also that, proceeding from a model of the economy developed with some knowledge about comparable economies, one may be able to discover hitherto unrecognized aspects of Egyptian life.

²² The same occurs in O. Dem. 350. Although here no names are recorded, it may belong to the same category.

²³ The 19th day of the month, a 'Saturday', was always free.

²⁴ It is actually separated from col. III by a line.

²⁵ A text like O. DeM. 97, although mentioning in vs. 7 the festival of Amenophis, may belong to another category. In O. Cairo 25598 quantities of vegetables are said to have been brought to a woman by water-carriers and workmen, but here too the explanation may be different.

²⁶ 'Pure' presents are only pure from an economic point of view, since they create no obligation to material counter-gifts. From a social point of view no 'purity' exists in this matter.

²⁷ Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (see n. 5), xii.

²⁸ *Op. cit.* xxxv.

AN EGYPTIAN ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME OF HORUS?

By MORDECHAI GILULA

THE name of the Egyptian god Horus (*Hr*, *Hrw*) is generally believed to have been derived from the root *hr*, 'to be far', namely 'He who is far away'—an interpretation that seems to fit well the original concept of Horus as a sky god.¹ The etymology is based on late texts which supposedly contain word-play on the name of Horus with the verb *hr*.² This may have been the original meaning of the word, but it is worth noting that there is no early evidence for such paronomasia with the name of Horus. In one instance when an early sentence is very close to one of the late 'puns' another word is used instead of *hr*, 'to be far away': Horus himself refers to himself in the words *ink Hr w3 st r rmt r ntrw*, 'I am Horus distant of place from people and gods' (*CT* II, 225 f). Compare this with *hry sw r ntrw imn s3m·f r tpyw t3*, 'He is far from the gods, his ways are hidden from those who dwell upon earth'.³ Given the Egyptian penchant for puns, especially with names,⁴ one would expect that such an opportunity of using the word *hr* would not be neglected.⁵ The 'oversight' does not have a special significance in itself, but it becomes salient in view of the fact that the same text (*Coffin Texts*, Spell 148) possibly uses another word composed of the same consonants, viz. *hry*, 'who is upon', in relation to the name of Horus. This may be the only known etymology of the name.

1. The naming of Horus

Coffin Texts, Spell 148⁶ narrates the birth of Horus. Having been delivered of her son, Isis addresses him in these words: *Bik s3·i Hr hms r·k m t3 pn n it·k Wsir m rn·k pw n bik hr(y) znbw hwt Imn-rn*, 'O falcon, my son Horus, dwell in this land of your father Osiris in this your name of Falcon who is on (or 'above') the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden' (*CT* II, 221c–e). This is the actual naming of Horus who, until his birth, is referred to as *Bik* (219b). Also here Isis first addresses him in his ornithological name *Bik*; then she names him *Hr* (Horus), which is his divine name; then she goes on to expand on it: 'Falcon who is on (or 'above') the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden.'

The words *m rn·k pw n . . .* constitute the regular formula when making word-play on names or epithets: 'He did so and so' *m rn·f (pw) n . . .* 'in his name of . . .'. The pun

¹ Latest discussion by W. Schenkel in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, III, 14 ff.

² H. Junker, *Giza*, II, 51.

³ Loc. cit. n. 1. This may be an original sentence and not necessarily an adaptation of an earlier example with *w3*.

⁴ Cf., e.g., H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 501 f.

⁵ An intentional substitution in our text of *w3* for an earlier *hry* is out of the question.

⁶ See *JEA* 57 (1971), 14–19.

is made by playing on different meanings of words of the same sound; sometimes the sound of the verb determines the choice of name, whereas in other cases the name influences the choice of activity. The Ancient Egyptians believed that names were an integral part of an entity, designating its essence or a particular trait or feature, the basic concept being that the owner of a name became endowed with all the powers connected with it etymologically.⁷ The bearer of a name or epithet sometimes received it because he possessed certain qualities, or because of certain acts on his part;⁸ in some cases a 'name' may be invented specifically for single use in order to make a certain act possible. The awe with which the Ancient Egyptians regarded names, and the importance which they attributed to them, leave no doubt that they looked upon this kind of *ad hoc* word-play as etymologies in the strictly literal sense of the word.

M rn·k pw n . . . (implying 'in this your special quality' or 'power' or 'identity') introduces on many occasions a name or epithet additional to the original name. It indicates a special property, quality, or capability, and gods may bear several of these as circumstances may require. In our text, for example, Horus also bears the name of *3dmw*, 225a. Thus, *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* may be an additional name or epithet of Horus appropriate to the particular occasion. However, the construction of 'etymological' word-play demands that it should lean back on a preceding verb, and, the verb in our sentence being *hmsi*, 'to sit', there is obviously no play on words. It is apparent that the combination of the verb *hmsi* and the name was not meant to conform to demands of paronomasia. Nevertheless, the words *m rn·k pw* indicate that this name of Horus is brought here for a particular reason. Also statements like this one, where a request or demand is made of someone to exercise something in his name while no play on words is involved, imply that the performance is only made practicable by the special powers inherent in the name, but, in such cases, the name and what it represents are understood to exist independently of the given context.⁹ The importance of our sentence is in the implication that Horus can dwell in the land of his father because he already possesses the name *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn*, or he will dwell in the land in the capacity of *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn*.

As can be assumed from the lack of paronomasia, *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* is probably not an *ad hoc* epithet. This is substantiated by the fact that, as we shall see below, it occurs elsewhere in mortuary literature. The significance of the present context is in the suggestion of how Horus came to receive this name of his, and in the clue it provides to its meaning.

2. How Horus received his name

As described here, Horus got the name *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* at the conclusion, and perhaps as a result of, a sequence of events. The 'walls' (or 'battlements') of the

⁷ Cf., e.g., Bonnet, loc. cit.

⁸ In such cases the formula *hpr rnf pw* is usually used: cf., e.g., *PT* 959a; *CT* IV, 57b-c, 286a-8b, and 412 (286c, 286d-8b), the latter referring to Horus.

⁹ The best example of this is *PT* 741 where Tait, equated with Isis, lifts the dead up to the sky. She is supposed to do it in her name of *drt*, 'Kite', and we know from other places that Isis had among her other forms that of a kite: cf. Sethe, *Kommentar*, III, 376.

'mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden' are mentioned three times in this spell. Since each repetition seems to follow logically and to depend on the paragraph that precedes it the following sequence can be reconstructed:

i. In a previous passage Isis says to Horus, not mentioning him by name and probably just before his delivery: 'Come and go forth and I shall give you glory . . . and I will make your name when you have reached the horizon, having passed over the battlements of the (mansion of) Him-whose-name-is-hidden' (219c–20a). 'Name' here should be taken literally and not figuratively as an equivalent of 'glory'.¹⁰ In other words, Horus will be given his name after his first flight.

ii. Having probably passed *znbw ḥwt Imn-rn*, he earned his name (or epithet) (*Bik*) *ḥry znbw ḥwt Imn-rn*.¹¹

iii. Only then does Isis name him *Hr* and tell him to dwell in the land of his father Osiris in his name of *Bik ḥry znbw ḥwt Imn-rn* (221c–e).

iv. Then Horus, describing his flight, introduces himself to the gods in his full name: 'I am Horus, the (great) Falcon who is on (or 'above') the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden' (222e–3a). *Bik (r) ḥry znbw ḥwt Imn-rn* is here in apposition to *Hr*. The construction differs significantly from all other occurrences where someone declares himself to be this Falcon. They are all of the pattern of sentences with nominal predicate, viz. *ink* (or *N*) *pw bik r ḥry znbw ḥwt Imn-rn* (*PT* 1778; *Aba* 625, 636–7; *CT* VII, 199e). There is a crucial difference between apposition and identification by means of the nominal construction *ink pw NOUN* or *NOUN pw NOUN*. The latter is generally an expression of identification of one entity with another, assuming two different things each of which may have its own separate existence. Apposition, on the other hand, is an indirect declaration of identity which implies absolute sameness. Two nouns in apposition are just two aspects of one and the same entity, the second usually specifying the first. We know that in the religion of the Ancient Egyptians gods were identified with each other. The apposition in our context means that Horus declares himself to be the Falcon not by identifying himself with another being but by announcing (what the reader already knows) that he and this Falcon are, and have been, one and the same entity from the very beginning. This is a statement of universal validity: Horus (and only Horus) is the Falcon who is upon the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden. (Other beings may identify themselves with this Falcon, thus identifying themselves with a certain aspect of Horus.)

The two names are closely related in this text. Not only were they given to Horus at more or less the same time; there is also a striking similarity in sound between *Hr* and (*Bik*) *ḥry znbw*, etc. One thinks of paronomasia, but this cannot be an *ad hoc* play on words for the following reasons:

¹⁰ Even this interpretation would not affect the general meaning of the text.

¹¹ The flight of Horus is not described in this text. That he took this flight and reached the horizon having passed the 'walls' is clear from his speech to the gods (222d ff.): cf. *Aba* 630 and also *CT* VI, 310k.

1. Both *Hr* and *Bik hry znbw*, etc. are names that exist independently of this text, each having its own meaning. They are not *ad hoc* inventions, and their *ad hoc* association for the sake of paronomasia just because they have similar sounds serves no purpose.

2. They are linked together in this text because they belong here. Their mutual relationship is not mentioned in passing. It is one of the central points of interest, and it is a significant and essential part of the present context. It can exist with or without a play on words, but it cannot be based on an *ad hoc* paronomasia. Therefore, if the similarity in sound is not accidental, it can only be due to real etymological connection. The text narrates how the name or epithet *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* came to be attached to Horus. It lets us understand that the name *Hr* was given to him only when, following the instructions of his mother, he had performed his first flight. It was this flight that also gave him the former name. Now, a corollary of the apposition discussed above is that, since the second name usually specifies the first, Horus, when introducing himself to the gods in the name *Hr*, assumes that the existence of *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* is already known to them. Consequently, one is tempted to consider the possibility that the present text regards *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* as the primary name of Horus, and that *Hr* may have been derived from it, perhaps even being a short form or a by-name.

Whether this is true or not, *Hr* is (or became) the principal name of the god. It may have been in the background of our text all the time, and the above-mentioned derivation of the name 'Horus', if it is correct, may be only a secondary etymology. It should be noted, however, that there is no firm ground for the accepted etymology of *Hr*, 'He who is far away'. Being up and far away is indeed an obvious feature of a falcon, and it can be associated with him in several ways, one of them paronomasia, which need not necessarily have etymological value. Remoteness is also the dominant feature of our Falcon. It was his celebrated first flight that carried Horus far away, and, when he declares to the gods that he is 'Horus distant of place from people and gods' (*w st r rmt r ntrw*, 225 f), there is nothing 'etymological' in this statement. The accepted etymology of the name 'Horus' is based on late puns. These puns cannot be regarded as strictly etymological even in the Egyptian sense because they are not of the formula *m rn-f pw* or *hpr rn-f pw*. They can only be regarded as 'etymological' in the extended use of the word, and their real etymological value is doubtful. The late association of the name *Hr* in a play on words with the root *hr* does not actually show anything beyond the propensity of the Ancient Egyptians towards puns, and does not convey anything about the original meaning of the name.

Whatever is the case concerning the name *Hr*, *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* should not be taken lightly or discarded off-hand for there are certain points which testify to his significance: 1. He is a very old Falcon. He is not confined to our text but occurs four times in the *Pyramid Texts* (*PT* 1778; *Aba* 625, 630-1; 636-7) and twice more in the *Coffin Texts* (*CT* VI, 310k; VII, 199e). This fact alone testifies to his authenticity, and excludes the possibility of its being an *ad hoc* appellation; 2. The origin of the name is connected with the *birth* of Horus and his *naming*, in fact to the only existing report of how he received his name; 3. Horus in his name of *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* plays

the essential part in the text. In fact, the whole plot pivots around this very name. If it is not the primary name or epithet of Horus, it must signify a very important aspect of his. It is this aspect of Horus that we are going to discuss next.

3. The significance of the name *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn*

Having delivered her son, Isis tells him to sit, i.e. dwell, in the land of his father in his name of *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn*. It means that he is supposed to dwell upon earth in his capacity of the 'Great Falcon who is upon the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden', and that it is this name that should enable him to do so. Two questions arise: 1. Why should Horus, who is a celestial god, dwell upon earth at all? 2. How is this name, which, according to our text, is connected with heaven, supposed to help him do it? The obvious answer to the first question is provided in the text. Its main concern is not merely to relate the birth of Horus, or tell how he received his name, but to stress that the son of Isis is a god who will inherit his father and become the ruler of the land (212d). Horus is supposed to dwell in the land as its ruler. Now, we know that Horus manifested himself upon earth as the reigning king and ruled the land through his living person, Horus being the king and the king being Horus. Accordingly, it seems reasonable to suppose that, in the present context, Horus, i.e. our Falcon, designates the king. The king was identified with Horus by what is known as his 'Horus-name'. This, which in the pre- and early Dynastic Period had been the sole royal name, was enclosed within a certain design known from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards by the name *srh*.¹² The *srh* depicts a falcon perching or standing on a rectangle within which there is a design of a wall of recessed panelling (generally believed to represent the palace) with the king's name written above it. The words 'The Great Falcon who is upon the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden' seem to describe precisely this and may be nothing less than a detailed verbal description of the *srh*-symbol.¹³ This symbol was the ancient royal insignia (bearing the king's name). As such it was meant to convey graphically a certain idea, and the belief is now commonly held that it represents the king as Horus in the palace or the king in the palace as Horus.¹⁴ But *hwt Imn-rn* has nothing to do with the earthly palace. It is obvious from our text, as well as from all other instances where it is mentioned, that *hwt Imn-rn* belongs to the 'mythological' sphere. Whatever it may be,¹⁵ it certainly

¹² Cf., e.g., A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 72; Bonnet, op. cit. 316-17; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 539b.

¹³ The term *srh* is used here in reference to the design as a whole for reasons of convenience. In fact it only seems to refer to the bottom part of the design, as shown by the determinative as well as by examples like *smn-nf bik-i tp srh* (*Urk.* IV, 160, 12); *ks bik-i tp srh n dt dt* (*Urk.* IV, 391, 5); . . . *Hr-i* (or *bik-i*) *m tp srh* (P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak* (1977), 143; *ntf Hr* (or *bik*) *hr tp n srh* (*JEA* 41 (1955), pl. VII, 7). There is no ground for the conclusion that, since both *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* and *Bik tp srh* seem to refer to the same design, *znbw hwt Imn-rn* = *srh*. By the time the term *srh* was invented both *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* and the original meaning of the royal symbol may have long been forgotten.

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., n. 12.

¹⁵ According to *Wb.* I, 84, 1-3, *Imn-rn* is a god different from *Imn-rn-f*, which refers particularly to Amūn (*CT* VI, 310k has *Imn-rn-f* where *Aba* 630-1 has *Imn-rn*). If we were to grant that *hwt Imn-rn* does refer to the royal palace, then *Imn-rn* must refer to the king, or rather to the king's name within the rectangle. The more plausible explanation is to interpret 'Hidden-of-name' in the sense that the king's name within the symbol was

constitutes in our text the central element in the epithet of Horus as the earthly king of Egypt: Horus dwells upon earth in the capacity of one, in fact the only one, who has passed it and settled on its battlements.¹⁶ Thus, if our sentence does indeed describe the *srh*-symbol, the latter is a graphic portrayal of a 'mythological' scene that is mentioned (or rather hinted at) in the text. It represents the invincible Horus who is out of the reach of his enemies. This Horus may have been the symbol of the king, and it is probably with him that the early kings of Egypt identified themselves by their Horus-name.

The answer to our second question is: Horus can and will rule the land in his name of 'Great Falcon who is upon the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden' because it signifies the king. There is, of course, a characteristic vicious circle. While telling how Horus came to receive this name that enabled him to rule the land it was obviously taken for granted that the name was a description of the royal symbol and that the king was identified with Horus. Thus, in a sense, our text is an aetiological story. It seems to tell us about the origin of the royal symbol and to explain its significance. This does not necessarily mean that the sense given to it is not authentic and that this 'name' of Horus is a secondary interpretation of the royal symbol. It is important to stress that *Bik* (ꜥ) *hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* is a name or epithet of the celestial Horus in one of his aspects, viz. as king; it is not an epithet or title of the king himself. Our text is concerned with Horus and his claim to the throne of Egypt. This claim is based, in part, on a certain feat which he had performed and which gave him his name.¹⁷ From his, or his mother's, point of view the royal symbol signified this achievement and represented Horus as *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn*. The living king identified himself with Horus, but there is no evidence that he ever referred to himself as *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn*, or thought of himself as such.¹⁸ For all we know he was simply Horus, and not his real or given name but denoted, initially as a symbol and then as an epithet, his special powers, perhaps as a warrior. (This is also the conclusion of W. Barta, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 57.) One might be tempted to connect *Imn-rn* with the founder of the Egyptian state, i.e. Menes, but this would be a wild guess.

¹⁶ Egyptian falcons and kites seem not to have lost their predilection for sitting on top of *znbw* of sanctuaries up till Graeco-Roman times: cf., e.g., E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, I, 16; Davies, *Temple of Hibis*, III, pl. 23, room k2. (These references were kindly checked for me by Professor J. R. Baines.)

¹⁷ Horus was to receive his name when he has 'reached the horizon having passed over the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden'. One wonders whether this may not hint at the name of another aspect of Horus, namely *Hr-ꜥhty*, 'Horus of the Horizon'. In any case, the two aspects of Horus, i.e. the celestial Horus and Horus the king, are mentioned together later on. Isis says to Horus: 'O Falcon, my son Horus, dwell in this land of your father Osiris in this your name of Falcon who is upon the battlements of the mansion of Him-whose-name-is-hidden, and I will ask that you shall be in the suite of Rē-Akhety and in the prow of the primeval bark for ever and ever' (221c-2a). It may be of some significance that the name *Bik hry znbw*, etc., automatically enables Horus to sit in the land, whereas Isis has to ask for him to be in the suite of Rē-Akhety. The combination of the celestial Horus and Horus the king in one place (perhaps in one entity) is known from the famous scene on the comb of King Uadji, the fourth king of the First Dynasty.

¹⁸ He was, however, referred to as *Hr* (or *Bik*) *hr tp srh* (n. 13). The only evidence of anybody's referring to himself as *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* (including our text) comes from mortuary literature: *N* (which replaced an original *ink*) *pw Bik ꜥ hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* (*PT* 1778; *Aba* 625, 636-7; *CT* VII, 199e). In the hereafter the dead king could assume among his other divine forms the aspect of Horus as king, but there is no indication that he did so while in the land of the living. All occurrences of our Falcon seem to revolve around the same event. It is obvious that they are all connected or rely on the same source. Although the ancient texts may have lost their original meaning when adopted for use by common people in the Middle Kingdom, the

the royal symbol (before it became just one of the five royal names) either symbolized the king of Egypt as Horus or Horus as the king of Egypt. It is possible that the same symbol when viewed from the king's own side could have been meant to represent him as Horus in the palace, but there is no real evidence of it. Barta reads the *srh*-symbol *Hrw-ꜥh X* or *Bik-ꜥh X*, 'Falcon of the Palace X,' explaining *Hrw* (or *Bik*)-*ꜥh* as the oldest king's title, namely an impersonal expression for 'king'.¹⁹ But being originally the royal insignia, whether portraying *Bik hry znbw hwt Imn-rn* (with all the connotations it may have had for the Ancient Egyptians) or Horus in the palace, the *srh*-symbol could hardly represent, or contain, a title of the king. It was a symbol signifying royalty, and it is doubtful whether its constituent parts had been meant to form a specific title or to be read as such, whatever it may be.

analysis of all sources, in conjunction with our spell, which is the more coherent, may show interesting results. I hope to return to it in a future publication.

¹⁹ Barta, ' "Falke des Palastes" als ältester Königstitel', *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 51-7.

EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE AND TWO-DIMENSIONAL REPRESENTATION AS PROPAGANDA

By WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON

WE owe to modern scholarship the recognition that certain Ancient Egyptian literary texts are essentially propaganda or have a propagandistic element.¹ Since the term has developed pejorative social and political connotations in recent years, a closer definition of propaganda must be provided in the context in which it is used in this article. I use the term to refer to a message, communication, or statement addressed by its author on behalf of an individual or group (a god, king, official, class) or ideology (cult, kingship, personal ambition, special interest group) to a specific or general audience.² The message generally carries an overt or implied attempt to persuade the audience to follow the author's desire, to promote or publicize a cause, or to influence its attitude. The statement or message can be a call to follow a cult or leader, may or may not include a reward for compliance or a threat for non-compliance,³ or may be more in the nature of a declaration or proclamation. A similar function is represented today by billboard and poster advertisements for political candidates and parties or commercial products, banners, placards, and even effigies of unpopular figures.⁴

The study of Egyptian texts has shown that the propagandistic element is frequently one of several components of a message. A text may be descriptive, as in the account of a battle, or a report of an event of interest, as in a real or 'ideal' biography. Mathematical, medical, accounting, ritual, and magical texts are generally devoid of propagandizing elements.

It is self-evident, but almost universally overlooked,⁵ that Egyptian art in many of its categories is propagandistic. Statuary, two-dimensional representation, and both elements in the decorative arts may communicate a message and attempt to persuade, publicize, or influence the beholder's attitude. The seated statues of Ramesses II in front of the temple of Abu Simbel are part of the translation of a temple pylon with statues to a rock temple. Yet they clearly serve as a signpost directed to the southerners of Ramesses' and Egypt's might.

It is also axiomatic that Egyptian art is functional as opposed to decorative.⁶ Statuary

¹ G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e dynastie* (Paris, 1956).

² A standard definition is 'the spreading of ideas or information deliberately to further one's cause or damage an opposing cause'.

³ The standardized Egyptian 'appeal to the living' formulae demonstrate the concept of an address to the passer-by and general audience. For a special case see P. Vernus, 'Le formule "le souffle de la bouche" au moyen empire', *RdÉ* 28 (1976), 139-45.

⁴ A dynastic parallel is the hanging of six Syrian enemies on the enclosure wall of Thebes and a seventh on the enclosure wall of Napata, as recounted in the Amada stela of Amenophis II.

⁵ An exception is D. Wildung, *Egyptian Saints* (New York, 1977), 8 ff., wherein the term propaganda is utilized.

⁶ W. K. Simpson, *The Face of Egypt: Permanence and Change in Egyptian Art* (Katonah, New York, 1977), 7-11.

functions in one or more uses. A cult-statue of a god serves as the embodiment or representative of the deity in his capacity as the owner of the temple to whom ritual is directed and offerings are delivered. A serdab- or offering-chamber statue functions similarly as a recipient of ritual and offerings. A royal statue, such as those in the Chephren temples, has a ritual and cult function, mainly in the opening-of-the-mouth ceremony as part of the programme of the mortuary and valley temples of a pyramid.⁷ Servant statues are magical substitutes to provide the care and attention required in the after-life. Private temple statues⁸ ensure the continuation of the individual's participation as a member of the community of the temple, with the block statue as a seated observer,⁹ the 'porter statues' being a special case,¹⁰ and the naophoros statue as a member of the procession.¹¹

In none of these categories is a propagandistic element present in itself beyond the obvious attempt to impress the viewer with the importance of the deity, king, or individual represented, and, to some extent, influence his attitude. For a statue to have a propagandistic element, it must essentially make a statement which can be paraphrased in words. Specifically, it should be possible to determine a verbal realization of which the three-dimensional representation is the counterpart. An obvious example of the latter is the 'rebus' statue of Ramesses II from Tanis in the Egyptian Museum (JdE 64735).¹² The essential elements are the seated ruler as a child, wearing the sun disc and holding in his left hand the *swt*-plant (Sign List M 23), and a larger figure of the falcon of Ḥauron of Ramesses protecting him. These are clearly contrived elements of a statement: *Rc*(the disc)-*ms*(the child)-*sw*(the plant) *mry Ḥwrn*. It is logical to assume that the statue group is actually a three-dimensional counterpart of a nominal sentence: *Rc-ms-sw (pw) mry Ḥwrn*, 'Ramesses is the one beloved of Ḥauron.' The propagandistic element can be read as 'Ramesses is beloved of Ḥauron', emphasizing the active patronage of the king by this deity or the king's patronage of the cult of Ḥauron. The king either proclaims and boasts of his loyalty to Ḥauron or else the priesthood of Ḥauron claims that it is Ḥauron who has placed the ruler under his protection and love. We are, therefore, dealing with the syntax of the statue in determining the choice of alternatives or a deliberate ambiguity.

A 'rebus' statue similar in this respect to that of Ramesses and Ḥauron is the representation of Senenmut kneeling and presenting to the gods the name of Ḥatshepsut (Brooklyn 67. 68).¹³ Essentially of the same type and of the same date is the statue of Sethau (Louvre N. 4196), discussed by Drioton.¹⁴ Senenmut holds in front of him a

⁷ D. Arnold, 'Rituale und Pyramidentempel', *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 1-14.

⁸ H. Kayser, *Die Tempelstatuen ägyptischer Privatleute im mittleren und neuen Reich* (1936); E. Otto, 'Zur Bedeutung der ägyptischen Tempelstatuen seit dem Neuen Reich', *Orientalia* 17 (1948), 44 ff.

⁹ A. Radwan, 'Gedanken zum "Wurfelhocker"', *GM* 8 (1973), 27-31, doubts that one can distinguish between temple and tomb examples of this type. Nevertheless, the type is characteristic of temple statuary.

¹⁰ J. Clère, 'Deux statues "gardiennes de porte" d'époque ramesside', *JEA* 54 (1968), 135-48.

¹¹ H. Bonnet, 'Herkunft und Bedeutung der naophoren Statue', *MDAIK* 17 (1961), 91-8.

¹² Illustrated in several views with commentary and bibliography by B. Letellier in the exhibition catalogue, *Ramsès le Grand* (Paris, 1976), 4-11.

¹³ Illustrated with discussion and bibliography in R. Fazzini, *Images for Eternity* (Brooklyn and Berkeley, 1975), no. 54, pp. 74-5, 136.

¹⁴ *ASAE* 38 (1938), 231-46.

large cobra resting on the 'ka'-sign and wearing a sun-disc on its head, the group serving as the name *Mꜣꜣt-kꜣ-Rꜣ*. The statue can be 'read' as one of the following sentences or the like: (*fꜣi*) *Sn-n-mꜣwt (rn n) Mꜣꜣt-kꜣ-Rꜣ*; (*dꜣwꜣ*) *Sn-n-mꜣwt Mꜣꜣt-kꜣ-Rꜣ*; (*hꜣnk*) *Sn-n-mꜣwt Mꜣꜣt-kꜣ-Rꜣ*, 'Senenmut [lifts up, praises, offers the name of] Maꜣatkarē.' Here the propagandizing element is the official's assertion of his devotion and loyalty to his ruler in a temple-statue that draws attention to Senenmut and his adherence to the queen's party and solicits the same from the viewer.

It is to Senenmut that we owe an extraordinary series of statues representing him with his ward, the princess Nefrurē.¹⁵ In each statue the steward and his ward are represented together in a different spatial relationship. On the surface it is Senenmut's affection towards the child that is stressed. Nevertheless, the statement made is less one of affection than a proclamation of Senenmut's economic and political prestige as administrator of the princess's wealth, a 'boast' of his status. This is most clearly seen in the Field Museum statue wherein the standing steward holds the child stiffly in front of him much as he would a naos (Chicago, Field Museum 173.800).¹⁶ In none of the best-preserved statues of this group do the steward and ward look at each other (Berlin 2296; British Museum 174; Cairo CG 42116; Chicago/Field 173.800). The child is almost treated as a staff, stela, naos, or badge of office. One cannot deny an element of affection on the part of the steward towards his ward, but the actual intent of the statue, the message, is a statement made to the viewer persuading him of Senenmut's prestige and status. To convey this message the sculptors created new types.¹⁷ Senenmut's use of statuary to enhance his prestige and claim to status serves as an excellent example of propaganda on the part of an official and is echoed in the series of reliefs which he left at Deir el-Baḥri and Thebes.¹⁸

The reign of Ḥatshepsut has long been recognized as being unusual in its quantity of propaganda, specifically in the scenes and texts relating to her divine birth, although the propagandistic element of these scenes has been questioned in respect to their bearing on Ḥatshepsut's claim to her legitimacy as Pharaoh.¹⁹ Tefnin has now demonstrated that her statuary develops from a feminine (yellow colour and beardless) to a masculine physique (red colour and bearded), 'une évolution dans le temps vers une représentation

¹⁵ C. Meyer, 'Neferure', in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, IV (ed. Helck and Westendorf) (Wiesbaden, 1980), 382-3.

¹⁶ J. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. 162, 5.

¹⁷ It is curious that a form readily available was not selected for the Senenmut-Nefrurē group, namely that of the child seated transversely on the lap of the parent. This group, best known from the Isis and Horus statuettes, is represented in the statuette of Phiops II on his mother's lap (Brooklyn 39.119), in this case probably emphasizing his legitimacy to the throne, and in the fragmentary statuette of Amenirdis on the lap of Amūn (Cairo 42199). Statue groups of the king with one or more gods may have a propagandistic element through the claim on the part of the ruler to this association with divinity.

¹⁸ W. C. Hayes, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 78-90.

¹⁹ W. Seipel, 'Hatshepsut I', in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, II, 1045-51; H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs* (Wiesbaden, 1964); Hayes in *CAH*³ II, 1 (1973), 317-18, with the use of the term propaganda. Brunner denies the validity of the interpretation of the birth scenes and legends as propaganda texts and regards them as the earliest attested canonical form of an underlying mythical conception of the divine son-ship of the king. Although this is undoubtedly correct, the propagandistic element is certainly not absent from all the series of scenes at Deir el-Baḥri, even if it is not the dominant reason for their creation.

de plus en plus masculine de la personne royale'.²⁰ He has also shown that the Osirid statues on the upper terrace develop from a coloration in yellow (sanctuary), to orange (back wall of terrace), to red (portico of the façade).²¹ The large kneeling and standing statues are of red granite, have essentially male bodies, and are bearded.²² In all of these statues there is a propagandizing element towards the assertion of the fictitious masculinity of the ruler.

In the Amarna Period all the resources of the sculptors' workshops were enlisted to serve as dynastic and Atenist propaganda. This is most clearly evident in the programme of two-dimensional representation in temple and tomb relief, with an unrelenting and unparalleled emphasis on the royal family and its special relation to the Aten. The viewer is propagandized by the invitation to subscribe to a new loyalty. The concept of the Aten's supremacy in fact led to the reorganization of the use of space in certain compositions.²³ Never before or again did Egyptian art serve the uses of dynastic and religious propaganda with such emphasis.

The discovery of the remarkable effectiveness of two- and three-dimensional representation as a medium of propaganda was not lost. At the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty and for the rest of Egyptian history emphasis is placed on the promotion of the concept of Egyptian imperialism and Egypt's supremacy over her neighbours.²⁴ Objects from the tomb of Tutankhamun and the reliefs from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb stress the king's domination over the lands to the south, north, west, and east, a theme abundantly attested from the earliest periods in the Narmer palette, the bases of the Khasekhem statues,²⁵ the prisoner statues in the Sixth Dynasty pyramid mortuary temples,²⁶ the Libyan triumph-scene in pyramid temple reliefs of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties,²⁷ the Mentuhotpe reliefs from Gebelein, jewellery from the Twelfth Dynasty, and elsewhere.²⁸ In the earlier periods these scenes are historical, commemorative records of an event or of an 'ideal' and infinitely repeated event.²⁹ It is only in the New Kingdom, and especially in the post-Amarna Period, however, that the propagandizing element actually becomes dominant. On one object

²⁰ *La Statuaire d'Hatchépsout* (Monumenta Aegyptiaca, IV) (Brussels, 1979), 135 and *passim*.

²¹ *Op. cit.* 136.

²² *Op. cit.* 137.

²³ W. M. Davis, 'Two Compositional Tendencies in Amarna Relief', *AJA* 82 (1978), 387-93.

²⁴ B. J. Kemp, 'Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575-1087 B.C.)', in P. D. A. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1978), 7-57; P. J. Frandsen, 'Egyptian Imperialism', in M. T. Larsen (ed.), *Power and Propaganda: A Symposium on Ancient Empires* (= Mesopotamia, 7) (Copenhagen, 1979), 167-90; J. Leclant, 'Les "empires" et l'impérialisme de l'Égypte pharaonique', in *Le concept d'empire* (ed. M. Duvejer) (Paris, 1980), 49-68.

²⁵ H. Junker, 'Die Feinde auf dem Sockel der Chaschem Statuen, und die Darstellung von geopferten Tiere', *Ägyptologische Studien* (ed. O. Firchow; Grapow-Festschrift) (Berlin, 1955), 162-75.

²⁶ Arnold, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 13.

²⁷ Leclant, 'La "famille libyenne" au temple haut de Pépi I^{er}', *Livre du Centenaire 1880-1980* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, Cairo, 1980), 49-54; A. J. Spalinger, 'Some Notes on the Libyans of the Old Kingdom and later Historical Reflexes', *The SSEA Journal* 9 (1979), 125-60. The scene appears also to have been included in the reliefs of the Userkaf temple at Saqqāra.

²⁸ G. Rühlmann, 'Deine Feinde fallen unter deinen Söhnen: Bemerkungen zu einem altorientalischen Machtsymbol', *Wiss. Z. Univ. Halle* 20, G Heft 2 (1971), 61-84.

²⁹ E. Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (Darmstadt, 1966).

after another in the furnishings of the tomb of Tutankhamūn are representations of the conquered Asiatics and Nubians: the foot-stools with representations of bound captives and the Nine Bows, the painted chest with the king in his chariot alternately attacking Asiatics and Nubians, a shield with the royal sphinx trampling the foes of Egypt, the canes with terminals in the shape of bound captives, the sandals with the bows and bound captives, and the scenes of warfare on the state chariots. This is an element of imperial propaganda that lasts to the end of dynastic Egypt and later in the Meroitic bells³⁰ and Fayyūm mummy footcases.³¹

It has been noted that the programme inherent in Egyptian temple reliefs is designed so that scenes of warfare, the delivery and dedication of captives to the god, and the royal hunt are placed on the outer walls and pylons for apotropaic reasons.³² They also reach a wider audience in this position and serve to impress the viewer with the royal might. In this case dynastic, religious, and national propaganda are intermixed.

The propagandizing aspect of statuary can be subtle and implicit or else completely explicit, particularly when accompanied by a text. The former is illustrated by the royal statuary of the latter part of the Twelfth Dynasty. Scholars have stressed that the features of Sesostris III and Ammenemes III correspond to a change in the perception of the kingship from the typical god-king of the Old Kingdom to the ageing, concerned, and caring features of the 'good shepherd' and astute political manager of the Middle Kingdom, a time in which we have an abundance of textual material on the kingship.³³ These features may reflect a deliberate dynastic propaganda as reflected in literature and the royal phraseology. Features of some of the statues of Ammenemes III, the 'Hyksos' sphinxes and the Mit Faris statue (Cairo CG 395), as well as the pair of offering-bearers with fish (Cairo CG 392), are harsh and even brutal, emphasizing a strong and masterful kingship which brooks no opposition, as if addressed to foreigners and potential rebels. The introspective and brooding features of some of these statues, which have earlier and later parallels in the private statuary of the dynasty, can be regarded as dynastic propaganda. At the other extreme, the text of the Vatican statue of Udjahorresnet seeks to place that official in a very good light indeed.³⁴ He stresses his positive intervention on behalf of Neith and Saïs with the Persian rulers, his expulsion of the foreigners from the temples, and his restoration of the schools and medical equipment of the House of Life. His attempts to persuade his audience of his rectitude and his apologia have all the characteristics of a propagandizing text.

The reader may well feel some uneasiness with the use of the term propaganda in some of these contexts, and this uneasiness is shared by the writer. Other terms, however, are not strong enough to convey the intention. For example, one might regard the

³⁰ A. Hermann, 'Magische Glocken aus Meroe', *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 79–89.

³¹ Simpson, 'Ptolemaic Roman Cartonnage Footcases with Prisoners Bound and Tied', *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 50–4.

³² P. Derchain, 'Réflexions sur la décoration des pylônes', *BSFÉ* 46 (1966), 17–24; S. B. Shubert, 'Studies on the Egyptian Pylon', *The SSEA Journal* 11 (1981), 135–64.

³³ E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des mittleren Reiches*, 1: *Die Phraseologie* (Berlin, 1970).

³⁴ Translation with commentary and bibliography in M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, III: *The Late Period* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1980), 36–41.

intention as more commemorative than propagandistic. In Egyptological literature the former term has been used to characterize the issue of five 'commemorative' scarabs by Amenophis III. These commemorate the marriage of Tiye, the wild-cattle hunt, the number of lions shot during his first ten years, the arrival of Gilukhepa, and the construction of the irrigation basin. They were apparently given as royal favours to courtiers at home and sent abroad. Consideration of their wide distribution leads one to believe that their primary purpose was to publicize the events rather than to commemorate them; they are more in the nature of royal communications, proclamations, and messages than commemorations. An alternative is to consider statuary as monumental and memorial. Here too the term 'memorial' fails to convey the sense of a communication. Hence I believe that it is proper to recognize a propagandizing component in much of Egyptian art, namely the intention to publicize, to emphasize a person's prestige, and to influence the attitude of the viewer.

The crux of these observations is that Egyptian art, like the written word, conveys a statement. This can also be seen in the finer details of sculpture and two-dimensional representation. Elements of costume, dress, and insignia have a significance, whether it is a headdress casting a king in the role of a specific god,³⁵ or Achaemenid jewellery worn by Egyptian officials of the Twenty-seventh Dynasty.³⁶ The statues shown holding *nw*-pots have been shown by accompanying texts to be offering other gifts, and hence the gesture with the *nw*-pot is evidently to be interpreted as the hieroglyph for the verb 'to offer', thus again reinforcing the close connection between language and sculpture.³⁷ The Pharaoh is not actually offering the contents of the vessels, but engaged in the act of offering as such, with the real offering specified, if necessary, in the accompanying text. It has been pointed out that the myriad statues of Sekhmet essentially represent the translation into three dimensions of a litany of the goddess and the epithets and cult-places associated with her.³⁸

In the study and appreciation of Egyptian statuary it is, therefore, essential to keep in mind the function, the *raison d'être*, of the object, and to determine, if possible, the nature of the message, statement, or communication which it makes. We are fortunate in having such a close relation between art and language; for the meaning of the former is frequently specified by the latter. One among many elements of art is the communication of a statement which publicizes a deity, ruler, or official, and influences the attitude of the beholder. To this extent the statement is propagandistic.

Egyptian statues of deities were sent or taken abroad, sometimes at the request of a foreign ruler. Although it was hoped that these would prove efficacious in protecting the traveller, facilitating his mission, or healing the afflicted, they naturally had a secondary, propagandistic component. Similarly, the statues of kings, queens, and officials sent abroad served the same purpose, to the extent that they do not represent the booty of war.

³⁵ C. Vandersleyen, 'Amenophis III incarnant le dieu Neferhotep', *Miscellanea Vergote* (1976), 535-42.

³⁶ J. D. Cooney, 'The Portrait of an Egyptian Collaborator', *Brooklyn Museum Bulletin* 15, 2 (1954), 1-16.

³⁷ R. Tefnin, *CdÉ* 54 (1979), 234-7.

³⁸ J. Yoyotte, 'Une monumentale litanie de granit: Les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse', *BSFÉ* 87-8 (1980), 46-75.

COMPLAINT AGAINST A POLICEMAN

By ERIC G. TURNER¹ and W. E. H. COCKLE

THIS Ptolemaic document on papyrus, of a common type, deserves notice as a specimen of a Greek text derived from a recently demounted mummy breast-plate (see pl. XXVII). The papyrus was recovered in 1980 by a team working in University College London under Professor A. P. Mathias, using proteolytic enzymes² as solvent of the original protein glues. The breast-plate is from the Petrie collection of University College London. Nothing is known of its provenance, but it is presumably from the Fayyûm (Gurob?). It had been held back from demounting in the 1890s, to serve as a specimen of mummy decoration of the period. Permission for demounting was given by Professor H. S. Smith, and the decoration was carefully recorded, but could not be preserved.³ The method has not only successfully separated the layers of cartonage without damaging legibility,⁴ as may be judged from the accompanying photograph;⁵ it has even undone a fold into which the papyrus was creased so strongly in antiquity that the scribe wrote over it (see l. 1 n.).

A considerable number of written Greek texts as well as some demotic was recovered from this mummy. Of the Greek specimens, at least one appears to be part of a literary work. Among the Greek documents are several in the same handwriting. Two of these, clearly portions of a single document, are published here. Another written in the same handwriting concerns police affairs. Presumably the writer was a professional scribe writing for clients at an office at some centre in the Arsinoite Nome (Crocodilopolis or, less probably, Karanis). The scribe wrote a bold, clear, upright hand of fair size, the letters being capitals for the most part separately made (α , δ , η , λ , μ , \omicron , π may form ligatures). T is big and has a marked upward stroke to its cross-bar (often made in two or even three movements); the uprights of μ are joined by a shallow, only slightly curving median and its second hasta (like those of η and π) often carries a high link-stroke as if to join the following letter; one form of ν erects its second vertical well above the line; ξ consists of three parallel horizontal strokes; \omicron and ω are placed high in the line as is the base of δ . The handwriting should clearly be assigned to the

¹ In this paper the presentation is the work of Sir Eric Turner. He made a first transcript of fr. 1 of the papyrus immediately on its recovery. Dr Cockle then cleaned it, and added a number of fragments. He found the right reading at a number of doubtful places, and has verified the version given here against the original.

² Professor Mathias used his own formulae. But the method would not have been tried without the stimulus supplied by Ø. Wendelbo, *The Use of Proteolytic Enzymes in the Restoration of Paper and Papyrus* (Bergen University Library, 1976) (a short anticipatory account in *Proceedings XIV Int. Congress of Papyrologists*, [EES Graeco-Roman Memoir 61 (1975), 337-40]).

³ Work is now at an advanced stage on a process which will save the decoration at future demountings, by separating and conserving the gesso layer, and releasing the lower inscribed layers: see H. Maehler, *BICS* 27 (1980), 120-2.

⁴ The confusing offsets of ink, especially between ll. 19 and 25, are ancient.

⁵ See pl. XXVII. The fragment giving ll. 34 to 42 was discovered after the photograph was taken.

the second half of the third century BC, perhaps to Philopator's rather than to Euergetes' reign. The reference to '3 obols' suggests a date before the great inflation under Philopator. Further examination of other pieces from this mummy may allow closer dating through identification of the officials concerned. I have had no opportunity to search for other examples of the handwriting through the Petrie papyri distributed between the British Library, the Bodleian, and Trinity College, Dublin.

The text (inv. U.C.L. Petrie Cartonage 1B/G2 = Breast-plate 1/Greek text 2) is broken at top and bottom. The two constituent pieces, which are only a few lines apart, carry about forty lines, mostly complete. The text is opisthograph: that is, when the scribe reached the foot of his slip of papyrus, he turned it over and upside down, and completed his document on the back. The subject is a complaint in *hypomnema* form raised by a royal cultivator belonging to Karanis against the confiscation by a policeman (*phylakites*) of a jenny and her load. The petitioner was conveying bread, presumably from Karanis, to a prisoner in the gaol at Crocodilopolis. The prisoner was clearly one of the unfortunate souls confined there who turn up in the other Petrie papyri. One of them (l. 4 n.) writes of near-starvation lasting ten months. The name and title of the addressee were contained in the portion lost at the head. The petitioner states that he had previously submitted a memorandum (*hypomnema*) to the addressee, but had not been summoned to answer to it. He had then petitioned Anchophis, the principal service guard attached for duty to the addressee, incriminating the policeman. The break in our text conceals from us whether he ever recovered the jenny. This petition is a protest against the demand that he should pay three obols for the recovery of his gear (pack-saddle, bags, and a sack), and requests that instructions be given to Anchophis to return it. The action of the policeman is represented as arbitrary and tyrannical. It would be no surprise if it was, though on one point (l. 19 n.) the petitioner uses evasive language. The incident in itself is unremarkable; what is remarkable is that the dossier should exist at all. The existence and use of such an elaborate machinery to handle complaints implies that higher officials recognized its value as a safety-valve. It would be interesting to learn from Egyptologists whether there are Pharaonic parallels⁶

⁶ At very short notice Dr D. M. Dixon has supplied the following note: 'It was recognized very early that an opportunity to unburden was a valuable safety valve, regardless of the outcome of the petition. Examples: 1. Old Kingdom: The Instruction of Ptaḥhotpe, 11. 268-9, "If you are a man who leads, listen calmly to the speech of one who pleads. Do not stop him from purging his body of that which he planned to tell. A man in distress wants to pour out his heart more than that his case be won. About him who stops a plea one says: 'Why does he reject it?' Not all one pleads for can be granted, but a good hearing soothes the heart." (Trans. by M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1 (Berkeley, 1973), 68). 2. Middle Kingdom: The well-known *Story of the Eloquent Peasant*. The peasant is on his way to market with his donkey loaded with produce when he is accosted by a retainer of a high official. The retainer, on the flimsiest pretext, arbitrarily seizes the peasant's donkey and goods, whereupon the latter, after pleading unsuccessfully for the return of his property, petitions the man's superior, whom he addresses in a long series of speeches. Eventually he is successful in regaining his donkey and goods. 3. New Kingdom, Dynasty XVIII: In his speech to his newly-installed vizier Rekhmirē, Tuthmosis III instructs him, *inter alia*, to allow a petitioner to unburden: "Do not pass over a petitioner before you have considered his speech. When a petitioner is about to petition you, don't dismiss what he says as already said. Deny him after you let him hear on what account you have denied him. Lo, it is said: 'A petitioner wants his plea considered rather than have his case adjudged.'" (Lichtheim, *op. cit.* II, 27). What the mechanism was for putting the plea is not clear.'

and whether the machinery involved (for all its ineffectiveness) is traditional or a Ptolemaic innovation.

Fr. 1

11 cm B × 22.7 cm H

....ος γεωργοῦ βασιλικοῦ
 ἐκ Καραγίδος. ἐμοῦ ἀνα-
 φέροντος ἀρτίδια ἐφ' ὄνου
 εἰς Κροκοδείλων Πόλιν συνε-
 5 χομένωι τινι ἐν τῇ φυλα-
 κῇ καὶ τῶν ἀρτιδίω
 ἐνότων ἐν μωίοις καὶ
 κριθῶν χοινίκων τετρατά-
 ρων ἵνα ἔχη ἡ ὄνος τὰ δέ-
 10 οντα ἀπαντήσας
 μοι Ἀθῶρις ὁ φυλακίτης
 τοῦ Φρεμθιείου ἀφείλε-
 τό μου τὴν ὄνον ἐπισε-
 15 σαγμένην καὶ ἐπικει-
 μένων τῶν τε μωίων
 τῶν ἄρτων καὶ κάκκου
 στιππυίνου. ἐγὼ δὲ
 ἀνεχώρησα μὴ προσπα-
 χθῶ ἕνεκεν κριθῶν ῥ'.
 20 .[3/4]ταθέντων δὲ ἐπι..[
 ?4]των ἔδωκα σοὶ ὑπό-
 μνημα περὶ τῆς ὄνου
 πρὸς ὃ οὐκ ἀνεκλήθην.
 ὅθεν ἐνέτυχον Ἀγχώφει
 25 τῶι ἀρχιμαχίμωι σοῦ
 κατὰ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου
 φυλακίτου ὅτι ἔχει μου
 τὸν κάκκον καὶ τοὺς
 * * * *

Fr. 2

10.5 cm B × 5.6 cm H

[..]. [
 31 μὲν ἐξεκομίσατο [
 του τὸν κάκκον ἐμ[οῦ δὲ (?)
 ἀπαιτοῦντος αὐτὸν
 ἡΐτησέ με τριώβολον κα[ὶ
 []
 35 τωρ... [
 τ. [
 * * * *

Fr. 2 Back

.
 37 πεπρακ[
 ἀξιῶ ἐ ἐ συντ[άξαι γράψαι]
 Ἀγχώφει ἀποδ[οῦν]αί
 40 μοι τὸν κάκκον κ[α]ὶ τῆ[ν]
 σαγήν τῆς ὄνου καὶ [
 τὰ μωία vac. [

Translation

‘. . . from X, royal cultivator belonging to Karanis. While I was transporting loaves of bread on a donkey to Crocodilopolis for a man detained in the gaol, and the loaves were contained in tote-bags and four *choinikes* of barley so that the jenny might have what she needed, Hathoris the policeman at the Phremithieion put himself in my path and took from me the jenny loaded as she was and with the tote-bags of bread and a sack made of tow on her back. I made myself scarce for fear of being marched to prison for *choinikes* 4 of barley . . . I submitted a memorandum to you about the jenny, but I was not summoned to answer to it. Thereupon I petitioned Anchophis your guard against the aforesaid policeman, stating that he was holding the sack and the . . . he carried it off . . . the sack. (When I) asked him to return it, he demanded three obols from me . . . I request you to give instructions . . . to Anchophis to restore to me the sack and the pack-saddle and the tote-bags.’

Commentary

1. Probably two lines are lost before the present beginning. Assuming the text to be in *hypomnema* form, they would have contained the name and function of the addressee in the dative case, followed by *παρά* and the name of the complainant in the genitive. Part or perhaps all of the latter’s name (or more probably his father’s name) stood at the beginning of l. 1. The line probably begins with *π*, and *ο* preceded *γεωργοῦ*. *Πάσιτος* looks a likely possibility.

A tightly folded crease ran diagonally from left to right down the papyrus at the moment of use, and the scribe wrote over it. Now that the papyrus has been relaxed and this ancient crease has been removed, an empty space has been created and the scribe’s letters have been torn apart. Portions of divided letters to left and right of the space can be seen in, e.g., *ν* of *εν* in 7, *κ* of *χοινικων* in 8, *η* (definite article) in 9, *τ* in *απαντησας* 10, *α* in *φυλακτης* 11, *κ* of *επικει* 14, second *ω* of *μωιων* 15.

2. *ἀναφέροντος*: the regular word for a journey from a place on the periphery of a district, such as Karanis, to the nome-capital, in this case Arsinoe-Crocodilopolis.

3. *ἐφ’ ὄνου*: aspirated by analogy with *ἐφ’ ἵππου* (so E. Mayser, *Grammatik d. gr. Pap. d. Ptolemäerzeit*, 1², I, 176, on *ἐφόνιον* modelled on *ἐφίππιον*).

4–5. *συνεχομένωι τινι*: *τινι* read by E. W. Handley: cf. *P. Petrie*, III, 36a, recto 8, still better verso 2 ff. *καταδεδυνάστευμαι ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ λιμῶι παραπολλύμενος μῆνές εἰςιν δέκα*. *ἄρτοι* for an *ὄνηλάτης* figure in the private account *P. Petrie*, III, 135. 8.

11. *Ἀθῶρις*: the name is not in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Foraboschi, *Onomasticon alterum*, or the name-lists in *Prosop. Ptol.* VII, but it is regularly formed as theophoric name from Ἥathor. Presumably this Egyptian policeman was recruited from, e.g., the Tentyrite or Pathyrite Nome, where Ἥathor was a nome-goddess.

12. *Φρεμθιείου*: the form of the word and the presence of a policeman suggest a sanctuary, presumably on the route from Karanis to Crocodilopolis, and it is not elsewhere attested. An early Roman land-cession mentions an unexplained ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Φρεμεῖ κρηπίς, *P. Mich.* v, 252, 3, as the place of custody of a recognized *schoinion* measure: cf. also *ibid.* 273. 3, ἐν τῇ κοιλῆι λεγομένη Φρεγμῆι; *PSI VIII*, 906. 3–4, ἐν τῇ κοιλῆι λεγομέν[η] κρηπίδ[ι]. But the land concerned in these texts and, therefore, the place Phremei are in the division of Polemon at the other end of the Arsinoite Nome from Karanis.

ἀφείλετό μου: these two words occur in this order (μου . . ‘from me’) in *P. Enteux*, 83. 5, where μ[ου] was restored by Guéraud.

18. *ἀνεχώρησα*: may, but need not, mean ‘sought refuge in a sanctuary’.

προσαπαχθῶ: cf. *P. Enteux*, 83. 7, ὁ κωμάρχης προσαπήγαγέ με εἰς τὴν φυλακὴν.

19. *ἔνεκεν*: E. Mayser, *Grammatik* . . ., II, 2. 2, 520–2, quotes only one example of prefixed ἔνεκεν in Ptolemaic documents (but other forms of this pseudo-preposition occur before their noun or phrase).

It is not clear to me why the complainant advances only the 4 *choinikes* as excuse for running away. Were they alone his own property? Or had he evaded payment of some impost on them? The Roman tax *dichoinikia* or *trichoinikon* is traced back to the Ptolemaic Period by T. Kalén, *P. Berl. Leihgabe*, I, 305 ff.; Wallace, *Taxation*, 38–9, but the circumstances under which it fell due are obscure. Barley is attested as fodder for horses and mules in *P. Petrie*, III, 61g, 5. 9 but the animals in that text are military, not farm beasts.

20. The first letter might be read as κ, and after *επι* at the end *ζε* is the best reading of the traces. For restoration: the position of *δέ* suggests that the participle is formed from a compound verb, and it is to be noted that *καθίστημι* with *ἐπί* and accusative of the person is a common phrase for ‘produce for examination’ (references in Mayser, *Grammatik*, II, 2, 478). Therefore, κ[ατα]καθίστηντων δὲ ἐπὶ ἐ[] των seems likely. But what is the subject of the participle? Not the *κριθαί* or the *χοίνικες* (both feminine). [του] των, [αὐ] τῶν, [τῶν αὐ] τῶν are ambiguous, and only one policeman has been mentioned.

24. *ἐνέτυχον*: in view of the addressee this word presumably stands for *ἐνέτυχον διὰ ὑπομνήματος*. For the name Anchophis, guaranteed by l. 39, cf. *P. Lond.* VII, 2170. 2.

25. This is the earliest text to date to reveal an *archimachimos* in police role, a function to which the office in the second century BC was rightly assigned in *Prosop. Ptol.*, nos. 4753–4. In *P. Moen inv.* 5 (*CdÉ* 54 [1979] 274 ff.) of third/second century BC the context also assures a police function for the *archimachimos*.

29. The only certain ink is the lower tail of a diagonal (as of χ) above ν in 30.

34. The whole line is covered by a strip of papyrus which does not belong (in Neapolitan terms, a *souvrapposto*) which was not separated from the main piece at the time of demounting.

37. e.g. *πέπρακ[ται]*.

38. Normally *γράφαι* follows *συντάξαι* in the *ἀξιώ ἐέ* formula. If it was written here, the letters must have been crowded. The narrative in ll. 24 ff. shows that Anchophis is a different person from the policeman who originally took the sack.

42. There does not seem to be any writing after *μῶια* on the level of this line. A closing greeting, if used, could have fallen in the gap between the fragments.

LEASE OF A RED COW CALLED THAYRIS

By J. R. REA

By this contract of 26 BC, written on papyrus in Greek, a villager of Socnopaeu Nesus undertook to lease a cow for a period of nine or ten months from a person called Anteros, whose style of nomenclature indicates that he was the slave of a Roman citizen called Cn. Pompeius Porus. The time is only five years after the defeat of Cleopatra's fleet at Actium, which led to Egypt's entry into the Roman Empire.

The situation is very similar to that in *SB* X, 10573 + *P. Wisc.* II, 41, of 10 BC, in which Arignotus, slave of C. Servilius son of P. Servilius, leased out two bulls and a plough to two villagers. Porus' Roman names suggest that he, or his father, received the citizenship from Pompey the Great, who was killed in 48 BC. P. Servilius may have received his from P. Servilius Isauricus, another Republican general, who was consul in 41 BC. Perhaps these men were veterans or sons of veterans.

For a time I considered the possibility that Porus and C. Servilius were in the Roman administrative service and that these leases might indicate a continuation into the Roman Period of a Ptolemaic system of supplying cattle to the farmers of state land: cf. M. Rostovtseff, *A Large Estate*, 107-9. However, the essentially private formats of these contracts weigh heavily against such a theory.¹ More probably Porus and P. Servilius were part of the first wave of Roman settlers in Egypt.

No leases of cows were known to the author of the standard monograph on the law of leasing animals in Graeco-Roman Egypt: see S. von Bolla-Kotek, *Tiermiete u. Viehpacht in Ägypten*² (1965), 45-6; but four others are now known, *P. Rein. Dem.* 4 (*P. Rein.* I, pp. 191-6) of 108 BC; *SB* X, 10573 + *P. Wisc.* II, 51 of 10 BC; *P. Michael.* 22 of AD 291 (with revisions in H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, I, 256-8; 280); *P. Princ.* III, 151, of the fourth century (with revisions by C. W. Keyes, *AJP* 65 (1944), 187). In the first the animals were to be used for agricultural work, in the next two ploughing is specified, while in the last no work is mentioned, though there is a clause assigning any offspring of the cows to the lessee, which suggests that the lease was made particularly with a view to breeding. The present contract makes no statement of its purpose. All that is required of the lessee is a grain rent of 10 artabas of wheat to be delivered at the neighbouring village of Nilopolis and the return of the cow in good condition at the expiry of the term or, failing that, the payment of its stated value of 187 drachmas. It seems likely that the lessee would hope to make the best use of the cow by breeding from it as well as by working it on the land available to him.

The document has been invalidated by a rough lattice pattern of ink strokes, done presumably after the expiry of the lease. The pattern of folds and damage by worms

¹ I am grateful for sobering advice on this point to Jane Rowlandson, of The Queen's College, Oxford, who is currently studying land tenure and use in Graeco-Roman Egypt, particularly in the Oxyrhynchite Nome. More important, she also supplied the list of parallel documents.

show that the sheet was folded ten times from the top, with a single fold from the bottom to bring the lower edge safely into the package: cf. *P. Oxy.* XLVIII, 3396. 32 n. Some remains of ink at a point on the back that would have been on the outside of the package probably came from an endorsement. Unfortunately, they stand next to the area of greatest damage, corresponding to lines 26–30 of the lease. With the eye of faith they might be read and restored to give the ends of a two-line docket of the expected type and content, e.g. ¹[μίεθ(ωσις) β]ροῦς |² [παρὰ] Ἀντέρω(τος), ‘lease of a cow from Anteros’. The back of the contract, where the ink has suffered more damage, was subsequently used for a list of personal names, written across the fibres in three columns each of about thirty-five lines with the same orientation as the lease, and a fourth column of about twelve lines at right angles to the others in the lower margin. Most of the lines of cols. i–iii are followed by an alpha, occasionally by αα, once by β. Many names, most frequently in cols. i–ii, are preceded by check marks in the form of a heavy dot or an oblique stroke. Occasionally there are other marks before the names, some recognizable as letters of the alphabet, others not. This looks like an official list, made for the purposes of taxation or population control, though it is in a fairly rough form.

The papyrus belongs to the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society, and comes from a brief excavation conducted by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt at Socnopaeu Nesus in 1900–1. It measures about 19.5 cm wide by 35 cm high.

5

ἔτους πέμπτου τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως θεοῦ υἱοῦ μηνὸς Δύσ-
 τρου νομηνία, Τῦβι νομηνία, ἐν τῇ Σοκνοπαίου νήσου τῆς
 Ἑρακλείδου μερίδος. ὁμολογεῖ Πάπος δε καὶ Παπαῖς Μέλα-
 5 νος τοῦ καὶ Πεκύσιος Πέρσης τῆς ἐπιγονῆς μεμισθῶ-
 θαι παρὰ Ἀντέρωτα Γναίου Πομπηίου Πώρου βοῦν
 μίαν [π]υρράν, ἣ ὄνομα Θαῦρις, ἀπὸ Ἀθῦρ τοῦ πέμπτου
 ἔτους Καίσαρος ἕως Μεσορήι τριακάδος, φόρου τοῦ παν-
 τὸς πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν δέκα καθεσταμένας εἰς Νίλου
 10 πόλιν μέτρῳ δρόμῳ πυρὸν ν[έον] καθαρὸν ἀπὸ πάν-
 των καὶ ἄδολον. μετὰ δὲ τὸν χρόνον παραδ. . . .
 Πάπος τὴν βοῦν ὑγιὴν καὶ ἀσυνῆ, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ παραδοῖ,
 ἀποτεῖσιν παραχρῆμα ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου τὴν τῆς βοῦς
 τιμὴν ἀργυρίου ἐπισήμου νομίματος δραχμὰς
 15 ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἑπτὰ, τῆς πράξεως οὐσης
 τῷ Ἀντέρωτι καὶ τοῖς παρ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τε αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ μεμισθωμένου καὶ ἐκ τ[ῶ]ν τούτου ὑπαρχόν-
 των πάντων, καὶ καθάπερ ἐγ δίκης. ἡ συγγραφὴ
 κυρία. μάρτυρες (vac.)

(vac.)

20 ἔτους ε Καίσαρος, Τῦβι ᾱ. πέπτω(κεν) εἰς ἀναγρ(αφήν) δι(ὰ)
 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ πρὸς τῷ γρ(αφείω) Σοκνοπαίου Νήσου.

(vac.)

(m. 2) Πάπος ὡς καὶ Παπαῖς Μέλανος τοῦ καὶ Πεκύσιος Πέρσης
 τῆς ἐπικωνῆς μεμίθωμαι παρὰ Ἀντέλωτα Γναίου Πομ-
 25 πηείου Πόλου βοῦν μίαν πυράν, ἧ ὄνομα Ταῦλις, ἀπὸ Ἀθύρ
 αὐτοῦ πέμπτου ἔτους Καίσαλος ὡς Μεσορήι δριαγάτος τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ πέμπτου ἔτο[υς], φ[ό]ρ[ου το]ῦ π[α]ντὸς [μέ]τρῳ δρόμῳ
 ἀρταβῶν δέκα καθεσταμένας [εἰς Νίλου] πόλιν. μετὰ
 τὲ τὸν χρόνον παρατώσω τὴν βοῦ[ν ὑγιῆ]ν καὶ ἀσινῆ,
 30 ἐὰν τὲ μὴ πα[ραδ]ώσω, ἐκτίσω ἐ[κ τοῦ ἰ]δίου ἀργυρίου
 δραχμὰς εἰ[κατὸν ὄγ]δοήκωντα ἐπτὰ κ[αὶ] τὰ ἄλλα {ι} ποιήσω
 καθότι π[ρο]γέγραπται.

6 l. Ἀντέρωτος, Πομπηίου	8 l. Μεσορή	9 l. καθεσταμένων	11 l. παραδῶσει
12 l. ὑγιῆ, παραδῶ	13 l. ἀποτείσειν	18 l. ἐκ, κυγγραφῆ	20 πεπτῶ, αναγρ̄ δι ^τ
21 προστῶ γρ̄	22 l. ὅς	23 l. ἐπιγονῆς, Ἀντέρωτος	23-4 l. Πομπηίου
πυράν, Θαῦρις	25 l. πέμπτου, Καίσαρος, ἕως Μεσορή	τριακάδος	24 l. Πύρου?,
27 l. καθεσταμένων	28 l. δέ, παραδῶσω, ὑγιῆ	29 l. δέ, παραδῶ, ἐκτίειω	26 l. πέμπτου
			30 l. ὄγδοήκωντα

Translation

‘No. 6.

‘Fifth year of the domination of Caesar, son of the deified (Julius), first of the month of Dystrus, first of Tybi, in the (village) of Socnopaeu Nesus of the department of Heracleides. Papus alias Papais son of Melas alias Pecysis, Persian of the succession, acknowledges that he has leased from Anteros (slave) of Gnaeus Pompeius Porus one red cow, whose name is Thayris, from Hathyr of the fifth year of Caesar until Mesore thirtieth, at a total rent of ten artabas of wheat, paid at Nilopolis by the *dromus* measure in new wheat clear of all deductions and without fraud. After expiry of the term Papus will return the cow in good condition and unharmed. If he does not return (it), he will pay back immediately from his own resources as the value of the cow one hundred and eighty-seven drachmas of silver money of struck coinage, right of exaction lying with Anteros and his agents against the lessee himself and all his property and as if as the result of a suit. The contract is normative. Witnesses . . .

‘Year 5 of Caesar, Tybi 1st. It has been entered in the register, through Ptolemaeus, manager of the notarial office of Socnopaeu Nesus.’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Papus alias Papais, son of Melas alias Pecysis, Persian of the succession, have leased from Anteros (slave) of Gnaeus Pompeius Porus one red cow, whose name is Thayris, from Hathyr of the fifth year of Caesar until Mesore thirtieth of the same fifth year, at a total rent by the *dromus* measure of ten artabas paid at Nilopolis. After expiry of the term I shall return the cow in good condition and unharmed, and, if I do not return (it), I shall pay back from my own resources one hundred and eighty-seven drachmas of silver money, and I shall do the other things as written above.’

Commentary

1. The notation is evidently a number, $\varsigma = 6$, but its precise significance here is not known. It is not possible to distinguish the hand from those of the body of the text and of the subscription, in which this figure does not appear. It may be in a third hand.

2. τῆς Καίσαρος κρατήσεως. Date clauses with this phrase do not differ in effect from ordinary regnal year clauses: cf. 19. See especially U. Wilcken, *JRS* 27 (1937), 139 ff. Cf. P. Bureth, *Les Titulatures*, 23–4, for a list of eleven references to the phrase.

2–3. μηνὸς Δύετρον . . . Τῦβι: cf. U. Hagedorn, ‘Gebrauch und Verbreitung makedonischer Monatsnamen im römischen Ägypten’, *ZPE* 23 (1976), 143–67. Macedonian months are used only in documents formally registered in the local notarial offices: cf. 20–1 here.

3. νομηηνία . . . νομηηνία. The equivalence is fictitious: cf. *ZPE* 23 (1976), 143. By the Alexandrian calendar as reformed under Augustus 1 Tybi would represent the Julian date 26 December, 26 BC, the year 26/5 BC being a leap year. However, it is not known when the reformed calendar was introduced. It may have been in this very year: see W. *Gdz.*, p. lv. This means that it is not yet certain on which Julian day this contract was concluded. The term of the lease ran from Hathyr, two months earlier: cf. 7–8 n.

3–4. For the location of the village, on the north shore of Lake Moeris, see the map at the end of *P. Tebt.* II. For an account of the site see A. E. R. Boak, *Soknopaiou Nesos* (University of Michigan Excavations, 1931–2). For the divisions of the nome see *P. Tebt.* II, p. 350.

4–5. The lessee and his father are unknown.

5. For the legal fiction of the ‘Persians of the Succession’ see O. Montevicchi, *La Papirologia*, 227.

6. Ἀντέρωτα (l. -ος). It is odd that the subscription also has the accusative form (23). The dative appears correctly in 16, so there seems no reason to suspect the existence of Ἀντερωτᾶς, which has not appeared in the dictionaries of names (Pape–Benseler, *Griechische Eigennamen*; Preisigke, *Namenbuch*; Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*). The juxtaposition of his name with that of Cn. Pompeius Porus shows that he was the slave of the latter: cf. *P. Oxy.* XLVI, 3273. 2–3 n., with *ZPE* 32 (1978), 261. It is a nice point of law to decide in what degree or sense he was the owner of the cow. By Roman law he could not have *dominium* in any property: cf. W. L. Westermann, *The Slave Systems*, 83. In the strikingly similar case of *SB* x, 10573 the lessor is definitely described as a slave, ἐμίθωσαν (l. -εν) Ἀρίγνωτος δο[ῦ]λος Γαίου Σερουηλίου Ποπλίου υἱοῦ (1–2). The editor suggested that he was acting as his owner’s bailiff (*JEA* 53 [1967], 129). On the independence of slaves cf. I. Biezuńska-Malowist, *L’Esclavage*, II, 98.

Πῶρος is well known as the name of the Indian prince who fought against Alexander the Great, but is not well attested as a Greek name: see Pape–Benseler, *Gr. Eigenn.* Α Πόρος, which is the phonetic equivalent, appears several times in the Zeno archive; he was a slave (see T. Reekmans, *Sitométrie*, 92, no. 122; add *P. Lond.* VII, 2149. 15). The subscriber’s version, Πόλος (24), which is unlikely to be right—cf. Καίκαλος = Καίσαρος (26)—does not appear in the *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*, nor does Πῶλος, which is listed in Pape–Benseler. His Roman names suggest a connection with Pompey the Great: cf. *Introd.*

7. [π]υρράν. This is a normal colour for a cow: cf. *P. Köln* I, 55. 5 n., *AJP* 65 (1944), 187.

ἡ ὄνομα Θαῦρις. For other cows’ names cf. *P. Princ.* III, 151. 8, 9, with the corrections to the text in *AJP* 65 (1944), 187 = *BL* III, 152; *P. Abinn.* 60. 7, 9 and n.; *P. Cair. Isid.* 137. 10–11; *SB* x, 10573. 7–8. It may have been on the basis of the name of one of the bulls in the last papyrus, Ἀρσινοϊτικός, that the provenance of the document was assigned to the Arsinoite Nome. The place

name Ἰβίων Ἀντιλόχου shows that it comes from Oxyrhynchus: see A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi*, III, 1, q; P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 65. Θαῦρις (= Ταῦρις), 'she of Horus', is a name commonly used for women, e.g. *P. Princ.* III, 123, ii. 24 (cf. W. Spiegelberg, *Koptische Eigennamen*). So too are the cow names Ἰκάριον and Τεσεῦρις in *P. Princ.* III, 151. 8 and 9. *P. Köln* I, 55 has an endorsement read as πῶς(ις) βοὸς Πεττιρίο(υ) (δραχμῶν) π, in which Πεττιρίος was taken as an alternative name of the seller Aurelius Serenus. The idea that it might be the cow's name is rejected in the note because of the initial pi, which in names often represents the Egyptian masculine article, while tau or theta represents the feminine article. On the other hand, the name of the heifer in *P. Abinn.* 80 verso 22 is Πιπᾶειν, which seems to show that the argument from the initial pi is not conclusive.

7-8. ἀπὸ Ἀθύρ (October/November) . . . ἕως Μεσορῆ τριακάδος (23 August?). The lease is back-dated, for reasons at which we can only guess. We may reasonably guess that the cow had been in the lessee's possession for either one or two months, depending on whether 'from Hathyr' means from 1 Hathyr or from 1 Choecac. Perhaps the lease was customary, renewed each year unless circumstances changed. In any case, this contract runs for nine or ten months.

The intercalary days added at the end of Mesore were regarded as the last five (or six) days of the year. The fact that they were not included here may suggest that there was some doubt about the state of the calendar. It does not necessarily mean that the Augustan reform of the calendar had not yet taken place. Cf. 3 n. *P. Princ.* III, 151 also runs from Hathyr; *P. Rein. Dem.* 4 is dated in Hathyr; *P. Michael.* 22 is dated 2 Phaophi, Phaophi being the previous month. The date was lost in *SB* x, 10573, but the foot of that document has now turned up and has restored the month, which is Hathyr again: see *P. Wisc.* II, 51. 5, 8. The season is that of the subsidence of the Nile flood, when agricultural work for the next sowing began again.

9. ἀρταβῶν δέκα. In *P. Rein. Dem.* 4 the same rent of ten artabas was paid for two cows, while in *SB* x, 10573 the rent was 27 art. for two bulls together with their plough. It is more difficult to compare the data in *P. Michael.* 22, where the rent for three cows was divided into a quantity of green fodder, the amount being lost, and 9 art. of wheat. Finally, in *P. Princ.* III, 151 the rent for two cows, whose offspring was to belong to the lessee, was the lowest of all at 6 art.

9-10. Νίλου πόλιν: cf. H. Gauthier, *Les Nomes*, 189-90. Its location is unidentified, but it was near Socnopaeu Nesus, as the present passage also implies: see *P. Tebt.* II, p. 391.

10. μέτρῳ δρόμῳ refers to a temple measure, cf. *P. Tebt.* I, p. 232 (386 n.).

11. At the end of the line we expect παραδώσει: cf. 12, 28, 29. Perhaps the traces would allow it to be read, but they seem dubious. The scribe may have written a phonetic equivalent, such as παραδώσι or παραδόσει, and the trouble at the beginning of the next line makes one suspect some greater difficulty here, but the sense is not in doubt.

12. Πάπος. The first two letters were omitted and then added later in the margin.

παραδοῖ. Cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, §§. 535. 1; 537. 3.

14-15. For the price cf. A. C. Johnson, *Roman Egypt*, 232; *P. Köln* I, 55 introd. The figures are few and fluctuating, but the sum here confirms the impression that cows were expensive.

15-18. πράξεως . . . καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Cf. *P. Oxy.* XLVII, 3351. 13 n.

18-19. Cf. M. Hässler, *Die Bedeutung der Kyria-Klausel* (1960); H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht d. gr. Papyri Ägyptens*, II, 155-64.

19. μάρτυρες (vac.). The survival of this word without the actual use of witnesses is due to the descent of these notarial contracts from the Hellenistic ἐξαμάρτυρος συγγραφή: cf. H. J. Wolff, op. cit. II, 65, 71. The force of this contract was secured by its registration in the local notarial office: cf. 20-1. It was certainly not invalidated by the absence of the names of witnesses.

20-1. For accounts of the work of a village notarial office see the introductions to *P. Mich.* II and v, and E. M. Husselman, 'Procedures of the Record Office of Tebtunis in the First Century A.D.' in *Proceedings of the XII International Congress of Papyrology* (ASP VII), 223-38. The ἀναγραφή is a 'list . . . of . . . contracts by title alone': see op. cit. 224; a good example is *P. Mich.* v, 238. For the legal aspects see H. J. Wolff, op. cit. II, 36-40.

21. It is a little odd that the writer has placed the omega of τῶ above the tau as if it were indicating an abbreviation, but the title ὁ πρὸς τῶ γραφεῖω is well known and there is no doubt of the reading or meaning.

22-31. This subscription is by the hand of Papus himself, which is competent and practised. There is nothing to choose between it and the hand of the scribe, but the subscription is full of phonetic spellings. The most noticeable are those which are due to bilingual interference (see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar*, I, 46-8), that is, due to the fact that Papus was an Egyptian speaker. The Egyptian sound system did not distinguish between voiced and unvoiced stops, hence confusion here between γ and κ, and δ and τ, nor between liquids, hence the exchange of λ and ρ. The other oddities, exchange of omicron and omega, iotacism, intrusive final nasals, intrusive iota adscript, simplification of double consonants, are also commonly to be met with in the Greek of other areas at this time. All these phenomena are documented and discussed in Gignac, op. cit.

For the legal aspects of the subscription see H. J. Wolff, op. cit., II, 41, 164-6.

25. Above ατο in δριαγάτος (= τριακάδος) there is a short interlineation of perhaps three letters, much blotted. A correction of the spelling might be expected, but no letter has yet been recognised.

29. πα[ραδ]ύσω = παραδῶ. For this type of error see B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb*, § 540.

UNEDITED MERTON PAPYRI. II

By J. DAVID THOMAS

FOR earlier publications of papyri in the collection of the late Mr W. Merton see *JEA* 56 (1970), 172–8.¹ The five texts published here for the first time continue the numbering of the texts presented in the article in *JEA* 56; publication is by kind permission of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin. It was my understanding that these texts would complete the publication of the collection. However, while this article was in course of preparation, Mr W. V. Davies brought it to my knowledge that there were some papyri in the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, which were said to be from the collection of Mr W. Merton and to have been deposited there for the use of the late Sir Harold Idris Bell. Mr Daniel Huws, Keeper of MSS and Records, was kind enough to supply me with some information about these papyri from which it is reasonably clear that they represent a more recent purchase by Mr Merton and that they are as yet unpublished. There appear to be about fifteen papyri in this group. I hope to be able to publish them, or such of them as merit publication, at a later date.

132. PETITION

Provenance unknown

Late first/early second century AD

Inv. no. 121

8.5 cm × 9.5 cm.

The papyrus contains part of a petition concerned with a routine type of complaint against assault and theft of clothing. The upper part is lost and with it the name of the addressee; no doubt he was either the *strategos* or the local police chief. It is noteworthy that the complaint seems to have been directed against a *δημόσιος*, a local village police official.

The text can be dated only on palaeographical grounds. From the letter forms and almost total absence of ligature I should prefer to assign it to the later first century AD, with the early second as a less likely possibility. Apart from rho, which is made like a figure 2, it is very similar to the hand of *P. Princ.* 147, reproduced in *BASP* 5 (1968), 11, dated in AD 87/8.

·	·	·	·	·
γ	α	ι	α	.
ε	ν	μ	έ	ν
τ	ο	ι	.	[
±	6]		
π	ρ	ο	σ	π
ί	π	τ	ο	υ
ς	ι	η	[]
±	7]		
δ	η	μ	ό	[
ε]	ι	ο	ς
±	5]		
μ	ε	ν	ο	ς
ώ	ς	δ	έ	τ
±	5]		

¹ In *BASP* 7 (1970), 102–4, J. W. Shumaker has published a text (*P. Oxy.* 811) which appears to be in the same hand as 129 (l. 5 read ποεί); *P. Oxy.* 811 is assigned to c. 2 BC. Correct the note to 131. 4–5 to read ‘wife or granddaughter’.

5 ἐπιχειρῶν πολλὰ..[± 4]
 χαρῶν πλεονε[.].[.].
 β.ται τοῖς μισθ[...]
 ἀλλ[.]. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐ-
 θαδία χρησάμενο[ς] ἀπηγέκ-
 10 κατο ἱμάτια ἱκανὰ δοθέν-
 τα ἡμεῖν ὑπὲρ μισθον, οὐ
 μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ συνλαβώ-
 ν μαι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν
 μου μόνους ὄντας ὕβρισε
 15 πληγαῖς καὶ τὰς περ[ὶ ἐ]μὲ
 ἐσθήτας καταρήξα[ς..]

8-9 l. ἀθαδεία
 commentary

9-10 l. ἀπηγέκατο
 12-13 l. συλλαβῶν με

10 ἱματια, ἱκανα
 16 ἐσθήτας, ε corrected from αι

11 l. ἡμῖν, μισθῶν? See

Translation

‘. . . acting impudently to such a degree, he carried off a substantial amount of clothing which had been given to us as pay. Not only that but he also seized me and my brother, who were alone, and insulted us with blows, and tearing the clothes I was wearing . . .’.

Commentary

1. γαρία: no doubt ἐρ]γαρία or a compound.

1-4. A possible way to take these lines is to supply τοῖς [ἡμεῖν] in l. 1 and in the next line ἦ[ν, a proper name, δ]; this would mean: ‘Among those attacking us was NN, the village policeman.’ While this fits the sequel very well, it is not certain that this is a possible meaning for προσπίπτουσι.

3. δημό[ς]ιος: on the δημόσιοι κώμης see F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (1917), 150-1, and P. Petaus, 66, introd. Here, however, the *demosios* is no doubt in some sense a police official: cf. P. Cair. Isid. 128. 3 and note.

4. Supply τοῦν[εκα]?

5-6. It would be possible to read and supply τυγ]χάρων πλεονε[κτ]η[ς, which would presumably mean ‘becoming greedy’.

7-8. It is easiest to read τοῖς μισθωτ[αῖς] with ἀλλ[.]ς in the next line. However, it looks more promising to read as an alternative in l. 8 ἀλλ[ω]ν, preceded in l. 7 by τοῖς μισθοῖς [των]. A verb must have preceded but none with a suitable meaning suggests itself; the reading at the start of l. 7 looks most like beta or mu, followed by nu, but this cannot be right.

9-10. ἀπηγέκατο: for the spelling cf. P. Gen. 74. 6 (third century), ἦνεκα for ἦνεγα.

11. ἡμεῖν: a doubtful reading.

ὑπὲρ μισθον: most probably the writer intended ὑπὲρ μισθῶν, but it is just possible he meant μισθόν, in the sense ‘over and beyond our pay’.

14-15. For ὕβρις consisting of physical violence cf., e.g., P. Athens, 34. 8-9 (with the note ad loc.), where a councillor makes a complaint αἰτιωμένου ὕβριν διὰ πληγῶν [τ]οῦς ἑαυτοῦ ποιμένας πειπονθέναι.

133. LETTER FROM CHAEREMON (pl. XXVIII)

Provenance unknown

Third century AD

Inv. no. 122

7 cm × 12.5 cm

The papyrus, which is broken at left and foot, contains part of a letter from Chaeremon concerned with agricultural matters. It seems very likely that Chaeremon was a steward of an estate writing to a superior or to a fellow steward or stewards. It is not clear whether there was more than one addressee, and the reading at the end of l. 1 does not settle the matter: see the note ad loc. The plural verb in l. 10 and *ὑμῶν* in ll. 9 and 14 suggest at least two addressees, but the writer may mean 'you and your assistants' (*vel sim.*) or be using a plural of respect (but note that he speaks of the recipient as ἀδελ[φ- in l. 3). If the restorations suggested are broadly correct, there is no room for the names of two addressees in l. 1. However, the restorations are no more than *exempli gratia* and much more may have been lost at the left.

The sole reason for publishing this text is its palaeographical interest. It is written in a rather fine, somewhat idiosyncratic hand, for which see pl. XXVIII. I should assign it to the third century AD, probably to the first half, but a date in the late second cannot wholly be excluded.

[± 8] . ν τ ω γ . τ .
 [± 4 παρὰ] Χαιρήμονος.
 [± 8] ἡρξάμην ἀδελ-
 [φε ± 6] . ης τῶν χωρί-
 5 [ων . . .] ον οἱ ὄνοι οἱ σταφυ-
 [ληγο] ὕντες μοι κυνηθῶς
 [κατε] χέθησαν ὀνόματι
 [. . .] ἰθου εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖ-
 [ον . . .] ἔὰν ὑμεῖν δοκῆ,
 10 [. . . χ] ωρήσατέ μοι αὐτοὺς
 [. . . π] ροελήμφθη α . . α
 [± 6] . [.] σπ [. . .] . ι α γ α γ α λ
 [± 14] η σ ά μ η ν
 [± 14] . ὑ μ ε ῖ ν

9, 14 l. *ὑμῶν*

Translation

'. . . from Chaeremon.

Today (?), brother, I started on the fruit-picking on the plots. Now, since the donkeys which normally carry the grapes for me have been detained on the pretext of supplying stone (?) for the bath, if you think fit, get them released for me . . .'

Commentary

1. *ντων* is almost certain, but it is not possible to read *ἄντωνι*[ω], since the first letter can hardly be alpha. The remains of this letter would best suit omega, possibly omicron; *Φρόντωνι* is just possible. The next letter can be read as tau if the name ended at this point, but neither *τῶ* nor *το*[τς] is very convincing as a reading for the rest of this line. There is no difficulty at the start of the next line in supplying *ἀδελφῶ* / *ἀδελφοῖς*.

3. At the start perhaps *σήμερον*, as in *P. Oxy.* xvi, 1859. 3-4, *ἐπειδὴ σήμερον ἤρξαντο τρυγεῖν τὴν ἄμπελον αὐτῶν*; possible also is a date: cf. *PSI* IV, 434 = *P. Cair. Zenon*, III, 59300. 16-17, *Παχῶν γὰρ πέρυκι κη ἤρξάμεθα τρυγᾶν*.

4. Before *ης* the trace best suits tau or gamma; very suitable (cf. the preceding note) would be *τῆς τρυγῆς*.

5. . .].[.]*ουν*: not *ἐπ*][*ι*] *οῦν*; possible is *ἐπ*][*ι*] (1. *ἐπεὶ*) *οῦν*.

5-6. *σταφυ*[*ληγο*] *ῶντες*: the word is found in *P. Tebt.* II, 585 (published in description only) but not to my knowledge elsewhere. If this supplement is not correct, we must supply *σταφυ*[*λάς* governed by a verb ending *-οῦντες*, with the same meaning. It is doubtful whether this sense could be conveyed by *φοροῦντες*.

7. A verb meaning 'detained' suits the sense very well; for this meaning of *κατέχεσθαι* cf. *PSI* v, 525. 8, *ὅτι πλείω ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ κατασχεθεὶς δανεισάμενος χαλκοῦς ἀναπέπλευκα*, and *P. Ryl.* IV, 712. 2-3, *ἐπειδὴ μὴ [δ]ύνωμαι δι' ἑμαυτοῦ ἐλθεῖν σήμερον . . . κατεχόμενος διὰ τὰ [δ]ημόσια*.

7-8. Although theta at the start of the line is oddly formed, it seems to be the letter intended; if it is right, either *λίθου* or a proper name looks inescapable. For stones used for a bath cf., e.g., *P. Cair. Zenon* IV, 59745. 54, *λίθων γωνείων τῶν εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον*; and for donkeys used in connection with baths cf., e.g., *P. Cair. Zenon*, II, 59292. 96-8. If such an interpretation is on the right lines, I would suggest supplying [*τοῦ* *λίθου*] in l. 8 and taking *ὀνόματι* in the sense 'on pretext of', for which cf. *LSJ* s.v., IV, 2.

8-9. If the restorations suggested are right, *βαλανεῖ*[*ον*] is not quite long enough to fill the lacuna. *βαλανεῖ*[*ιδιον*] would fill it exactly, but this diminutive is of doubtful existence: see *P. Oxy.* XII, 1430. 13 with note. Perhaps a word such as *διό* filled the space.

10. *χωρήσατε* would seem to be the only possible restoration and the verb was no doubt compounded. If the sense required is 'release them for me', the verb may have been *παραχωρήσατε*.

134. LOAN OF MONEY ON SECURITY

Oxyrhynchite Nome?

AD 525 or 526

Inv. no. 132

9 cm × 18.5 cm

The papyrus, of poor quality, is broken on all sides except the top. Ll. 6-7 might be restored *νομι*[*εμάτια τέσσερα παρὰ κεράτια δέκα ἐξ ιδιωτικῶ*] *ζύγω*, but very probably more than this is missing, so that the length of line cannot be established. There is no way of deciding whether we should restore a consulate or a post-consular dating in the first line. There is no clear indication of provenance, but it is my impression that the phrase *ἀκίνδυνα ὄντα ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου* (l. 12) occurs only in documents from the Oxyrhynchite Nome: see also the note to l. 11. The hand in which the text is written is very like that of *P. Brooklyn inv.* 2 published by C. Præaux in *CdÉ* 36 (1961), 356-7.

The document is a loan of money, secured on a half-share of some property. For a list of loans from this period see Préaux, *op. cit.* Very few loans of this late date are secured by a specific mortgage (among them are *P. Lond.* v, 1723; *P. Cair. Masp.* III, 67309; *P. Michael.* 42; *P. Warren,* 10; *PSI* XIII, 1340: cf. also *P. Lond.* III, 1007; v, 1719; *BGU* II, 363 (with *BL* II), *PSI* XIV, 1427; *P. Warren,* 10). This makes it the more regrettable that our text is so fragmentarily preserved. The individual clauses do not always fall into the recognized patterns: see the notes.

Φλαουίου]ν Φιλοξένου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
]...ιου γενομένου ..[
 π]όλεως Ἀύρηλίω Φ[
 ἀπὸ τῆ]ς αὐτῆς πόλεως π..[
 5 Ὅμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι] καὶ δεδανῆσθαι παρὰ .[
 εἰς ἰδία μου καὶ ἀναγκαία]ς χρείας χρυσοῦ νομι[σμάτια τέσσερα παρὰ κεράτια δέκα ἐξ
 ἰδιωτικῶ] ζύγω γίνεταί] χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) δ π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια)
 ις ἰ[δ(ιωτικῶ) ζ(ύγω)
 τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐ]τῶν νόμιμον ἑκατοστ[ιαῖον τόκον
 ἐ]πὶ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τοῦ Φ[
 10]ἰνδικτίονος ἀκουάντ[ωσ
 νομισμάτια τέσ]ερα παρὰ τὰ αὐτὰ κερ[άτια
 ἀκίνδυνα ὄν]τα ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνου
]ς ἀνυπερθέτως καὶ ἀνε[υ πάσης ἀντιλογίας
 τῆς τοῦ] χρέους ἀποδώσεως κ[αὶ συμπληρώσεως
 15]... ὑπεθέμεν σοι ἰδικῶς καὶ ζω[
] ἐνεχύρου τὸ ἥμισυ μέρ[ος
 ἐπ' ἀ]πηλιώτην γονικῆς ο[ικίας
]σης περὶ τὴν ρύμην .[
]ωνα σοι ἀσφάλειαν .[
 20 παν]τὸς τοῦ ἀνήκοντος δικ[αίου
]φορον ἤνικα [.]. .[

2 γενομένου, γ a correction 5 l. δεδανῆσθαι 7 ἰ[δ(ιωτικῶ) 13 ἀνυπερθέτως
 14 l. ἀποδώσεως 15 l. ὑπεθέμην?: see note; ἰδικῶς

Commentary

1. On the evidence for the consulate of Flavius Philoxenus see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (1978), 122.

2. At the end the traces would permit πρ[εσβυτέρου].

4. π..[: here one expects simply χαίρειν, which cannot be read. The first letter might be tau or upsilon but pi is most probable, perhaps with alpha to follow. Possibly we should look for a trade, mentioned in an unusual place; *P. Oxy.* XVI, 1891. 4 suggests παστ(ι)λλᾶς.

5. It is not usual to have δεδανῆσθαι here in sixth-century loans, but the word is to be found in a

few texts of different provenances: e.g. *P. Cair. Masp.* II, 67162-3; III, 67309 (all Antinoopolis); *BGU XII*, 2188 and 2206 (Hermopolis); *P. Warren*, 10 (Oxyrhynchus).

After *παρά* we should probably read τ[ῆς with an honorific title rather than ζ[οῦ.

6. ἀναγκαία]ς: doubtful but more probable than μ]ον.

7. The number of solidi has been read in conjunction with l. 11, and is very probable though not certain. For this proportion of solidi to carats cf., e.g., *P. Amh.* II, 148 (487; Fayyûm), 8 solidi less 32 carats.

8-13. Cf. in general *P. Oxy.* XVI, 1891. 7-14 which reads ἐπὶ τῷ με χορηγεῖν καὶ διδόναι . . . ὑπὲρ διαφόρου τούτων ἄχρι τῆς ἐξῆς δηλουμένης προθεσμίας τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν νόμιμον ἑκατοστιαῖον τόκον ἀκ[ο]ιλάντως, ὅπερ διάφορον . . . ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσω date ἀνπερθέτως καὶ ἄνευ πάσης ἀντιλογίας κτλ. This still leaves unexplained why our text should record a date in ll. 9-10. Perhaps we should understand the text to mean 'on condition that I pay you the legal interest of one per cent (per month) in annual/monthly instalments starting from the eighteenth of . . .'. For the repetition of the sum owed and the ἀκίνδυνα-clause in ll. 11-12 cf. *P. Oxy.* XVI, 1969. 8 ff., where, after ἐπὶ [τ]ῷ ἡμᾶς . . . [χορηγεῖν σοι ὑπὲρ δια]φόρου τ[ούτων] καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [ὄντος μηνός . . . ἰνδικτίονος τὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων νό]μιμον [ἐ]κατοστιαῖον τόκον (cf. *P. Oxy.* 1891), we have [ἀκοιλάντως, τὰ δὲ τοῦ προκειμένου κεφαλ]αίου χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο [ἀκίνδυνα ὄντα ἀπὸ παντὸς κινδύνο]υ ἐπάναγκες ἀποδώσομεν κτλ.

8. Ὁν ἑκατοστιαῖος τόκος see H. E. Finckh, *Das Zinsrecht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Diss. Erlangen, 1962), 38-42.

10. ἀκοιλάντ[ω]ς: *P. Oxy.* 1891 and 1969 (restored), quoted above, are the only loans of money in which I have noted this word.

12. See the Introduction.

14. Perhaps simply ἄχρι τῆς τοῦ] χρέους ἀποδώσεως, but more probably some such phrase as in *PSI* 1427. 16-17, πρὸς δὲ ἀ[ς]φάλειαν τῆς τούτων ἀποδώσεως, or *P. Warren*, 10. 19-20, πρὸς δὲ [τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τῆς] ἀποδώσεως ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ὑπεθέ[μεθα].

15. At the start ἤδη as in *P. Warren*, 10 just quoted, would suit the traces.

ὑπεθεμεν: since the verb seems always to be in the middle in this sense, we should no doubt correct to ὑπεθέμεν (it would in any case be difficult to find room for the names of two debtors in ll. 2-3).

ζω[: there is little doubt about the reading and the expected γενικῶς cannot be read. I do not know what to make of this; should we supply ζω[ματικῶς and compare *P. Warren*, 3. 19 ζωματικῆ] ὑποθήκη?

15-16. Clearly we must restore a phrase analogous to that in *P. Cair. Masp.* 67309. 21 (cf. 46): ὑπεθέμεν ἐν τάξει ἐνεχύρου καὶ λόγῳ ὑποθήκης δικαίω: see also *P. Warren*, 10. 21-2, with note ad loc.

19. *P. Lond.* V, 1719. 13 reads εἰς] μείζονά σου ἀσφάλειαν ὑποτιθέμεθα κτλ., and perhaps something similar stood here, but one would have expected such a phrase in ll. 14-15.

Two further texts complete the selection, neither of which merits publication in full.

135. Inv. no. 117. Second century AD. Provenance unknown. On the recto the remains of six lines of a tax account in drachmas with *προ(διαγραφόμενα)* at 20 per cent; the tax is not stated. On the verso fourteen lines of a private account written in a very

careful hand approaching a bookhand; similar to *P. Merton*, II, 71, assigned to AD 160–3, but even more elegant. The months Payni, Epeiph, and Mesore are mentioned, and the names *Τούρβων*, *Φομνᾶσις*, and *Κρονίων* (which perhaps suggest the Arsinoite Nome). The phrase *αἴπερ* (sc. *δραχμαί*) *ἐχώ(ρησαν) εἰς* occurs three times; for *χωρεῖν εἰς* cf. *P. Hamb.* I, 14. 30 n. Twice here the phrase is followed by *διανομ(ήν)* (cf. *SPP* xx, 14. 9 ff.; *P. Oxy.* XII, 1490, introd.; *BGU* IX, 1894. 121; *P. Col.* v, 1 verso 1a. 38), and once by *τιμ(ήν) χα[ρ]τ(ῶν)*.

136. Inv. no. 128. Late fourth/fifth century AD. Provenance unknown. The remains of a letter from Thekla to *τῇ κυρίᾳ μου τιμω[τάτη ἀδε]λφῇ Μαρίας*. It begins *ἐπιδε* (l. *ἐπειδή*) *οὐ κατηξίω[σεν]* (l. *κατηξίωσεν*) *ἢ σὴ εὐγε]νία γράψαι μοι μίαν ἐπ[ι]στολήν* [I have sent NN to you ?? ἵ]να μαθῆ πρῶτον τὴν ἐτίαν (l. *αἰτίαν*) τοῦ μὴ γράψαι μοι τὴν σὴν εὐγενίαν. No connected sense can be obtained from the remainder. Ten lines are preserved, with part of a line written vertically in the left margin, and another three lines of continuation on the verso, plus an address. Written in a small, cramped, and rather ugly hand.



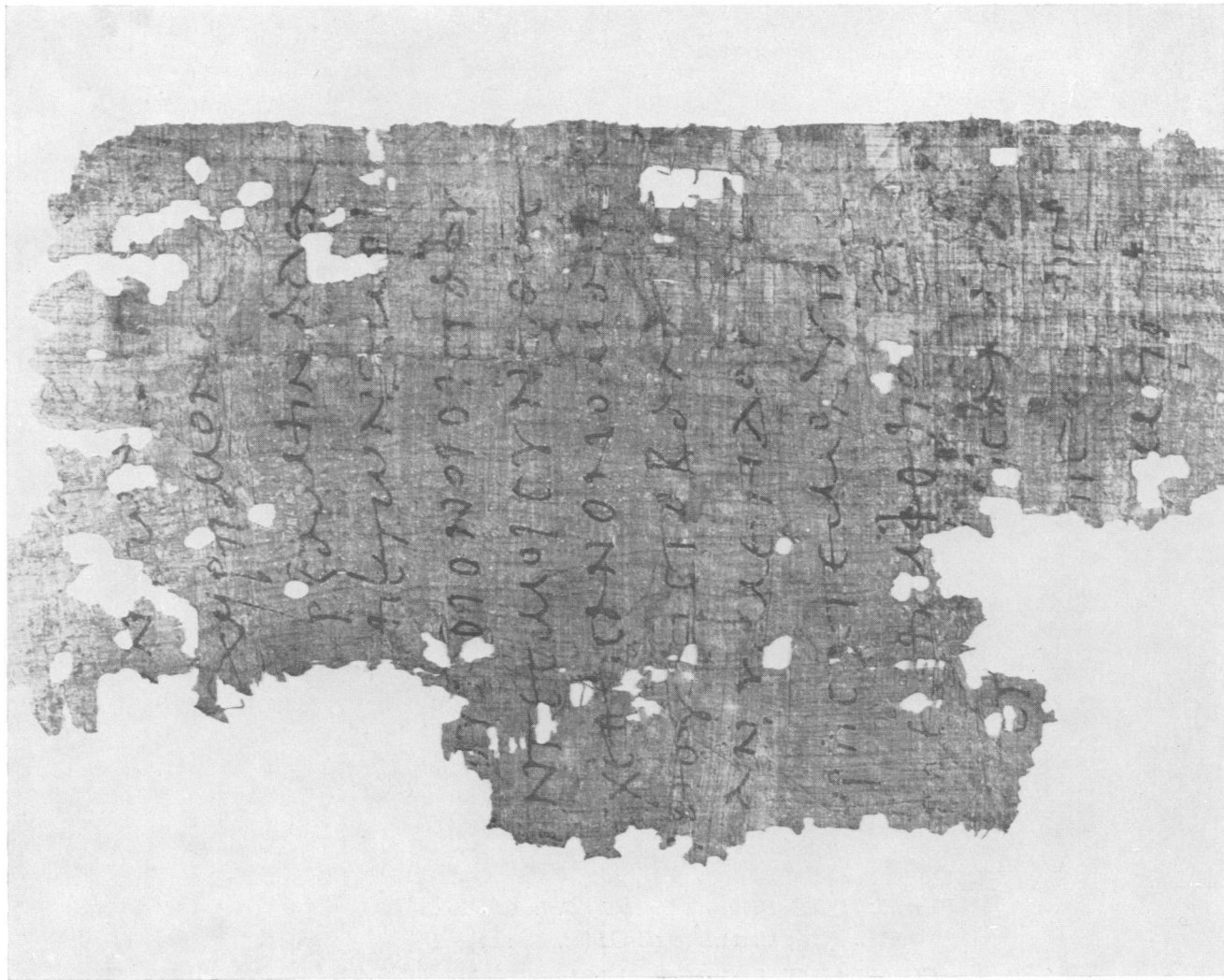
I



Courtesy the German Archaeological Institute Cairo

2

THE NILE, EUTHENIA, AND THE NYMPHS



A letter from Chaeremon (Inv. no. 122)

UNEDITED MERTON PAPYRI. II

THE NILE, EUTHENIA, AND THE NYMPHS

By LÁSZLÓ KÁKOSY

FROM ancient times the Nile was probably the most popular god in Egypt. His festivals, called *Νειλῶνα* in the Graeco-Roman Period, belonged to the joyful happenings of the year. It is, therefore, remarkable that, in spite of the widespread religious devotion to nature and natural phenomena, theology and mythology showed relatively slight concern with Ḥꜥapy, the fertilizing inundation water.¹ His family relations were not elaborated, and only his identification with Osiris constituted some tentative steps in this direction. His representation with the cluster of papyrus on his head and his pendent female breasts indicates his productive character, and his breasts may also suggest the dual, androgynous nature of the god. Nevertheless, some caution is necessary here. For instance, in a demotic cosmogony of the Ptolemaic Period he is indeed described as a being half man, half woman, but the text seems to imply at the same time that the female element is actually the field inundated by the water.² While this late text may speak, although somewhat ambiguously, for his bisexual nature, in Pharaonic literature, as well as in the archaeological evidence, Ḥꜥapy is a god of a predominantly male character. Although some androgynous gods can be traced in Ancient Egypt,³ and in the Roman Period hermaphrodites were engaged in the cult of the Nile,⁴ the name of the god was always treated as masculine, and the breasts may also have been, at least in earlier times, an allusion to the nourishing effect of the flood⁵ and not only to androgyny.

In Pharaonic times Ḥꜥapy remained a solitary god, and the division into an Upper-Egyptian and a Lower-Egyptian Nile⁶ is no more than a manifestation of the all-pervading geographical and political dualism in Egyptian thinking. The eight Niles mentioned in funerary literature⁷ were probably a mere counterpart of the Ogdoad in Hermopolis, without any significant role in religion. Before the Roman Period we have no information about a wife of Ḥꜥapy, in the mythological sense, from Egyptian sources. The wooden statuettes produced by the thousand and called 'wives of the Nile'⁸

¹ A. de Buck, *The Meaning of the Name Hapy* (Orientalia Neerlandica, 1948), 1 ff.

² W. Erichsen-S. Schott, *Fragmente memphitischer Theologie in demotischer Schrift* (AAWLM, 1954), 382 (iv. 3-4): cf. S. Sauneron, *Le Créateur androgyne* (Mélanges Mariette, BdÉ 32) (Le Caire, 1961), 242.

³ *LÄ* II, 633 ff. (Götter, androgyne, W. Westendorf); E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971), 165: cf. 88 n. 101.

⁴ Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, 4. 25 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 479.

⁵ Cf., however, H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (DAAW 56) (Wien, 1912), 61, where one of the breasts is represented as the source of the Nile water. J. Gwyn Griffiths (*JNES* 25 (1976), 61) speaks of the bisexuality of Ḥꜥapy.

⁶ *RÄRG* 527. For geographical deities, closely related to the Nile-God, see D. Meeks, *Génies, anges, démons en Égypte* (Sources orientales 8) (Paris, 1971), 25-6.

⁷ *CT* IV, 133.

⁸ P. Harris I, 41b 2; 55a 15; 73, 14: W. Erichsen, *BAe* v (Bruxelles, 1933), 46, 62, 89.

obviously represented human sacrifices in a symbolic form and were regarded as concubines of Ηεapy.

The Roman conquest brought about an important change in the representations of the Nile-God. On pictures produced in Greek style he became associated with a female consort, *Εὐθηρία*.⁹ She made her first appearance in Egypt on coins in the last decade BC.¹⁰ The considerable importance which was attributed to this new goddess is demonstrated by the recurrent use of her picture, lasting as long as up to AD 272-3,¹¹ in Alexandrian coinage. The coins show a variety of different types. She often wears ears of wheat on her head; she is represented as either a seated or a standing figure, sometimes on a throne or on a rock. On some coins she appears with a sphinx or she stands between two ships.¹² In other instances she is shown presenting a crown to her husband while sometimes only her bust is depicted together with that of the Nile (see pl. XXVIII, 1).¹³

As personified abundance and welfare, Euthenia seems to have been, at the outset of her career in Egypt, a manifestation of the political ideology of the Principate. This accounts for her frequent appearance on coins. Occasionally she appears on monuments as well, e.g. on a relief in the Museum in Athens¹⁴ and on smaller objects such as handles of terracotta lamps.¹⁵ Also, a remarkable statue in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria can be and has already been interpreted as a representation of Euthenia (see pl. XXVIII, 2).¹⁶ The recumbent goddess holds a cup in her left hand, and her left arm is supported by a sphinx. She is surrounded by eight children, some of them clinging to her clothing. These *putti* are the well-known symbols of the cubits of the height of the inundation. On the famous statue of the Nile in the Vatican there are sixteen of them, indicating, according to Pliny, the highest flood: *sedecim liberis circa ludentibus per quos totidem cubita summi incrementi augentis se amnis eius intelleguntur*.¹⁷ Without discussing the sources of Pliny as to the number 'sixteen', and leaving aside the complexity of problems involved, I wish to refer to the local differences of the water-level and to the two measuring systems corresponding to the two zero-points on the Kiosk of Sesostris I and the recently discovered nilometer in Elephantine.¹⁸ What is

⁹ D. Bonneau, *La Crue du Nil* (Paris, 1964), *passim*.

¹⁰ Bonneau, 330 (year 10-9 BC); *op. cit.* 331 n. 3. On a remarkable piece empress Livia is represented accompanied by the legend *EYΘHNIA* (J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (London, 1924), 192, fig. 76).

¹¹ Bonneau, *op. cit.* 331 n. 4.

¹² J. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (Stuttgart, 1924), II. 181: cf. G. Dattari, *Nummi Augg. Alexandrini* (Cairo, 1901), *passim*; Abd El-Mohsen El-Khashab, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 615. Pl. XXVIII, I, in the present article, Dattari no. 1809 (reign of Hadrian).

¹³ El-Khashab, *op. cit.* figs. 6-7.

¹⁴ Bonneau, *op. cit.* 331 n. 5.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* 357.

¹⁶ Inv. no. 24124, marble. Bought in 1936 from Don Baron Menassa. L. 59 cm; h. 44 cm. I received photographs by courtesy of the late director Dr Youssef Shehata and of the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo. The statue was recently reproduced and described in the exhibition catalogue *Götter und Pharaonen* (1974), 144 (G. Grimm): cf. A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, serie A, II (1961), 59-60, no. 204, pls. 96, 316, 318.

¹⁷ *NH* 36. 7 (58): cf. Ammianus Marcellinus, 22. 15, 13 (16 cubits as the most favourable water-level).

¹⁸ H. Jaritz-M. Bietak, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 42 ff.: cf. M. Verner, *Archiv Orientalní* 40 (1972), 105 ff.; A. Hermann, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 39.

important in this context is the fact that sixteen stood as an ideal number for the inundation, forecasting abundant crops. Since the symbolism of sixteen was also widely used on coins,¹⁹ the sculptor of the statue in Alexandria made, no doubt, a conscious choice of eight children, and the underlying idea may well have been that at least the half of the height of the flood was due to Euthenia's benevolent assistance.

We may agree with the dating of the statue to the second century AD.²⁰ The earliest evidence for this type, that is the Nile with *putti*, is furnished by Pliny who recorded the dedication of the statue by Vespasian for the *templum Pacis* in Rome.²¹ The representation of Euthenia was probably later assimilated to that of the Nile.

In accordance with the Graeco-Roman origin of the goddess this statue, as well as her other representations, reflects the Greek, probably Alexandrian, style. The function of the sphinx is merely that of adding a touch of Ancient Egyptian atmosphere to the images of the Nile and Euthenia, while another feature of the statue helps to establish the connection with the Egyptian religious background. This is the breast-knot of the goddess's garment, a distinctive constituent of the dress of Isis in the Graeco-Roman Period, evidently emphasized here by the sculptor. It is even mentioned by Apuleius in the description of the goddess in the vision of Lucius.²² Thus the recumbent goddess was meant to represent Isis-Euthenia, a syncretistic deity who came into being in the wake of the identification of Osiris with the Nile.²³ Nile water played a prominent part in the Isiac cult,²⁴ or its use was at least simulated.²⁵

While no detailed discussion about the relation of Isis to the Nile is intended here, one motif should be briefly treated. Isis was looked on as having an active role, like Euthenia, in bringing about the flood. In one myth the rise of the water is caused by the tears of Isis mourning for her husband.²⁶ This remark of Pausanias goes back undoubtedly to Egyptian sources. It was pointed out by Ph. Derchain in an important article that the passage originates in an Egyptian pun on the words *ʿgb*, 'inundation', and *ʿkb*, 'mourning'.²⁷ In the Late Period the two words became homophones. In my view, the controversial mythical part in the Harris Magical Papyrus should not be eliminated either from the interpretation of Pausanias.²⁸ Isis closes the mouth of the Nile which results naturally in a partial drying out of the river bed. She is lying weary and her tear

¹⁹ Bonneau, op. cit. 342; El-Khashab, op. cit. 614.

²⁰ *Götter und Pharaonen* (see n. 16), 144. The period 160–80 is tentatively suggested. ²¹ 36. 7 (58).

²² *Metamorphoses*, 11. 3: cf. J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis Book* (EPRO 39) (Leiden, 1975), 129. On the non-Isiac origin see R. S. Bianchi, *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar, New York 2* (1980), 9 ff.

²³ The statue is rightly called Isis also by F. Le Corsu, *Isis, mythe et mystères* (Paris, 1977), 88 (cf. also *BSFE* 82 (1978), 30), but the assumption of a connection with Cleopatra is groundless.

²⁴ Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* 2. 116 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 612; Juvenal, 6. 526–30 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 281.

²⁵ Gwyn Griffiths, *Apuleius*, 276; R. A. Wild, *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis* (EPRO 87) (Leiden, 1981). For the sistrum of Isis as symbol of the flood cf. the comment: 'Isis autem est genius Aegypti, qui per sistri motum, quod gerit in dextra, Nili accessus, recessusque significat.' (Servius, *In Verg. Aen.* 7. 696 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 615).

²⁶ Pausanias, 10. 32, 18.

²⁷ Ph. Derchain, *CdÉ* 45 (1970), 282 ff.

²⁸ VII, 8–11: H. O. Lange, *Der magische Papyrus Harris* (Copenhagen, 1927), 61–2: cf. B. H. Stricker, *De overstroming van de Nijl* (MVEOL 11) (Leiden, 1959), 9. Derchain (op. cit.) rejects a possible connection with Pausanias.

falls into the water. Then, the text goes on to say, 'Behold Horus raped his mother, and her tear fell into the water'.²⁹ While some of the mythical allusions of the text remain obscure, I would tentatively suggest the interpretation that the closing of the river is an act of bitterness on the part of the goddess because of the death of Osiris, thereby afflicting Egypt with famine. This idea is present, in an elaborate form, in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* where the goddess is said to have made the fields barren until Persephone was set free from Hades by the intervention of Zeus. While Isis' first weeping was that of the mourning widow, the second was provoked by the brutality of her son.

Even though a serious and sometimes markedly sad expression is common to river gods, in view of Euthenia's emphasized melancholy one may hazard the hypothesis that the artist had the image of the sorrowful Isis in mind. No direct relation to Pausanias or to the incomplete myth in the Harris Magical Papyrus can, however, be established.

It was the celestial form of the goddess, Isis-Sothis, that had the most powerful influence on the inundation. Among the details of her religious role³⁰ only two points need to be stressed in this connection. The first is Sothis' androgynous nature. Although in most of the texts and pictures she was unambiguously represented as a woman, there is sporadic evidence from the *Pyramid Texts* up to the Roman Period, that Sothis was sometimes regarded as a male deity, and could be named Sothis-Horus.³¹ Through the Greek name 'Dog Star' the deity was also connected with Anubis in the Roman Period.³² From this one has the impression that natural forces and physical agents, even if personified, like Ḥ'apy as fertilizing water, Sothis as celestial power, and Neith in her capacity of creative energy, were not clearly defined as to their sex. Under their predominant male or female character the opposite sex never ceased to be present in a more or less latent form. Secondly, it should be borne in mind that the second century AD, when the statue of Euthenia was probably produced, marked the beginning of a new Sothic Cycle, AD 139. This event, certainly full of joy, directed considerable attention upon Sothis not only from a scientific but also from a religious point of view.³³

Although there are no outward astral features on this statue of Euthenia, spectators familiar with Egyptian religion certainly felt the presence of the Sothis-aspect of Isis. The same is true of the Isis-Ḥathor dimension. Unlike Isis, Ḥathor cannot be counted amongst the deities of the inundation; nevertheless, one of her epithets has some relevance to our subject-matter. In the 'Ritual of Bringing in Sokaris' (P. Bremner-Rhind) she is called 'Ḥathor Mistress of Sixteen' (*Ḥwt-hr ḥnwt 16*).³⁴ There can be little doubt that, through her identification with Isis-Sothis, she came to be associated with

²⁹ VII, 10-11.

³⁰ Cf. recently Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Isis Sothis, — le chien, la vigne —, et la tradition millénaire* (MIFA0 104, Le Livre du centenaire) (Le Caire, 1980), 15 ff.

³¹ L. Kákosy, *Studia Aegyptiaca* 2 (1976), 41 ff.; R. Anthes, *ZÄS* 102 (1975), 1 ff.

³² Kákosy, op. cit. 44.

³³ Kákosy, *Probleme der ägyptischen Jenseitsvorstellungen in der Ptolemäer- und Kaiserzeit* (Religions en Égypte hellénistique et Romaine) (Paris, 1969), 61 ff.; Desroches-Noblecourt, op. cit. 23.

³⁴ P. Bremner-Rhind, 20. 14; R. O. Faulkner, *BÄe* III (Bruxelles, 1933), 40. For Ḥathor-Sothis calling forth the Nile cf., e.g., *Dendara*, VII 31.

the waters of the inundation and especially with the water-level considered to be the most advantageous to the fields. As Ḥathor was the goddess of joy, hilarity, and drunkenness, the epithet has rightly been connected with a passage of Horapollo who states that the Egyptians write the number sixteen if they want to express 'pleasure'.³⁵ Thus, a favourable flood and the number sixteen came to be closely linked in Egyptian thinking.³⁶ The epithet was probably used in this complex sense as early as P. Bremner-Rhind because it follows a list of localities which have Ḥathor as their mistress. This suggests for 'Mistress of Sixteen' a connotation of the geographical and natural environment. Thus Ḥathor and Euthenia were equally expected to save Egypt from a low Nile.

Euthenia, at first an artificial creation of religious propaganda, became integrated into the Graeco-Egyptian pantheon. In view of the Isis-Demeter identification it is not surprising to find that in the second century AD, from the reign of Trajan, Euthenia is associated with Demeter and sometimes with Triptolemus in Alexandrian coinage.³⁷

In addition to deities whose cult was widespread in Egypt a number of supernatural beings of lower rank were also regarded as having a close relation to the Nile or as inhabiting it. In Egyptian popular religion even a small river had its demon.³⁸ In a series of demotic self-dedication documents we find, among other demons, a 'man of the river' (*rm p; ir*), evidently a frightening spirit.³⁹ Some of these demons seem to have been imagined as women. An early instance of this notion is found in the *Story of the Herdsman*⁴⁰ in which the hero meets in the marsh a woman of horrifying appearance whose body is covered with hair. Later, she assumes a more attractive shape. The fragment does not yield sufficient information to be sure, but she seems to be a kind of malignant fairy who seduces imprudent young men.

As a remarkable new feature of Nile mythology, nymphs also make their appearance in the centuries of syncretism. They play an important part in two funerary poems found in the tomb of Isidora, in the necropolis of Tuna el-Gebel, near Hermopolis Magna.⁴¹ They are dated to the second century AD.⁴² Since the influence of the Egyptian milieu on the poet has been already pointed out,⁴³ I am going to deal here only with two passages.

In Poem I, l. 3: *πρεσβυτάτη Νίλοιο θυγατρῶν . . . Νιλῶ*, 'The oldest of the Nile's daughters, Nilō', begins the work on the building of the tomb of Isidora which is represented as an abode constructed by the nymphs. The name 'Nilō' is not a new

³⁵ I. 32, ἡδονὴν δὲ δηλῶσαι βουλόμενοι δεκαεξ ἄριθμὸν γράφουσι: W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 93-4 (cf. H. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 55 (1918), 93-4).

³⁶ Cf. Bonneau, op. cit. 414; B. van de Walle-J. Vergote, *CdÉ* 35 (1943), 66.

³⁷ Vogt, op. cit. I, 81-2.

³⁸ P. Insinger, 24. 11: A. Volten, *Das demotische Weisheitsbuch* (AnAe II) (Copenhagen, 1941), 98.

³⁹ H. Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1941), 70, 78.

⁴⁰ H. Goedicke, *CdÉ* 45 (1970), 244 ff.; M. Gilula, *GM* 29 (1978), 21.

⁴¹ Text, commentary, and older literature E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1969), 342 ff.

⁴² Op. cit. 343.

⁴³ On the nymphs of the Nile see J. Hani, *L'Antiquité Classique* 43 (1974), 212 ff.; J. Bollók, *Annales Universitatis Sc. Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae, Sect. Classica*, 1 (1972), 31 ff. The epithet *καλλιπάρθενος* in earlier Greek literature may refer to the nymphs of the Nile: S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 43.

mythological invention of the Roman Period as it is attested as early as the fifth century BC in a fragment of Epicharmus⁴⁴ the comedian. If one looks for parallels to the daughters of the Nile, Greek and Roman literature yield interesting ones.⁴⁵ In Cicero's *De Divinatione* a goddess is said to have come of the Nile: (*Minerva*) *secunda orta Nilo, quam Aegyptii Saitae colunt* . . .⁴⁶ The same statement appears in Arnobius' *Adversus Nationes* where it is enriched with remarkable details. Minerva was generated by the Nile in its waters, and received her shape as a virgin by the solidification (*concretio*) of the dew or moisture.⁴⁷ Cicero and Arnobius are aware of the identity of this Minerva with the Neith of the Egyptians. The myth may have originated in the Egyptian concept of the birth of Neith in the Primeval Water. Also, Clement of Alexandria was familiar with the myth in which the 'Egyptian Athena' was the daughter of the Nile.⁴⁸ In the *Bibliothēke* of Apollodorus⁴⁹ a daughter of the Nile is called *Memphis*; she is the wife of Epaphus, king of Egypt, and mother of Libye. The motif can probably be traced back as early as the Twentieth Dynasty. In the *Prayer of the Unjustly Persecuted*, a copy of which was found in the tomb of Ramesses IX, the sun-god is addressed thus: 'the two daughters of Hēapy shatter for you the Evil-doer (Apophis)'.⁵⁰

The second passage which is important in our context is the beginning of Poem II:

1. Οὐκέτι σοι μέλλω θύειν, θύγα[τερ, μετ]ὰ κλ[α]ῖθμοῦ,
ἐξ οὗ δὴ ἔγνω ὡς θεὸς ἐξεγένου.
Λοιβαῖς εὐφημεῖτε καὶ εὐχολαῖς Ἰσιδώραν,
ἣ νύμφη Νυμφῶν ἀρπαγίμη γέγονεν.
2. Χαῖρε, τέκος· Νύμφη ὄνομ' ἐστὶ σοι . . . (Bernand, 350)

'O my daughter, no longer will I bring you offering with lamentation, now that I know that you have become a god. Praise Isidora with libations and prayers, the maiden who was abducted by the nymphs. Hail, my child, Nymph is your name . . .'

The young girl was given a kind of apotheosis by becoming a nymph. From the wording it is not sufficiently clear whether she met her death by drowning,⁵¹ which would imply an apotheosis in itself.⁵² The allusion to the myth of Hylas in Poem I offers a hint, at least, in this direction.⁵³

⁴⁴ Bernand, *op. cit.* 346.

⁴⁵ Bonneau, *op. cit.* 257, 325-6.

⁴⁶ 3. 23. 59.

⁴⁷ 4. 16: 'Minervam (alteram) Nilus maximus fluminum aquis generavit ex liquidis et in virgineos habitus roris concretione conduxit. Quodsi fidem inquiris facti, Aegyptos testes dabo, quorum est Neith lingua, Platonis testificante Timaeo.'

⁴⁸ *Protrepticus*, 2. 28 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 366.

⁴⁹ 1. 1 (10-11) = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 347.

⁵⁰ A. Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1900), 20, 22: cf. J. Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete* (Zürich-Munich, 1975), 392.

⁵¹ This is the opinion of Hani, *op. cit.* 217 ff. For the contrary view see Bernand, *op. cit.* 345.

⁵² Recently *LÄ* II, 17 ff. (Ertrunken Ertränken, Chr. Strauss); A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (EPRO 43) (Leiden, 1976), 366-7 (on 2. 90); J. Quaegebeur, *CdÉ* 54 (1979), 42 n. 1, points to the possibility that in some texts the apotheosis is due to a kind of baptism and not to drowning.

⁵³ Hani, *op. cit.* 217: cf. I. Borzsák, *Acta Antiqua Hung.* 1 (1951), 261 ff. (Greek and Roman myths about drowning).

Although nymphs are accorded a central role in both of the poems, in Egypt their cult was on the whole far from being popular. In an inscription on the Gebel Tukh (north of Ptolemaïs, end of the first century AD), they are associated with Pan, and are said to have helped Isidorus, who dedicated the inscription, to find a quarry.⁵⁴

As a literary motif, the nymphs of the Nile appear in the commentaries of Servius on Virgil's *Georgics*.⁵⁵ According to this remarkable account, on certain days, during the ceremonies of the Nile, boys of devout parents were given to the nymphs. Having grown up, they related whatever they had seen in the depths of the Nile. This text, however concise, suggests some sort of initiation ceremony with the purpose of acquiring knowledge of the mysteries of the Nile.⁵⁶ This is partly contradicted by the statement that they actually related their experiences, though the narratives were probably reserved for a select circle of priests. For the Egyptians, the Nile was, at any rate, of 'secret nature' (*imn sšm*);⁵⁷ its mysteries were illuminated by the thirteenth door of the netherworld,⁵⁸ but its real name was unknown even in the *Duat*.⁵⁹ The river's hidden sources were a subject of continuous debate in Classical literature.⁶⁰

The nymphs also found a place in the syncretistic theology of Graeco-Egyptian religion. In the famous hymn to Isis of P. Oxy. 1380 (early second century AD) the goddess is called, in the Saite Nome, 'victorious, Athena, nymph' (l. 30). The association of Isis-Athena-Neith with the nymphs acquires considerable importance if compared with a passage in the *Coffin Texts* which speaks of Sobks and Neith(s) of the Nile, where the Neiths are probably Nile deities playing the role of women mourning the deceased identified with Ḥapy.⁶¹

Isis was seen by the Greeks as identical with Aphrodite, and according to P. Oxy. 1380 she was called Aphrodite in several localities.⁶² As Aphrodite's closest counterpart was Ḥathor, the name Aphrodite for both Isis and Ḥathor gave a new emphasis to the traditional identification of Isis and Ḥathor in the Graeco-Roman Period. Thus we have a strong link between Neith, Isis-Ḥathor, and the nymphs, and this theological affinity may prove relevant in view of Ḥathor's position in the funerary beliefs of the Late Period. Though the dead are generally also identified at that time with Osiris and become Osiris N., there are still instances of an identification of women with Ḥathor (Ḥathor N).⁶³ While one can find the antecedents of this idea in earlier funerary

⁵⁴ Bernand, op. cit. 464 ff. (no. 116).

⁵⁵ *In Georg.* 4. 362 = Hopfner, *Fontes*, 617-18: '. . . certis diebus in sacris Nili pueri de sacris parentibus nati a sacerdotibus nymphis dabantur. Qui cum adolevisent, redditi narrabant lucos esse sub terris et immensam aquam omnia continentem . . .'

⁵⁶ Hani, op. cit. 220.

⁵⁷ W. Helck, *Der Text des 'Nilhymnus'* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 5 (I.c).

⁵⁸ *Book of the Dead*, 145-6: E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (Books on Egypt and Chaldaea). *The Chapters of Coming forth by Day of the Theban Recension*, II (London, 1910), 243 (Papyrus of Nu): cf. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich-München, 1979), 228; *Roscher Lex.* III, 91 (Neilos, Drexler).

⁵⁹ Helck, op. cit. 79 (XIII. 9).

⁶⁰ Lloyd, op. cit. 111 ff.; H. Beinlich, *ZÄS* 106 (1979), 11 ff.: cf. B. Postl, *Die Bedeutung des Nil in der römischen Literatur* (Wien, 1970).

⁶¹ *CT* IV, 122g-h (B2L): cf. D. Meeks, *BiOr* 32 (1975), 23.

⁶² e.g. Hermopolis, Heliopolis, Leuce Acte.

⁶³ G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 23 (1923), 239; *LÄ* II, 1029 (Ḥathor, F. Daumas with further literature).

literature—e.g. *CT* spell 331 bears the title ‘Becoming Ḥathor’—it is clear from the evidence that it reached a certain degree of importance only in the Graeco-Roman Period. The Ḥathor epithet is used several times, e.g. in the hieratic funerary papyri of the Roman Period.⁶⁴ Isidora, who becomes a nymph of the Nile in Poem II, was probably also assimilated in the Egyptian mind to Isis-Ḥathor. The relations of the nymphs to Ḥathor may have been strengthened by the fact she was not always conceived of as a solitary goddess. Besides the seven Ḥathors, the goddesses of Fate, as many as 160 Ḥathors occur in the New Kingdom.⁶⁵ It is, of course, hard to say how far the family of Isidora was conscious of the Egyptian theological implications of the poems. Although the abduction by the nymphs was a common motif in Greek literature, the Tuna el-Gebel necropolis as a whole makes it impossible to assume an ignorance of Egyptian religion.⁶⁶ Apart from the buildings in purely Greek or mixed style, there are impressive tombs there, such as those of Petosiris and Padykam which, despite some influence from Greek art in the former, lie firmly within Pharaonic tradition in their general character, and it should not go unmentioned that the tomb of Petosiris became a centre of pilgrimage for the Greeks.⁶⁷

Ḥapy maintained his position in the traditional funerary beliefs too. In the *Ritual of Embalming*, which was in use in the Roman Period, there is a prescription to put a piece of bandage with the picture of Ḥapy on the left hand of the mummy.⁶⁸

In the fourth century AD the cult of the Nile, which lost nothing of its popularity during the final epoch of Ancient Egyptian religion, became an object of controversy between the Christian authorities and the pagan party in Alexandria.⁶⁹ After the victory of the new religion the beliefs concerning the Nile were, at least on the surface, Christianized. The Nile rises through the power of Christ⁷⁰ and at the intercession of the archangel Michael and the saints.⁷¹ But ancient beliefs still lurked for a long time in the popular mind. Even some rituals seem to have survived. Though the sacrifice of a young virgin to the Nile at the time of the Arab conquest,⁷² or at least the intention to perform it, appears to be a fantastic invention, it may have had some historical foundation. While there is scanty evidence for human sacrifices in earlier Egyptian history, this practice seems to have gained in importance during the Late Period.⁷³ An earlier symbolic form of human sacrifice to the Nile may be found in the above-mentioned statues of the ‘wife of the Nile’ in P. Harris I,⁷⁴ reminding one of the ‘bride of the Nile’

⁶⁴ J.-C. Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* (Le Caire, 1966), 15 and *passim*; B. H. Stricker, *OMRO* 23 (1942), 37 ff.; W. Golénischeff, *Papyrus hiératiques (CGC)* (Le Caire, 1927), 31. On sarcophagi see Lefebvre, *op. cit.*

⁶⁵ P. Chester Beatty, VII, verso 1. 3; A. H. Gardiner, *PHier BM* II, pl. 36; Bollók, *op. cit.* 35.

⁶⁶ See, e.g., Sami Gabra, *Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis Ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Le Caire, 1941); G. Grimm, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 221 ff.

⁶⁷ Lefebvre, *Le Tombeau de Petosiris I* (Le Caire, 1924), 24; cf. Kákosy, *Acta Orientalia Hung.* 21 (1968), 117.

⁶⁸ Sauneron, *Le Rituel de l'embaumement* (Le Caire, 1952), 25 (P. Boulaq III, 7, 13); cf. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Egypte* (Paris, 1972), 68.

⁶⁹ Hermann, *JAC* 2 (1959), 30 ff.

⁷⁰ P. Oxy. 1830, 6; Bonneau, *op. cit.* 423.

⁷¹ Bonneau, *op. cit.* 425. Michael as governor of the Nile appears already in *PGM* IV, 2769–70.

⁷² E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (London, 1860, repr. 1954), 500. For modern Nile-festivals cf. also Hermann, *ZAS* 85 (1960), 40 f.

⁷³ Gwyn Griffiths, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 423.

⁷⁴ See n. 8.

of modern times.⁷⁵ The written order of Caliph Omar concerning the flood, which was thrown into the Nile,⁷⁶ has its forerunners, though in outward form, not content, in the 'Books of the Nile', probably bearing a list of offerings.⁷⁷

What is even more remarkable is the tenacity with which the mythology of the Nile was preserved amidst a hostile atmosphere as late as the seventh century. Under emperor Mauricius (582–602) who was, by the way, suspected of pagan sympathies⁷⁸ a miracle generated a great excitement in Egypt. Two gigantic creatures of human form emerged from the Nile, one resembling a man, the other a woman.⁷⁹ The prefect of Egypt, Menas,⁸⁰ who happened to make a tour in the Delta at that time, is also said to have seen them. 'All who saw them said, "This is the work of demons who dwell in the waters". But others said, "This river is of two sexes; for there have appeared in it creatures such as never have been seen before".'⁸¹ Whatever the origin of this apparition may have been, it provides a remarkable piece of evidence of a sudden upsurge of heathen mythology. To some extent, Coptic art⁸² with its Nile representations may have contributed to the survival of the memory of the Nile-God and his female consort, but the folk-tales about the Nile and Euthenia, handed down from generation to generation, probably had a greater effect on the popular mind.

The tradition about Isis as mistress of the Nile can be traced in later times as well. A huge statue of a woman with a child situated near the El-Mu'llaqa church in Old Cairo was endowed, in medieval popular belief, with supernatural power over the Nile.⁸³ It was supposed to prevent the district being submerged by the flood. Protection against the destructive power of the water was undoubtedly expected from the Nile deities in Ancient Egypt too. This image of Isis with Horus, at that time a female counterpart of the Sphinx, which was regarded as a talisman to protect the fields against sandstorms, was destroyed in 1311 by a treasure-hunting emir.⁸⁴

To sum up, it was the male dimension that predominated in the Nile-God in Pharaonic Egypt, but a female component was also present, mostly in an ambiguous form. Egyptian mythology did not associate a wife with him. The statues of the 'wives of the Nile' were human sacrifices in a symbolic form. The important part played by Euthenia was partly due to mythological views concerning the family of the Nile. At the same time, there was a solid background in Egyptian religion, particularly in the relation of H'apy to Isis-Sothis, H'athor, and Neith, for this new development in the history of the cult of the Nile.

⁷⁵ Lane, op. cit. 500.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ P. Harris I, 37b 1 ff.: Erichsen, op. cit. 42 (cf. Meeks, op. cit. 23).

⁷⁸ J. Jarry, *Hérésies et factions dans l'empire byzantine du IV^e au VII^e siècle* (Le Caire, 1968), 445.

⁷⁹ Theophylactos Simocattes, *Oic. Hist.* 7. 16, and *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu* (trans. from Zotenberg's Ethiopic Text by R. H. Charles) (Oxford, 1916), 160–1 (xcviii, 34–7).

⁸⁰ Prefect in 600: cf. Milne, op. cit. 112.

⁸¹ *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, 161.

⁸² e.g. the famous Neilos textile medallion in the Pushkin Museum: E. Shurinova, *Koptskie tkani. Coptic Textiles* (Moscow, 1969), pl. 12. Other Nile representations in Bonneau, op. cit. pl. x. The dating of these pieces is far from being settled. They are generally regarded as late Roman.

⁸³ U. Haarmann, *Saeculum* 24 (1978), 376–7; A-P. Zivie, *Du Côté de Babylon* (MIFAO 104, 1980, Livre du centenaire), 515.

⁸⁴ Haarmann, op. cit. 377.



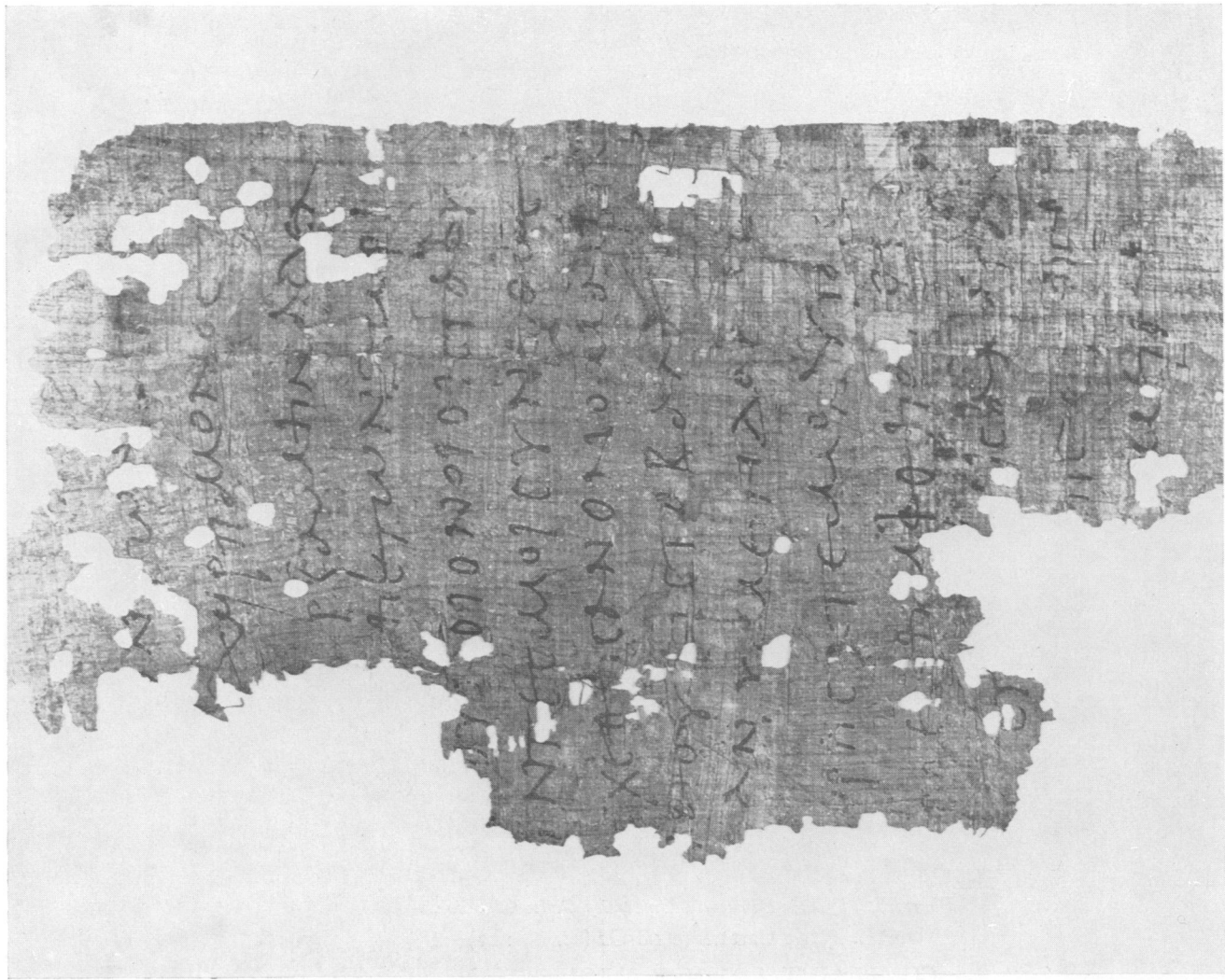
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Courtesy the German Archaeological Institute Cairo

2

THE NILE, EUTHENIA, AND THE NYMPHS



A letter from Chaeremon (Inv. no. 122)

UNEDITED MERTON PAPYRI. II

GASTON MASPERO AND THE BIRTH OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND (1881–3)

By MARGARET S. DROWER

In this year in which we are celebrating the centenary of the foundation of the Egypt Exploration Fund, it is fitting that we should record the indebtedness of our society to that great Egyptologist, Gaston Maspero, whose tact, patience, and generosity of spirit played so large a part in its birth. Among the hundreds of letters written by Miss Amelia Edwards, Reginald Stuart Poole, and other founding members of the Fund during those early years, a great many have been preserved among the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society,¹ and among these are some exchanged between Poole, as one of the Honorary Secretaries and chief mouthpiece of the Committee, and Maspero in his capacity as Director of the Antiquities Service and the Bulaq Museum. Other letters, from Maspero to Miss Edwards, are among her papers in the library of Somerville College, Oxford, to which she bequeathed them;² these were published in summary by Warren Dawson in 1947.³ The correspondence throws light on the very difficult circumstances in which the society was brought to birth and the delicate negotiations necessary in order to obtain permission to excavate in Egypt—the first foreign organization to be granted this concession. The letters speak for themselves, and some are here quoted in their entirety.

The idea of raising a fund by public subscription for the exploration of sites in Egypt, on similar lines to the Palestine Exploration Fund, which was already operating in the Turkish province called Syria, appears to have formed itself in the mind of Miss Amelia Edwards, the Victorian novelist, traveller, and journalist, soon after, or even during, her visit to Egypt in the winter of 1873–4. To write her book *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, published in 1877, she had needed the help of Egyptologists. She had been in touch by correspondence⁴ with Dr Samuel Birch, the Keeper of the Oriental Department in the British Museum, since 1875, bombarding him with questions about hieroglyphic texts and problems of Egyptian history. Maspero in Paris also answered her queries and wrote to her often and cordially, and a third scholar whose help she sought was the Orientalist R. S. Poole, the Keeper of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, who had been brought up in Egypt and frequently lectured and

¹ Referred to by the initials EES and index number. Thanks are due to the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish extracts from these documents.

² I have to thank the Librarian of Somerville College for allowing me to see and copy these letters and to the Principal and Fellows of the College for permission to reproduce extracts from them. They now bear reference numbers SCO 121–212.

³ Warren R. Dawson, 'Letters from Maspero to Amelia Edwards', *JEA* 33 (1947), 66–89.

⁴ These letters are now in the files of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in the British Museum; my thanks are due to the Keeper of that department for allowing me to see them.

wrote on Ancient Egyptian topics. He became a close friend and shared her enthusiasm for the idea of launching a British excavation. They discussed it with a number of their friends, including the Assyriologist A. H. Sayce, who spent every winter in Egypt, Ernest de Bunsen, and H. W. Villiers Stuart, whose travels and discoveries in Egypt had been published in 1879. Another scholar whose interest had been roused was Édouard Naville, the Swiss Egyptologist, who was a frequent visitor to England.

On 9 December 1879 a letter from Naville appeared in the columns of the *Morning Post*. He reported a meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres which he had recently attended in Paris, at which Mariette Bey had read a paper on 'the excavations which it would be necessary to make in Egypt in order to further our knowledge of Egyptian history'. The crisis through which Egypt was then passing (in the previous June, the Khedive Ismail had been forced to abdicate in favour of his son Tewfik, and in November the finances of the bankrupt state had been put under the dual control of an English and a French Comptroller-General) had been fatal to the programme of exploration which he, Mariette, had mapped out, and all excavation had had to cease. Naville wrote:

The Egyptian Government, though well intentioned, requires perhaps some stimulus from without. Were that stimulus applied, and the necessary means granted, we should at once enter upon a new era of discoveries equally beneficial to science and to Egypt . . . Why not appeal, as elsewhere, to the support of all those foreigners who take an interest in Egypt? We do not think that the German Government has any reason to repent of the contract made with the Greeks about Olympia, although nothing but casts will enrich the museum of Berlin. Nor does Dr. Schliemann regret his excavations at Mycenae, though he had to part with the antiquities he discovered, securing for himself merely the right of publication. We see no reason why contacts of the same kind could not be had in Egypt, and if political circumstances would make such an action difficult to foreign governments, the learned societies, private individuals or even influential newspapers are in a position to come forward. It is not necessary to name several learned societies in England who might undertake part of the work, but we may venture to suggest this idea to the Palestine Exploration Fund. It seems highly desirable that having so admirably surveyed Palestine and Sinai, the society should include within the range of its work the eastern part of the Delta, the city of Tanis and the Land of Goshen.

This letter appears to have provoked little reaction, and on 20 January 1880 Miss Edwards wrote to a number of scholars urging them to give public support to Naville's idea. One of those who replied was Villiers Stuart, who wrote (EES III j. 9): 'the field in which I should take the greatest interest would be that surrounding the pyramids of Dashoor and Sakkara; there will yet be found the monuments of the First and Second dynasties.' Miss Edwards herself favoured the Delta, partly because it was an area as yet virtually unexplored by excavation, but more especially because of the interest currently aroused in the geography of the Book of Exodus. In the face of the new Higher Criticism, proofs of the historicity of the biblical narrative were sought. The route of the Exodus and the identification of the Store Cities of Pithom and Raamses were under discussion. Only excavation could solve the problem.

One person who had to be approached at once was Birch. Miss Edwards wrote

asking him if he would convene a meeting, but he refused to become involved. He replied (EES III j. 19)

I do not exactly understand your scheme but suppose it is to aid Mariette-Pasha in his excavations and researches. Fortunately he has been enabled, it is stated by the Journal, to recommence them from other sources. No one is more sensible than myself of the high value of the researches and publications of Mariette-Pasha but a public subscription here would not I fear aid him and having formerly been a member of the Assyrian Excavation Fund I am fully aware of the difficulties in the way of another subscription fund here. Since the time of Colonel Howard Vyse the Egyptian excavations have only been profitable to France and Egypt in the material results which have been obtained. The Serapeum enriched the Museum of the Louvre, the other researches that of Boulaq, and it appears to me most undesirable to subsidise other institutions, especially that of Boulaq, the ultimate destiny of which may be considered unknown. Nor do I think that a large sum of public money would be subscribed for merely scientific explorations. As to recommending to the Treasury these excavations, except that the results were actually to become the property of the British Museum I would not do so, and am not prepared to surrender to the idea of sentimental excavations. In all these undertakings chance rather than design leads to great results. Individually I wish all success to your scheme although unable to participate in it.

Undeterred by this lack of co-operation in one whom they had expected to be an ally, Stuart Poole and Amelia Edwards pushed ahead with their plans. Naville, who visited London in May 1880, was enthusiastic and in June a meeting was held at which the three were joined by Charles Newton, the Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, and one or two others. As a result of that meeting, a letter was sent to Mariette offering to raise a subscription for excavation in Egypt; a similar letter went to M. Waddington, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Mariette, however, was a sick man, and there was already talk of a successor; it was generally supposed that a Frenchman would be likely to be appointed and the obvious candidate was M. Gaston Maspero, then Professor of Egyptology at the Collège de France. In September Miss Edwards wrote to Poole (EES III j. 31) advising him not to tell Maspero yet: 'If the French get the control of things Maspero would not be the sort of Frenchman Naville dreads, nor would Revillout either. But I should like to see an international scheme free of all jealousies.' There is evidence that, in spite of his illness, Mariette had considered favourably the proposal for an English fund: Canon Randall Davidson (later Archbishop of Canterbury) told Miss Edwards that he had expressed to him in conversation a preference for an excavation at Saqqâra or Memphis rather than in the Delta (EES III j. 33).

In December 1880 Maspero was asked by the French Government to go out to Egypt in order to found a French School of Archaeology. Realizing that the new institute would be in need of support he had written at once to a number of scholars in England who were his friends; Birch, who was President of the Society for Biblical Archaeology, wrote to Miss Edwards on 14 January 1881 (ESS III j. 32):

All Maspero's letters have been laid before the Council of the Biblical and a very favourable answer will be given to him. It would perhaps be prudent to wait and see what the French School of Cairo will do before raising a subscription to help them as no doubt the French Government

will supply the School with adequate funds. When any distinct work could be proposed and the means at the disposal of the School were inadequate it would be a good opportunity to ask for public assistance. In the meantime the services of the School for literary purposes have been offered to the Biblical. The serious illness of Mariette and the indifferent health of Brugsch are very serious prospects for Egyptology. Duemichen has long been in Egypt and done good work so that any extension of his stay or even should he be appointed to the German school it would make little difference. Brugsch represents in fact a German School in Cairo. As to an English School there is no hope at present as there are neither available teachers to go there nor students but as the Universities are awaking to archaeology perhaps ere long they might send a travelling student to Egypt. The misfortune is that there are no Professors at present of Egyptology. The Metropolis is the real place for such as the monuments, libraries and materials are all here. Some endowment and the men alone are wanting.

Maspero arrived in Cairo on 1 January 1881, to find Mariette gravely ill. He died less than three weeks later. Speculation as to his successor ran high in Cairo; some expected Brugsch to be appointed, but French influence won the day and Maspero found himself Director-General of the Museums of Egypt. Miss Edwards wrote at once to congratulate him, and reiterate the offer which she had already made to Mariette. In March came Maspero's answer, written on the eve of his departure for his first tour of inspection in Upper Egypt (SCO 152 = Dawson no. 12). He is much excited, he says, by the discovery of the inscribed chambers in the pyramid of Unas and plans to open every pyramid from Abou Roash to the Fayyûm:

C'est toujours l'argent qui manque . . . L'argent que vous m'offrez sera le bien-venu, si'il vient. J'arrive ici avec des idées toutes différentes de Mariette en fait des fouilles: pourvu qu'on découvre quelque chose, peu m'importe que ce soit moi ou un autre qui le découvre. Ma bonne volonté n'a de limites que celles de la loi égyptienne sur la matière. J'ai donc cru devoir consulter les autorités du pays avant de vous répondre: cela m'a un peu retardé, mais je n'ai pas lieu de m'en retenir. Je sors de chez Riaz-Pacha [see JEA 33 (1947) 69 n. 3], à qui j'ai fait part officieusement de votre proposition. Il en a été très touché et m'a autorisé à l'accepter dans les termes où vous me la faites. Je puis donc vous dire dès maintenant que l'affaire est bien engagée et doit réussir, si le comité dont vous faites partie est toujours dans les mêmes idées que l'an dernier. Vous pouvez donc convoquer les personnes de bonne volonté et leur dire que non seulement j'accepte, mais que je compte bien les remercier bientôt de ce qu'ils feront. Ils peuvent rester assurés que l'argent qu'ils me confèrent sera bien dépensé et profitera la science. Je vous prie donc de vouloir bien engager les négociations dès que vous le pouvez. Nous réglerons les pointes de détail qui seuls peuvent prêter à discussion, et quand tout sera bien convenu, je soumettrai à l'acceptation du gouvernement égyptien votre projet de contrat: c'est une formalité qui ne sera pas longue à remplir.

If the money could be sent in October, he could plan his campaign for 1881-2 'de manière à doubler ou même tripler le nombre des ouvriers que je mettrai aux Pyramides de Meïdoûm'.

The terms of the first proposal have not survived, but it is clear that he interpreted them as an offer merely to augment the funds placed at his disposal for his own excavations. This was certainly not what was intended, and Miss Edwards's next letter must have contained a modification of the original proposal: the excavation of a Delta site must specifically have been mentioned. In August or September, he wrote in answer

(SCO 153 = Dawson no. 13) that he hoped to be in London for a few days and then could settle certain points before again approaching Riaz Pacha; this formality was necessary, but he saw no reason to suppose that any objection could be raised to the new proposal.

Maspero was prevented from visiting England that summer, but he wrote in August (SCO 154 = Dawson no. 14) asking Miss Edwards to assure her friends that there was, after all, no hurry. Mariette's long illness has disorganized the excavations of the Service; this winter he intends to devote all the time and money at his disposal to Upper Egypt; as for the projects he has in hand—Deir el-Bahri, Medinet Habu—he has enough money for this work:

et il me servira de leçon pour apprendre à fouiller. Je ne pourrai donc aller dans le Delta qu'au retour en Mars, et je n'y demeurerai que quelques jours. En revanche la campagne de l'année suivante 1882-1883 sera consacrée toute entière au Delta et je ne ferai dans la Haute Égypte qu'une inspection d'un mois afin de surveiller les travaux et d'en enregistrer les résultats.

Tous ces détails étaient nécessaires à donner pour vous faire comprendre comment je compte employer l'argent que vous me procurez. D'après ce que je crois, la plus grande partie des souscriptions que vous pouvez recueillir me viendra de personnes israélites ou autres qui s'intéressent à l'archéologie biblique et pour qui l'intérêt des fouilles en Égypte sera grandement éveillé si l'on trouvait des monuments touchant de près ou de loin l'histoire des Juifs. Je pense que j'obéirai à ce désir très naturel en consacrant la souscription anglaise à l'exploration des cantons orientaux du Delta. . . . Ce serait comme vous voyez répartir mes ressources de manière à respecter tous les intérêts. Tout l'argent du gouvernement égyptien sera consacré à la vallée proprement dite; tout l'argent de la souscription serait consacré au Delta. De la sorte, il sera facile de vérifier l'emploi des fonds, de voir si le résultat des fouilles est tel qu'il inspire aux souscripteurs le désir de continuer. De plus, les souscripteurs auront cette satisfaction très légitime de pouvoir dire qu'ils ont donné à leur pays une nouvelle gloire scientifique: leur argent, dispensé partout en Égypte, ne leur donnerait pas le droit de dire que c'est à eux qu'on doit la découverte de telle ou telle chose; concentré tout entier comme je propose, ils pourront dire à bon droit que c'est à l'Angleterre qu'on doit l'exploration complète du pays de Goshen. . . . Je vous prie donc de bien faire connaître à vos amis le sentiment qui me guide, et en même temps de prendre leur résolution à loisir. J'ai assuré pour cette année l'avenir des fouilles avec mes seuls ressources: ils ont donc tout le temps nécessaire pour tâter l'opinion et choisir les moyens qui leur paraîtront les plus propres à assurer le succès de leur entreprise. Quand ils auront arrêté leurs résolutions, qu'ils m'envoient un projet de contrat: je ferai mes observations, et, comme après tout, nous avons tous le désir de nous entendre, il nous sera facile d'arriver à une convention satisfaisante. Je m'efforcerai à la fois de ménager la susceptibilité politique du gouvernement égyptien, qui est très grande dans les très petites choses, et de faire pour le mieux des intérêts de la science.

There is no mention in this of any excavator save himself, but only two days later, on 6 August, he wrote to Miss Edwards again (SCO 155 = Dawson no. 15) suggesting that she might in the interval be able to find a young Egyptologist

assez bien préparé pour m'aider sérieusement. Je suis tout disposé à le faire profiter des occasions qui se présentent de se perfectionner dans notre métier; j'ai déjà eu un italien et deux allemands envoyés à Paris par leur gouvernement pour étudier avec moi, cela me ferait plaisir de rendre le même service à un anglais. Il pourrait surveiller l'emploi des fonds et me débarrasser de responsabilités pécuniaires qui me tracassent toujours, et en même temps vous donner ce qui vous manque

à présent, un égyptologue jeune et disposé à remplacer la vieille école qui s'éteint sans laisser de successeur.

Unfortunately, no suitable young Englishman was to be found. Flinders Petrie had already spent one winter at the Pyramids, but his work had still to be published and his talents were not yet recognized.

In September 1881 Poole and Miss Edwards drafted a prospectus, of which no copy survives, and sent it to Maspero, who on 22 October wrote (SCO 159 = Dawson no. 19) giving his approval and consenting to append his name. Now they could set about fundraising in earnest. They wrote dozens of letters to eminent persons, to collect signatures and promises of financial support. The proposal was already being freely discussed in Cairo; Wilbour wrote in November⁵ that General Wolf, the American consul in Cairo, was anxious to get the Smithsonian Institution of Washington to raise money likewise for digging in Egypt, and had discussed his plan with Maspero 'so that America may not be behind England'.

The list of illustrious names grew; by the end of February 1882 they had 'netted', among others, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Henry Layard, Sir Henry Rawlinson, the Chief Rabbi, Cardinal Manning, and the Bishop of Durham (EES IV b. 1). Miss Edwards's friend Sir Erasmus Wilson, the wealthy physician who had borne the cost of transporting the obelisk known as Cleopatra's Needle from Alexandria to England, was enthusiastic and had donated £10 for secretarial expenses (ESS XVI a. 1). The way seemed open for the long-planned meeting which was to call the Egypt Exploration Fund⁶ into being. On Monday, 27 March, a meeting took place in the British Museum at which Sir Erasmus Wilson took the chair; a Committee was constituted, the members of which were Poole's British Museum colleagues Barclay Head (his Assistant in the Department of Coins and Medals), Newton, and his deputy A. S. Murray, Sayce and Villiers Stuart, Percy Gardner, who was Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge, Alphonse Legros, the Slade Professor of Fine Art at University College London, the Sinologist Terrien de la Couperie, and a wealthy art-collector, Constantine Ionides. Sir Erasmus consented to become Treasurer, and Poole and Miss Edwards were appointed Joint Honorary Secretaries. The full committee did not meet again for nearly a year. Work was subsequently done by a small sub-committee, usually Poole, Head, Newton, and Gardner; Miss Edwards, who lived in Bristol, was consulted by post but was seldom able to attend meetings. A formal announcement appeared next day in the daily press and more fully on 1 April in the *Academy*; it listed thirty-eight patrons, the names of the Officers, and the aims of the society. 'The society is in correspondence with M. Maspero with a view to beginning excavations as soon as sufficient funds shall be provided.' The article went on to specify the aim of the excavations: 'the Delta, which up to this time has been rarely visited by travellers, and where but one site (Zoan-Tanis) has been explored by archaeologists. Yet here must undoubtedly lie concealed the documents of a lost period in Bible history.' Possible sites for exploration

⁵ C. E. Wilbour, *Letters from Egypt* (ed. J. Capart) (Brooklyn Museum, 1936), 77.

⁶ The name was not immediately decided on; variants in the first press reports give 'Delta Exploration Fund' and 'Egypt Excavation Fund'.

were mentioned: Pithom and Raamses, the Hyksos cities, Naucratis, Saïs perhaps, and Xoïs. Should enough money be raised, Goshen and Naucratis could be simultaneously excavated; otherwise Goshen would have preference.

In venturing to make this last statement, Poole and Miss Edwards were, as they later admitted, over-hasty. Maspero's letter of 12 March (SCO 163 = Dawson no. 23) shows that he still expected to be the Fund's sole excavator: 'Ce que vous me dites du succès de la souscription m'enchanté. On peut tant faire avec si peu d'argent, qu'avec beaucoup d'argent nous obtiendrons des résultats imprévues. L'Égypte est le pays des surprises: Tanis et le Delta le prouveront bien. Je n'ai plus qu'une crainte, c'est de ne pas avoir assez de temps pour autant de travail.' This was what they too feared, and already they were considering whether they might propose archaeologists of their own choosing. Two names were considered as possible 'explorers' for the Fund: one was Naville, who had already shown himself enthusiastic for the project, both on account of the idea of biblical research and also because of the prospect of new inscriptions to study and publish; the other was Miss Edwards's friend Heinrich Schliemann, to whom she had already written on 27 February asking him if he would like to excavate a site in the Delta, perhaps Naucratis. Schliemann had written back from Troy by return of post, full of enthusiasm (EES III j. 35). Evidently unsure how Maspero would take this new suggestion, Poole wrote to him on 5 April (EES XIX c. 6) asking him if he would agree to such an appointment. The letter, sent to Bulaq, was not forwarded to Maspero. Meanwhile, on 30 March Miss Edwards received a long letter from Naville, newly returned from Egypt (EES IV e. 1). He had recently spent six weeks, he said, in Upper Egypt, staying for part of the time on Maspero's *dahabiyeh*; they had frequently discussed the formation of the English society, and the Director had been most encouraging.

Pour ce qui concerne les fouilles, il est décidé à prendre le contrepied de ce que faisait Mariette. Il m'a souvent répété que tout homme ou toute société qui voudrait fouiller dans un but scientifique véritable et qui aurait les fonds nécessaires recevrait l'autorisation de le faire, sauf à Sakkarah, qu'il veut se réserver. Il veut aussi conserver un droit de surveillance qui suivant les conditions où se feraient les travaux serait je crois très bénignes [*sic*]. Il m'a toujours dit qu'il comptait abandonner le Delta aux Anglais, de sorte que la Société fondée ne trouvera de sa part aucune opposition, au contraire il en a parlé même à plusieurs Anglais qui était [*sic*] à Louxor.

He does not believe, he says, that there have been any secret negotiations between Maspero and Dr Birch in the matter of acquiring objects for the British Museum; as far as he can see, the Bulaq Museum is suffering from an *embarras de richesses*, and there should be no difficulty in letting the British Museum benefit from the result of the excavations. 'Ce que M. Maspero ne veut pas, c'est qu'on fouille dans un but mercantile pour trouver des objets et les vendre; toutes les fois qu'il soupçonnera un but de cette espèce, il refusera l'autorisation.' Naville adds that he spent the last week of his stay examining possible sites in the Delta, with Maspero's encouragement. He promises to send Poole a short report on his reconnaissance.

Assuming that it would meet with Maspero's approval, the subcommittee unanimously decided to invite Naville to dig for the Fund. They now had hope of obtaining material

rewards for their work, inscriptions, and perhaps fine sculptures to enrich the British Museum and encourage further donations. Naville's letter certainly assured them of this and so, in a letter to Amelia Edwards (EES xvii a. 6), had Sayce. A note published in the *Academy* the previous spring (16 April, 1881, p. 285) had already indicated that Maspero's policy in this respect was likely to be liberal; in reporting the discovery of a large vaulted chamber in Alexandria, the correspondent (probably either Sayce or Villiers Stuart) had written:

It tells well for M. Maspero that at the commencement of his career in Egypt he should have made a compact permitting the discoverer to excavate the tombs, and allowing him to receive a third of the objects which may be discovered. This would have been impossible under the rule of the late Mariette Pasha, whose jealousy of any but Frenchmen, and especially of Englishmen, absolutely amounted to monomania.

To be on the safe side, Poole wrote again to Maspero (EES iv b. 10), probably on 17 March, asking if the society might count on generous treatment in this matter. Maspero's answer (EES xvi b. 22), received more than a month later, was a flat denial of any such intention:

Boulaq, le 14 Avril 1882

Cher Monsieur,

Je rentre aujourd'hui même et je trouve votre lettre à Boulaq où elle m'attendait. M. Sayce a évidemment mal compris ce dont il s'agissait. Je ne lui ai point dit ce qu'il me fait dire pour la bonne raison que la loi égyptienne ne permet pas l'exportation des antiquités et que je ne puis prendre sur moi de modifier la loi égyptienne. Je vous prie donc de vouloir présenter l'entreprise au public comme devant être une entreprise purement scientifique, où les souscripteurs auront la satisfaction de faire progresser la science, mais nullement le plaisir de posséder ou d'acquérir pour le British Museum des monuments nouveaux. Je ne crois pas du reste que nos fouilles produisent beaucoup de monuments aisément transportables, et le Musée de Boulaq n'aura probablement pas beaucoup à gagner. Tanis lui a donné environ quinze ou seize sphinx et statues [*sic*] de grandes dimensions: le reste était trop lourd pour qu'on pût le transporter sans une dépense exagérée.

Si donc le comité désire obtenir l'approbation du gouvernement égyptien, il lui faut renoncer à toute idée d'acquisition. Mais pour mon compte, je tâcherai de lui obtenir à titre de *don gracieux* la présentation d'un certain nombre d'objets de choix. Je ne vous dissimule pas que j'aurai à cela quelques difficultés. Le bruit fait autour de nos momies royales a persuadé aux Egyptiens que leurs monuments avaient une valeur vénale considérable: ils estiment le musée de Boulaq à plusieurs *milliards*. Lisez bien *milliards*. Il y aura donc des difficultés. Je ferai mon possible pour les surmonter.

Je vous remercie bien sincèrement et de votre lettre et de l'appui que vous nous prêtez. J'espère que des fouilles entreprises dans la Basse Égypte auront d'heureux résultats. Elles seront difficiles et périlleuses. Il y aura de la terre humide à remuer et gare les fièvres, mais je suis persuadé qu'elles nous apprendront beaucoup et c'est l'important.

Veillez agréer, cher Monsieur, les assurances de mes meilleurs sentiments,

G. Maspero

The law to which he refers was the Khedivial decree of 19 May 1880, which expressly forbade the export of 'toute sorte d'objets rentrant sous le domaine de l'Égyptologie tels que monnaies, inscriptions anciennes et en general les objets de la même nature que ceux qui se trouvent déposés au Musée de Boulaq' (A. Khater, *Le Régime juridique*

des fouilles et des antiquités en Égypte (I.F.A.O.) (Cairo, 1960), 280). This was very disappointing, but there was nothing to be done about it; Poole wrote back (EES IV b. 22), promising 'nous n'annoncerons rien de plus que les termes de votre premier projet que vous avez signés, où la loi égyptienne est distinctement visée . . . nous fondons grand espoir sur l'heureux succès de votre intervention en notre faveur.' To Miss Edwards he wrote (EES IV b. 19):

You see we must go on the old lines and I fear for our subscriptions, though we have the example of Germany and Schliemann in Greece. I explain Maspero's attitude in this way. He has allowed liberal terms to private diggers, but he does not care to hand over the Delta to a society except on rigid terms. The present state of Egyptian opinion is evidently at work against any European. At this moment Dr. Spitta the librarian of the Public Library of Cairo has been dismissed on a ground of bigotry, and a cry could easily be raised about Maspero.

Then came another blow: Maspero's answer to the letter about Schliemann. The letter, dated 15 April, is translated in full by Dawson (SCO 165 = Dawson no. 25). In it his dismay and annoyance are clear to see. M. Schliemann, he declares, is the worst person they could have suggested: he is tactless in the extreme, loves publicity, and would be likely to offend the national vanity of the Egyptians. He again advises the Fund to send out a young Englishman whom he, Maspero, could teach and to whom he would then gradually hand over control of the work and the publication of the monuments; to this the Egyptian Government would not object. He makes a further suggestion to Poole: if the seven or eight Middle Kingdom statues still lying at San (i.e. those discovered by Mariette in 1865) could be transported to Bulaq with the Fund's money, 'les Ministres verront qu'en effet les monuments trouvés sont remis au gouvernement et cette première expédition nous dispensera pour longtemps d'avoir à faire des transports de monuments'. He reiterates that he is most anxious that England should gradually come to take over the direction of excavations, but argues patience and discretion.

The two Honorary Secretaries conferred; Naville was now their only hope. They had already written to him, early in April, asking if he would undertake to excavate for the Fund, and he had agreed with enthusiasm. Poole now reproached Miss Edwards for being too hasty. After Maspero's second letter, he says (EES IV b. 24), they can only keep quiet and wait:

You are too quick and too certain of success, as when you reckon on adding a paragraph notifying Maspero's assent to the employment of Schliemann. I now wish we had published nothing, for Maspero would not have us at his mercy or rather we should not have been at the mercy of Maspero's employers the Egyptian Government. We must make what terms we can with Maspero when we have ascertained if he or the Egyptian Government is stable enough to negotiate. . . . We can receive no subscription and must spend no more money till we have settled the terms. Meanwhile we must keep people interested and quiet. I am recasting my lectures with the object of being quite vague. I should have given them up but that would have had a bad aspect. . . . I make much allowance for Maspero's uncertain tenure of office: still I CANnot understand how he expects a digging society on the lookout for unpublished monuments to oblige him by removing the statues from San to Boolak—trop lourdes in his last letter—at a cost of at least £3000. What would our subscribers say?

Two days later he wrote: 'Naville is now our trump card. If we play him now, six months before it would be possible to attack San (on account of the inundation), we give Maspero all that time to look over his hand and secure the game. Nothing could be more mad in my judgement than to tell anything we need not tell' (EES IV b. 25).

Authorized by the Committee, Poole's reply to Maspero was finally written on 12 May (EES IV c. 5):

En reponse à votre estimée lettre du 15 Avril je suis fâché de vous informer que le programme que vous nous tracez, et dont nous apprécions les avantages, présenterait certaines difficultés vis à vis du public anglais, très susceptible en matière de souscription.

Il serait nécessaire que vous puissiez nous fournir un plan qui offrirait plus de satisfaction immédiate à notre amour propre nationale. Sans le concours d'un grand nombre de souscripteurs nous ne pourrions rien faire. C'est pourquoi il est nécessaire de tenir compte d'une manière de voir qui est bien compréhensible de leur part. Le projet de transporter les statues monolithiques de Sâh nous touche au cœur, mais n'est pas de nature à plaire comme première satisfaction à donner aux souscripteurs, qui auraient fourni leur argent pour de nouvelles fouilles conduisant à de nouveaux résultats historiques.

Nous regrettons l'affaire Schliemann, dont nous ne parlerons plus, selon votre désir. Nous ne pouvons cependant pas oublier (malgré toutes les réserves qu'il est nécessaire de faire à son égard) qu'il était disposé à dépenser beaucoup dans des fouilles comme celles de Naucratis que personne n'entreprendrait.

Je vous prie cher Monsieur de vous rappeler que nous avons à cœur de vous aider par tous les moyens en notre pouvoir, puisque l'objet principal de notre Committee est d'aider aux progrès de l'Égyptologie.

Maspero's reply also deserves quotation in full:

SERVICE DE CONSERVATION DES ANTIQUITÉS DE L'ÉGYPTE⁷
Direction Générale des Musées

Boulaq le 20 Mai, 1882

Cher Monsieur,

Je vois que ma lettre vous a étonné, et je crois comprendre à votre réponse que nous ne nous sommes pas entendu [*sic*] sur différents points. Pour éviter tout embarras, permettez-m' oide vous rappeler comment l'affaire qui nous occupe m'a été présentée au début.

Je savais déjà que des pourparlers avaient été échangés entre Mariette et un groupe de savants anglais, lorsque Mademoiselle Amelia B. Edwards me proposa de reprendre avec moi les négociations qui avaient été rompues avec Mariette. Il s'agissait alors simplement de réunir une somme plus ou moins forte qu'on déposerait entre mes mains afin de faire des fouilles dans le Delta, particulièrement à Tanis. Avant de répondre je dus consulter le gouvernement égyptien, et le gouvernement égyptien, représenté alors par Riaz-Pacha, me permit d'accepter dans les termes indiqués plus haut. Du moment que les monuments découverts demeuraient acquis à l'Égypte, et que l'Égypte se réservait le droit de diriger les fouilles, il importait peu à Riaz-Pacha que l'argent avec lequel on fouillait vint du dehors: tous ses successeurs, Chérif Pacha et Mahmoud Samy Pacha, ont partagé cette façon de penser de même que le Khédive.

La proposition de rassembler en Angleterre une somme d'argent dans ces conditions ne venait pas de moi, et j'aurais pu accepter la somme dans les conditions où on l'offrait sans m'inquiéter du

⁷ EES XVI b. 33.

reste. Toutefois il me parut injuste de prendre l'argent sans rien donner en retour: ne pouvant pas assurer que le gouvernement égyptien donnerait des monuments, je voulus du moins assurer à un Anglais l'honneur des découvertes, et j'écrivis à Mademoiselle Edwards que je désirais qu'on m'adjoignît un Anglais, pour surveiller les fouilles. S'il y avait eu un Égyptologue anglais jeune, j'aurais demandé qu'on l'envoyât: comme l'Égyptologue en question n'existe pas pour le moment, je demandai un jeune anglais qui eût du goût pour les Études Orientales et dont on pût faire un Égyptologue. Après avoir travaillé quelques mois avec lui, pour le mettre au courant, je lui aurais abandonné le soin et l'honneur des fouilles. Les objets trouvés devaient être déposés dans une chambre spéciale du musée, si c'était possible, en tout cas devaient porter un mention indiquant qu'ils avaient été découverts aux frais des Anglais.

Pendant ce temps, l'idée première se transformait: il ne s'agissait plus d'une somme une fois donnée, mais d'une souscription se renouvelant tous les ans. Puis comme une souscription entraîne une Société, il ne s'agit plus aujourd'hui de rien moins que d'une Société analogue à celle qui explore la Palestine. Ceci présentait quelques difficultés. Je ne crois pas qu'en Angleterre on songe à former une Société destinée à explorer la Gaule antique: l'Égypte est un peu dans les conditions où se trouve la Gaule, nullement dans les conditions où se trouve la Syrie. En Syrie, il n'y a point de services d'antiquités, point de gardiens des monuments, point de musées: en Égypte tout cela existe comme en France. Je vous présente en ce moment la thèse du gouvernement égyptien. Ce gouvernement dit: Nous dépensons tous les ans une somme de . . . pour l'entretien et la découverte des monuments. Sans doute cette somme est insuffisante, mais quelle serait la somme qui suffirait à l'exploration d'un pays comme l'Égypte? Vous me dites qu'ici la disproportion entre la somme allouée et les besoins du service est telle, que les monuments ne peuvent être entretenues et périssent. Qui détruit les monuments? Les étrangers qui tous les ans parcourent le pays, achètent des antiquités, enlèvent des blocs de pierre, pour le Louvre et le British Museum: ils font ici ce qu'ils ne feraient ni en Allemagne, ni en Angleterre, ni en Espagne, ni en France, ni en Italie. Ce n'est pas une conversation imaginaire que je vous invente là: je ne fais que vous répéter des conversations que j'ai eu avec tous les ministres qui se sont succédés depuis que je suis en Égypte. Aussi n'était-ce pas sans une certaine inquiétude que j'ai appris le développement que prenait en Angleterre l'idée assez modeste au début que présentait Mademoiselle Edwards. Vous connaissez notre proverbe, *Le mieux est l'ennemi du bien*. Comme cependant il s'agissait d'un grand intérêt scientifique, je me suis dit qu'en agissant prudemment au début, on finirait peut-être par faire comprendre au gouvernement égyptien l'utilité de l'entreprise et le décider à tolérer sur son territoire les fouilles d'une société à peu près indépendante.

C'est au moment où je venais de prendre mon parti à cet égard que je reçois la lettre où vous me parlez de M. Schliemann. Je vous avoue que ceci a d'un coup renversé toutes mes espérances. Je connais l'homme depuis longtemps. Je l'ai vu pour le premier fois en 1869, à l'époque où il venait de découvrir à Ithaque pas exactement les poiriers d'Eumée, mais bien certainement les trous où ils avaient été plantés. Mes camarades de l'École d'Athènes l'ont vu à l'œuvre, et savent que c'est l'homme le plus bruyant du monde, le moins propre à prendre la ligne de conduite qu'il convient de suivre au début d'une entreprise comme la nôtre. En résumé: C'est grâce à lui une prise de possession du Delta par une société étrangère indépendante du gouvernement: ce sont les procédés employés en Troade ou les querelles incessantes des fouilles d'Argos à introduire en Égypte. J'ai cru devoir vous indiquer alors à ce sujet quel était le meilleur plan, celui du moins que je croyais être le meilleur. Il vous paraît être impraticable: je le regrette, car en ce moment, je n'en vois pas d'autre possible.

Un point paraît vous choquer surtout: celui-là je vous l'abandonne. Il s'agit des statues. Je vous avez [*sic*] parlé de cela parce que j'y voyez [*sic*] deux avantages. 1° La dépense était minime 3000 environ; 2° par cette petite dépense vous prouviez au gouvernement égyptien que vous lui livriez

les monuments découverts. N'en parlons plus. Mais pour le reste, je désirerais savoir comment vous proposez d'agir. Je vous le répète, le gouvernement égyptien est ombrageux en ces matiers, et tient d'autant plus à ses droits qu'il en a fort peu dont on ne lui conteste l'exercice en ce moment. Si c'est du bruit que le public anglais veut pour son argent, je crois qu'il faut renoncer au moins pour le moment à l'idée d'une société: le bruit inquiètera le gouvernement et lui fera refuser son consentement. Si c'est le pur intérêt scientifique que l'on recherche, la marche que j'ai indiquée est la plus sûre. Envoyez un jeune homme instruit qui aura le contrôle de la dépense et sera officiellement placé sous la direction du service des fouilles; lui faire commencer le travail sous nos yeux, puis au bout de deux ou trois mois, plus ou moins selon les aptitudes qu'il aura révélées, le laisser seul maître d'agir selon les instructions qu'il recevra de vous.

Savez-vous ce qui me frappe en ce moment. C'est la position bizarre où je suis. En résumé, je vous abandonne un champ d'exploration superbe, sans même me réserver ce qu'on m'offrait dans le projet primitif, le droit d'attacher mon nom aux fouilles et à la publication des résultats, je ne réclame rien pour mon renom de savant, je me borne à défendre les intérêts du gouvernement que je représente, et je vous offre sans marchander mon temps et ma peine pour vous former ce qui vous manque en ce moment, un jeune égyptologue qui puisse remplacer les vieux qui s'en vont, et c'est quand j'ai fait preuve tout au long d'une bonne volonté et d'une désintéressement que vous n'aviez pas rencontrés auparavant que les difficultés commencent. Je sens dans votre lettre l'expression non pas de votre défiance personnelle, mais de la défiance de quelques uns des personnes que vous avez consultées. L'on m'a dit ici, quand j'ai parlé de ce projet, que j'aurais beau faire des concessions, chaque concession nouvelle entraînerait une exigence nouvelle. Je ne l'ai pas voulu croire, et le résultat est que l'idée d'une somme d'argent destinée à faire à Tanis des fouilles dirigées par moi et dont j'aurais l'honneur scientifique, j'en suis arrivé à admettre l'idée d'une société indépendante qui entreprendrait sous la direction nominale du service des antiquités des fouilles dont je n'aurais pas l'honneur scientifique, et que, malgré tout, je n'ai pas réussi à satisfaire les fondateurs futurs de cette société.

En résumé, proposez-moi un plan, puisque vous n'admettez pas le mien. Si ce plan tient compte des difficultés de ma situation, je l'adopterai sauf les modifications de détail que demanderont les circonstances du moment. Quant aux résultats dont vous me parlez, comme devant se produire rapidement pour surexciter l'amour-propre national, je n'en puis vous les promettre. Les fouilles sont dures dans le Delta: les ruines sont noyées dans un limon compact qui devient presque aussi dur que la pierre quand il se dessèche. Mariette a mis six mois à déblayer le peu qui est visible aujourd'hui de Tanis. Vous me parlez de Naucratis et je suis bien de votre avis qu'il serait bon d'y travailler, mais il conviendrait avant tout savoir où elle était située exactement. Les uns disent à Dessouk, les autres à Fouah, d'autres ailleurs. Le fait est que pas une trace visible de ville grecque ne subsiste dans cette région. Prendrez-vous la responsabilité de dépenser 10000 à 20000 frs en sondages inutiles au début d'une entreprise, qui, de l'aveu général, a besoin de succès pour réussir? Tout ce que je puis vous promettre, c'est de faire pour le mieux. J'ai été heureux jusqu'au présent, et peut-être les gens que vous emploierez auront-ils un peu de mon bonheur.

Vous voyez que je vous ai parlé franchement: c'est je crois la meilleure façon de traiter les affaires. Pour terminer je vous répète que je désire ardemment, dans l'intérêt de la science, que votre projet réussisse; je suis disposé, si la chose est nécessaire à me mettre entièrement de côté, sauf en ce qui conviendra pour assurer les droits du gouvernement égyptien. La seule chose que je vous demande c'est de prendre rapidement une résolution qui me tire d'embarras. Excusez la longueur de cette lettre et veuillez agréer les assurances de mes sentiments tout dévoués.

G. Maspero

The officers of the Fund were to have no more communication with Maspero for some

months; the country, uneasy under the Dual Control of its finances by France and England, the vacillations of the Khedive, and the reluctance of the Sultan to intervene, was falling into anarchy and a nationalist revolt under Arabi Pasha gathered momentum; on 11 June riots in Alexandria led to the murder of some fifty Europeans. Foreigners were advised to leave Egypt and most of them did. Cairo was half-deserted, the shops were shut, and mobs roamed the streets, but Maspero stayed on, anxious only to safeguard his Museum. Finally he was forced, by his wife's illness, to leave for Paris. He wrote to Amelia Edwards in September (SCO 166 = Dawson no. 26) that he hoped now that all was quiet and the British were in control of the country, that he might be allowed to return to his appointment. 'Incertain comme je suis de ce qui se passera, je n'ose pas reprendre l'affaire de la société nouvelle et écrire sur ce sujet à M. Stuart Poole. Vous pouvez me conseiller a cet égard. Si les événements n'empêchent pas la constitution de la Société, ce serait le moment de régler les derniers détails sans quoi la campagne serait compromise et ne pourrait pas commencer à temps.' He thanks her meanwhile for her 'amitié constante'. 'Je n'ai pas l'honneur de connaître personnellement la plupart des personnes dont vous me parlez et qui se sont intéressées à moi; présentez leur mes remerciements à l'occasion. Je vois qu'en Angleterre comme en France j'ai beaucoup d'amis; je ne sais vraiment ce que j'ai fait pour les mériter, mais je leur suis sincèrement reconnaissant de leur amitié.' The help to which he referred was evidently an offer, by Sir Erasmus Wilson and others, of financial assistance for his work in the Museum. Poole, to whom Miss Edwards sent a copy of Maspero's letter, was vexed: the offer, he said, should have come through the Society:

to put Maspero under an obligation, when we should have to ask for his support: for I do not doubt that he will be reinstated. I wish you had consulted me before taking so very serious a step. You and Sir E. W. are free to do anything: still the existence of our Society depends on our putting its interests in the first place. You have a great personal regard for Maspero and this has influenced you to act before any reasons could be urged against or in modification of your line. I hope the result will be a favourable feeling towards the Society. As it is I have my fears that we have lost a chance. It might have been possible in a very short time to have engaged him as our excavator, for he may as you say have to look for excavation-money elsewhere than in France. . . (EES iv b. 32).

Miss Edwards's next letter seems to have suggested bold and immediate action; they might, she suggested, take advantage of the present military occupation of Egypt by at once sending out an expedition to excavate and making use of the soldiers as a work-force. Again Poole counselled caution: on 18 September he and Newton had a long discussion about the delicate political situation; the wisest thing, they had concluded, was to help Maspero privately while expressing the hope that when the time came, he would be able to aid the Society (EES iv b. 33).

Recollect that we are only holding Egypt for the Khedive who may organize the excavations again under Maspero in which case our argument would hold. We cannot step in and cut away the ground from under Maspero's feet in his absence, nor can we well take up our share in the same circumstances. The Foreign Office is perfectly alive to the difficulty of keeping the French quiet and would never sanction what would look like taking the wind out of their sails. Newton and I think

that the employment of untrained soldiers (any but Royal Engineers) would be a great error resulting in destruction and loss of smaller objects. Sir Garnet [Wolseley] has a very small force to keep the country quiet and he could not spare a man.

He refers also to a further project which was a particular anxiety of Sir Erasmus: to rehouse the Museum collection in a more suitable building than the present cramped quarters in Bulaq. The time, he insisted, had yet come for another appeal to the public through the Press:

To call a meeting now and blow trumpets could simply be to spoil our chance by attracting the attention of the French. I feel our plan is to work with Maspero or his successor, unless the whole thing should in the reorganisation of Egypt take a different turn. I feel that our only work as yet is to get a condition made in the final terms by which the Museum of Boolak should be housed in the Citadel.

I am afraid you think all this very discouraging but the moment is one of extreme difficulty and needing the greatest delicacy. You see I have changed my view as to Maspero under Newton's counsel. I see in his saying he 'dared' not write to me that he does not desire to be looked on as an English agent. The force of circumstances may make him one ere long.

Maspero's next letter has not survived; it is referred to by Poole in his to Miss Edwards dated 30 September (EES IV b. 35). Maspero has, he says, frankly avowed his relations with the French government. Perhaps he did so 'to persuade us that they and he were not intriguing against our scheme':

I should be extremely sorry to see Maspero dispossessed. To take the coldest view, we could not replace him by anyone combining his youth, knowledge, experience and enterprise. Our only policy in my judgment is to secure fair terms for excavation, but how this is to be done does not yet appear. This must be done by our Government, but the difficulty is that Birch is the natural channel.

On 3 October, he wrote (EES IV b. 36):

The difficulty of the present position is that the archaeological protectorate is all that remains to France and our government which does not care a straw for archaeology may be willing to leave it undisturbed. . . . Remember that all is changed since last year. We want the [British] Museum to press the government.

Three days later (EES IV b. 37):

I feel you are right about me, and that my relations with Birch are a great objection to any action with Govt. I have had a talk with a very important official person who tells me that it is absolutely impossible to do anything at present for some months to come.

In a letter of 24 October (EES IV b. 38) he further explained the difficulties: 'The position of the Museum as to excavations is this: Mr. Bond⁸ fears irritating the French: Newton's heart is in Asia Minor: the Trustees ask "What does Mr. Birch say?" and he says nothing.' But within a week their anxieties had dissolved. Backed by strong representations from the French government, Maspero returned to resume his

⁸ The Director of the British Museum.

duties. Sir Erasmus Wilson at once offered the generous sum of £500 to finance the first excavation, and the committee of the Fund could play their trump card, Naville. First, however, they wrote to Maspero asking if they might now have permission to proceed, and on what terms. Maspero replied to Poole (EES XVI b. 20):

Boulaq, le 15 novembre 1882

Cher Monsieur,

Les conditions sont déjà dans nos lettres de l'an dernier.

1° Les objets trouvés appartiennent au gouvernement égyptien.

2° La surveillance générale des fouilles appartient au service des antiquités de l'Égypte, les frais d'entretien du surveillant choisi par le service tombant à la charge de la société. (C'est une dépense qui ne peut excéder 1 franc par jour, et qui peut être moindre: peut-être cependant, serons-nous obligés pour cette année où la présence des troupes a fait hausser tous les prix d'aller jusqu'à 1 f. 50. Les frais de transport du surveillant sont également à votre charge.

3° L'autorisation de fouiller est purement locale: elle est accordée pour un endroit déterminé et ne sert que dans cet endroit. Elle ne peut être accordée que pour un temps déterminé, deux, quatre, six mois par exemple.

Voici les conditions officielles. Je suis obligé de les imposer pour éviter des précédents fâcheux: le gouvernement français qui depuis de longues années a donné de l'argent tant à Mariette qu'à moi pour les fouilles sans rien exiger en retour, ne manquerait pas de réclamer des conditions aussi favorables que celles que l'on vous ferait. Si quelque autre nation, l'Allemagne ou l'Italie par exemple, demandait la permission de fouiller, nous finirions bientôt par avoir une exploitation en règle de l'Égypte, et non plus une entreprise scientifique.

Dans la pratique, je suis tout prêt, cette année-ci comme l'an dernier, à vous rendre le travail aussi facile et aussi profitable que possible. Ainsi, pour les menus objets que l'on trouvera, je serai le premier à conseiller au gouvernement égyptien à vous en céder une part à titre gracieux. Pour les gros objets, la chose sera plus difficile, mais là encore je crois que je pourrai décider le gouvernement à faire hommage au British Museum de quelques belles pièces.

Sur la condition, no. 2, je demande à diriger officiellement, pendant quelque temps, un mois ou deux peut-être, les travaux, afin de réserver tous les droits de l'administration égyptienne. Je viendrai ou j'enverrai de temps en temps un inspecteur, ce premier période passé, afin de ne pas laisser périr ces mêmes droits. Mais tout cela est matière de forme. Le surveillant à demeure n'est qu'un arabe de nos fouilles, qui pourra vous servir au besoin de contremaître.

En troisième lieu, l'autorisation ne devant pas constituer une sorte de charte exclusive, devra être renouvelée souvent. Elle le sera aussi longtemps que vous le voudrez.

En résumé, tout ceci est affaire de bonne foi de part et d'autre. Nous partons de ce principe qu'il y a un grand travail scientifique à exécuter et que nous devons nous aider mutuellement à cette tâche. Je vous rendrai votre part du contrat aisé, aidez-moi à ne pas rendre difficile la mienne et tout ira bien.

La meilleure manière de procéder serait celle-ci: Une demande de la part de la Société ne pourrait être accordée qu'après toute sorte de délais. Cette année-ci, envoyez-moi ici votre représentant, qui me demandera l'autorisation en son nom. J'ai obtenu l'an dernier, du gouvernement égyptien, le droit de concéder à des individus isolés et sauf approbation postérieure, la permission de fouiller. Je donnerai cette permission à votre représentant, et il pourra commencer les travaux, huit jours après son arrivée au Caire.

Une dernière recommandation. Tâchez de m'envoyer 1° un Anglais. 2° un homme qui n'ait pas encore de relations de longue date dans le pays. Je vous dis ceci à dessein, car un certain nombre

des Anglais établis ici ne sont, comme beaucoup d'autres étrangers, que des marchands d'antiquité déguisés. Je les connais pour avoir à examiner en France, au ministère des Beaux-Arts, les propositions de vente qu'ils faisaient au Musée du Louvre. Ils ont détruit des monuments entiers, pour arriver à vendre, comme à Tell-Yahoudieh, quelques débris au Louvre ou au British Museum. Envoyez-moi un savant et non pas des gens contre lesquels Mariette a été obligé de porter auprès du gouvernement égyptien des plaintes que des influences étrangers [*sic*] ont toujours rendues vaines.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments dévoués,

G. Maspero

The Committee of the Fund were delighted with this letter and relieved that nothing had been said about moving the statues from San. Naville meanwhile had expressed himself ready and willing to go out after Christmas; his name was proposed to Maspero (EES XVI c. 20), who wrote back at once to Poole (EES XVI b. 19):

de toutes les personnes que vous pouviez proposer, M. Naville est de beaucoup celle qui m'est le plus agréable. Voici quinze ans que nous nous connaissons lui et moi, et l'amitié que j'ai eu pour lui dès le début n'a fait qu'augmenter d'année en année. S'il consent à venir, ce me sera un des grands plaisirs de cette affaire. . . . Remerciez bien, je vous prie, la société de son désintéressement. Je tacherai [*sic*] de lui valoir, outre les avantages scientifiques, tous les avantages matériels possibles. Je vous remercie bien sincèrement de la part que vous avez prise à cette affaire: sans votre connaissance des choses de l'Orient, nous n'aurions jamais pu arriver à un résultat, placé que je suis ici entre les obligations que m'imposent ma charge, et les étonnements des personnes qui n'ayant jamais eu à faire aux Orientaux n'imaginent pas combien ils sont soupçonneux et tâtilons en pareille matière. J'espère que grâce à vous, nous arriverons à bien établir votre société et à lui faire service à la science.

On 12 January 1883 the Committee sent its instructions to Naville (EES XIX c. 15); they recommended to him a number of possible sites, to be chosen in consultation with M. Maspero; above all, he was to maintain the *entente cordiale* with Maspero. Naville arrived in Cairo on the 18th and was happy to be able to tell Poole (EES IV e. 12; XIX c. 31), 'The *entente cordiale* with Maspero is perfect and could not be better. In fact I am allowed to dig wherever I choose to do so in Lower Egypt.' At the end of the excavating season Maspero kept his promise: two pieces of statuary, a granite falcon and a kneeling figure, were sent as a *don gracieux* from the Khedive to Sir Erasmus Wilson, who duly passed them on to the British Museum. They were not particularly impressive pieces, but they were almost the only whole sculptures Naville had found in Tell el-Maskhuta,⁹ and one of them had a historical value as providing confirmation of his new identification of the site with Pithom rather than Raamses.¹⁰

One more letter from Maspero must be quoted in part, since it stresses the difficulties he had had, and expected still to have, in befriending the Fund. Writing to Miss Edwards in August he says (SCO 170 = Dawson no. 50):

Je suis charmé d'apprendre que la Société marche bien, et j'ai reçu les comptes-rendus de la Séance.¹¹ Voudriez-vous me rendre un service? Ce serait d'insister d'avantage sur ce fait que la permission de fouiller est une gracieuseté du gouvernement égyptien: un éloge du Khédivé à ce

⁹ E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (E.E.F. Memoir 1) (1884), pl. 12; Frontispiece and pl. 4.

¹⁰ Op. cit. 5, 7.

¹¹ i.e. the Report of the First Annual General Meeting of the Egypt Exploration Fund, on 3 July 1883.

sujet serait utile. Vous ne vous figurez pas combien les petits droits de fouiller leur tiennent à cœur. J'ai eu mille ennemis dont je ne vous ai rien dit pour ne pas vous décourager. Quand j'ai appris que vous alliez envoyer quelqu'un, j'ai demandé au gouvernement les autorisations nécessaires pour M. Naville; on ne me les a pas refusés parce qu'on ne refuse rien ouvertement, mais on a tant différé qu'au bout d'un mois rien n'était prêt. Ce que voyant, j'ai donné à Naville de ma propre autorité des autorisations, des ordres pour les moudirs, &c, et je suis parti en Haute-Égypte. Là on m'a poursuivi de lettres, ordre de revenir rendre compte de ma conduite, le tout venant tantôt du ministère de l'intérieur, tantôt du Khédive lui-même. Bien entendu, j'ai répondu que je reviendrais quand j'aurais fini mon travail et je suis demeuré trois mois absent. Pendant ce temps-là, Naville terminait son affaire. De retour, je me suis présenté chez le Khédive et lui ai dit que je n'avais pas outrepassé mon droit; que j'étais directeur des fouilles et qu'en cette qualité je pouvais donner permission de fouiller à qui je voulais. J'ai été répéter la même anthème [*sic*] aux ministres, et comme c'est toujours le cas quand on parle haut en Orient, j'ai eu gain de cause.

Les disputes ont recommencé à propos des deux monuments dont on vous a fait cadeau. Au moment où j'ai donné avis officiel à M. Stuart Poole de la donation, ministres et Khédive refusaient de la faire, et j'ai dû leur forcer la main en leur notifiant que les monuments étaient devenus propriété de votre société. Je vous dis cela confidentiellement, pour que le Comité en sache ce que vous jugerez nécessaire et continue de prendre patience si je suis obligé cette année encore de lui recommander la prudence.

Il est convenu que cette année je permettrai les fouilles à Tanis. Toutefois ici il y a un point sur lequel j'appelle votre attention: Tanis est en plein pays ravagé par le choléra, et sera malsain pour des étrangers pendant quelques mois encore. Mon avis est donc de ne pas commencer les fouilles avant Janvier 1884 et même alors d'agir avec la plus grande prudence. Un cas isolé se produit vite, et en vérité, ni vous ni moi ne voudrions avoir le remords d'exposer Naville. Rien ne presse, et les monuments qui ont attendu des milliers d'années peuvent attendre encore deux ou trois mois de plus.

Naville did not, after all, go to San that winter; instead, the Committee of the Fund invited Flinders Petrie to dig for them. Maspero willingly accepted this change of excavator (EES XVI b. 13); he already knew and admired Petrie's work at the Pyramids.¹² It was arranged that Petrie should work under his general supervision; he was to do no serious excavation until Maspero (who was delayed in Paris that autumn) could get back to Cairo; meanwhile he would explore the Wadi Tumilat on foot from Zagazig to Ismailiya, prospecting for future sites. On his way out to Egypt, Petrie stopped in Paris and on 7 November visited Maspero at his home and had a long and cordial talk about his coming campaign. On one matter it was particularly desirable to be clear: Petrie wished to be free to purchase small objects found by his workmen or offered for sale on the dig, since this, he maintained, was the only way to secure such objects and prevent them from falling into the hands of dealers, thus losing their historical value. He proposed, therefore, to offer himself as an agent of the Bulaq Museum authorized to purchase small antiquities; at the end of the season everything would be submitted to Maspero, who would keep whatever was wanted for the Museum, reimbursing Petrie the sum that he had paid; the rest of his purchases Petrie could keep and bring back to England. Petrie wrote to Poole (EES XVI f. 3):

The reason that I am anxious to secure for England *all* the little things that I can is not only for

¹² *The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh* was published in the autumn of 1883.

the Brit. Mus. collection but also with a view—not to selling them for the Fund as that is objected to—but that they might be *given* (well arranged and catalogued) to local and colonial museums, with a hint that donations are very acceptable to the Fund. Things of which the exact age and locality are known thus, would be worth immensely more than stray objects picked up anyhow without a history.

This was a novel idea to the Committee and they were nervous lest it might jeopardize their good standing in Egypt; Naville had disregarded small objects and recorded only monumental pieces. Maspero, however, at once saw the good sense of Petrie's proposal and readily consented; an agreement was drawn up then and there and signed by them both. It read (EES xvi f. 6):

M. Maspero accepts personally the proposed arrangement of Mr. Petrie becoming an agent of the Bulak Museum, for purchasing small objects; but prefers to retain the paper in his private hands at present, as a misunderstanding might possibly arise over laying down such conditions with the government, until the subject has to be practically determined, with the objects found.

Coins are not included in the law of antiquities; but M. Maspero anticipates forming a collection, and would wish to have the choice of duplicates. . . . With regard to large objects belonging to the Bulak Museum: M. Maspero wishes not to make a precedent for the duplicates of such objects going to any foreign power; but he would arrange that if a fund for the purpose of removing such things to Bulak were provided, the duplicates might be exported as the property of the said fund.

This plan worked smoothly; at the end of his season at Tanis, in the summer of 1884, Petrie was allowed to bring home to England a number of small antiquities as well as sixteen cases of pottery (for which the Museum had neither the interest nor the room). In subsequent years so much was allowed to the excavators that exhibitions could be mounted in London; as Maspero felt more secure in his office, he was able to interpret the law more liberally in terms of what was or was not a duplicate. As well as small objects, some fine sculptures found their way to the museums of Europe and America, to the encouragement of subscribers on both sides of the Atlantic. The appointment of Colonel Moncrieff (later Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff) as Under-Secretary of State for Public Works—the department under which the Museum was administered—gave Maspero a sympathetic chief who understood and appreciated his concern for archaeology and his desire for co-operation with the Fund. A passage from a letter written in answer to Poole's thanks for a liberal grant of objects from Naucratis, on 4 October 1885, sums up Maspero's attitude (EES xvi b. 8):

C'est par ces actes de courtoisie réciproque qu'il sera aisé de faire cesser sinon les dissentiments même qui existent entre la France et l'Angleterre si malheureusement, au moins d'enlever à ces dissentiments l'âpreté que trop de gens ont contribué à y mettre.

Maspero's friends in England gave him what support they could. Miss Edwards wrote letters to the *Academy* eulogizing his energy and efficiency in the cataloguing of the Bulaq Museum, and in March 1884, when a fund was started by the French press to aid in the provision of local guardians in Egypt, a 'Maspero Fund' in England raised £80 towards the same end. When in 1886, to the dismay of the Fund's officers, Maspero was forced

by his wife's continuing ill health to retire from the Museum and return to his Chair in Paris, they invited him to become an Honorary Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Fund, an honour which he was delighted to accept (SCO 187, 188 = Dawson nos. 47, 48). It was a fitting tribute to his patient determination to maintain, in spite of obstacles and misunderstandings, the *entente cordiale*.

Note

The French documents quoted contain errors of punctuation and spelling as well as the occasional grammatical mistake. These have sometimes been marked by [*sic*], but, in general, the text has been printed exactly as it stands in the original.

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