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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE previous volume of this journal was filled entirely by invited articles commemorating our centenary year with the consequence that a substantial backlog of other material has been created. The editor has frequently had to beg the indulgence of contributors of distinguished work to defer publication rather longer than he would wish, and it is clear that it will take several issues to restore the situation to normal. The present number reveals another consequence of this predicament. Last year no reviews could be published, and the material on file has now become so voluminous that it has been necessary to increase substantially the section of the journal devoted to reviews, and it is clear that the same will need to be done next year. Restrictions on other sections, particularly Brief Communications, have been inevitable, but the loss is not perhaps as serious as it might seem. It is, of course, easy to question the value of reviewing; a great deal of such work in learned journals is undoubtedly distinctly shoddy, but it has been the practice of *JEA* for some years that the most distinguished available scholar in the relevant field should be invited to write the review of a particular work, and this approach has had the happy result that many of those which we have published are indispensable research tools in their own right. It would not be an exaggerated claim that the reviews in the current volume are an excellent demonstration of the merits of this policy.

We are able to report another good year for the Society's fieldwork. Professor H. S. Smith's research at Memphis is now well under way:

The Egypt Exploration Society's Centenary campaign to survey and record the ancient capital city of Memphis began in earnest on 1 October 1982, after preliminary investigations in December 1981. The concession granted covered the south-western corner of the city, including Kôm Fakhri, Kôm Rabī'a, and Kôm Sabbakha. Topographical and archaeological survey of the whole of this area was completed, and contour maps prepared showing the location not only of every monument but of every recognizable trace of ancient habitation or usage. All standing monuments or buildings within the concession were planned or replanned, and elevations drawn where necessary. For this purpose a number of monuments and areas were cleared of reeds and cleaned, and debris sections drawn where new stratigraphical information was obtainable. The principal of these were, from south to north:

1. *Kôm Sabbakha*. Here part of a Roman site, cleared by Dr Ahmed el-Taher and never published, was re-cleared and examined. An upper layer of brick buildings on a grid pattern overlay a series of Roman bath-houses belonging to a settlement. One bath-house was fully planned.

2. *Kôm el-Rabī'a, Temples A-C and South Sacred Way of Ptah*. Clearance of reeds in an area excavated by Dr 'Abdu Tawâb el-Hitta, following up preliminary work done in 1981, revealed a stone-paved sacred way running south from the South Gate of the great enclosure of Ptah, flanked by a series of small temples or sanctuaries of Ramesside date. It is evident that the great colossus of Ramesses II in the Mît Rahîna Museum, the Midan Ramesses colossus in Cairo, and other statues of Ramesses II originally flanked this avenue.

3. *Kôm el-Rabî'a, small Temple of Ptaḥ at south-west corner of Enclosure.* This temple, first excavated by Dr Aḥmed Badawî and Dr Mustafa el-Amir and recleared by Professor Anthes for the University of Pennsylvania Museum, was suffering from the exudation of salts, due to capillary action, which had already destroyed certain reliefs and was threatening the stability of the structure. Dr Málek and Miss McKeown made a complete epigraphic record of the scenes and inscriptions of the temple, while M. J-F. Gout produced full photographic coverage. To effect these projects complete clearance of the site and constant pumping were necessary. Advantage was taken of this to make block-by-block plans and elevations of the temple, and to conduct stratigraphic investigations in the area. In this connection magazines of mud-brick and remains of certain massive brick walls in the area were investigated and partially planned, while an elevation was drawn of the open tomb of the high-priest Pedîese.

4. *Kôm el-Fakhri, Great Temple of Ptaḥ.* The pylon of the 'West Hall' of the great temple of Ptaḥ was replanned after clearance, and preliminary copies made of all the inscribed surfaces and loose blocks in the area. The area of the West Gate of the temple was also cleaned and investigated, and various conclusions reached about the relation of the Hellenistic(?) Enclosure Wall of Ptaḥ to earlier structure.

5. *Kôm el-Fakhri, other areas.* Various minor investigations were made to the south of Mît Rahîna village.

6. *Kôm Rabî'a, area west of Ramesses Colossus Museum.* Investigations made in an area cleared by Dr Aḥmed Moussa for a car park revealed the relationship of the Hellenistic(?) Ptaḥ Enclosure to a second great enclosure on the south, and to an earlier wall which had been cut through during its construction.

Resistivity survey undertaken by Mr and Mrs Mathieson, though in an early stage, is already revealing its potential value for plotting features below the surface which may prove of great importance eventually for interpretation, in view of the ever rising cost of excavation.

Mr Barry J. Kemp has enjoyed another successful season at El-'Amarna:

The excavations began on 23 January and ended on 31 March 1983. They were a continuation of excavations begun in 1979 at the Workmen's Village site, concentrating in the area lying to the south and east of the walled village. Five separate areas were examined:

1. *The main chapel area.* In 1921 the Egypt Exploration Society carried out excavations on the hill slope to the east of the walled village, and uncovered a row of small brick chapels. During the current excavations a further large chapel was discovered, and two of the older chapels cleared in 1921 were re-excavated with a view to making fresh plans at a much larger and more informative scale than that published in *City of Akhenaten I*.

2. *Southern chapels.* A second and completely new group of chapels was discovered at the south-eastern end of the site, the foundations of two being excavated.

3. *Animal pens.* A narrow space of desert separated the main chapel excavated this year from a densely packed group of courts and semicircular chambers. It seems reasonably certain that this complex was intended for the keeping of animals, even perhaps, for breeding them. The most likely animal is pig, of which large numbers of bones have been identified by the expedition's faunal analyst.

4. *Water storage and commodity distribution area.* A start was made last year on the examination of an area lying on the floor of the valley at the southern edge of the site. A series of stone emplacements was found, used for supporting large pottery vessels (*zirs*) designed to contain the village water supply. More of these emplacements were uncovered this year, together with others which seem more likely to have served as supports for vessels of the amphora or meat-storage variety. It may be that this is the place where fresh water and food were brought for distribution to the villagers.

5. *The quarry.* Since 1981 work has been conducted in a large ancient quarry on the south side of the site. It was from this quarry that material was extracted for brick making, and the stratigraphic record recovered and recorded by the expedition is of great importance for the internal history of the site. The record in this area was completed this season.

In addition to these projects Salvatore Garfi continued his work on the Amarna survey; Mr Ian Mathieson carried out a brief resistivity survey in two areas of the site; and several study programmes were pursued.

The joint E.E.S.–Leiden Expedition to Saqqâra directed by Dr G. T. Martin began work on 17 January, and continued until 18 March. The tomb of Tia and Tia is now completely excavated. Particularly interesting results were obtained from work on the shaft of the tomb-chapel of Iurudef, steward of Tia and Tia. Dr Martin writes:

The shaft had, as expected been reused, but for once the intrusive interments are intact. Rooms opening off from the north and south sides of the bottom of the shaft are full of Late Period or early Ptolemaic wooden coffins, intact, and apparently in good condition. It is impossible to enter the rooms (and to do so would disturb the contents), but it is like looking at the Deir el-Baḥri cache. Our burials are, however, of relatively humble folk as far as one can tell. But the find is unique for Saqqâra, and extremely valuable from several points of view, since the interments are undisturbed. The mummies are doubtless all preserved, and will provide valuable information from the point of view of physical anthropology. And it is perfectly possible that papyri—Books of the Dead and mythological texts—are present, as well as items of funerary equipment and amulets. The find is, therefore, a major one, but cannot under any circumstances be dealt with this season, as very careful planning will be necessary. There may be as many as forty or fifty coffins there, but it is impossible to be sure. The shaft has been refilled.

Dr Martin's team also discovered, to the west of the pyramid of the tomb of the two Tias, parts of at least two Ramesside inscribed and decorated tomb-chapels, but it was not possible to conduct any excavation of those remains during the current season.

Professor Baines contributes the following report on his recent work on the temple of Sethos I at Abydos:

The team was directed by Professor J. R. Baines and consisted of C. J. Eyre, A. de Joia, W. Weiser, and P. Wilson. The Antiquities Organization Inspector was Gamal Khalil Kaddis. The expedition worked on site from 18 March to 17 April 1983. The walls of the Hall of Barks and associated staircase and upper gallery were recorded, and plans and measured elevations were made for the entire area. The chief work was the epigraphic copying of large areas of painting, and this has produced most valuable insights into the design and execution of the decoration, as well as reconstructions of poorly preserved scenes. The expedition also produced a photographic record of all scenes which could be treated in this way, supplementing the old record of Miss Calverley. Once again the Society is most grateful to the Pennsylvania–Yale expedition for accommodation, especially to Diana Craig Patch, the present field director. Mr Hussein el-Afyuny in Qena and Mr Maged Azmy Yusuf in Balyana were also of the greatest assistance.

Professor R. A. Caminos has had a profitable season in the Wâdi el-Shaṭṭ el-Rigâl:

Work was conducted in the Wâdi el-Shaṭṭ el-Rigâl from 21 February to 29 March 1983, the staff of the expedition consisting of Professor Dr Jürgen Osing of the University of Bonn (epigraphist) and Professor Ricardo A. Caminos (field director and epigraphist). As in previous years, we benefited immensely from the kind hospitality and help extended to us by Professor Dr Werner Kaiser during our stay at the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo, and by Professor and Mrs Lanny Bell of Chicago House, Luxor. Our charge was to survey the place epigraphically and

make an exhaustive record of all the ancient written remains and designs still extant there. We recopied in facsimile all the known records and also found and copied over 280 additional graffiti which, to our knowledge, have not appeared in print hitherto. We also secured 345 facsimile copies of rock-drawings, quarry marks, and miscellaneous designs. Of the written records only a few date back to the Early Dynastic Period; the great majority of the graffiti are of the Middle Kingdom and written in the hieratic script. Only two inscriptions can be dated with certainty to the New Kingdom. Belonging to a much later period are a few Carian and Greek graffiti, in addition to a single neatly cut graffito in a script which yet remains to be identified. Of considerable interest are the rock-drawings, many of which are obviously pre-dynastic. Animal figures prevail. There is a very large number of giraffes, ibexes, oryxes, oxen, and other horned quadrupeds; pictures of hunting dogs and elephants are much rarer. There are several representations of animal traps and corrals. There are also human figures, including hunters armed with bows, arrows, spears, and lassos; we found a carved woman's figure in the shape and style of the so-called 'Naqada dancers'. Then, from the Dynastic Period, there are quarry marks, a variety of footprints, many drawings of boats, and game-boards of various kinds.

While we can reflect with satisfaction on these successes, we must also recall with sadness two conspicuous losses to the Society in the recent deaths of Professor H. W. Fairman and Sir Eric Turner. Professor Fairman, who died on 16 November 1982 at the age of 75 after a prolonged illness, was a member of the committee of the Society for many years and gave valuable service in the El-'Amarna excavations conducted before the Second World War. He was, however, nothing if not versatile and acquired, in particular, an enviable reputation for his expertise in the study of the temple inscriptions of the Graeco-Roman Period. He was Professor of Egyptology at Liverpool from 1949 to 1974, where he distinguished himself as an outstanding teacher and administrator remembered with respect and affection by generations of students. Sir Eric died on 20 April 1983 at the age of 72. He was a particularly active committee member for many years and also served as its Chairman, in which office his combination of intellectual toughness and diplomatic finesse was an invaluable asset. He gained an international reputation as a papyrologist and was Reader in, and Professor of, Papyrology at University College, London, from 1948 until his retirement in 1978. It is hoped that it will be possible to publish fuller appreciations of both these scholars in the next volume of the journal.

At the end of 1982 Miss Margaret Drower relinquished the position of Chairman of the committee which she had occupied with distinction since 1978. Her tactful and dignified conduct of business were greatly appreciated by all members of the committee, and the Society owes her its warmest thanks. She was succeeded on 1 January 1983, by Mr T. G. H. James, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum. He assumes office at a time when pressures of various kinds are likely to make his task both arduous and unusually significant. We wish him well and very much hope that he will receive the fullest support from every member of the Society. The Honorary Secretary has also changed. 1982 saw the resignation of Mr Robert Anderson after a lengthy and outstandingly successful tenure of this office, during which he was conspicuously active in the service of the Society's interests. His mantle has been assumed by Dr David Dixon of University College, London, to whom we all extend our best wishes.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE EL-'AMARNA EXPEDITION, 1981-2

By BARRY J. KEMP

THE third and fourth seasons of fieldwork covered the periods 20 January to 28 March 1981, and 27 February to 12 April 1982. The teams comprised Barry J. Kemp as director, and (for 1981) Veronica R. Kemp, Julian Bird, Anne Bomann, Charles French, Peter French, Jill Kendrick, Maarten Kerstens, Pamela Rose, and John Taylor; (for 1982) Martha Bell, Anne Bomann, Barbara Garfi, Lynda Green, Dr Howard Hecker, Michael Jones, Dr M. A. Leahy, Lisa Montagno Leahy, Angela Milward, and Pamela Rose. The Amarna Survey was resumed by Salvatore Garfi, whilst in 1981 a separate piece of work was carried out in the North City, supervised by Michael Jones, assisted by Angela Milward and Barbara Garfi. Reports on these two operations are given as appendices. Charles French carried out a valuable sedimentological analysis. The Egyptian Department of Antiquities was represented by Said Ahmed Tusson in 1981, with Hani Sadiq Mitri at the North City, and by Samy Farid Fathy Armanios in 1982. To them, and to their colleagues at El-Minya and Mallawi, in particular Mahmoud Hamza, Samir Anis, and Gamal Mostafa, a warm expression of appreciation is due for the advice and assistance offered at every stage of the work. A particular word of thanks must be extended to the Higher Committee of the Antiquities Organization in Cairo for granting an excavation permit, and especially to Dr Shehata Adam, Dr Ahmed Kadri, Dr Ibrahim Nawawi, Dr 'Abd el-Kader Selim, and Mr Mutawwa' Balbush. The Expedition also owes a debt of gratitude to Mr Stanley Hattie for a donation towards improvements at the Expedition house.

The excavations of these two seasons were a further continuation of the work begun in 1979 at the Workmen's Village within the grid of five-metre squares outside the Walled Village (see fig. 1). In addition to excavation around the part cleared in 1979 and 1980, an entirely fresh part of the site was opened, lying to the south. This latter part includes deep stratigraphy possessing a lucid configuration which greatly helps in distinguishing the general succession of phases at the site. This very same depth, however, also slows the progress of the excavation, and by the end of the 1982 season the two areas of investigation had still not been directly linked together. This introduces a provisional element into the interpretation of the site's history summarized below. A further complicating factor is the general surface disturbance which has taken place in modern times and which has, where the strata lie shallowly, truncated some of them and thus broken their continuity. Consequently, progress across the ground has been relatively slow, but, unless a sufficient share of the expedition's resources is devoted to obtaining a clear and reliable stratigraphy at the site, all other results will be highly unsatisfactory.

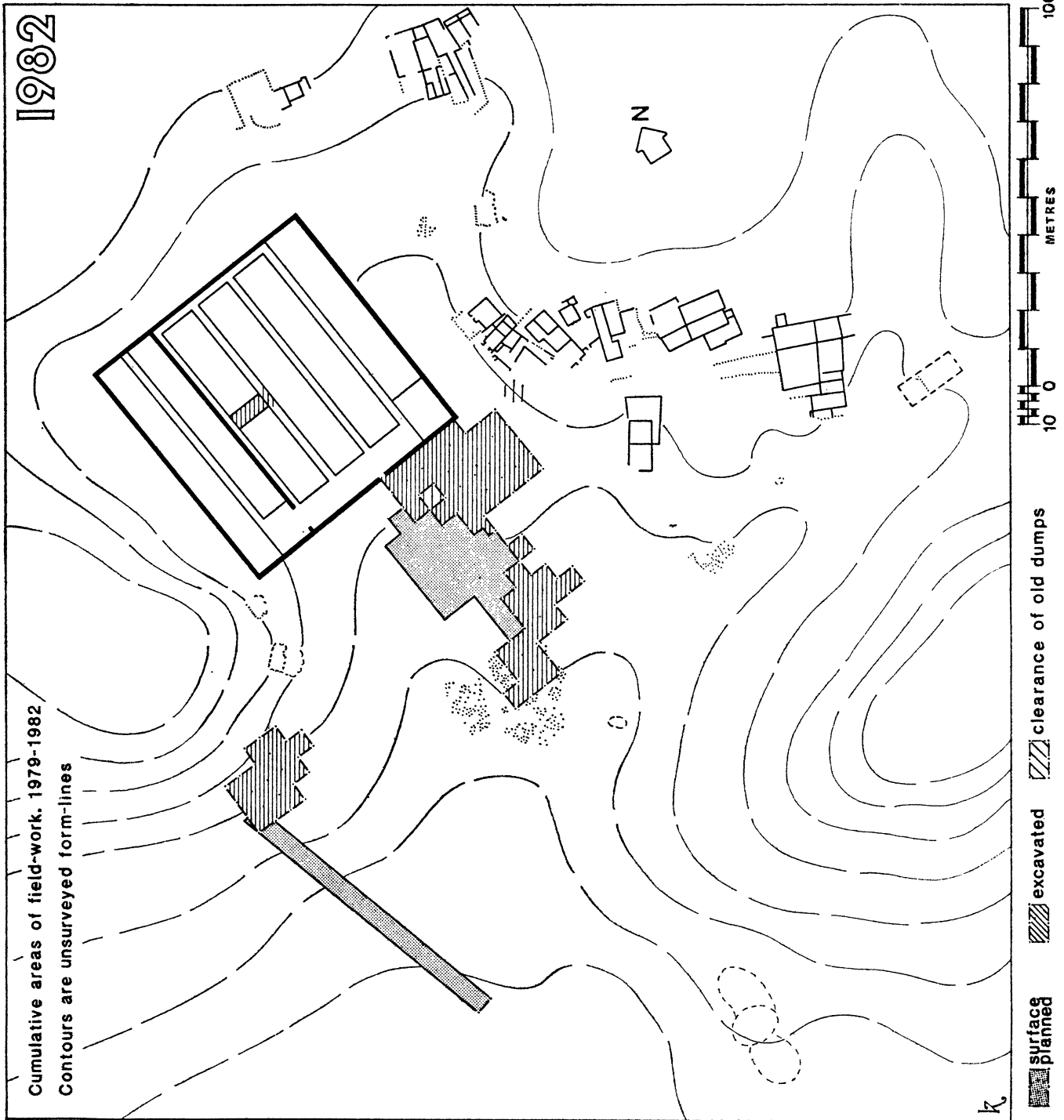


FIG. 1. General site map of the Workmen's Village, showing cumulative areas of fieldwork, 1979-82

The following provisional history of the site divides it into a series of phases identified by Roman numerals. These are for ease of reference in this report only, and are not part of the site-recording system. They appear in fig. 2, which is a schematic diagram of the key stratigraphic area in the southern part of the site, and in fig. 3,

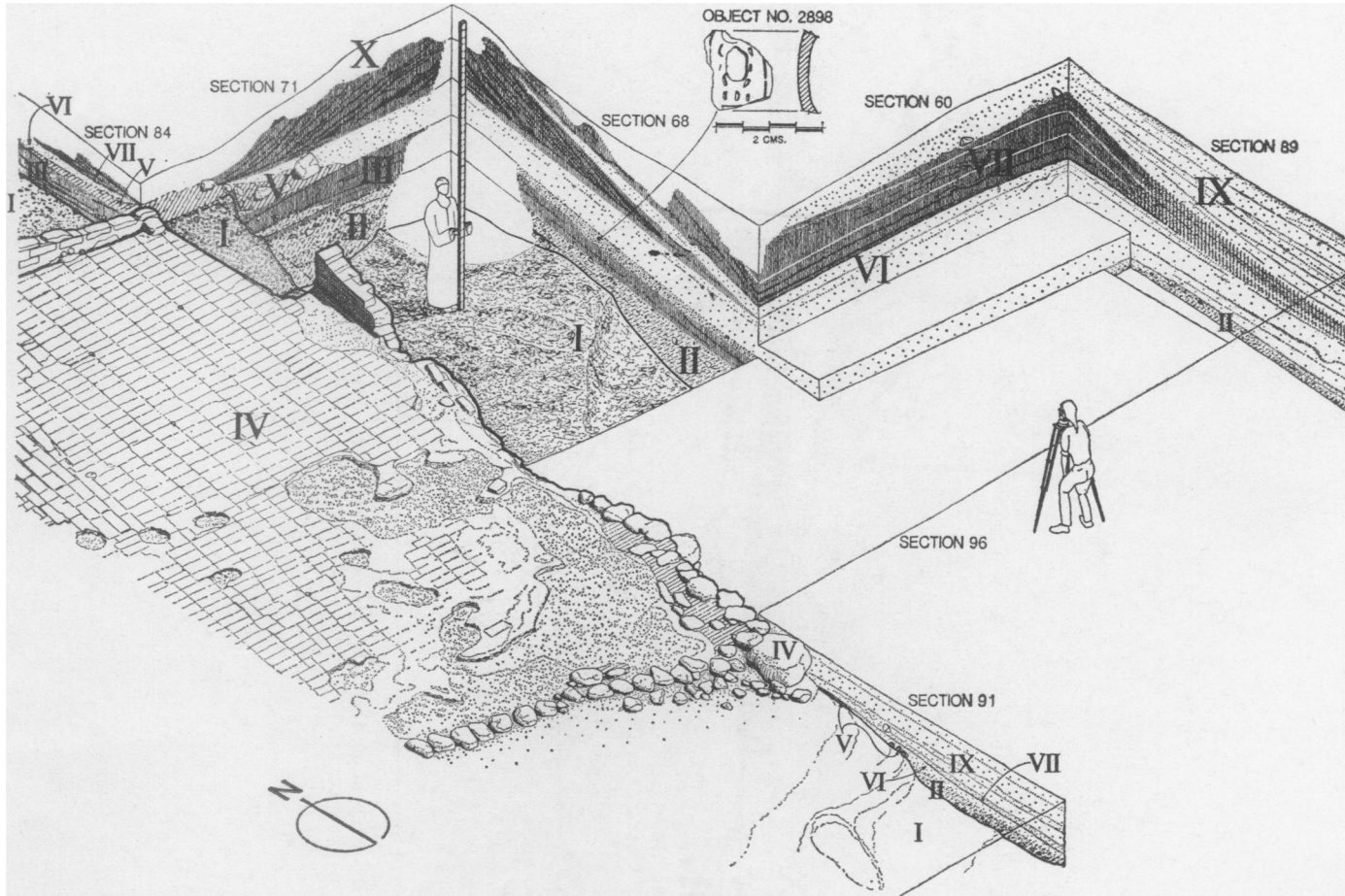


FIG. 2. Isometric drawing of stratigraphy in the southern sector of the site. The Roman numerals represent a provisional general phase of the site and are not part of the site-recording system

which is one set of sample sections from the area adjacent to the Walled Village. Where relevant, an equivalence is given with strata which appeared in fig. 3 of the 1980 report published in vol. 67 of the *Journal*.

Phase I. The first activity at the site was quarrying into the soft bedrock to extract a material which seems ideally to have been a calcareous mudstone, but sometimes sandier, becoming a marl. The main quarry was located along the southern edge of the site (see fig. 4), and probably occupied the entire floor of the valley, although no sign of this was visible before excavation began. To the north, and running close to the Walled Village, smaller pits were dug, but since the bedrock here contains bands

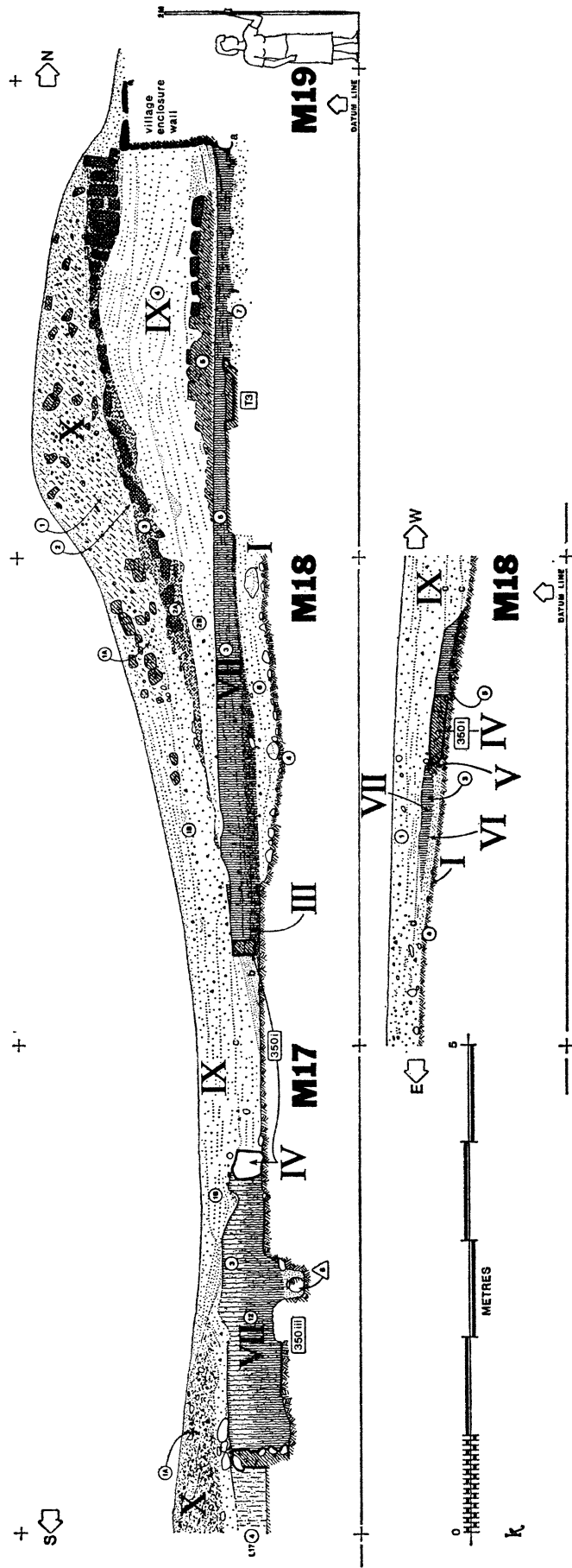


FIG. 3. Section drawings along the west side of squares M17-M19, and the south side of M18



FIG. 4. Plan of the southern sector of the excavations. The edge of the main quarry is towards the top; the water storage depot towards the bottom

of stones the quarrying was not developed far. Amongst these pits are the two located in 1980, in squares N18 and L17. Temporary huts were erected by the quarry-workers, of which one possible remnant *in situ* is part of a foundation course of bricks and mortar in square N16 (see fig. 5; and fig. 2 of the 1980 report); another is the group of chambers constructed in the pit to the east of building 350 (fig. 5; figs. 2 and 4 of the 1980 report; see also the note under Phase IV below).

Phase II. The pits partly filled up with a mixture of silty sand, stones, sherds, animal bones, pieces of cloth, and occasional marl bricks (layer 'q' of fig. 3 of the 1980 report). To judge from the rough, unweathered surface of the quarry face in square M10 (see pl. II, 1) the accumulation of this fill was comparatively rapid. It presumably represents ancient surface sands removed as the quarries were extended. The bricks may also come from the temporary huts erected by the quarry workers of Phase I. In the main quarry a major hiatus can be observed above this deposit, in the form of a distinct weathering step in the quarry face. Rainwater had run down, eating away the rock and spreading a layer of clay over the rubbish. The elapse of several years may be involved.

Phase III. The character of the deposits in the quarries now changed markedly, becoming dark midden-material consisting of ashy sand rich in chaff, sherds, bones, and other organic debris (layers 'm' to 'o' in fig. 3 of the 1980 report). It displays clear bedding planes which often reveal the direction of dumping, normally from towards the north. In the main quarry one dumping-point was in square M12, and from here the debris spilled down into the quarry to form a very even slope. The quarry face behind this layer is weathered above a slight step (see pl. II, 1).

Phase IV. A range of small buildings now spread over the site. The construction was executed from a mixture of marl bricks and stones. The building uncovered in 1980 (and now called building 350) was a central part of this (in fig. 3 of the 1980 report the wall labelled 'e' demonstrates its stratigraphic position). Further elements were uncovered in the last two seasons, comprising a rough and irregular courtyard on the west, with an entrance facing south, a small annexe of gypsum-plastered chambers on the south, and the beginnings of a separate set of tiny rooms running up the slope on the east side, and continuing beneath the chapels of Phase VIII (see fig. 5; pl. II, 2). The building discovered in 1980 lay on the edge of a rectangular rock-cut pit on the east which had been subdivided by brick walls. Further excavation and consideration of the expedition's records have shown that the cutting of the rectangular pit and construction of chambers within it belongs to Phase I, and that, by the time that Phase IV saw the construction of building 350, pit and chambers were largely filled. The implication is that the deep chambers were used by the quarrymen, perhaps as huts. In rather the same way, directly beside the main quarry in the southern sector of the site, a roughly rectangular platform or courtyard was built, measuring approximately 10.50 m by 7 m (see pl. II, 1; figs. 2, 4). Its surrounding wall was of brick and stone, strengthened on the inside by buttresses. Its surface was paved with marl

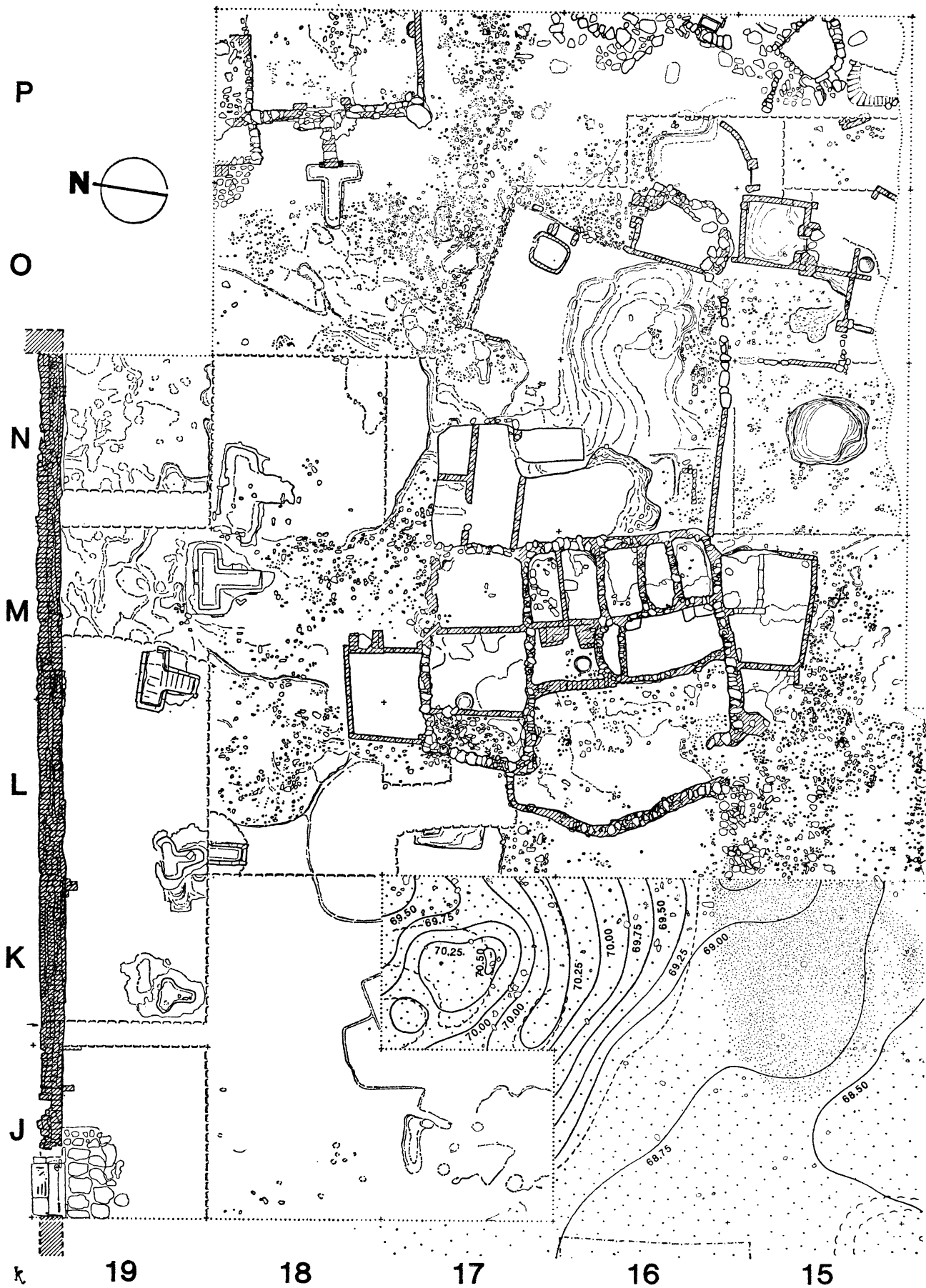


FIG. 5. Plan of the northern sector of the excavations. Building 350 is in the centre, the chapels commence along the top

bricks. It seems to have lain apart from the main range of buildings in front of the Walled Village, separated by open ground.

Phase V. The buildings of Phase IV reached an advanced stage of decay. In the case of the paved courtyard the walls collapsed outwards, that on the east falling into the main quarry, where it formed a sloping deposit. Higher up the site, east of the 1980 excavations, the rubble formed a hard-packed flat layer. In fig. 3 of the 1980 report a small area of this rubble is visible immediately to the left of layer 'e'. Around many walls, however, the amount of articulated rubble was small, a fact which suggests that continued activity had reduced it to dust.

Phase VI. In the main quarry a further hiatus ensued. This is marked by an accumulation of sand and interleaved beds of fine silt from rain. However, no weathering step was formed in the quarry face because the slope of rubble now entirely covered it. The sand layer increases in depth as it slopes to the south, and the maximum has not yet been reached, but it was at least 0.92 m. Devoid of artefacts, it gives the impression of a period of abandonment. Whether this was general, or local and confined to the main quarry, is not clear because the sand evidently fades away as the ground rises to the north. Further north still this phase must be represented by the flattening and decomposition of the brick rubble of Phase V, and by a layer of dusty sand over the rubbish in the pit in squares K18 and L18.

Phase VII. In the main quarry the sand layer of Phase VI is sealed by a further accumulation of dark sediment in steeply sloping layers, separated by thin bands of sand. Its composition is basically of discoloured sand with charcoal, and dense layers of compacted chaff and probably animal dung. It thins rapidly to the south, emerging in section 91 as a faint discoloured horizon with sherds. To the north, immediately in front of the Walled Village, the ancient ground surface was covered with a thin terrace of similar material, which thickened to the south and east, building up into a layer of rubbish which buried the ruined buildings of Phase IV (see pl. II, 2). The terrace is illustrated in the section of fig. 3. It was on this layer that the chapels (Phase VIII) were subsequently built. Because the two areas of the excavation are not yet directly linked it is only a working hypothesis that the upper midden layer in the main quarry is the same as the terrace in front of the village. It was during the accumulation of the terrace that the T-shaped basins discovered in 1981 were created as well as, probably, a small square basin associated with a tiny room lying to the east of the building cleared in 1980.

Phase VIII. To the east and north a series of chapels was constructed. The front of one was uncovered in 1979, and a whole range was excavated by Peet in 1921 further up the hill. In 1981 an area of ground was cleared to the south of the 1979 chapel. At the same level, but set further back at the very edge of the excavation, further rough stone masonry was uncovered which, at one point, masked a stone basin (see fig. 5). Further investigation has been held over for the 1983 season, but at the northern edge of the excavation a tiny D-shaped room was completely cleared at this level (see pl. II, 2).

Its doorway, measuring only 0.30 m wide and 0.28 m high, was intact, but unfortunately the floor deposits had been cleared out in modern times.

Phase IX. Following the final abandonment of the site, sand drifted in at two places. In the main quarry it gradually brought the surface up to the general level of the surrounding desert. From time to time rainfall created pans of silt. Against the southern enclosure wall of the Walled Village a substantial sand dune accumulated (see fig. 3). Eventually the enclosure wall collapsed outwards onto it, in one sheet of brickwork. A few ribbed sherds of pottery characteristic of the time between the Third Intermediate and Ptolemaic Periods show that the wall had stood for several hundred years after the Amarna Period.

Phase X. Modern activity. Over much of the site the surface debris has been turned over, creating, characteristically, a largely structureless, loose, dusty deposit which rarely stands for long when cut to form a section face. Along the western edge of the extra-mural area Woolley claims, in *The City of Akhenaten*, I, 69, to have made an examination of 'Rubbish-heaps', and to have found that they 'were shallow and showed no recognizable sign of stratification'. The edge of Woolley's network of test trenches was probably encountered in 1981, running along the western edge of the brick-paved courtyard (see fig. 4). A more conspicuous witness to the work of the 1920s are the dumps from the excavation within the Walled Village, which largely covered the collapsed enclosure wall and underlying drift sand. One such dump appears in the section, fig. 3.

In the above sequence, two important elements in the site's history have been omitted. One of these is the Walled Village itself. In 1981 the ground in front of the enclosure wall was excavated with the express purpose of clarifying the stratigraphic relationship between village and external strata. However, because the strata taper off towards the enclosure wall, some ambiguity still remains. One of several north-south sections at this point is illustrated in fig. 3. At the right (north) side of this section stands the village enclosure wall, resting on a line of foundation stones ('a'), with a layer of marl plaster smeared over the outside. The terrace (level M19.6 = M18.3) has built up over this. If, as suggested above, the terrace is the same as Phase VII of the stratigraphy in the main quarry, then the village wall must pre-date Phase VII. If one follows the terrace further to the left (south), a thin layer of it can be seen running beneath the north wall of 350.i. When square M18 was dug in 1980 and the section drawn, this level 3 was treated as one stratum. It now appears, however, that the lowest part, which contains more chaff, is, in fact, a separate stratigraphic entity, namely the spreading topmost material filling the deep pit in squares L17 and L18 (i.e. 'm' in fig. 3 of the 1980 report), which belongs to Phase III. But the merging of the two midden layers of Phases III and VII into one fairly thin deposit means that the village wall could also pre-date or belong to Phase III. Currently the stratigraphy can offer no further direct clarification. But two circumstantial arguments apply. One concerns the purpose of the whole quarrying operation, evidently for brick clay and

confined to the earliest phase of activity: if not for the Walled Village, then for what other building? Likewise, the great deposits of midden-rubbish of Phase III, frequently dumped from the north: what source could they derive from other than the Walled Village? As part of the working hypothesis, then, the Walled Village can also be ascribed to Phase III.

The external range of buildings of Phase IV seems, on this interpretation, to have had a brief history within the span of time encompassed by the Walled Village. One small additional illustration of this is apparent from the supplementary section included in fig. 3, which records the south face of square M18 (for its location see fig. 5 and fig. 2 of the 1980 report). A wall of the main building, 350.i, appears, as does a section of the terrace, here called level 5 on the west, and on the east reappearing as level 3, but with a slight but significant difference. The terrace is thinning out, and rests on a layer of slightly dusty sand. The section shows that as it approaches the wall it begins to lap up against the upper surface of the wall, and to cover a small patch of rubble. This provides a local confirmation that the formation of the terrace post-dates the collapse and weathering of the buildings of Phase IV.

The other part of the site omitted from the initial scheme is one partially excavated in 1982 (see fig. 4). It covers an area to the west and south of the brick-paved courtyard, and looks towards the natural entrance to the village area and to site X1. Excavation has so far revealed two basic strata present, although they may well represent only two stages in the continuous use of the area for the same purpose. This was the storage of water in pottery vessels, standing in large emplacements of rough stones which may have risen high enough to encircle each one with a stone shelter (see pl. III, 1). The surrounding ground was trodden and cracked from water spillage, but also contained features that may be post-holes. The stone emplacements belong to the final surface. Associated with the first surface were the foundations of walls forming two enclosures. The stratigraphic position of this depot area is not yet firmly established, though one suspects that it, too, belongs initially to Phase IV, and perhaps ran on into later phases as well.

The absolute dating of the various phases still depends on very few inscribed pieces. Most of them are hieratic jar labels, and during the 1982 season M. A. Leahy completed a definitive transcription of them. For any one item it has to be accepted that it may be several years older than its excavated context. This is apparent from one label bearing a year 31 date (not 21 as previously reported) found in a stratum probably belonging to Phase VII. Two pieces only will be mentioned here: another label, this time of year 16, found well down in midden-rubbish beneath the chapel level (see pl. II, 2), and a fragment of a faience ring-bezel bearing signs which seem unmistakably to be from Tut'ankhamūn's prenomen (see fig. 2). This last piece came to light during the excavation of a level which belongs to Phase III. The implications for the history of the site could be important, but it is prudent to pursue them no further until more evidence has appeared. It should be noted that the ring bezel of Smenkhkarē' mentioned in the 1980 report (p. 14) lay in a floor deposit of Phase IV.

Although religion is the central theme of the Amarna Period, the excavation has

produced remarkably little that bears on the cult of the Aten, only one piece, in fact: a single potsherd depicting in ink the Aten and its rays. Evidence of other and presumably traditional religious practices has emerged, however. A striking discovery made beside the village entrance is a rough boulder which, in a moment of fancy, one of the ancient villagers had painted to depict a falcon-god, presumably Horus (see pl. III, 2). Not far away, the ground running in front of the village wall had been given over to a series of shallow basins in the form of a letter T (see fig. 5). Some were made of brick, some were rounded cuttings lined with mud, and their condition varied greatly. The better-preserved ones had been deliberately filled in with mud and pieces of brick. Five separate emplacements were found, but in at least two cases more than one basin was present, superimposed on each other, to a maximum of three. These belong to Phase VII.

Appendix 1 : The North City (Michael Jones)

The 1981 season saw an extension of the excavations to the North City (see fig. 6), the objective being to clarify certain points of uncertainty raised by a study of the Society's work of the 1920s and 1930s as a preliminary to publication in the *City of Akhenaten* series. Supervision was entrusted to Michael Jones, assisted by Angela Milward and Barbara Garfi. The Inspector of Antiquities was Hani Sadiq Mitri. The following report was composed by Michael Jones:

The North City is the modern name for that part of the city of Akhetaten which lies at the most northerly tip of the Amarna plain. Today the site stands isolated in the north, cut off from the North Palace and the Great Ramp to the south by stretches of apparently unsettled desert and by fingers of cultivation which have extended eastwards into the desert in modern times. The buildings which now survive in the North City are all of mud-brick and belong to a wide range of different types. At the edge of the modern fields are the remains of the Great Wall—a double enclosure wall of monumental proportions with the Great Gateway constructed of massive bastions flanked by wide niches. This forms the east side of the North Riverside Palace, which was laid out on terraces along a considerable stretch of the river-bank, but which is now mostly covered by fields. East of the Great Wall, and separated from it by a road, there are three groups of large domestic estates comprising houses of the standard Amarna type with extensive courtyards and outbuildings contained within their own enclosure walls. Smaller houses cluster round the large estates and continue northwards to the point where the cliffs of the high desert come down to the river's edge. Set amongst the most northerly houses is the North Administrative Building, which is a complex of courtyards and magazines and a central platform cut out of the steeply sloping hillside. The present impression that the buildings of the North City form an isolated settlement completely separated from other nearby structures clearly does not reflect the situation in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the North Palace and the Great Ramp should be included in any consideration of the original layout of this part of Akhetaten. The North Palace now seems to be a suitable southern limit of the North City as a whole, and, together, all the buildings appear to form a settlement of royal, administrative, and residential units set apart from the official quarters and palaces of the Central City located three to four km further south.¹

The Society has spent four previous seasons working in the North City: 1923-4 and 1924-5 under the direction of F. Ll. Griffith and T. Whittemore, who excavated the North Palace, the Great Ramp, and the North Administrative Building; and in 1930-1 and 1931-2 under J. D. S. Pendlebury when the Great Wall and twenty-one houses in the North City were uncovered. Only

¹ See B. J. Kemp, *JEA* 62 (1976), 92-9 and fig. 4.

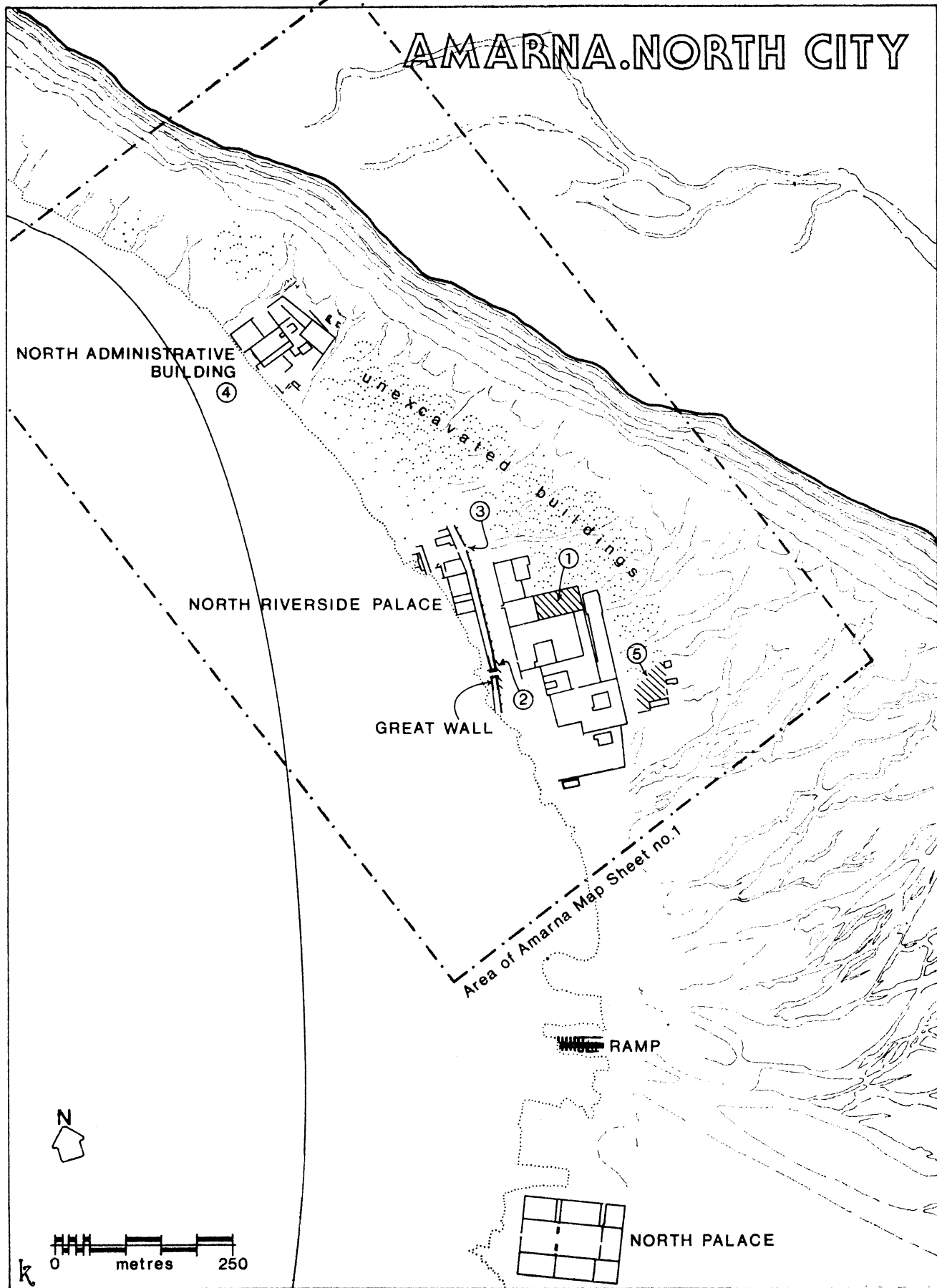


FIG. 6. Plan of the North City, showing areas where excavation took place in 1981

preliminary reports of these seasons have so far been published.² The work in 1981 was carried out with the object of checking the information surviving from the earlier excavations where it was incomplete or ambiguous, in order to complete another volume of *City of Akhenaten* devoted to the unpublished results of these early years. Five areas were selected for re-examination, all of them in the North City (fig. 6). These were: 1. the grounds belonging to house U. 24. 1; 2. the area immediately east of the Great Gateway in the Great Wall, facing the ruins of the North Dig House; 3. a northern gateway in the Great Wall; 4. part of the North Administrative Building; 5. buildings north and west of houses U. 25. 1, 4, 5, and 6.

Work started simultaneously in the first two of these areas. U. 24. 1 was excavated together with its extensive outbuildings in 1931-2, but only the main structure of the house and a block of magazines on its south side were planned at that time. The grounds east of the house occupy an area enclosed by a substantial boundary wall which forms a rectangular unit with the house at the west end. Our first task was to remove four of the earlier excavator's dumps and a general sprinkling of wind-blown sand from the grounds. These grounds can be divided into two main parts. Immediately behind the house is a courtyard once surrounded by a sturdy wall. Within this, along its north, south, and east sides, eight roughly circular brick-lined bins, each about 4.0 m in diameter, were sunk into the ground (see pl. IV, 2). Only the brick linings below the modern ground-level have survived, without any indication of the original appearance of the superstructures, but small pieces of grain and chaff were found in the spaces between the brick wall and floor in two bins, a situation which suggests that they were used as granaries. Small compartments between some of them may have provided access to hatches near the bases of the walls from which the contents could be tapped as well as acting as buttresses against the weight of the grain when the granaries were full. The bins apparently represent only the final phase of development in this courtyard; a section exposed at the north-east corner shows that the foundation-cut for the north-east granary-bin passed through a hard gypsum cement floor on which at least two separate layers of organic rubbish had accumulated before the bins were constructed.

Extending east from the courtyard of bins are extensive yards covering an area of 40.0 m by 35.5 m and containing outbuildings. Along the south side of the estate, a stretch of brick tumble from the enclosure wall still survives, pitched across the courtyard. The sections revealed by the trenches of 1932 show that the surface on to which the wall fell is covered by a general deposit of animal dung and dark-grey ash lying in low heaps. Under this organic debris there is an undulating surface of bright white crumbly limestone, and around this, below its surface, bands of ashy rubbish and brown organic matter lie separated by gravel. Low outcrops of this white soft limestone were cut by the ancient builders when the original foundations for the courtyard walls were dug. The interpretation of this sequence is not yet certain. It may show that attempts were made to seal the rubbish which had accumulated in the yards by burying it beneath layers of gravel and finally under white limestone, or that the spread of natural white limestone powder was caused by the digging of foundation trenches when new buildings were erected on the site.

The structures now standing in the grounds are of walls only one brick-length thick (c. 34 cm) and the lowest course was laid straight on the undulating desert surface without any visible foundations. Immediately east of the yard of bins is a square enclosure with a wide entrance on its south side. Only one course of bricks survives and it is not clear how high the walls originally stood since none of the tumble is preserved, cleared away perhaps by Pendlebury's workmen. East of this small area and extending right up to the eastern boundary wall of the estate, there are two rows of long brick compartments all built with walls one brick-length thick (c. 34 cm). In only one place

² F. G. Newton, 'Excavations at El-Amarnah, 1923-24', *JEA* 10 (1924), 294-8 and pls. xxvii, 1, and xxviii-xxxii; T. Whittemore, 'The Excavations at el-Amarnah, Season 1924-5', *JEA* 12 (1926), 3-12 and pls. ii-viii; J. D. S. Pendlebury, 'Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Amarnah 1930-1', *JEA* 17 (1931), 240-3 and pls. lxxvi-lxxviii; id., 'Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Tell el-Amarnah, 1931-2', *JEA* 18 (1932), 143-5 and pls. xii, xiii, 3-6; xiv, 4 and 5, and xv.

are there two courses of brickwork surviving and these walls were also laid out straight over the uneven limestone surface of the yards. On the north side, the wall crosses over a pit filled with ash and rubbish into which it subsided, and, even after the wall was built, ash continued to be dumped in this spot, which formed a passage between the new wall and the north boundary wall of the estate. In the south-east corner of the estate there is a rectangular kitchen containing a row of five brick and clay ovens built into the south wall. The room was still filled with soft black ash and the remains of the only surviving brick floor in the yard lay below. Outside the kitchen a row of post-holes along the wall and in front of the doorway suggests that there was a porch or awning here, and between the post-holes two emplacements for jars were marked by circular depressions containing sherds.

Substantial alterations to the layout of parts of the grounds of U. 24. 1 took place during the Amarna Period and the remains visible there today clearly represent only the final phase of development. This is most apparent in the case of the subsidiary house U. 24. 5, built against the south wall of the courtyard of granary bins, which Pendlebury uncovered in 1932 and described in his records as a 'steward's house'. Although the house was built on the standard Amarna plan, it is laid out over the remains of an earlier feature first noticed as a row of six regularly cut circular holes about 20 cm in diameter, dug into the soft white limestone *gebel* surface and filled with alluvium. Similar pits were found partly obscured by the walls of U. 24. 5, and under the brick floor of the central room of this house there is a foundation packing made from pieces of dark alluvial mud-bricks of the type used in the original layout of the estate of U. 24. 1. The walls of U. 24. 5 are constructed of bricks of widely differing mixtures, some containing a high percentage of black ash and others almost totally of buff sand, whose colours contrast strongly with the more uniform brown mud-bricks of house U. 24. 1 and its boundary walls. The area cleared to make a place for U. 24. 5 appears to have been a garden with rows of plants in pits filled with mud and a brick feature which might have been the supports of a pergola.³

At the same time as work in the grounds of U. 24. 1 began, two squares were opened against the east face of the Great Wall to include the north bastion of the Great Gateway and, on its north side, the front of the niche (see pl. IV, 1). This area had already been partially explored in 1931-2 when Pendlebury uncovered a stone platform in the north niche, and cleared away the debris from within the Gateway. The objects found in these areas—fragments of limestone statues and uraeus cornices in front of the niche, and a great quantity of painted plaster within the Gateway—were tentatively interpreted by Pendlebury as having adorned false doors within the niches on either side of the Gateway, and a grand Window of Appearances above.⁴ The purpose of further excavation here in 1981 was to examine the relationships between the Great Wall, the north and south niches, and the remains of door-jamb in the Gateway. The results of this work produced evidence of constructional details which make it necessary to re-examine the interpretation of this area.

The debris which had accumulated since Pendlebury's excavations was a thick layer of trampled and dried animal dung and mud created over fifty years by the procession of animals which passes this area twice a day on a pathway between the village of Et-Till and the fields in the north. Under this were patches of limestone chips and compacted, crumbled mud-brick debris, lying over clean sand. The Wall itself, built entirely of mud-bricks with timber-lacing, was placed directly on to this sand without any foundations. At the south-east corner of the north bastion of the Great Gateway, the gypsum-cement base was found on which once stood a door-jamb constructed of rectangular stone blocks; it lay 30 cm below the lowest course of bricks of the Wall within a well-defined foundation trench cut into the sand. The fill above the cement base was disturbed and contained fragments of mud-bricks, limestone chips, some very small fragments of blue-painted plaster, and one tiny piece of gold leaf—all presumably a result of the destruction of the stone

³ See P. Anus, 'Un domaine thébain d'époque "amarnienne" sur quelques blocs de remploi trouvés à Karnak', *BIFAO* 68 (1969), figs. 3-5.

⁴ See Pendlebury, *JEA* 17 (1931), 243, and 18 (1932), pl. xii.

door-jamb. The impressions of the lowest course of blocks were clear on the cement and were the same size as the blocks still *in situ* in the platform of the north niche. In this niche, the stones had also been placed in a shallow trench on a cement base below the level of the Wall, where a lip of the gypsum-cement base could be seen curving up in front of the lowest course of stones, thus retaining the shape of the bottom of the foundation trench in which the platform was laid.

While examining the fragments of gypsum-cement filling the foundation trench of the stone platform, the first of a series of deep circular holes was discovered, filled with pieces of broken gypsum-cement and disturbed sand. Two more holes were found in front of the stone platform, and then, about 1.50 m further eastwards, another row of holes was found which extended right into the centre of the Gateway. A third row appeared just over 1.50 m further east, again extending into the Gateway. The completed excavation of three squares on the north-east side of the Gateway revealed a total of twenty-seven holes arranged in three parallel rows; in several instances the holes were in pairs although there was no indication that one had been dug to replace the other. The holes were all about 30 cm in diameter and up to 50 cm deep with smooth, vertical sides and flat bottoms. It was clear that they had been carefully prepared, and in the filling of one hole there was a piece of broken gypsum-cement with a curved side bearing the impression of wood, suggesting that it had been used as packing and poured in wet round the base of a wooden post. Nothing else was found in any of the holes to give a clearer idea of what they contained, and it is unfortunate that the ground north of the Great Gateway is too disturbed to preserve the original ancient surfaces associated with the holes and the brickwork of the Wall. It is clear from the way that the cement in the Gateway and under the stone platform is shaped round the holes and does not cover them, that the holes and their contents were already in position when the stonework associated with the Great Wall was erected. The order of building seems to have been: (1) the cutting of the holes and the erection of the posts; (2) the laying-in of the cement base for the stones of the niche and Gateway, smoothed round the posts, but elsewhere projecting about 10 cm beyond the stonework; (3) the setting of the stone fittings of the niche and door-jamb; (4) the building of the brickwork of the Great Wall itself, which projects slightly over the base of the door-jamb. When the stones of the Gateway were removed, part of the brickwork of the Wall was damaged; similarly, there is also damage to the bricks where a post-hole lay close to the Wall. The destruction of the posts and the stone fittings must have taken place after the building of the brick Wall, though not at the same time. The post-holes were filled with dirty sand and chips of gypsum-cement; these chips and a few fragments of dark, ashy mud-bricks also lay over the holes and are the debris which was scattered over the ground during the removal of the posts, obscuring the places in which they had stood.

South of the Gateway, two squares were opened this season in front of another niche which apparently formed the symmetrical partner of the one already examined on the north side. Pendlebury had noted that there was no surviving stone platform here, but, below the hard layer of animal dung and mud, we uncovered the broken remains of limestone blocks and gypsum-cement, indicating that there was a stone platform here too, similar to the one in the north niche. In front of this was a hard and compressed spread of crushed white limestone chips and fragments of dark, ashy mud-bricks of the type used in the brickwork of the Wall behind. There was not enough time this year to excavate this area completely, but already appearing in the white limestone surface are the outlines of circular holes, apparently continuing southwards the alignments of post-holes fully excavated on the north side.

The interpretation of these rows of post-holes is by no means certain. In depictions of buildings in the Amarna tomb reliefs and on blocks from Hermopolis and Thebes columns are invariably depicted standing on flat column-bases; posts rising straight out of the ground are not shown. It is clear from the sequence of building given above that the posts were removed and their holes filled in and covered over after the Wall was built, but before the stone jamb was removed. Their purpose is most probably linked with the construction of the Wall, perhaps supporting a forest of

scaffolding poles used in the construction of the brickwork and the fashioning of the limestone sculptures in the niches.

The two pieces of work described above were the major undertakings of the season. Three smaller and quicker projects were also tackled. The first was to verify the existence of a northern entrance in the east side of the Great Wall close to its north end. This gateway had been sketched in pencil on the plan of the Great Wall made by the draughtsman, H. Waddington, in 1931, and the area was subsequently buried under a spoil heap. The removal of this dump revealed an entrance 4.10 m wide, flanked by buttresses formed by thickenings of the brickwork of the Wall. Here the remains of the Wall stand little over a metre high and no stonework was found *in situ* although small fragments of sandstone, one with a smooth surface painted red, were found in the debris.

The second project was the investigation of part of the large North Administrative Building to see whether the evidence for different constructional phases suggested on the published plan still survived.⁵ The whole of this complex was cleared in 1924 and called by its excavators 'The North Sanctuary'. Although its function is more likely to have been a civil, administrative one, rather than religious, it is unlike any other building yet excavated at Amarna. Its main features are a square platform cut out of the rock with steps on either side at the front, and two large courtyards with rows of contiguous rectangular rooms along two sides, which are probably magazines. In the south-east corner of the building, walls appear on the published plan which may belong to two or even three phases of rebuilding, although no details are given in the preliminary report. During the 1981 season the surface was cleared in an area where these walls were expected to cross. Despite the generally denuded appearance of the site, two periods of building became apparent in the area examined, although it was impossible to show stratigraphically which was the earlier; the method of construction and types of bricks used in each were the only indicators available, and if anything conclusive is to be said about these buildings, further investigation must be done.

Our final area of excavation lay next to the only group of small houses independent of the great estates which Pendlebury cleared in the North City. These houses were U. 25. 1, 4, 5, and 6, situated in the south-east corner of the North City. West of these houses is a flat piece of ground bordered on the north by a seasonal water-course and on the west by large dumps from the 1931 season, where a number of small buildings built of walls one brick-length thick lie exposed. Some of these walls are standing up to three courses high, others are eroded to mere strips of gravel and it seemed at the outset that Pendlebury might have continued working in this direction from U. 25. 1, 4, 5, and 6 although only the plans of those numbered houses survive. When we removed the small mounds of sand which obscured some of the walls, it became clear that Pendlebury had indeed worked only in the numbered houses and that this area had been plundered before his time. Out of the plunderers' dumps came a large quantity of pottery and some of the choicest finds of the season including a complete blue faience *wadjet*-eye ring and other pieces of fine faience rings and tiles.

The other finds from this season's work came mostly from the grounds of U. 24. 1. Numerous fragments of faience jewellery and tiles, polychrome glass, hieratic jar-labels, and a collection of worked flint tools were found. A number of pieces of stone sculpture and inscriptions, all smashed into very small fragments, were also found in the vicinity of U. 24. 1, U. 25. 7, and U. 25. 11. These once belonged to columns, door-jambs, and statues in limestone, granite, and quartzite, suggesting that either the houses themselves or buildings nearby were adorned with sculptures in fine stones.

The presence of such sculpture, the relatively large size of U. 24. 1 and its southern neighbours U. 25. 7 and U. 25. 11, and their setting close to the North Riverside Palace may indicate that those who occupied these great houses were important officials close to the King, or even members of the royal family. This suggestion finds some support in a note among the records of the 1924-5 season that, while house U. 25. 11 was being rebuilt for use as the Society's North Dig House, two limestone door-jambs were found in it, inscribed with the names of Queen Tiye and

⁵ See Whittemore, *JEA* 12 (1926), pl. vi.

Smenkhkarē. However, no illustration survives, nor any indication of the context in which the royal names occurred. Pendlebury re-excavated these stones and found them too badly damaged to check, and only one piece bearing part of the group *hmt nsw wrt* could be distinguished.⁶ The stones have since been lost.

Appendix 2 : The Amarna Survey (Salvatore Garfi)

The Amarna Survey began with two seasons of basic surveying at the site, in 1977 and 1978, when sufficient was done to enable a series of outline maps to be constructed covering the main city. These would take in all published detail, unpublished material mostly in the EES archives, certain detail on old aerial photographs where subsequent development on the ground has obscured the ancient remains, and surface observations made during the 1977/8 work. This last category includes the freshly surveyed edge of cultivation. The original intention was to prepare the map sheets at a scale of 1:2,500 for printing at the same scale, each sheet being of a size to make a double-page spread in a volume of the same format as the old *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* volumes. Subsequently the scale of the working maps has been changed to 1:1,000, for reduction in publication to 1:2,000. Individual sheet size is to remain the same to fit the double-page spread of a *Deir el-Bahari* volume. The first draft map at this scale, of the North City, was completed in the autumn of 1979, and part of a second one during the summer of 1980. Draft maps made from the compiled data are now referred to as base maps. A series of eight, numbered from north to south, is estimated to be necessary to cover the main city (see fig. 7). The season of 1981 saw Mr Salvatore Garfi join the Amarna expedition and take over responsibility for completing this set of maps. Each base map requires to be taken into the field for an overall check on accuracy, for insertion of further archaeological detail, and for the addition of contours. A small part of one near-completed sheet is illustrated in fig. 8 as a sample of the style adopted. At the time of writing (August 1982) two map sheets have been completed in this way, nos. 1 and 8, and base maps prepared for nos. 2 to 7, for field-checking in the 1983 season. It is hoped to complete the whole series in 1984, and proceed to publication. In addition to funding from the Society, financial support has been kindly provided by the R. J. Kiln Foundation.

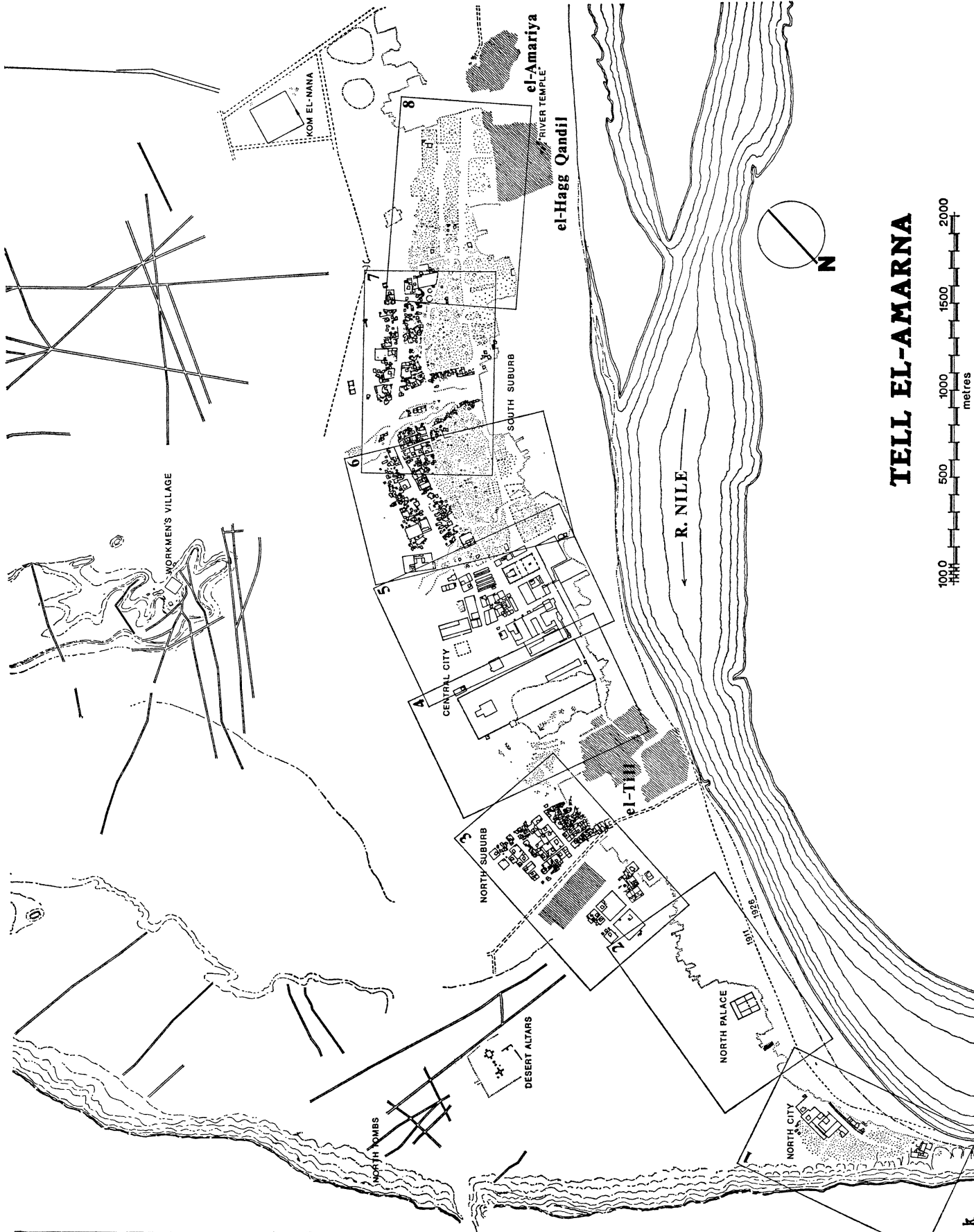
Appendix 3 : The Faunal Analysis (Dr Howard Hecker)

The season of 1982 included for the first time a faunal expert, Dr Howard Hecker of the University of New Hampshire, who began the task of examining and recording the collection of animal bones accumulated over four seasons of excavation. He was able to complete a study of only a portion of the total collection, but the results, although provisional, are of sufficient interest to summarize.

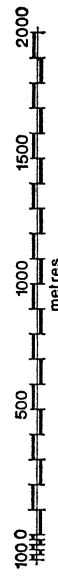
Pig was clearly the most important of the three domestic mammalian food species found at the site. It is likely, too, that the pigs were reared at the site itself, on account of the presence of very young individuals, of the relatively frequent occurrence of nearly every skeletal element, and the presence of many complete long bones and the relatively few bones which exhibit cleaver-chopping to render them more easily transportable. The isolated desert location of the site and the presence of large rubbish-heaps around it make pig a sensible choice economically. Against this, however, has to be set the evidence for a religious proscription on the eating of pig in ancient Egypt. Pigs appear occasionally in tomb scenes amongst other farm animals, but until fairly recently archaeologists in Egypt paid so little attention to faunal material from settlement sites that insufficient data exist against which to compare our own collection. It may be, however, that popular practice simply diverged considerably from religious ideals.

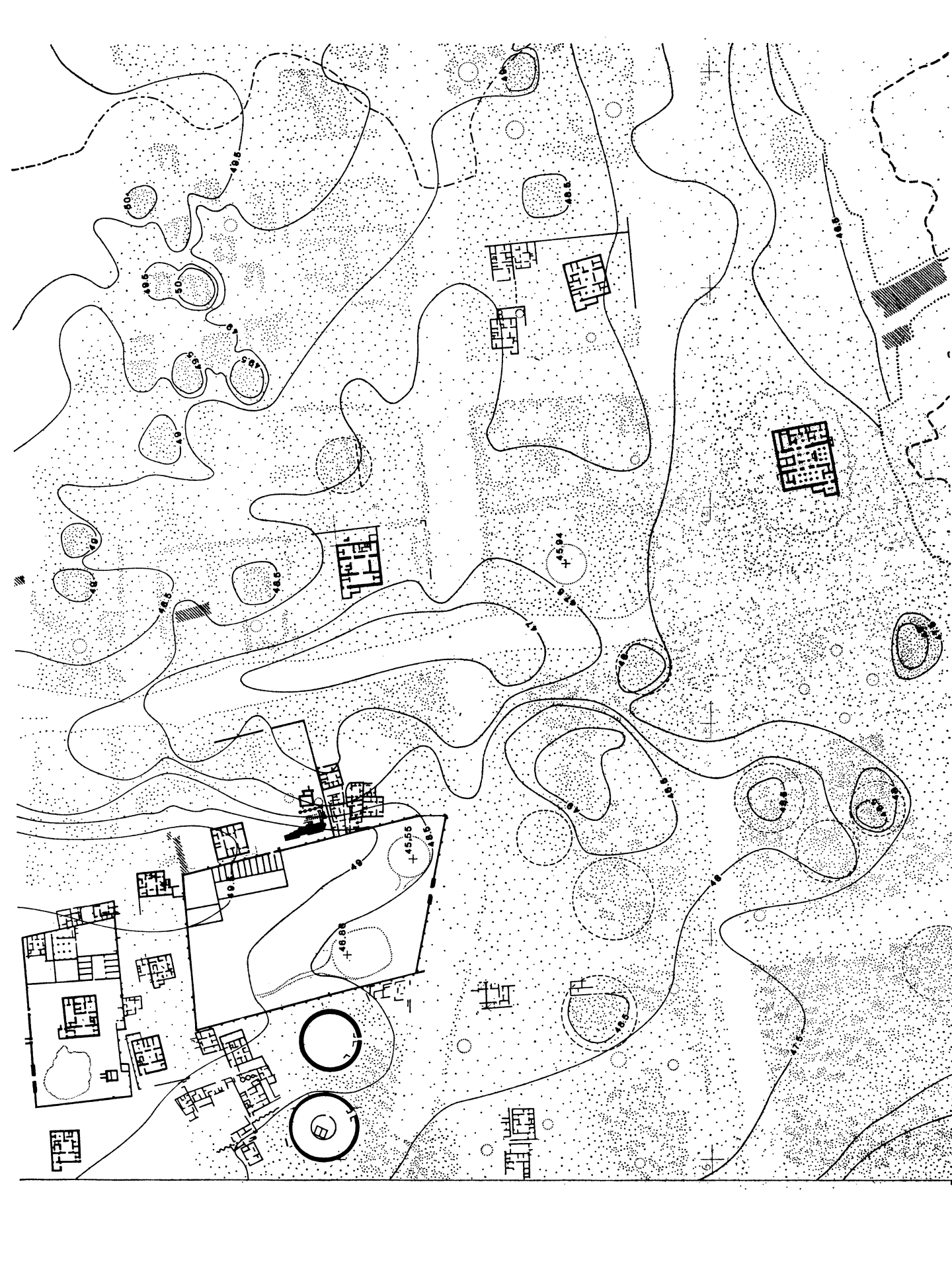
At two of the three locations within the Workmen's Village site goat was probably second in importance to pig. The sample includes numerous goat-horn cores (and sheaths), especially from

⁶ For Pendlebury's own account of this re-excavated material see *JEA* 18 (1932), 145.



TELL EL-AMARNA





site XI dug in 1979 which included a collection of tiny rooms identified at the time as possible animal pens. Both here and elsewhere at the site goat-like droppings are not uncommon in the strata, reinforcing the idea that, like pigs, goats were actually reared on the spot, sharing with pigs the catholic eating habits suited to the environment of the site. Conspicuously absent from the assemblage are definite sheep remains. A sizeable number of bones has been recorded as 'sheep/goat', reflecting the common difficulty of separate identification and it was expected that definite sheep bones would appear, but none actually did. This may, again, reflect the specialized environment of the site.

The third basic meat source was cattle, which, in terms of usable meat contributed to the diet, though not necessarily in actual numbers, may even have surpassed goat and possibly equalled pig at one of the three locations present in this initial sample. The cattle may not, however, have been raised in the immediate surroundings. This is supported by the absence (or very infrequent occurrence) of certain skeletal elements (e.g. cranial fragments and teeth), and by the apparently higher frequency of clear-cut or chopped bones. The practice of preparing meat joints at special centres, and of packing them in large pottery vessels for subsequent transport, is well documented at El-Amarna. One such centre seems to have been located by Pendlebury in the middle of the city, not far from large groups of bakehouses (*City of Akhenaten*, III, 106-12, 169-72, 211-12), and the practice gave rise to a particular kind of ink jar-label which tends to occur on one particular kind of vessel (op. cit., II, 112, type XII). Amongst the labels from our own excavations at the Workmen's Village are parts of two meat labels. Sherds from this kind of vessel are very common, but it is quite likely that it was used to store more than one type of commodity.

Finally it might be noted that the meat diet was supplemented by a fair amount of fish and fowl, and the finding of a large part of the shell of a turtle (*trionyx*) points to a further possible dietary supplement.



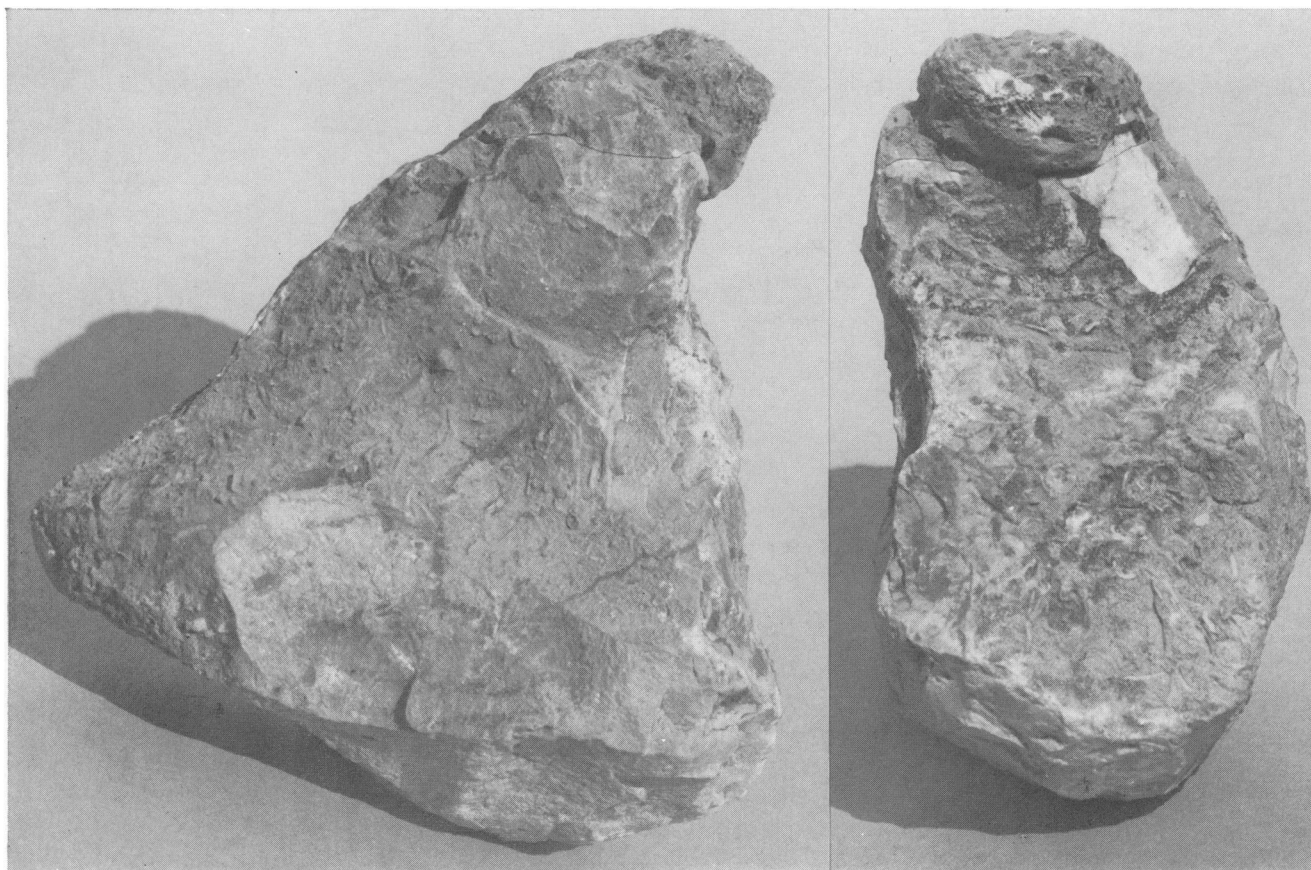
1. View of quarry face in square M10, showing the weathering steps corresponding to phases II and III, and the wall of phase IV above. Scale 1 m



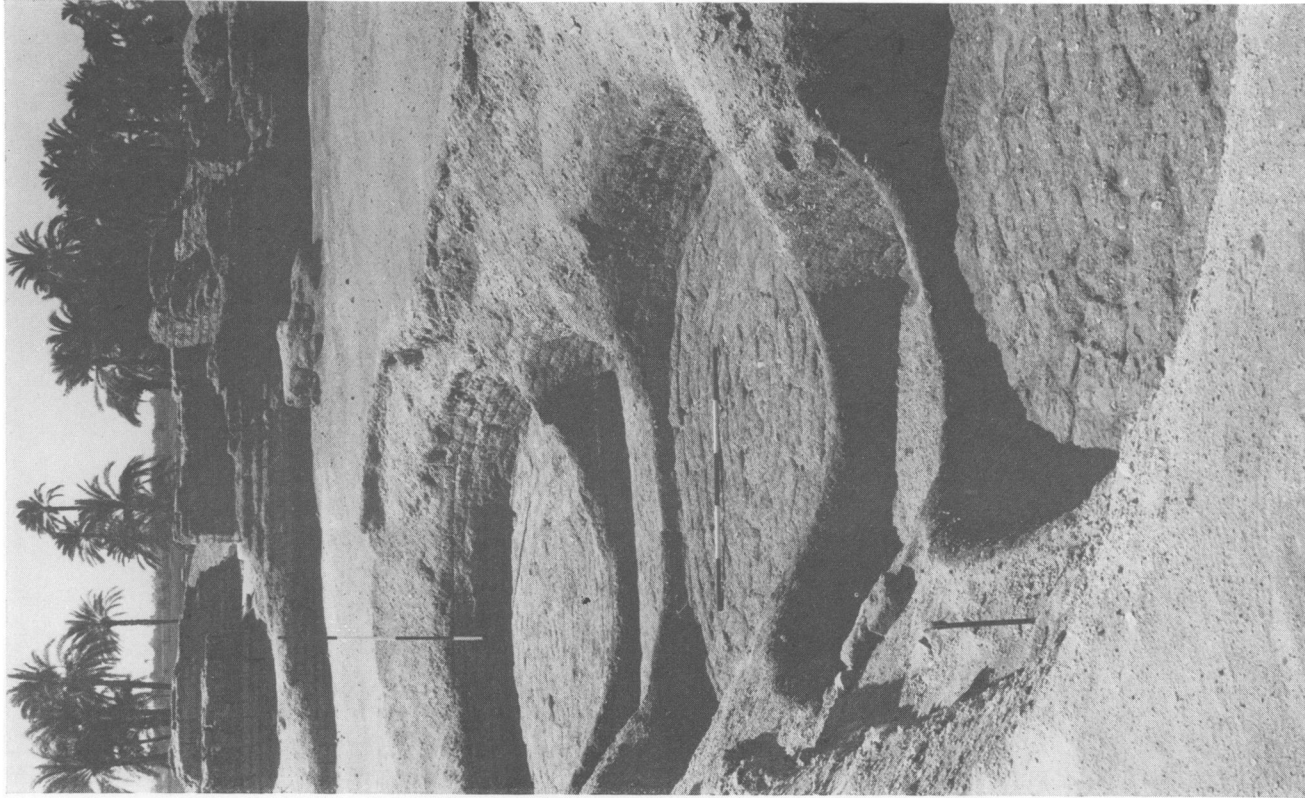
2. Stratigraphy in square P15, looking north-east. The stonework along the top, including the door with lintel, belongs to phase VIII (chapels); the rubbish below is probably phase VII; the 1-metre scale rests on a floor of phase IV (buildings). The white cross marks the stratigraphic position of object 2321, a hieratic jar label of year 16



1. Square 18 at an early stage in excavation, looking north. The base of the pottery water jar rests on masonry construction; the fallen stonework reveals the extent to which the masonry rose around the vessel



2. Religion at the Workmen's Village: a hawk image rendered in paint on a limestone boulder. Note the figure of the hawk on a perch painted in black on the front
EL-'AMARNA EXPEDITION, 1981-2



2. House U.24.1 in the North City: southern row of granaries looking towards the house from the east



1. The Great Wall in the North City: view northwards showing post-holes east of the Wall and cement base for a door-jamb in the gateway; the stone platform of the north niche is visible in the top left corner

THE TOMB OF TIA AND TIA: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SAQQĀRA EXCAVATIONS, 1982

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

THE joint expedition of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Leiden Museum, which has been working in the Memphite necropolis since 1975, began in 1982 to excavate the tomb (see fig. 1) of the princess Tia (daughter of Sethos I and Queen Tuy, and one of the two sisters of Ramesses II), and of her like-named husband Tia.¹ The latter, though not as far as is known a member of the royal family, everywhere takes precedence over his wife in the surviving reliefs. The exact location of the tomb had been a matter of dispute,² but its precise situation was established in 1975, viz. immediately adjacent to the north side of the funerary monument of Ḥoremḥeb.³ The systematic uncovering of the tomb of the Tias was reserved for the centenary year of the Society, work beginning on the site on 23 January 1982 and continuing until 15 March. The Society's representatives were Dr G. T. Martin (University College London, Field Director), Mr K. J. Frazer (surveyor), Miss J. D. Bourriau (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), Dr J. Málek (Griffith Institute, Oxford), and Mr D. A. Aston (Birmingham University). Those representing Leiden were Dr M. J. Raven, Mr M. Vinckesteijn (photographer), and Dr J. van Dijk (Groningen University). The Inspector of Antiquities was Mr Mohammed el-Ashry, who gave us every assistance. Grateful acknowledgement is made, for personal interest in the excavations and for affording every facility during the outset and throughout the course of the work, to the President of the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities, Dr Aḥmed Kadry, and to other Egyptian friends and colleagues. The hospitality, friendship, and aid of the Director of the Netherlands Institute, Cairo, and Mrs Jansen, and the staff of the British Embassy and the British Council, Cairo, are likewise recorded with appreciation.

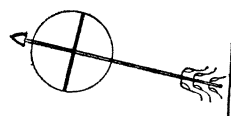
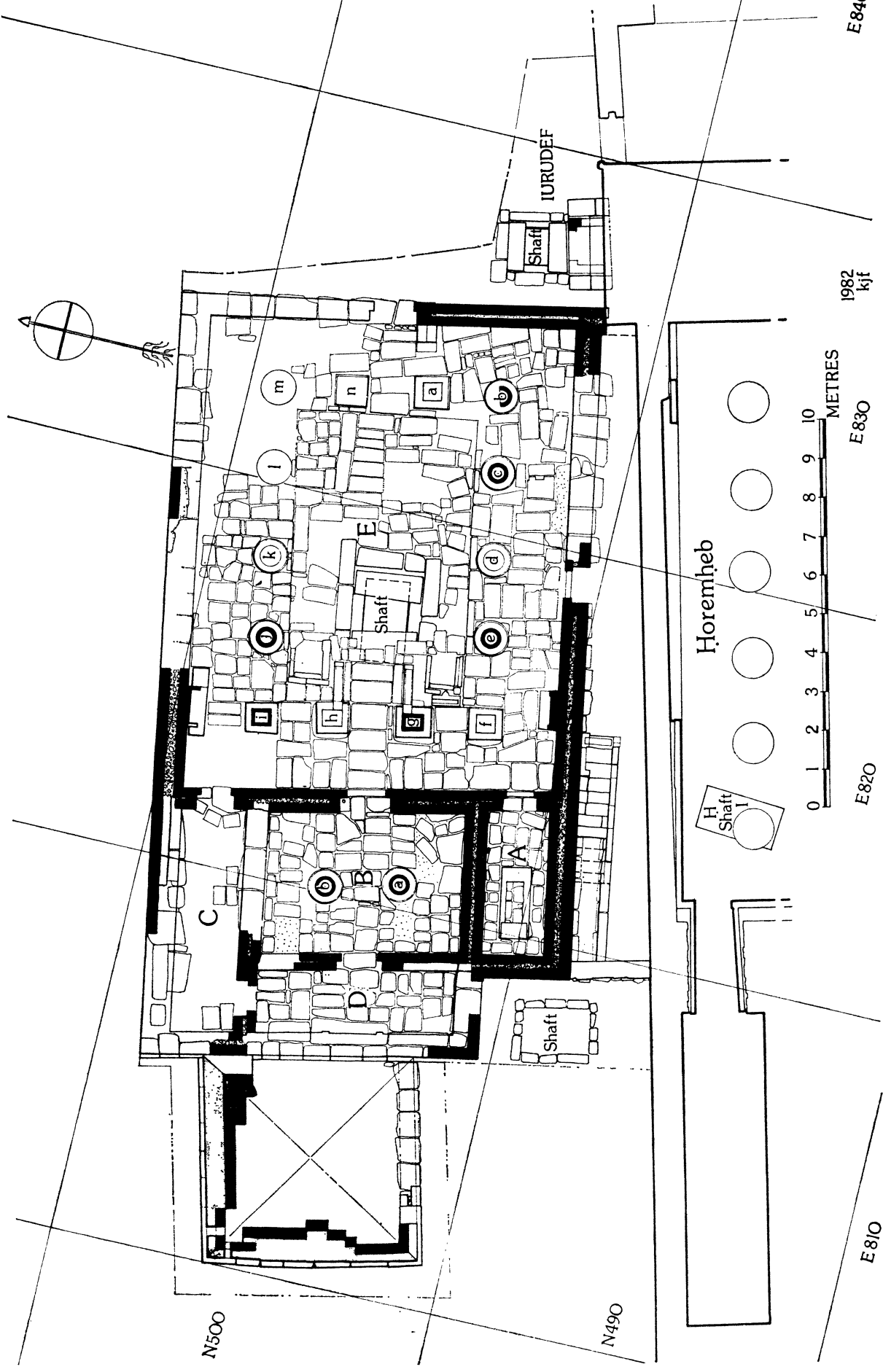
By the end of the season approximately two-thirds of the monument had been exposed (pl. V, 1), the overall measurements being 25.20 m east to west, and 10.85 m north to south. The extreme east end of the structure where the pylon is certainly located⁴ will be dealt with in 1983, and on the analogy of Ḥoremḥeb's tomb a paved forecourt may also be expected. By contrast with the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb the architecture is almost entirely of limestone, and this probably accounts for the fact that much of it was dismantled for reuse in antiquity. The elements revealed so far are a

¹ For the tomb see *PM* III², 2, 654-5. The princess is called *nbt pr, šmꜣyt n(t) 'Imn, snt nsw špst*. Her husband's principal title is *imy-r pr-ḥꜣ m tꜣ ḥwt Wsr-mꜣꜣt-rc-stp-n-rc m pr-'Imn*. Whether the temple in question was the Ramesseum at Thebes, or a like-named temple in the great Amūn *enceinte* at Memphis, as seems possible, remains to be seen.

² Giza and the Delta had previously been postulated.

³ Martin, *JEA* 62 (1976), 13 n. 13.

⁴ Part of the south 'wing' of the pylon was exposed in 1975 during the excavation of the forecourt of Ḥoremḥeb's tomb, but was re-covered with debris for security reasons.



N500

N490

IURUDEF

Shaft

Shaft

Shaft

Horemheb

H Shaft

Shaft

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 METRES

1982 kij

E830

E820

E810

E840

portico, only partly excavated, leading into a large colonnaded courtyard with a shaft to the substructure. Only one of the three covering slabs of the latter was removed by the robbers, and the aperture is insufficient for the removal of large pieces of funerary equipment, such as stone sarcophagi, giving rise to the hope that valuable material might still be *in situ* in the burial chambers.⁵ At the west end of the court a shallow ramp with a low balustrade leads into an antechapel, originally with two columns supporting a ceiling, and flanked by side chapels. A door on the west of the antechapel gives access to a rectangular cult room, almost totally destroyed. Traces of plaster at pavement level show that the customary stela was once positioned here. A wholly unexpected feature was the discovery of a rubble-filled pyramid with limestone casing, built on a podium at ground level immediately behind and to the west of the cult room.⁶ The original height of the pyramid, excluding its podium or base, has been calculated at 6.35 m. The latter is inscribed, and to judge from the remaining texts on the north and west faces a column of text ran at least part way down each side of the pyramid. The granite pyramidion⁷ was last seen in private hands in England in the eighteenth century, but has been lost to sight. It was a substantial monument, and it is hard to imagine that it has been totally destroyed. Fortunately the primary publication, showing each of the four sides, is a good one for its time, if we consider that almost nothing was known of Egyptian antiquities or of the hieroglyphic script at that period. Against the south face of the podium was found a cache of painted Ramesside shabtis inscribed with the personal name *P3-imy-r-šnwty*.⁸ A shaft, which will be cleared next season, lies adjacent to the east.

We may now turn our attention to the more specific details of the scheme of decoration, remarking at the outset that, by contrast with the tomb of Horemheb, no intrusive material from other New Kingdom tombs has so far been found in the debris. The great courtyard (E) measures 12.05 m × 9.53 m. The peristyle entablature here was supported by six piers and eight columns, most of which have been completely destroyed. Two stelae were positioned in the court, one against the north face and the other against the south. We ourselves found the lower part of the latter in position, its counterpart being in Florence.⁹ The original location of a fine intact stela,¹⁰ found in the north-east corner of the courtyard, has yet to be determined. Statues were found at the south-east part of the court (see pl. V, 2). They have received only a preliminary roughing-out at the hands of the sculptor (the work may even have been done in the quarry), and the discovery is interesting in indicating that the statues

⁵ A small fragment from one of the granite sarcophagi has been in Copenhagen for many years, and was probably found in the surface debris of the tomb in the last century. For the fragment see *PM* loc. cit.

⁶ The casing blocks were secured by wooden butterfly clamps, of which two are still in position.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, 654. The angle of slope of the sides of the pyramid is apparently steeper than that of the pyramidion, but the difference is probably due to 'artistic licence' on the part of the draughtsman who drew the latter in the eighteenth century.

⁸ A rare name recorded in Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 101, 1.

⁹ *PM* loc. cit.

¹⁰ At the top of the stela six baboons adore the sun boat. In the upper register the Tias worship Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys. Below, a shaven-headed servant with a markedly pyrgocephalic skull censes and libates the tomb owners. He is named as the *šdm-ꜥš P3-nḥt-n-niwṯ*, a name which equals *P3-nḥt-m-niwṯ* (*PN* I, 113, 19).

were to have been finished in the tomb itself rather than in a workshop. The principal decorative elements may now be noticed. The remains of the east wall show the seated Osiris adored by the Tias, the husband presenting a gift of seven sacred oils. Above the scene are the remains of eleven columns of text. Adjacent we see Horus and Isis worshipped by the two tomb owners, the husband censuring and offering a libation vessel, the wife holding out a bouquet. Above are the remains of eight columns of inscription. Further to the right the Tias adore the seated Atum, with eight columns of text above. On the west wall is a well-preserved scene depicting the official Tia adoring a god in a shrine, with a register beneath of bowing servants bringing offerings. Two of them are named as the *sdm* *Dd-nht* and the *sdm* *Tnr-imn* (see pl. VI, 1).



FIG. 2

Moving into the antechapel (B), we note a scene on the south side of the east wall showing the king adoring the cow of Hathor in a shrine with a statue in front. The south wall shows the royal family and the Tias and their two daughters worshipping Osiris, who is standing in a shrine on a pedestal. One of the daughters is named as *Mwt(?)-mtn-nfr* (see fig. 2).

Chapel A is the best preserved part of the monument. Its south wall shows a boat scene with the Tias being towed in their funerary barge to Abydos (see pl. VI, 3). It is a particularly vivid and lively example of the genre, and exhibits numerous interesting details, particularly the presence on board of the Tias' horses, and the activities of the sailors, who are clambering about in, and adjusting, the rigging. Two of the matelots are named as *Mnw-htp* and *'Imn-m-ipt*. The scribe *'Iw-rwd-f*, who holds the ropes attached to the funerary boat, is named several times elsewhere in the tomb and on a stela in Durham,¹¹ which with little doubt originated from our site. He must have been a prominent member of the household of the princess and her husband, since he was accorded the privilege of burial within the confines of their funerary monument. His tomb-shaft is at the south-east end of the portico, and will be excavated next season. Adjacent to the boat scene is an almost entirely destroyed relief which showed three sacred cows or bulls, the first one on a smaller scale than the others and, therefore, probably a calf. The chapel itself was dedicated to the cult of Apis. The plinth for his statue, of which a large fragment was found in the adjacent courtyard, is in position at the rear of the chapel. The plinth is a hollow structure, originally doubtless filled with rubble, consisting of flat upright limestone blocks some 45.0 cm high, firmly cemented together and to the pavement with a gypsum mortar. The north wall of the chapel shows Tia and Tia adoring a row of nine gods (see pl. V, 3), divided into two groups, one of three and one of six, separated by a column of inscription. The scene is particularly well preserved, with much of the bright colour intact. The deities, reading from right to left, are Osiris-Anedjty,¹² Isis, Horus, Osiris, Isis, Wepwawet, uncertain, Hapy, and Qebehseuf. A fragmentary block found in the

¹¹ *PM* op. cit., 740.

¹² He wears on his head a characteristic emblem (not shown on the Plate), viz. the bicornate uterus of a heifer (Gardiner, sign-list, F45). For another example see Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, III (London and Chicago, 1938), pl. 15. On the symbol see Derchain-Urtel, *Synkretismus in ägyptischer Ikonographie. Die Göttin Tjenenet* (Wiesbaden, 1979), 8–9, with n. 27.

debris shows that two more rows of deities were shown above, and the middle register must have shown, at the far left, Amset and Duamutef. It is clear that the sculptor and painter took less trouble over the representations of the deities where these were partly masked by the bull effigy on its plinth. All in all the chapel is a remarkable and valuable addition to our knowledge of the private funerary cult in Memphis in the early Ramesside Period, with some totally unexpected features.

Comparatively few small finds were present in the debris of the superstructure. The most important was a calcite shabti (see pl. VI, 2) of hard, marble-like consistency, found in the antechapel. The head was made separately, but has not so far been located. The torso is inlaid with strips of translucent glass, which seem to cover a text written in black, of which the name of the husband, Tia, is just discernible. This object is of the highest quality, and gives rise to the hope that comparable material, with other objects of historical and artistic interest, await discovery next year when the excavation of the tomb of the Tias will be completed.



1. The tomb looking east. The Pyramid in the foreground

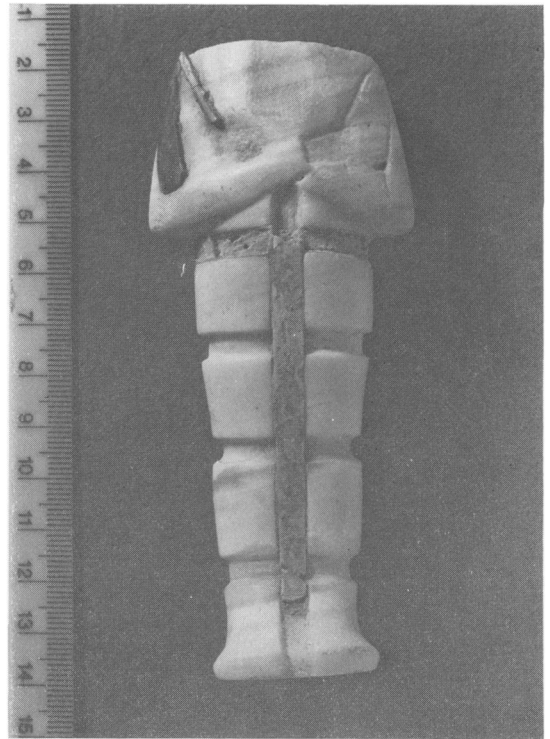


2. South-east corner of the courtyard, showing unfinished statues





1. Detail of west wall of the Courtyard, showing an offering-bearer



2. Inlaid shabti, found in the Antechapel



3. Detail of south wall of Chapel A, showing the voyage to Abydos
THE TOMB OF TIA AND TIA

THE SURVEY OF MEMPHIS, 1981

By H. S. SMITH, D. G. JEFFREYS, and J. MÁLEK

To commemorate its centenary, the Egypt Exploration Society has undertaken the archaeological survey of the ruin-fields of the great city of Memphis. Because of its size and nature, Memphis has never been fully mapped, and much of the archaeological work that has been done is not adequately recorded. The aims of the survey are to provide detailed archaeological maps of the city, to draw plans and elevations of all standing monuments, to photograph and copy reliefs and inscriptions, to investigate the stratigraphy and history of the city, to carry out environmental tests, and to record archaeological and documentary material from earlier work. A number of British and foreign scholars have expressed interest in contributing to this project, which will be carried out in close co-operation with the Antiquities Organization of Egypt and its inspectors. To the Head of the Antiquities Organization, Dr Aḥmed Ḳadry, and to the Permanent Archaeological Committee, the Society is grateful for permission to undertake this new project, and to many of its officials, notably Dr Mutawwa' Balbush, Dr Aḥmed Bezzawi, Dr Aḥmed Moussa, Mr Sa'id el-Fikey, Mr Muḥammad 'Asheri, and Mr 'Abd el-Kerim, the expedition is indebted for courteous and practical help. Memphis, like many other ancient sites in Egypt, is under threat from the rising water-table and other inevitable modern developments; the Society's survey is intended as a collaborative contribution to its eventual scientific recording.

This article includes summary reports on the archaeological and epigraphical work done during 1981 by H. S. Smith and J. Málek respectively, and some preliminary observations upon the topography of Memphis by D. G. Jeffreys.

Archaeological recording

The concession granted for the preliminary season of the survey comprised Kôm el-Rabí'a and Kôm el-Fakhry, that is, the south-west corner of ancient Memphis, south of the village of Mît Rahîna and west of the museum of the Ramesside colossus (see fig. 1). For administrative reasons work was somewhat delayed; it covered the period from 5 to 17 December 1981. The staff members were Professor and Mrs H. S. Smith, Dr J. Málek, Messrs D. G. Jeffreys, P. G. French, J. D. Ray, K. J. Frazer, and Miss L. L. Giddy. Work was begun on the following sites:

1. *Temple A*

This temple of Ramesses II is situated immediately south of the museum on Kôm el-Rabí'a. It was discovered and excavated in 1961-2 by Dr 'Abdu Tawâb el-Hitta, who was never able to publish a full report. The ruins lie at a low level and are now partly flooded and salt-encrusted, so the survey began work by partially clearing them of weeds. The plan revealed (see fig. 2) is that of a conventional Ramesside temple,

MEMPHIS

KOM RABIA^C (E)

Ramesseide ('temple A')

Ḥoḏ Birket Khataid no 9

NAT GR (1832) 63945 - 79329

UTM GR 36R LU 33320 - 3303380

SPOT HEIGHTS IN METRES S D
(100m S D = 22.28m above s.l.)

■ EES 81 small find

▨ blocks of later occupation

⊙(a) relief block (cartouche)

.. .. limit of clearance 1962

..... limit of clearance 1981

EES 1981

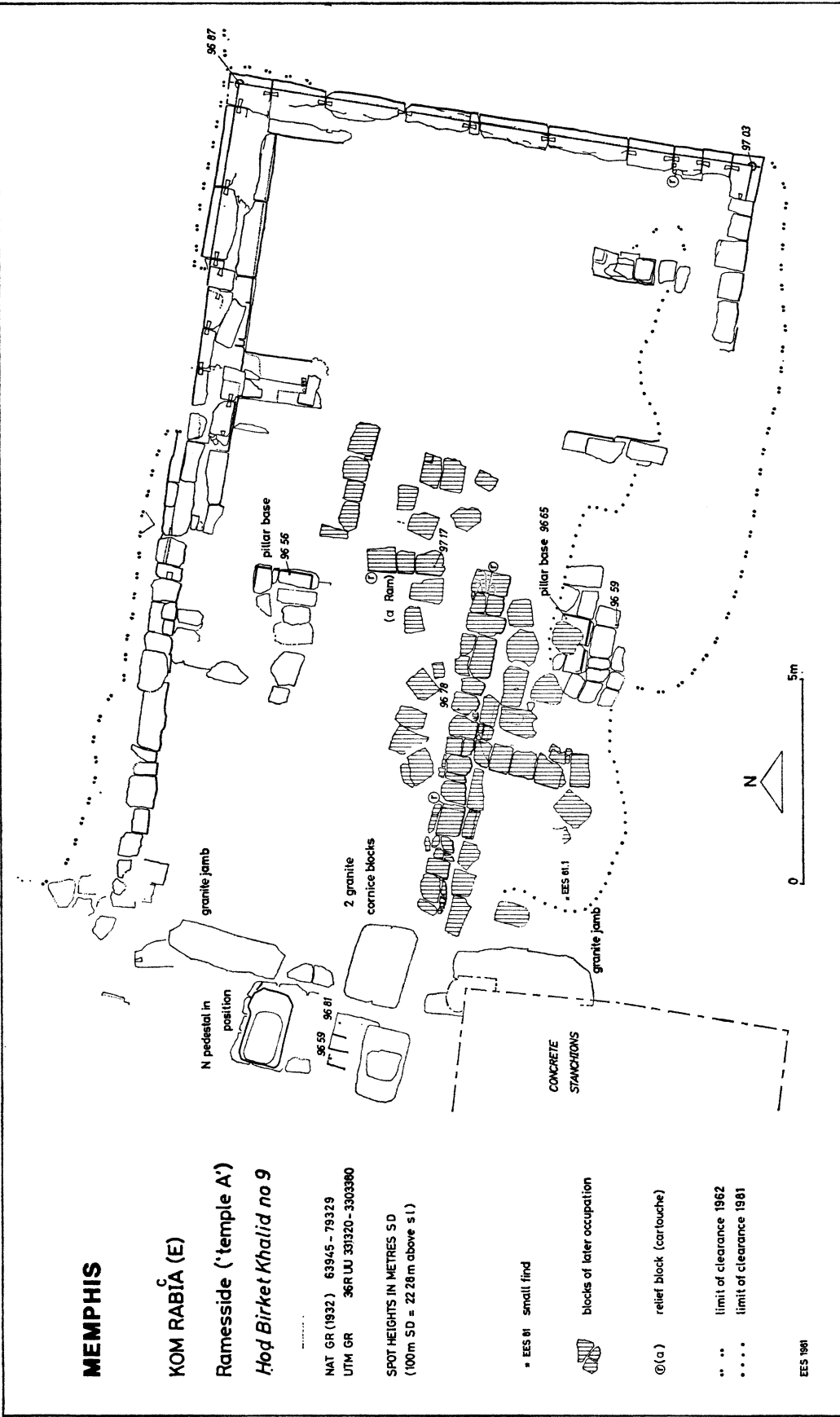


FIG. 2

entered from the west through a granite gateway flanked by pylon towers, in front of which are granite seated figures, about twice life-size, of Ramesses II. The gateway leads into a pillared courtyard, beyond which is a triple sanctuary of the normal type with wider central chamber. In front of the sanctuary in the court were traces of various later reconstructions whose date is, perhaps, suggested by the find of a Hellenistic terracotta figure of a pregnant woman. The walls do not survive to a sufficient height to preserve their scenes, but inscribed blocks and statues removed from the temple by Dr el-Hitta were recorded by Dr Málek (see below). The dimensions of the building cleared are 23.50 m east-west by 12.60 m north-south. However, blocks lying in a pool west of the pylon suggest that there may have been a front court, and an ancillary building stretches northwards towards the museum; clearance of these will be undertaken when the water-table is lower.

2. *Temple B*

South of Temple A on Kôm el-Rabî'a are further partly submerged structures of limestone excavated by Dr el-Hitta in 1961-2. At the north-west corner a group of heavy walls with a rebated south-west corner may represent the west tower of a pylon facing north. Abutting its north face are smaller rectilinear structures with at least one circular emplacement cut in the floor, while to the east is a sunken rectangular tank. These may be remains of purification places in front of the hypothetical pylon. Some distance to the south are two rectangular granite statue-bases, one of which appears to be *in situ*, facing north; the remains of the inscriptions appear to show the royal names of Ramesses II, though in an unusual form. Behind the statues to east and west are further remains of heavy masonry, possibly belonging to a north-facing pylon, while Dr el-Hitta found a tank containing an oval basin to the east. It is possible, therefore, that these buildings are to be interpreted as the first and second pylons of a temple of Ramesses II entered from the north, fronted by statues and ablution-places, with an open court between them; if so, the sanctuaries must lie in the unexcavated area to the south. They are, therefore, collectively designated 'Temple B', though the possibility that they belonged to more than one temple cannot at present be excluded. These buildings were cleared and planned so far as the water-level at the time allowed.

3. *Brick Magazines located above the tombs of the High-Priests* (see fig. 3)

To the north-west of the tombs of the High-Priests of Memphis of the Twenty-second Dynasty on Kôm el-Rabî'a, excavated by Dr Ahmed Badawi and Dr Mustafa el-Amir in 1942,¹ lies an area of mud-brick magazines presumably cleared by them but left unpublished. They comprise two large circular domed silos at the north-west corner, with rectangular chambers above, of smaller size without doors to the south. They thus present the aspect of a granary area, perhaps belonging to a temple. The site, when fully cleared of weeds and debris, should be of interest for the stratification

¹ *PM* III², 846-7 under M.

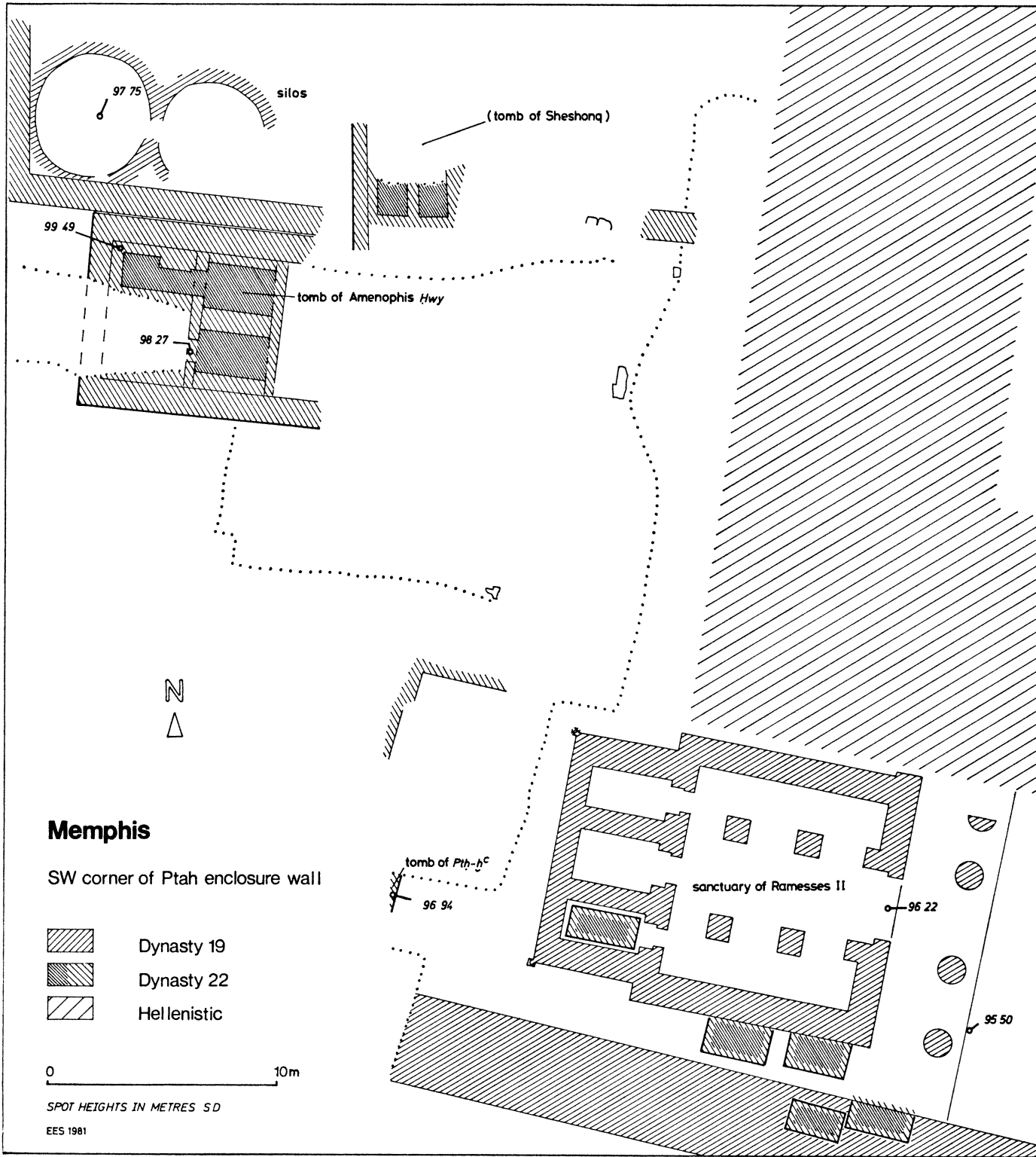


FIG. 3

and history of southern Memphis outside the late enclosure wall of the temple of Ptaḥ (see fig. 4); for immediately to the west is an isolated high mound of debris, apparently stratified, which represents the later levels of urban accumulation, cut away elsewhere over the centuries. This is reserved for future investigation.

Other Work

To test the usefulness of existing debris sections on Kôm el-Rabî'a, Miss L. L. Giddy cleaned and drew a section in the area of the Ḥaṭḥor temple,² which demonstrated that the course of the destruction and reoccupation of the precinct of this temple can be clearly charted in sequence down to Roman times, even if exact dates cannot yet be given to the episodes. At the request of Mr Muḥammad 'Asheri, Inspector of Memphis, Mr Jeffreys planned the early Middle Kingdom cemetery on Kôm el-Fakhry, which was discovered by Dr el-Hitta and subsequently summarily published by Dr Christine Lilyquist.³ He also planned for the Antiquities Service a most interesting Middle Kingdom settlement adjoining the cemetery which Mr 'Asheri has discovered and is excavating. Survey stations were established by Mr Jeffreys and levels-traverses taken which have already enabled him to produce a useful profile of the ruins of southern Memphis (see fig. 5).

Thus the results obtained in under a fortnight of preliminary work, though modest in themselves, exhibit clearly how much there is to be done and how much can be achieved. Of the urgency of surveying and recording the ruins of Memphis, there can be no doubt, and the Society hopes that, with the co-operation of the Antiquities Service and of its own skilled workers, the position can be transformed in the next few seasons.

Inscribed and decorated monuments

Temple A

Thirteen inscribed monuments or fragments are known to have been found within this structure or nearby. Five of these are statues in red granite, dated by their inscriptions to the reign of Ramesses II, which were discovered by Dr el-Hitta in 1961-2.

The most interesting piece is a triad with Ptaḥ *nb mꜣt ꜣ pḥty* accompanied by Sekhmet and Ramesses II. The king is shown with a sun-disc and a sceptre and thus, although not described as such in the texts, replacing Nefertem in his role of the junior member of the Memphite triad. The monument, originally probably from the eastern part of the temple, and its main cult statue, has been restored from fragments by the Antiquities Service and set up near the museum at Mît Rahîna.

Two colossal standing statues of Ramesses II have also been removed to the neighbourhood of the museum by the Antiquities Service. The larger of these, almost 7 m tall and now in a very fragmentary state, carries representations of Princess Bentꜣnt and an unidentified prince in sunk relief by the legs of the king and thus provides a

² *PM* III², 852-3.

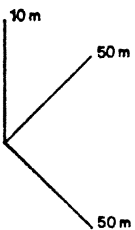
³ *Op. cit.*, III², 852.

SW quadrant of ruin field

CONTOURS AT 1m INTERVALS



Hellenistic temenos wall



N

EES 1982

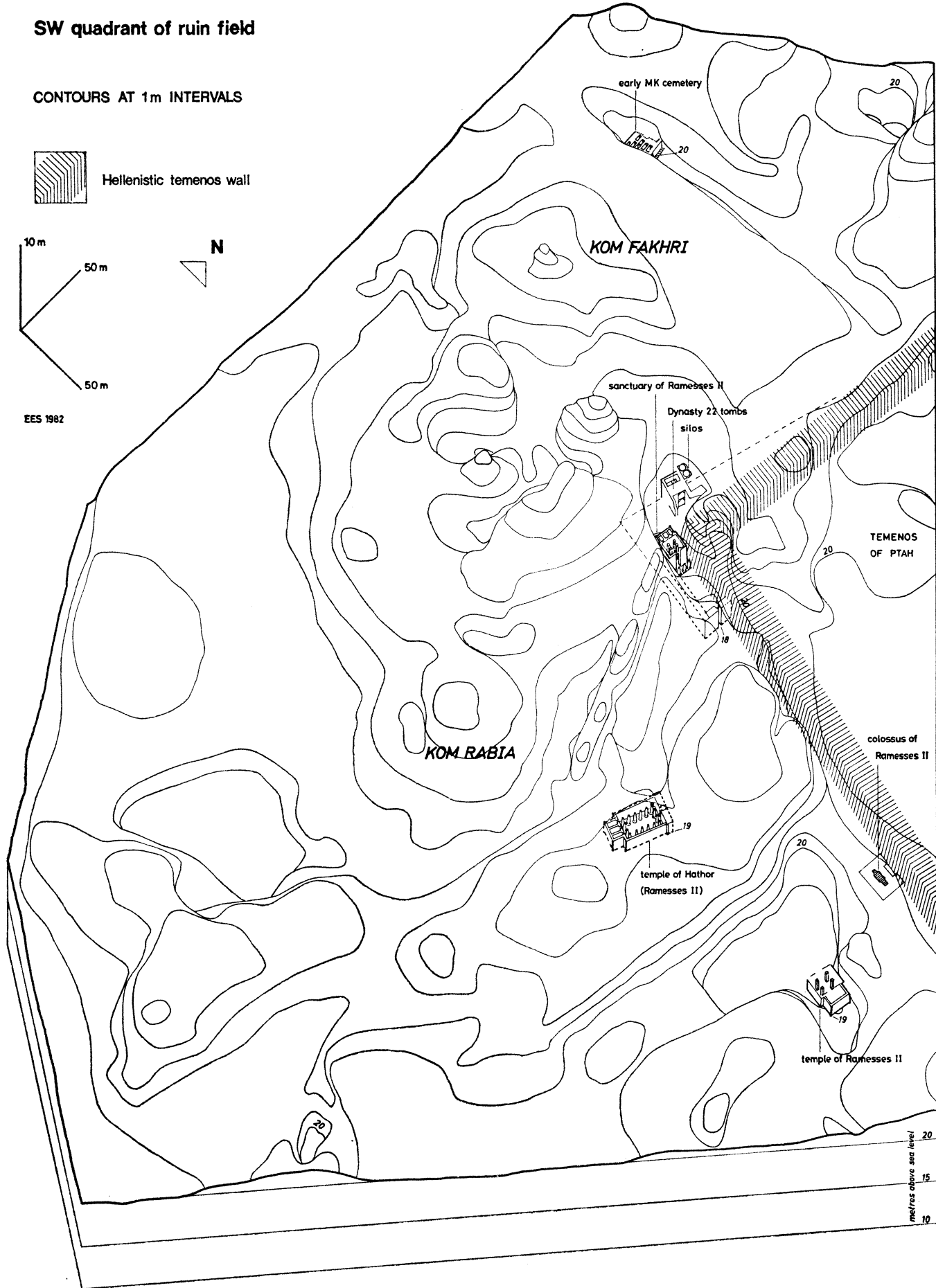


FIG. 4

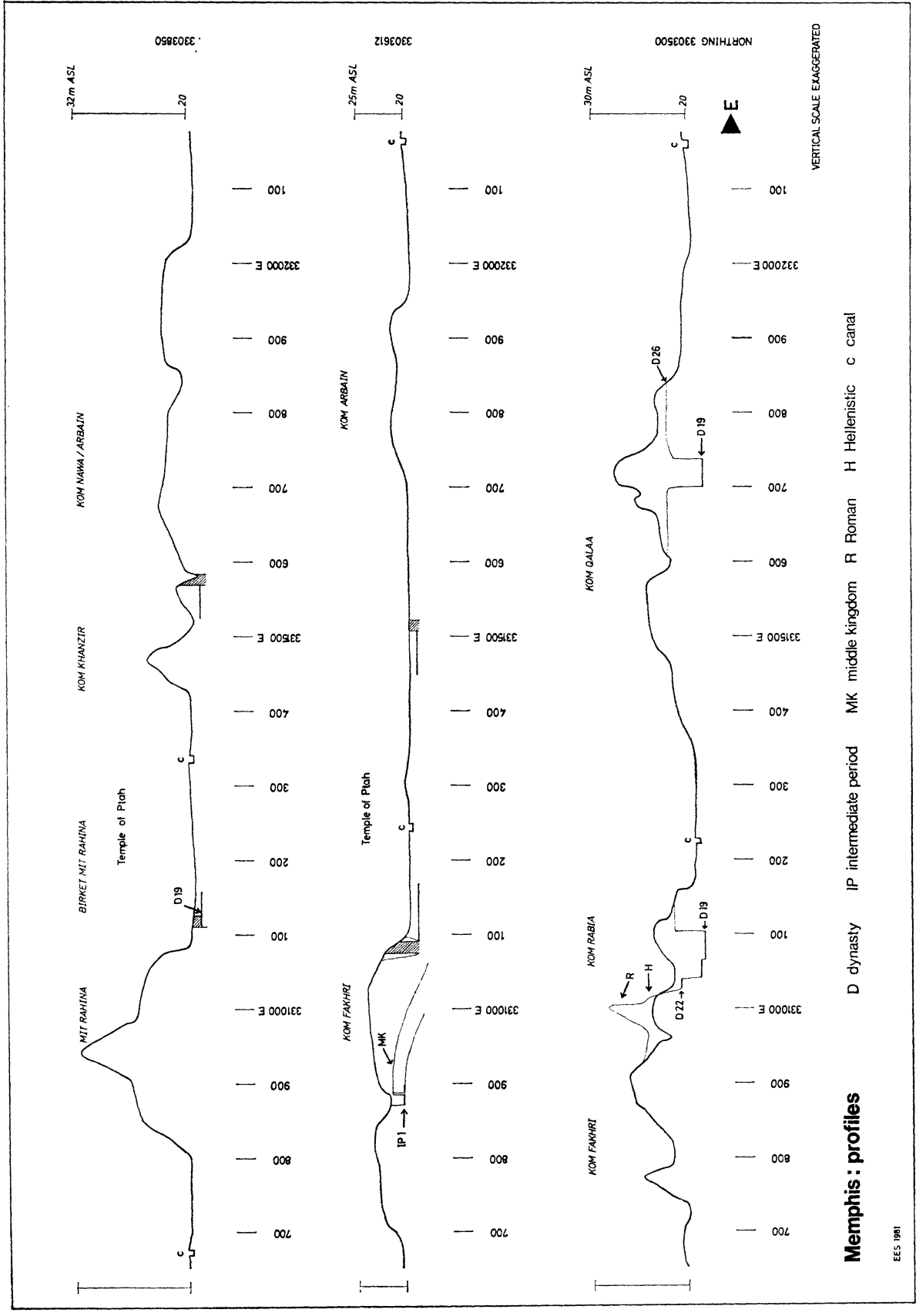


FIG. 5

valuable chronological clue. The smaller colossus, over 3 m tall, is identified by an inscription on the belt.

Another two over-life-size seated statues of Ramesses II flanked the entrance to the temple court. Only their much eroded lower parts have survived and have now been reset on their granite rectangular pedestals (the southern of these is lying on its side). The statues have lost any texts which they may originally have carried, but the pedestals are still inscribed on two of their faces.

The inscriptions on all these monuments are orthographically and palaeographically closely related and can be distinguished from others, e.g. the nearby 'Abu 'l-Hol' colossus, a circumstance which perhaps indicates different phases of building activity by Ramesses II at Memphis.

The two fragments of a red granite uninscribed lintel from above the doorway to the temple court have on examination proved to come from the massive false door stela of a certain Sole Companion (*smr wrty*) Kaires (*Kꜣ-ir-s*) of the Fifth/Sixth Dynasty, perhaps brought here for reuse from Saqqâra. The size of the monolithic false door was very impressive, some 2·15 m by 3·06 m.

Another six objects are smaller limestone fragments inscribed/decorated in sunk relief, but none of these can with certainty be said to have formed part of the original decoration of Temple A. One block carries only cartouches of Ramesses II, while in another two cases these accompany large figures of a deity or personification, unfortunately unidentifiable. One relief shows the head-dress probably of Ptah-tatenen. The remaining two blocks contain remains of hieroglyphic signs.

Temple B

Two decorated pieces have been identified in the northern buildings of this structure: a limestone block with the foot of a large running (or smiting) figure in deep sunk relief, probably Ramesside, and a reused fragment from a Fifth/Sixth Dynasty tomb with the remains of two registers of men in a fine low relief.

The only inscribed/decorated monuments still visible in the southern buildings of this site are two large red granite statue-pedestals. The better preserved is the northern of these which carries the remains of processions of fecundity-figures on its longer sides, led towards the royal names on the front of the pedestal probably by personifications of Upper and Lower Egypt. The back was decorated by a series of royal names, including two *serekhs*, but the still faintly visible signs within do not appear to correspond to any of the known Horus-names of the expected Ramesses II. The southern pedestal is incomplete and its decoration has been almost completely destroyed by frequent fluctuations of the water-table, but a photograph taken during El-Hitta's 1961-2 clearance shows a now lost cartouche of Ramesses II accompanying a fecundity figure on its (now) southern face.

Two fragments of an over-life-size seated figure in red granite were found in this area by El-Hitta and may have once been placed on one of these pedestals. The head and arms are now lost, but the surviving text, mainly on the statue's back pillar and the back of the seat, identifies it as that of Ramesses II. The statue has been restored

and set up at the back of the garden behind the museum at Mît Rahîna by the Antiquities Service.

A large standing royal statue of the standard-bearing type was reported by Bonomi in 1847 some 120 m south-south-west of the 'Abu 'l-Hol' colossus, therefore in the area of our Temple B, and described as the 'Son of Sesostris'. It was also noted and partly recorded by J. G. Wilkinson, R. C. Lepsius, J. Burton, and R. T. Lieder at about the same time. Despite some slight discrepancies in their descriptions the statue can be identified with one of the sculptures behind the museum at Mît Rahîna. The text running down the standard of Ptaḥ-tatenen, now unfortunately even more damaged than it was 130 years ago, contains an unusual Horus-name *Nfr-ḥr-Rc*, but the *nsw-bitj* cartouche appears to be that of . . . *mꜣꜥt-Rc stp-n-Rc*, i.e. probably of Ramesses II.

Area north-west of the Temple of Ramesses II

Twelve small relief-fragments have been found, ten of which contain the remains of scenes with deities or texts with the names of Ramesses II and probably come from the temple. One of the fragments probably dates to the Old Kingdom, comes from a royal monument, and may have been reused; another, inscribed in a very high relief, may be of the Late or Ptolemaic Period.

Most of the texts of the monuments mentioned above have been copied, but for technical reasons (size, necessity to move very heavy pieces, water level) the recording of some of them or some details has had to be deferred until next season. Some further inscribed fragments lying behind the museum at Mît Rahîna may be identified as coming from Temples A and B and will be recorded at a later date.

In the cases where it is possible to compare the present condition of inscribed or decorated objects with photographs taken during the original excavation, the deterioration and the resulting loss of valuable information during the past twenty years is truly alarming and underlines the need for a systematic recording of existing monuments.

Some observations on Memphite topography

Even at this early stage of survey some observations concerning the topography of the site may be offered for discussion. These concern larger aspects of the site as well as local problems raised by work already done within the ruin-field.

In view of the wealth of documentary evidence attesting the importance of Memphis as a river port it is astonishing that no part of its harbour-works is known to us. An important feature of any future work here should be an attempt to localize these installations, which controlled all Nile traffic and housed a major customs-post.

At the town of Tarfaya, 4 km south-east of Mît Rahîna, a 20-m contour line (above mean sea level) marks the former course of a Nile branch which gradually silted up in the 1870s; until that time Tarfaya had actually stood on an island.⁴ Taking this contour

⁴ Compare for example Linant de Bellefonds, *Carte hydrographique* (1854), with map of WO Intelligence Dept. (1882).

as an arbitrary marker of a potential flow line at this latitude and applying it at Memphis, we find that the land-form shows two depressions, the first a roughly linear one on the north-east side of the ruin field, the second an irregular line on the west side (see fig. 1). On the north-east side no antiquities, as far as we know, have been reported as having come from east of this feature, apart from objects bought or 'found' at dealers' markets at Bedrashein itself, and a small mound (called Sohar Gilleh in 1870)⁵ attributed by Duemichen to the Graeco-Roman Period,⁶ which may be one of the 'Islands of Memphis' mentioned in some documents and Classical historians.⁷ Of nineteen pits sunk by Horner in 1852-4, none east of the depression produced any artefacts, in marked contrast to those within the present ruin-field, which yielded quantities of worked stone, pottery, and fired brick.⁸

The eastward tendency of the river in places throughout Middle Egypt,⁹ considered together with this dearth of material from the eastern part of the 'Memphite plain', raises the possibility that the course of the Nile in antiquity was much closer to the site than has so far been supposed, and that the feature east of Kôms Dafbaby, Nawa, and Arbayn might be a relic, if not of the river itself, then perhaps of one of the riverine earthworks of which some traces were still visible in the late fifteenth century.¹⁰ Such a physical configuration would necessarily hold only for the latest occupation at the site. However, the location of numerous earlier sites—a Mithraeum of second-century date,¹¹ finds of the Persian Period,¹² and even a Nineteenth Dynasty temple and palace complex¹³—all close to the east edge of the ruin-field, suggests that the eastward extent of the city remained unchanged during the last 1,500 years of its occupation, although it certainly spread far to the north during this time.¹⁴

If, however, the eastward drift of the river had been a gradual and continuous process, it may at earlier periods have flowed through some part of what is now the ruin-field. Although we have very little idea about the appearance of the city before the New Kingdom, an Early Middle Kingdom cemetery (see fig. 4) and a Middle Kingdom settlement are known to lie immediately south of the village of Mît Rahîna.¹⁵ A levels-traverse across this area has shown that the contemporary ground level was 2 m+ above that of the Ramesside foundations only 150 m to the south-east, requiring a fairly steep gradient between the two areas in the Middle Kingdom (see fig. 5). The possibility that this high-lying ground might indicate an original alluvial bank or mound has already been noted;¹⁶ whether because of this or because the site was already

⁵ A. Mariette, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* (1875), map at end.

⁶ J. Duemichen, *Karte . . . Memphis*, in *Zur Geographie des alten Aegyptens* (1894).

⁷ For example, H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (1924), 81, 85.

⁸ L. Horner, *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.* 148 (1858), pl. 2.

⁹ K. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt* (1976), 34-5.

¹⁰ J. van Ghistele, *Voyage en Égypte 1482/3* (IFAO Voyageurs no. 16) (1976), 167.

¹¹ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (1896), II. 520; A. Wiedemann, *WZKM* 31 (1924), 310.

¹² E. Chassinat, *BIFAO* 8 (1911), 145-8.

¹³ C. S. Fisher, *Univ. Penn. Mus. Journal* 8 (1917), 211-30.

¹⁴ N. Golb, *JNES* 24 (1965), 257.

¹⁵ A. T. el-Hitta, *Rev. Caire* 33/175 (1955), 50; C. Lilyquist, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 27; B. J. Kemp, *JARCE* 13 (1976), 25-8.

¹⁶ B. J. Kemp, *Antiquity* 51 (1977), 192.

heavily built up in the Old Kingdom, the fact of this sharp drop to the east might be explained by the river edge's having been in the vicinity at the time.

The 20 m contour also passes the west side of the ruin-field and may here reflect the vestigial waterway now called the Bahr Libeini.¹⁷ Such remanent waterways may have fed the desert-edge harbours of the funerary monuments in the Old Kingdom,¹⁸ and the open depression of the valley-temple harbour of Unas is still identifiable on the ground. Whether the city was ever confined by such a waterway remains in doubt, although the mention of a district near Hikuptah 'between the waterways' on the endowment stela of Apries from Birket Mît Rahîna might suggest that it was.¹⁹ *In-situ* limestone blocks observed in the side of the Muhit Drain to the north-west of the ruin-field, and only 15 m east of the Libeini, would seem to indicate that buildings crowded its banks.

If we turn to more local aspects of the topography and stratigraphy of the site, a further interesting comparison of levels may be mentioned at the south-west corner of the (Hellenistic) Ptaḥ enclosure wall. This site (see fig. 3) has been excavated by Badawî 1942,²⁰ Habachi 1950,²¹ and Anthes 1955-6.²² Several cist-burials dating to the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty were found at, or close to, the level of the floor of the Ramesside sanctuary. In particular the threshold of the tomb of Ptaḥ-kha^c (time of Psusennes I) lay only 70 cm above that of the sanctuary. Tombs of Petiese, with sarcophagus of Amenophis Ḥuwy, and of Sheshonq, Ḥarsiese, and Takelot, all built apparently outside the sanctuary precinct, have two storeys of which the lower is also at a level comparable with that of the sanctuary floor. It is clear that Eighteenth Dynasty building material was available for reuse in the walling and roofing of these tombs, as well as in the sanctuary itself, and our impression is that the ground-level here had not risen appreciably between the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty and (say) the Saïte Period. That a substantial post-Ramesside accumulation had, however, occurred outside the south wall of the sanctuary precinct²³ suggests that all the Third Intermediate Period structures lay within a larger enclosure that also embraced the sanctuary (no west or north precinct wall was located during excavation).²⁴ This is of importance when we consider the 'West Hall' of the Ptaḥ enclosure, excavated by Mariette in 1871-5,²⁵ under de Morgan in the 1890s,²⁶ and by Petrie in 1907-8.²⁷ A plan of the hall by Daressy²⁸ took no account of the pronounced 'skew' shown in Petrie's taped-offset plan,²⁹ according to which the axis of the hall itself lies 6° east of

¹⁷ J. Yoyotte, *RdÉ* 13 (1961), 95-6.

¹⁸ G. Goyon, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 137-53; see, however, Butzer, *op. cit.*, 46 n. 2.

¹⁹ B. Gunn, *ASAE* 27 (1927), 217-18.

²⁰ M. el-Amir, *CdÉ* 41 (1946), 56-8; A. Badawî, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 1-23; 44 (1944), 181-206; 54 (1957), 153-77.

²¹ L. Habachi, in R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (1965), 60-5.

²² R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1955* (1959); *Mit Rahineh 1955* (1965).

²³ J. Jacquet, in Anthes, *op. cit.* (1965), 59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 40, 54.

²⁵ Maspero, in Mariette, *MD* (1872), 7-8.

²⁶ G. Daressy, *Rec. Trav.* 14 (1893), 172-4; *ASAE* 3 (1902), 22-31; E. Brugsch, *EEF Arch. Report* (1892-3),

²⁴.

²⁷ W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis I* (1909), 5-6.

²⁸ G. Daressy, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 23.

²⁹ Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. 2.

the line of the west wall of the enclosure. A projection of the hall's north-south axis southwards gives a truer approximation to a right angle with both the south wall of the enclosure and that of the Ramesses II sanctuary, a situation which suggests a pre-Ramesside plan of more regular shape (see fig. 4). At the site of the west hall there is evidence that such a building existed: Petrie found a number of discarded stelae, some dating to Tuthmosis I and IV, in the foundation trenches of the Ramesside walls;³⁰ a relief of the time of Amenophis III (plus a cache of reinterred Old Kingdom statuary) had earlier been found west of the Ramesside pylon, as well as a foundation deposit of Tuthmosis IV.³¹ This last was apparently associated with a north-south mud-brick wall, interpreted by Daressy as that of a temple opposite the Ramesside pylon.³² It could, however, equally well be part of an (original?) hall later bisected by the Ramesside pylon. Elsewhere there is more evidence of such a realignment: at the north gate of the Ptaḥ enclosure the axis of a Ramesside colonnade lay east of the surviving gateway of Ammenemes III,³³ which would be understandable if the axis of the entire west part of the enclosure had shifted eastwards. Again, such a shift could well be reflected in the acute angle formed by the pylon and south precinct wall of the sanctuary,³⁴ a curiosity also noted in the pylon of the temple of Ḥathor further to the south.

Finally, it may be useful to mention briefly a single monument, the large alabaster sphinx close to the (unlocated) south gate of the Ptaḥ enclosure. Some uncertainty seems to have existed in the past concerning the circumstances in which this monument was discovered: Anthes reported that no publication concerning its discovery and subsequent history was known to him or to the editors of the *Topographical Bibliography*.³⁵ He identified a sphinx found by Petrie 'near the colossus' with the red granite sphinx now in Philadelphia (Univ. Mus. E12326).³⁶ Elsewhere, however, the granite sphinx is said by Petrie to have come from the north gate of the Ptaḥ enclosure,³⁷ and in his seasonal report the two sphinxes are clearly distinguished.³⁸ The sequence of events seems to have been as follows: both sphinxes were found by Petrie during his 1911-12 season; the granite one, which came from just within the north gate of the Ptaḥ enclosure, was in Philadelphia by the following year. The alabaster sphinx was found on its side a little east of the limestone colossus of Ramesses II, immediately south of the Saqqâra-Bedrashein road; it was almost certainly close to its original position. It was raised and set in the excavation-pit on stone chocks to keep it clear of ground-water, and stayed there until at least 1924.³⁹ By 1936 it had been repositioned on firm ground, facing east.⁴⁰ In 1953 it was given a concrete base⁴¹ and has occupied its present position in the museum grounds at Mît Rahîna since then.

³⁰ Ibid., 7, pl. 7-9.

³² Ibid.

³⁴ Anthes, op. cit. pl. 1, 6e.

³⁶ Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis* IV (1911), 23; Anthes, op. cit., 42.

³⁷ Petrie, in R. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis* VI (1915), 33.

³⁸ Petrie, *EEF Arch. Report* (1911-12), 19-20.

³⁹ Photograph in album of C. A. Sims, RAF, in EES archive.

⁴⁰ See for example Robichon and Varille, *En Égypte* (1937), pl. 31.

⁴¹ *CdÉ* 56 (1953), 282, reprinted from *La Bourse égyptienne*, 10 Feb. 1952.

³¹ Daressy, op. cit., 25.

³³ Petrie, *Tarkhan and Memphis* V (1913), 32.

³⁵ Op. cit., 42.

QAŞR İBRÎM 1980 AND 1982

By W. Y. ADAMS, J. A. ALEXANDER, and R. ALLEN

EXCAVATIONS during 1980 and 1982 were carried out at Qaşr İbrîm from January until March under the direction of the authors by a force of some sixty men from Quft. In 1980 nine and in 1982 eleven other specialists worked with the expedition (see list on p. 49), and we are most grateful to them, to our domestic bursars (Mrs N. Adams, Miss R. Bradley), our medical officers (Dr A. Villeneau, Dr G. Reilly), our recorders (Mr P. French and Miss P. Rose), our architects (Mr M. Morris, Mr M. Mallinson, and Dr J. Knutsted), our photographer (Mr T. Bonner), and our auxiliaries (Mr N. Adams and Mr P. Alexander) for their help. We are also grateful to our Egyptian inspectors Adel Farid Tobia, Nageeb Mohammed, and Magdi Sayed Abuelela, and to their superiors, Dr Khadri, Dr 'Ali el-Khouli, and Sayed Abdin Siam for their aid. The expedition was funded by the Society and the Smithsonian Institution.

Three factors dominated the campaigns: (i) the continued destruction of parts of the site by wave-action and percolating water (it must not be forgotten that Qaşr İbrîm is the last site still being destroyed at which salvage work began under the UNESCO International Committee); (ii) the decision to complete, by 1982, the study of the Islamic (sixteenth–nineteenth century) settlement; (iii) the superb preservation of organic remains at the site (see Table 1) which made it essential to sample and study a wide range of materials not usually found.

The fortified settlement, now an island in Lake Nasser, stands on an isolated hilltop which had been eroded, on the west, to steep cliffs by the river. Now that all parts of the site have been sampled, it can be demonstrated that up to 5 m of settlement debris accumulated on the uneven surface of the hilltop, most of it during the last 3,000 years. For over 2,000 years a defensive wall has ringed the hill pierced by gates on the north-east and south-east sides. Lake Nasser has now flooded nearly half those defences, and about one-fifth of the settlement, whilst studies in 1980 and 1982 show that the percolation and peristaltic action of water from the lake have destroyed all organic evidence over a wide zone on the eastern side of the settlement. The only remaining gate is also exposed to the waves and is in imminent danger of collapse (see pl. VII).

The results of our work can be summarized as follows: the excavation of the Islamic settlement was completed and a report on it should be ready for publication this year; salvage work on the threatened fortifications, the gateway, and levels on the lake edge was also carried out.

The Islamic Settlement

Although the date and nature of the acceptance of Islam at İbrîm are still uncertain, the region was first incorporated in an Islamic state, the Ottoman Empire, in the early sixteenth century and became a frontier fortress which retained an Ottoman

garrison (traditionally described as Bosnian), until the early nineteenth century AD. Documentary evidence, as shown by Dr Hinds's preliminary researches, indicates that Ibrîm was also an administrative centre of some importance.



FIG. 1. Pattern of excavation at Qaşr Ibrîm. Areas examined in 1980-2: G, H, I, J. Analysis of excavation since 1966. All periods: B, C, D, E, G. All Islamic and Christian levels: A, F. All Islamic and Late Christian levels: H, I, J. Sampled before flooded: K. Roman remains: R

In 1980 and 1982, the 25 per cent of the Islamic settlement not previously examined was excavated, fifty structural architectural units being recognized in some 2 m of accumulated debris. They were west, north, and east of the mosque (which had previously been the cathedral) (see fig. 1) and overlay several metres of earlier settlement debris. Much of the final building phase, which was abandoned at the beginning of the nineteenth century, still stood into the 1950s, and it was, therefore, possible to recognize architectural units which had existed in 1813 and to trace back their history, and that of their precursors, into the sixteenth century.

In structural terms, the buildings were all very similar, the walls being built of roughly quarried or reused sandstone blocks set in mud mortar and averaging between 50 and 60 cm in thickness. Many of the interior walls were mud-plastered and white-washed, some (i.e. unit B 25, room 96) being decorated with geometric designs boldly rendered in black, yellow, and red. The interiors of most rooms contained wet-laid mud floors or compacted occupation surfaces, many of which had often been renewed.

A number of rooms also had floors made of cemented white-sandstone chips. Other features commonly found were benches (*mastabas*), hearths, grinding-surfaces, latrines, storage pits, and mud storage bins (*somas*). A great variety of artefacts was recovered

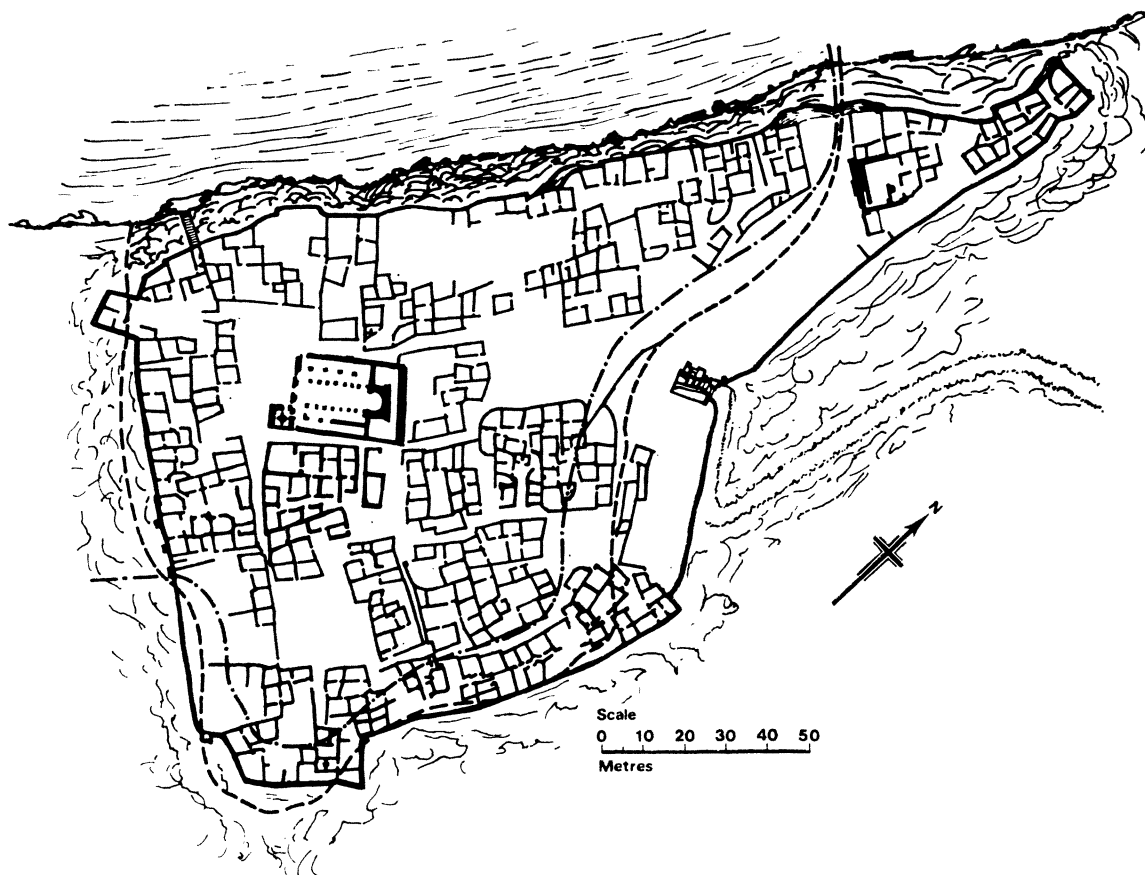


FIG. 2. The final phase of the Islamic settlement: - - - - - = high-water level; - · - · - · - = limit of percolating water 1982

(over 320,000 in 1982), and these are discussed later in this report. They included pottery (largely locally manufactured but wheel-made wares from Egypt and Chinese porcelain were also exemplified), textiles, basketry, matting, and wooden, metal, glass, and leather objects. Among the more notable artefacts recovered were a stool made from a solid block of wood, a tin-chased brass water ewer (*ibrîq*), part of a musket, a complete sabre in a wood and leather scabbard, and part of a painting of a mosque scene on paper. Unexpectedly common finds were fragments of Turkish and Arabic manuscripts, the total from the two seasons being over 3,600 pieces; of these, almost 200 were complete documents.

One of the most interesting results of the 1980-2 excavations was the definition of two standard types of domestic unit (here Style 1 and 2) in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries and, through the extraordinary preservation of organic remains, the use of

individual rooms within them. No communal structures other than the mosque (utilizing the cathedral) and the defences (which were refurbished earlier walls) have been recognized. The street pattern followed existing alignments, presumably because the existing town-gates and the cathedral dictated them. The domestic units could best be studied west and east of the mosque (see fig. 2) where they overlay, but did not normally utilize, earlier buildings, except to quarry them for stone and soil (for mud-mortar).

The new property boundaries, once established, seem to have been respected throughout the Islamic Period although subdivision of plots took place. The succession of events could best be seen east of the mosque (see fig. 3) where, to begin with, quarry pits were dug and rubbish dumping took place. This was followed by levelling and the laying out of large rectangular walled plots (e.g. B 59).

Domestic Buildings, Style 1. Within these plots, rectangular rooms, sometimes two storeys high, were built around a central open space making a house which was entered through a large street-door, in some cases with a smaller door in an opposing wall. Most of these houses were part of even larger rectangular properties; for they had attached to them large second courtyards on terraces cut into the hillside with separate gateways to different streets and stairs up to the small back doors of the houses. These second courtyards had no rooms built inside them. This style of house was found in 1982 on the eastern slope of the hill and was part of the first Islamic building pattern in that quarter. The uses of the rooms and open spaces around which they were grouped could be identified from the structures and debris within them and linked with Islamic social practice. Rooms with fireplaces, water storage, and *mastabas* may be considered women's rooms, and those near the main gateways with well-made floors and *mastabas* can be assigned to masculine use. Storerooms, store-pits and bins (mainly for barley and durra), byres and tethering areas (for equids and caprids), latrines, children's play-areas, processing areas for leather, cotton, and food, and middens could all be identified. Households consisting of one, two, and three natural families seemed present. It would appear that east of the mosque at least, generous parcels of land were available in the seventeenth century to the relatively wealthy, the large, securely walled second courtyards attached to the houses probably being for the storage and perhaps the processing of trade goods.

Domestic Buildings, Style 2. A change in the domestic buildings seems to have come in the eighteenth century when at least the eastern part of the settlement within the walls became more crowded. The large plots of land were divided, the second courtyards becoming separate houses. Occasionally single rooms were transferred from one house to another, but, in the main, the original property boundaries survived to the end. The households were now often single family ones and, with many more animals being kept in their courtyards, resembled impoverished farmhouses and yards.

If the preservation of documentary evidence had not been good at Ibrîm it would not have been possible to recognize the settlement as a military one, in spite of its defences.

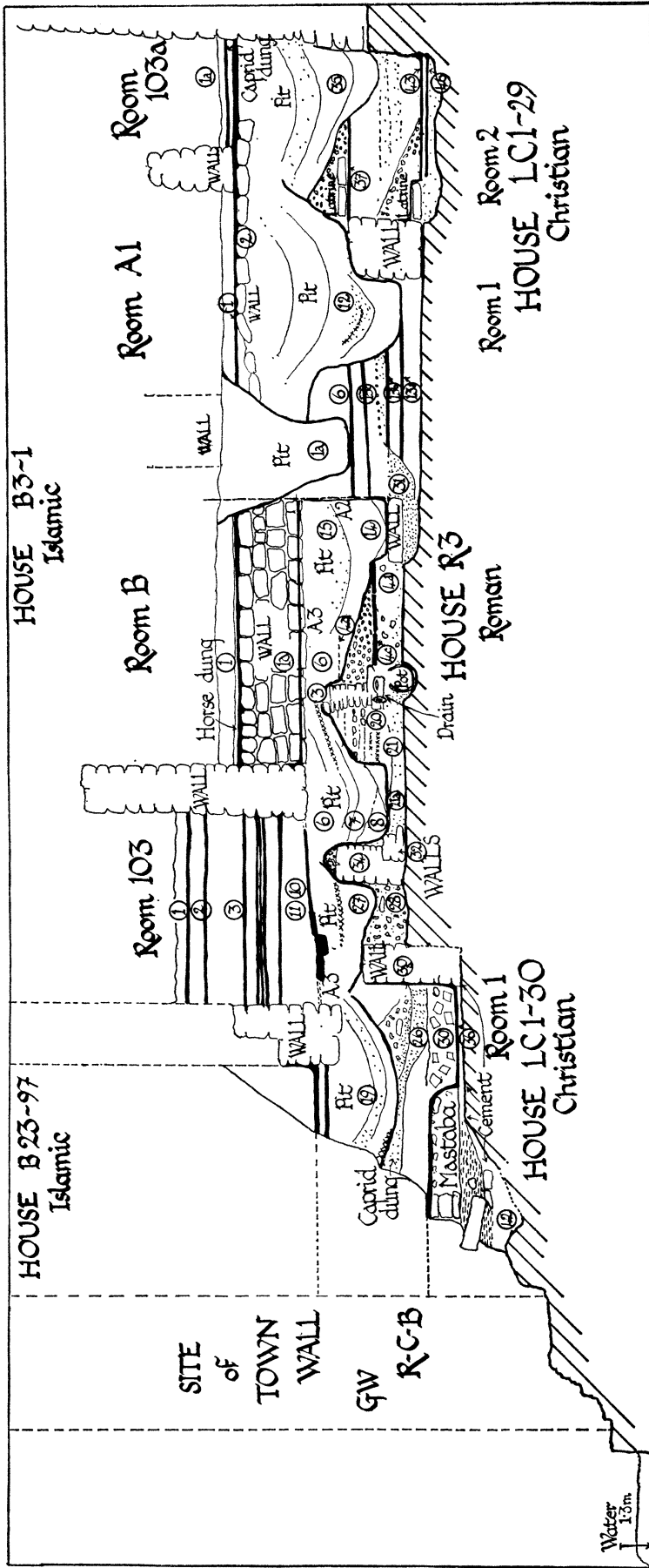


FIG. 3. Section showing phases of Islamic occupation above Christian and Roman houses. 1:25

The Fortifications

In both seasons work was carried out on the fortifications (in 1980 in the west and south-west and in 1982 on the north-west (see fig. 1)). The walls had been refurbished in Islamic times, but there was no evidence of new construction, merely the repair and patching of the existing walls and bastion. This was particularly noticeable in the north-west where excavation showed that the destruction of houses immediately inside the ramparts had not been caused by Egyptian bombardment in the early nineteenth century, but by much earlier quarrying.

Arabic and Turkish textual material¹

The number of items inscribed on paper in Arabic or Turkish (excluding items inscribed both with Arabic and Old Nubian) was *c.* 3,900. Of the 1,413 found in 1982, ninety-four contain complete or fairly complete texts. The bulk of this material belonged to the period 1550–1800. Inscribed materials other than paper included copper/brass coins (7), sherds (6), glass weights (2), wood (1), a mud seal, and an egg. The material can be classified as follows:

(i) *Military pay documents* (which form the major category). The principal subdivision under this heading is that of docketts in Turkish which specify advances on the pay of individual soldiers. These docketts supplement similar material found in the course of earlier seasons and are of particular value in that each of them is dated and is authorized in the name of the commandant of the time. The number of such docketts (complete and fairly complete) found in the 1982 season is thirty-three, the spread of dates being from AH 967 (AD 1559) to AH 1223 (AD 1808). Other items of special interest under this heading are: half a dozen letters in Arabic to an Ibrîm paymaster of the eleventh century; part of a pay-list in Arabic for the year AH 1275; and a few items relating to entitlements of military personnel to agrarian revenues in the vicinity of Ibrîm (the dates AH 1104, 1113, 1199 (?), and 1204 occur).

(ii) *Amulets and charms*. These include twenty-seven complete or fairly complete amulets on paper (*higabs*), six charms on sherds, and an inscription on an egg, all written in Arabic.

(iii) *Other significant items on paper*. Of particular interest are two inventories of possessions, dated AH 1016 and 1064, two certifications of debt (one dated AH 1162), an imprecation, a letter relating to a dispute between a man and his wife, a Turkish fragment containing the date AH 967—the earliest so far attested in Ibrîm material of the Islamic Period, and a water-colour representation of a mosque. In 1980, nearly 2,500 fragments of manuscript in Arabic and Turkish were also found and, whilst analysis is still being carried out, it is already evident that there is a large number of *higabs*; commercial documents relating to a trade in dates, cereals, cloth, and slaves; a number of legal documents including the bill of sale for a house; and administrative correspondence which includes pay docketts for the Ottoman garrisons both at Qaşr

¹ Information from Dr M. Hinds.

Ibrîm and at Sai Island, 300 km to the south. Many of the documents are dated, the dates ranging between AD 1566 and 1808.

A table of the kinds and amounts of material found in 1982 indicates the scale of the problem of recording:

TABLE I

Found and sorted, and preliminary study made on site in 1982	Number of specimens	Specialist study made by
Textiles	c. 25,000	*Miss E. Crowfoot *Mrs N. Adams
Animal bones	c. 20,000	Dr C. Gregson
Plant remains	very large amount	Dr. P. Rowley-Conwy
Basketry and non-textile fibres	c. 3,500	} Miss M. Stafford
Rope, cordage, and string	c. 15,000	
Leather and skin	8,000	
Manuscript fragments (not Arabic or Turkish)	922	*Mr P. French *Dr J. Alexander *Dr M. Hainsworth
Ceramics	c. 130,000	*Prof W. Adams *Mr R. Allen Miss R. Bradley *Miss P. Rose
Metal, glass, and wood	c. 4,000	*Mr P. French *Miss P. Rose

* Also took part in 1980 excavations with Mr B. Driscoll and Dr. Hamdi Saquet.

In these two seasons a detailed study of animal and plant remains was instituted.

Animal remains²

Some 5,600 bones, hooves, and horns (skin is considered separately) from the secure Islamic levels were recorded, identified, and measured. Detailed analysis of the data has not yet been done, but it is clear that the animal part of the economy was entirely based on the consumption of domestic animals, mostly sheep, goats, and cattle, with a very low proportion of pigs after the Christian levels. The preservation of horn allows unequivocal separation of sheep from goats and of males from females. Female sheep and goats predominate in the flocks at Ibrîm, a fact which shows the importance of dairying in the economy. At least some of the cattle were of the humped variety. The presence of only a very few bones of donkeys and horses, although much dung was found, suggests that, while it is known that they were of great economic and military importance, they were not normally eaten and their carcasses were disposed

² Information from Dr C. Gregson.

of away from the town. A few camel-bones are present in the domestic refuse and presumably these animals were occasionally eaten as well as being used for transport. Camel, equid, bovid, and caprid dung and tethering posts show that animals were housed within the town. While some complete skeletons of dogs occurred in the Christian levels, which shows that although they were not eaten they were not regarded as unclean, this contrasts with the almost complete absence of dog bones in the Islamic settlement. The presence of actual horns among the few gazelle remains has allowed identification to species as *Gazelle dorcas*.

Skin, hide, and leather fragments were among the commonest objects found, 2,617 (in 1982) coming from Islamic levels. They permit the following table to be completed.³ It can be seen that at least fourteen species were utilized.

TABLE 2

Species	Bones	Dung	Skin/Hide	Comments
Domestic:				
Sheep/goat	common	common	common	eaten and skin used
Cattle	fairly common	common	less common	eaten and hide used
Camel	rare	rare	n.y.r.*	eaten
Horse/donkey	v. rare	common	n.y.r.	not eaten
Water buffalo	v. rare	n.y.r.	n.y.r.	—
Dog	rare	rare	n.y.r.	not eaten
Cat	rare	n.y.r.	n.y.r.	not eaten
Wild:				
Gazelle	rare	—	tentatively recognized	eaten
Crocodile	rare	—	tentatively recognized	—
Hippopotamus	rare	—	tentatively recognized	—
Snake	rare	—	rare	—
Lizard	—	—	rare	—

* n.y.r. = not yet recognized

Sheep and goat skin were commonest and were made into leather in the settlement, for quantities of partly scraped and fully scraped raw skin and thin leather were found. Thicker leathers were also found with a variety of finishes and suggest quite sophisticated preparation. The leather was locally used; the courtyard of House B55, where two leather workers' 'palms' were found, was an especially busy area.

³ Information from Mr P. French.

Among the 1,099 artefacts found in 1982, five main categories could be recognized:

TABLE 3

	Complete	Incomplete
Footwear:		
Shoes	13	297
Boots	1	—
Sandals	1	81
Bags:		
Water/Milk	4	118
Amulets (<i>higab</i>)	15	2
Clothing:		
Skirts (<i>rahat</i>)		29
Full fleece cloaks or coats		5
Belts		12
Equipment:		
Purses	2	
Straps	1	66
Scabbards	2	8
Thongs/Cords		41
Whip (?) Handles		3
Jugs/Buckets:		
Jugs	1	—
Buckets	—	11

Of special interest is the footwear, with a number of well-made forms, and the *rahat* skirts which were still being worn in the nineteenth century by young Nubian women. A few small fragments of fine appliqué ornamented and multicoloured objects also probably derived from clothing.

*Plant remains*⁴

Work on 1980 and 1982 samples, dry-sieved through meshes down to 0.3 mm and usually consisting of 1.5 l of excavated soil, was concentrated on the Islamic settlement occupation. In selected units, each level of floor within each room or courtyard was sampled as well as any additional features such as pits, fireplaces, cooking areas, etc. Sorting was carried out on site using a Zeiss Technical Stereomicroscope.

The presence of an Ottoman garrison here had led to certain expectations; it was thought that the garrison would have been supplied from the nearby farmers of the Nile Valley. Evidence of food and other plants was expected, but evidence of crop processing (threshing, winnowing etc.) within the fortress was not thought probable, as such activities are not normally associated with purely military occupation. However, sorghum-winnowing residues were the most common botanical material on the site,

⁴ Information from Dr P. Rowley-Conwy.

and several threshing areas were found. The botanical evidence thus supports the archaeological and documentary evidence that inhabitants were themselves land-holders in the valley below and farmed it from the fortress. It will be of great interest in future seasons to compare this with the behaviour of the Roman garrison.

During the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, cereals (principally sorghum, wheat, and barley) and pulses (termis bean, pea, and lentil) were common, but some food plants common in the area before the building of the High Dam (broad bean, chickpea, sesame) were rare. Other plants (e.g. castor bean, flax, cotton) were also common. Future work must attempt to explain this pattern and why, for example, the sorghum of the period is the advanced *Sorghum bicolor bicolor* (race *durra*); definite evidence of it is, however, so far lacking from Qaşr Ibrîm before the sixteenth century.

*Textiles*⁵

More than 25,000 fragments were examined and recorded on site in 1982, of which the greater quantity can be assigned to the Late Islamic Period. Much of the collection is of recognizable domestic clothing: fragments from men's *galabiyehs*, blue and white, much the same as those still worn locally; remains of wide Turkish-style trousers worn by men and women in cotton and linen, and collars and hems from kaftan-style white cotton or flax robes. The largest pieces preserved came from blue and white checked *milayehs* worn by women, or from heavy brown woollen blankets, probably earlier examples of the *hulaliyeh* referred to by Lane as worn in the southern Egyptian provinces in the 1830s. Most of this material was probably locally produced.

Small fragments demonstrated contacts with the famous textile and carpet manufacturing of Egypt, Syria, and Iran. These tiny fragments of satin, silk-damask, printed cottons, and fine silk and flax striped fabrics used for high quality kaftans survive in sufficient quantity to indicate the wealth of some of the inhabitants, as do the remains of embroidery and woven decoration on Turkish-style hand towels, and a few excellent sewing details survive in hems and necklines. Much of the material, however, suggests the poverty of the final period of the settlement, for even the smallest items are patched and repatched; the sewing is coarse and attempts at decoration are rough and unskilled.

Preservation of textiles at Qaşr Ibrîm is exceptional. Scraps of unmistakably Meroitic, X-Group, and Christian weaves were used to block the gaps between the unmortared stones of walls in the late Islamic houses, and are included in the pads formed of layers of rags tacked together, perhaps made for saddles, cushions, or bedding. Complete articles of clothing are naturally rare, but most of an undyed 3-m blue-bordered *milayeh* survived as well as a blue *galabiyeh*, ten children's dresses (some very rough, but decorated with coloured panels or reused details cut from larger garments), ten caps, and many bags of various sizes (from small smoking-pipe bags to larger ones including two in a silled knotting technique). A profusion of doll's dresses (eleven complete), balls, and a few string necklaces and bracelets, show something of the children's toys.

⁵ Information from Miss E. Crowfoot and Mrs N. Adams.

*Rope, cordage, and string*⁶

Some 15,000 pieces of 0.3–1.5 cm diameter were found, the majority being made of palm fibre, palm leaf, and halfa grass. The 500 fragments recovered from undoubted Islamic levels were analysed on site using a new typology and recording-system suitable for computer-programming. Complete artefacts were few, but a large part of a harness for fixing pots (*gadūs*) to a waterwheel (*sāqia*) and a number of animal hobbles could be recognized. The commonest form of cordage, in palm fibre and halfa grass, was Z-twisted and S-plyed, usually with two plies, although three plies were numerous. Palm-leaf cordage differed in being S-twisted and Z-plyed. A surprisingly limited range of knots were used. The simple overhand knot was commonest, followed by the square knot, cow-hitches, half-hitches, and figure-of-eight knots; splicing was rarely used.

Basketry

Some 1,800 specimens, mostly of palm fibre, the total from undoubted Islamic levels, were analysed on site using a typology devised by Mr Driscoll and recorded in a form suitable for computer programming. Three major types of basketry (coiled, twined, and plaited) were found. Plaited, both 'continuous-plait' and 'plait-connected', was the commonest, forming 85–90 per cent of the sample. Coiled varieties totalled 10–14 per cent and twined 1 per cent. The preponderance of large plaited forms of flat-bottomed baskets reflects their use in lining grain and bean storage pits, of which over 100 were excavated this year. Cylindrical open-weave bags and large round and rectangular mats were also common. A variety of coiled artefacts were also found; the majority were lids for containers but small bowls and discs were also common. All types were sometimes well decorated with black, red, white, and yellow geometric designs. A minority were also decorated with horizontal strips of leather sewn on to the coils. Twining was rare. A good selection of palm fibre sandals was found.

Ceramics

(i). *Vessels*. In 1982, as in 1980, over 130,000 potsherds and a number of complete vessels were recorded on site in a form ready for computer processing using the typology and system devised by Professor Adams. In the Islamic Period, unlike the earlier periods on the site, local hand-made wares predominated for several hundred years, but of especial interest were the imported glazed wares from Northern Egypt and China.

(ii). *Other Objects*. Pipes: a fine series of smoking-pipes has been recovered and a typology of them has been evolved by Mr R. Allen.

Spindle Whorls: these were normally made of baked clay in the Islamic Period.

Figurines: a few baked and unbaked clay figures of animals (camels and horses could be recognized) were found.

Gaming Counters: these were cut from sherds.

⁶ Information from Miss M. Stafford.

*Metal, glass, horn, and wood*⁷

Some 3,500 artefacts in these materials were card-indexed, photographed, and the majority drawn. Glass was the commonest of these materials, being used for beads, mostly in single colours, bracelets, and glass vessels. The latter were mostly utilitarian green containers but five fluted pieces in other colours occurred, some probably being imports from the Mediterranean world. A few horn bracelets were found. Fine wooden objects, so common in the Christian Period, hardly appear in Islamic times, and even crude bowls, pins, pegs and stakes, combs, and keys are rarer. Finds of metal were sparse and mostly of simple type. The finest object in 1982 was a sabre in its leather scabbard. Other fighting equipment included lead shot, a shot mould, gunflints, and iron daggers and arrow-heads. Domestic objects included needles, toilet implements, knives, and nails. Fragments of copper/bronze bowls and other vessels were also found. The few coins discovered will be discussed elsewhere.

The Christian Period (AD c.550–c.1550)

During this period, Ibrîm was an important religious and administrative centre in a Christian Nubian kingdom and three phases of activity, designated Early, Classic, and Late, can be distinguished.

The Late Christian Period

In 1980 and 1982 the excavation of the Late Christian settlement (1100–1550) was completed, some twenty-five structural units being recognized. Over much of the area inside the walls, for the defences were refurbished in this period, only pits and a scatter of rubbish were found. The eight structural units excavated all proved to be domestic although one of them (LC 763) was the palace of the Eparch. Six lay along the top of the north-western cliff-edge and two immediately inside the north-west bastion. Only four of them had been newly built; the others were reoccupations and rebuildings of older structures, conforming to a pattern of reoccupation that was very common in the Late Christian Period at Qaşr Ibrîm.

The most interesting of the excavated buildings was House LC 763, a large stone dwelling measuring about 9 m × 11 m. It was originally two storeys high with separate entrances to the upper and lower floors. The ground-floor plan included two large dwelling rooms, an entrance hall, a stair closet, a latrine, and two vaulted storage crypts that could be entered only from above. A mass of fragmentary correspondence found within the house reveals that it was once the residence of an Eparch of Nubatia (i.e. Viceroy of Lower Nubia), whose name was Isra'il. Altogether no fewer than 1,279 whole and fragmentary letters were found in House 763: 604 in Old Nubian, 396 in Arabic, 134 partly in Old Nubian and partly in Arabic, 4 in Greek or Coptic, and 141 that were too fragmentary for identification. This material has not yet been analysed in detail.

⁷ Information from Mr P. French.

Another Late Christian building, House 849, had seemingly been destroyed by fire with much of its contents. More than fifty pottery vessels were found crushed on the lower floors. Other interesting finds from the Late Christian levels included a complete knee-length leather boot, and a bronze standard adorned with a Dionysus figure and a lion or leopard head; this object must surely be of pagan origin, but it had been deliberately buried under the threshold in the house of the Eparch Isra'il.

A scatter of pits dug in this period without any associated structures were found over the whole area examined in these two seasons, and suggest that large areas within the walls were left uninhabited.

During this period, the town walls, apparently long allowed to decay, were repaired. Where examined on and beside the north-west bastion (1980) and along the north-western cliff-edge (1982), they showed that the whole wall had in places been rebuilt from its foundations and the north wall of the bastion had been heavily restored.

Textual evidence

The preliminary study of the textual finds from this period was carried out on site.⁸ Some 1,050 manuscript pieces, including over fifty entire documents of this period (excluding those wholly in Arabic) were found in 1982 and a similar amount in 1980. In 1982 there were 803 in Old Nubian, 195 in Arabic and Old Nubian, 43 in Coptic, 11 in Greek and Coptic, and 9 in Greek.

Old Nubian. The 803 fragments included over fifty complete or fairly complete letters. Thirty-two documents are written both in Arabic and Old Nubian. Most of the time it appears that the document has been reused at a later time, and we may already assume that in most cases the Arabic parts are not additions to or even translations of the Old Nubian texts. The documents may be analysed as follows: three Christian amulets containing texts in Old Nubian and mentioning several personal names; an important group of official inscriptions mentioning kings (βασιλη ουρου or ουρου), eparchs (επαρχ) and bishops (επισκ). The list of personal names is important; χαηλ, μαριανογ, and ραφανη are the most frequent. One of them, ιραηλ, occurs six times in Old Nubian and once in Arabic. The long and complete texts were written on leather scrolls. On one of them can be read the names of ζαχαριαι and γεωργ, probably the ruler of Nubia Zacharia and his son Georgios, contemporaries of Mu'atasim of Baghdad in the mid ninth century AD. In the same inscription is a list of eparchs of the Nobades. The other scroll bore no name.

If we compare the amount of Old Nubian material found this season with that already known, this year's finds constitute an important contribution to the corpus of Old Nubian texts, increasing it by at least 20 per cent.

Coptic. The two most important of the fifty-four pieces were from a devotional book and were beautifully written on both sides of parchment pages. They were part of a Coptic text on Adam and Paradise, probably a commentary on Genesis. A second page about St Michael and the Devil may belong to the same book.

⁸ Information from Dr M. Hainsworth.

Pottery

From the Late Christian Period, in 1982, five collections of complete vessels were made and there were quantities of Early Christian and X-Group sherds from the numerous pits dug.

Metal

In the Late Christian levels a fine brass/bronze object, probably a lampstand of Late Roman date, and carved wooden plaque, perhaps a book cover, were identified.

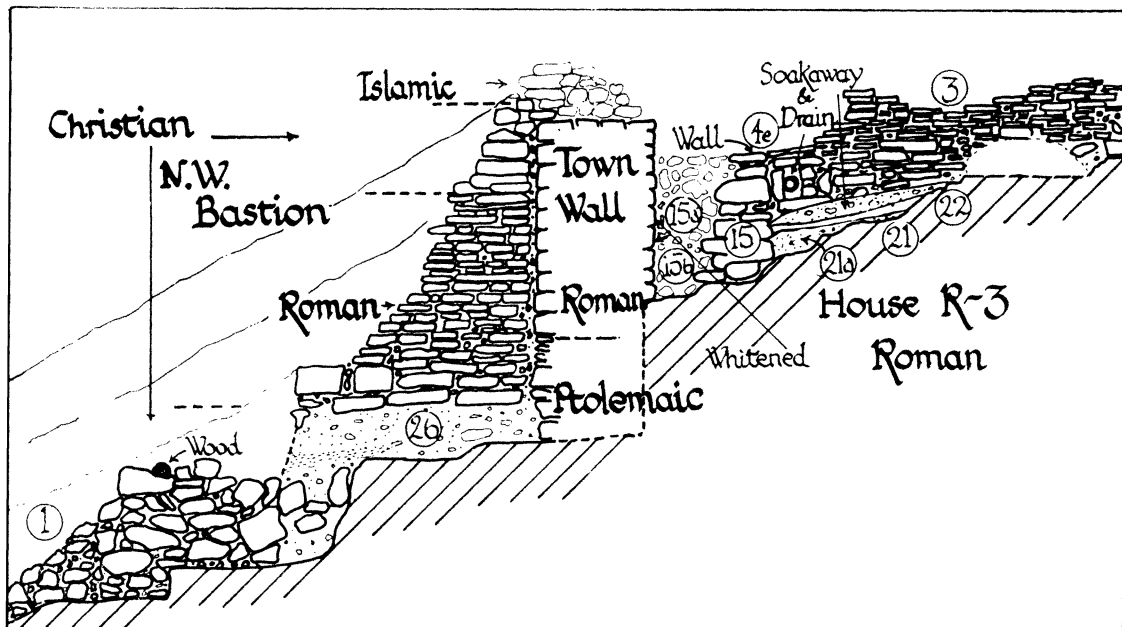


FIG. 4. Section showing Roman building and defences of all periods. 1:25

The Early and Classic Christian Periods (AD c.700–1100)

Although no deliberate excavation of levels of these periods was undertaken, much new information about the Early Christian settlement was obtained east and west of the cathedral.

East of the Cathedral

On the top of the hill and protruding from its northern and eastern slopes were buildings on the same north-west-south-east axis as the streets of Early Christian houses excavated further south in earlier seasons. Although apparently broadly contemporary, two other complexes on different alignments were found nearby:

(i) *The North-Eastern Complex.* Buildings could be traced for 25 m across the area excavated, but beyond that had been destroyed, probably by erosion. On the top of the hill the wall tops were only a few centimetres below the Islamic floors, but were found

2–3 m lower than this on the hillsides. They were not excavated, but from their plans seemed to be domestic.

(ii) *The Northern Complex.* At the same level as the north-eastern complex, and only 3 m away from it, a separate contemporary complex was found on a completely different north-east–south-west alignment. This was not excavated but appears from its plan to be a single large building revetted into the hillside.

(iii) *The Eastern Complex.* Low down on the eastern side of the hill, close to the fortifications, a third complex was laid out in Early Christian times, its foundations using one of the walls of a Roman building (R. 3); it thus lay west–east on a quite different alignment from the other contemporary ones. It appeared to be a single large building terraced into the hillside, with its floor levels *c.* 1 m above the Roman levels.

West of the Cathedral

On the level area, between the cathedral and the western fortifications, and on the hillside sloping down to the north-west bastion could be seen a street lined with houses although it was not uncovered in these two campaigns. It lies below the Islamic and Late Christian remains. The houses and street were laid out on the north-west–south-east alignment found over the whole western half of the Early Christian–X-Group settlement.

The Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (323 BC–AD 630)

Relatively little was known of these periods at Ibrım before 1980 and few structures could definitely be assigned to them, but, since the action of wind and waves had destroyed so much of the fortifications, it was decided in 1980 to excavate two of their remaining sections, and the adjoining deposits, in the south and the north-west; they proved to belong to these periods.

The Southern Ramparts (see fig. 5)

The fortifications which enclose the hilltop were shown to have been first built under the Ptolemies, perhaps as early as 100 BC, following the line of an older system of revetment walls. They were enlarged and strengthened at least twice during the Roman Period.

Approximately 3.5 m depth of refuse deposit was excavated from a 21 m stretch of a narrow passage or street (South Rampart Street), along the inner face of the fortification wall. The uppermost 2 m of this yielded large quantities of Roman military debris. Of especial interest are fragments of several hundred military boots and sandals and several thousand fragments of cloth, many of them of wool, which may well have been brought from more northerly provinces. Among the tens of thousands of potsherds, over 75 per cent were from wine amphorae, a considerable number coming from Mediterranean countries outside Egypt. There were also a few sherds of a very fine black ware (*terra nigra*) which appears to have been made in North-western Europe. It was possible to identify twenty-seven wholly new pottery types, and a Field Manual of Ptolemaic and Roman pottery has been prepared by W. Y. Adams.

The state of the one remaining town gate gave cause for alarm, and Mr Mallinson numbered all the stones still standing and prepared numbered elevations and photographs of it.

Some 500 fragments of textual material, mostly in ink on papyrus, were also found, the majority being administrative and private documents in Greek. The forty-two fragments in Latin seem to include part of an order of battle. Many inscriptions in Demotic, both on papyrus and on amphorae, were also found.

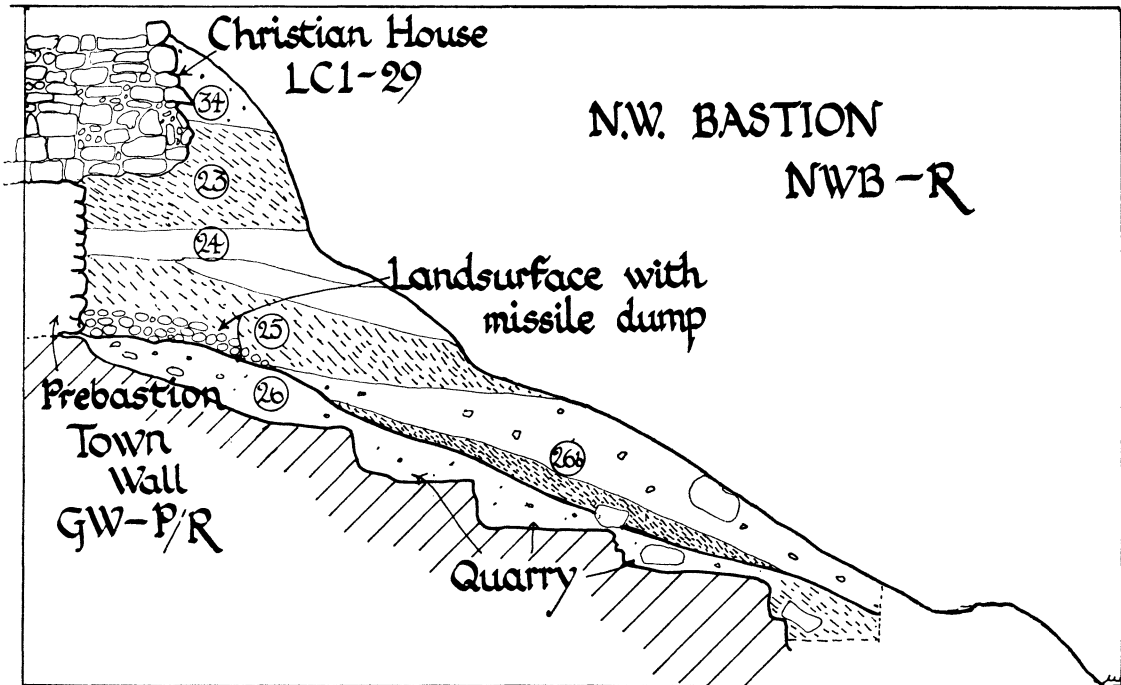


FIG. 5. Section showing relationship of Christian Period houses to the Ptolemaic and Roman defences. 1:25

Along the inside of the ramparts, tens of thousands of water-worn pebbles, brought from some distance, had been dumped, apparently as ammunition for slingers. The garrison had also fashioned larger balls from the local sandstone as missiles for ballistas; nearly 1,000 of these were found, many of them with painted names and inscriptions in Greek. Arrowheads and shafts and fragments of wooden, leather, and basketry equipment were also present in large numbers. All organic remains in the bottom metre of rubbish had been destroyed by percolating water.

The North-western Ramparts and Tower

Here the Ptolemaic rampart was found largely intact, since it had been buried within the later defences. During the Roman occupation, a great square external tower (known as the North-west Bastion) had been erected overlooking the river. Its excavation, after partial collapse owing to its being undermined by the water, showed that the interior of the tower had been filled to a height of at least 9 m with stone chippings

and occupation debris including many thousands of wine-amphora sherds. The abundance of sling and ballista ammunition indicates that the tower was intended for artillery. Built up against the inner face of the ramparts here was a contemporary house (R1) of which parts of several rooms survived. Further north, in 1982, strata resting on bedrock, containing only Roman pottery, were found.

Buildings inside the South-eastern Ramparts

In 1982, two more buildings of this period were found near the present shore of the lake on the south-east (see fig. 2). One (R2) protruded from the hillside 2.25 m above the water-level. The stratum on and around the stone building had lost all its organic content through percolating water. The second and larger structure (R3) had been built higher up the hillside and was partially exposed in excavating the Islamic houses B55 and B46. Some of its walls were 1 m thick and excellently made, plastered, and painted. On its fine cement floor stood an intact waterpot, a wooden mortar, and a fireplace. The test excavation at the water's edge on the eastern side of the island produced a hoard of first-century BC amphorae, fifteen with inscriptions in Demotic, as well as a wide range of Roman wares.

Plant and Animal Remains⁹

Such little as is known of the history of sorghum suggests that race *durra* was *Sorghum bicolor bicolor* introduced from India during the Roman Period. Definite evidence of it is, however, so far lacking from Qaşr Ibrîm before the sixteenth century. Primitive cultivated sorghum, *S. bicolor bicolor* race *bicolor*, is on present evidence known from X-group times and later. The early grains of this race seem very small, little different from wild sorghum, *S. bicolor verticilliflorum*, which is so far the only type recovered from Roman and earlier samples.

A preliminary study of the animal bones of this period showed camel to be present.

It is now obvious that Ibrîm formed part of both the Late Ptolemaic and Roman frontier defensive system, the Roman occupation lasting for longer than the two years mentioned by Pliny and Strabo, and probably continuing until near the end of the first century AD if not beyond.

Napatan and Meroitic Period Levels (c.700 BC–AD c.350)

Although no excavation of levels of the pre-Roman part of this period was carried out in 1980 or 1982, a detailed study and recording of the remains of the main temple, first built by Taharka (690–662 BC) and successively enlarged and partially rebuilt in the Meroitic and post-Meroitic Periods was made by Dr J. Knutsted. This study, and that of the Christian church that replaced it, has provided much new evidence of its constructional history. Some thirty fragments of Meroitic text on stone, wood, and papyrus, mostly funeral inscriptions, were also found.

⁹ Information from Dr P. Rowley-Conwy (plants) and Dr C. Gregson (animals).

New Kingdom (1580–1085 BC)

Although no deliberate excavation of levels of this period was undertaken in 1980 or 1982, reused inscribed stone blocks and potsherds suggest that the site was occupied during this period and the oldest building so far identified is the foundation of a stone temple, built by the early Egyptian colonists.

General Conclusions

Our knowledge of Ibrîm has increased greatly in these two seasons and shows the increasing importance of the site and the need for continued urgent rescue work. The superb survival of organic material of all kinds and periods means that the threat of destruction by percolating water must be met by excavation in the next few years or much of the evidence will be lost.

Now that excavation of the Islamic and Late Christian settlements has been finished and much work on the final reports carried out, attention can be turned to the earlier periods, which recent excavations have shown to be richer and more important than previously expected. Ibrîm as an urban centre in an X-Group and Early Christian kingdom, and as a major frontier outpost in Roman and Ptolemaic Periods deserves detailed study and it is hoped to commence this research in 1984.

PLATE VII



The South Gate of the Fortress, 1982
QAŞR İBRÎM, 1980 AND 1982

LA DATE DU CHEIKH EL-BELED (CAIRE CG 34)*

Par CL. VANDERSLEYEN

KA-ÇAPER, dit le Cheikh el-Beled, n'était ni un chef de chantier surveillant la construction des pyramides, ni un fonctionnaire épaissi dans les bureaux — opinions exprimées jadis par Maspero et d'autres — mais un simple 'prêtre lecteur en chef'. La date de sa célèbre statue est fort incertaine; depuis sa découverte au siècle dernier, on a hésité entre la 4^e et la 5^e dynastie sans justifier une opinion plutôt que l'autre.¹

Pour cerner la date de la statue, on peut analyser: (i) le mastaba où elle a été trouvée, (ii) la stèle qui s'y dressait, (iii) surtout, la statue elle-même.

(i) *Le Mastaba*. C8, dans la région nord de la Nécropole de Saqqâra, est un énorme mastaba (46.60 m × 23.50 m) en briques noires, avec un puits et une chapelle extérieure sans toit. Le seul parallèle pour le plan et le type de briques est C5, le mastaba voisin de Ra'nefer, aussi dépourvu d'indices de datation directe que celui du Cheikh el-Beled. Le mastaba C20 où aurait été trouvé le Scribe accroupi du Louvre,² également de date incertaine, présente aussi certaines affinités avec ces deux tombes. Les mastabas de briques crues existent de façon continue de la 1^e dynastie jusqu'à la fin de la 4^e dynastie, selon Reisner.³ En fait, même si à partir de Chéops les mastabas en pierre de taille apparaissent soudain et se généralisent aussitôt, on trouve des mastabas de briques crues, noires ou jaunes, jusqu'à la 6^e dynastie.⁴ L'infrastructure où il y a un puits et non plus un escalier apparaît au début de la 4^e dynastie, mais existe jusqu'à la fin de l'Ancien Empire.⁵ Enfin, si jusqu'à Chéops les

* Je tiens à remercier Mme J. Wattez, élève de l'Institut Supérieur d'Histoire de l'art et d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, pour l'aide scientifique précieuse qu'elle m'a apportée au cours de cette étude.

¹ Dans le *PM III*, 1^{ère} édition, 108, cette hésitation apparaissait ainsi: 'Early Dyn. IV (Mariette) or Dyn. V (Borchardt)'; dans la nouvelle édition (1977), 459, on lit: 'Late Dyn. IV or early Dyn. V'. Voici un choix d'opinions énumérées dans l'ordre chronologique des publications: Fr. W. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur*, I (Munich, 1911), pl. 11: fin de la 4^e dyn. ou suivante; H. Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, 4^e édition (Berlin, 1923), date de 2600 Ra'nefer, Ti, le Cheikh el-Beled jeune (pl. 39) et la tête de lion d'Abousir, donc plutôt de la 5^e dynastie. NB: Ra'hotep et Nefert, Chéphren y sont datés de 2800; Fr. von Bissing, *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte* (Berlin, 1934), 81: 4^e dyn.; J. Capart, *L'Art égyptien. Choix de documents*, II. *La statuaire* (Bruxelles, 1942) pl. 250-1: 4^e dyn.; Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Style égyptien* (Paris, 1946) 68: 4^e dyn.; W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Oxford, 1949), ci-après *HESPOK*, 48: début de la 5^e dyn.; W. Wolf, *Die Kunst Ägyptens* (Stuttgart, 1957), 173: début de la 5^e dyn.; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958), ci-après *Manuel*, 57: début de la 5^e dyn.; J. Yoyotte, dans *Histoire de l'art*, I (Encyclopédie de la Pléiade) (Paris, 1961), 339: 5^e dyn.; K. Lange et M. Hirmer, *Ägypten*, 4^e édition (Munich, 1967), pl. 59: 5^e dyn. (p. 62: 'frühe 5. Dynastie'); K. Michalowski, *L'Art de l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1968), 185, fig. 72: 4^e dyn.; D. Wildung et W. Seidel, in C. Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, vol. 15) (Berlin, 1975), pl. 137a et 138: vers 2440, c'est-à-dire sous Ouserkaf, premier roi de la 5^e dyn., selon la table chronologique de la p. 446.

² Selon Prisse d'Avennes, Mariette n'aurait pas trouvé le Scribe, mais l'aurait acheté à un antiquaire (cf. J.-M. Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte*, I (Le Caire, 1932), 311-12, information que je dois à M. van de Walle).

³ G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, 1936), 237.

⁴ Selon les dates de Kl. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom* (Chicago, 1960), liste des documents.

chapelles sont enfoncées dans le massif de briques, 'sous le règne de Chéops, à Gîza, les chapelles, construites en briques ou en pierre, sont extérieures. Les mastabas avec niches ne reviennent qu'à la fin du règne; à ce moment, on utilise de nouveau les chapelles extérieures', mais désormais en L.⁶ Toutefois, ce critère n'est pas aussi décisif qu'il pourrait paraître, car il n'est pas prouvé que cette règle constatée à Gîza peut s'appliquer à Saqqâra, ni qu'elle est sans exceptions.

Avant la tombe du Cheikh el-Beled, il y avait à Saqqâra Nord — en suivant les informations chronologiques de Kl. Baer⁷ — un cimetière de la 1^e dynastie; à proximité de celui-ci, quelques tombes archaïques de la fin de la 3^e dynastie: Hesyre, Khabaousokar, Metchen, et quelques tombes de la 4^e dynastie (B1, A1, B16?). Les tombes suivantes dans le temps datent au plus tôt du règne de Saḥourê (C15). La tombe de Ka-aper ne peut donc se situer dans une 'série' de constructions qui la rattacherait à une époque déterminée.

(2) *La Stèle.* Dans ce mastaba se trouvait une grande stèle monolithique en granit rouge, du type II 2 de Rusch,⁸ type qui apparaît sous Chéphren et est en usage jusqu'à la 6^e dynastie, exceptionnellement même jusqu'au règne de Pépi II. Sur le linteau supérieur de cette stèle se trouve une simple ligne de neuf signes hiérophiques en creux, grands et franchement taillés. Miss Murray⁹ estime que ce style indique 'le début de la 4^e dynastie'; W. S. Smith¹⁰ pense à la fin de la 4^e dynastie; mais il ajoute sans autre justification 'although I should prefer to place it early in Dyn. V'.

(3) *La Statue.* Dans la statue elle-même, les détails significatifs sont: (a) les yeux incrustés; (b) la position du bras gauche, plié à angle droit de sorte que l'avant-bras est horizontal; (c) le réalisme extrême du visage et du corps.

(a) Les yeux rapportés du Cheikh el-Beled sont confectionnés selon le système le plus ancien, celui où l'iris et la pupille apparaissent à travers une cornée en cristal de roche au verso de laquelle ils sont peints. Le système postérieur rendra cette partie centrale par un simple disque d'obsidienne opaque, appliqué sur le blanc de l'œil.¹¹ Le plus ancien exemple de ce deuxième système se trouve sur la statue de Kaemked (Caire CG 119) qui aurait vécu au plus tôt sous Néferirkarê; tous les autres exemples d'Ancien Empire sont de la 6^e dynastie. De l'ancien système, les seuls exemples bien datés sont Raḥotep et Néfert, du début de la 4^e dynastie. Peut-être la même façon de figurer l'œil existait sur les statues de Djéser et d'Hémiounou, mais leurs yeux ont été détruits. On peut encore citer le célèbre scribe du Louvre (N 2290), le scribe de Morgan (Caire CG 36), la statue assise qui lui faisait pendant (Caire CG 35), la statue de Kaï au Louvre (A 106), tous monuments dont la datation n'est pas plus fixée jusqu'à présent que celle du Cheikh el-Beled.

(b) La position du bras gauche plié à angle droit et dont l'avant-bras est horizontal est exceptionnelle. Le seul parallèle est précisément la statue Caire CG 32, dont l'origine n'avait pas été notée, mais qui provient aussi — Capart l'a démontré — de la tombe du Cheikh el-Beled. Cela n'aide malheureusement pas à en déterminer la chronologie. Si c'est bien là un signe d'archaïsme, on pourrait dire que cette pose du bras est plus ancienne que la pose où l'avant-bras est en oblique et qui sera seule utilisée par après. La statue Caire CG 267 fait illusion: l'avant-bras est actuellement

⁵ Reisner, op. cit., 366, 14.

⁷ Baer, op. cit.

⁹ M. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I (1905), 4.

¹¹ A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (4^e édition revue par J. R. Harris) (Londres, 1962),

⁶ Vandier, op. cit., II, 271.

⁸ *ZAS* 58 (1923), 101-24.

¹⁰ *HESPOK*, 173.

horizontal, mais cette position n'est pas originelle; c'est le bras qui a pivoté sur le tenon qui le rattache à l'épaule.

(c) Reste le réalisme de la statue, tant du corps que du visage. Le visage présente assurément le réalisme le plus poussé que l'Égypte ait produit. Les parallèles les plus frappants sont le buste d'Ankhḥaf, les têtes de remplacement, c'est-à-dire des œuvres franchement de la 4^e dynastie; on peut y joindre Raḥotep et Néfert — encore plus anciens — dont les traits juvéniles sont moins favorables à un réalisme chargé. Les scribes du Louvre et du Caire — déjà cités — ont des visages tout aussi individualisés, mais ils ne sont pas datés, pas plus que les statues de Raḥnefer moins caractéristiques, mais qui pourraient être les dernières à présenter nettement en ronde bosse l'alternance du physique mince et gros, alternance qui existait déjà dans la tombe du Cheikh el-Beled.¹²

Au point de vue de la corpulence, le seul parallèle est la statue d'Hémiounou, au moins en ronde bosse, car des figurations d'obésité, en-relief, se retrouvent pendant tout l'Ancien Empire: par exemple, dans la tombe de Meresankh III,¹³ de Néfer et Kaḥai,¹⁴ et de Neferseshemrē.¹⁵

Pour essayer de fixer dans le temps les statues de Raḥnefer, dont le mastaba — rappelons-le — est le seul parallèle à celui de Ka-aper, on peut examiner la statue de femme trouvée avec elles, la dame Hékénou (Caire CG 53). Elle se révèle malheureusement fort exceptionnelle, dans une catégorie déjà peu fournie, celle des statues de femmes assises. Elle est la plus grande (1.20 m), comparable pour la taille à celle de Néfert seulement (1.18 m), ensuite viennent CG 48 (0.76 m), CG 82 (0.59 m) etc. Elle est pourvue d'une dalle dorsale jusqu'au sommet du crâne. Le parallèle le plus proche est encore Néfert; puis la dame Roudjou du musée de Vienne (7507, 0.54 m; 5^e dyn.). Toutefois, les mains d'Hékénou reposent sur ses genoux, comme celles de Roudjou, alors que Néfert a encore la pose archaïque du bras replié sur la poitrine, pose qui — dans la statuaire royale — est attestée pour la dernière fois sous Chéops.

Pour les statues d'hommes et de groupes, la dalle haute et large se retrouve — en dehors des triades de Mycérinus et de la dyade de Saḥourē (MMA 18.2.4) — dans des monuments variés qui, à première vue, ne se laissent pas grouper dans le temps; on la trouve entre autres chez Kai (Louvre A 106), chez Raḥnefer (Caire CG 18 et 19) ou encore chez Ti (Caire CG 20).

Si nous récapitulons les points abordés dans ce tour d'horizon, nous devons reconnaître l'absence de critères précis et décisifs. Tout au plus peut-on parler de tendances. Les statues trouvées dans la tombe de Ka-aper sont considérées universellement comme les plus anciennes statues en bois conservées de l'Égypte ancienne. Les indices relevés nous parlent d'archaïsme ou bien sont uniques en leur genre; il semblerait qu'il y a, entre les rares œuvres sûrement de la 4^e dynastie et celles de la 5^e dynastie, un vide incertain dans lequel se situeraient les statues de la tombe C8 et quelques autres monuments célèbres et mal datés comme les scribes accroupis du Louvre et du Caire et les statues de Raḥnefer et de sa femme Hékénou. Sont en faveur de la 4^e dynastie: le type de mastaba et de stèle, la composition de l'œil rapporté, surtout le réalisme de la tête et du corps où les parallèles appartiennent aux règnes de Chéops, de Chéphren, de Mycérinus. En faveur de la 5^e dynastie, il n'y a aucun indice, aucun parallèle. Ceci explique que non seulement Capart et von Bissing, qui sont anciens, mais des auteurs

¹² J. Capart, *JEA* 6 (1920), 225-33.

¹³ D. Dunham et W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Giza Mastaba 1) (Boston, 1974), pl. IIIa et fig. 4.

¹⁴ A. Moussa et H. Altenmüller, *The Tomb of Nefer and Kahay* (Archäol. Veröff. 5 DAIK) (Mayence, 1976), pl. 26.

¹⁵ J. Capart, *Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqara*, II (Bruxelles, 1907), pl. XII-XVII.

récents comme Michalowski et Chr. Desroches-Noblecourt datent l'œuvre de la 4^e dynastie.

Sur quoi repose alors la tendance répandue — acceptée même — aujourd'hui de la dater du début de la 5^e dynastie? Citons les propres termes de W. Stevenson Smith à ce sujet:¹⁶

The large crude-brick mastaba of Ka-aper with its simple exterior chapel could be dated with plausibility to the later years of Dyn. IV. The monolithic stela of red granite, well worked and inscribed on the cross-bar with large incised hieroglyphs giving the titles and name of the owner, would accord well with such a date. The position of the tomb as one of the earliest mastabas in the later extension of the Northern Cemetery at Saqqarah is also contributory evidence. I should be inclined to place the date a little later, however, in the early years of Dyn. V, and to group the wooden statue of the owner, the famous 'Sheikh el-Beled', with the realistic portraits of the first half of that dynasty.

Il s'agit donc d'une *préférence*, dictée peut-être par une prudence inquiète. Dater le mastaba des 'later years of Dyn. IV' prépare déjà la conclusion, puisqu'il n'y a aucun indice concret permettant de situer le mastaba à une date si précise. Et je ne vois pas ce que Smith peut regrouper sous l'étiquette de 'portraits réalistes de la première moitié de la 5^e dynastie'. En effet, il faut ôter de ce groupe la tête Salt, qui est amar-nienne;¹⁷ il reste alors une petite série de statues non datées: les deux scribes déjà cités et Ra'nefer. Par contre, les portraits réalistes sûrement datés sont nombreux sous la 4^e dynastie: statues royales de Mycérinus, têtes de remplacement, 'Ankhḥaf, Hémionou, Ra'hotep et Nefert. Il n'y a donc aucune objection à dater le Cheikh el-Beled de la 4^e dynastie; on n'est même pas obligé de le situer à la fin de cette dynastie, le milieu ou le début ne sont pas exclus. Malheureusement, il n'est pas possible de démontrer qu'il appartient à la 4^e, ni même de prouver qu'il n'appartient pas à la 5^e dynastie. On peut seulement affirmer qu'il n'est sûrement pas antérieur à la 4^e, ni postérieur à la 5^e.

Bien qu'il n'y ait aucune raison actuellement de situer le Cheikh el-Beled à la 5^e dynastie, certains auteurs tirent de cette datation hypothétique des conséquences prématurées: Smith estime ainsi que la construction de la tombe du Cheikh el-Beled à Saqqâra correspond à la revitalisation de cette nécropole par le déplacement de la nécropole royale de Gîza à Saqqâra avec Ouserkaf, ce qui est actuellement une pure vue de l'esprit, car les mastabas de Ka-aper et de Ra'nefer en seraient les seuls témoins.

Wildung et Seidel¹⁸ attribuent l'existence de deux statues du Cheikh el-Beled, une où il est jeune, l'autre, mûr, à l'importance accrue du culte solaire au début de la 5^e dynastie. En fait, l'importance du soleil était déjà très grande sous Chéphren. Et déjà dans la tombe d'Hémionou, du règne de Chéops, il y avait deux statues, une au nord, et une seconde au sud, mais dont il ne reste que des fragments trop insignifiants pour qu'on ait la preuve qu'elle était svelte.¹⁹

En conclusion, le Cheikh el-Beled peut être daté: '4^e/5^e dyn.'; mais le plus vraisemblable est qu'il soit de la 4^e dynastie.

¹⁶ HESPOK, 48.

¹⁷ C. Vandersleyen, *BSFE* 73 (1975), 24.

¹⁸ Loc. cit.

¹⁹ E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (MÄS 8) (Berlin, 1966), 184.

Post Scriptum

Yoyotte, *Les Trésors des pharaons* (Genève, 1968), 32, s'exprime, à propos du scribe du Louvre, avec une ambiguïté calculée. Annonçant quatre statues illustrant 'la société des V^e et VI^e dynasties', il écrit: 'Le thème iconographique, la conception plastique et le style d'exécution du fameux "*scribe accroupi*" du musée du Louvre, permet de rattacher cette œuvre — communément datée d'après de vagues indications de Mariette, qui la rapporta d'Égypte, à la V^e dynastie — à la grande école royale de la IV^e dynastie.'

THE EMERGENCE OF HORUS

AN ANALYSIS OF COFFIN TEXT SPELL 148

By ROBERT H. O'CONNELL

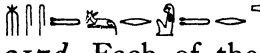
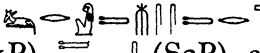
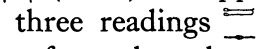
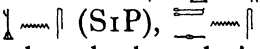
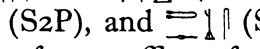

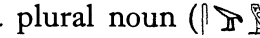

The Text

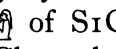


THE basis for any analysis of an ancient literary text is the establishment of the text itself through critical comparison of all extant witnesses to the textual tradition. Variants and aberrations must be weighed so as to arrive at the most reliable ancient witness to the original text. The oldest textual evidence is not, however, always necessarily the best; for it may, at times, preserve a corrupt version of the original tradition. Nor is the most conventional reading always preferable; for it may betray the editorial hand of a later scribe. Usually, that reading which best explains the origin of its sister variants is the reading which is to be preferred. De Buck's critical edition of *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*¹ is the source for this textual analysis of Spell 148.

Of the eight extant texts of Spell 148 two (S2C^a, S2C^b), from the outer coffin of *Msh̄t* found at Siut, are so poorly preserved that they offer very little evidence for tracing the relationship between the variants. B4C, from the outer coffin of *S̄t-hd-ḥtp* found at El-Bersheh, gives only the prescript (II, 209c) and opening (II, 209d) of the spell, the prescript of which is not preserved in any of the other texts, a fact which suggests that it may be a later gloss. The five remaining texts are from the coffins of two persons—the inner coffin of *Msh̄t* mentioned above (S1C^a, S1C^b) and both inner and outer coffins of *Nḥti* (S1P, S2P, S1Chass)—both of which were found at Siut. It stands to reason, therefore, that the closest proximity in the textual traditions and in the orthography of terminology should exist between S1C^a and S1C^b on the one hand, and S1P, S2P, and S1Chass on the other. In general the former do indeed resemble each other much more closely than they resemble any of the latter texts, and the reverse is also true. This suggests that we are dealing in essence with only two textual subdivisions. Accordingly, certain conventions of the *Msh̄t* texts are altogether different from those of the *Nḥti* texts. For example, the first singular pronoun is in the former coffin texts but spelt in the latter. Also of the *Msh̄t* texts is written in those of *Nḥti*. Such phenomena may reflect either common conventions among geographically local scribes or conventions of different time-periods within which these texts were copied. The latter seems the better explanation since we know that both coffins were excavated at Siut.

What remains to be explained are the numerous minor discrepancies in the text and in orthography which exist between readings taken from coffins of the same individual. For instance, in II, 209d the S1C^a text spells the full form (sn̄) where S1C^b spells it with only the phonogram . The latter frequently substitutes for the of the former (cf. II, 210a, c; 211b, c; 213b; 217b; 219e; 221d; 224f). The order

¹ De Buck, A. and Gardiner, A. H., *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, II (Chicago, 1938), 209–26.

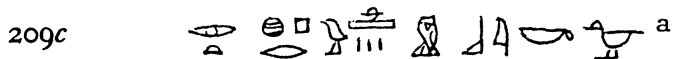
 (S1C^a) is opposed to  (S1C^b) at II, 217*d*. Each of the three readings  (S1P),  (S2P), and  (S1Chass) from II, 210*b* differs from the other, though they derive from coffins of the same person. The placement of  in II, 222*c* differs between S1P and S1Chass, a fact which shows that once it is used as a determinative of a plural noun () and elsewhere as a determinative of the whole construct form (). At II, 215*a* the coffin texts of both *Mshṭ* and *Nhti* each show defective and full spellings for *šwty* and of the five legible texts no two entirely agree. In addition, arrangements of double lines in the column such as those in S1C^a at II, 216*a, c* and S1P at II, 216*c* may have been for the purpose of preserving space on the writing surface. Two interesting examples of this occur in this spell: (1) in S2P at II, 217*d* where the suffix *·t* occurs below two nominal verbs so as to serve double duty for both terms; and (2) where the phenomenon occurs at II, 225*f* in S1P and S1Chass.

Such discrepancies might best be explained by suggesting that the text was reproduced by being recited from memory or by being orally read from a master copy before a number of scribes who would inscribe according to their own personal spelling style what they heard aurally. The advantage of such a dictation method would be that several copies could be made simultaneously from the same source. The disadvantage would be the inherent lack of homogeneity among the finished copies, especially where fixed spellings for terms did not exist in the ancient orthography and where a scribe could easily commit errors of memory when recording what he heard. Certain consistent traits in individual coffin texts of Spell 148 show that each was done separately by different scribes and not all by the same scribe. For instance, the spelling of  of S1C^b is consistent throughout and unique to this version of Spell 148. Also S1Chass always uses the form , never , as the other sister variants (S1P, S2P). The reversal of word-order, occasional omission of words or intrusion of suffixes might thus best be accounted for as the result of a lapse of concentration on the part of the stenographer. Indeed, there are no really compelling similarities in spelling arrangement which would suggest that a single written source was visually copied when inscribing the various coffins. Even if we were to insist that some written sources were used—and some evidence suggests that a few scribes may have used visual copying techniques—most of these copies must have been reproduced by oral recitation to have allowed for such variation in the text.

Recognizing the inherent inaccuracies of the copying methods used by the recorders of our texts of Spell 148, we are well advised to exercise a fair measure of tolerance when trying to establish the best available reading. The following is the text (compiled according to the general criteria of textual analysis outlined above) which underlies the transliteration, translation, and subsequent grammatical and formal analyses:

Prescript

CT II:



C. Atum-Rēc's Advice to Exercise Discretion

- 2I5b 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I5c-16a 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I6b 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I6c 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I6d-17b 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I7c-e 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I7e-f 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I7g 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I8a 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400

D. Isis' Proclamation of the Decree for Protection


- 2I8b 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I8c-d 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I8e 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I9a 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I9b 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400

E. Isis' Instruction to the Unborn Horus


- 2I9c-d 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I9e 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 2I9f-20a 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 220b 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 220c 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400
- 220d-e 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 400

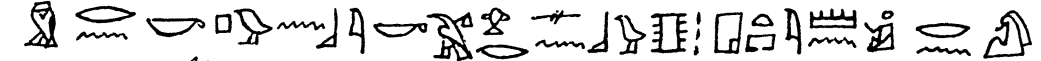
F. *The Emergence of Horus*

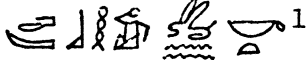
1. *Introductory Summary*

221a-b 

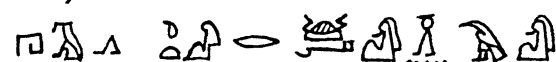
2. *Isis' Preparation for the New-born Horus*

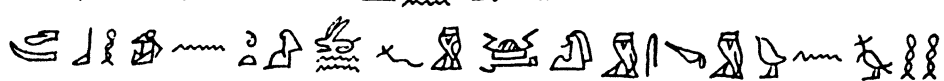
221c-d 

221e 

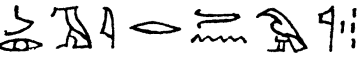
221f 

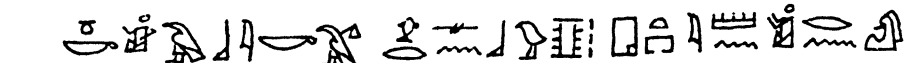
222a 

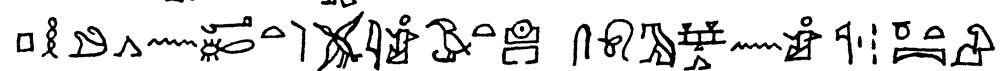
222b 

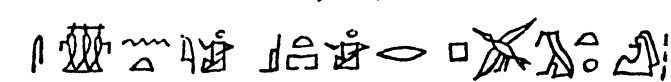
222c 


3. *The Advent of Horus*

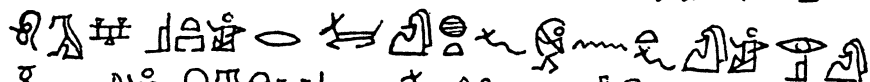
222d 

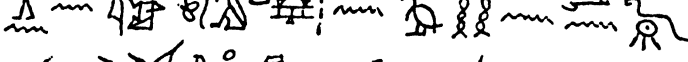
222e-3a 


223b-c 

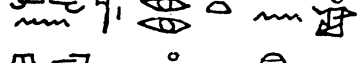
223d 

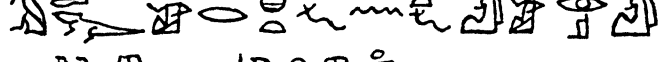
223e 

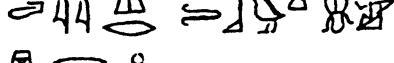
224a 

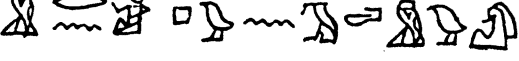
224b 

224c-d 

224e 

224f 

224g 

225a 



Critical Apparatus

a. 209c. As this prescript appears only in B4C it may be no more than a later gloss to the ancient traditional text.

b. 209d. *sšd* appears from the majority of texts to be better read with the crocodile determinative than with that of the binding (𐎗). Yet this does not preclude accepting the cord-determinative as an alternative spelling of the same noun. It would appear that *Pyr.* 889d and 1048b were speaking of the Bull and Nut as constellations, thus making it very likely that even with the cord-determinative—used phonetically rather than ideographically as Faulkner (*JEA* 54 (1968), 41 n. 2) has suggested—*sšd* designates a light or luminary of brilliant lustre. This fits very well with *Wb.* IV, 300,² where *sšd* is said to designate a star or constellation when using the crocodile determinative (cf. Griffiths, *JEA* 56 (1970), 194). An instructive synonymous parallelism from the Gebel Barkal stela of Tuthmosis III (Reisner and Reisner, *ZAS* 69 (1933), 27) combines the ideas of an attacking crocodile's sudden rushing with that of the streaking of a falling star across the heavens (at l. 5): *sšd·f r imywtj pdty 2 my sb; d·f hrt ck m wmt(t) [wn]*, 'rushing as a crocodile (rushes), like a (falling) star between the two bows (of heaven) when it crosses the sky'. This might suggest that the crocodile was a stereotype for sudden movement in Egyptian literature and would commend combining the ideographic determinative of sudden movement with the designation for a star when the Egyptians intended to designate specifically a falling star, as opposed to a fixed star.

c. 210b. *ts·s*. Contrary to Gilula (*JEA* 57 (1971), 15 n. 2) it would appear from context that the readings *ts n·s* are *sdm·f*, not *sdm·n·f*, in form. The *n·s* is best seen as a reflexive dative which often appears with verbs of motion or naturally reflexive verbs. The preferred text here is that where the reflexive is implied, not expressed, since it would provide a more likely explanation for the derivation of the fuller form from it. The *Nhtj* texts generally reflect the later tendency towards fuller spellings.

d. 212c-d. *iw·ty·fy* is the preferred reading according to the majority of texts. The one instance where the determinative 𐎗 follows (S1C^a) might suggest that it be read *iw it Gb*, 'the inheritance of (his grand-)father Geb', where *iw* would be a perfect passive participle ('the thing inherited'), but textual evidence favours by far the *sdm·ty·fy* form. The S1C^a reading is one of the very few errors which may reflect the use of visual copying methods as it seems to be either a homoeoteleuton or dittography for the twice repeated *it* which immediately follows.

e. 213a-b. *Stj*. The presence of the determinative 𐎗 in S2C^a shows that this spelling was practised by the scribes of the coffin text of *Msh*t as well as those of *Nhtj*.

f. 214c. It is difficult to determine why the determinative 𐎗 appears in such a variety of positions in five of the six legible textual variants, because no two are in agreement. For the present it seems best to be cautious (withholding judgement) and follow the S1C^a text which omits it altogether.

² *Wb.*: Erman, A. and Grapow, H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 6 vols. (Berlin, 1955).

g. 214d. *csn*. This is one of the clear cases of divergence between the *Msh*t texts which witness to the third plural pronoun *sn* after *cs* and the *Nht*i texts which do not. It seems preferable to take the fuller reading if it be accepted that these adjectives can be considered to function as *sḏm.f* verbs in those instances when they occur in subordinate clauses. Hence they are translated as circumstantial *sḏm.f* stative verbs.

h. 215a. *šwty*. Lack of consensus among the textual variants makes absolute certainty of the best reading quite impossible. This reading represents only the major agreement to double the phonogram.

i. 215b. *ss*. Here is another instance of clear separation of orthography between *Msh*t texts which write $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ and the *Nht*i texts which write 𓂏 only.

j. 215c–16a. *iw(w)* again represents a complete lack of conformity in orthography between the variants. There is nevertheless a clear propensity towards fuller spelling in all the *Nht*i texts.

k. 221b. *whr*. At 221b the readings of *SIC^b* and *SIC^h* are vindicated upon comparison with the spelling of the same term at 222b, *c* (cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 54 (1968), 43 n. 24).

l. 221f. *wmn kt*. There is really no reason to suggest here that *kt* yields poor sense and that the pronoun *k* alone is to be preferred (cf. Faulkner, *JEA* 54 (1968), 43 n. 27). If Isis refers to the fact that one presently occupies this office to which Horus is the desired claimant, then she only asks that 'another'—namely Horus—be there. It is because of the apparent difficulty with this reading that the scribes in all probability later emended it to *k* alone, which does minutely alter the idea in the sentence.

m. 225c–d. *ḏw-i*. Both Faulkner (*JEA* 54 (1968), 43 n. 33) and Gilula (*JEA* 57 (1971), 19 n. 46) suggest that all readings be emended to conform to *SIC^b*, which displaces the crocodile determinative, thus reading: *n ḏ wi*. It seems difficult to believe, however, that the majority of texts are in error here. More likely is the possibility that this is a rare usage of the passive *sḏm.f* form where, contrary to general principle in Middle Egyptian grammar (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*,³ §§420, 424), the ending 𓂏 occurs before the suffix pronoun. It must be remembered that as poetry the Coffin Texts may conserve stylistic features of archaic grammar such as this (cf. *Pyr.* §§1164, 1509, 1705, cited by Gardiner, *Grammar*, 337 n. 2). In any event recourse to emending the text against such a strong support for the majority reading should only be taken as a final resort.

Transliteration, Translation, and Analysis

Prescript

209c *irt ḥprw m bik*
Forming [one's] essence as a falcon:

A. *The Announcement of the Pregnancy of Isis*

209d *ḥi sšd snḏ ntrw*
[After] the blast of a meteorite such that [even] the gods fear

210a *rs ʾst bkḥt ḥr mtwt sn-s Wsir*
Isis awoke pregnant by the seed of her brother Osiris!

210b *ṯs-s ḥmt wnt*
Thus the woman raised herself abruptly,

210c *ib-s nḏm m mtwt sn-s Wsir*
her heart pleased with the seed of her brother Osiris,

³ Gardiner, *Grammar*: Gardiner, A. H., *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd edn. (Oxford, 1957).

- 211a *ḏd·s wy*
as she said:
ntrw
'O gods!
- 211b *ink 'Ist snt Wsir rmt hr itw Wsir*
I, Isis, sister of Osiris, who wept concerning the loss of the patriarchy of Osiris,
- 211c *wḫ šꜣwt tꜣwy*
Judge of the slaughtering of the two lands,
- 211d-12a *iw mtwt·f m-ḥnw ḥt·i*
whose seed is now within my womb—
- 212b-c *ts·n·i irw ntr m swḥt m sꜣ·i*
I have conceived the form of a god within the ovary as my son,
- 212c-d *ḥnt psḏwt ḥk(ꜣ)·ty·fy tꜣ pn iwꜣ·ty·fy Gb*
the foremost of the Ennead, who will rule this land, who will be heir to Geb,
- 213a-b *mdw·ty·fy hr it·f smꜣ·ty·fy Sth ḥfty n it·f Wsir*
who will argue on behalf of his father, [and] who will slay Seth the enemy of his father Osiris.'

B. Isis' Invocation for Divine Protection

- 213c *my ntrw*
'Come, O gods,
iri·tn mktw·f m-ḥnw idt
so that you may secure his protection within my womb!
- 214a-b *rh m ib·tn nb·tn is pw ntr pn imy swḥt·f*
Know in you heart that your lord is this god who is in his seed-stage,
- 214c *tfr irw nb ntrw*
blue-haired, [befitting] the form of the lord of the gods,
- 214d *ꜣ·sn nfr·sn*
when they are great and they are full,
- 215a *ḥw šꜣwy ḥsbḏ*
[even] the strands of the two plumes of blue!

C. Atum-Rē's Advice to Exercise Discretion

- 215b *ihī in 'Itm-Rꜣ sꜣ ib·t ḥmt*
'Ho!' said Atum-Rē, 'Restrain your heart, O woman!
- 215c-16a *irḫ·tn r·f mi išst ntr is pw nb iwꜣ(w) psḏ(w)t*
How do you know concerning him whether he is a god, lord, and heir of the Ennead,
- 216b *iri·tn r·f m-ḥnw swḥt*
that you [thus] act concerning him [who is] within the ovary?'
- 216c *ink 'Ist ꜣḥt špst r ntrw*
'I am Isis, more spiritual and noble than [all] the gods.
- 216d-17b *iw ntr m-ḥnw ḥt·i tn mtwt Wsir pw*
'There is indeed a god within this womb of mine! It is the seed of Osiris!'
- 217c-e *ḏd·in 'Itm-Rꜣ iwꜣ·t sdḫ·t ḥnwḫt pw iwꜣ·t mss·t r ntrw wnt mtwt Wsir*
'Then Atum-Rē said, 'As you are pregnant, then that which you should conceal, O

mistress, is that your pregnancy is [to result in] your giving birth to godhead which was [formerly] the seed of Osiris,

- 217e-f *is pw imi iw rkw pw sm it·f*
lest that [very] enemy come who slew his father
- 217g *sd̄i·f swht m-hnw nhn·s*
that he might break the seed within its infancy,
- 218a *nri r·f wr-hkzw*
[the one] whom [even] The-Great-of-Magic fears.'

D. Isis' Proclamation of the Decree for Protection

- 218b *sdm nw ntrw it-in Ist*
'Hear this, O gods,' said Isis,
dd-n Itm-Rc nb hwt-chnw
'which Atum-Rē, lord of The-Mansion-of-Images, has declared!
- 218c-d *wd·n·f n-i mkt s·i m-hnw ht·i*
He has commanded for me within my womb the protection of my son,
- 218e *ts·n·f snwt h·f m-hnw idt·i tn*
having knit together an entourage about him within this womb of mine,
- 219a *rh·f iwew Wsir is pw*
since he knew that he was the heir of Osiris.
- 219b *dy s̄ bik imy ht·i tn in Itm-Rc nb ntrw*
Protection has been granted the Falcon within this womb of mine by Atum-Rē,
lord of the gods.'

E. Isis' Instruction to the Unborn Horus

- 219c-d *m(y) pri hr t̄ di·i n·k i(w)*
'Come and go forth on the earth so that I may give you honour
- 219e *šms-tw šmsw it·k Wsir*
such that the retainers of your father Osiris may serve you,
- 219f-20a *ir·i rn·k ph·n·k šht swt hr snbw imn-rn*
so that I may make your name such that you will have reached the horizon having
passed over the ramparts of The-Hidden-of-Name.
- 220b *pri phty m-hnw if·i*
Go forth in power from within my flesh,
- 220c *ph·n it m-hnw if·i*
when the surging-force has arrived within my flesh;
- 220d-e *ph·n it ks·f skdd šhw*
when the surging-force has reached its limit, sail forth into sunshine.'

F. The Emergence of Horus

1. Introductory Summary

- 221a-b *iri·n·f st·f ds·f hms(w) m hnt ntrw m snwt Whc*
[Then] he made his own place having sat down as the foremost of the gods in the
entourage of the Whc:

2. *Isis' Preparation for the New-born Horus*

- 221c-d *Bik sꜣi hrw hms r-k m tꜣ pn n it-k Wsir*
 'O Falcon, my son Horus, settle down in this land of your father Osiris
- 221e *m rn-k pw n bik hry snbw hwt imn-rn*
 with this your name of "Falcon", over the ramparts of the mansion of The-Hidden-of-Name.
- 221f *dbh-i wnn kt*
 Let me ask that another may be
- 222a *m šmsw Rc-ꜣhty m-hst wiꜣ pꜣwty n nhh dt*
 in the suite of Rē^c-Akhety in the prow of the primeval bark for ever and ever.'
- 222b *hꜣ Ist r Whꜣ in Hrw*
 Isis descended to the Whꜣ, [with] Horus being brought [along].
- 222c *dbh-n Ist wnn-f m Whꜣ m šmw n nhh*
 Isis [then] asked that he might be in the Whꜣ as ruler for eternity.

3. *The Advent of Horus*

- 222d *mꜣi r-tn Hrw ntrw*
 'Behold Horus, O gods!'
- 222e-3a *ink Hrw bik hry snbw hwt imn-rn*
 'I am Horus the Falcon who is over the ramparts of the mansion of The-Hidden-of-Name.
- 223b-c *ph-n cht-i ꜣht swꜣ-n-i ntrw nwt*
 My flight has reached the horizon, I having surpassed the gods of the sky,
- 223d *shnt-i st-i r pꜣwtyw*
 so that I have elevated my place more than the Ancients.
- 223e *n ph-n isꜣw cht-i tpt*
 The Aggressor cannot reach [even] my first flight
- 224a *wꜣ st-i r Sth hft n it-i Wsir*
 so my place is far from Seth, the enemy of my father Osiris.
- 224b *in-n-i wꜣwt n nhh n ndꜣw*
 I have traversed the roads of eternity to the dawn
- 224c-d *tni-i m cht-i*
 after having ascended in my flight.
- 224e *nn ntr irrt n-i*
 There is no god who can equal me
- 224f *ꜣd-i r hft n it-i Wsir*
 so [now] I may show vengeance against the enemy of my father Osiris,
- 224g *dy hr tbwt-i*
 who will have been set under my sandal
- 225a *m rn-i pw n ꜣdmw*
 by this my name of "Avenger".
- 225b *ink Hrw ms n Ist iry mkwt-f m-hnw swht*
 I am Horus, born of Isis, whose protection was within the ovary.
- 225c-d *n ꜣdw-i hh n r-tn*
 I cannot be attacked by the fiery blast of your mouth,
- 225e *n ph-n wi ddt-tn r-i*
 nor can what you say against me reach me.

- 225f *ink Hrww wꜣ st r rmt r ntrw*
I am Horus, far distant from people and from the gods.
- 226a *ink Hrww sꜣ Ist*
I am Horus, son of Isis.'

Grammatical Analysis

209c. *irt*. Active verbal infinitive in initial position, used here as a heading: 'making/forming' or 'the shaping of'.

209c. *hprw*, 'form', refers here to the self or personal nature.

209c. Because this clause is used as a prescript, that which follows must necessarily be the opening of the spell employing an initial verbal construction.

209d. *ki* may be taken as an active verbal infinitive in the style of a heading since most texts do not begin with the prescript of B4C. While the form could be otherwise taken as an initial future *sḏm·A* or an initial emphatic *sḏm·A* these seem less likely than the infinitival usage. From a comparison of the views of Faulkner (*JEA* 54 (1968), 41 n. 2) and Griffiths (*JEA* 56 (1970), 194–5) it seems that this *hapax legomenon* must be understood in the light of its determinative 𓆎 which implies force, and by its relation to *sḏd*. If it be taken to mean 'striking', as has been suggested, then perhaps the meteor to which *sḏd* refers is a meteorite which actually struck the earth.

209d. *snḏ* is an adjectival verb here used in a *nfr-sw* construction so that it may be translated as a present tense (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §374).

209d. This phenomenon seems to be an omen which precedes but does not directly cause Isis' pregnancy which follows (cf. Griffiths, *ibid.*).

210a. *rs Ist*. An emphatic *sḏm·A* stressing the condition of pregnancy in which Isis awakes. Were this text to be understood as a drama, rather than an epic poem, it might be possible to understand *rs* as another initial infinitive, thus having the account open startlingly with a series of abrupt statements sympathetic to the agitated subject matter.

210a. *bkꜣt* is a third feminine old perfective: 'being pregnant'.

210b. *ts·s*. This is a *sḏm·f* of circumstance emphasizing manner, thus describing the pregnant state in which she raises herself abruptly.

210b. *wnt* is an old perfective here used adverbially with the sense 'to move quickly/energetically'.

210c. *nḏm*. This temporal circumstantial *sḏm·A* seems to be philologically related to Hebrew נָשָׂא , 'to be pleased, pleasant'.

211a. *ḏḏ·s* is another circumstantial *sḏm·f* with temporal domain.

211b. *rmt*. Perfect active participle. It cannot be an infinitive since it is non-initial. The antecedent is 'Ist since it is she who is the grammatical subject.

211b. *itw* has plural strokes which here indicate an abstract noun. Thus this 'fatherhood' probably refers to a rule or status in the Ennead paralleled in English by the meaning of the term 'patriarchy'—albeit without the ecclesiastical connotation.

211c. *wꜣp*. Perfect active participle in substantival usage ('one judging') as denoting the one who settled the war between Upper and Lower Egypt and united the two. Its antecedent is *Wsr*.

211c. *šꜣwt* is more likely to be taken as an abstract noun 'slaughtering' than as a plural 'slaughterings'. This is a term with reference to warfare in the myth concerning the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt.

211d–12a. *iw* here is circumstantial in function. In Middle Egyptian *iw* can either introduce an independent clause or a circumstantial clause. In Late Egyptian the first falls into disuse. In this

instance it tends to emphasize the truth affirmed as being more intensely present than if it had not been used. Hence the adverb 'now' is used.

212b-c. *ts·n·i* is a *sdm·nf* of the past here used with a present perfect nuance, since she is emphasizing not the conception but the present result of the conception. This is the main verb of the sentence which began at 211b. Perhaps, in view of the context, the verb is better translated as 'conceived' than 'moulded' or 'knit together', though this usage is admittedly figurative (cf. Ps. 139: 13).

212c-d. *hk(ḥ)* may be related philologically to Hebrew קֹהֵן, whose *po'el* form designates a prescriber of laws or commander and hence may designate any sovereign. This is the first of a series of *sdm·ty·fy* forms, the relative form of the future. All of them have their antecedent in *sṣ*.

213a-b. *mdw* is a legal term for settling a lawsuit.

213c. *my* is an emphatic *sdm·A* here used with an imperative force.

213c. *iri·tn* is a non-initial prospective *sdm·f* of result or purpose. Faulkner (*Dictionary*, 26 (4)⁴) says that in a usage where *iri* indicates result or purpose it may be translated 'achieve'. He cites other similar examples though not this passage.

213c. *mktw* is another case where plural strokes are used to designate an abstract nominal form which has been derived from a verbal stem.

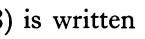

214a-b. *rḥ* is an imperative which is used in this clause (*rḥ m ib·tn*) with the sense 'Learn!' or 'Accept!'

214a-b. *is* here indicates the fact that *nb·tn* is the predicate: 'this god . . . is your lord.' It is a grammatical morpheme of subordination here indicating indirect speech (Gilula's 'content sentence', op. cit., 16-17).

214a-b. *swḥt·f* evidently refers to the metamorphic stage of development in which Horus is at present.

214c. *ṯfrr*, 'blue-haired', probably refers to the feathers of the head-dress mentioned in 215a rather than to the lapis-lazuli stone often used in the mortuary masks of officials.

214d. *sn*. The antecedent actually follows in this case as the subject here is *ḥw*, 'barbs', or 'strands'.

215b. *iḥi* in Faulkner (*Dictionary*, 28) is written  *yhy* 'Oho!' derived from an older form .

215b. *in Ṭtm-Rc* is explained by Faulkner (*Dictionary*, 22) as 'Atum-Rēc says' where the preposition *in* meaning 'by' designates the agent by whom something is being spoken (cf. *JEA* 21, 179). However Gardiner (*Grammar* §437) suggests that it is an abbreviation for *i in* in the *sdm·in·A* construction of the verb *i*, 'to say'.

215b. *sṣ ib·ṯ* is an initial prospective *sdm·A* which here has a strong request (quasi-imperative) force: 'Guard your heart!'

215c-16a. *irḥ·tn* is the emphatic form of the verb *rḥ*, 'to know'. The emphatic prefix *i* is in Gardiner's terminology the 'prothetic *i*' (*Grammar*, §272). The suffix *tn* refers to the Ennead in general.

215c-16a. *mī iṣst* is an interrogative construction which most frequently occurs with an emphatic *sdm·f*. Its sense is best translated: 'How is it that?'

215c-16a. *is* here indicates a subordinate nominal clause in apposition to *ntr*.

216b. *iri·tn* is a non-initial prospective *sdm·f* indicating result (cf. 213c). It refers to the tumult which Isis was creating among the gods by her indiscreet announcement of her pregnancy.

216b. *r·f*. Although Gilula translates 'against him' (op. cit., 14), there is nothing in the context which suggests that the gods in general were acting against the unborn Horus. Atum-Rēc's only fear seems to have been that through Isis' indiscretion the report concerning Horus might have been circulated among the gods until Seth—the arch-enemy of Horus' father Osiris—would hear and

⁴ Faulkner, *Dictionary*: Faulkner, R. O., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1976).

subsequently try to harm the foetus (cf. 217e-g). This is why he will advise her to keep this secret from the gods (217c-d).

216c. *šht* refers here to 'spiritual' as that which is pure, holy and, therefore, unable to lie. Isis is, in essence, swearing by herself as mankind would swear by the gods.

216d-17b. *iw* here emphasizes the present reality of the statement which it here introduces. Hence it is translated: 'there is indeed.'

217c-e. *dd-in Itm-Rc* is a *sḏm-in-A* form which here indicates a past narrative of result or sequel (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §428-9).

217c-e. *iw·t̄^a*. This emphatic *sḏm-f* functions nominally but seems best taken to convey concomitant circumstance to what follows. It is a form which appears later in oaths (e.g. *wšh N*, 'as N lives', from the hieratic ostrakon O. Nash 1 (R 10) where it occurs twice)⁵ and here also serves as the protasis of the subsequent injunction.

217c-e. *sdh-t̄* is best understood as a relative form ('that which you should conceal') since Atum-Rēc refers here not to hiding her pregnancy but only to the fact that it came by the seed of Osiris—the very thing which she boasts (216d-17d) and which Atum-Rēc fears Seth will hear (217f-g).

217c-e. *hmwt* never has the determinative of the infant (*ḥ*) when it means simply 'mistress' (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 172) so there may be a sense in which this spelling means 'expectant mother'.

217c-e. *iw·t̄^b* is an emphatic *sḏm-f* functioning nominally and introducing a 'that' clause: 'that your being pregnant'.

217c-e. *mss-t̄* is likewise an emphatic *sḏm-f* functioning nominally. That it is appositional to *iw·t̄^b* supports translating with a copula between them: 'your pregnancy is your giving birth', but it is understood that the latter will result from the former.

217c-e. *r ntrw*. While Gilula (op. cit., 14) suggests that this is the displaced adverbial modifier of *sdh-t̄* ('conceal from the gods') there seems, nevertheless, to be no need for such a distant transposition in order to give sense to this expression. Just as it was Isis' affirmation that her pregnancy was from Osiris' seed (217b), so also she was enthralled that she bore a god in her womb (216d-17a). Accordingly, just as Atum-Rēc will admonish her to conceal that Osiris was the progenitor (217e), so here he warns her also not to reveal that she will give birth *r ntrw*, 'to divinity' (strokes indicating an abstract noun, not a plural).

217c-e. *wnt* is a non-enclitic subordinating particle meaning 'that' for the past tense as *ntt* does for the present and future tenses.

217e-f. *is pw* is a frontal extraposition to the following clause despite De Buck's placement at the end of 217e. *is pw* in the Coffin Texts is apparently used only in subordinate clauses. Here it dramatically re-emphasizes the following *rkw pw*.

217e-f. *imi iw. imi* is described by Gardiner (*Grammar*, §§342-5) as a negative verb, which here occurs in communion with the verb *iw*, a non-initial prospective *sḏm-A*, which in context may be literally translated: 'so that that one, the enemy, may not come', or, more idiomatically, 'lest that [very] enemy come', which emphasizes result and substantiates *sdh-t̄*.

217e-f. *sm* is a perfect active participle: 'the one who slew' or 'who slew'.

217e-f. *itf*. The antecedent of the pronoun is the unborn Horus.

217g. *sḏt-f* is a non-initial prospective *sḏm-f* which, since it follows a clause expressing a desire, indicates a clause of result or purpose.

218a. *nri* is possibly philologically connected with Hebrew אָרַי, 'be afraid', the *nip'al* participle of אָרַי, 'to fear'. This is, of course, if *nri* is taken as the intransitive verb 'to fear'. It may also be the *tertiaefirmae* verb 'to protect' which Faulkner also cites (*Dictionary*, 134). As this verb does

⁵ Greig, G., 'The Language of the Hieratic Ostrakon, O. Nash 1, from the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Grammatical Analysis and Translation' (Jerusalem, 1981 (unpublished)).

not appear to be initial, and the clause contextually seems to be an epithet of Seth, the former sense is employed here in a relative form, 'whom fears'.

218a. *r·f* may also be the enclitic particle *rf* (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §252) meaning 'as to him'. The antecedent of the pronoun is *rḫw*, namely Seth.

218b. *sḏm* is an imperative by the demands of context.

218b. *it·in Ist*. Although it has been suggested that *it* is only an abbreviated form of the plural for 'goddesses' so that *ntrw-it* means 'gods and goddesses', yet it seems more natural to group it with the following to form a construction where the old perfective of the verb *i*, 'to say', is followed by an adverbial modifier *in Ist* expressing agent. *It* is more probably the old perfective than a feminine form of the verb *i* used in a *sḏm·in·A* construction because the gender of verbs is unlikely to have been indicated in such an instance (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §437 n. 9c). Literally it would read: 'that being said by Isis'.

218b. *ḏd·n Itm·Rc* may be a *sḏm·n·A* form in a relative clause which here is best translated by a present perfect 'which Atum-Re^c has said'. It should be noted that it could also be understood as a simple infinitive *ḏd n Itm·Rc*, 'the saying of Atum-Re^c'. The sense is similar in either case.

218c-d. *wḏ·n·f* is an initial *sḏm·n·f* which always emphasizes an adverbial clause—here *m·hnw ḥt·i*: '[It is] within my womb that he has commanded.'

218e. *ts·n·f* is more likely a temporal circumstantial *sḏm·n·f* than an emphatic *sḏm·n·f* in this context. Literally it is: 'after he had knit'.

218e. *ḥ·f*. The antecedent of the pronoun is *s*, namely the unborn Horus.

219a. *rḥ·f* is here a causal circumstantial *sḏm·f*.

219b. *dy s* is a passive *sḏm·A* which is followed by the preposition *in* (though elsewhere frequently by *hr*) expressing agent.

219b. *bik*, the emblematic falcon of Horus, is here the indirect object of *dy*.

219b. This statement stresses that Isis has thus received the protection which she was seeking from the gods (213c-15a).

219c-d. *m(y)* is usually found as an enclitic particle following imperatives or a *sḏm·f* expressing desire. Here, however, is one of the rare occasions in religious texts where *my* is found non-enclitically: 'Pray, go forth on the earth' (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §250).

219c-d. *pri^a* is the imperative which is usually expected with *my*.

219c-d. *di·i* should be taken as a non-initial prospective *sḏm·f* expressing purpose for such forms frequently follow imperatives (cf. 213c for the same).

219e. *šms·tw* is another non-initial prospective *sḏm·f* of result apparently dependent on *di·i*.

219f-20a. *ir·i*. A non-initial prospective *sḏm·f* of purpose again, dependent on the imperative *pri*.

219f-20a. *ph·n·k* is a *sḏm·n·f* which, although usually indicating the simple past, here has a future-perfect sense, expressing result: 'so that you [will] have reached'. It is dependent upon *ir·i*, just as *šms·tw* was dependent upon *di·i*.

219f-20a. *swrt* is an old perfective describing antecedent circumstance.

220b. *pri^b*. An imperative which potentially parallels the previous *pri* of 219c. It is addressed to the unborn Horus.

220b. *ph^{ty}* is used here not in the sense of physical 'strength' but in that of the 'potency' of a god (cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 93). This seems from the general context to be a rare use in Egyptian of the adverbial accusative: 'Go forth [as] power (i.e. powerfully)' (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §88, though he cites no such instance as this).

220c. *ph·n st^a* is a temporal circumstantial *sḏm·n·A* contemporaneous with *pri^b*. It carries a future-perfect sense ('when the surging-power [will] have arrived') as did *ph·n·k* (220a). Here the verb *ph* is intransitive.

220c. *st* is not the same type of power as *phty* (220b) even though they bear the same determinative. Here it refers to the surging energy of the childbirth pains of this goddess.

220d-e. *ph·n st^b* is again a future-perfect circumstantial *sdm·f* (cf. 220c) but here it is contemporaneous with *skdd* and *ph* is now transitive, taking the direct object *ks*.

220d-e. *ks·f*. The pronoun's antecedent is the subject *st*. *Ks*, which rarely appears without the crocodile determinative (supposedly symbolic of aggression or overwhelming strength; cf. *Wb.* v, 139 (4, 5)), seems here to refer to the climax of Isis' labour pains. There is no need to accept Faulkner's suggestion that a textual omission precedes this term (*JEA* 54 (1968), 42 n. 23).

220d-e. *skdd* must be seen here as an imperative emphatic *sdm·f*. It complements the imperative *pri* (220b). This expression (*skdd sthw*) seems to refer to Horus' emergence from the womb into daylight.

221a-b. *iri·n·f* is an initial emphatic *sdm·n·f* stressing *ds·f*: 'It is for himself that he made his place.' Since this verb contextually introduces a new section it is advisable to introduce it with the temporal adverb 'then'. This narrative sentence introductorily summarizes the discourse of 221c-2c, which explains why this translation is concluded with a colon.

221a-b. *hms(w)* is an old perfective of antecedent circumstance.

221a-b. *m hnt ntrw* probably employs the *m* of predication. As this text is primarily concerned with the exaltation of Horus it would be insufficient to say: 'having sat among the foremost of the gods'.



221a-b. *whr*. Although it has been suggested that this is a masculine plural imperfective active participle ('who release' cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 66) which finds its antecedent in *ntrw*, it is more likely to be a proper noun which perhaps refers to the primeval bark of the entourage of Rē-Akhety. This would explain the use of the ship and divine determinatives and its usage in the three occurrences in this spell (221b; 222b, c).

221c-d. *hms r·k* is the imperative in *sdm r·k* form where the adjunct use of *r* plus the suffix reinforces the person addressed (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§252, 337).

221e. *hry* begins an adverbial phrase modifying *hms r·k* (221c).

221f. *dbh·i*. This initial prospective *sdm·f* seems best rendered as a first person cohortative.

221f. *wmn* is a non-initial emphatic *sdm·A* which conveys the content of indirect speech. It should be translated: 'that . . . may be . . .'.

222a. *n nhh dt* is a true hendiadys where the concept of eternity is conveyed first with the term using the determinative of time (*nhh* is usually written ) and then with that of the earth (*dt* usually written ) even as Hebrew עולם ועד carries the same ideas of earth (often עולם means 'world') and time (עד is derived from עָדָה 'to advance').

222b. *hs Ist* is one of the rare cases where the Coffin Texts may preserve a *sdm·A* of the past. Context prevents it from being read as an infinitive.

222b. *in Hrw* is read here as a passive *sdm·A* the active agent of which is *Ist*. Presumably Horus was still under her guardianship. For such circumstantial uses of the passive *sdm·f* in subordinate clauses see Gardiner's *Grammar*, §423.

222c. *dbh·n Ist* is a narrative *sdm·n·A* of the past.

222c. *wmn·f*. As previously (221f), this is a non-initial emphatic *sdm·f* which conveys the content of indirect speech: 'that he may be'.

222d. *msi r·tn* is another example of the imperative using *r* plus the suffix as a reinforcing adjunct (cf. 221c). Whether this pronouncement is the first statement of Horus (as both Faulkner and Gilula claim) or the herald call of Isis—whose prediction (212b-13b; 214a-15a; 216c-17b; 219a-b) is ultimately fulfilled in the presentation of her son before the Ennead—is not evinced explicitly in

the text. But the fact that all three previous invocations of the gods (211a, 213c, 218b) were made by Isis makes this fourth quite likely her words also.

223b-c. *ph·n cht·i* is an initial emphatic *sdm·n·A* stressing the subordinate clause introduced by *sw·n·i*. It is here translated as a present perfect.

223b-c. *sw·n·i* is a circumstantial *sdm·n·f*: 'after I passed'.

223d. *shnt·i* is a non-initial prospective *sdm·f* of result dependent on *ph·n cht·i*.

223e. *n ph·n iw·w*. The *n sdm·n·A* form, as Gunn discovered (*Eg. Syntax*,⁶ chap. XIV, B., 128-9), is not a past tense but a very general present tense. This must, therefore, be seen as an initial form in this context.

223e. *iw·w* is translated here as 'Aggressor' upon comparison of *iwyt* meaning 'rod' (Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 8 has variant spellings) and the term *iw·w* from the Pyramid Texts §264 (cf. *Wb.* I, 27, also on p. 29 *iw·wt* from the Greek Period) which, with the determinative of two maces, seems consistent with the general field of meaning for *iw·w* as 'contender', 'adversary', or 'aggressor'. The duck-determinative need not be considered anomalous if it be remembered that it is a characteristic of these fowl to show extreme aggression during certain seasonal phases of their behaviour.

223e. *cht·i tpt*. It seems to be the purpose of Horus to emphasize that even his first flight, characteristically the most feeble of any young falcon, surpassed all previous divine flights. This implies that henceforth he need never fear the predacity of Seth. Hence the particle 'even' is used here for emphasis.

224a. *w·st·i* seems best rendered as a non-initial prospective *sdm·A* of result: 'so that my place is far (i.e. out of reach)'.

224b. *in·n·i* is an initial emphatic *sdm·n·f* which structurally parallels the use of the same form in 223b. The meaning 'traverse' is demanded by the direct object *w·wt*.

224c-d. *tni·i* should be understood here as a non-initial circumstantial *sdm·f*: 'after I ascended'.

224e. *nn* functions here like the Hebrew particle-verb of non-existence (נִין): 'there is/are no'.

224e. *irrt* should be understood here as a perfect active participle with the neuter ending *-t* (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §354) which should express some kind of negative potential idea: 'there is no god who can do [as] I [have done]'.

224f. *id·i* is a non-initial prospective *sdm·f* of result. The translation employs 'now' as a device to emphasize the resultant relation of this clause to the previous clause (224e).

224g. *dy* is a rare use of the old perfective, indicating the end of a process, but used here within a futuristic context. Hence it is translated as a future perfect rather than literally: 'having been set'.

225a. *idmw* may be philologically related to *id* (224f) and may be the stereotype antonym to *iw·w*, 'Aggressor', used in 223e.

225b. *ms* is a perfect passive participle where the semantic subject *Ist* is introduced by the preposition *n* (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§361, 379).

225b. *iry mkwt·f* is a rare construction where the perfect passive participle *iry* is followed by the semantic subject *mkwt·f*. Literally translated it is: 'which was made—his protection'.

225c-d. *n idw·i*. This negative passive *sdm·f* is best translated as a present negative potential: 'I cannot be attacked' (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§422, (3); 424, (1)), since it is used here in synonymous parallelism with the following *n ph·n wt* which must be present tense (see below).

225c-d. *hh* serves here as a direct genitive of the compound *idw·i* and as such expresses its semantic subject. This use of the direct genitive to express agent is also known with infinitives (cf. Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§301, 306, (2)) and with the passive participle (§379, (2)).

225c-d. *r·tn*. The plural suffix is only of general reference to any potential adversaries whom Horus may encounter.

⁶ Gunn, *Eg. Syntax*: Gunn, B., *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924).

225e. *n ph·n wt* is read here as a present negative potential *n sdm·n·f* since this form is practically always of present reference, as Gunn noted (cf. above *n ph·n i:rw* at 223e).

225e. *ḏdt·tn* is an imperfective relative form with genitive of authorship conveyed by the suffix: 'which you [may] say'.

Poetic Structure and Literary Genre

It is one of the advantages of literary Egyptian that poetic structure can often be analysed as a means by which to verify sentence division, syntax, and sometimes even verbal aspect and mood. But care must be taken to avoid artificially imposing a formal structure on to passages by means of textual emendation or through interpreting verb forms according to obscure notions so as to lend symmetry to the work where such may never have been intended by the author(s). A sane and balanced approach must always be characterized by a high level of textual conservatism where ancient literature is concerned, if only out of recognition for the fact that there are immense gaps in our present knowledge concerning the 'postulates' of the ancient literary world.

The following analysis of poetic structure in Spell 148 is based solely on the content and syntax of individual passages. Rhythmic considerations must remain outside the scope of this analysis since there is, at present, little compelling evidence of the precise nature of metric conventions in the poetry of the ancient Near East.

One example of structure based on subject content occurs in 218b–19b where the arch-like schema (a–b–b–c–b–a) looks as follows:

218b	a	<i>ḏd·n 'Tm-Rc nb ḥwt-ḥmw</i>
218c–d	b	<i>wḏ·n·f n·i mkt s·i m-ḥnw ḥt·i</i>
218e	b	<i>ts·n·f snwt ḥ·f m-ḥnw ḏdt·i tn</i>
219a	c	<i>rh·f iw·w Wsir is pw</i>
219b	b	<i>dy s·i bik imy ḥt·i tn</i>
	a	<i>in 'Tm-Rc nb nṯrw</i>

In no instance here is there pure repetition but the parallelism is quite evident.

Again, the 'rounded chiasm' (a–b–c–b–c–a) of 220b–e is based both on the content and the grammatical structure of the passage:

220b	a'	<i>pri</i> (imperative) <i>pḥty</i>	b	<i>m-ḥnw if·i</i>
220c	c	<i>ph·n ṯt</i> (intransitive)	b	<i>m-ḥnw if·i</i>
220d–e	c	<i>ph·n ṯt</i> (transitive) <i>ks·f</i>	a''	<i>skdd</i> (imperative) <i>ḥw</i>

Here there is a clear pattern of repetition between the stichoi of the passage. Thus the two 'a' stichoi create an *inclusio*.

A more elaborate example of poetic structure based on content occurs in 223b–5a where the outline follows this pattern using whole couplets and tricola to define structural units:

223b	a'	{	<i>ph·n ḥt·i ḥt</i>
223c			<i>sw·n·i nṯrw nwt</i>
223d			<i>shnt·i st·i r p·wtwyw</i>

223e	b'	{	<i>n ph·n iꜣw cꜥt·i tꜥt</i>
224a			<i>wꜣ st·i r Sth hft n it·i Wsir</i>
224b	a''	{	<i>in·n·i wꜣwt n nhꜥ n cꜥdꜥw</i>
224c-d			<i>tni·i m cꜥt·i</i>
224e			b''
224f	<i>ꜣd·i r hft n it·i Wsir</i>		
224g	<i>dy hr ꜥbwꜣt·i</i>		
225a	<i>m rn·i ꜥw n ꜣdmꜣw</i>		

Essentially both groups labelled 'a' speak of the extent of Horus' flight as elevated beyond anything formerly attained. Both 'b' groups describe the inability of other gods to equal the pre-eminence of Horus and finish with an allusion to Seth, 'the enemy of my father Osiris'. The latter variant extension (224g-5a) is a device reminiscent of the 'ballaste variant' of ancient Semitic poetry.

There is at least one clear example of parallelism within this spell at 225c-e. The first couplet states figuratively what the second reiterates in non-figurative terms. This 'emblematic parallelism' is another example of structure based on content:

225c-d	a	<i>n ꜣdꜥw·i</i>	b	<i>hh n r·tn</i>
225e	a	<i>n ph·n wi</i>	b	<i>ꜥdt·tn r·i</i>

An example where poetic structure has been based on purely syntactical considerations occurs at 219c-20a. Schematically this sentence is structured as follows:

	Imperative	Purpose Clause	Result Clause
219c	<i>ꜥri . . .</i>	<i>ꜣd·i . . .</i>	<i>ꜣms·ꜥw . . .</i>
		<i>ir·i . . .</i>	<i>ph·n·k . . .</i>

Both the purpose clauses have the first singular pronoun as subject (Isis) and both the result clauses have the second singular (Horus). This is one of the instances where linear poetic structure is helpful in determining verbal aspect and syntax.

One final example of poetic structure occurs from 217c-e where there appears to be some type of word-play or alliteration going on within the sentence, especially at 217d:

217d	<i>iwꜣt·ꜥ</i>	<i>sdꜥt·ꜥ</i>	<i>hnꜣwt ꜥw</i>
	<i>iwꜣt·ꜥ</i>	<i>mꜣꜣt·ꜥ</i>	<i>r nꜣrw</i>

All the verb forms here are in some sense nominal and each of the stichoi of 217c-e' ends with an address of some deity: *ꜥtm-Rꜥ*, *hnꜣwt* (i.e. Isis), *nꜣrw*, *Wsir*.

This analysis of poetic structure serves only to describe those instances where some formal relationship has been created within the literary passage based upon content or syntax of the passage. However, when one speaks of literary genre one is particularly concerned with conventions of form and style which involve the work as a whole. To date, not enough research has been done to determine the similarity of formal conventions used in composing the Coffin Texts. One such convention in Egyptian religious literature has been noticed in this spell by J. G. Griffiths (*JEA* 56 (1970), 194-5), namely the pathetic fallacy of the 'omen' which introduces any event of cosmic significance such as the birth of a god (cf. 209d-10a).

Some measures for determining major sections within poetic works are: noticing shifts in verbal aspect or mood, or changes in the subject matter or speaker. Such divisions have been delineated in this spell by the outline headings which have been employed in the translation which follows. Another means for determining the formal structure of a particular genre is afforded through distinguishing narrative from discourse. The narrative summary of 221*a-b* actually states what the discourse (221*c-2a*) and narrative (222*b-c*) go on to reiterate more comprehensively. Such a convention is also seen in Biblical Hebrew (cf. Judg. 4: 4-5: 31) as is the reverse situation (cf. Exod. 15: 1-21) where the narrative summary follows the poetry.

An additional unifying device which helps to delineate the structure of a literary genre is the employment of motifs. Notice the use of the motifs: *m swht* (212*b*), *m-hnw swht* (216*b*, 225*b*); *m-hnw ht-i* (211*d-12a*, 218*c-d*), *m-hnw idt* (213*c*); and *m-hnw ht-i tn* (216*d-17a*), *m-hnw idt-i tn* (218*e*), *imy ht-i tn* (219*b*). These all serve to unify the work as a whole. Other motifs mark off or introduce new sections, such as *hr(y) snbw [hwt] imn-rn* (220*a*, 221*e*, 223*a*), which is only used in the latter half of the spell. Other demarcating motifs are the vocative *ntrw* used by Isis (211*a*, 213*c*, 218*b*, 222*d*) serving to introduce new sections and the four-fold *ink Hr w* (222*e*, 225*b, f*, 226*a*) used only in the final poetic section concerning the advent of Horus.

According to the conventions of form and genre outlined above the following translation form is offered as a model for future studies of this spell:

Prescript

209*c* Forming [one's] essence as a falcon:

A. *The Announcement of the Pregnancy of Isis*

209*d* [After] the blast of a meteorite such that [even] the gods fear
 210*a* Isis awoke pregnant by the seed of her brother Osiris! (210*b*) Thus
 the woman raised herself abruptly, (210*c*) her heart pleased [with]
 the seed of her brother Osiris, (211*a*) as she said:

211*b* 'O gods!
 I, Isis, sister of Osiris,
 who wept concerning [the loss of] the patriarchy of Osiris,
 211*c* Judge of the slaughtering of the two lands,
 211*d* whose seed is now within (212*a*) my womb—
 212*b* I have conceived the form of a god within the ovary as my son,
 212*c* the foremost of the Ennead,
 212*d* who will rule this land,
 who will be heir to Geb,
 213*a* who will argue on behalf of his father,
 213*b* [and] who will slay Seth the enemy of his father Osiris.'

B. *Isis' Invocation for Divine Protection*

213*c* 'Come, O gods,
 so that you may secure his protection within my womb!

214a Know in your heart
 214b that your lord is this god who is in his seed-stage,
 214c blue-haired,
 [befitting] the form of the lord of the gods,
 214d when they are great and they are full,
 215a [even] the strands of the two plumes of blue!

C. Atum-Rē's Advice to Exercise Discretion

215b 'Ho!' said Atum-Rē,
 'Restrain your heart, O woman!
 215c How do you know concerning him
 whether he is a god, (216a) lord, and heir of the Ennead,
 216b that you [thus] act concerning him
 [who is] within the ovary?'
 216c 'I am Isis, more spiritual and noble than [all] the gods.
 216d There is indeed a god within (217a) this womb of mine!
 217b It is the seed of Osiris!'
 217c Then Atum-Rē said:
 217d 'As you are pregnant, then that which you should conceal, O mistress,
 is that your pregnancy is [to result in] your giving birth to godhead
 217e which was [formerly] the seed of Osiris,
 217e-f lest that [very] enemy come who slew his father
 217g that he might break the seed within its infancy,
 218a [the one] whom [even] The-Great-of-Magic fears.'

D. Isis' Proclamation of the Decree for Protection

218b 'Hear this, O gods,' said Isis,
 'which Atum-Rē, lord of The-Mansion-of-Images, has declared!
 218c He has commanded for me (218d) within my womb the protection of my son,
 218e having knit together an entourage about him within this womb of mine,
 219a since he knew that he was the heir of Osiris.
 219b Protection has been granted the Falcon within this womb of mine
 by Atum-Rē, lord of the gods.'

E. Isis' Instruction to the Unborn Horus

219c 'Come and go forth on the earth
 219d so that I may give you honour
 219e such that the retainers of your father Osiris may serve you,
 219f so that I may make your name
 220a such that you will have reached the horizon
 having passed over the ramparts of The-Hidden-of-Name.
 220b Go forth in power from within my flesh,
 220c when the surging-force has arrived within my flesh;
 220d when the surging-force has reached its limit, (220e) sail forth into sunshine.'

F. The Emergence of Horus

1. Introductory Summary

221a [Then] he made his own place (221b) having sat down as the foremost of the gods in the entourage of the *Wḥr*:

2. *Isis' Preparation for the New-born Horus*

- 221c 'O Falcon, my son Horus,
settle down in this land of (221d) your father Osiris
221e with this your name of "Falcon",
over the ramparts of the mansion of The-Hidden-of-Name.
221f Let me ask that another may be
222a in the suite of Rēc-Akhety
in the prow of the primeval bark for ever and ever.'
222b Isis descended to the *Whr*, [with] Horus being brought [along].
222c Isis [then] asked that he might be in the *Whr* as ruler for eternity.

3. *The Advent of Horus*

- 222d 'Behold Horus, O gods!'
222e 'I am Horus the Falcon
223a who is over the ramparts of the mansion of The-Hidden-of-Name.
223b My flight has reached the horizon,
223c I having surpassed the gods of the sky,
223d so that I have elevated my place more than the Ancients.
223e The Aggressor cannot reach [even] my first flight
224a so my place is far from Seth, the enemy of my father Osiris.
224b I have traversed the roads of eternity to the dawn
224c after having ascended (224d) in my flight.
224e There is no god who can equal me
224f so [now] I may show vengeance against the enemy of my father Osiris,
224g who will have been set under my sandal
225a by this my name of "Avenger".
225b I am Horus, born of Isis,
whose protection was within the ovary.
225c I cannot be attacked (225d) by the fiery blast of your mouth,
225e nor can what you say against me reach me.
225f I am Horus,
far distant from people and from the gods.
226a I am Horus, son of Isis.'

A tentative schema of the genre-form of this spell might be set forth as follows:

	<i>Theme-Form</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Motifs</i>
209c		Prescript	
		PART I	
209d-111a'		Introductory Narrative to Part I	
2111a''-13b	A	Isis rejoices in hope that <i>Osiris' death may still be avenged</i> on Seth by the seed of Osiris within her womb	<i>ntrw</i> (2111a)
213c-15a	B	Isis pleads for <i>divine protection</i> of the helpless foetus while within her womb	<i>ntrw</i> (213c)
215b-16b	C	Atum-Rēc calms the agitated Isis with an <i>admonition</i> to substantiate her boisterous claim of the foetus's divinity	

216c-17b		D	Isis <i>testifies</i> that she is trustworthy in saying that the foetus is Osiris' offspring	
217c-18a		C	Atum-Rē ^c calms the agitated Isis with an <i>admonition</i> to keep the father of the foetus a secret from Seth—thus he grants approval of the foetus's divine protection	
218b-19b		B	Isis rejoices that her request for <i>divine protection</i> of the foetus in her womb has been granted	<i>ntrw</i> (218b)
219c-20d	A'		Isis incites the unborn foetus to take up the <i>place of Osiris</i> so as to <i>vindicate his name</i>	

PART II

221a-b			Introductory Narrative to Part II	
221c-2a	A''	}	Isis procures a position of prominence for her son, hereafter named Horus	
222b-c			Concluding Narrative to Isis' Procuration (221c-2a)	
222d			Isis heralds her son Horus	<i>ntrw</i> (222d)

222e-5a		a	Horus announces himself as the one who outdistances all his predecessors in his <i>exaltation</i>	<i>ink Hrw</i> (222e)
225b-e		b	Horus, elaborating on the fact of his <i>divine origin</i> and protection in the womb of Isis, affirms that he is safe from all assault	<i>ink Hrw</i> (225b)
225f		a'	Horus reiterates his <i>exaltation</i>	<i>ink Hrw</i> (225f)
226a		b'	Horus reiterates his <i>divine origin</i> in Isis	<i>ink Hrw</i> (226a)

THE BURDEN OF KHA'KHEPERRĒ'SONBU

By BOYO G. OCKINGA

*Frau Prof. Emma Brunner-Traut
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Introduction

EVER since Gardiner's pioneering *editio princeps* of the writing board (BM 5645) which bears the text of the *Complaints of Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu*,¹ his interpretation of the text as a purely literary composition has remained unchallenged.² For him the work is no great achievement, no more than 'a collection or anthology of wise sayings ingeniously put together'; he writes of the author's (unattained) 'literary aspirations', his 'naïveté' and 'pompous boast'.³

The judgement of G. Kadish,⁴ the last commentator to have studied the text in depth, is considerably more sympathetic towards the ancient author. He sees the work as an 'indictment of the sorry lack of originality among the contemporaries of Kha'kheper-rĒ-senebu', who are guilty of 'plagiarism'.⁵ Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu is 'weary of this repetitiveness of his age and yearns for something new to say and fresh language with which to express it'.⁶ Although Kadish also notes that there is nothing new in Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's literary style, for him the fact 'that he is aware of it lends a special poignancy to his opening lament'.⁷ 'He is sensitive enough to see the problem; his tragedy is his lack of the creative imagination necessary to do what must be done. The fame of his work may have rested on that insight.'⁸ If this really was all that Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu achieved it seems rather doubtful that it would have been sufficient to secure him a place amongst the great literati of Ancient Egypt. That the Egyptians thought highly of him may be deduced from the fact that he is included in the list of sages of the past preserved in P. Chester Beatty IV,⁹ and in a similar list inscribed on a tomb wall at Saqqâra.¹⁰ Modern interpreters usually bear in mind that the text may be incomplete, and that the achievements which won him lasting fame could have come in the lost sections of the work.

I should like to thank Professor H. Brunner and Professor W. Schenkel for reading through my manuscript and for their useful comments and suggestions.

¹ A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (Leipzig, 1909), Appendix, 95 ff., pls. 17 and 18.

² See, for example, S. Herrmann, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgestalt mittelägyptischer Literaturwerke* (Berlin, 1957), 48 ff.; H. Brunner, *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägypt. Literatur* (Darmstadt, 1966), 63 f.; E. Otto, *Handbuch d. Orientalistik*, I, 1, 2, *Literatur* (Leiden/Köln, 1970), 144; id., in *LÄ* 1, 896–7; M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1973), 145 f.; G. Kadish, *JEA* 59 (1973), 77–90; E. Brunner-Traut in *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, I, *Altorient. Lit.* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 47–8. The only exception that has come to my notice is G. Lanczkowski—see below n. 11.

³ Gardiner, op. cit., 110.

⁴ See n. 2.

⁵ Kadish, op. cit., 85. The interpretation that what we should call plagiarism is here being criticized rests solely upon Kadish's translation—compare that of M. Lichtheim, op. cit.

⁶ Kadish, op. cit., 85.

⁷ Ibid., 86.

⁸ Ibid., 88.

⁹ A convenient translation in W. K. Simpson (ed.), *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven/London, 1972), 1.

¹⁰ Ibid., fig. 6.

The Meaning of *mdwwt*, *tꜣsw*, and *hnw*

The prevalent understanding of the work rests upon the interpretation of three words: *mdwwt*, *tꜣsw*, and *hnw*. The translation of *mdwt mꜣwt* as 'new language' (Gardiner), or 'new words' (Kadish), and *hnw* as 'words' (Gardiner) or 'phrases' (Kadish), naturally lends weight to the assertion that Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's prime concern was for fresh literary expression.¹¹ A more precise definition of the first two terms in this context can be achieved by a comparison with their usage in the *Prophecy of Neferti*, a text which, as has long been recognized, belongs to the same genre as the *Complaints of Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu*.¹² In the *Rahmenerzählung* that introduces the prophecy, King Snefru desires that someone be sought 'who may speak some *mdwt nfrwt* to me, *tꜣsw stꜣw* at the hearing of which My Majesty will be entertained'.¹³ The king's courtiers arrange that the lector-priest Neferti be summoned, and, when he appears, the king makes the same request: 'Come, Neferti, my friend, and recount to me some *mdwt nfrwt*, *tꜣsw stꜣw*, at the hearing of which My Majesty will be entertained'.¹⁴ Thereupon Neferti asks: 'Of what has happened, or of what will happen, O Sovereign, my Lord?'¹⁵ The king desires the latter, and Neferti launches into his prophecy.

Assuming that Neferti did indeed fulfil the wish of his sovereign, and there is no reason to doubt this, we can draw the conclusion that his work can be termed *nhi n mdwwt nfrwt*, *tꜣsw stꜣw*. In this context, therefore, these expressions cannot be understood as denoting isolated sayings, maxims or phrases, even though they literally mean 'some excellent sayings', 'selected/choice maxims';¹⁶ they refer to a more extensive literary product, and their meaning can be better rendered 'discourse' and 'composition'.¹⁷ Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's usage of *mdwt* and *tꜣsw* is similar. Instead of 'some' (*nhi n*) *mdwt* we have 'a collection of' (*shꜣwi*) *mdwt*; in place of 'choice' (*stꜣw*) *tꜣsw*, 'a gathering' (*kꜣf*) of *tꜣsw*. In both texts the terms appear in the plural and there is the concept of selection. We should thus understand Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's *shꜣwi mdwt* and *kꜣf tꜣsw* as terms that refer to the composition as a whole—it is not merely new words and phrases that he seeks, but a whole new message.

This message is also called a *hnw*, the plural form in all probability being influenced by that of *mdwt* and *tꜣsw*. The singular *hn* has the basic meaning 'speech, affair' (*Wb.* III, 289); however, there are examples where the word refers specifically to a complaint or petition:

Eloquent Peasant, B1. 280: Toward the end of the seventh petition the peasant says to the High

¹¹ To my knowledge, the only exception is G. Lanczkowski, *Festschrift Grapow*, 186, who translates 'Reden', 'Aussprüche', 'Wort', without, however, stating his reasons for doing so. He interprets Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's desire for new compositions as a result of 'geschichtlichen Erkenntnissen . . . die letztlich auf der Einsicht in die Wandelbarkeit historischen Geschehens überhaupt beruhen'.

¹² Erman grouped them together with the *Lebensmüde*, *The Complaints of Ipuwer*, and the *Eloquent Peasant* under the heading 'Meditations and Complaints' in his collection of Egyptian literature—Engl. transl. *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927).

¹³ 12-14, Helck, *Neferti*, 7, 11, 1m.

¹⁴ Helck, op. cit., 11-12, 11i-k.

¹⁵ 14, Helck, op. cit., 12, 11m.

¹⁶ Another example where the whole is seen as the sum of its component parts will be found in E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* I, s.v. 'Aspektiv'.

¹⁷ 'Composition' seems a fitting translation of *tꜣsw* since the latter is also derived from a root with the meaning 'to join together'.

Steward Rensi: 'My *hn* is done, my misery (*m̄r*) has come to an end before you.' *Hn*, here standing parallel to *m̄r*, clearly refers to the complaint made by the peasant. The word has a similar meaning in other texts as well: in his biography, in a context where he speaks of his treatment of petitioners, the Vizier Rekhmirē says:¹⁸ [*w*]šb-*i hn nb*, 'I answered every complaint'. Although the neutral meaning of *hn*, 'matter, affair, speech', would also suit this context, one can safely assume that matters brought to the vizier for his judgement were generally complaints of some kind.

In P. Pushkin 127, rt. 3. 15¹⁹ Wermai refers to the account of his misadventures as *hn{i}n ib-i*, '{my} complaint of my heart'.

Just as *hn* in these examples refers to a complaint as a whole, and not to words or phrases, *hnw* in Khaḳkheperrēsonbu's complaint can be understood as an expression denoting his composition, which in character is also a complaint.

Khaḳkheperrēsonbu's Aim

The words with which Khaḳkheperrēsonbu qualifies *hnw* are of interest. He writes of 'probing/investigating' (*ḏr*)²⁰ a complaint (*hnw*). It is obvious to him that all is not well with the state of Egypt, and it is the situation of the country that forms the subject of his complaint. The root of the problem is, however, hidden, and the desire to uncover it leads him to investigate the complaint. He speaks of 'investigating a complaint by means of searching for the heart', (*ḏr hnw m hḥi n ib*). The great care and attention which he pays in composing his work is here expressed, and is brought to our attention a second time in rt. 3: *shk-i ht-i hr ntt im-s m fh n ḏd-i nb*, 'I sift my body (seat of emotion) for all that is in it when releasing all that I (am able to) say.' A comparison with a passage from the *Eloquent Peasant* is here rewarding.²¹ In a passage where he more or less excuses his outburst the peasant says (B1. 275 ff.):

iw grt ht-i mh-ti ib-i stp(w)
pri is m ht-i n c(w) ir-i
nḡt pw m dnit mw-s s(w) wn r-i r mdwt

My body was full, my heart laden;
the outflow from my body because of it,
it is a breach in a dam,²² its waters flowing when
my mouth opened to speak.

ḥr . . .

Then . . .

snf-n-i ntt m ht-i ic(i)-n-i šmw-wi

I emptied out that which was in my body,
washed my linen.

hn-i hpr(w) m̄r-i ḏr(w) hft-hr-k

My complaint is done, my misery ended before
you.

The peasant's complaint (*hn*), unlike that of Khaḳkheperrēsonbu, gushed forth from him uncontrolled, like a flood of water suddenly released by a breach in a dam. He also speaks of emptying out that which was in his body using the verb *snf*, a general

¹⁸ *Urk.* IV, 1083, 3.

¹⁹ R. Caminos, *A Tale of Woe* (Oxford, 1977).

²⁰ Cf. Faulkner, *CD* 320. For *ḏr* used in medical texts with the meaning 'to probe, to investigate' a wound, cf. v. Deines and Westendorf, *Wb. d. med. Texte*, II, 998 f. Herrmann, op. cit., 52, also translates *ḏr* with this sense.

²¹ Herrmann, *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 36 f. was, to my knowledge, the first to draw attention to the similarity of the imagery used in the two texts.

²² We have here an example of the construction dealt with in Gardiner, *Eg. Grammar*, §189; Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* §972, and most recently by W. Westendorf, 'Beiträge zum altägyptischen Nominalsatz. Teil 3: Der Nominalsatz vom Typ A B pw', *NAWG* 1. Phil.-hist. Klasse (1981), Nr. 3.

verb for 'unloading', e.g. a ship of its cargo.²³ The verb that Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu employs, *sh:k*, occurs in medical texts for the process of straining a mixture through a cloth,²⁴ in other words, Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu 'empties out his body' in a more controlled, selective, way—he chooses his words carefully. We have here the same image as that used in the *Teaching for King Merikarē* (P 34) where it is said of the sage: *iw(i) n:f m:ct rth·ti*, 'Ma'at comes to him filtered' (i.e. free of impurities). The verb *rth*²⁵ is used in medical texts in a similar way to *sh:k*—because he studies the writings of past sages, the learned man receives Ma'at in its pure essence.

The Result of Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's Investigation

What was the result of this careful search? In the following discussion, based on the excellent translation of M. Lichtheim,²⁶ I give a précis of the text with a more detailed treatment of the key sections.²⁷

I, 1–4. Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu expresses the desire to say something new; he does not want to repeat the same old things spoken by the ancestors. He chooses what he says with care, since repetition of what has already been said is nothing to boast of.

I, 5–9. He states his intention to produce something new, he is 'not a teller of tales after they happen . . . nor a teller of what might be said'. This statement calls to mind the question Neferti put to King Snefru: Neferti asks what he should relate: 'Of what has happened or what will happen?' Neferti had, of course, been asked to relate some excellent *mdwt*, choice *ḫ:sw*—from this we can draw the conclusion that traditional compositions of this kind had as their subject events of the past or future. Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu disassociates himself from this—it is his observation that 'from the first generation to those who come after, they imitate that which is past'.²⁸ He once again expresses the desire to have something new to say, something which he can contemplate in his heart, which will relieve the burden that distresses him.

I, 10–14. He now proceeds to do something which for this literary genre²⁹ is indeed new—he does not dwell on the past or foretell the future but in contrast ponders on the present condition of the land, which is causing him so much anguish. There then follows a description of the situation of the country which is very similar to that which Neferti prophesies. The sorry plight of the land distresses him exceedingly; it is painful to keep silent, but it is impossible to vent one's concern.³⁰ Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu longs for a heart upon which he can pour out his concerns.

II, 1–6. He now addresses his heart and asks it to unravel for him what is going on in the land.

²³ *Wb.* IV, 162, 8.

²⁴ v. Deines and Westendorf, op. cit. II, 792.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 156.

²⁶ See n. 2. Any variations in my translation will be discussed.

²⁷ The numbering of the lines, e.g. I, 1 instead of rt. 1, follows that of Lichtheim.

²⁸ Lichtheim is the first to have correctly understood this sentence.

²⁹ The author of the *Teaching for King Merikarē* also mentions the situation of the land in his time, but this text belongs to the genre of Instructions.

³⁰ This is stated at the end of the text (II, 4–5), and in the similar chaotic situation described by Neferti (49–50) the same holds true: 'To answer a speech the arm thrusts a stick,/One speaks by killing him./Speech falls on the heart like fire./One cannot endure the word of mouth' (trans. Lichtheim, op. cit., 142). Cf. also the situation of the *Lebensmüde*, who laments the absence of someone with whom he can speak.

There follows another short description of the general miseries which all are suffering; then, toward the end of the section, come the words:

One wakes to it³¹ every day,
 And the hearts do not reject it.
 Yesterday's condition (*hrt*) is like today's,
*hr sni r·s (i)n ʿš; hr dri*³²
 (Because³³ it is imitated³⁴ by the masses, because³⁵ of inflexibility³⁶.)
 None is wise enough to know it,
 None angry enough to cry out,
 One wakes to suffer each day.

We have here the cause of the complaint that Khaʿkheperrēsonbu was investigating, the reason why everything in the country is so chaotic—tradition has so fast a hold on everyone that it is impossible to break out, and the mistakes that cause the problems are forever being repeated as a result. However, although he now has the answer to the problem, it is not thereby eliminated; it still weighs heavily upon the sage.

Conclusion of the Text

II, 4–6. There follows a new section, the lament that, although it is painful to keep silent to what one hears (i.e. the repetition of the same old speeches and counsel), it is futile to speak out against it since no one wants to listen—the similarity to the situation prophesied by Neferti has already been noted (see n. 30). The conclusion of the text is however not totally negative, even if the attitude expressed is somewhat stoical:

When I speak to you, my heart, you answer me,³⁷
 A heart that has been reached is not silent.
 Lo, the situation of the servant is the same as that of the master,
 Much is that which weighs upon you.

Khaʿkheperrēsonbu's heart (i.e. his understanding) has not deserted him; he has reached his heart; it has revealed to him what the cause of his troubles is, and it shares the burden he has to bear. The second line of these concluding words picks up the thought expressed in the title—there we have *hhi n ib*, here *ib ph(w)*, 'searching for the heart' and 'the heart that has been reached',³⁸ thus

³¹ i.e. the general state of affairs.

³² This line, which is central to the understanding of the whole text, has been rather problematical.

³³ For the preposition *hr* introducing a causal clause, see Westendorf, *Gramm. d. Med. Texte*, § 437(a)(2).

³⁴ *snī r*, 'to imitate', as in I, 7. *snī* is an infinitive, its object being the suffix pronoun *s*, which is governed by the preposition *r*. *s* refers, of course, to *hrt*. The subject *ʿš*, 'the masses', is introduced by the preposition (*i*)*n*. For this construction see Gardiner, *Eg. Grammar*, §300; Westendorf, *op. cit.*, §291, 2. A similar construction occurs in *Admonitions*, 6, 7: magical incantations are rendered ineffective *hr sh; st in rmtw*, 'because they are remembered by men'. This phrase is discussed in detail by Westendorf, *Der Gebrauch des Passivs in der klassischen Literatur der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1953), 33–4. *sh; st* here, just as *snī* in Khaʿkheperrēsonbu, is either a masculine form of the infinitive, or a defective writing omitting the feminine *t*-ending.

³⁵ The preposition *hr* expresses cause (v. Deines and Westendorf, *op. cit.* II, 622 (D) I).

³⁶ In *New Kingdom* texts *dri* has the basic meaning 'to be hard, solid'. It can be used in a negative sense—'to be difficult, laborious', as well as positively—'solid, dependable' (*Wb.* v, 599). Here the determinative indicates a negative meaning.

³⁷ This is an example of a *Wechselsatz*: see H. J. Polotsky, *Orientalia* 33 (1964), 281 f.; F. Junge, *Syntax der mittelägypt. Literatursprache* (Mainz, 1978), 115 f.

³⁸ *ib ph(w)* can be compared with several other similar compounds expressing character qualities (in general see Brunner, *LÄ* II, 1159, II, A ff. on this). Of particular interest are the terms *tkn ib* and *is-ib*. To judge from their occurrence in the *Counsels of Discretion* (O. Michaelides 16) §8 (see K. A. Kitchen, *Or. Ant.* 9 (1970), 205) these are opposites. (Although most sections in this text are synonymous parallelisms, there are

very nicely rounding off the whole composition, and suggesting that the text, as we have it, is complete.

The Influence of Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu

The *Complaints of Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu* is truly a remarkable work, and its author well deserves the high regard in which he was held by later generations. To our knowledge, he was the first person to have rejected the venerated tradition of imitating the forefathers,³⁹ which was so widespread in the Middle Kingdom.⁴⁰ His rejection of imitation of the past is, however, not a result of his desire to produce something new for novelty's sake, it is the result of the recognition that imitation of the past is the cause of the troubles which, in his time, plague the country. Anticipating this discovery, he desires, from the start, to say something new. Instead of dwelling on the past or future, he chooses a new theme for his work and ponders over the present. If we can accept Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu's (implied) claim that he was the first to have written a composition dealing with the situation in his own time, and we have no reason for doubting this, then we have here another indication for the argument that the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* is a product of the late Middle Kingdom at the earliest,⁴¹ since, as far as its damaged condition allows us to judge, it too is a lamentation over the situation of the country as seen and experienced by the writer.

Although the *Complaints of Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu* is written as though meant only for the author, it was of course directed at a wider audience, society in general, or at least its educated class, and one naturally wonders how its revolutionary message was received. There is evidence that enables us to say with relative certainty that it did not go unheeded:

(a) The *Admonitions of Ipuwer* has already been referred to; it may well be that Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu set the example for Ipuwer to write on contemporary problems.

(b) There is a very interesting development in the meaning of the verb *snī* (+ direct accusative)⁴² which supports the view that Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu influenced society to some degree. In texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, particularly in Instructions, the verb *snī*, which has the basic meaning 'to pass by', takes a direct object, and has the specific meaning 'to transgress, to ignore':⁴³

'All that is written in this book, *sdm st mī dd-ī st m sn(w) hrw hr šst* (obey it as I have said it, do not exceed what has been set down)' (*Kagemni*, 2, 5)⁴⁴; *ndr mst m sn(w) sī*, 'Hold to the truth, do

also antithetical examples, e.g. §4, where ODM 1398. 3 supplies the missing first word: *wšb*, G. Posener, *DFIFAO* 20 (1977), pl. 14.) These expressions describe the relationship of a person to his heart, the seat of reason and understanding. The *is-ib* is an impatient person (cf. Faulkner, *CD* 5; Kitchen, op. cit., 206). In contrast, the *tkn-ib* is literally 'one who is close to his heart'—'one who is patient, self-controlled' seems the best translation: 'The patient man seeks out a (good) end, there is no impatient man who is free of enemies.' The expression *ib ph(w)* has a similar intrinsic meaning to *tkn-ib*—the person who has reached his heart is obviously close to it. At the end of his discourse Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu has reached his heart; he has overcome the unsettled, distraught state he was in at the outset, and has achieved the ideal of calm, patient self-control.

³⁹ Lichtheim draws attention to this in n. 2 to her translation.

⁴⁰ E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen z. ägypt. Königtum d. MR*, I, *Die Phraseologie* (Berlin, 1970), D1. 14 and 15. The *Wb* reference to New Kingdom examples should be deleted; these are examples of *snī* + direct accusative with the meaning 'surpass': see below.

⁴¹ See Lichtheim, op. cit., introduction to translation of text, pp. 149 ff.

⁴² *Wb*. III, 455 B.

⁴³ See G. Posener, *Littérature et politique* (Paris, 1956), 152 n. 2; Kitchen, *Or. Ant.* 8 (1969), 191 n. 11.

⁴⁴ P. Prisse, 2, 5; Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 74, pl. 14. *hrw hr* is, in fact, pleonastic.

not exceed it' (*Ptahhotpe*, 151);⁴⁵ *m sn(w) kd·i m stn(w) m bit·i*, 'Do not ignore my character, do not distance yourself from my disposition (*Loyalist Teaching*, §8, 5);⁴⁶ *ir(i) mi kd(·i) nn sn(t) im*, 'Act according to my character without transgressing therein' (*Teaching of a Man for his Son*, §3).⁴⁷

This usage is not confined to Instructions. On a stele of Intef *Wḥ·cnḥ*⁴⁸ the king says: 'There was no lie that came from my mouth, *n(n) mdwt sn(i)t ddt·n·i*, no transgression that I uttered.' I have not been able to find a single example from the Old or Middle Kingdoms where *snī*+direct accusative has a positive meaning. In the New Kingdom, however, this positive usage is very well attested, with the meaning 'to surpass':⁴⁹ In an inscription recording his building activities Thutmose I claims: *snī·n·i ir(i)t dr·b·h* 'That which was done aforesaid I surpassed' (*Urk.* IV, 102, 4); Thutmose III says: *nn twt(i) sn(t) n ir(i)t nbt m pr(w) it(i)·f Imn(w)*, 'There is nothing to equal the surpassing of all that was done in his father Amūn's house' (*Urk.* IV, 585, 1); Amenophis II states in inscriptions on several columns in Karnak: *d(i)·n·i ḥrw ḥr wnt m·b·h snī·n·i ir(i)t·n drtiw*, 'More than what previously was, I did; that which the ancestors achieved I surpassed' (*Urk.* IV, 1328, 10, and 1330, 15); Ramesses II similarly claims:⁵⁰ *snī·n·i ir(i)·n bitiw*, 'That which the Kings of Lower Egypt did I surpassed'.

In the section of the text of the 'Restoration Stele' of Tutankhamūn in which are described the measures he took to restore the temples of the land, comes the statement: *snī·n·f iryt dr rk imiw ḥt*, 'That which had been done since the times of the ancestors I surpassed' (*Urk.* IV, 2029, 8).

The boast to have surpassed the deeds of the ancestors is not confined to royal inscriptions, even though these furnish the majority of examples. Kenamūn, an official of Amenophis II, describes some of his works for the king and says, referring to himself: *snī·n·f ir(i)t dr·b·h*, 'That which was done aforesaid he surpassed' (*Urk.* IV, 1406, 8). A radical change in outlook must have taken place to bring about such a development—what was once judged negatively is now regarded positively.⁵¹

(c) We have evidence to show that, at least during one period in the New Kingdom, the once positive action of imitating the ancestors was looked upon with disdain. In an inscription on one of his statues, Amenophis, son of Ḥapu, states: *d(i) wi nb·i r imy·r ḥwt nbwt smn·n·i rn ny nswt n dt n snī·i r ir(i)t dr·b·h*, 'My Lord (Amenophis III) appointed me Overseer of all Works; I having established the name of the King for eternity without imitating that which was done previously' (*Urk.* IV, 1822, 10–12).

Whether the influence of Khaḥkheperre'sonbu lasted from his times through to the New Kingdom is difficult to determine with certainty. It is, however, worthy of note that the only extant copy of his work can be dated to the early Eighteenth Dynasty,⁵²

⁴⁵ Z. Žaba, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep* (Prague, 1956), 28. Cf. also H. Brunner, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 145 ff. for similar advice in a Coptic text.

⁴⁶ Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste* (Geneva, 1976), 33 f.

⁴⁷ Kitchen, op. cit., 189 ff.

⁴⁸ Cairo Cat. Gen. 20512, 5; W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Theben, Herakleopolis* (Wiesbaden, 1965), no. 69.

⁴⁹ *Wb.* III, 455, 17. *Snī* construed with the preposition *r* is another matter. An examination of the examples for this usage shows that in Middle Egyptian texts it *always* means 'to imitate'. The *Wb.* entries III, 456, 7 and 8, are misleading. In the examples that it brings in support, *snī r* must be translated 'to imitate'. The entry *Wb.* III, 456, 9, is valid only for Late Egyptian and Graeco-Roman temple inscriptions; the Middle Egyptian equivalent is *snī*+direct accusative. This can be clearly seen from a passage in the Kadesh inscription of Ramesses II (*KRI* II, 12, §30). Here the monumental inscriptions all have *snī*+direct accusative where P. Chester Beatty, II, has *snī r*+object—one can expect Late Egyptian idioms to creep into the papyrus text.

⁵⁰ *Wb.* Belegstellen, III, 455, 17 (696).

⁵¹ This is not to say that one never speaks of surpassing that which was done in the past in Middle Kingdom texts. Such claims are, of course made; however the actions of the ancestors are always taken as a precedent; one copies what they did, but does more. A good example is *Merikarē* P 90 (Blumenthal, op. cit. D3. 4). The revolutionary new aspect which we have here is the rejection of the example of the past and the search for a new way.

⁵² See Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 96.

and it is precisely during this period, an age that boasted of its new achievements, that Egypt experienced a new cultural upsurge which brought forth innovations in various fields.⁵³ Although the question whether Kha'kheperrĒ'sonbu directly influenced this development must remain open, we can be sure that his message fell on receptive ears during this period.

⁵³ See E. Hornung, *Grundzüge d. ägypt. Geschichte* (Darmstadt, 1978), 74 f.

UNE STATUE DE REINE BRITISH MUSEUM ET KARNAK ET LES PARADOXES DU PORTRAIT ÉGYPTIEN

Par R. TEFNIN

LA présente étude vise à préciser la situation chronologique et l'identification du grand buste de reine conservé au British Museum sous le numéro 601 [93] (voir pls. VIII, 1-4; IX, 1-2). On en donnera tout d'abord une description détaillée, puis une analyse interne tendra à dégager les critères chronologiquement utilisables, enfin, l'étude des conditions de la découverte permettra de retrouver la partie manquante de la statue et d'assurer son identification. Cette identification menant à un double paradoxe iconographique, c'est la question du sens de ce que nous appelons le portrait égyptien qui se trouvera finalement posée.¹

Description

Dans son catalogue de la sculpture égyptienne du British Museum, E. A. W. Budge présente l'œuvre comme suit :

Upper portion of a colossal statue of a queen, wearing the headdress characteristic of the goddess Hathor, with an uraeus over the forehead. The lady represented is one of the queens of Rameses II. Found by Belzoni in 1817. XIXth Dynasty. About 1300 B.C. Height 3 ft 8½ in. n° 601.²

État de conservation

Tel que le buste se présente au British Museum, il est impossible de décider s'il a appartenu à une statue debout ou à une statue assise. En effet, la cassure qui a emporté la partie inférieure du corps passe exactement, de face, par la saignée des coudes et n'a laissé subsister aucun vestige des avant-bras. Tout au plus la position légèrement oblique des bras depuis l'épaule peut-elle faire préférer l'appartenance à une statue assise; la suite de cette étude confirmera que telle était bien l'attitude originelle. De dos, le pilier dorsal apparaît comme taillé en biseau horizontal assez régulier par une cassure qui rejoint obliquement le creux des reins. Les traits du visage, émoussés par l'érosion, surtout dans la région des yeux, se laissent encore aisément reconnaître sous un éclairage frisant, et seules la tête de l'uraeus et l'extrême pointe du nez ont été brisées. L'œuvre offre de ce fait des conditions d'analyse exceptionnellement favorables.

Dimensions

Les mesures actuelles sont les suivantes. Hauteur totale: 1.13 m; hauteur du visage:

¹ Je dois la plus grande reconnaissance à MM. James et Davies, du British Museum, pour l'autorisation généreusement accordée de publier cette pièce.

² E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Sculptures in the British Museum* (Londres, 1914), pl. xxxiv, p. 17.

0·214 m; largeur aux épaules: 0·692 m; largeur maximale au niveau de la cassure: 0·75 m; largeur de la taille (plus grand diamètre) au niveau de la cassure: 0·50 m; largeur du pilier dorsale (érodé): 0·211 m.

Présentation

Les limites du vêtement, une robe lisse et moulant étroitement les formes, ne se laissent pas distinguer, soit que l'usure de la surface ait fait disparaître le trait finement incisé qui pouvait indiquer le bord supérieur de la tunique, soit — plus vraisemblablement — que la forme de la coiffure et la présence d'un collier aient rendu le détail inutile. Ce collier, qui couvre le haut de la poitrine entre les retombées de la perruque, est un collier *ousekh* composé de cinq rangées de minces plaquettes verticales et d'un dernier rang de pendeloques allongées, rendues au moyen de fines incisions. Une double ligne incurvée, également incisée, limite chaque rangée du collier, y compris les pendeloques.

Le visage s'encadre dans une large perruque hathorique, amplement gonflée au point d'atteindre presque l'envergure des épaules. De minces cannelures horizontales, pressées les unes contre les autres évoquent le détail des mèches, là où la coiffure n'est pas couverte par le dessin délicatement ciselé de la dépouille de vautour. Posées sur la naissance des seins, les retombées des mèches apparaissent sous une forme parfaitement circulaire, timbrée au centre d'un disque incisé, stylisant une extrémité spiralée. A l'arrière, la perruque s'achève par une large nappe cannelée horizontalement, qui couvre la nuque et le haut du dos, et vient poser sur le sommet du pilier dorsal. Au front enfin, se dresse le plastron d'un uraeus que son état érodé n'empêche pas de distinguer clairement d'une tête de vautour.

Plastiquement, le torse est construit en formes menues, lisses, limitées par des surfaces parfaitement continues et d'une grande sobriété de modelé. Épaules rondes, bras minces et presque cylindriques, sans aucun rendu de musculature, poitrine doucement bombée, petits seins écartés, taille creusée, dessinée depuis l'aisselle par une courbe légèrement concave, qui rebondit pour indiquer l'ampleur des hanches, tous ces traits relèvent d'une même discrétion dans le maniement des volumes, d'une tendance à percevoir les formes en fonction d'une référence géométrique plutôt que charnelle, et d'une vision svelte, élégante et juvénile de la féminité.

Au centre du beau volume bombé de la coiffure, s'inscrit un visage finement ovale, au menton mince et effilé, presque sans indication d'ossature. Ni la pommette ni l'arcade sourcilière ne fournissent d'accent plastique majeur. Comme celle du corps, la construction globale réalise une forme lisse, épurée de tout accident, que la lumière caresse avec fluidité. Reconnaisables sous éclairage frisant, les traits s'harmonisent, dans leur sobriété de lignes, avec la structure plastique: sourcils arqués continûment de la racine du nez à la tempe et rendus par un bandeau graphique stylisant le trait de fard, grands yeux en amandes limités par d'amples courbes sinueuses, bouche sérieuse plutôt posée sur le plan du visage qu'insérée dans une texture musculaire, nez aquilin de profil, triangulaire et aux narines peu saillantes de face. Contrastant toutefois avec cette élégance, les oreilles sont grandes et comme rabattues vers l'avant par la masse

de la coiffure. On juge difficilement de l'expression psychologique, qui semble avoir été voulue plutôt sérieuse et énergique. Une impression d'intense féminité s'en dégage.

Analyse chronologique interne

État de la question

Budge, on l'a vu, attribuait l'œuvre à la 19^e dynastie et y reconnaissait même une épouse de Ramsès II, sans toutefois justifier son opinion. Vandier se ralliait à cette proposition, non sans quelques réserves: 'Une autre statue fragmentaire du British Museum (601 [93]) représente probablement, elle aussi, une femme de Ramsès II: le visage, beaucoup plus triangulaire que celui du buste BM 602 (948) est assez différent, par sa forme, des autres œuvres, encore que les sourcils et les yeux soient traités de la même manière. La reine porte la coiffure hathorique, ce qui est exceptionnel à cette époque'.³ Roeder, citant l'œuvre à plusieurs reprises dans son étude sur le buste d'Amenardis à Sydney, se contentait d'un vague 'NR, undatiert'.⁴ Enfin Evers, se fondant sur la forme et le détail de la coiffure hathorique, datait l'œuvre du début de la 18^e dynastie. On verra que cet auteur, si souvent bien inspiré, faisait ainsi une nouvelle fois preuve de sa grande perspicacité.⁵

Les critères

Pour tenter d'apporter une réponse définitive à une question de cet ordre, la première voie à explorer est celle de l'analyse systématique des éléments de la présentation susceptibles de fournir des critères chronologiques. Dans le cas présent, on envisagera successivement la perruque hathorique et la dépouille de vautour, le collier *ousekh*, la construction plastique et la définition physionomique.

Coiffure hathorique et dépouille de vautour

Aucun exemple de cette coiffure ne semble attesté dans la statuaire de l'Ancien Empire. Son apparition en trois dimensions remonte à la seconde moitié de la 12^e dynastie, aux célèbres statues de la reine Néfert, épouse de Sésostri II,⁶ et à une petite tête de sphinx féminin conservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, que son style permet d'attribuer, sans plus de précision, à la même époque.⁷ Cette mode se prolonge ensuite durant la première moitié de la 18^e dynastie. On citera en particulier le sphinx du Musée Barracco⁸ et le petit sphinx de Minya el-Shurafa,⁹ deux statues en granit rose d'épouses de Touthmosis III au Caire,¹⁰ un buste de Vienne qui représente très vraisemblablement une épouse du même roi,¹¹ et un buste de reine au Caire, dont

³ J. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 427 n. 5.

⁴ G. Roeder, *Statuen ägyptischer Königinnen* (Leipzig, 1932), not. pp. 15, 28, 29, 80.

⁵ H. G. Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein*, II (Munich, 1929), §189.

⁶ Caire CG 381-2: Vandier, op. cit., 586 et Evers, op. cit., I, pls. 72-5.

⁷ Inv. 24: Vandier, op. cit., 609 et Evers, op. cit., I, pl. 76.

⁸ Analyse et bibliographie dans R. Tefnin, *La Statuaire d'Hatshepsout* (Bruxelles, 1979), 153-4.

⁹ Caire JE 56599, cf. *ibid.*, 155 n. 3.

¹⁰ Caire JE 37638: Vandier, op. cit., 315, F. Bisson de la Roque, *Tôd* (Caire, 1937), 130 et fig. 79 [la statue porte le nom de la reine Satiâh]; Caire JE 45076: Vandier, op. cit., 315, pl. 104 (7), A. Barsanti, *ASAE* 15 (1915), 174, pl. v [le nom de la reine est perdu mais le cartouche de Menkheperre^c subsiste].

¹¹ Inv. 5778. E. Komorszynski, *Das Erbe des Alten Ägypten* (Vienne, 1965), fig. 32 et p. 196; Vandier, op. cit., 224.

l'attribution est moins sûre, quoique son style l'apparente clairement aux œuvres précédentes.¹² Le sphinx Barracco et les statues du Caire sont datés avec certitude du règne de Touthmosis III. Le buste de Vienne l'est presque aussi sûrement, pour sa parenté stylistique et iconographique avec les épouses de ce roi; quant au sphinx miniature, sa ressemblance typologique, stylistique et physionomique avec le sphinx Barracco empêcherait de la situer bien loin du même règne. Il apparaît en somme que le champ chronologique de répartition des statues à perruque hathorique se concentre fortement autour du règne de Touthmosis III, aucune attestation sûre n'existant pour les premiers règnes de la dynastie, ni, au-delà de ce terme, jusqu'à la Basse Époque. Le règne d'Ḥatshepsout notamment n'en présente pas d'exemple, puisque les statues féminines de la reine portent tantôt la perruque tripartite, tantôt le *némès* ou le *khat*.¹³ En somme, plus que d'une continuité de mode depuis le Moyen Empire, c'est d'une résurgence qu'il paraît bien s'agir après la mort d'Ḥatshepsout, résurgence que l'on croirait volontiers motivée par le souci du retour à une définition spécifiquement féminine du personnage des reines.

Il conviendra donc de comparer entre eux deux groupes de perruques hathoriques bien circonscrits dans le temps à la deuxième moitié de la 12^e dynastie et au milieu de la 18^e. D'emblée, les deux groupes apparaissent nettement contrastés, pour leur construction plastique et leur réalisation décorative.

Les coiffures hathoriques du Moyen Empire, plutôt aplaties sur le sommet du crâne, s'élargissent en une courbe continue, très ample, jusqu'au niveau du menton, puis se resserrent, toujours continûment, jusqu'à l'épaule, enfin, marquent une obliquité très nette, provoquant un fort amincissement des mèches retombantes avant l'épanouissement de la spirale terminale. L'impression produite par ces volumes est celle d'une chevelure réelle, reposant partiellement sur les épaules, et présentant de ce fait son plus grand gonflement au niveau du cou. Le même souci de réalisme préside à l'organisation du détail de la coiffure. De fines incisions onduées individualisent les mèches, dont de lentes ondulations rayonnantes traduisent la frisure, tandis que six ou sept liens également rayonnants,¹⁴ rendus par de minces bandeaux plats, la maintiennent en place; en somme, une formule décorative complexe qui combine plastique et graphisme afin de rendre le plus fidèlement l'effet d'une chevelure gonflée, vivante, aérienne.

Les exemples de la 18^e dynastie ne montrent pas le même souci naturaliste. Bombée sur le sommet du crâne, la forme trouve son ampleur maximale au niveau des yeux, puis s'affine progressivement sans marquer aucun affaissement sur les épaules, avant de se terminer non plus par des spirales gonflées, mais par un volume discoïdal frappé en son centre d'un cercle incisé. Les mèches ne sont plus indiquées et seul un cerclage de cannelures horizontales évoque, de façon bien schématique, la réalité d'une chevelure frisée. Le contraste entre les deux groupes s'accroît encore à la constatation du fait

¹² CG 42009. Vandier, op. cit., 315, pl. 104 (6); Evers, op. cit., II, §§189, 726.

¹³ Tefnin, op. cit., 124 (perruque tripartite), 20-1 (*némès* et *khat*), 92 (*khat*).

¹⁴ 6 aux statues de la reine Nefert, 7 au buste de sphinx de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris. Cf. plus haut, notes 6 et 7.

qu'aucune des coiffures du Moyen Empire n'apparaît couverte par la dépouille de vautour, qui orne au contraire tous les exemples connus de la 18^e dynastie, contribuant d'ailleurs à substituer à l'effet plastique d'une chevelure gonflante celui d'une forme figée, animée seulement par de fines incisions superficielles.¹⁵

Par son envergure maximale située au niveau des yeux, son sommet arrondi, ses cannelures horizontales, ses spirales stylisées et sa dépouille de vautour, la coiffure du buste du British Museum s'insère clairement dans le groupe de la 18^e dynastie, c'est-à-dire plus précisément, ainsi qu'on l'a noté plus haut, dans un groupe d'œuvres datables des environs du règne de Touthmosis III, sinon même de ce seul règne.

Le collier

L'analyse du collier fournit peu d'indications supplémentaires. Sa composition en barrettes rendues par des incisions et son dernier rang de pendeloques lui-même limité par un arc de cercle incisé correspondent au type le plus largement répandu sous la 18^e dynastie.¹⁶ Aucune des statues de reines du Moyen Empire ne s'en trouve parée. Le collier est par ailleurs strictement limité à l'intervalle visible entre les retombées de la perruque, sans ce prolongement sur les épaules qui constitue une formule naturaliste courante à partir du règne d'Aménophis III et à l'époque ramesside.¹⁷

Construction plastique et physionomie

On a décrit plus haut les formes sobres, lisses, tendant à une décantation d'essence géométrique, qui composent tant le torse que le visage, conférant à l'œuvre une sorte de gracilité juvénile et une grande douceur d'expression. Sur un plan strictement stylistique, le contraste est total avec la plastique féminine de l'Ancien Empire, où dominant les épaules larges, les torsos allongés et triangulaires, les hanches effacées, les seins lourds et très ronds. Quant aux formes féminines du Moyen Empire, on sait qu'elles se caractérisent au contraire par un développement important des courbes, qui tend à donner au corps de la femme une allure de violon, d'effet fort sensuel. C'est de la première moitié de la 18^e dynastie à nouveau que relèvent les parallèles les plus exacts que l'on puisse trouver. On citera tout particulièrement la statue de Moutnefert dédiée par Touthmosis II¹⁸ et les deux statues féminines d'Ĥatshepsout, en diorite noire et en granit rose.¹⁹ A partir du règne de Touthmosis III toutefois se remarque une tendance à l'épanouissement plus ample des formes, à l'accentuation en rondeur de la poitrine et au creusement concave de la taille, une formulation plastique peut-être inspirée de celle du Moyen Empire.²⁰

¹⁵ Sur la dépouille de vautour, cf. G. Brunner-Traut, dans *LdÄ* II (Wiesbaden, 1977), col. 515, s.v. *Geierhaube*, et G. Roeder, op. cit., §22, pp. 28-31.

¹⁶ Evers, op. cit., II, §§197-204.

¹⁷ Lorsque, évidemment, la coiffure, masculine ou féminine, laisse les épaules découvertes et présente des éléments de poitrine, tels que pattes de nèmes ou mèches de perruque tripartite. Exemples: Vandier, op. cit. pls. cvi, 5-6; cxviii, 1; cxix, 1-2; cxxiv, 3 etc.

¹⁸ Caire CG 572; Vandier, op. cit., 314, 489, pl. civ, 5.

¹⁹ New York, MMA 30.3.3 et New York, MMA 29.3.3. + Leyde, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden F 1928/9.2: Tefnin, op. cit., 2-11, pls. i, ii, iii a.

²⁰ Statue de la reine Isis, mère du roi, au Caire CG 42072: C. Vandersleyen, *Das alte Ägypten* (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 15) (Berlin, 1975), pl. 178.

Le visage est plus explicite encore. Malgré l'usure qui les voile quelque peu, les traits physiologiques, tels qu'ils ont été décrits plus haut, offrent la correspondance la plus frappante avec les traits d'Ḥatshepsout, ceux tout particulièrement de la maturité du règne. Dans une étude d'ensemble de la statuaire de la reine, j'ai cru pouvoir démontrer que la coupe du visage en ovale large, les sourcils arqués continûment et parallèles à la paupière supérieure, les yeux étirés mais bien ouverts, aux bords inférieur et supérieur sinueux, la bouche large et sérieuse, et surtout le nez finement busqué définissaient le compromis établi pour l'image de la reine après les tentatives contrastées du début du règne vers un visage soit inspiré par la tradition paternelle, soit affirmant sans détour l'individualité du personnage et donc la singularité institutionnelle de la situation.²¹ Pour se persuader de la valeur de la comparaison, il suffira d'examiner les visages féminins antérieurs à Ḥatshepsout, ceux par exemple des sarcophages de Merytamon,²² ou des visages postérieurs, appartenant au règne de Touthmosis III (Isis,²³ Sati'âh,²⁴ le buste de Vienne,²⁵ le sphinx Barracco)²⁶ ou d'Aménophis II (groupe du roi et Tiâa au Caire).²⁷ Avec Merytamon, comme avec Tiâa, le contraste est bien net. Merytamon présente un visage arrondi, de généreuses inflexions charnelles, des sourcils peu arqués, des yeux étirés mais faiblement ouverts, un nez bien en chair aux narines rondes, un menton en boule nettement détaché du volume du visage. Tiâa, quant à elle, montre un visage de structure plutôt cubique, au menton carré, aux pommettes saillantes, avec un long nez droit et des sourcils presque horizontaux posés très bas sur des yeux peu ouverts. Avec les visages de reines de l'époque de Touthmosis III se marquent davantage d'affinités. Le visage plus ovale, aux volumes très doux sur lesquels la lumière glisse sans obstacle, le tracé sinueux des yeux, les sourcils arqués manifestent la persistance du type féminin créé sous Ḥatshepsout. Il ne s'agit plus, toutefois, que d'une tradition, qui émousse progressivement les traits les plus caractéristiques du visage de la grande reine : l'arc des sourcils moins prononcé, les yeux moins grands et moins intenses, le menton petit et séparé de la lèvre comme aux statues de Touthmosis III, les narines moins pincées, l'expression moins impérieuse. Au contraire de ces visages, celui du buste du British Museum présente tous ces caractères dans leur plus nette accentuation et s'insère sans difficulté au sein de l'ensemble iconographique le plus récent fourni par les statues de Deir el-Bahri.

Conclusion provisoire : le premier paradoxe

Ainsi qu'il a été montré plus haut, les éléments de la présentation typologique et de la construction plastique du buste du British Museum renvoient unanimement à la

²¹ Tefnin, *op. cit.*, 139-46. Les proportions des yeux de la statue du British Museum fournissent un rapport Lg./Ht. égal à 2, 3 qui s'insère parfaitement dans la 'fourchette' caractérisant la troisième phase de la statuaire de la reine (*ibid.*, tableau v, p. 176).

²² M. E. Winlock, *The Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amün at Thebes* (New York, 1932), pls. 18-19, 25-6; Winlock, *BMAA* 24 (1929) Nov. II, figs. 30-2; C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art* (Londres, 1961), pl. 12.

²³ Cf. la note 20.

²⁴ Cf. la note 10.

²⁵ Cf. la note 11.

²⁶ Cf. la note 8.

²⁷ Sur l'attribution de la statue Caire CG 42080 à Aménophis II au lieu de Touthmosis IV, voir *CdÉ* 49 (1974), 19.

première moitié de la 18^e dynastie, et même plus précisément au règne de Touthmosis III, puisque la perruque hathorique ne paraît pas attestée avant ce terme. L'analyse stylistique, par ailleurs, permet d'inscrire l'œuvre dans une tradition plastique de rendu du corps féminin qui entre en mutation sous le règne de ce même roi. Enfin, les traits physionomiques indiquent une correspondance très suggestive avec l'iconographie d'Ḥatshepsout dans sa maturité. La conclusion paraît dès lors s'imposer : le modèle du buste ne peut être qu'Ḥatshepsout elle-même, sous un aspect hathorique non attesté jusqu'à présent mais nullement impossible puisque cette présentation apparaît largement dominante sous le règne de son successeur.

Cette conclusion soulève toutefois un grave problème, car elle oblige à admettre qu'Ḥatshepsout se fit encore représenter en femme durant la seconde moitié de son règne et contredit la thèse d'une disparition progressive et définitive de l'aspect féminin peu après l'avènement et la réalisation des premières statues.²⁸ Admettre cette conclusion signifierait donc mettre en cause l'ensemble du modèle évolutif de la statuaire d'Ḥatshepsout. Avant de consentir à ce constat d'échec, il subsiste heureusement une dernière voie de recherches, qui consiste à tenter de réunir des données externes d'identification, c'est-à-dire au mieux, en l'occurrence, retrouver la partie manquante de la statue, dont les inscriptions viendront soit confirmer la ruine du système, soit résoudre le paradoxe.

Critique externe

Les archives du British Museum indiquent que le buste fut trouvé à Thèbes par Belzoni, en 1817, c'est-à-dire lors de son second voyage. En mars de cette année, Belzoni travaille à Karnak, devant ce qu'il appelle le 'second pylône' du temple. Il décrit ainsi ses recherches :

The works in Carnak were going on, and I had begun to uncover one of the sitting colossi before the second propylaeon, beyond the large avenue of sphinxes leading into the great temple. I had it cleared all round, and found it to be twenty-nine feet high from the bottom of the chair; it is of a white calcareous stone, and very hard. At the foot of the chair I found a sitting statue seven feet high. It represented a female figure, perhaps of Isis. Its headdress, of enormous size, differed from the generality of the Egyptian statues, and from its style appeared to be of a very remote age. The bust was divided at the waist from the rest of the body and chair. I took out the bust and intended to take out the chair, as soon as the boat arrived with the implements.²⁹

Le second pylône de Karnak ne comportant pas de colosses assis, le décompte de Belzoni concerne évidemment non l'axe principal du temple mais les pylônes de l'axe nord-sud, et son second pylône ne peut être identifié qu'avec celui que nous nommons le huitième. La face sud de celui-ci présente effectivement une série de statues colossales aux noms de Touthmosis II, Aménophis I et Aménophis II, restaurées par Touthmosis III et Touthmosis IV.³⁰ Au pied du colosse d'Aménophis I, adossé au milieu du massif occidental du pylône, se voit encore aujourd'hui la partie inférieure d'une

²⁸ Tefnin, *La Statuaire d'Ḥatshepsout* (Bruxelles, 1979) 1-36.

²⁹ G. Belzoni, *Narrative of the Operations and Recent Discoveries in Egypt and Nubia* (Londres, 1820), 151-2.

³⁰ *PM* II², 175-7.

statue féminine assise, en calcaire blanc (voir pl. IX, 3-4).³¹ La comparaison sommaire des dimensions, de la matière et de la forme de la cassure, jointe à l'insistance de Belzoni sur les dimensions imposantes de la coiffure 'isiaque' et au fait qu'il déclare avoir enlevé le buste de la statue mais non sa partie inférieure, m'ont paru rendre infiniment probable un raccord entre cette statue assise du huitième pylône et le buste de reine du British Museum. La preuve n'aurait pu toutefois en être apportée sans l'extrême amabilité de MM. Davies et Traunecker qui ont bien voulu effectuer pour moi, à Londres et à Karnak (Centre franco-égyptien), les nombreuses vérifications que j'ai été amené à leur demander. Première constatation, le colosse d'Aménophis I, la statue assise du huitième pylône et le buste du British Museum ont été taillés dans un matériau identique, un calcaire blanc cristallin d'usage relativement rare dans la statuaire égyptienne, encore qu'il soit attesté au début de la 18^e dynastie par la plus célèbre des statues d'Hatshepsout, son effigie assise, féminisante, du Metropolitan Museum de New York.³² La position, la forme et les dimensions de la cassure fournissent d'autre part l'indication la plus nette de l'appartenance des deux fragments à une même statue. Bien qu'il soit difficile, pour d'évidentes raisons, d'envisager la réalisation d'un moulage du buste de Londres et de vérifier ainsi, de façon absolue, son adaptation à la statue de Karnak, la position de la cassure, passant par le nombril et la saignée des bras, son plus grand diamètre mesurant exactement (bras exclus) 50 cm, enfin sa forme, montrant de face une courbure continue vers le haut et par derrière une courbure continue vers le bas, constituent des éléments de preuve convaincants. Quant aux dimensions des fragments conservés (hauteur du buste: 1.13 m; hauteur du fragment de Karnak: 1.73 m au total et 1.22 m sans la base), ils correspondent aux proportions d'une statue normale, brisée à peu près exactement par le milieu du corps. Il n'y a pas lieu, je pense, de s'inquiéter de la différence entre les sept pieds de haut mentionnés par Belzoni (soit 2.14 m) et la hauteur totale reconstituée, qui est de 2.86 m. N'ayant pas dégagé entièrement les socles des statues, le voyageur mesure en effet le colosse d'Aménophis I non depuis la base réelle mais 'from the bottom of the chair'. Bien que sa relation ne le précise pas, il en fait certainement de même pour la statue féminine.³³ Dans ce cas, l'écart entre les sept pieds (2.14 m), exprimés manifestement en chiffres ronds, et les 2.35 m de la statue sans la base devient tout à fait négligeable.

L'ensemble ainsi reconstitué apparaît d'une remarquable cohérence typologique et stylistique (voir pl. X, 3). La tunique moulante qui enserre le corps de la reine s'arrête bien au-dessus des chevilles et est limitée par un bord strictement horizontal, une mode austère qui ne s'assouplira qu'à partir du règne de Touthmosis IV. La pose des mains à plat sur les cuisses est la seule attitude admise pour les reines représentées

³¹ Ibid. 176; M. Pillet, *Thèbes* (Paris, 1930), 101; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Ré à Karnak* (Caire, 1962) 259 n. 5; M. Gitton, *L'Épouse du dieu Ahmès-Néfertary* (Paris, 1975), 62; F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I* (Hildesheim, 1978), 142.

³² M. M. A. inv. 29.3.2: Tefnin, op. cit., 11-16, pls. III b-c, IV, v. Sur ce matériau, voir A. Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4^e éd. (Londres, 1962), 414-15.

³³ Le dégagement de la face Sud du huitième pylône n'a été entrepris qu'en 1900 par G. Legrain qui déclare avoir découvert divers monuments 'en descendant au-dessous du niveau du socle des quatre colosses' (*ASAE* 4 (1903), 26). Ce dégagement fut poursuivi en 1924 par M. Pillet qui atteignit alors la base des socles (*ASAE* 24 (1924), 77 et pl. viii).

seules jusqu'au règne d'Aménophis III.³⁴ Dernier détail à ajouter à la présentation de l'œuvre, la reine de Karnak porte, aux poignets et aux chevilles, de larges bracelets rendus par de fines incisions parfaitement analogues à celles qui indiquent le collier, au buste du British Museum. Les caractères stylistiques, enfin, achèvent de confirmer l'accord des deux fragments: on retrouve à la statue de Karnak cette formulation plastique extrêmement sobre, ces surfaces lisses et peu riches en inflexions de modelé, cette vision élégante et svelte du corps féminin, fort dépourvue de sensualité, que nous avait révélées déjà l'analyse de la pièce de Londres et dont nous avons rappelé qu'elles appartenaient en commun aux images féminines réalisées durant la première moitié de la 18^e dynastie, jusque dans le courant du règne de Touthmosis III.

L'identité de la statue reconstituée

Les inscriptions

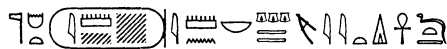
Si le buste du British Museum est anépigraphique, le fragment conservé à Karnak porte, lui, deux colonnes d'inscriptions partiellement érodées (plutôt que martelées), de part et d'autre des jambes. A côté de la jambe gauche se lit le texte suivant




transcrit d'après d'excellentes photographies fournies par Mademoiselle Lindblad et MM. Traunecker et Vandersleyen. M. Traunecker a bien voulu, par ailleurs, se donner la peine de réaliser à mon intention un estampage au latex de ce cartouche, ainsi que de celui de la seconde colonne. On constatera aussitôt que la copie de Sethe, qui indique un cartouche intact d'Aḥmes-Satamon³⁵ est largement restituée.

L'examen des signes conservés permet de reconnaître distinctement *Ḥms-i*[. . .] mais le reste du cartouche, d'après l'estampage, est irrémédiablement érodé (voir pl. X, 1). La présence du *i* introduisant la seconde moitié du nom exclut d'emblée la lecture *Ḥms-nfrtiry* de Barguet.³⁶ Par ailleurs, l'hypothèse de Sethe crée de toutes pièces un nom qui ne serait attesté nulle part ailleurs dans l'onomastique égyptienne. Reste dès lors comme seule possible la lecture *Ḥms-mryt imn* de Yoyotte.³⁷

A côté de la jambe droite on peut encore lire:



Dans le second quadrat du cartouche, l'examen de l'estampage sous lumière frisante fait apparaître le contour incomplet d'un signe , qui n'a pas été relevé jusqu'à présent par les observateurs de la statue mais qui me paraît personnellement convaincant. Je propose de ce fait la lecture *syt-imn* pour ce second cartouche.

Les deux inscriptions parallèles désignent en tout cas, non un même personnage, comme il a toujours été admis jusqu'à présent sur la foi du cartouche le moins mal conservé, mais *deux princesses distinctes*. La comparaison des titres suffisait d'ailleurs à l'indiquer car on comprendrait mal qu'une même princesse se trouve identifiée en

³⁴ Evers, op. cit., II, §266.

³⁵ K. Sethe, *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* (Berlin, 1932), II n. 2.

³⁶ Barguet, op. cit., 259 n. 5.

³⁷ PM II², 176.

inscriptions symétriques sur une même statue, par deux formes différentes de son nom (l'une abrégée, l'autre complète) et surtout que, qualifiée d'un côté de 'fille royale, sœur royale, maîtresse des Deux Terres, et épouse du dieu', elle le soit, de l'autre, par ce seul dernier titre. Si ces deux princesses sont bien Ahmès-Merytamon et Satamon, la symétrie des inscriptions et le groupe que constitue la statue féminine avec le colosse voisin d'Aménophis I deviennent significatifs d'une proximité généalogique: toutes deux en effet sont filles d'Amosis et donc sœurs d'Aménophis I.³⁸

Combinaison des critères archéologiques et épigraphiques: le second paradoxe

L'analyse typologique, physiologique et stylistique nous a montré que la statue reconstituée correspondait au style des représentations féminines du début de la 18^e dynastie jusqu'au règne de Touthmosis III, que sa coiffure hathorique ne trouvait de parallèles que sous ce même règne, et, enfin, que les traits du visage reflétaient l'iconographie de la maturité du règne d'Ĥatshepsout. En contradiction avec ces données bien établies, l'étude des inscriptions indique que la statue désigne simultanément deux femmes différentes, toutes deux contemporaines d'Aménophis I.

Le premier paradoxe souligné plus haut s'en trouve résolu: puisque la statue ne représente pas Ĥatshepsout, il n'y a plus lieu de s'étonner du désaccord entre un visage de la maturité du règne et une présentation féminine. Le buste du British Museum ne contredit plus la thèse d'une virilisation progressive des images de la reine. Mais un second paradoxe surgit aussitôt: comment expliquer que la statue désigne des contemporaines d'Aménophis I tout en présentant l'iconographie d'Ĥatshepsout? Avant de proposer une solution, il convient de prendre deux derniers éléments en considération. Le premier est une inscription figurant en colonne à côté de la jambe gauche du colosse d'Aménophis I et selon laquelle Touthmosis III aurait 'embelli' (*snfr*) cette statue (*twt pn*) en l'an 22 de son règne, c'est-à-dire vraisemblablement aussitôt après la mort d'Ĥatshepsout.³⁹ Le second réside dans une indication un peu énigmatique de Belzoni, dans le récit cité plus haut.⁴⁰ Selon lui, lorsqu'il la découvrit, la statue *était divisée* en deux parties ('was divided at the waist'), un passage que le traducteur de Belzoni, G.-B. Depping, rend de façon plus claire par la phrase suivante: 'Comme le buste ne tenait point au tronc et au siège, je le fis ôter, en attendant que l'arrivée de mon bateau avec les cordes et les leviers me mît à même d'enlever aussi le reste de la statue'.⁴¹ Il est certain que Belzoni se serait exprimé autrement s'il avait trouvé la statue brisée, le buste gisant au sol à proximité. L'impression que laissent tant le texte original que la traduction est celle d'une statue trouvée entière mais constituée de deux éléments distincts, d'une statue restaurée en somme.

³⁸ Sur 'Ahmès-Merytamon, voir J. v. Beckerath in *LdÄ* 1, cols. 88-90 et Schmitz, op. cit., 52-4. Sur Satamon, voir *ibid.* 54-5. La situation généalogique des deux princesses a été contestée par Vandersleyen, 'Une stèle de l'an 18 d'Amosis à Hanovre', *CdÉ* 52 (1977), 231-44. Il nous semble toutefois que le rapprochement d'Aménophis I, d'Ahmès-Merytamon et de Satamon sur les deux statues du huitième pylône, formant un véritable groupe, apporte un argument supplémentaire en faveur de la généalogie habituellement admise.

³⁹ A. Mariette, *Karnak* (Paris, 1875), pl. 38 (C, 2); Sethe, *Urk.* iv, 605, ll. 16-17.

⁴⁰ *Supra*, p. 102.

⁴¹ Belzoni, *Voyages en Égypte et en Nubie*, traduits de l'anglais par G.-B. Depping (Paris, 1821), I, 241.

Première conclusion: la date de la statue Karnak-Londres

Pour résoudre la contradiction produite par les données archéologiques et épigraphiques, une première conciliation possible consisterait à considérer que la statue de Karnak-Londres, et le colosse d'Aménophis I qu'elle complète, furent érigés par Hatshepsout pour orner la façade du huitième pylône, entrée monumentale conçue par elle, sur l'axe Nord-Sud du grand temple d'Amon.⁴² L'embellissement de Touthmosis III aurait consisté dans ce cas soit en l'achèvement du groupe des deux statues, interrompu par la mort de la reine, soit en la simple substitution d'une dédicace personnelle à celle d'Hatshepsout. L'imprécision du terme *snfr* ne permet en aucune manière de mesurer l'ampleur des travaux effectués.⁴³ Cette solution, toutefois, ne tiendrait pas compte de l'indication troublante contenue dans le récit de Belzoni, selon laquelle il aurait découvert une statue entière, mais faite de deux parties. Les exemples ne manquent pas de telles restaurations, et la forme irrégulière de la cassure ne suffit pas à en exclure l'hypothèse. Pour nous limiter à des exemples proches dans le temps de la statue qui nous concerne, il suffira de citer le groupe d'albâtre de Touthmosis I, Amon et la reine 'Aḥmès, restauré après l'époque amarnienne sans rectification de la cassure,⁴⁴ le buste de reine Caire CG 42009 déjà mentionné plus haut,⁴⁵ ou encore une statue de Touthmosis III, CG 42055.⁴⁶ Il semble que, dans les trois cas, l'irrégularité de la surface de fracture fut préservée afin d'assurer une meilleure adhésion des fragments raccordés. Le buste du British Museum serait, en conséquence, à dater précisément de l'an 22 de Touthmosis III, une époque tellement proche de la fin du règne d'Hatshepsout que l'on admettrait sans peine que les sculpteurs, ceux même de la reine très certainement, eussent donné à cette image renouvelée de princesses du temps d'Aménophis I le visage que les œuvres de la fin du règne d'Hatshepsout les avaient habitués à représenter.

On retiendra en somme de la présente étude que le buste de Londres et le fragment de Karnak reconstituent une statue complète et pratiquement intacte, que ses inscriptions identifient conjointement à la reine 'Aḥmès-Merytamon et à une autre princesse, sans doute Satamon. La partie supérieure de la statue peut être datée avec certitude de l'an 22 de Touthmosis III. Quant à sa partie inférieure, on peut la tenir pour légèrement plus ancienne, ce qui ne signifie nullement d'ailleurs qu'il faille remonter dans ce cas jusqu'au règne d'Aménophis I.⁴⁷

Seconde conclusion: la question du portrait égyptien

L'intérêt le plus remarquable de ces résultats concerne sans doute la question du portrait, tel que le concevaient les anciens égyptiens. Cette question n'admet pas de

⁴² Cf. Barguet, op. cit., 258-64.

⁴³ G. Björkman, *Kings at Karnak* (Uppsala, 1971), 46-7.

⁴⁴ Caire CG 42052, pl. 28. La statue a été brisée à la taille.

⁴⁵ Selon G. Legrain (CG 42009, p. 7), 'un ancien trou à goujon indique que cette statuette était cassée dès l'antiquité'.

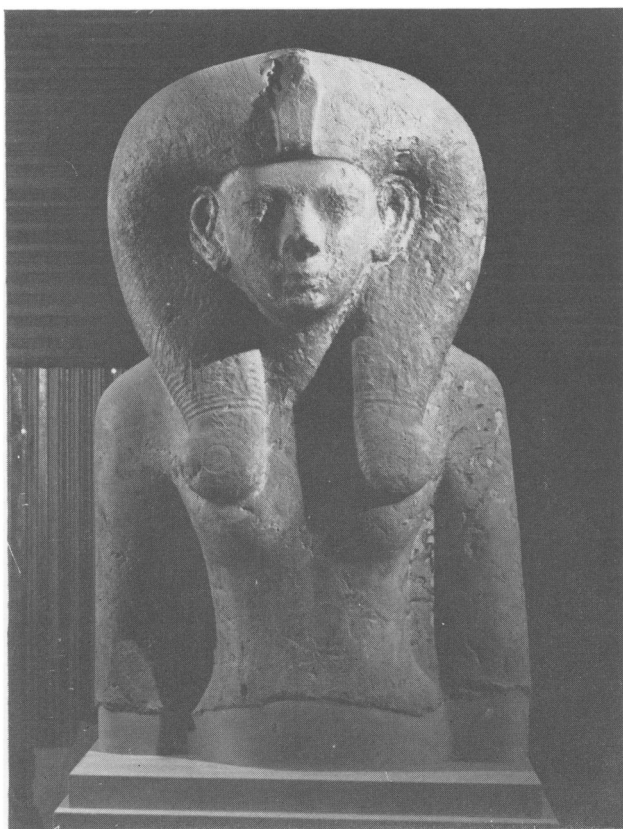
⁴⁶ Legrain (op. cit., 33) en dit: 'la statue dès l'antiquité avait été cassée en deux au torse. On la raccommoda en creusant un trou carré dans chaque morceau: on les rapprocha ensuite et un goujon maintint le tout'.

⁴⁷ La graphie du signe de la lune, un simple croissant pointes en bas, ne peut apporter ici aucun indice de datation puisqu'on le rencontre depuis l'an 22 d'Amosis jusque dans le courant du règne de Touthmosis III (Vandersleyen, *Guerres d'Amosis* (Bruxelles, 1971), 228).

solution unique et la présente étude, de caractère essentiellement archéologique, n'est pas le lieu où en traiter de façon très approfondie. Deux constatations toutefois s'en dégagent, sur lesquelles il importe d'insister quelque peu. Le premier fait notable réside dans la double dédicace. Les deux colonnes d'inscription étant strictement parallèles, rien ne permet de les hiérarchiser et décider que la statue représente 'Aḥmès-Merytamon plutôt que Satamon. Un signifiant physique et physionomique unique supporte en somme un double signifié iconographique, que le texte seul permet de dissocier. J'ai signalé ailleurs un cas tout à fait parallèle, celui des grandes statues agenouillées d'Hatshepsout dont l'image, pareillement, développe la signification sous son espèce la plus globale — il s'agit là de signification rituelle et non iconographique — tandis que le langage épigraphique vise la spécificité des contenus.⁴⁸ Si l'artiste égyptien accepte sans difficulté de confondre deux personnalités sous une même image, la seconde constatation à laquelle nous nous trouvons amenés est qu'il se soucie tout aussi peu de réalisme historique: le visage prêté aux deux princesses par les sculpteurs de Touthmosis III ne s'inspire ni du style de l'époque d'Aménophis I, ni des traits familiaux, que les sarcophages d'Aḥmes-Merytamon nous permettent d'apprécier. Devant une œuvre de telle qualité on ne peut expliquer le phénomène par une incapacité d'artiste, mais par une conception de l'histoire dans laquelle passé et présent apparaissent toujours susceptibles de se confondre dans une même actualité, s'établissant, solidaires, au même niveau de réalité.

On voit que les deux constatations finalement convergent: poser la relation analogique avec le réel comme fondement du portrait égyptien ne pourrait aboutir qu'à assujettir toute analyse iconographique aux impératifs de la mimésis occidentale et occulter les particularités d'un mode de pensée fort différent du nôtre. Du réel à l'imaginaire, du concret à l'abstrait, du passé au présent, la pensée égyptienne évolue sans contradiction, et le langage figuratif, l'un de ses principaux modes d'expression, reflète clairement cette aptitude à transgresser l'incompatibilité logique pour faire surgir des significations nouvelles, aptitude qui représente peut-être l'un des ressorts les plus fondamentaux de la mentalité pharaonique.

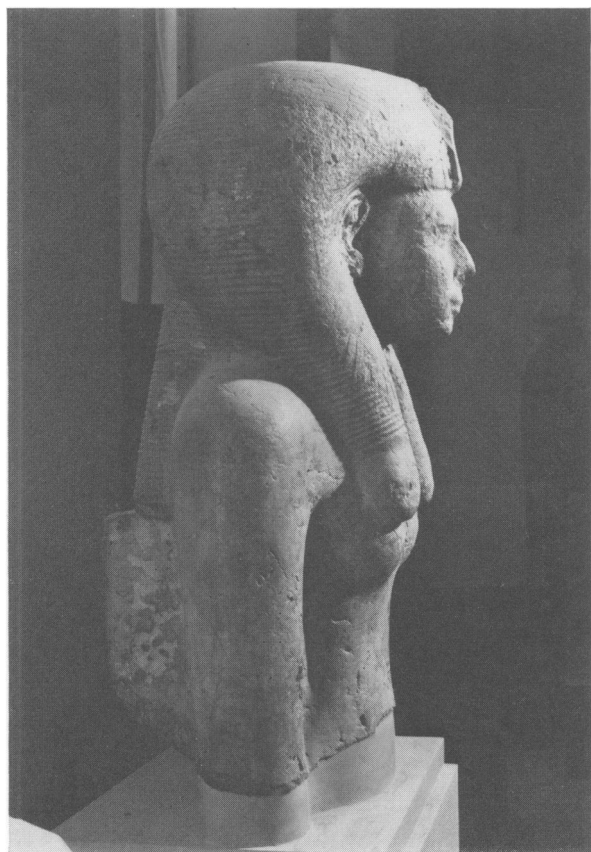
⁴⁸ 'Image et histoire', *CdÉ* 54 (1979), 234-7.



1. BM 601 [93]
Par courtoisie du British Museum



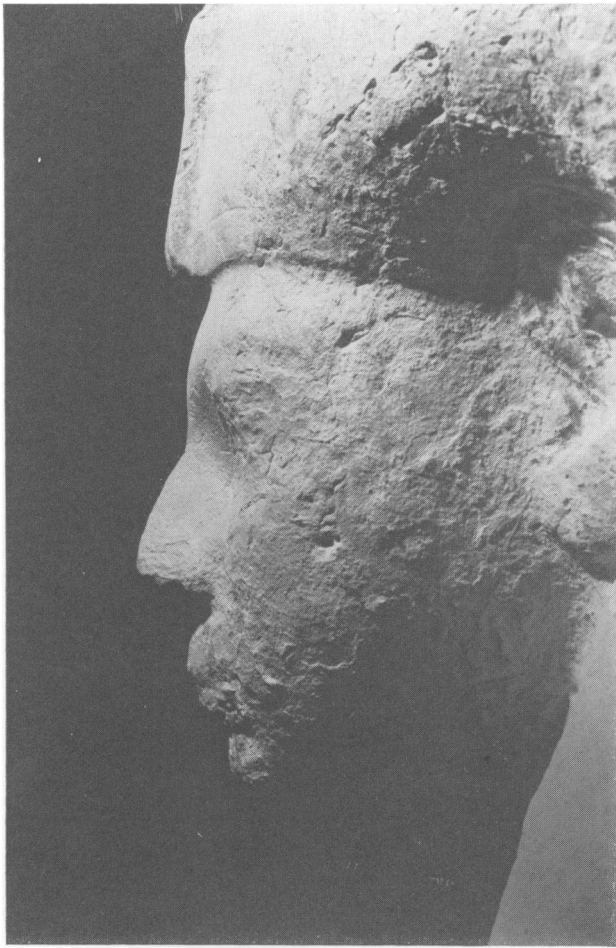
2. BM 601 [93]
Par courtoisie du British Museum



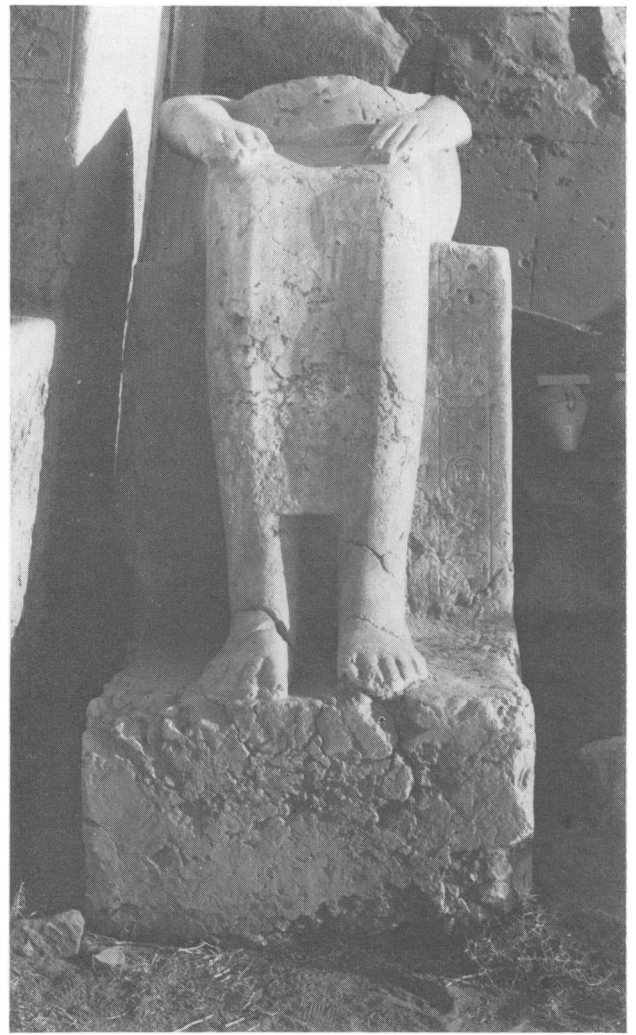
3. BM 601 [93]
Par courtoisie du British Museum



4. BM 601 [93]
Par courtoisie du British Museum



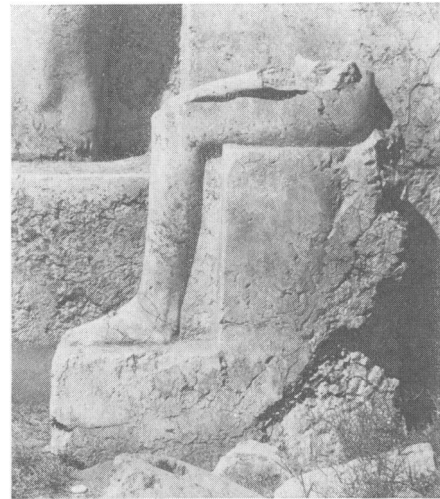
1. BM 601 [93], détail
Photo de l'auteur



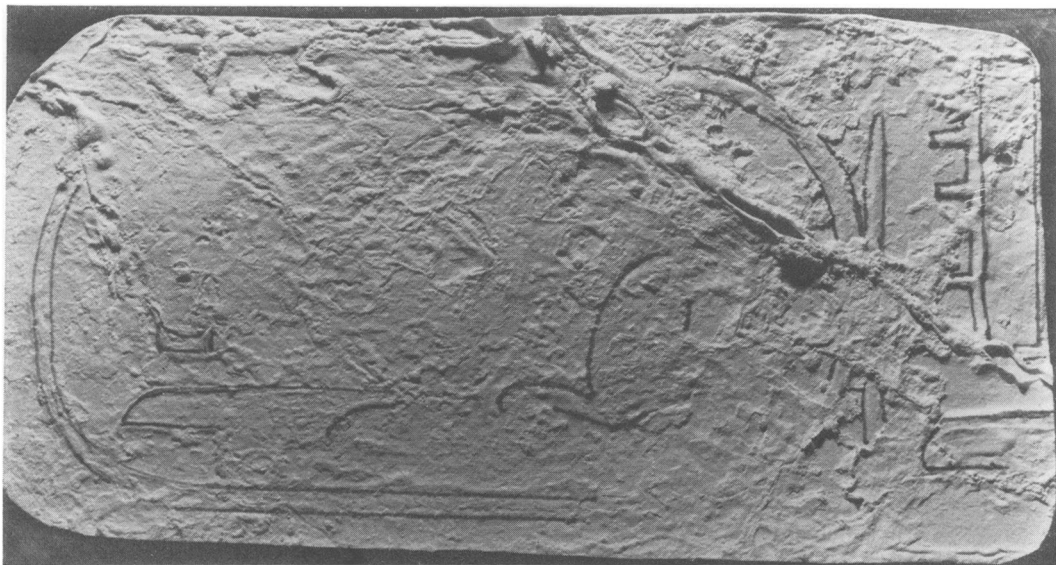
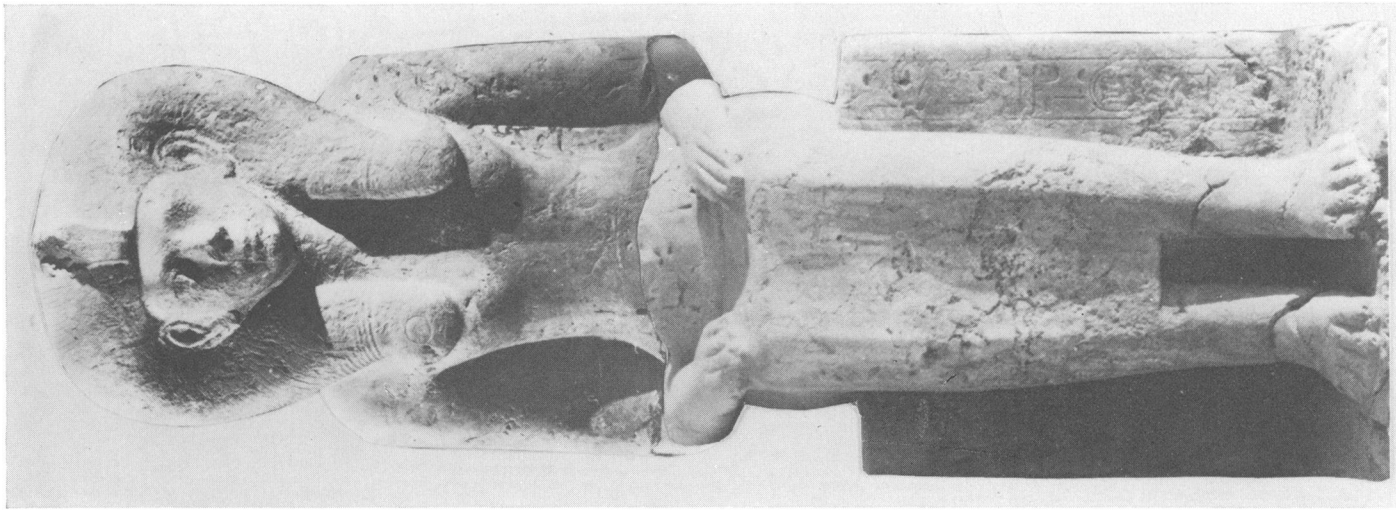
3. Karnak, VIII^e Pylône
Photo Traunecker. Centre franco-égyptien de Karnak



2. BM 601 [93] détail
Photo de l'auteur



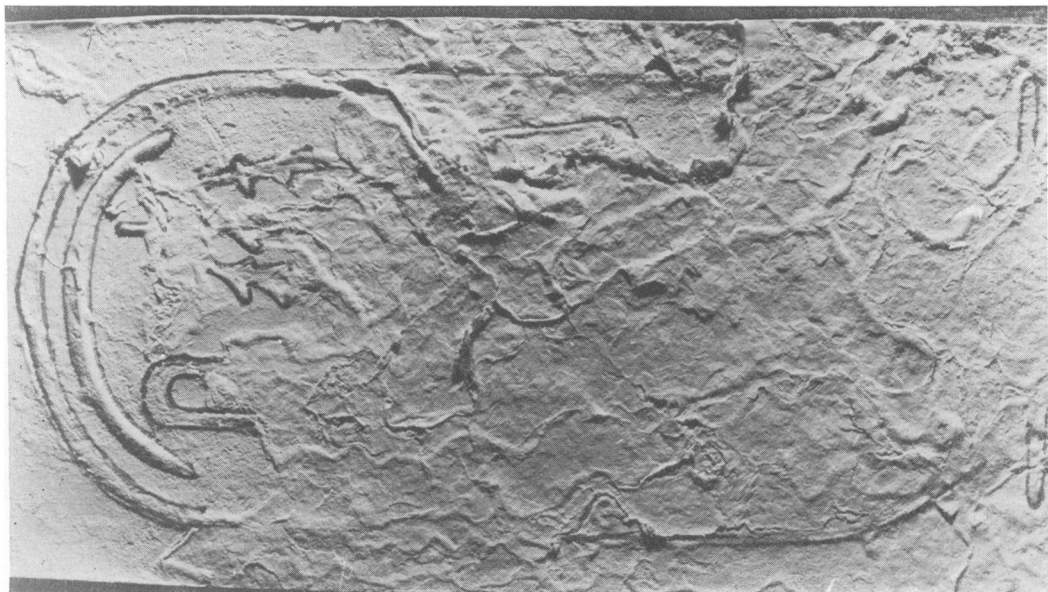
4. Karnak, VIII^e Pylône
Photo I Lindblad



2. Karnak, VIII^e Pylône: estampage du cartouche de droite

Photo de l'auteur

UNE STATUE DE REINE



1. Karnak, VIII^e Pylône: estampage du cartouche de gauche

Photo de l'auteur

DEUX ÉTABLISSEMENTS DE RAMSÈS III EN NUBIE ET EN PALESTINE

Par PIERRE GRANDET

DANS le discours tenu par Ramsès III au dieu Amon, dans le *P. Harris* I, le roi affirme avoir érigé hors d'Égypte, en sa faveur, deux constructions qui n'ont jamais, à ma connaissance, été identifiées ni localisées de manière certaine. J'ai essayé de rassembler dans cette note, les éléments permettant de le faire.

I. En Nubie

A la ligne 8, 13 du document cité,¹ le roi déclare :

J'ai fait pour toi une 'demeure' (*pr*) auguste en *Tj-sti*, inscrite à ton nom auguste, semblable au ciel (*hrt*) : *Pr* (*Rc-ms-sw hkj-Iwnw*) *nh(w) wdj(w) snb(w) rj nhtw*, établie à ton nom pour l'éternité.

Ce qui, dès l'abord, retient l'attention, est l'identité formelle absolue entre ce nom et celui de la résidence ramesside du Delta, spécialement dans le même papyrus (cf. les lignes 8, 2; 10, 12). Selon Gardiner,² il s'agirait d'un temple situé en un lieu encore inconnu de Basse-Nubie, dont on ne peut décider s'il était entouré ou non d'une ville du même nom, et dont on ne peut savoir avec certitude si la dénomination résulte de la substitution par Ramsès III de son cartouche à celui de Ramsès II dans un toponyme préexistant, comme cela est bien établi dans le cas de Pi-Ramsès.³ Sur ce point, il faut noter que Schaedel,⁴ ayant observé que cette institution n'apparaissait pas dans la *liste a* de la section thébaine du *P. Harris* I (10, 1-11, 1), où sont citées les fondations de ce souverain, concluait qu'elle devait exister avant son règne.

L'épithète *rj nhtw* indique un contexte militaire et frontalier : Pi-Ramsès était située sur les confins nord-est du Delta, c'est-à-dire au contact plus ou moins proche de la Syro-Palestine. On peut admettre qu'un établissement formant — au moins nominale-ment — pour des raisons à la fois politiques et religieuses, le 'double' de la résidence du Delta, ait joué un rôle administratif analogue en Nubie. Si nous suivons ce raisonnement, il faut alors admettre que Gardiner (et Gauthier à sa suite) pourraient avoir fait fausse route, et que la 'Demeure de Ramsès-Héka-Iounou V.S.F. grand de victoires' située en *Tj-Sti* n'est pas le nom d'un temple mais celui d'une ville.

Le problème de l'identification de celle-ci a été en fait obscurci par le sens que l'on attache habituellement à *Tj-sti*.⁵ Dans le *P. Harris* I, en effet, cette appellation ne

¹ Pour la transcription, cf. Erichsen, *BAe* v (Bruxelles, 1933).

² *JEA* 5 (1918), 134, M(a) : cf. Gauthier, *DG* II, 105.

³ *JEA* 5, 136.

⁴ *Die Listen des großen Papyrus Harris* (Glückstadt, 1936) (Leipziger ägyptologische Studien 6), 30-1.

⁵ Cf. par ex. Gauthier, *DG* VI, 29-30, 31-2.

semble plus signifier la 'Basse-Nubie', mais être devenue un terme général, aussi vague que *Tj-Djhy*⁶ ou *Hjrw* pour la Syro-Palestine.

Si l'on admet les deux points postulés ci-dessus, que *pr (Rc-ms-sw hkj-Iwnw)* | *cnh(w) wdj(w) snb(w) rj nhtw* de *Tj-sti* est une ville, et que *Tj-sti* désigne la Nubie de manière globale, alors la remarque de Schaedel n'est plus valable, car cette localité doit être comprise parmi les neuf *dmi(w) n Hjrw Kjs*, citées à l'extrême fin de la *liste a* de la section thébaine du P. Harris I, à la ligne 11, 11. L'énoncé de cette entrée semble même fournir *a posteriori* une confirmation de nos hypothèses.

Or il existe en Nubie un site tout désigné, à mon avis, pour être identifié à la ville citée dans notre document: Amarah-Ouest.⁷ Sous Ramsès II, en effet, l'agglomération qui y a été exhumée, s'appelait *pr (Rc-ms-sw-mry-Imn)*. Elle changea ensuite de nom pour prendre celui de *Hnm Wjst*, mais ce n'est qu'à titre d'hypothèse qu'il a pu être proposé de situer cette évolution sous le règne de Ramsès III.⁸ Ce pharaon y est abondamment cité, et les représentations de deux stèles indiquent qu'Amon en était le dieu principal.⁹

L'occupation du site remonte à la 18^e dynastie; sa topographie particulière (il s'agissait à l'origine d'une île contrôlant une portion de fleuve impropre à la navigation),¹⁰ lui conféra une valeur stratégique, concrétisée par l'établissement d'un fort sous Séthi I^{er}, et d'un palais (dont le niveau II est contemporain du règne de Ramsès III),¹¹ résidence de l'*idnw* de Kouch. Il s'agissait donc du centre administratif principal de la Haute-Nubie sous les Ramessides, comme cela est généralement admis.¹²

Je pense donc qu'il faut identifier la ville appelée *pr (Rc-ms-sw hkj-Iwnw)* | *cnh(w) wdj(w) snb(w) rj nhtw* située en *Tj-sti*, que cite le P. Harris I, à celle d'Amarah-Ouest; Ramsès III ayant, comme pour la Pi-Ramsès du Delta, purement et simplement substitué son cartouche à celui de Ramsès II dans le toponyme.

II. En Palestine

Le passage suivant immédiatement celui que nous venons de commenter, dans le même document, aux lignes 9, 1-3, nous apprend d'une manière identique, l'existence d'un établissement de Ramsès III en Asie:

J'ai construit pour toi — dit-il à Amon —, un château (*hwt*) mystérieux dans le pays de *Djhy*, semblable à l'horizon du ciel (*pt*) qui est dans le ciel (*hrt*): *tj hwt (Rc-ms-sw hkj-Iwnw)* | *cnh(w) wdj(w) snb(w) m Pj-Kncn*, en tant qu'*imyt-pr* à ton nom. J'ai façonné ta grande image de culte (*sšm*) qui repose dedans, 'Amon de Ramsès Hékā-Iounou V.S.F.'. Les étrangers (*hystyw*)¹³ du

⁶ Voir particulièrement le passage 4, 5, où les deux termes sont en parallèle. Le roi y déclare, à propos de Médinet-Habou: '*Tj-sti* et le *Djhy* sont pour lui (*ns*): 's se rapportant à *hwt*) chargés de leurs produits'.

⁷ *PM* VII, 157 sqq.

⁸ Fairman, *JEA* 25 (1939), 142; 34 (1948), 9-10.

⁹ *PM* VII, 162. L'autre site de Nubie à posséder le plus d'attestations de la présence de Ramsès III est Bouhen. Mais le dieu tutélaire en était un Horus.

¹⁰ Fairman, *JEA* 25 (1939), 143-4; Shinnie, *JEA* 37 (1951), 5.

¹¹ Fairman, *JEA* 34 (1948), 9.

¹² *id.*, *JEA* 25 (1939), 144; 34 (1948), 11; Arkell, *A History of the Sudan* (Londres, 1961), 94, 100, 102-3; Emery, *Egypt in Nubia* (Londres, 1965), 193; Adams, *Nubia, Corridor to Africa* (Londres, 1977), 227-9; *LdÄ* I, col. 171-2, s.v. *Amara West*.

¹³ En fait, les habitants du pays, mais considérés d'après la vision égyptienne comme des étrangers.

Rtnw viennent à elle chargés de leurs tributs (*inw*) pour sa face (ou 'devant elle': *n hr·f*) car elle est divine. J'ai traîné pour toi le pays tout entier (*dmḏw*), chargé de ses *bkw*, afin de les amener à Thèbes, ta cité mystérieuse.

Divers auteurs mentionnent cette institution, sans en proposer d'identification.¹⁴ Il a été cependant relevé que le culte d'un Amon existait en Syro-Palestine sous le règne de Thoutmosis III, car la biographie de Minmosé en fournit une mention.¹⁵ Il est cité le dernier d'une liste de divinités honorées dans des sites énumérés du sud au nord, après Ḥathor, Dame de Byblos, mais le nom du lieu où il était localisé est détruit. Comme il est difficile d'admettre qu'il ait pu se maintenir de manière stable, au nord de Byblos, un culte d'Amon après la décadence de l'Empire Égyptien, je pense qu'il vaut mieux ne pas en tenir compte pour nos recherches.

Schaedel a fait remarquer¹⁶ que le 'Château de Ramsès Ḥéḳa-Iounou en *P3-Kncn*', n'apparaissait pas dans la *liste a* de la section thébaine du P. Harris 1. Il en conclut que cet établissement ne devait pas être une fondation originale de ce pharaon, comme il l'a fait pour la 'Demeure de Ramsès Ḥéḳa-Iounou V.S.F. grand de victoires' de Nubie. Or, nous avons vu que celle-ci était une agglomération, et qu'à ce titre, son absence de la liste en question n'était qu'apparente, puisqu'elle est vraisemblablement comprise dans les 'neuf villes de *H3rw* et de *K3š'* de la ligne 11, 11. Il est donc difficile de ne pas penser qu'il en va de même pour l'institution située en *P3-Kncn*, et qu'elle fait également partie de celles-ci.

Il faudrait donc admettre que le terme *ḥwt* désigne ici bien plus qu'un simple temple, comme il est d'usage de le faire pour le Nouvel-Empire,¹⁷ mais un 'château' au sens plein, une 'forteresse'. Si l'on considère d'ailleurs la réalité archéologique du 'château' par excellence de Ramsès III, que par un abus de langage on désigne sous le nom de 'temple' de Médinet-Habou, on se convaincra aisément du bien-fondé de cette proposition. Il s'agissait en réalité d'une véritable agglomération, entourée d'une muraille semblable à celle d'une véritable forteresse, et dont le temple ne formait que le centre. Je crois donc que dans notre passage, *T3 ḥwt (Rc-ms-sw ḥḳ3-Iwnw) (nh(w) wd3(w) snb(w) m P3-Kncn* désigne un établissement similaire. Le caractère ouvertement militaire de l'architecture des temples construits sous Ramsès III a d'ailleurs été déjà relevé et commenté de façon pénétrante par Gerhard Haeny.¹⁸

Ce point étant acquis, il peut être intéressant de réviser la traduction traditionnelle du passage commenté, en proposant de rendre *ḥwt št3t* par 'château difficile d'accès';¹⁹ cette interprétation, jointe à la comparaison de celui-ci à 'l'horizon du ciel-*pt*, qui est

¹⁴ Gardiner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 131-2, F; Gauthier, *DG* IV, 106; Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, II (Wiesbaden, 1960), 190 (n° 146); Stadelmann, *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 5) (Leyde, 1967), 42 et n. 4; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*² (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 5) (Wiesbaden, 1971), 229.

¹⁵ *Urk.* IV, 1443, 20; cf. Giveon, *Bulletin du Museum Haaretz* 14 (1972), 58-9 (dans un article repris pratiquement textuellement in id., *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 20) (Fribourg (Suisse)-Göttingen, 1978), 22 sqq.); Helck, *Die Beziehungen*², 444.

¹⁶ *Die Listen*, 30-1.

¹⁷ Voir cependant le sens d' 'agglomération' pour *ḥwt* à l'Ancien Empire (*Wb.* III, 1, 5).

¹⁸ *ZÄS* 94 (1967), 71-8.

¹⁹ Sur ce sens de *št3w*, cf. par ex. *Wb.* IV, 551, 16; Vernus, *RdÉ* 29 (1977), 187.

dans le ciel-*hrt*,²⁰ pourrait en effet suggérer, de manière allusive il est vrai, que l'établissement était implanté sur une éminence.

Le sens attribué généralement à *P3-Kncn* dans ce passage, nuit, à mon avis, à l'identification de cette forteresse, de la même manière que l'interprétation traditionnelle de *T3-sti* empêchait de situer la ville de Ramsès III en Nubie en un point aussi méridional qu'Amarah-Ouest.

Il est généralement admis que dans notre passage, *P3-Kncn* désigne la cité de Gaza,²¹ pour deux raisons: le terme n'aurait été employé pour la Syro-Palestine qu'à l'époque d'Amarna,²² et s'il signifiait, dans le P. Harris I, autre chose qu'une ville, il y aurait redondance avec *T3-n-D3hy*.²³ Je pense néanmoins qu'il faut abandonner cette opinion, car, dans ce document, les deux termes sont absolument équivalents. Il suffit pour s'en convaincre de considérer attentivement le passage commenté: à la ligne 9, 2, est cité le *Rtnw*, terme en principe abandonné à la 20^e dynastie comme désignation de la Palestine.²⁴ Le rédacteur a donc tout simplement utilisé, par souci de style, trois termes différents, pour désigner la même réalité géographique, sans commettre de répétition. On observera de plus, que le terme *H3rw* est employé dans le papyrus comme quatrième variante pour désigner celle-ci, si l'on a admis les conclusions proposées plus haut en ce qui concerne la ligne 11, 11. D'ailleurs, on ne saurait trop insister sur le fait que, parmi les sites archéologiques entourant Gaza, seul celui de Tell el-Fâra (à 30 km environ au sud de cette ville), a livré des témoignages de Ramsès III; encore ne s'agit-il que de quelques scarabées.²⁵ Ce fait, on en conviendra, ne plaide guère en faveur de l'identification traditionnelle de *P3-Kncn*. Il nous reste donc à rechercher en quel endroit pourrait être localisée en Palestine, vraisemblablement à l'intérieur des terres, et peut-être sur une éminence, si l'on admet les hypothèses avancées ici, une agglomération de Ramsès III. Un site s'impose de lui-même: Tell el-Hosn, l'antique Beth-Shan (ou Beisan), occupé par les Égyptiens, à cause de son importance stratégique particulière, dès la 18^e dynastie. Il s'agit du lieu de Palestine possédant le plus de témoignages de son activité. Ce pharaon y a en effet construit un fort et deux temples, alors que sa présence dans la région n'est généralement attestée que par quelques menus objets en différents endroits.²⁶ L'un des temples, celui dit

²⁰ On pourrait peut-être couper la phrase après *3ht nt pt, nty m hrt* qualifiant alors le château plutôt que l'horizon du ciel, mais cela n'est pas certain; cf. dans le P. Harris I, les passages 4, 11, et 59, 2.

²¹ Gardiner, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts* (Leipzig, 1911), 28* n. 21; Gauthier, *DG* II, 41; v, 187-8; Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis antiqui 22) (Leyde, 1971), 52 n. 2, au texte; id., *Bulletin du Museum Haaretz* 14 (1972), 57 (cf. remarque *supra*, n. 15). Pour l'étymologie du terme 'Canaan', cf. Astour, *JNES* 24 (1965), 346-8.

²² Helck, *Die Beziehungen*², 275. Pour des vues contraires, cf. Steindorff, *JEA* 25 (1939), 32, VII, qui affirme que dans notre texte, *P3-Kncn* désigne un pays (il donne d'ailleurs une liste d'exemples de cet emploi au Nouvel Empire), et *infra*, n. 24. Le nom de Gaza est en fait attesté sous la form *Gdt/Kdt*, cf. *AEO* I, 191* n° 264.

²³ Giveon, *Les Bédouins Shosou*, loc. cit.

²⁴ Cf. *AEO* I, 145* sq. Kitchen, *JEA* 64 (1978), 170, affirme, sans commentaires, dans notre passage, l'équivalence de *D3hy*, *Rtnw* et *P3-Kncn*.

²⁵ *PM* VII, 370.

²⁶ *PM* VII, 376 sqq. Les monuments cités ici étaient attribués auparavant à tort à Ramsès II (cf. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (Publications of the Palestine Section of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania 1) (Philadelphie, 1930), 31 sqq.). Pour la datation, voir Fitzgerald, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* (Londres, 1949), 155-6; Thompson, *Biblical Archaeologist* 30(4) (1967), 110-35, spécialement,

'temple sud', servait au culte d'une divinité non identifiée; il serait tentant d'y voir un sanctuaire d'Amon.²⁷

Je propose donc d'identifier à ce site le 'Château de Ramsès Héka-Iounou V.S.F. en *P3-Kncn*' de la ligne 9, 2 du P. Harris 1; la possibilité d'un rapprochement entre les deux avait d'ailleurs déjà été suggérée par Wilson, mais à titre de simple indication, afin d'illustrer sa traduction de notre passage.²⁸

III. Les *bḥnw* de Ramsès III

Les réflexions que je viens d'exposer peuvent être en partie confirmées par quelques lignes du discours que le roi adresse à Amon, à Médinet-Habou, pour lui présenter le calendrier des fêtes. Il y déclare:²⁹

J'ai construit pour toi des *bḥnw* à ton nom en Egypte (*T3-mri*), en Nubie (*T3-sti*) de même qu'en Asie (*T3-stt*). Je les ai pourvus des *b3kw* qui leur reviennent annuellement,³⁰ ville par ville,³¹ étant réunies, chargées de leurs tributs (*inw*), pour les amener à ton *k3*, (ô) maître des dieux, Amon (. . .). J'ai accompli cela de mon bras, selon ce que mon *k3* a déterminé, quand j'ai fait du butin en Nubie (*T3-nḥsy*) et en Syrie (*T3-n-D3hy*), sans que les biens qui en proviennent soient pour aucun dieu, mais je les ai donnés à ton *k3*.

Bien que ce texte n'ait guère été pris au sérieux,³² on ne peut que remarquer la ressemblance de sa formulation avec celle du passage 9, 1-3, du P. Harris 1, en ce qui concerne les *inw* apportés à Amon par les villes (Médinet-Habou) ou le pays (P. Harris 1). D'autre part, on peut constater que le roi y affirme avoir attribué au dieu, et *sans partage*, le tribut provenant de Syrie et de Nubie; donc des villes qui s'y

p. 128 sqq.; Fitzgerald in D. Winton Thomas (éd.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study (Jubilee Volume of the Society for Old Testament Study, 1917-1967)* (Oxford, 1967), 185-96, spécialement p. 192. Pour les documents du règne de Ramsès III découverts à Beth-Shan, cf. *KRI* v, 251-5.

²⁷ *PM* vii, 378-9. Le 'temple nord' est dédié à Astarté.

²⁸ *Apud* Pritchard, *ANET*² (Princeton, 1955), 260 n. 4.

²⁹ *MH* iii, 138, 40-3 = *KRI* v, 117, 13-118, 1. Pour une traduction complète du passage, *BAR* iv, §141; traduction partielle in Kitchen, *Ägypten und Kusch (Mélanges Hintze)* (Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 13) (Berlin, 1977), 224.

³⁰ *ḥtr-ḥ st ḥr b3kw-sn m ḥrt rnpt*. Il ne saurait être question de discuter ici complètement du sens ambivalent du terme *ḥtr* et du verbe correspondant; je renvoie à *LdÄ* i, col. 3 sqq.; Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leyde, 1975), 456 sqq. id., *SAK* 3 (1975), 173 sqq. Je conteste cependant la traduction de Breasted, l.c.: 'I taxed them for their impost every year', et je renvoie pour appuyer la mienne, au P. Harris 1: pour le verbe, cf. 48, 10: (des provisions) *iw-w ḥtr* (. . .) *ḥr r3-ḥd-w* (. . .) *ḥr tny rnpt*, 'étant fournies (. . .) aux trésors (. . .) chaque année' pour servir à des sacrifices. 76, 9 (les prisonniers étrangers qui ont été fixés en Egypte) *ḥtr-ḥ st r-drw m ḥbsw d3w m r3-ḥd-w šnwwt r tny rnpt*, 'je les ai pourvus entièrement de vêtements et de rations alimentaires provenant des trésors et des greniers, chaque année'. (Imagine-t-on des prisonniers démunis de tout fournir comme *impôt* des vêtements et des victuailles?) Pour le substantif, voir la rubrique de la liste b des différentes sections du document ('Abgaben der Untertanen' selon Erichsen, *BÄe* v, 14 par ex.): 12a, 1-5; 32a, 7-9; 51b, 3-6; 68b, 4-5, qui enregistre les 'biens de *šyt* et de *b3kw* des "serfs" (*rmṯ smdt*)' de différentes institutions, 'que le roi N. a données à leurs trésors (. . .), *m p3y-sn ḥtr rnpt*, formant leur *ḥtr* annuel', *·sn* renvoyant aux institutions, et *non* aux *rmṯ smdt* (d'après 12a, 1-5; pour des variantes sans conséquences, comparer avec les autres passages cités). Sur les *b3kw*, voir la bibliographie citée *supra*, et noter le parallèle entre, dans ce passage *b3kw* (. . .) *m ḥtr*, et dans celui de Médinet-Habou *ḥtr* (. . .) *ḥr b3kw (b3kw-sn; ·sn* renvoyant aux *bḥnw*). Sur le caractère annuel et coutumier du *ḥtr*, voir le parallèle éclairant entre *ḥtr* et *nt-c*, *nt ṯnw rnpt* (en facteur commun pour les deux termes), in *Urk* iv, 700.

³¹ *dmi nb m rnṯ*. Sur les sens de cette locution, cf. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1972), 150; Daumas, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 6/7 (*Mélanges Vergote*) (1975/1976), 122.

³² Cf. par ex., Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien* (Lund, 1941), 195 n. 4.

trouvaient. Cela correspond au fait que dans le P. Harris I, seule la section thébaine recense dans sa *liste a* des cités de *Hꜣrw* et de *Kꜣš*. D'ailleurs, il faut remarquer que la rubrique de celle-ci,³³ certifie que les biens énumérés dedans ont été attribués en tant qu'*imyt-pr* à Amon, et cela correspond une fois encore de manière frappante au texte de Médinet-Habou. Je pense donc qu'on peut en conclure que les *bhnw* de celui-ci sont identiques aux *dmꜣw* du P. Harris I, et que les villes d'Amarah-Ouest et de Beth-Shan en faisaient partie. Enfin, on notera que la mention de 56 '*dmꜣw n Kmt*', à la ligne 11, 10, de ce document, correspond à l'affirmation du roi à Médinet-Habou, d'avoir construit certains des *bhnw* en Egypte.

IV. Le Migdol de Ramsès III

Il convient d'indiquer, comme dernier point de cette étude, la possibilité que Beth-Shan, le *hꜣwt* (*Rc-ms-sw hꜣꜣ-Iwnw*) *ꜣnh(w) wdꜣ(w) snb(w) mgdl Pꜣ-Knꜣn* du P. Harris I, soit identique au 'Migdol (*mgdl*) de Ramsès Hꜣꜣa-Iounou' représenté à Médinet-Habou.³⁴ Il existe au moins une présomption dans ce sens. Edgerton et Wilson ont suggéré ce rapprochement,³⁵ reprenant l'idée ancienne de Max Müller,³⁶ fondée sur les mentions du *Dꜣhy* dans les inscriptions du temple.³⁷ Ils ont ainsi combattu l'opinion de Gardiner,³⁸ qui avait localisé cette construction à Magdolo/Tell el-Hêr, près de la bouche pélusiaque du Nil, se basant à la fois sur la ressemblance des noms, et sur le fait que, dans le discours tenu par le roi à ses soldats devant elle, il mentionne la défaite des Peuples de la Mer dans les 'bouches' du fleuve. Cependant, on peut parfaitement admettre qu'il ait été prononcé de manière rétrospective et loin du lieu de la bataille. D'ailleurs, on a pu suggérer que le site de Beth-Shan a été réoccupé par Ramsès III à la faveur de la campagne asiatique qui aurait suivi celle de l'an 11 contre les Libyens, afin de restaurer l'autorité de l'Égypte dans la région, après une longue éclipse de celle-ci.³⁹ Il est possible que la même chose se soit produite pour Amarah-Ouest à la faveur d'une campagne nubienne.⁴⁰

Pour conclure cette étude, je résumerai ainsi les hypothèses que j'ai cru pouvoir avancer :

1. *Pr* (*Rc-ms-sw hꜣꜣ-Iwnw*) *ꜣnh(w) wdꜣ(w) snb(w) ꜣꜣ nꜣtw* située en *Tꜣ-sti* du P. Harris I, 8, 13, est la ville d'Amarah-Ouest, et *Tꜣ-sti* désigne dans ce document la Nubie de manière générale.

³³ 10, 1-2.

³⁴ *MH* I, 42, 21 = *KRI* v, 33, 16.

³⁵ *Historical Records of Ramses III* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 12) (Chicago [1936]), 43 n. 21a.

³⁶ *Asien und Europa* (Leipzig, 1893), 177-8.

³⁷ *MH* I, 31, 12; 46, 19 = *KRI* v, 30, 5; 40, 6-7.

³⁸ *JEA* 6 (1920), 110.

³⁹ Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*, 38; Helck, *Die Beziehungen*², 234; *CAH*³, II (2), 377.

Notons que le terme de 'migdol' serait parfaitement adapté au site; il existait d'ailleurs un migdol à Beth-Shan, cf. Fitzgerald in D. Winton Thomas (éd.), *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, 192. Sur la campagne d'Asie de Ramsès III postérieure à l'an 11, qui n'est pas exposée dans un texte suivi, mais a pu être reconstituée d'après des éléments épars dans les représentations de Médinet-Habou, cf. Drioton-Vandier, *L'Égypte*⁵, 437 sq., et surtout 451-2, pour les références complètes. Son existence n'est cependant pas admise par tous, cf. *CAH*³, II (2), 243-4.

⁴⁰ Kitchen, *Ägypten und Kusch*, 224-5, a rassemblé les éléments suggérant une activité militaire de Ramsès III en Nubie, contredisant ainsi Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 173-4.

2. *Tꜣ ḥwt (Rc-ms-sw ḥkꜣ-Iwnꜣ) rnh(z) wdꜣ(z) snb(z) m Pꜣ-Kncn*, dans le même texte, lignes 9, 1-3, est la ville de Beth-Shan au nord-est de la Palestine, et *Pꜣ-Kncn* désigne cette contrée dans son ensemble.
3. Les deux villes sont comprises parmi les neuf *dmiw n Ḥꜣꜣꜣ Kꜣš* du document en question, ligne 11, 11; ces *dmiw* sont sans doute identiques aux *bhnw* de *MH* III, 138, 40-3.
4. Le *Mgdl n (Rc-ms-sw ḥkꜣ-Iwnꜣ)* de *MH* I, 42, 21, est peut-être une autre désignation de Beth-Shan.

Si l'on admet ces conclusions, qui ne sont pas toutes également sûres, je pense que l'on peut réviser, dans une certaine mesure, nos opinions sur la présence de l'Égypte hors de ses frontières sous le règne de Ramsès III, et plaider pour la réhabilitation de textes, dont on a trop souvent dénigré la valeur, comme source historique.

SIX HYMNS TO ISIS IN THE SANCTUARY OF HER TEMPLE AT PHILAE AND THEIR THEOLOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

PART I

*To Chancellor Abram L. Sachar,
humanist, and patron of humanists*

By L. V. ŽABKAR

Introduction

IN recent years two admirable books of translations of Egyptian religious poetry have been published, J. Assmann's *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, and A. Barucq and F. Daumas, *Hymnes et prières de l'Égypte ancienne*. Both include a large selection of hymns and prayers to various gods and goddesses, and both are presented to specialized and non-specialized readers in a practical and attractive format. At first glance, it is surprising to see that among the 242 hymns and prayers translated by Assmann there is none addressed to Isis, and that among the 158 included in the Barucq and Daumas anthology, only two hymns to Isis appear (nos. 139 and 140). The reason for this scarcity given by the two latter translators is that there are only a few hieroglyphic hymns devoted to Isis (p. 434 n. f), a statement which, if we take into consideration the extent of our knowledge of such hymns at the time of the publication of their book, is undoubtedly correct. The two included are from Philae, one from the Mammisi, and the other, which occurs also at Kalabsha, from the First Pylon, both considerably later than the hymns translated here.

The inscriptions and photographs of the six hymns to Isis in the sanctuary of her temple, dating to the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, of which four are translated here and the remaining two will appear in the second part of this study, are part of my *Studia Philensia*, on which I have been working for a long period of time; they are part of my photographic documentation and collation of the texts made during several seasons, especially during the time of the dismantling of the monuments of Philae in 1975-7. They are discussed here in order to place the study of some of the most important hymns to Isis in a proper chronological and theological perspective, and to indicate briefly the character of the fundamental ideas of the Isiac theology at

I wish to thank Dr Ahmed Kadry, President of the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities, and Messrs Sami Farag, Adel Farid, and Gamal Wahba, former resident archaeologists at Philae, for their full co-operation in my work at Philae. I am much indebted to Dr Massimo Grappelli, General Manager of the Condotte Mazzi Estero, Professor Giovanni Ioppolo, Archaeological Consultant and Chief Architect, and Architect Antonio Giammarusti for their wholehearted assistance.

Philae. The time has come to take a deeper look at the inscriptions and reliefs of Philae, and to try to evaluate their content with respect to the older as well as later references to Isis in Egyptian texts.

In addition to the hymns in her sanctuary, there are several other important hymns to Isis in other rooms of her temple at Philae, which I intend to discuss on another occasion. Those translated here, by their content as well as their architectural setting, represent a unit, and are treated as such. The first four hymns and the accompanying reliefs are engraved in the middle and lower register of the north wall of the sanctuary (Room X). As can be seen on pl. XI, there are in all six reliefs and six texts symmetrically arranged on this north wall. Two of them, those of the uppermost register, which I have discussed in *JEA* 66 (1980), 127–36, are not included here;¹ they represent a combination of ritual offering texts and shorter hymns. The remaining four, translated here, are hymns of adoration proper, without offering texts. The fifth and sixth hymns, which will appear in the second part of this study, are recorded on the jambs of the inner doorway of the south wall of Room X; they too are hymns of adoration proper, without ritual texts.

Throughout this study, Berlin Philae Photos have been consulted; in some instances they show better-preserved signs. On the whole, however, my photographs, especially the close-ups (an example of which (see pl. XIII) is included here) and those of the entire walls taken when the heavy slabs of the roof were removed (one such photograph is included here, see pl. XI), have proved to be more useful for study purposes. The comparison between the Berlin Photos and mine shows also the extent of damage which the reliefs and inscriptions have suffered from the submersion of the temple, and sometimes also from human recklessness, in more than sixty years that have passed since the Berlin Photos were taken.

Hymn I

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall; G. Bénédite, *Le Temple de Philae* (Paris, 1893), Textes, 61 f., tabl. ii; Berlin Philae Ph. 1031; see here pls. XII ff. The hymn is arranged in five vertical lines of text, each line containing a strophe. The horizontal line, surmounting five vertical lines of the hymn, is very probably a refrain,² which was to be repeated after each strophe of the hymn. In the following transliteration it is indicated only once, at the beginning; in the translation it is repeated after each strophe.

The vertical inscription behind the king reads: ‘Son of the Sun, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, the Great, God’s Mother, kissing the ground before your beautiful face; give him your love for ever’.³

¹ I take this opportunity to correct an error which inadvertently crept into n. 36 on p. 133 of my article in *JEA* 66 (1980); in l. 2 from the bottom of the page, *nbk Tr* should be emended to *nb(t) Tw-rk*.

² See Barucq–Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, 38 n. 35; 390.

³ *Ḳi-n sḥ Rꜥ Ptlwmys ḥr-t 3st wrt mwot-nḥr sn-t3 m ḥr-t nfr(t) di n-f mrwt(·t) dt*. The initial *ḥi-n-f* form which occurs in border legends referring to the king, as well as the initial *di-n-i* form introducing the goddess speaking to the king, which I consider to be the emphatic *sqm-n-f* forms, are here translated without the stress of the adverbial predicate which follows them. As I indicated in *ZAS* 108 (1981), 170, such brief stereotyped formulae often convey enough emphasis by their very repetition, and translating them as simple present-perfects often makes for a smoother English rendering.

The king recites the hymn:

Iꜣw n-t 3st Ḥwt-Ḥr⁴

Mwt-ntr nbt pt⁵

Ḥnwt iꜣt-wꜣbt⁶ ity(t) ntrw

Ntt mwt-ntr n Ḥr

Kꜣ nḥt ndty n itꜣf

Ditꜣf šhr sbiꜣw⁷

Ntt mwt-ntr n Ḥr

Mnw-Ḥr⁸ pr-c ḥw ḥftyꜣf⁹

Ir ns n-im¹⁰

Ntt mwt-ntr n Ḥr

Ḥnsw-nḥt nḥn-nsw¹¹ n nb¹² dt

Nb Tꜣ-Sti ḥkꜣ ḥꜣswt

Ntt mwt-ntr n Ḥr¹³

Kꜣ nḥt smn gsw-prw psdt

Ir nn nb

Ntt mwt-ntr n Ḥr

Kꜣ nḥt ḥw Bꜣkt

Nb spꜣt dt

Before translating this hymn, I wish briefly to comment on some of its unusual orthographic features, on the explanation of which the translation of the hymn depends. Each of the five vertically written strophes begins with a different spelling of the second person feminine independent pronoun *ntt* (see pl. XIII). The forms at the beginning of the second and fifth strophe are the more usual Ptolemaic spellings of that pronoun, although they are not identically written here. The spelling at the beginning of the first strophe differs from that of the second and fifth in having an *m*-sign before the first *t*, *nm^{tt}*, which represents a late Egyptian spelling of that pronoun, *m^{ntt}*,¹⁴ with a metathesis of the first two consonants, *nm^{tt}* for *m^{ntt}*, the pronunciation of which brings it close to the Coptic ⲚⲦⲐ (cf. Erman, *NG* §100). The spelling of the pronoun at the beginning of the third vertical line shows an *n*-sign written within the 'island'-sign, and it is a variation of the spelling of the pronoun at the beginning of the first vertical line. The spelling of the pronoun at the beginning of the fourth line is the most unusual; it starts with a 'crocodile'-sign to be read *msh*, the first letter of which, *m*, standing for *n*, according to consonantal principle, constitutes the first letter of the pronoun, *mtt* for *ntt*. The seated female figure at the beginning of the first and

⁴ *Ḥwt-Ḥr* is indicated by the cow-face and the Ḥathoric horns of the goddess following Isis; for such a representation of Ḥathor, see the west wall of the same Room X, lowest register, first tableau from left (Béné-dite, pl. xxiv, tabl. vii, and Berlin Ph. 1030), where Ḥathor appears together with *Wꜣdyt*.

⁵ The female figure after the *ntr*-sign is probably to be read *nb(t)*: see also Junker, *Der große Pylon*, 21 n. 3, 12C.

⁶ The female figure beneath the 'sky'-sign is probably to be read *ḥmwt*, and the *iꜣt*, 'mound'-sign, is indicated above the head of the following male figure, which in this case is simply a supporting figure, while the next male figure, without sceptre, is probably to be read *wꜣb(t)*.

⁷ The figure of the 'captive' at the end of l. 1, which I read *sbiꜣw* (all three plural strokes are clearly visible on Berlin Ph. 1031), is probably an allusion to Seth and his associates, 'the rebels'. The 'captive'-sign seems to be a variant spelling of *sbi*, not recorded either in *Wb*. iv, 87 (*sbi*); III, 276 (*ḥfty*), or in *Valeurs des signes ptolémaïques* (Montpellier, 1981), 13. The figure has his hands tied to his feet, is decapitated, and tied to a stake in front of him. The closest resemblance is seen in Montpellier list, 13, no. 26n (but there is no stake to which the 'captive' is tied), and p. 13, no. 1836n (where, however, the 'captive' is not decapitated).

⁸ Min figures in his conventional posture and head-dress, with a small 'shrine' behind him (see Berlin Ph. 1031), while Horus, human-bodied and falcon-headed, wears a head-dress composed of a sun-disc surmounted by two tall plumes.

⁹ The sign of the man with blood streaming from his head is probably to be read *ḥfty*, 'enemy', rather than *ḥrw* or *ḥrw*.

¹⁰ The last two signs at the bottom of l. 2, \dagger (the *n*-sign is clearly visible on Berlin Ph. 1031; later on it was damaged, and it is not visible on my pl. XII), metathesized (for reason of space?) and translated here 'thereby', seem to be a variant spelling of \dagger *Wb*. I, 72.

¹¹ Written *nmḥ-nsw*.

¹² *Nb* is written with the sign of a falcon: see *Wb*. II, 227.

¹³ My collation indicates that the first damaged sign of the spelling of *Ḥr* is to be restored as \dagger , \dagger .

¹⁴ For the use of the independent pronoun *m^{ntt}* at the beginning of the verse in a hymn to Ḥathor see J. Assmann in *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 25-8, 41: 'Du bist . . ., (*m^{ntt}*)-Aussagen', with further bibliography on p. 41.

third line is part of the spelling of *ntt* and at the same time serves as an ideogram for *mwt* in *mwt-ntt*. The same female figure at the beginning of the second line is part of the spelling of *ntt*, and the hand holding an offering is the well-known sign for *mwt*, just as the star is for *ntt*. At the beginning of the fourth line the seated female figure is again part of the spelling of *ntt*, while the *mi*-sign has the value of *mwt* (see H. De Meulenaere in *MDAIK* 16, 232 [ε]). At the beginning of l. 5, *mwt-ntt* appears in its conventional form.¹⁵

As far as the translation of this and all following hymns is concerned, I made no attempt to follow a strict metric system. One feels that, at least in some instances, such an approach to Egyptian poetry may distort the meaning intended by the poet, as it certainly would impede the free flow of thought, diction, and imagery—essential characteristics of any good poetry. What I tried to do is to divide the hymns freely into ‘strophes’ and ‘verses’, according to rhythmical and semantic criteria mentioned by Barucq and Daumas (*Hymnes et prières*, 30), or ‘cadences as rhythmical units of phrasing’, as discussed by J. L. Foster (*JNES* 34 (1975), 7, 11), although I feel that if we follow the same criteria, as far as the structure of the poems is concerned, other structural forms, in addition to Foster’s ‘thought couplets’, especially triplets and quatrains and various combinations of these, can more frequently be usefully applied, especially in the translation of the hymns. It is in such a broader sense indicated above, that the words ‘strophe’ and ‘verse’ are used in this discussion.

Translation

Praise to you Isis-Ḥathor,¹⁶
God’s Mother, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of Abaton, queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,¹⁷
The Mighty Bull, avenger of his father,
Who causes¹⁸ the rebels to fall.

Praise to you Isis-Ḥathor,
God’s Mother, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of Abaton, queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,
Min-Horus, the hero who smites his enemy,
And makes a massacre thereby.

Praise to you Isis-Ḥathor,
God’s Mother, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of Abaton, queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,
Khonsu-the-powerful, the royal child of the
Lord of Eternity,
Lord of Nubia,¹⁹ ruler of the foreign lands.

Praise to you Isis-Ḥathor,
God’s Mother, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of Abaton, queen of the gods.

You are the divine mother of Horus,
The Mighty Bull, who establishes the temples
of the Ennead,
And fashions every divine image.²⁰

Praise to you Isis-Ḥathor,
God’s Mother, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of Abaton, queen of the gods.

¹⁵ For some similar playful writing see *Edfou*, I, 394, where the name of the god Min is written with the first letters of the words *mvr* and *nb*: see Barucq-Daumas, op. cit., 378 n. a; S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 79, for the spelling of the name of Osiris, *W+s(r)+r(s)*, etc.; see also M.-T. Derchain Urtel in *GM* 27 (1978), 11 f. for the various spellings of Khnum at Esna.

¹⁶ For the identification of Isis and Ḥathor see Žabkar, *JEA* 66 (1980), 130 n. 22.

¹⁷ For the litany-like hymn beginning with an independent pronoun see further H. Beinlich, *Studien zu den ‘Geographischen Inschriften’* (10.–14. O. Äg. Gau) (TÄB 2) (Bonn, 1976), 36 ff.; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 342 (text in F. Daumas, *Les Mammisis de Dendara*, 31), etc.

¹⁸ *D:f shr sbtw*, translated here as ‘who causes the rebels to fall’, is a circumstantial clause, lit.: ‘causing the rebels to fall’.

¹⁹ See Bénédite, op. cit. 40, tab. i, Berlin Ph. 1059, where Osiris-Onnophris is referred to as ‘Lord of Nubia (*Tj-Stt*), Lord of Philae’, Room VII of the temple of Isis.

²⁰ See Commentary, pp. 120 f.

You are the divine mother of Horus,
The Mighty Bull who protects Egypt,
Lord of the Nome,²¹ for ever.

Praise to you Isis-Hathor,
God's Mother, Lady of Heaven,
Mistress of Abaton, queen of the gods.

In the legend engraved above the hymn, Isis 'the Great, God's Mother, Lady of Philae, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of the Gods, Lady of the Southern Lands' speaks to Ptolemy: 'I have given you the life-span of Rēc in heaven; I have given you heaven (itself) with what is in it; I have given you victory over the south.'²² In the vertical inscription seen behind the enthroned Isis, the goddess again speaks to Ptolemy: 'O my beloved son, son of the Sun, Ptolemy, I have given you the south as far as Kenset, Ta-Seti, bent down for ever, belongs to you.'²³ These last words, which reiterate the dominion over the south given to Ptolemy II by Isis, parallel those of the adjacent vertical inscription, which belongs to the left scene of the same middle register, in which Ptolemy's dominion over the northern lands is stressed (see below, p. 123 n. 47). This well-structured parallelism is also enhanced by the same number of phrases in the two median vertical inscriptions; 'I have given you the south as far as Kenset, Ta-Seti, bent down for ever, belongs to you,' corresponds exactly to 'I have given you the north as far as heaven, the Great Green, bowing head for ever, belongs to you,' as stated below, Hymn II n. 47. As to Ta-Seti in the above inscription, although it may seem to be unconventionally written (a 'bow' on a 'standard'), it is indeed to be so read; it can hardly be a second determinative to *Knst*. *Tj*, in *Tj-Sti*, can sometimes be omitted (see *Wb.* III, 488, 7), *Sti* retaining its full value as a designation for 'Nubia'. Thus, *pace* Winter (*Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, 22) both words are to be read in the above phrase, *Knst* and *Tj-Sti*, or *Knst* and *Sti*. Besides, the perfect parallelism of the same number of phrases mentioned above also requires another word after *Knst*. As to *nn·k*, translated here 'belongs to you', its explanation is more problematic. Sethe (*Dodekaschoinos*, 15) translated it as 'dir' ('das Bogenland sich dir beugt', 'das Meer dir tributpflichtig ist'), and Winter (*Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs*, 22) as 'dir(?)' ('dir [?] in Verneigung'; Winter translated only the first inscription); no explanation is offered for the spelling of *nn·k* by either scholar. Is it possible to see in this spelling a remnant of a rare Old Egyptian spelling of the preposition *n* as *nn* before a noun (see Edelman, *AG* §500bb, 757)? Since, however, no examples of such a writing with a suffix are known, this suggestion remains questionable. Be this as it may, it seems certain that *nn·k* in the above legend is used predicatively, and with some emphasis on the possessor.

²¹ The 'Nome' mentioned here is the first nome of Upper Egypt, *spst hwt*, 'the nome of the beginning' (see K. Sethe, *Dodekaschoinos* (Leipzig, 1901), 22 ('Anfangsgau')), or *Tj-Sti* which, although beginning at Biggeh (see Gardiner, *AEO* II, 1* f., and W. Helck in *LdÄ* II, 386), also included Philae situated opposite Biggeh.

²² *Dj·ni n·k hc n Rēc n* (for *m*) *pt*, *dj·ni n·k pt hnc imy(t)·st*, *dj·ni n·k knw r Rsy*. For the phrase *pt hnc imy(t)·st* (note the writing of the 3rd fem. suffix), and the corresponding phrase *tj hnc nty im·f* in the adjacent relief (see below, p. 123) see the middle scene of the middle register of the east wall, in which Khnum-Rēc is said to have given the king 'the heaven together with what is in it, and the earth together with what is in it (*pt hnc imy(t)·s tj hnc nty im·f*): Berlin Ph. 1020 lower scene, cf. Bénédite, op. cit. 60 (to be corrected).

²³ *I s·i mry s·j Rē Ptlwmys dj·ni n·k Rsy r·rw Kns(t) Tj-Sti nn·k m ks dt*. See on this text L. V. Žabkar, *Apedemak, Lion-God of Meroe* (Warminster, 1975), 31. Contrary to Sethe's opinion (*Dodekaschoinos*, 13), the context seems to demand that the preposition *r·rw* (here *r·rw*) be taken in an inclusive meaning: see Žabkar, op. cit. 138 n. 212. The same prepositional phrase *r·rw Tj-Sti* occurs in the left scene of the middle register of the west wall of Room X, in which Ptolemy 'offers to his mother Isis her boundary as far as Ta-Seti (*hnc·f n·s tš·s r·rw Tj-Sti*): see Berlin Ph. 1027 lower scene, cf. Bénédite, op. cit. 64, tabl. iv (correct the text). For a similar phrase with a different spelling of this preposition, $\overline{\text{nn}}$ see *Edfou*, II, 95, translated and discussed by D. Kurth, *Den Himmel stützen* (Brussels, 1975), 39 f.: *dj·j n·k rsj r rj·r tš·w mhtj r rj·r wšd wr*, 'Ich gebe Dir den Süden, soweit der Wind weht, und den Norden bis hin zum Meere'.

Commentary

The theme which this hymn emphasizes in the first line of each strophe is the divine motherhood of Isis. Her son, Horus, described as performing a number of significant roles characteristic of a god-king, is associated with her in her exalted position of 'Lady of Heaven, and queen of the gods'. As son of Isis, he is 'the royal child of Osiris', the latter referred to as 'Lord of Eternity (*nb dt*)'; as such, Horus is 'Lord of Nubia and ruler of foreign lands', that is, he is the king of southern and northern lands. In his role of a 'Mighty Bull', Horus performs a triple function: he is avenger of his father, the protector of Egypt, and, in a special way, of the first Upper Egyptian nome in which Philae is situated; he is also the builder of temples and fashioner of divine images. As a fighting hero, Horus is also called Min-Horus, and Khonsu-Nakht (Khonsu-the-powerful). These epithets and identifications of Horus with other deities complement each other. Horus as Khonsu-Nakht is not identified here with Khonsu as the moon-god, oracle-god, benevolent healer, etc., but with one of Khonsu's ancient roles as a violent, aggressive killer god, a *wšb*-bull, and 'a raging lion, great of roaring'.²⁴ Such a characterization of Horus complements that of 'the Mighty Bull', and, as explained below, that of Min-Horus; in each of these roles Horus is described destroying his own and his father's enemies. Horus identified with Min does not appear here in the capacity of a god of fertility and procreation, but in the role of Min as a redoubtable god, conqueror of hostile forces, as he is described in some Middle Kingdom hymns, which refer to him as 'Min-Horus, the powerful . . . who overthrows his enemies, who avenges his father, and strikes the disaffected of heart',²⁵ phrases almost identical with those occurring in our first hymn. Having been incorporated into the Osirian cycle, Min became son of Isis and Osiris, another Horus, Min-Horus, and as such he could appropriately be addressed as protector and avenger of his father. The role of Horus as 'Mighty Bull who establishes the temples of the Ennead and fashions every divine image', is significant in itself, and as a point of special relationship between Horus and the living king, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The idea of a god as a builder, craftsman, or sculptor occurs in references to Ptaḥ, Amūn, and other deities. It probably originated in the assumption that a creator-god who brought into being other deities could also produce the images of those deities, as stated in the document of the Memphite Theology of Ptaḥ who 'created the gods . . . set the gods in their cult-places . . . founded their shrines, formed their bodies according as they desired . . . the gods then entering into their bodies made of all kinds of wood, all kinds of stone, all kinds of clay . . . in which they manifested themselves'.²⁶ Such an association of ideas, that is, the reference to the creation of gods and of their images, occurs elsewhere, e.g., in a hymn to Amen-Rē^c in the temple of Hibis, in which this god is addressed as 'the Eldest of the Primeval-Ones, who created the gods, the builder of builders, the nurse of nurses, the fashioner who created fashioners . . . who magnifies his cult-stature in order to extol his perfection; it is according to his desire that he has built his image, it is through his (own) graciousness that he has rendered himself gracious'.²⁷ Shorter

²⁴ See on this B. Altenmüller, *Syncretismus in den Sargtexten* (Göttinger Orientforschungen 7) (Wiesbaden, 1975), 167 f.; H. Brunner in *LdÄ* I, 960-3, and especially Ph. Derchain, *La Lune* (Sources orientales v) (Paris, 1962), 40-4.

²⁵ M. Selim Hassan, *Hymnes religieux du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1930), 148 ff.; C. J. Bleeker, *Die Geburt eines Gottes* (Leiden, 1956), 11 f.; Barucq-Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, 367 f., 370 f.; M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zur Göttin Isis* (MÄS 11) (1968), 131 f.

²⁶ See Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* (UGAA x) (Leipzig, 1928), 68 ff.; H. Junker, *Die Götterlehre von Memphis* (APAW 1939, 23) (Berlin, 1940), 65; J. A. Wilson, *ANET*, 5; S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *La Naissance du monde* (Sources Orientales 1) (Paris, 1959), 64; S. G. F. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London, 1963), 42 f.

²⁷ L. Bull, L. F. Hall, and N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, III (New York, 1953), pl. 32, middle register, ll. 6, 7, 9: cf. Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 320, and Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 294. The last two sentences, 'It is according to his desire that he has built his image; it is through his (own) graciousness that he has rendered himself gracious', *nbi·n·f k(i)·f r mry·f im·n·f sw m im·w·f (im·n·f is written im·w·n·f through confusion with the following noun im·w) contain two sdm·n·f forms in initial position which*

references to a god as a fashioner or builder are found frequently in the hymns; thus, Amen-Rē in the well-known Leiden Papyrus I 350 is referred to as 'one who fashioned his (own) images (or: statues)',²⁸ and, in a text at Edfu, Ptaḥ is said to be 'Fashioner of fashioners, builder of builders, Ta-tenen, creator of the gods'.²⁹ Thus, in a general way, a creator-god can be said to have created all other gods, to have fashioned their images, and to have founded the temples and shrines in which their images dwell. In this Hymn I, the role of the creator-god as builder and sculptor is attributed to Horus, son of Isis.

There is a further observation to be made about this role of Horus, and it concerns the relationship between him and the living king, Ptolemy II. In the middle scene of the lowest register of the west wall of the same Room X, the king, offering to Osiris and the winged Isis the linen (*mnḥt*) placed on the hieroglyph of an antelope lying on her back,³⁰ is referred to as 'the perfect god who keeps safe the shores of (Egypt), who builds the temples as (it happened) on the First Occasion, who provides them with sustenance of the land (*ntr nfr swd; idbw ir gsw-prw mi sp tpy ḥtm sn m ḏf:w nw t*)'.³¹ The idea is certainly well known from the older texts;³² it is to be noticed, however, that in this inscription the words *ir gsw-prw*, 'who builds the temples', correspond to *smn gsw-prw*, 'who establishes the temples', attributed in Hymn I to Horus, with the further qualification that Horus 'establishes the temples of the Ennead'. It may not be purely coincidental that in the temple built by Ptolemy II, the Hall of the Ennead (*wshḥt psdt*), is adjacent to Room X in which this hymn is recorded. In the middle scene of the middle register of the same west wall of Room X the king, shown offering to Osiris and Isis the unguent from Punt, is said to be 'the perfect god, the living image of Rē and the heir of Osiris-Onnophris (*ntr nfr smn cnḥ n Rē iw n Wnm-nfr*)'.³³ Thus, the king not only performs the same function of a builder of temples as Horus does, but, as stated in the last reference, as the living image of Rē, he is also identified with Horus, son of Osiris; as the hymn to Osiris in Room V clearly puts it, the king is Horus himself.³⁴ In this Hymn I, Horus is said to be 'Lord of Nubia and ruler of foreign lands', that is southern and northern lands, the same lands over which Ptolemy II claimed his dominion, as emerges clearly from the two vertical inscriptions separating the two hymns (Hymn I and Hymn II, see above, p. 119). It is hardly necessary to point out that the epithet 'the Mighty Bull', or 'Horus, the Mighty Bull (*Ḥr kḥ nḥt*)',³⁵ is frequently attributed to the Egyptian king, and although this epithet is not given to Ptolemy II in the inscriptions of Room X, it is found elsewhere associated with his name.³⁶ Thus, Isis, mother of Horus, is also mother of the king, not only because she addresses him as 'my beloved son',³⁷ or 'my son, Horus, my beloved',³⁸ but because his royal function and character can best be translated as emphatic forms. Also, since a reading *imḥ n:f sw* (cf. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 20: *imḥ n* 'to be gracious to') would hardly make good sense, one has to assume that *imḥ n:f* is a *sdm n:f* form of the verb *imḥ* with a transitive-reflexive meaning, 'to render oneself gracious'; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 321 translated correctly: 'il s'est rendu plein de grâce par sa grâce'; Assmann's translation is rather paraphrastic: 'er schuf sich liebreizend an Erscheinung', op. cit. 295.

²⁸ A. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 24 f., and J. Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947), 38, pl. ii, 26.

²⁹ *Edfou*, II, 37, 10: *nbi nbiw kd kdw Tḥ-tm ms ntr(w)*.

³⁰ On the meaning of this offering see Ph. Derchain, *Rites égyptiens*, I, *Le Sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussels, 1962), especially 30 ff.; to Derchain's very instructive discussion, this example of Berlin Ph. 1029 is now to be added.

³¹ Berlin Ph. 1029, cf. Bénédite, op. cit. 65, tabl. viii (correct the text).

³² To quote just one example, I refer to the most recent publication of *The Temple of Khonsu*, II, *Scenes and Inscriptions in the Court and the First Hypostyle Hall, The Epigraphic Survey* (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 103) (1981), I, bottom, pl. 113.

³³ Bénédite, op. cit. 64, tabl. v.

³⁴ See L. V. Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), 143 f.

³⁵ See Gardiner, *AEO* I, 21*, A78; Altenmüller, *Syncretismus*, 221 f.

³⁶ See, e.g., H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte*, IV, 227, no. XVI.

³⁷ See above, p. 119.

³⁸ See Bénédite, op. cit. 63, tabl. iii'.

are coextensive with those of Horus, her son, who at this time had become the mythical prototype of an Egyptian king, with whom the Ptolemies tended to identify themselves. At the very summit of this complex theological edifice—graphically represented very simply by five columns of praises surmounted by a ‘lintel’ of invocation—stands Isis, in her pre-eminent position as the mother of her Horus and of the adopted King-Horus. Osiris plays a very subordinate role in this hymn; it is the Mother and Son who rule.

Hymn II

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall; Bénédite, op. cit. 62, tabl. ii'; Berlin Philae Ph. 1032; see here pl. XIV. As in the case of Hymn I, this hymn too is arranged in five vertical lines, each line comprising a strophe. The horizontal line surmounting all five vertical lines is probably a refrain to be repeated after each strophe.³⁹ Here too, in the transliteration it is indicated only once; in the translation it is repeated after each strophe in an attempt to show the effect this repetition may have had on the recitation of the whole hymn.

The vertical inscription behind the king reads: ‘King of Upper and Lower Egypt *Wsr-kꜣ-Rꜥ-mry-Imn* has come before you, that he may adore your beautiful face, O Isis; give him Upper and Lower Egypt (in) peace, without any disturbance, for ever.’⁴⁰ Then the king recites the hymn:

Iꜣw n-t ꜣst wrt
Mwt-nꜥr nb(t)-ꜣt Iꜣyt-nꜥr
Ntt hmt-nsw tꜣt n Wnn-nꜥr
Imy-r imyw-r nbyw m gsw-prw
Sꜣ smsw tꜣy n Gb
Ntt hmt-nsw tꜣt n Wnn-nꜥr⁴¹
Kꜣ mꜣi šꜣr sbꜣw nb
Nb hꜣꜣ ꜣt

Ntt stꜣt tꜣt n Wnn-nꜥr
Hwn nꜥr ir ꜣꜣt m hꜣkw-ib n tꜣwy⁴²
Ntt hmt-nsw tꜣt n Wnn-nꜥr
Hw sn-s ir dꜣr hr wrꜣ-ib⁴³
Ntt hmt-nsw tꜣt n Wnn-nꜥr
Hꜣh rnpw wꜣs nhꜣ
Iw(t) r-hꜣꜣ-f m Snmwt⁴⁴

Translation

Praise to you, Isis, the Great-One,
 God's Mother, Lady of Heaven, queen of the
 gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,
 The supreme overseer of the Golden-Ones in
 the temples,
 The eldest son, first(born) of Geb.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great-One,
 God's Mother, Lady of Heaven, queen of the
 gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,
 The Bull, the Lion who overthrows all his
 enemies,
 The Lord and ruler of Eternity.

³⁹ See above, Hymn I, n. 2.

⁴⁰ *Iꜣ-n Wsr-kꜣ-Rꜥ-mry-Imn hr-t dꜣ-f dwꜣ-f-nꜥr m hr-t nꜥr(t) ꜣst dꜣ n-f šꜣꜣw mꜣw (m) hꜣꜣ nn hꜣꜣ nb ꜣt.*

⁴¹ *Nꜥr*, in *Wnn-nꜥr* (Onnophris) has been somewhat damaged; Berlin Ph. 1032 and Bénédite, op. cit. 62, tabl. ii', show a better-preserved sign which is a variant of Gardiner's Sign-list S 37, as seen in *Valeurs des signes ptolémaïques*, 136, no. 3101; cf. *Wb.* II, 253 where it is, however, limited to New Kingdom spellings.

⁴² For the damaged sign of *ir ꜣꜣt m hꜣkw-ib* see Berlin Ph. 1032.

⁴³ For a better-preserved spelling of *wꜣꜣ*, in *ir dꜣr hr wrꜣ-ib*, see Berlin Ph. 1032, and Bénédite, op. cit. 62, tabl. ii'; for the phrase *ir dꜣr hr*, see *Wb.* V, 613, 16; for serpent-sign only see *Valeurs des signes ptolémaïques*, 69, nos. 1513, 1514; the combined sign, a man standing and holding a vertical undulating serpent in his left hand, is probably a variant spelling of *dꜣr* as seen in *Wb.* V, 611, top of page, a combination of three cobra-signs; for the latter see also H. W. Fairman, *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 117.

⁴⁴ For *r-hꜣꜣ*, in *iw(t) r-hꜣꜣ-f*, see *Wb.* I, 42, 18 and 19; III, 112. For the construction *iw(t) r-hꜣꜣ-f*, see Erman, *NG* §§627, 470 f.: the 2nd fem. suffix, *t*, indicated by a seated female figure (Erman, *NG* §68), has been omitted. *Iw(t)* is a circumstantial form: ‘you being with him’, implying also a notion of futurity (‘you will be with him [for ever]’).

Praise to you, Isis, the Great-One,
God's Mother, Lady of Heaven, queen of the
gods.

You are the First Elect-One of Onnophris,
The perfect youth who performs slaughter
among the disaffected of the Two Lands.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great-One,
God's Mother, Lady of Heaven, queen of the
gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,
One who protects her brother, and watches over
the weary-of-heart.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great-One,
God's Mother, Lady of Heaven, queen of the
gods.

You are the First Royal Spouse of Onnophris,
The Eternal-One-rejuvenating-himself, who
extolled Eternity:

You are with him at Biggeh.

Praise to you, Isis, the Great-One,
God's Mother, Lady of Heaven, queen of the
gods.

Here too, in the legend above the hymn, Isis 'Giver of Life, Lady of divine praise, the Living-One, Lady of Philae, Mistress of Biggeh, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods'⁴⁵ speaks to Ptolemy: 'I have given you the kingship of Atum on earth; I have given you the land with what is in it; I have given you victory over the north'⁴⁶—statements which balance Isis' assurances given to the king in the adjacent right scene (see above, p. 119). The vertical inscription behind Isis complements her reassurances to the king given in the legend: 'O my beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Wsr-k3-Rc-mry-Imn*, I have given you the north as far as heaven, the Great Green, bowing head for ever, belongs to you.'⁴⁷ 'The victory over the south' of the right scene corresponds to 'the victory over the north' of the left scene; 'Heaven with what is in it' of the right scene corresponds to 'the land with what is in it' of the left scene. Thus the two legends above the hymns, and the two vertical inscriptions which separate the two scenes of the middle register complement each other. This has been seen to be the case with the two vertical inscriptions of the upper register, as discussed in *JEA* 66 (1980), 129 f., 134; there, as well as here, the scribe and the artist showed the remarkable feel for good composition which is observed throughout the north wall, where, as will be also seen in the discussion of the lowest two reliefs, the vertical median inscriptions which separate three pairs of reliefs meaningfully complement each other, and unite all of the six reliefs in a harmonious tableau.

Commentary

Theologically no less complex, and just as rich in content and imagery as Hymn I, this hymn extols another prominent role of Isis, that of the First Royal Spouse of Osiris. In the invocation-refrain she is again referred to as God's mother, that is the mother of Horus, but the entire hymn stresses her role as the spouse of Osiris, the god whose eminent position at Philae is described with a series of epithets attributed to him in the hymns of the earlier periods, and here enriched by the addition of some new ones. I wish briefly to discuss four points which will illustrate this statement:

1. The reference to Osiris as 'the supreme overseer of the Golden-Ones in the temples' is unusual and of some special interest for Philae. Such a function is attributed to him as 'the eldest son, first(born) of Geb'. Although in this hymn Osiris himself is not explicitly called 'the Golden-One', or 'the Gold', it would seem that he too, as 'the supreme overseer of the Golden-Ones'—that is, of the gods and goddesses represented as golden images in the temples—is to be thought of as

⁴⁵ *3st di cnh nb(t) hs(t) ntr cnh(t) nb(t) Tw-rk hnwot Snmwot nb(t) pt hnwot ntrw nbw.*

⁴⁶ *Di-n-i n-k nswy(t) n Itm tp ts di-n-i n-k ts hnc nty im-f di-n-i n-k nht r mhww.*

⁴⁷ *S3-i mry nsw-bity Wsr-k3-Rc-mry-Imn di-n-i n-k mhww r-cw n pt w3d-wr mn-k m w3h-tp dt.* For *r-cw* see Hymn I, n. 23.

embodied in a golden image; sometimes he seems to be indeed so described.⁴⁸ It is well known that the Egyptian gods and goddesses, and especially Hathor, are often referred to as 'the Gold', or 'the Golden-Ones',⁴⁹ and Isis too, is at Philae called 'the Golden-One', or 'the Gold'.⁵⁰ It is only proper that Osiris, who played the eminent role of the overseer of the deities, should be represented as a golden image, a golden living image, supreme among the golden living images of other deities—this precious metal, out of which the flesh of the gods was believed to have been made, indicating the splendour, perfection, and incorruptibility of their divine nature. As will emerge more clearly from Hymn VI in the second part of this study, it appears that, as in some other temples, at Philae 'the Gold' with respect to deities was not always a mere metaphor, but that it indicated the reality of their presence in their golden images.

2. It is well known from the Osirian hymns of the Middle and New Kingdoms,⁵¹ that Osiris, in his various aspects, is often referred to as 'the Bull'. In Hymn I, it is Horus who is repeatedly called 'the Mighty Bull', and he can also appear in the form of a lion.⁵² The double epithet of Osiris, 'the Bull and the Lion', however, does not occur, to my knowledge, in older Osirian hymns. It seems plausible to see in this double epithet an influence of the Theban theology of Amūn, to whom both epithets are attributed in Chapter 50 of the Leiden Papyrus 1 350, in which this god is described as an overpowering deity in the form of 'the divine falcon with outstretched wings, swooping down and capturing his assailant in the completion of an instant, mysterious lion great of roaring, gripping firmly those who come beneath his claws, a bull for his town, a lion for his people, lashing with his tail against him who attacks him'.⁵³ In Ch. 500 of the same papyrus, Amūn is said to be: 'Raging lion with furious claws . . . bull strong of back and heavy of hoofs . . . crocodile which surges seizing him who attacks him'.⁵⁴ It appears from the texts of the early Ptolemaic Period at Philae that the ancient literary traditions, preserved in the texts of the temple libraries, were fully alive, and that the priests and scribes drew upon them whenever the need arose to adapt ancient texts to the cultic requirements of the new temples and their deities. In this particular case, the reference to Osiris as 'the bull and the lion' is an early Ptolemaic example of the traditional hymnic phraseology borrowed by the Philae scribes from the Theban theology of Amūn; it is also a link between the earlier and later literary traditions, some important aspects of which have been recently studied by A. Gutbub.⁵⁵ It is instructive to note that the model-type of what Gutbub aptly calls 'le dieu combattant' of the texts of Kom Ombo is most prominently represented as falcon, bull, lion, and crocodile—forms ascribed to Amūn in the above-mentioned Leiden hymns;

⁴⁸ Thus, e.g., in the Turin stela 1640 of the Eighteenth Dynasty; see on this hymn Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 86 f. with full bibliography. The authors translate the phrase *nfr n nwb* 'Osiris, perfection de l'Or (?)', and find this expression 'insolite'. It is indeed so; the construction is probably 'accusative of respect', but *n* is unnecessary. Assmann, op. cit. 440 translates the phrase as: 'Osiris, Schöner des "Goldes"', and explains 'Das Gold: Bezeichnung der Göttin Hathor, hier mit Isis gleichgesetzt', *ibid.*, 624, no. 209, which seems to be less likely.

⁴⁹ See on this F. Daumas, 'La Valeur de l'or dans la pensée égyptienne', *Annales du Musée Guimet, Revue de l'histoire des religions* 75 (149) (1956), 1-17; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 264 n. *d*; 330 n. *b*; 539 (Lexique-Index: Or).

⁵⁰ Junker-Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, 79, 13; see Commentary to Hymn VI (to follow).

⁵¹ See J. Zandee, *An Ancient Egyptian Crossword Puzzle* (Leiden, 1966), 29 f., 53; see also G. Soukiassian, *GM* 44 (1981), 65 n. 20.

⁵² See J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 169 and n. 89.

⁵³ Gardiner, *ZÄS* 42 (1905), 25 f.; Zandee, *De hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden, 1947), 42-3; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 217.

⁵⁴ Zandee, op. cit. 94 f., *id.*, *Crossword Puzzle*, 29; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 226; Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 319 f.

⁵⁵ A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo*, I (IFAO, Bibl. d'Étude 47(1)) (1973), 108; II (Index) (Bibl. d'Étude 47(2)) (1973), 23, 29; see also A. Gutbub, 'Die vier Winde im Tempel von Kom Ombo (Oberägypten)', in O. Keel, *Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst* (Stuttgarter Bibelstudien 84/85) (Stuttgart, 1977), 351.

as to the fourth form of the 'dieu combattant', it is interesting to notice that the aggressive and ferocious but also benevolent crocodile-god Sobk is in the Ramesseum hymns assimilated to Horus, saviour of his father Osiris, and that he too is also given the epithets of 'the Bull' and 'the Lion'.⁵⁶

L. Kákosy, in his recent article on Osiris as a bellicose god,⁵⁷ quoted two pertinent texts from the shrines of Tutankhamūn, in which Osiris is referred to as one whose heart 'inflicts all carnage (*ir šrt nbt*)'⁵⁸ on his enemies 'who cannot be saved from his arm'; when Osiris comes forth against them, 'they are fallen, for ever and ever (*hrw dt dt*)'.⁵⁹ Already in the hymns of the Middle Kingdom Osiris is called 'Lord of fear (*nb snḏ*)', and 'great of terror (*ꜥꜥ nrw*)'.⁶⁰ In the hymns of the New Kingdom, more pungent references to Osiris as an aggressive war-like deity are found in the great hymn of the stela C 286 in the Louvre, in which he is described as 'great of might when he overthrows the Enemy (*ꜥꜥ pḥty šhr-f sby*)', 'strong of arm when he kills his adversary (*šhm-ꜥ smꜥ-f ḥfty-f*)', 'steadfast when he treads (upon) the rebels (*mn-ib rdwy-f [hr] rswt*)', 'one who instils terror into his enemy (*rdi snḏ-f m hrw-f*)', 'one who attains the distant limits of the evil-one (*in ḏrw wꜥw ḏwt*)',⁶¹ and in a hymn in the tomb of Nebwenef, where it is said of Osiris that 'his enemies have been placed under him on his behalf, he having slaughtered his foe (*rdiw n-f ḥftyw-f hr-f pgꜥ-n-f hrw-f*)'.⁶² Similar epithets occur in Ptolemaic references to Osiris. Here, in Hymn II, he is referred to as 'the perfect youth who performs massacre (*ir ḏt*) among the disaffected of the Two Lands', just as in Hymn I it is Horus 'who causes the rebels to fall, who smites his enemy and makes a massacre (*ir ns*) thereby'. At Kom Ombo, Haroeris-Shu, 'le dieu combattant', is called *nb šrt*, 'Lord of carnage', and *ir šrt*, 'who performs carnage';⁶³ the same action is attributed to Amūn at Medamūd;⁶⁴ in Edfu, it is Horus the Beḥdetite 'who performs great massacre (*ir ḥꜥyt ꜥꜥt*)'.⁶⁵ It seems that each of the famous temples had its own 'dieu combattant'. At Philae, it is not only Osiris and Horus who obtain such bellicose epithets; as will be seen in Hymn V, Isis too is said to be *wꜥ šrt*, 'great of carnage', who annihilates her enemies. It would seem, therefore, that the bellicose role of Osiris was not peripheral to his basically benevolent character, as Kákosy seems to be inclined to think,⁶⁶ but that it was and remained one of his prominent attributes. Its occurrence in the hymns of the early Ptolemaic Period at Philae again indicates the important part Philae played in the process of the preservation and transmission of ancient literary traditions.

3. Osiris appears in Hymn II not only as a 'dieu combattant', but he is also described as a god of royal character, as a living, terrestrial ruler, and an organizer of social and ethical order. In the hymns of the Middle and New Kingdoms, he is frequently referred to as 'the heir of Geb', and as such he is 'king of the gods' and 'king of the north and south',⁶⁷ 'the heir of Geb in the kingship of

⁵⁶ A. H. Gardiner, *RdÉ* 11 (1957), 43–56; Barucq–Daumas, op. cit. 422 f., 424, 427; Assmann, op. cit. 424–32.

⁵⁷ L. Kákosy, 'Ein literarisch-mythologisches Motiv: Osiris als Gott des Kampfes und der Rache', in J. Assmann, E. Feucht, R. Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto) (Wiesbaden, 1977), 285–8; see also Griffiths's summary of Kákosy's discussion, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, 149 f.

⁵⁸ A. Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-ankh-Amon* (Cairo, 1952), 77, ll. 34–5; this is a version of the *Book of the Dead* 17, 27 (*Urk.* v, 71) which reads *wꜥm šrt nb*, 'which eats all carnage': see T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead* (Chicago, 1974), 31, 4.

⁵⁹ Piankoff, op. cit. 10, fig. 3.

⁶⁰ Hassan, *Hymnes religieuses du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1930), 24; cf. p. 44.

⁶¹ A. Moret, *BIFAO* 30 (1931), 737 ff.; Barucq–Daumas, op. cit. 93; Assmann, op. cit. 445.

⁶² Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, 44 f.; Barucq–Daumas, op. cit. 111.

⁶³ Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux*, I, 67, 73 (n), 106, 108, 116 (au).

⁶⁴ E. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud*, II, *Les inscriptions* (Cairo, 1926), 25; Barucq–Daumas, op. cit. 344.

⁶⁵ *Edfou*, VI, 115, 1 and 7–8; 116, 6; 125, 3; Gutbub, op. cit., I, 73 (n).

⁶⁶ Kákosy in Assmann et al. (eds.), op. cit. 288.

⁶⁷ Hassan, *Hymnes religieuses*, 106 f.; Barucq–Daumas, op. cit. 84 f.

the Two Lands', 'one who gloriously appears on the throne of his father'.⁶⁸ He is, to be sure, 'Great God, Lord of the West', that is, the god of the nether world, and a solar deity who 'traverses (the sky) in the divine barque, Lord of the Ennead', but he is also 'Lord of all men, and Chief of the Two Lands in their entirety', as stated on a stela of the Twelfth Dynasty.⁶⁹ More precisely, as a Nineteenth Dynasty hymn says, he is 'the father and mother of mankind; it is through his [text: your] breath that they live; it is of the flesh of his [text: your] body that they eat';⁷⁰ he is the grain-god 'Nepri (Neper) giving all his vegetation and all the food of the soil',⁷¹ he is 'Ḥu [authoritative utterance or creative Word] who brings food into existence';⁷² he is also one 'who establishes Ma'at throughout the Two Shores',⁷³ that is, he establishes order, justice, harmony in the land, while constantly repelling the enemies, personified by Seth and his 'associates'; as a hymn in the tomb of Kheruef says, he is 'great in terror, Master of Eternity, Lord of Ma'at, rejoicing over her majesty while (he) is upon his great throne'.⁷⁴ It is true that Osiris as the king of the nether world can be said to be 'Lord of Ma'at', and that Ma'at was worshipped as 'Lady of the West' closely associated with Osiris in the nether world,⁷⁵ but, in the context of what has been said above and what follows, Ma'at can be understood to be associated with Osiris in his terrestrial reign as well. Born as a king,⁷⁶ Osiris retains his royal prerogatives and titles in all eternity, of which he is the lord and ruler. Now, the idea of the royal condition of Osiris is expressed in the first line of every strophe of Hymn II, which thus stresses the idea of his kingship: Isis is his royal spouse; he is the king. The other attributes of Osiris known from the older hymns briefly discussed above are expressed in Hymn II by a single but concise phrase: Osiris is said to be 'the Eternal-One-rejuvenating-himself (or: Eternally rejuvenating himself), who extolled eternity', which, in the context of other references to him, especially of that in the hymn of Room V, would indicate that he is closely associated with nature and life as a beneficent provider; 'eternally youthful', or 'eternally rejuvenating himself', as he is referred to in the hymn in Room V, and in Hymn II, he is also, as stated in the same hymn of Room V, 'gleaming child, the inundating water',⁷⁷ bringing to the land all its benefits, an idea further developed in Hymn IV discussed here below, as well as in some later texts at Philae. Osiris' role as one who introduced Ma'at, that is, law, justice, order, and harmony, is expressed in Hymn II by a single phrase: 'who extolled eternity'. In the hymn of Room V,⁷⁸ this phrase is expanded and elaborated with a complementary statement: '. . . who extolled Eternity, when he encircled the lands with his arms; who fashioned truth (Ma'at) and abolished falsehood, when he assumed the throne of Atum.'⁷⁹

⁶⁸ Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 93 f. For all these references and further bibliography Barucq-Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, and Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, can be conveniently consulted.

⁶⁹ Hassan, op. cit. 122 f.; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 63b; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 83 f.

⁷⁰ A. Erman, *ZÄS* 38 (1901), 31, 33; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 107; F. Daumas, *La Civilisation de l'Égypte pharaonique* (Paris, 1965), 287.

⁷¹ Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 96; Assmann, op. cit. 447; on Nepri, or Neper, see also Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, 165 f., and Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, 54 f.

⁷² Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 124 f.; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 83; Assmann, op. cit. 439, no. 208.

⁷³ Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 93; Assmann, op. cit. 445.

⁷⁴ *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192. Epigraphic Survey* (OIP 102) (1980), 37, pl. 19: cf. Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 108 (tomb of Nebwenenef).

⁷⁵ See Kákosy in Assmann *et al.* (eds.), op. cit. 288 and n. 13; D. Jankuhn, *GM* 8 (1973), 19-22.

⁷⁶ Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 109 n. d, and p. 89; Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), 143.

⁷⁷ Žabkar, op. cit. 144.

⁷⁸ Žabkar, op. cit. 143.

⁷⁹ The two phrases, 'the eternally youthful (or: the Eternal-One-rejuvenating-himself), who extolled eternity', occur also in a Ḥeḥ-offering scene from the time of Augustus, recorded on the outer west wall of the Mammisi at Philae; see Junker-Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, 393, 18. The editors read the text *Ḥḥ rnp tsj nhḥ*, and translated: 'Der junge Ḥḥw (Urgott?), der die Ewigkeit trägt'. For the explanation they refer to Junker's *Onurislegende*, 4, 30 f. However, in Junker's discussion there ('Onuris als Himmelsträger'), there is no reference to Ḥḥw or any other god 'der die Ewigkeit trägt'. All the texts from Philae quoted by Junker in *Onurislegende*, 4, 30 f. are from a period later than those of the temple of Isis which I am discussing here. The theme of the 'Himmelsträger', that is of the god Ḥeḥ supporting the heaven, does indeed occur in the

In view of the universal character of Osiris' dominion, it is questionable whether the reference to him as 'the ruler of the living (*ḥkꜣ n ḥnw*)' which occurs in some hymns⁸⁰ is to be explained as pertaining to Osiris' rule of the dead, here euphemistically called 'the living'. Although in some instances that may be the case, especially when that expression is more closely defined, or when the context demands such an explanation,⁸¹ it seems that in the hymn of Sobkiri mentioned above (n. 80) the same tripartite division of the universe is observed; Osiris is said to be 'Sovereign of the gods, great power of heaven, ruler of the living, king of those-who-are-beyond'. One could arrange these epithets as a 'couplet': *ity ntrw šm ꜣ n pt, ḥkꜣ ḥnw nsw ntyw-im* and argue that the first line refers to the celestial power of Osiris and is paralleled by the second, which describes Osiris' rule of the nether world. It is to be mentioned, however, that some New Kingdom variants do not support such an interpretation;⁸² but, more importantly, it seems that the context, which stresses the universal power of Osiris over a tripartite universe, does not favour the meaning of *ḥnw* as 'the dead'. Certainly, the parallelism of the two verses would not represent an objection to the meaning of *ḥnw* as the terrestrial inhabitants. Similar references are found in the hymn to Osiris in Room V of the temple of Isis in which the god is said to be 'king of heaven, ruler of the lands, great sovereign in the nether world',⁸³ in which 'the lands' is substituted for 'the living'. J. Assmann sees in the epithet 'ruler of the living' a reference to Osiris' power over the living, since all of them must come to him.⁸⁴ This is certainly true, and is clearly stated in the above mentioned hymn of Sobkiri as well as in other Osirian hymns. I should like to add that Osiris is 'ruler of the living' not only because all have to come to him, 'men, gods, "akhu", and the dead', 'all that exists and that does not exist',⁸⁵ but because the universal dominion of Osiris necessarily

texts of the temple of Isis; it is found in Hymn VI, which will be discussed in the second part of this study* Junker's treatment of that theme is now to be complemented by those of A. Gutbub mentioned here above, n. 55. I shall return to this theme in the Commentary to Hymn VI. Here I should like to say that the above-mentioned phrases, which are repeated in the text accompanying the offering of the Ḥḥ-symbol to Osiris in the Mammisi, do not directly, that is *per se*, refer to the theme of the 'Himmelsträger'. The context of the text of the Mammisi is a different one; the words of the king offering the Ḥḥ-symbol refer to Osiris as 'the Lord of Millions (*nb ḥhw*), rich in hundreds of thousands (of years), Lord of Life, living for ever (*ḥr r nḥh*), . . . Lord of Lifetime, enduring of years'—all this summarized, in l. 18, in the words *Ḥḥ rnpꜣ wts nḥh* 'the eternally youthful (or: the Eternal-One-rejuvenating-himself), who extolled eternity' derived from the older hymns. These phrases have been inserted in the Mammisi text probably with the purpose of producing a play on words *ḥh-nḥh*, to which they feasibly lend themselves. The theologian-poet indulged in this word play in order to stress the main idea of the Ḥḥ-offering scene: through the ritual offering of the Ḥḥ-symbol, millions of years (*ḥh*), and eternity itself (*nḥh*) were conferred upon Osiris, although, in this process of adaptation of an older text to a new ritual setting, the proper, original meaning of the phrase, 'who extolled eternity', was lost. It is possible, however, that in inserting the above phrases in the text of the Mammisi, the theologian-poet was also influenced by the theme of the 'Himmelsträger', a good example of which may have been known to him from a text addressed to Khnum, recorded in the interior of the Mammisi and dating to Ptolemy VIII (see Junker-Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, 25, 3-4). Thus, he may have understood the words *Ḥḥ rnpꜣ wts nḥh* (or, as the editors of the *Geburtshaus* read, *Ḥḥ rnpꜣ tsj nḥh*) as referring also to the 'Himmelsträger'-theme, and may have associated *Ḥḥ* with the god Ḥḥ, with whom Osiris is then identified. Both phrases, however, as mentioned above, are derived from the older Osirian hymns, Hymn II discussed here, and the hymn in Room V. It is clear that in the text of the Mammisi one observes yet another example of the adaptation of the older hymnic phraseology to a later and different ritual setting, a satisfactory explanation of which depends on the proper understanding of its older source.

⁸⁰ e.g., Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 50, 54; see also Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 81 (hymn of Sobkiri).

⁸¹ e.g., Hassan, op. cit. 54: *ts pn ḏsr n ḥnw*; *The Tomb of Kheruef* (Oriental Institute Publications 102), 18, pls. 83B, 85A: 'A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, king of the living (*nsw ḥnw*) . . .': see also Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 356, n. a.

⁸² Hassan, op. cit. 50, 55 f.

⁸⁴ Assmann, *Hymnen und Gebete*, 75.

⁸⁵ Hassan, op. cit. 79, 122 f.; Sethe, *Lesestücke*, 63b; see also *The Tomb of Kheruef*, 37, pl. 19; 'Onnophris . . . great of awe in the hearts of men, gods, "akhs", and the dead'; p. 39, pl. 21: 'Osiris, Ruler of Eternity, Lord of that which is and to whom that which is not belongs (*nb ntyw, wn(n) nf iwtyw*)'; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 83, n. c.

⁸³ Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108, 144.

includes the living on earth as well.⁸⁶ After all, the fully Osirianized dead aspire to the same ideal: 'Grant that I may be an "akh" in heaven, powerful on earth, justified like the lords of the nether world.'⁸⁷ In this respect the words of the great hymn of the Louvre stela C 286 seem to me unequivocal; if the verses of the strophe are properly grouped, as they are in Assmann's translation,⁸⁸ there seems to be no doubt that they refer to Osiris' celestial and terrestrial dominion, and not to that of Horus mentioned in the preceding lines, as Moret thought.⁸⁹

4. As emerges from Hymn II, as well as the older hymns referred to above, Osiris is hardly a passive deity, and he is much more than the god of the nether world. He is a kingly figure, a 'dieu combattant', a beneficent deity, associated in a very special way, and even identified, with the inundation waters and the benefits which they bring to the land. And yet, in this same Hymn II, he is also a quiescent deity; he is said to be at Biggeh, the place where his tomb is situated, the Abaton, and Isis is there with him as 'one who protects her brother and watches over the weary-of-heart', where, as the later texts explain, she visits him every ten days to offer libations to him.⁹⁰ In a similarly static role as a beneficent deity, Osiris, as a temple-dwelling numinous power, is said to be 'the supreme overseer of the Golden-Ones', that is, of the golden images of the deities resting in the temples. It indeed looks as if the poet envisaged the god as manifesting himself in his many aspects in a tripartite universe, fluid, without any strongly marked demarcation lines: the living figure of the god imperceptibly passing from the world of the dead into the world of the living and into the celestial sphere. With this peculiar concept of the universe a no less peculiar concept of time is associated: Osiris, the primeval god and mythical god-king is acting in the now existing time; a living deity, he is the spouse of Isis and the father of his mythical son Horus, but, at the same time, he is also the father of the living king, the living Horus; independent of nature, ruler of the land, he is closely associated with the phenomena of nature, and may be even identified with them; lord of eternity, and of the universe, he is resting in his tomb, and is numinously present in the temples of the land. Without elaborating in any way, L. Kákósy seems to have had a felicitous, though inchoate, idea when he said that Osiris, from his realm in the nether world, 'greift zuweilen auch in die irdischen Ereignisse ein . . .'.⁹¹

It is indeed a hard task to try to gain a deeper insight into this multifariousness of Osirian functions and the concept of the universe and time against which they are projected. The actions of the god-king and ruler of heaven, earth, and the nether world are effectively realized and perpetuated in time conceived as a homogeneous whole, in which past, present, and future, infused with mythical relations, are inseparably connected, and thus, from the creation of the world to its end, merged with and within eternity. Such a time, embracing past, present, and future was experienced by the theologian-poet as an eternal present. What may be thought to have occurred in the past is perpetuated in the present, and will be so in the future, which thus has already been completed. And this is not a mere literary, or theological, or philosophical fiction without any serious impact on the people and their land: the order and harmony, and the very existence of the world depend on the continued action of the god in the present time, and the assurance that he will be acting in the future. Osiris continues and will continue destroying his enemies, and maintaining the social and moral order which he once established. This energizing role of the god manifests itself in various forms and places, but it also emanates, in a lesser degree of intensity, from his tomb and from the temples in which he presides over other deities.⁹² Ritual and festivals, hymns and prayers

⁸⁶ Thus also Zandee, *Crossword Puzzle*, 38 with further references, and Moret, *BIFAO* 30, 737.

⁸⁷ e.g., A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), 379, no. 1053, and 414, no. 1122; Barucq-Daumas, op. cit. 90; similarly *Urk.* IV, 1404, 17, etc.

⁸⁸ *Hymnen und Gebete*, 447, ll. 112-19.

⁸⁹ *BIFAO* 30, 745 f.

⁹⁰ Cf. Junker, *Der große Pylon*, 45, 13-14; id., *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, 23 f.

⁹¹ Kákósy in Assmann *et al.* (eds.), op. cit. 288.

⁹² See Constant De Wit, *Les Inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, III (Brussels, 1967), 53, and Žabkar, *ŽAS* 108, 167.

continually drew him back into present time, close to human beings, to their experiences, and their aspirations for salvation. Even if he had once lived among men—which is impossible to prove—he no longer belonged to history; he had become a living myth; consequently those who narrated his actions paid little attention to chronology. No wonder, then, that frequently, in translating his hymns, one finds it difficult to decide whether a participial form, which describes some of his actions or attributes, is to be translated as referring to a past or present action of the god, ‘one who established Maꜣat’, or ‘one who establishes Maꜣat’. For the uninitiated of limited horizons, that may present a problem, for an Egyptian theologian-poet, with his peculiar concept of time and the universe, the problem never existed.

Hymn III

Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall; Bénédite, op. cit. 62 f., tabl. iii; Berlin Philae Ph. 1033; see here pl. XV. In this, and the following Hymn IV, the king is reciting the hymn before a standing Isis; in the middle and upper registers the goddess is seated on the throne. Also, unlike Hymns I and II, in Hymns III and IV each strophe is not fully contained within a vertical column of inscription, but continues from one column to the next.

The vertical inscription behind the king reads: ‘Son of the Sun, Ptolemy, has come before you, O Isis, giver of life, that he may see your beautiful face; give him all the lands in obeisance, for ever.’⁹³

Recitation:

3st wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Tw-rk
 Hmt-ntr dwt-ntr drt-ntr⁹⁴
 Mwt-ntr hmt-nsw wrt
 Skrt nb(t) hkrw cht

Nb(t) ibw iht
 Imty mh cht m nfrw-s
 Tdt cht⁹⁵ hnw ršwt(?)⁹⁶
 Tly(t) gst m st-ntry(t)

Igp(t) wrh m šhd-s
 Šrit bnr(t) mrwt hnw n(t) šmcw mhꜣw
 Tr(t) mdw m-hnw Psdt
 Sšm-tw⁹⁷ hr st-r-s

Tryt-pꜣt wrt-hswt nb(t) imt
 Hnms hnt-s tft m cntyiw wꜣd

⁹³ *Ti-n sꜣ Rc Ptlwmys hr-t 3st di (nh mꜣ) f hr-t nfr(t) di n-f tꜣ-wy* (sic) *nb m ksw dt. Tꜣ-wy* for *tꜣw*, as elsewhere: see n. 108.

⁹⁴ The two *ntr*-signs are so written that the first serves as part of *hmt-ntr* and *dwt-ntr*, while the second is part of *drt-ntr*.

⁹⁵ The determinative of *cht* is slightly damaged, but it seems to be □: cf. *Valeurs des signes ptolémaïques*, 98, no. 2045; Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 278, n. lxix.

⁹⁶ *Rš* in *ršwt* appears in my photo even more damaged than in Berlin Ph. 1033 where it is still discernible; the third sign of *ršwt*, Ⲅ, Gardiner's Sign-list V 33 (bag of linen), has been inserted by the scribe because of its initial consonant š (*šr*, ‘linen, cloth’, var. reading): cf. the Montpellier Sign-list, 155, no. 3473; the addition of *šwt*, *šwty*, the two tall feathers combined with the sun-disc, may appear unusual: see, however, the spelling of this word in *Wb.* II, 454, with three feathers (‘spielend’). The reading *hnw tꜣ šwty* is hardly possible, since, in addition to orthographic difficulties, Isis is never shown in her temple at Philae with two tall plumes as part of her head-dress (only Ḥathor, and the queens).

⁹⁷ Here, too, my photo shows the damage which occurred since the time Berlin Ph. 1033 was taken. On the latter, the signs transliterated here as *sšm-tw*, are well preserved; they are [𓂏]. I take the second, the egg-sign, to be a variant spelling of the phallus-sign in *sšm*, as seen in *Wb.* IV, 285, i.e. 𓂏, a late spelling of 𓂏: cf. also *Wb.* IV, 289–90. The third sign, *tl*, is the spelling of the *sdm-tw-f* passive (also used in the Ptolemaic–Roman Period: see e.g., H. Junker, *Grammatik der Denderatexte*, 102, §129) in its impersonal use. See further in n. 104.

Translation

O Isis, the Great, God's Mother, Lady of Philae,	Rain-cloud which makes green (the fields) when it descends, ¹⁰³
God's Wife, God's Adorer, and God's Hand, ⁹⁸	Maiden, sweet of Love, Lady of Upper and Lower Egypt,
God's Mother and Great Royal Spouse, Adornment ⁹⁹ and lady of the Ornaments of the Palace.	Who issues orders among the divine Ennead, According to whose command one rules. ¹⁰⁴
Lady and desire of the green fields, ¹⁰⁰	Princess, great of praise, lady of charm, ¹⁰⁵
Nursling who fills the palace with her beauty, Fragrance of the palace, mistress of joy, ¹⁰¹	Whose face loves the joy of fresh myrrh. ¹⁰⁶
Who runs her course in the Divine Place. ¹⁰²	

⁹⁸ 'God's Hand' (*drt-ntr*), 'God's Adorer' (*dwrt-ntr*), 'God's Wife' (*hmt-ntr*) were the titles of the queens, princesses, and other non-royal priestesses who were 'God's Wives of Amūn'; on these and other Old and New Kingdom royal and administrative titles applied in the Ptolemaic-Roman Period to various deities, especially Isis and Ḥathor, see E. Otto, *Gott und Mensch* (Heidelberg, 1964), 22 f.; *Wb.* v, 585, 5 and v, 430, 6 (*ad loc.*); J. Leclant, *LdÄ* II, 792–815; see below, n. 105.

⁹⁹ For *skrt*, translated here as 'adornment', see *Wb.* IV, 318, 13 and 14: 'als Bez. der Hathor', and Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 252: *skr*, 'adorn(?)'; the context would seem to indicate that Faulkner's translation is correct, *skrt* being followed by *nb(t) hkrw*; Isis is 'adornment and Lady of the ornaments'.

¹⁰⁰ *šbw šhht* (or *šht*, which is a noun, not recorded in *Wb.* I, 18), 'desire of the green fields', or 'whom the green fields desire', is further explained by the first line of the following strophe: 'rain-cloud which makes green (the fields) when it descends'.

¹⁰¹ Titles of Isis derived from those of the divine priestesses of Amūn in their priestly function: cf. Leclant, *LdÄ* II, 795; 'the Palace' refers, first, to the palace proper, where Isis exercises her royal function, but also to the temple, where, adorned with the priestly epithets, she is both the pre-eminent deity and the high priestess: see the beginning of Hymn VI, 'Come to the palace', that is 'the temple', or the sanctuary of the temple, and the beginning of strophe 4 of the same hymn where *ht*, again in the meaning of the temple or sanctuary, is qualified by *špst wrt*, 'the great, august palace'.

¹⁰² In a hymn to Amūn in the temple of Hibis (N. de Garis Davies, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, III, *The Decoration* (New York, 1953), pl. 32, l. 26), Amūn, identified with the sun-god, is said to be *nb hp*, which Barucq–Daumas, *op. cit.* 326 and n. *bf* translate 'Seigneur de la course rituelle(?)', attributing to the phrase a cosmic and a ritual meaning: that of the sun-god traversing the sky, and that of the king represented as running and taking possession of the land at his accession; Assmann, *op. cit.* 298 translates this phrase 'Der Herr des Umlaufs'. The interpretation of Barucq and Daumas seems to fit the context of the Philae hymns, although here, in Hymn III, the phrase used is *ity(t) gst*, a phrase which occurs already in the Pyramid Texts (see, e.g., Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 292), and not *nb(t) hp*. As will be seen, in Hymn V, and especially in Hymn VI, Isis is closely associated with the sun-god, and here, in Hymn III, with the royal palace, exercising her supreme power over the Two Lands and thus over the king: see the last line of the following strophe: 'according to whose command one (that is, the king) rules', an idea amply substantiated by other texts at Philae (see Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, esp. 16 ff.). It is only appropriate that Isis, in her royal capacity, be referred to as 'the one who runs her course', taking possession of the land, just as the king does at his accession. *St ntry(t)*, 'the Divine Place', has here a concrete meaning, different from that in the *Coffin Texts* (on which see Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary, Addenda and Corrigenda*, 5*, no. 206); here it probably indicates the place where the act of running is performed, while at the same time alluding to the representations of this ritual act on the lintels of the doorways of the temples and pylons at Philae. The royal character of Isis is strongly in evidence in this text.

¹⁰³ See above, n. 100, and the Commentary.

¹⁰⁴ This same phrase, in a slightly different form, occurs in a hymn, or rather encomium, to Isis at Philae (of the time of Ptolemy VI), and at Kalabsha (time of Augustus) with a more common spelling *sšm-tw*, instead of *sšm-ti: wq-t mdw n psqt sšm-tw hr st-r-s*; H. Junker correctly translated the text as 'Die der Göttergesellschaft Befehle erteilt, und nach deren Ausspruch regiert wird', *Anzeiger der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Klasse, nr. 18 (1957), 270 f., l. 11. Otto dealt with this text in *Gott und Mensch*, 143, no. 15; 152, no. 13, and translated it 'Die der Neunheit Anordnungen gibt; die mit ihrem Befehl (oder: Ausspruch) leitet', reading the second part of the phrase as *sšm-t hr st r-s* (*op. cit.* 152, no. 13). Otto's reading of *sšm-t* as a participle did not improve upon Junker's translation, and is not supported by the older occurrence of that

In the legend above the hymn, Isis 'the Great, God's Mother, Lady of Philae, residing at *Hwt-hnt*,¹⁰⁷ giver of life, like Rē, for ever' speaks to Ptolemy: 'I instil the fear of you throughout the land, I have given you all the lands in peace, I instil the fear of you among the foreign countries.'¹⁰⁸ In the legend below her left hand, Isis says: 'I have given you the "Meret" in peace.'¹⁰⁹ In the vertical column of inscription behind her figure, the goddess rewards the king's devotion to her with the words: 'How beautiful is this which you have done for me, my son, Horus, my beloved, Lord of Diadems, Ptolemy; I have given you this land, joy to your "bas" for ever.'¹¹⁰

phrase here in Hymn III. Otto seems to have confused *hr st-r-s* with *hr st-r-s* of which he collected a number of very useful examples; compare his text no. 288 (op. cit. 189) with the texts nos. 283-7, 289-91, and pp. 142 f. Besides, *sšm-t* cannot be construed with *hr* and translated 'die mit ihrem Befehl leitet'. These problems have been now solved by the older variant of this phrase in Hymn III: *sšm-ti (sšm-tw)*, impersonal passive, is here construed with *hr* in the meaning 'one rules (or: governs) according (lit.: upon) her command'; it is more probable that *-ti* is the ending of the passive, than that of the feminine participle. As Junker observed (op. cit. 276), this phrase has been inserted into a text recorded on the First Pylon at Philae (Junker, *Der große Pylon*, 230, ll. 3-4); the text there suffers from several lacunae, and the meaning of l. 4 is uncertain.

¹⁰⁵ These titles of Isis are also part of the titular repertory of the queens, royal princesses, and divine spouses of Amūn: see *Wb.* v, 585, 5; Leclant, *Ld.Ä* II, 799; D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), 8 f., 14, etc. (*wrt hst*, *wrt hswt*): see above, n. 98.

¹⁰⁶ For *tftf*, in *hnms hnt-s tftf*, see R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 133 and 451: *huty-k tfy*, *ib-k tftf*, 'your heart is perturbed', 'tft' strictly "to remove, move away", always with an implication of disturbance, agitation and the like', with further references. Here, in Hymn III, *tfti* has a meaning which implies the agitation of joy; *hnms*, 'be friendly with', etc., is construed with the direct object (cf. *Wb.* III, 294, 13), *tftf*, which is to be taken as an infinitive; *m ntyw*, lit.: '... (joy derived) from fresh myrrh', or '(joy) through fresh myrrh'; it seems that this meaning of *tftf* gives a better sense than any other listed in *Wb.* v, 300; the hair-determinative after *hntt*, *hnt*, 'the face', may be unusual, but see the variety of its usages in Gardiner's Sign-list D 3 and Montpellier Sign-list, 28, nos. 656, 659. The whole phrase applies well to the scene of the offering of myrrh represented in the left uppermost register of the same North Wall of the sanctuary: see Žabkar, *JEA* 66 (1980), 127 f.

¹⁰⁷ *šst wrt mwt-ntr nb(t) Tw-rk hry(t)-ib Hwt-hnt di nhy mi Rr dt*; on *Hwt-hnt* see Žabkar, *Apedemak*, 137 n. 191; Gardiner, *AEO* II, 11*; Junker-Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, 31 n. 3. While it is not certain that *Hwt-hnt* is the name of either Philae (Gauthier, IV, 120, Junker-Winter, loc. cit.) or Elephantine (Brugsch, *DG* 547, *ap.* Gardiner), it is even less likely, at least in this context, to be the name of Esna, as Gardiner asserted (loc. cit.). The precise limits of this toponym (perhaps more than one) are yet to be determined; here it may indicate the region immediately south of Philae, comprising Philae itself (cf. Žabkar, loc. cit.).

¹⁰⁸ *Di(i) snđt-k m-ht t, di-n-i n-k trwy (for trw) nb m htp, di(i) snđt-k m-m(?) hswt*; *m-ht* is spelled *m-h*, and *m-m* as *m* with three plural strokes, between the two latter a somewhat damaged sign(?). *Di(i)* for *di-n-i*, clearly for reason of space: see pl. XV.

¹⁰⁹ *Di-n-i n-k mrt m htp*; on *mrt* see *Wb.* II, 108, 3-6 and A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier*, 170 f. The 'meret'-chest (see also Montpellier Sign-list, 120, nos. 2279, 2280) was used as a container for cultic objects, such as incense, ointments, linen of four different colours, all objects used in daily ritual offerings; thus the 'meret'-chest and the objects it contained could be considered a form of the Eye-of-Horus (cf. Berlin Amūn Ritual xxvi, 7, Moret, op. cit. 170 where the word for chest is *hn*), a term which could be applied to all offerings. In the scenes of the temples, it is the king who offers the 'meret'-chest to a deity, as can be seen in the middle scene of the upper register of the west wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Isis, (Bénédite, op. cit. 63 f., tabl. II, pl. xxiv; Berlin Ph. 1026), where Ptolemy II is shown offering the 'meret'-chest 'to his father Osiris', who is accompanied by Isis suckling her son Harpocrates. In the scene of Hymn III, however, the setting is different: it is Isis who is giving the 'meret'-chest to Ptolemy, and not vice versa. Assuming that no confusion on the part of the engraver is at issue, which does seem to be improbable, an explanation is to be found for what seems to be a quite unusual arrangement of persons involved. Is it possible that Isis, in a true *quid pro quo*, is providing Ptolemy with the ritual objects in order that he may give them back to her (and perhaps also to other deities) in the daily temple ritual?

¹¹⁰ *Nfr-wy nn ir-n-k n-i s-i Hr mry-i nb hsw Ptlwmys, di-n-i n-k t: pn hswt bsw-k dt*; the last phrase lit.: 'joy of your "bas" for ever'; Isis' words to Ptolemy: 'My son, Horus . . .' clearly point to the identification of the living king with Horus, repeated in the adjacent inscription pertaining to Hymn IV: see below, p. 135. For another example of this identification, see Junker-Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, 77 (Ptolemy VIII). Although the signs read here as *bšw*, 'bas', are slightly damaged, it seems that the three 'ba'-birds have only two pairs of legs, instead of the usual three. Since this is found elsewhere in the temple of Isis (e.g., in Room VII: see

Commentary

Hymn III, like Hymns V and VI, is fully centred on Isis. The emphasis, however, is no longer on her familiar role as the sister and wife of Osiris and the mother of the child Horus, as in Hymns I and II, but on her particular relation to the royal palace and the temple. A beloved princess, the first among the gods, she is also a beneficent goddess of nature.

As already observed in the notes, her role in the palace and the temple is described with terms derived from the well-known aulic phraseology and that of the priestly functions of the 'Divine Adorers'. In the palace and the temple, two symbols of power and unity, Isis reigns supreme. It is possible that the phrase 'according to whose command one [that is, the king] rules' may have even served as a model-phrase for a variety of similar expressions which are recorded at Philae and elsewhere, and which occur from the early Ptolemaic to the Roman Period; while some of them are also attributed to other deities, they are associated more frequently with Isis.¹¹¹ As E. Otto stated,¹¹² the basic idea of the complete dependence of the royal election and office upon the will of the god can be traced back to the oracular texts of the Eighteenth Dynasty; the frequency of occurrence and the variety of application of such phrases in the Ptolemaic-Roman inscriptions,¹¹³ reveal a particular aspect of the complex idea of kingship, the various components of which G. Posener was able to distinguish in his study *De la divinité du pharaon*, a study which E. Otto has carried further into the Ptolemaic-Roman Period in his work *Gott und Mensch*.

One of the pleasantly surprising features of this hymn, briefly mentioned in n. 101, is the way in which the theologian-poet succeeded in playing with the double meaning of the word *ḥt*, 'the palace', which, either by itself or with qualifying adjectives, can also mean 'the temple'. There is no doubt that the context of the whole hymn demands that the word *ḥt* be taken in its first meaning of 'the palace'; Isis is closely associated with kingship and the royal palace of which she is 'the adornment', and 'the fragrance'; as the true ruler of the land, she even performs the royal ritual of 'running the course'. Yet these same references to her as 'the adornment' and 'the fragrance', together with those of 'mistress of joy' and 'lady of charm' remind us of the epithets of the Divine Spouses of Amūn in their priestly function (see nn. 101 and 105), and the meaning of *ḥt* as 'the temple' corresponds well to such phrases which glorify Isis as God's Wife and God's Hand. This interweaving of the two meanings of *ḥt*, the harmonious fusion of the two main functions of Isis in relation to the palace and the temple which permeates the whole hymn, distinguishes it as good poetry. But there is even more to the poetic character of this hymn. Isis is not only the princess among gods and men, adorned with the epithets of the high priestess, she is also the goddess of nature, and here the poet used some fine imagery rarely found in the temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic-Roman Period; she is 'lady and desire of the green fields', and 'the rain-cloud which makes green (the fields) when it descends'. Some similar phrases expressing the vivifying power of a deity over nature can be found in the older texts. J. Gwyn Griffiths has recently discussed such a text quoting from *Pyr.* §965 a-b: 'It is Sothis, thy (Osiris') daughter whom thou lovest, who has made thy fresh plants (*ḥnpwt-k*) in this her name of Year (*ḥnpt*).'¹¹⁴ More examples of such phraseology can be found in the hymns of the New Kingdom: thus, e.g., in the Berlin hymn to Ptaḥ it is said that this god is 'one who founded the Two Lands, mountains and deserts, and who makes them green with the water which comes from heaven'¹¹⁵—an idea of rain as the celestial

Bénédite, op. cit. 41, tabl. iii, Berlin Ph. 1062), one can assume this to be a peculiar orthographic feature, or a variant spelling of the plural *ḥnw* at Philae.

¹¹¹ See Otto, op. cit. 17 f.

¹¹² Otto, op. cit. 16, 18.

¹¹³ Otto, op. cit. 142 f.

¹¹⁴ Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult*, 116, 157. I agree with Griffiths's translation of *ḥnpwt-k*, 'thy fresh green plants' (cf. also *Wb.* II, 435, 2), which brings out more meaning from this text than do those of Sethe ('die für deinen Unterhalt gesorgt hat', *Pyr. Komm.* IV, 243) and Faulkner ('who prepares yearly sustenance for you', *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 165).

¹¹⁵ W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 11.

Translation

She is the one who pours out the inundation,¹²⁵
Which makes all people live and green plants
grow,¹²⁶
Who provides divine offerings for the gods,
And invocation-offerings for the transfigured-
ones.¹²⁷

Because she is the Lady of Heaven,
Her man is the Lord of the Nether World,
Her son is the Lord of the Land;¹²⁸
Her man is the pure water,¹²⁹ rejuvenating
himself at Biggeh at his time.¹³⁰

(Indeed), she is the Lady of Heaven, Earth, and
the Nether world,¹³¹
Having brought them into existence¹³² through
what her heart conceived and her hands
created,¹³³
She is the 'Bai'¹³⁴ which is in every city,
Watching¹³⁵ over her son Horus and her brother
Osiris.

also proves that even the singular *bꜣ*, written as 'leopard ("panther")', may have the connotation of a punitive power; see below, n. 134 and the Commentary. The alternative explanation would be to translate *bꜣ* (or *ꜣby*) as 'leopard, panther', 'she (Isis) is a panther . . .' which, although said of the king (see Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept*, 63), seems to be a less probable reading.

¹²⁵ For the reference to the deity in the third person even though directly addressed ('She is the one . . .') see, e.g., the hymn to Ḥathor from Deir El Bahri (E. Naville and H. R. Hall, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari*, III, pl. ix), most recently translated by Barucq and Daumas, *Hymnes et prières*, 437, no. 128: 'Salut à elle (*ḥnd-ḥrꜣs*), la Vache d'Or . . .', see op. cit. 31 and n. 25 with further references.

¹²⁶ See n. 122.

¹²⁷ The idea of a deity who through vegetation sustains the gods and the dead occurs already in the *Coffin Texts*, where it is associated with Osiris and in which the needs of the living are also included; the Spell for 'Becoming barley of Lower Egypt' reads: 'N. is this bush of life which went forth from Osiris to grow on the ribs of Osiris and to nourish the people, which makes the gods divine and makes efficient the "akhu", which provisions the possessors of the "kas" and the owners of endowments, which makes *pꜣk*-cakes for the "akhu", which makes the living to grow, and which makes firm the bodies of the living', *CT* IV, 6b-7d: cf. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I (Warminster, 1973), 205, Spell 269. Subsequently, the reference to a divine or semi-divine being (or beings) who provided divine offerings for the gods and funerary offerings for the transfigured-ones ('akhu') became standardized in the mortuary literature: see, e.g., *Urk.* IV, 545; *BD* 126, 149 end; cf. *Wb.* I, 529, 7; III, 185, 5. The same phrases occur in the texts of the later Ptolemaic and Roman Period at Philae, in which they are associated with Osiris, sometimes identified with the inundation: see Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 60, or some other deities, e.g., Sothis, who in the Mammisi is said to be one 'who pours out the inundation, inundates the fields, and makes live those who are on earth (*ḥr stꜣ Ḥꜣpy ḥr bꜣḥ ḥt ḥrꜣry(t) ḥḥ tpyw-tꜣ*): see Junker-Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, 332 ff.; Valbelle, *Satis et Anoukis*, 62.

¹²⁸ Most recently Valbelle in a very useful book (*Satis et Anoukis*, 57) read *ḥꜣ* (twice) as *ḥꜣ*, 'child', instead of 'man' ('son enfant est le maître de la Douat, son fils est le maître de la terre, son enfant est l'eau de jouvence'), and rendered the whole passage meaningless.

¹²⁹ *Wrb*, 'purification', is translated here as 'purification-water', 'pure water', which seems to fit the context well.

¹³⁰ This idea, which recurs in the later texts of Philae (see, e.g., Hassan, *Hymnes religieux*, 60 f.), is well expressed in a text of the lintel of the door leading to Osiris' Room on the roof of the temple of Isis, above her sanctuary: 'You (Osiris) are the inundation which returns at its time, who causes gods and men to live from his efflux, one who comes at his time, being born at his time, rejuvenating his limbs on the first of the year (*twꜣ Ḥꜣpy ḥsꜣ r trꜣf ḥꜣr ḥḥ ḥḥ nḥ nḥrw rḥḥ m rḥwꜣf ḥꜣ r trꜣf mꜣ r trꜣf rḥꜣ ꜣwꜣf tpy rḥꜣ*): see Berlin Ph. 1151, and correct Hassan's copy accordingly; see also Žabkar, *ZÄS* 108 (1981), 144 n. 21.

¹³¹ In a text accompanying the offering of the Ma'at to Osiris on the south wall of Room VII of the temple of Isis, adjacent to the sanctuary, Osiris is said to be 'Lord of Heaven, Earth, and the Nether World', *Bénédite*, op. cit. 42, tabl. i', Berlin Ph. 1063: on this see the Commentary.

¹³² *Ḥr* with the infinitive (*ḥr shꜣꜣr-sn*) in a well-attested usage of this construction pertaining to past events: see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §165, 10.

¹³³ The phraseology of this statement aptly combines the elements from the Memphite Theology (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, x, 65 f.) and the Berlin Hymn to Ptah (W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 64, 23, l. 20; Sethe, op. cit. 34); for further references see *Wb.* v, 36, 3, and Otto, *Gott und Mensch*, 58.

¹³⁴ See n. 124; Isis as a potentially wrathful deity watches over her son Horus and her brother Osiris.

In the legend above the Hymn, Isis 'the Great, God's Mother, Lady of Philae, Lady of Heaven, Mistress of all the Gods, the beloved, giving life like Rē^c¹³⁶ speaks to Ptolemy: 'I have given you to smite him-who-plans-(evil?); I have given you all flat lands and all foreign lands, I have given you victory to the four corners of the earth.'¹³⁷ In the legend below her right hand holding the sceptre, Isis says: 'I place your name amongst those of the famous kings; there is no lack of what you have conquered.'¹³⁸ In the vertical border inscription behind her figure, Isis gratefully acknowledges what Ptolemy has done for her and reciprocates his devotion to her with the words: 'How beautiful is this which you have done for me, my son, Horus, my beloved, Lord of the Two Lands, *Wsr-kj-Rc-mry-'Imn*; I have given you the land as serfdom of your "ka", for ever.'¹³⁹ Here too, the two median inscriptions which separate the two scenes complement each other. In the one which refers to the scene on the right (Hymn III), Isis is said to have given to the king 'this land (as) joy to your "bas", for ever', the 'bas' indicating here the manifestation of the full personality of the king, not only his might, power, glory, or punitive power. The other inscription, which refers to the scene on the left (Hymn IV), speaks of Isis who has given to the king 'the land as serfdom of your "ka", for ever', the 'ka' of the king indicating his other self, his living image represented in the reliefs of the sanctuary. Thus the references to the 'bas' and the 'ka' of the king, both referring to the living king, complement each other and enhance the idea of the presence and mutual relationship of the king and the goddess in the sanctuary.

Commentary

If, in the preceding hymns, Isis was extolled as the divine mother and spouse, the lady of the palace and the goddess of nature, here she appears as a universal supreme deity, because she is the creator of the universe and providential sustainer of all life. A few brief comments will further elucidate what has already emerged from the reading of the hymn.

It is interesting to observe how the theologian-poet always found new ways to confirm Isis in her role of supreme deity. As elsewhere at Philae, her spouse Osiris and her son Horus are intimately associated with her, and in their many capacities share in her power and prerogatives. In this hymn too, Isis 'Lady of Heaven' shares her dominion with her spouse, her 'man', Osiris, to whom the rule of the nether world is ascribed, the rule which includes also the annual inundation of the Nile; she shares her sovereignty with her son Horus, who rules the land of Egypt. Thus the whole

¹³⁵ *Wp-hr* in *Wp-hr's* is perhaps a synonym of *wn-hr*: see *Wb.* I, 312 f.: 'geöffneten Gesichts, aufmerksam, gescheut'; it is construed here with *hnc*, which seems unusual.

¹³⁶ *3st wrt mwt-ntr nb P-rk nb(t) pt hmw ntrw nbw mry(t) di nh mi Rc*; this writing of the name of Philae, *P-rk*, for *P'-iw-rk* occurs also on the east door-jamb of Room XII, where it is spelled *P'-rk*; for the name of Philae see now E. Winter in *LdÄ* IV, 1022, with further bibliography.

¹³⁷ *Di-ni n-k wcf hry km di-ni n-k twy* (for *tw*) *nb hswt nb di-ni n-k nhtw r ift t; wcf* spelt the same way occurs on the east wall of the same Room X: see Bénédict, op. cit. 59, end of page: *wcf hswt* (= *Urk.* II, 112, 2); see also Montpellier Sign-list, 13, no. 2614b; *hry km*, lit.: 'he who is (bent) upon planning (evil?)': for *km* in the meaning of 'planning evil' see *Wb.* v, 35, 18.

¹³⁸ *Di-i rn-k r nsyw mnhw nn šw m it-n-k*; the 2nd sing. suffix *k*, in *it-n-k*, is written with the sign of the bull, *k3*: cf. Fairman, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 221, no. 145(b), and *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 78.

¹³⁹ *Nfr-wy nn ir-nk ni si Hr mry-i nb twy Wsr-kj-Rc-mry-'Imn di-ni n-k t; m ndt k3(k) dt; ndt* (*Wb.* II, 369) is written with the determinative of *nds* (*Wb.* II, 384). The determinative following the 'ka'-sign is represented by a seated and bearded male figure; therefore it cannot refer to Isis but to the king. It is quite possible (this, however, requires a more thorough examination) that the seated male figure represents here not the determinative, but the 2nd sing. masc. suffix, analogous to the seated female figure which can stand for both the 1st and 2nd fem. suffix. This reading of the sign of the seated male figure as the 2nd sing. masc. suffix could also apply to the same sign occurring twice after the word 'ka' in the right uppermost scene of the same north wall which I discussed in *JEA* 66, 130, pl. xvi. This explanation would complement the observations made by Fairman in *ASAE* 43, 290. The meaning of this statement seems to be that the land belongs to Isis; here she is giving that land in serfdom to Ptolemy, that is, she is transferring the land and the labourers bound to it to Ptolemy.

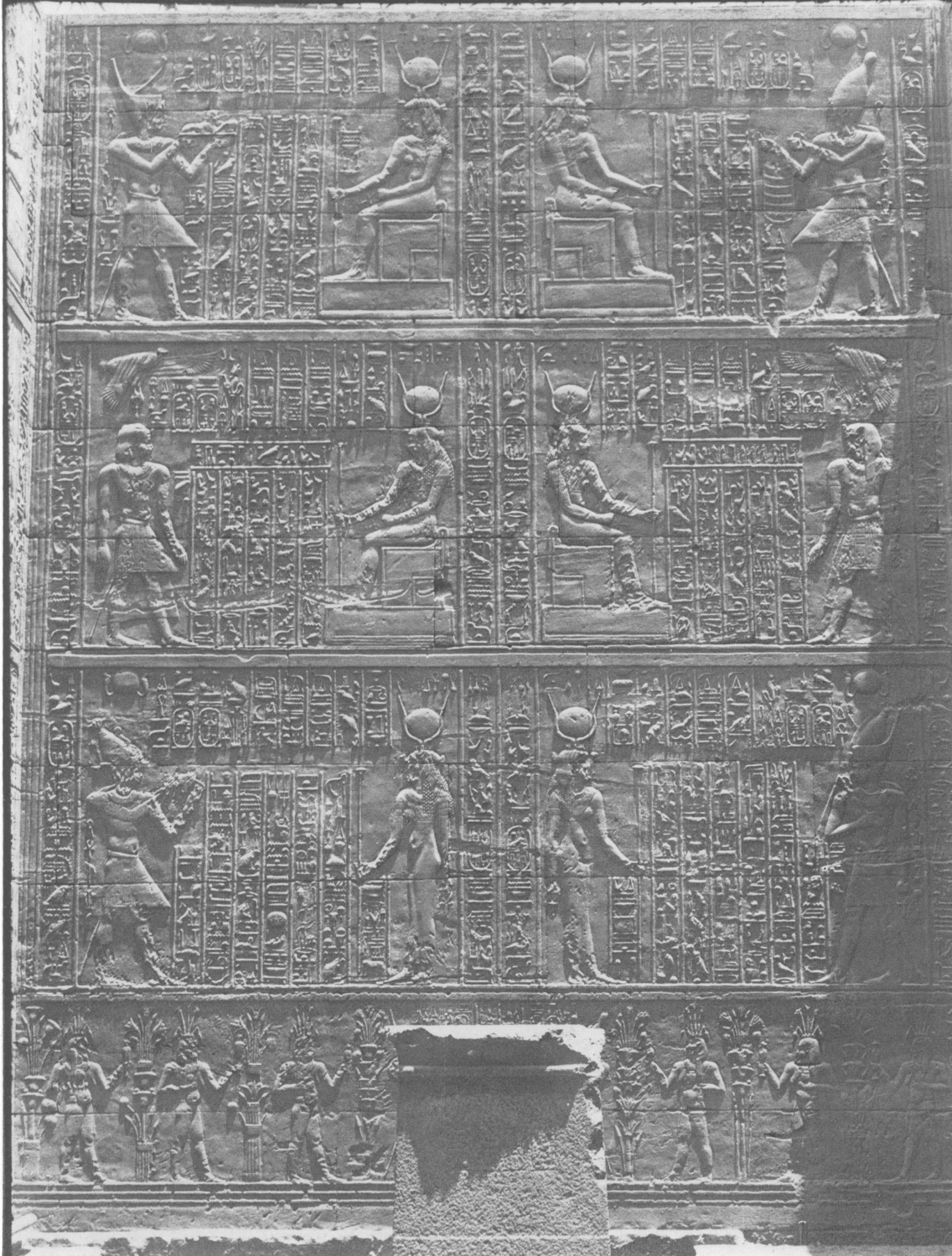
tripartite universe is ruled by the divine triad Isis–Osiris–Horus. And yet at no time did the theologian-poet forget that it was Isis whom he wanted to extol above all other deities. To show her pre-eminent role and her unique position in her sanctuary at Philae, he resorted to two theological associations, and succeeded admirably in his speculative effort. True, Isis shares the rule of the universe with her spouse and her son; yet, in her sanctuary, she is truly the ‘Lady of Heaven, Earth, and the Nether world’, because she created them. As if to make it absolutely clear what he meant, the theologian-poet applied to Isis the well-known, centuries-old terminology associated with the creator-god Ptaḥ and with other creator-gods: she brought the world into existence ‘through what her heart conceived and her hands created’. It is true that in other instances at Philae, and in the very same temple of Isis, in Room VII, Osiris too is said to be the ‘Lord of Heaven, Earth, and the Nether World’; that is in agreement with what was said in the commentary to Hymn II about Osiris’ universal power. One should not forget, however, that Hymn IV represents the climactic point of the eulogy of Isis, a moment when she alone, the only creator and sustainer of the universe, reigns supreme in her sanctuary. Thus, what may appear to be a contradiction in the application of the same terms to more than one deity, is simply an emphatic and culminating point in the ritual recitation inspired by devotion to the goddess, and, conceivably, sincerely experienced.

This supreme creative deity is also the providential mother; she is responsible for the annual inundation of the Nile, and maintains in existence the world which she has created. In her association with the Nile, Isis has assumed the role of ‘pouring out’ the life-giving inundation; she is the one who nourishes gods, men, and the glorified dead, a function attributed otherwise at Philae, and elsewhere, to Osiris, and sometimes to other gods (see Hymn III n. 119), and in the *Book of the Dead*, at least partly, to certain semi-divine or personified beings (see n. 127).

In concluding this hymn to Isis, the poet did not forget her ancient and most familiar role as a mother and wife, who protects her son Horus, but is apparently even more anxious about her brother and spouse Osiris—the latter being a motif which, independently of the former, recurs in Hymns II, V, and VI. This double function Isis exercises as a *bꜣ*, which here, even in its singular form, connotes a potentially punitive power of the goddess; in this rare meaning, like the plural *bꜣw* discussed above in n. 124, it may be derived from, or associated with, its homonym *bꜣ* ‘leopard, panther’, with the sign of which it is indeed written: Isis’ protection of her son and brother-husband is rendered more effective by her capability to manifest her power as a vengeful goddess.

With the exception of the two legends of the base (‘soubassement’) which complete the procession of the ‘Niles’ and to which I shall refer at the end of the second part of this study, Hymn IV completes the texts of the north wall of the sanctuary of the temple of Isis. Nothing has been said as yet about the manner and order of recitation of these hymns and their place in the ritual of the temple. These matters, too, will be more appropriately discussed after the texts of the south wall have been translated in the second part of this study, in connection with the general description of the sanctuary. I wish, however, to end this discussion of the four hymns with a brief appreciation of the remarkable richness and significance of the north wall itself, on which these hymns are engraved. It is a masterpiece of composition and execution in which six scenes, organized in three pairs of complementary and parallel reliefs, form in all their variety of detail a harmonious whole. In spite of the injuries inflicted by time and man, there is an aura of tranquil dignity and beauty about these figures rendered alive by the power of the written word. It is not just an aid to ritual recitation which a learned or curious visitor to the sanctuary sees engraved on this north wall, but an expression of sincere piety, hidden and almost lost under the unavoidable conventional formulae,

a glimpse into the religious psyche of a very ancient culture which, in its last centuries, could still assert itself with amazingly genuine vitality. To be sure, as the above discussion has shown, much of what is said in these hymns had been repeatedly said before, but not in quite the same manner, nor with the same poetical insight. What also seems to emerge from them is an expression of trust in the great goddess who alone could allay political and social uncertainties still lingering in the native mind, even after the Ptolemies had been adopted into the Egyptian theological doctrine of divine kingship; it is also a vivid picture of a particular moment in the ritual of the sanctuary of the Lady of Heaven, a moment caught, as it were, and arrested in stone for all eternity.



Philae, temple of Isis, Room X, north wall

Photograph by L. V. Žabkar

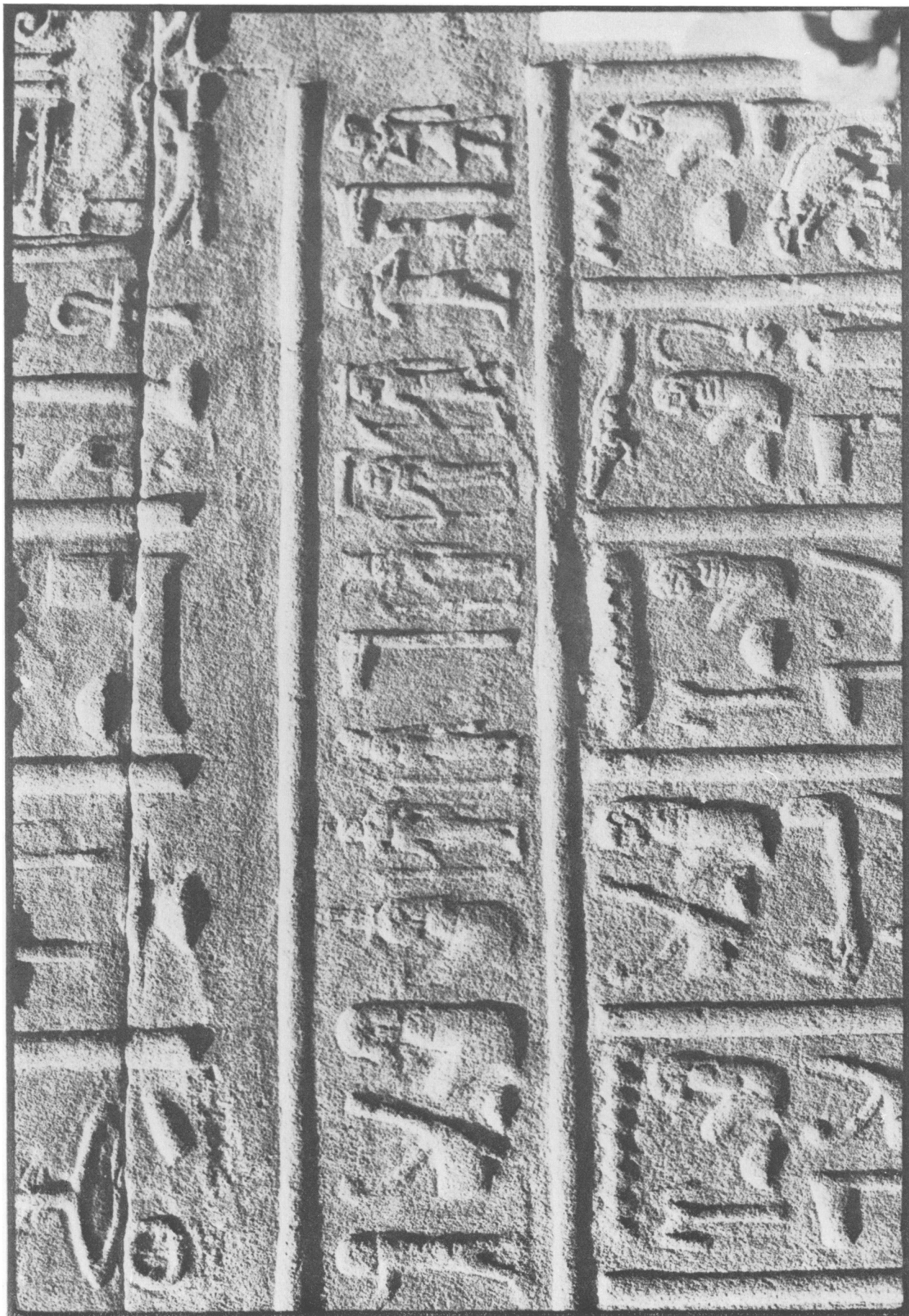
SIX HYMNS TO ISIS



Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, middle register, scene on the right (Hymn I)

Photograph by L. V. Žabkar

SIX HYMNS TO ISIS



Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, detail of pl. XII

Photograph by L. V. Žabkar

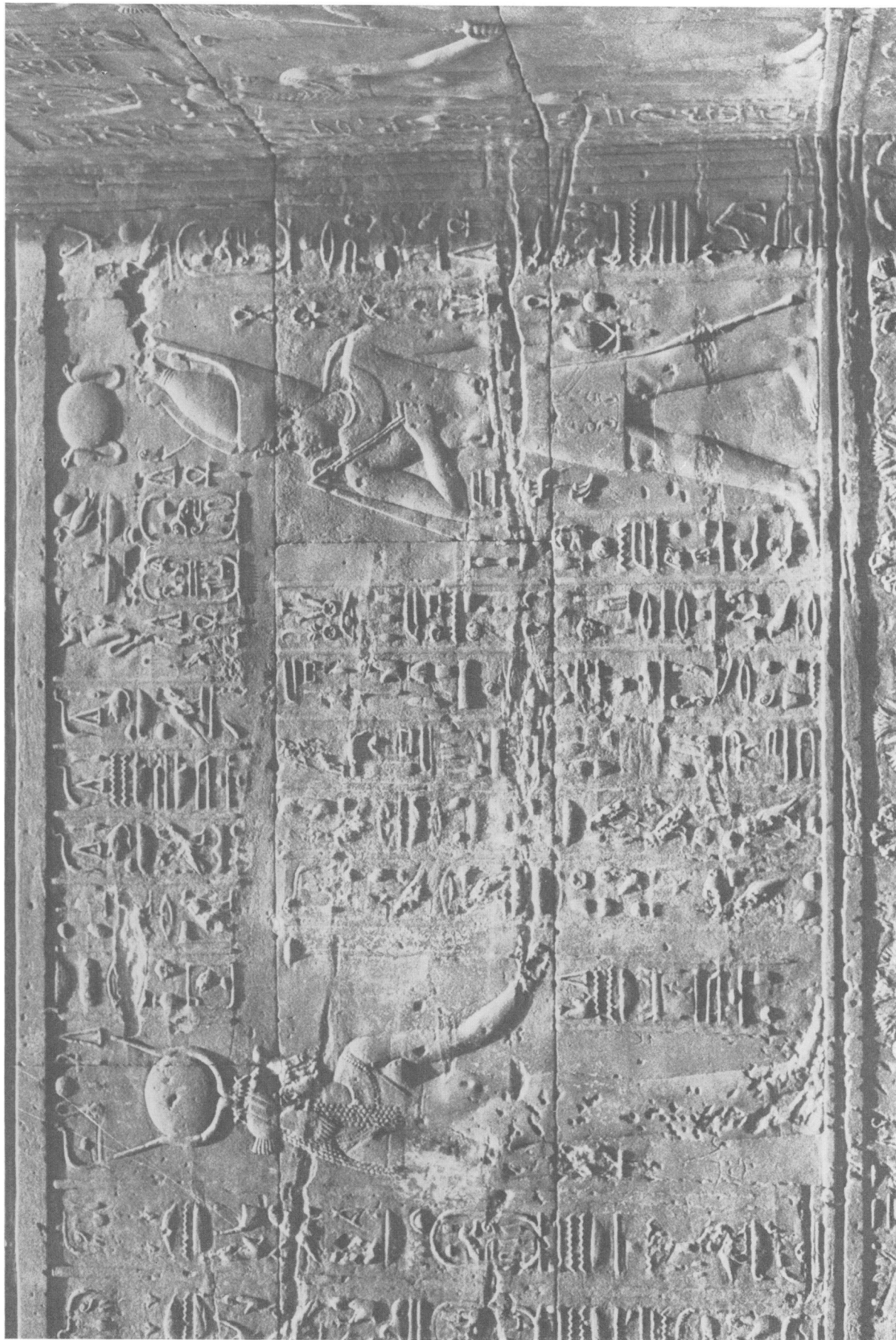
SIX HYMNS TO ISIS



Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, middle register, scene on the left (Hymn II)

Photograph by L. V. Zábkar

SIX HYMNS TO ISIS



Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, scene on the right (Hymn III)

Photograph by L. V. Žabkar

SIX HYMNS TO ISIS



Philae, Temple of Isis, Room X, north wall, scene on the left (Hymn IV)

Photograph by L. V. Zabbkar

SIX HYMNS TO ISIS

BUSINESS LETTER: MELAS TO DIOSCORUS

By J. R. REA

THERE is no record of the entry of this item into the papyrus collection of the Egypt Exploration Society, but it is related to documents in P. Ryl. and P. Herm. Rees (see below) so that we may assume that it was acquired by Grenfell and Hunt some time early in this century (see P. Herm. Rees, Preface, v). It has no inventory number.

The letter may be assigned on the evidence of the script, which is a skilled and rapid sloping cursive, to the early fourth century AD, and this agrees with the date assigned to the related letters (see pl. XVII). The sheet, which is comparatively undamaged at the edges, measures about 13.5 cm wide and 25 cm high. Only the top twelve lines of the text are well preserved. Lines 13–19 are heavily damaged by large holes and abrasion, and there are other patches of damage in the blank lower margin, which was about 8 cm deep. The back is blank. A sheet join running vertically close to the left edge shows that the piece for the letter was cut from a roll as usual. The overlap at the join is from right to left. If the roll had been used for a long text in several columns, the scribe would have placed the roll so that the overlaps were from left to right and so easy to write across. On this separate piece it was not necessary to cross the sheet join and so the scribe did not care which way up he wrote the letter.

Melas wrote to his colleague Dioscorus that he was sending to him two persons, Dioscurides and Ammonius, one of whom no doubt carried the letter. Dioscorus was to return himself with Ammonius, who was an *officialis*, that is, a civil servant employed in the department of a high Roman official, and deliver to Melas the money that was in his charge. He was to find wagons and make sure that the wagons were guaranteed by sureties, if possible, or, if not that, at least to make sure that he knew all about the drivers. The implication is that the money was to come by wagon: cf. P. Beatty Panop. 2, 303–4, where money and silver bullion are mentioned in the same context as a carriage with four mules and a driver. Such a quantity of money and the official position of Ammonius suggest that Melas and Dioscorus were collecting money for taxes or were involved in some other aspect of government finance.

The sender of the letter is probably the same as that of P. Herm. Rees 11, and as the central figure in the little group in P. Ryl. IV, 691–8 (see *CR* 16 (1966), 43). To these may probably be added P. Ryl. IV, 643, an account. Below is a table of shared characteristics:

<i>P. Ryl. 643</i>	<i>P. Herm. Rees 11</i>	<i>This letter</i>
Dioscorus		Dioscorus
Dioscurides		Dioscurides
Serbittium	Sarbittium	
	Melas	Melas
money matters	money matters	money matters

We may add that on the back of P. Ryl. 692, a letter from Melas to Olympius, like P. Herm. Rees 11, the surviving remains,] .ερβιτ()], suggest another occurrence of the place-name Serbittium or Sarbittium, possibly in an address. The place-name is registered in M. Drew-Bear, *Le Nome hermapolite*, 348, among those doubtfully belonging to that nome (cf. P. Herm. Rees 11, 11 n). The provenance of the group is still very much in doubt.

Strangely, it is as the sender of letters that Melas appears. There are at least four different recipients: Bucolus (P. Ryl. 694, cf. 691), Dioscorus (this letter), Narcissus (P. Ryl. 696), and Olympius (P. Herm. Rees 11; P. Ryl. 692, 693?). One possibility is that these are copies of out-letters collected at the point of dispatch. It is also conceivable that the recipients were all at the same place, perhaps at different times, and that the papers came to be together in that way.

Text

Μέλας Διοσκόρω ἀδελφῶ χαίρειν.
 ἀπέστειλα πρὸς σὲ Ἀμμώνιον ὄφφ(ικιάλιον)
 καὶ Διοσκούριδην ὅπως μετὰ Ἀμμωνίου
 5 σὺ κατενέγκῃς τὰ ἀργύρια τὰ ὄντα παρὰ
 σοὶ ὅλα καὶ παραδῶς μοι ἐνταῦθα. ἀλλὰ
 βλέπε ἀσφαλῶς ἀμάξια δυναμένας
 τὴν πίστιν παραδοῦναι ἡμῖν. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ ποιήσον αὐτὰς ἐγγύην σοὶ παρα-
 10 σχεῖν τῆς ὑποδοχῆς αὐτῶν. εἰ δὲ μὴ
 τοῦτο ὑφίστανται, κἂν γνῶθι ὅτι ποτα-
 ποὶ εἰσιν, καὶ οὕτως μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλεί-
 ας κατέγ[ε]γκον, μηδὲν ὑπερθέμενος,
 ἐπεὶ [. . .] .ει εἰμι ἀργυρίων .ν
 15 εἴαν δ[.] . . περιόντω[ν] σοὶ γνω[.
 τω] τα[. . .] .ν [.]
 τ] [c. 15 letters
 τ] ων . . . [c. 12 letters]
 μια[. . .] . . . ἀναλ[ήμ]ψας[θα]ι ἔχοντες
 ὑπερ[.] ἀργυρίων α[. . .] ου. ἐρρώσθαί
 σε εὖχομαι πολλοῖς χρόνοις.

2 οφφ
 12 ὑπερθεμενος

4 κατενεγ'κης
 19 ὑπερ

9 ὑποδοχῆς

10 ὑφίστανται; αντ corr.; κἂν corr. from καὶ

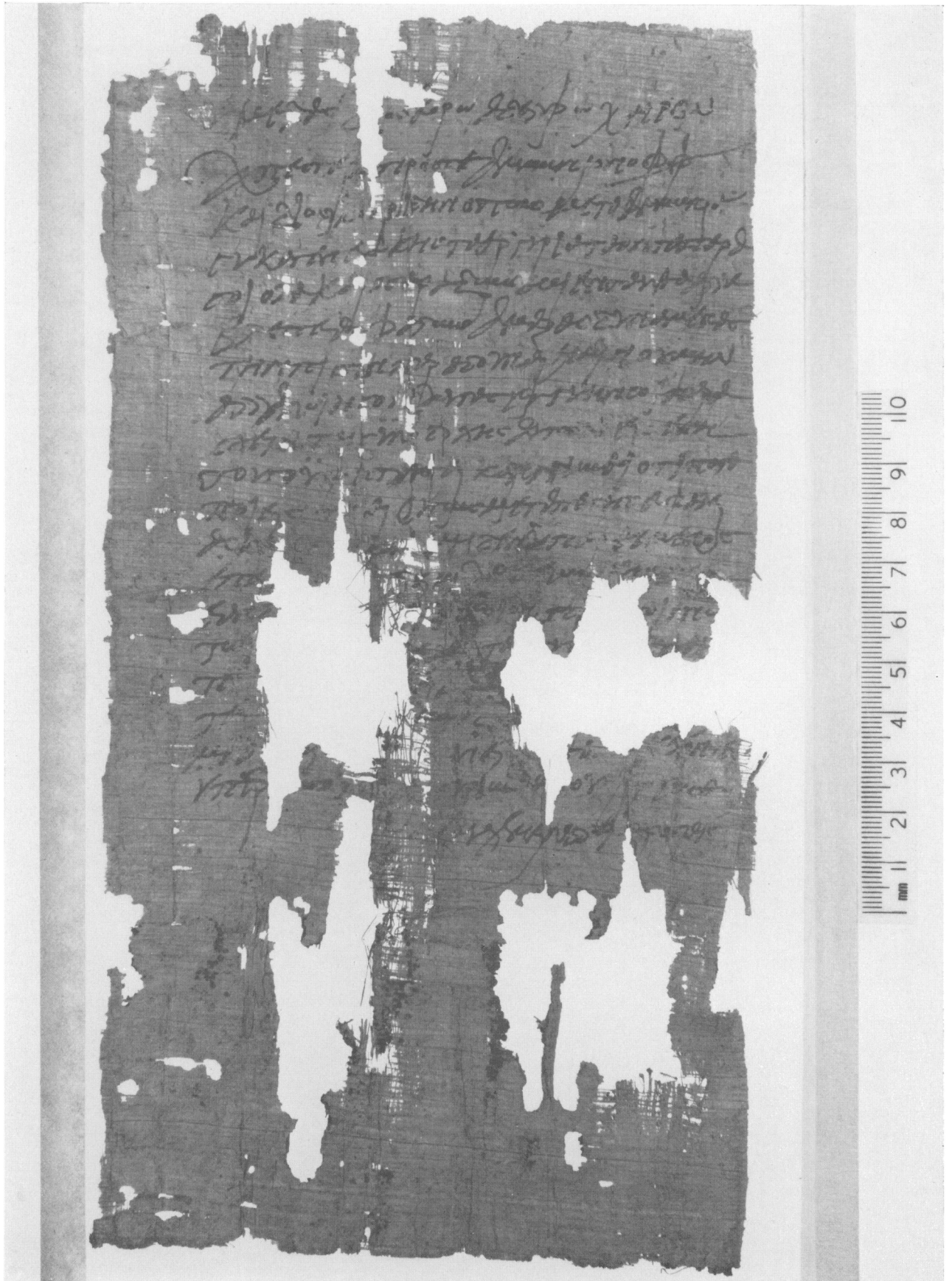
Translation

'Melas to Dioscorus his brother, greeting. I have sent to you Ammonius the *officialis* and Dioscurides, so that along with Ammonius you yourself may bring down all the money which is in your charge and deliver it to me here. Moreover, look carefully for wagons that are capable of delivering the commission to us. In addition make them provide you with a surety for their function as receivers. If they won't promise this, at any rate find out what sort of people they are, and so with every precaution bring it down, and make no delay, since I am . . . of money . . .

'I pray for your health for many years.'

Commentary

1. Melas appears in P. Herm. Rees 11, P. Ryl. iv, 692, 694, and 696. His name is probably lost in P. Ryl. 693, 695, and 697. See the introduction for his archive. Dioscorus appears in P. Ryl. 643 and 698.
3. Dioscurides appears in P. Ryl. 643 and 698.
4. *κατενέγκης*. The verb may well imply that the direction of travel was from south to north, down the valley of the Nile. Compounds of *κατά* also indicate movement away from the nome capital into the nome, or out of the desert down into the valley: see H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae*, 1, 493 n. 36, but these seem less likely in this context.
6. *βλέπε*, 'look for', cf. LSJ s.v. *βλέπω* III, 3. This sense was not attested in the papyri.
7. The word *πίστις* seems to be used to mean the actual load entrusted to the wagons for conveyance, and this was apparently the money mentioned above: see introduction. However, this sense of *πίστις* is not attested in the papyri and hardly elsewhere, though cf. LSJ s.v. III. If it is an abstract term, perhaps the phrase means 'wagons which can provide us with a guarantee'. This is the same point which is stressed in the next sentence.
8. *αὐτάς* = *ἀμάξιας*, but it is used for brevity to refer to the proprietors of the wagons. The writer switches to the masculine for *ποταποί* in 10–11.
9. *ὑποδοχῆς*. This may indicate that the owners of the wagons were to be pressed to undertake the transport as liturgists with the title of *ὑποδέκται*: cf. P. Oxy. XLIII, 3147, 18, 19 nn.; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services*, s.v. *ὑποδέκτης*.
10. *γνώθι ὅτι ποταποί εἶναι*. As far as can be discovered from the papyrological dictionaries, the form *ποταπόος* does not occur in the papyri, and *ποταπόος* always has the meaning 'of what sort' and never 'of what place': see also J. H. Moulton, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 1, 95. A good parallel for the pleonastic *ὅτι* is P. Mich. VIII, 492, 21, *δήλωσόν μοι ὅτι εἰς ποταπήν χρεῖαν με ἔβαλε*, 'inform me into what kind of liturgy he has put me'.
13. A likely sense is, 'because I am in need of money here'. At the end of the line *ἐνθάδε* may be possible, not *ἐνταῦθα* as in 5.



MELAS TO DIOSCORUS

RAYMOND O. FAULKNER

By H. S. SMITH

DR Raymond O. Faulkner¹ died at Woodbridge, Suffolk, in March, 1982, at the age of 88. He was an enthusiast for Egyptology who spent all the energies of his maturity and old age in devoted and selfless service to his subject, and was loved and honoured by all who knew him.

Faulkner's career divides itself into four parts. At the age of 18 he entered the Civil Service, but volunteered for the army at the outbreak of the First World War. After fighting in the trenches throughout the early campaigns of the war, he was severely wounded and invalided out. He rejoined the Civil Service in 1916, but his intellectual interests had broadened, and a passionate interest in Egyptology caused him to enrol at University College London to study hieroglyphs in his spare time under Dr Margaret Murray. To her he owed the life-long interest in Egyptian funerary texts shown in his first two articles on 'The "Cannibal Hymn" from the Pyramid Texts' and 'The God Setekh in the Pyramid Texts', published in 1924 and 1925.

In 1926, Sir Alan Gardiner, then at the peak of his scholarly powers, invited Faulkner to become his full-time Egyptological assistant. This revolutionized his life, and allowed him henceforth to devote himself to the studies he loved. Naturally, during the long years of his happy collaboration with Gardiner from 1926 to 1954, it was to Gardiner's great text publications that Faulkner principally contributed. To his patience, skill, and care much detailed work was due, in particular the autography of the hieroglyphic texts, the commentaries, and the indexes, the most notable examples of which are surely *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* and *The Wilbour Papyrus Vol. IV. Index*. Faulkner insisted that he learnt almost everything from Gardiner and was always faithful to his principles. At the same time Gardiner encouraged his independent publications, of which perhaps the most important was his edition of the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus; in some of these he expressed views contrary to Gardiner's own, as in 'The Battle of Megiddo'.

After the Second World War, Faulkner took on the editorship of this Journal, which for a decade benefited from his scrupulous, meticulous, yet generous editorship. In 1954 he was appointed to a part-time Lectureship in Egyptian Language at University College London, and soon afterwards he and his wife, whom he had married in 1937, moved to Woodbridge. He taught at University College for thirteen years, and every student who came under him benefited not only from his strict insistence on the niceties of Egyptian morphology and syntax and the importance of a good hieroglyphic hand—a field in which he was himself paramount—but also from his constant

¹ An appreciation of Raymond O. Faulkner by the same hand and a bibliography of his publications up to 1973 by his friend C. H. S. Spaul appeared in *JEA* 60 (1974), 3-14, a volume dedicated to him on the occasion of his eightieth birthday. Readers are referred to these. An additional list of publications is appended to this notice.

PLATE I



RAYMOND O. FAULKNER
1894-1982

and enthusiastic search for new interpretations. Every reading of a hieroglyphic text, however well known, was for Faulkner an adventure; it was rare for him not to produce some new interpretation. Equally he appreciated initiative by students, whose ideas always received the most generous encouragement and criticism. It was during these years of teaching that Faulkner realized the outstanding need felt by elementary students of hieroglyphs for a reliable, portable, yet scholarly short dictionary. Putting aside his long-cherished projects, he produced from his own slips *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, autographed by himself and published in 1962. Undoubtedly, this was Faulkner's outstanding service to Egyptological students—and not only students; it seems doubtful whether any other Egyptological work, except perhaps Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*, is so widely used.

Faulkner's retirement in 1967 at the age of 73 was the prelude to the most productive period of his career. His favourite project of producing a new, standard English translation of *The Pyramid Texts* to set beside Sethe's monumental *Pyramidentexte* had already, it is true, been in hand for many years. But the leisure given him by retirement allowed him to complete the proof-reading of this monumental work, which was published by Oxford University Press in 1969 with a generous subvention from Sir Alan Gardiner's Trust. Faulkner had already started on a new project, to provide a pioneer English translation of Professor Adriaan de Buck's great edition of the *Coffin Texts*. Despite a heart condition from which he had long suffered and some failure of eyesight, Faulkner worked steadily at his appointed task, never accepting that he had the final answer, constantly open to criticism and suggestions, but realistic in his judgement of when to leave a problem unsolved. Despite his involvement with this work, he nevertheless found time to complete and edit S. R. K. Glanville's *Wooden Model Boats* (1972) when asked by the British Museum authorities to do so, and to contribute an important chapter to the *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II (Ch. XXIII: *Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III*). He had throughout his career built up his own translations of standard Egyptian literary texts, some of which he had published in this Journal. This led to his being asked by Professor W. K. Simpson to collaborate with himself and Professor E. F. Wente in an up-to-date anthology of stories, instructions, and poetry entitled *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, published by Yale University Press in 1972. This compact volume formed a much-needed replacement for A. Erman's *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (1927), and, though now rivalled by Professor M. Lichtheim's three excellent volumes, is still one of the first works to put in the hands of Egyptological enthusiasts. Faulkner was also asked to produce for the members of the Limited Editions Club, New York, a translation of *The Book of the Dead* from papyri in the British Museum. This was issued in 1972; it was based principally on the Papyrus of Ani and included a handsome reproduction of that papyrus.

With all these works in hand, it is hardly surprising that Faulkner's translation of the *Coffin Texts* took time. To his disappointment the Oxford University Press found themselves unwilling to publish it, but Messrs. Aris and Phillips, then at the beginning of their career, gallantly accepted the challenge, and produced an edition to form, as

far as possible, a companion to *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Vol. I was published in 1973, Vol. II in 1977, and Vol. III in 1978. Immediately after its completion, Faulkner settled down to the production of a complete glossary of the *Coffin Texts*. In his last years he was only able to work an hour or so a day, but he continued steadily and his work was nearing completion at the date of his death. It is hoped that it may yet be published.

Faulkner's translations of Egyptian funerary books may be criticized on various grounds. He did not provide the extensive commentaries necessary for the understanding of these difficult spells and their extensive mythological background; his brief notes are mainly confined to textual matters. Out of instinctive loyalty to Gardiner, as well as his own bent, Faulkner did not accept all of the advances that have been made in Egyptian grammar over the last fifty years, notably those pioneered by Professor H. J. Polotsky. He also did not hesitate to conflate texts where he thought it would yield a more intelligible sense. Many of his detailed interpretations will, therefore, no doubt, be challenged or improved in forthcoming works. But, in judging Faulkner's work, it must be remembered that this was what he wished to provoke,² and that his prime intention was to provide a compact, yet reliable version in English for those scholars and students, whether of history of religion, anthropology, or oriental studies, who had not sufficient command of Ancient Egyptian to tackle the originals. These users, as well as Egyptological students, will always be deeply grateful to Faulkner, especially for his pioneering work on the *Coffin Texts*. Faulkner's distinguished services to scholarship were recognized by his election as a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1950, as a Fellow of University College London in 1958, and by the award of the Degree of D.Lit. by London University in 1960.

None of this catalogue of achievement conveys anything of the charm of Faulkner's character and personality. Short and stockily built, his moustache, bushy eyebrows, and firm countenance gave a decidedly military impression, enhanced by a staccato manner of speech not unlike the rattle of small-arms fire. He had a great dignity and sense of fitness, and a sternly disciplined attitude to serious aspects of life and of scholarship. These attributes sometimes overawed students in their early classes with him. All, however, discovered eventually the great good-humour, gentleness, and goodwill to all that were the hallmarks of his character. In his work and in his life Faulkner set himself to serve. Justly proud of his achievement, he was nevertheless innately an extremely modest man, content to live in relative obscurity on exiguous means, so long as he could serve learning and forward the cause of Egyptology. Himself initially an amateur enthusiast, he had a real understanding of their needs, shown clearly in his work. Above all, he maintained a balance in his interests, which included astronomy and philately, and in his life, where he greatly enjoyed social contact of an intimate, wholly English variety. This breadth of interest informs all his work, as does his wide experience of sailing, soldiering, riding, and the outdoor life. In the

² In his introduction to *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* Faulkner quoted Sir Alan Gardiner's *dictum*: 'Scholars should not shrink from translating difficult texts. At the best they may be lucky enough to hit on the right rendering. At the worst they will have given the critics a target to tilt at' (*JEA* 32, 56).

flavour of his personality Faulkner belonged very much with those great amateur scholars of the generation preceding his own—Sir Alan Gardiner, Walter Ewing Crum, and Sir Herbert Thompson—though his circumstances in life were in stark contrast to theirs. Ever honourable, gentlemanly, and generous, he preserved a mannerly reticence that always masked the sorrows of his life, such as his wife's long illness; to the world, he presented philosophic contentment with his own brand of twinkling wit, outward symbols of a stalwart heart. In Raymond Faulkner all who knew him have lost an admired colleague and a warm friend.

Additions to Bibliography of Raymond Oliver Faulkner by C. H. S. Spaul
(JEA 60 (1974), 8–14)

BOOKS

The Book of the Dead: a Collection of Spells edited and translated by Raymond O. Faulkner from Papyri in the British Museum. New York. 1972. Printed for members of the Limited Editions Club. 2 vols. (text and plates).

The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts. Vol. II, Spells 355–787. Aris & Phillips Ltd. Warminster. 1977.
The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts. Vol. III, Spells 788–1185 and Index. Aris & Phillips Ltd. Warminster. 1978.

ARTICLES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

'Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the death of Ramesses III', *The Cambridge Ancient History*. 3rd edn. Vol. II. Part 2. Chapter xxiii. Cambridge University Press. 1975.

'*Wn-k tn* "Where are you?"', *JEA* 61 (1975), 257.

'The enclitic negation *w*', *JEA* 62 (1976), 176.

'"Liaison" *n* between *n* and *wi*', *JEA* 64 (1978), 129.

'Coffin Texts III, 317r: a correction', *JEA* 65 (1979), 161.

'Abnormal or cryptic writings in the Coffin Texts', *JEA* 67 (1981), 173.

'The Prospective *sdm-f* in the Coffin Texts', *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman*. Aris & Phillips. Warminster. 1979, 1–4.

'A Coffin Text Miscellany', *JEA* 68 (1982), 27.

REVIEWS

T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, *JEA* 63 (1977), 182.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1980-1

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1980-1
BY MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM*Edited by* JANINE BOURRIAU

THE list includes, exceptionally, a few loan items judged important enough to record their current location. With the exception of nos. 316, 338, 500, 506, 513-15, 539, 559, 729, and 790, which are on loan, all the objects marked 'ex-Wellcome collection' were given by the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. Further items from the collection will appear in the acquisitions list for 1982.

Predynastic

1. Pottery beaker, Nile silt A, red burnished black-topped ware, British Museum 69004. Cf. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt Corpus*, pl. iii, 22a. Naqada I.

2. Pottery double vase, Nile silt A, black burnished ware, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1980. J. Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab: Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), no. 16. Gift of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Naqada II.

3-10. Potsherds, Nile silt wares, University College 34876-83. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.

11-12. Fragments of limestone pear-shaped mace head and double-headed slate palette, University College 34884-5. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.

13-14. Basalt celts, University College 34886-7. From Coptos. Cf. Petrie, *Koptos*, 4, pl. ii; Museum Acquisitions, 1979, nos. 4-12 in *JEA* 67 (1981), 149. Ex-Wellcome collection.

15-265. Flints: scrapers, flakes, blades, sickles, knives, cleavers, etc., University College 35043-293. From Coptos, pits in basal clay beneath the town. Petrie, *Koptos*, 3: cf. pl. ii; cf. *Acquisitions*, 1979, nos. 13-155. Ex-Wellcome collection. Predynastic-Old Kingdom.

Early Dynastic

266. Carnelian bead with design of eye and chevron in white, University College 30334. From Abydos, tomb 197. T. N. Shiah, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Bengal Letters* (1944), 57-9, fig. 1. Ist Dynasty.

267. Reconstructed calcite cylinder jar, University College 30344. From Tarkhan, tomb 1982. Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. xliii. Ist Dynasty.

268-9. Fragments of calcite vases, University College 30212-13. From Giza, mastaba V, subsidiary grave 11. Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 4. Ist Dynasty.

270. Fragments of leather loincloth, University College 31372. From Sedment, tomb 1365. Petrie, *Sedment I*, [23]. Possibly IIInd Dynasty.

271. Two monumental stone lions, reconstructed from fragments, University College 35294 A, B (pl. XVIII, 1-2). From Coptos. B. Adams, *Egyptian Education Bureau Bulletin*, no. 2; id., *London Federation of Museums and Art Galleries Newsletter* (December 1980), 3; cf. Petrie, *Koptos*, 7, pl. v, 5; *Prehistoric Egypt*, 11. Ex-Wellcome collection.

272–80. Fragments of calcite vases, bowls and tray, limestone bowl, University College 34888–96. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.

281. Pottery cylinder jar, fine marl A, variant 4, with wavy line decoration, British Museum 69005. Cf. Petrie, *Tarkhan II*, pl. xxviii, 47r; Bourriau, op. cit. no. 19.

Old Kingdom

282. Calcite jar, British Museum 69003. From Saqqâra. Cf. Petrie, *Tarkhan I*, pl. xlii, 62p. IIIrd Dynasty.

283. Squat jar of black and white porphyritic rock, British Museum 69218. Bequest of Sir Peter Chambers Mitchell. Possibly IVth Dynasty.

284–7. Reed brush, copper fragments from the head of a staff, lumps of pumice and breccia, University College 31373–6. From Sedment, possibly tomb 421. See Petrie, *Sedment I*, pl. xxxvi. Possibly VIth Dynasty.

288–310. Fragments of human sculptures and vessels in red pottery, University College 34847–66, 34868–70. From Coptos temple. Petrie, *Koptos*, 5–7. Continued from *Acquisitions*, 1979, nos. 214–53.

311. Large red pottery stand with lionesses, lion, and lotus in relief, newly reconstructed from fragments, University College 34867. The stand includes sherds (U.C.29771–2) previously registered as from the Ramesseum. From Coptos. Petrie, *Koptos*, 5–6; pl. v, 2.

312–15. Rim sherds of Meidûm ware, University College 34897–900. From Coptos. See Petrie, *Koptos*, 4. Ex-Wellcome collection.

316. Limestone block, with three lines from the *h̄tp-di-nsw* formula, Wellcome 4567/1937. On loan to the Manchester Museum.

First Intermediate Period

317–22. Wooden *rb* sceptres (Brunton's flax-bat) and *rn̄h* signs, University College 31363–8. From Sedment, tomb 630. Petrie, *Sedment I*, 14.

323–5. Serpentine palette, balls of resin, and red pottery jar, University College 31347, 31353, 31338. From Sedment, tombs 2137, 2115, 1850. Petrie, *Sedment I*, 12–13.

326. Pottery bowl, University College 31344. From Sedment.

327–8. Incised pottery jar and rim sherd from bottle (type 52e), University College, 31346, 33280. Presumably from Sedment.

329. Black-topped pottery, possibly Nubian, University College 31336. From Harageh or Sedment. Cf. Petrie, *Sedment I*, pl. xvi.

330. Black faience stamp seal with geometric maze pattern, University College 31369.

Middle Kingdom

331. Cartonnage mummy mask of a man, University College 31377. Possibly from Sedment, tomb 2101. See Petrie, *Sedment I*, 10. XIth Dynasty.

332. Bronze axe-head, Fitzwilliam Museum E.8.1981. Ex-Wellcome and Mansour collections, *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 22 October 1934, lot 27: cf. E. Kühnert-Eggebrecht, *Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten*, pl. iii, type E-1.

333. Green jasper scarab with name *ꜥnh-mnw-ḥtp-mm*, British Museum 68920. G. T. Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private Name seals*, no. 327. Given by Dr I. E. S. Edwards.
- 334-7. Fragments of ivory clappers, University College 30355-8.
338. Limestone stela of *Hf-rs*, Wellcome collection 4559/1937. From Abydos, Garstang excavations 1905. On loan to the Manchester Museum.

Second Intermediate Period

- 339-40. Flint knife and fragment of sheepskin (analysed by Leeds University), University College 31349-50. From Sedment, tomb 1267. Petrie, *Sedment I*, 17.
- 341-2. Copper earring and fragments of woollen matting, University College 31351-2. From Sedment, tomb 1297. *Ibid.* 18.
- 343-5. Sherds of marl clay wares with incised decoration, University College 35034-6. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.
346. Fragment of pottery female figurine, University College 34901. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.
347. Pottery female figurine, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1981. Bourriau, *op. cit.* no. 241. Bequest of Miss P. M. Cook, formerly A. B. Cook collection.
348. Juglet of Yahûdiya ware, Nile silt, thrown and finished on the wheel, Fitzwilliam Museum E.6.1981. Cf. M. Kaplan, *The Origin and Distribution of Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware* (Göteborg, 1980), fig. 46b.
349. Pink limestone statuette of seated Osiris, British Museum 69216 (pl. XVIII, 3). C. Ede, *Small Sculpture from Ancient Egypt*, 16-22nd September 1980, no. 1.

New Kingdom

- 350-5. Fragments of pottery *saggar* and of Egyptian blue, University College 25248, 25153-7. From Amarna glass factory. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 356-445. Sherds of Mycenaean pottery, L H III A, 2, University College 25158-247. From Amarna central city rubbish heaps. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 446-7. Blue painted pottery jar and blue faience ceiling ornament in form of bunch of grapes, University College 30345 and Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1980. Both possibly from Amarna. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 448-9. Decorated blue faience bowl and Nile silt incised ware sherd, University College 34902-3. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 450-61. Painted pottery and sherds, University College 31378-89. From Sedment, tomb 132. Petrie, *Sedment II*, 25. XVIIIth Dynasty.
462. Painted sherd similar to University College 31389, University College 31390. Probably from Sedment, tomb 132 but marked ?135. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 463-6. Sherds of painted marl clay wares, University College 31391-4. Possibly from Sedment. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 467-9. Fragments of calcite vessels and wooden inlay, University College 30229-331. From Thebes, Valley of the Kings, tomb of Amenophis III. Petrie, *Funeral Furniture*, 4. XVIIIth Dynasty.
- 470-83. Sherds of Mycenaean pottery, University College 30364-75. XVIIIth Dynasty.

484. Jar of Nile silt ware, form 25R (Brunton, *Gurob*, pl. xxxv), Ashmolean Museum 1980.274. XVIIIth Dynasty.

485. Clay sealing of Amenophis III, University College 30228. XVIIIth Dynasty.

486. Ointment horn, Nile silt with burnished red slip, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.7.1981. *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 31 July 1923, lot 112: cf. *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom* (Boston, 1982), no. 402. Ex-Berens and Wellcome collections. XVIIIth Dynasty.

487. Copper kohl pot with textile impressions remaining on the surface, Fitzwilliam Museum E.10.1981. Ex-Wellcome collection. XVIIIth Dynasty.

488. Bronze knife, Fitzwilliam Museum E.9.1981. *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 19 December 1927, lot 61: cf. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 23, pl. xxix, 236. Ex-Macgregor and Wellcome collections. XVIIIth Dynasty.

489-95. Remains of linen and leather bags, almond nuts, fragment of a faience shabti, faience beads, rings and pendants, five wooden sticks, fragments of resinous material mixed with plaster, University College 31354-60. From Sedment, tomb 1955: see Petrie, *Sedment II*, 31-2. XIXth Dynasty.

496-7. Fragment of ivory stick and faience ring beads, University College 31361-2. From Sedment, tomb 2013, *ibid.* 32. XIXth Dynasty.

498-9. Two inscribed but anonymous canopic jars, property of Christ Church, Oxford. A. Gordon, *Twenty Five Plates of all the Egyptian Mummies, and other Egyptian Antiquities in England* (1737-9), tab. xix. On loan to the Ashmolean Museum. Ramesside Period.

500. Granite stela of Rēcmery, Wellcome collection 4566/1937. Possibly from Aswān. On loan to the Manchester Museum.

501-2. Two pottery jar handles stamped with hieroglyphic inscriptions, University College 33414-15. From Memphis.

503-5. Two hieratic and one design ostrakon, University College 34938-40. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.

506. Limestone stela showing deceased adoring Isis and Osiris, Wellcome collection 4564/1937. Possibly from Thebes. On loan to the Manchester Museum.

507. Pottery fragment of a human figure, possibly the torso, in chaff-tempered Nile silt ware with red slip, University College 30217. Possibly from Thebes, the Ramesseum. Quibell, *Ramesseum*, 5.

508. Bronze sistrum handle with Ḥathor head, University College 30383. N. B. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1940), 72; pl. xix, 260. Ex-Langton collection.

509-10. Faience figurine of Bastet and fragment of another, University College 30386-7. *Ibid.* 82-3; pl. xviii, 366; xix, 308. Ex-Langton collection.

511. Sherd from stirrup jar, not standard Mycenaean fabric, University College 33281.

512. Hieratic ostrakon with fragment of a literary text, University College 31905 (pl. XVIII, 4).

513-15. Limestone stelae showing deceased offering to Rēc-Ḥarakhte, deceased and wife before Osiris, Amūn as a ram, Wellcome collection 4560/1937, 4570-1/1937. On loan to the Manchester Museum.

Third Intermediate Period

516. Upper part of shabti of *Wdꜥ-rn-s*, wife of Montuemḥēt, Mayor of Thebes, British Museum 68986. Presumably from Thebes. XXV-XXVIth Dynasties.

517. Upper part of large bronze situla, inscribed under the rim *hry-hbt Ir-s rnh-3st*, Fitzwilliam Museum E.12.1981. Cf. Petrie, *Funeral Furniture*, pl. xli, 69. Ex-Wellcome collection.

Late Period

518-19. Bronze figures of Bes and Bastet with Bes playing a lyre, inscribed, University College 30376-7. Langton, op. cit. 35, 40; pls. xi, 161; xvi, 171; id. *JEA* 24 (1938), 56, nos. 8, 7; pl. iv, 1, 2. Ex-Langton collection. XXVIth Dynasty.

520-5. Bronze and faience figures of Bastet, University College 30378-81, 30384-5, 30388. Langton, *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*, 69, 75, 83 frontispiece, 284; pls. xvi, 249; xix, 251; frontispiece 252; pls. xvi, 271-2; xix, 309. Ex-Langton collection. XXVIth Dynasty.

526. Bronze mirror in the form of a lotus leaf, inscribed for Ptaḥhotpe, University College 30210. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use*, 32, no. 49. Probably XXVIth Dynasty.

527-8. Faience aryballos and fragment, University College 30207-8. Petrie MSS. *Glazing*, 18. Mid sixth century BC.

529. Plaster cast of seated queen or goddess, University College 33297. Possibly from Memphis sixth-fourth century BC.

530-1. Painted wooden statuette of Horus as a falcon and steatite scarab inscribed Horus of Buto, Fitzwilliam Museum E.3-4.1981. Bequest of Miss P. M. Cook, formerly A. B. Cook collection. Sixth-fourth centuries BC.

532. Wooden figure of a baboon, British Museum 69218.

533. Four sheets of papyrus containing the *Book of the Dead* of Padihorwer, British Museum 69012, c.200 BC.

534. Scent bottle, University College 30216. Cf. Bourriau, op. cit. no. 165. Third century BC.

535. Basalt torso of a queen or goddess holding a double cornucopia and a garland, Fitzwilliam Museum E.27.1981 (pl. XIX, 1). *Annual Report of the Fitzwilliam Museum Syndicate 1981*, 12, pl. ii; *Christie's Sale Catalogue*, 20 May 1981, lot 215. C. mid second century BC.

536. Top half of a demotic papyrus with beginning of a letter dated 27 September 103 BC, British Museum 69008. Published with the lower part in Berlin by U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, 287-301. From Gebelein.

537-8. Copper and gold alloy earring and faience ring bead, University College 31370-1. From Sedment. Ptolemaic Period.

539. Limestone stela dedicated to Osiris and with a text mentioning Min of Coptos, Wellcome collection 4572/1937. On loan to the Manchester Museum. Possibly from Coptos. Ptolemaic Period.

540. Grey steatite fragment from a statuette of Isis or a queen, University College 34904. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Ptolemaic Period.

541-5. Three heads and fragments from torso and base of statuettes of Osiris in grey steatite, pink and yellow sandstone, University College 34905-10. From Coptos: see Petrie, *Catalogue of a Collection of Antiquities from the Temple of Koptos* (London, 1894), 12. Ex-Wellcome collection. Ptolemaic Period.

546. Serpentine statuette of Min, head broken away, University College 34910. From Coptos: cf. A. Reinach, *Catalogue des antiquités égyptiennes recueillies dans les fouilles de Koptos* (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1913), 81-2, fig. 32. Ex-Wellcome collection. Ptolemaic Period.

547. Fragments of bronze Osiris figures, University College 34911 A, B. From Coptos: see Petrie, *Koptos*, 24; pl. xxi, 14-18. Ex-Wellcome collection. Ptolemaic Period.

548. Silver feather, University College 34875. From Coptos: *ibid.* 24. Possibly Ptolemaic Period.
- 549–50. Fragment of bronze feather and unidentifiable fragments, University College 34912–13. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.
- 551–8. Model pottery and sherds, University College 34945–52. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Possibly Ptolemaic Period.
559. Sandstone stela of Tuthmosis III before Min, Wellcome collection 4563/1937. On loan to the Manchester Museum. Probably Ptolemaic Period.
560. Fragment of a green schist *cippus* of Horus, British Museum 69219. Gift of the Guildford Museum. Probably Ptolemaic Period.
- 561–2. Two ostraca with Greek text, a list of personal names and possibly a tax receipt mentioning a year of Caesar, University College 35039, 35041. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century BC.
- 563–70. Fragment of lead or silver hairpin, silver ring, iron spearhead and point, and fragments of iron, University College 34914–21. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Graeco-Roman Period.
- 571–85. Incomplete calcite vases and fragments, University College 33304–18. From Memphis: cf. Petrie, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. lx, 40–3. Ex-Wellcome collection. Graeco-Roman Period.
586. Upper part of pottery amphora, University College 33395. From Memphis. Graeco-Roman Period.
- 587–8. Terracotta heads of a Babylonian(?) and a Greek woman, University College 33277, 33279. From Memphis, foreign quarter. Graeco-Roman Period.
- 589–601. Pottery plaques with erotic figures of musicians, University College 33399–410, 33412. From Memphis. Graeco-Roman Period.
602. Terracotta figurine of Isis in Roman dress playing a frame drum, University College 33413. From Memphis: cf. Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya'* pl. li, 120. Graeco-Roman Period.
- 603–21. Plaster casts and moulds for sculptor's models, parts of human and animal figures and architectural elements, University College 33282–96, 33298–302. Probably from Memphis. Graeco-Roman Period.
- 622–79. Stamped pottery amphora handles, University College 33338–94, 33396. Possibly from Memphis: cf. Petrie, *Memphis II*, 16; pl. xxvii, 1–20. Graeco-Roman Period.
- 680–1. Terracotta figurines of man and boy playing *aulos* pipes, University College 33397–8. Possibly from Memphis. Graeco-Roman Period.
682. Stamped amphora handle, University College 31904. From amphora imported from the island of Kos. Graeco-Roman Period.
683. Bronze sistrum with seated cat on top, University College 30382. Langton, *op. cit.* 72; pl. xix, 259. Ex-Langton and Wyndham Cook collections. Graeco-Roman Period.
684. Black steatite head of a goddess with gold earrings from a figurine, Fitzwilliam Museum E.21.1981 (pl. XIX, 2). Ex-Wellcome collection. Mid first century AD.
685. Ostrakon with Greek text: list of persons and slaves, University College 35038. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
686. Fragment of Italian sigillata (Arretine) vase, University College 35010. From Coptos: cf. Oswald and Price, *Introduction to Terra Sigillata* (1966), pl. ii, 1. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.

- 687-8. Stamped (ΕΥΗΘΙ, ΚΝΑΤΕΙ) bases of two Arretine vases, University College 35011-12. From Coptos: cf. Iliffe, *QDAP* 4 (1937), 34, 29. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
- 689-95. Base and rim sherds of Italian sigillata with stamped and relief decoration, University College 35009, 35013-18. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
696. Fragment of dish of Pompeian red ware, University College 35019. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
- 697-8. Fragments of Eastern Sigillata A dishes, University College 34998-9. From Coptos: see Petrie, *Catalogue*, 12. Cf. Waagé, *Antioch IV*, i, pl. v, 430 f, 432. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
699. Bowl of Eastern Sigillata A with stamp, University College 35001. From Coptos. Cf. (shape) *ibid.* 460 k. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
- 700-3. Stamped bases of Eastern Sigillata A dishes, University College 35000, 35003-4, 35007. From Coptos: cf. Iliffe, *op. cit.* 37, 34. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
- 704-5. Stamped bases of a krater and bowl of Eastern Sigillata B.1 ware, University College 35005-6. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
- 706-7. Foot of krater and fragment of cup of Eastern Sigillata B.1 ware, University College 35002, 35008. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. First Century AD.
- 708-24. Sherds of barbotine ware, University College 34980-96. From Coptos. Cf. Reinach *op. cit.* fig. 37; Bourriau, *op. cit.* nos. 186-7. Ex-Wellcome collection. First century AD.
725. Steatite dish with bust of Harpocrates in relief on the inside, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1981 (pl. XIX, 3). Gift of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam. First-second centuries AD.
726. Encaustic portrait on panel of a little girl with a boyish hairstyle, inscribed 'Didyme, 7 years old', Fitzwilliam Museum E.5.1981 (pl. XIX, 4). K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler*, 81, no. 16. Bequest of Miss P. M. Cook, formerly A. B. Cook collection.
727. Sherd of cream ware with stamped decoration, University College 34997. From Coptos. Cf. Woolley and MacIver, *Karanog IV*, pl. 100, 9039. Ex-Wellcome collection. Second-third century AD.
728. Pewter bowl, subsequently decorated with coins of the Alexandrian mint, Fitzwilliam Museum GR.189.1981. From Egypt but probably not made there. Ex-Gayer-Anderson and Wellcome collections. Second half of third century AD.
729. Limestone stela showing deceased before Isis, Osiris, and Anubis, Wellcome collection 4568/1937. Possibly from Coptos. On loan to Manchester Museum. Roman Period.
730. Calcite statuette base with right sandalled foot, University College 34953. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.
- 731-3. Fragments of glass vessels, University College 34958-60. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.
- 734-46. Fragments of terracotta figurines, University College 34872, 34961-70, 34972-3. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.
- 747-51. Pottery lamps, University College 34972-6. From Coptos. Cf. Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya*, pls. lxiv, E.29, E.70; lxvii, B.82-5; lxix, N.S.24; lxxviii, X.70, 73. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.
- 752-3. Faience inlay, perhaps part of Bes head-dress and pottery stamp seal, University College 34971, 34979. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.
754. Stamped rim sherd from large pottery dish, University College 35029. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.

755–6. Ostraca with Greek text, contents of a pot and part of a personal name, University College 35037–40. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.

757. Square monograph stamp, possibly from an amphora, University College 33416. From Memphis, faience factory. Roman Period.

758–66. Fragments of faience vessels, University College 33320–8. From Memphis, faience factory: cf. Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. xlix, base, pl. 1, 2; id., *Historical Studies II*, pls. xiv–xviii. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.

767–75. Black pottery pilgrim flask and fragments of others of the same ware, University College 33329–37. From Memphis, pottery factory: cf. Petrie, *Memphis III*, pl. xxxvii, 56, 63, 65. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.

776. Ostracon with Greek text, University College 35042. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Probably Roman Period.

777–81. Pottery and sherds, University College 35023–5, 35030, 35033. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Probably Roman Period.

782–3. Fragment and hexagonal column of chrysoberyl, University College 34922–3. From Coptos. Cf. *Museum Acquisitions*, 1979, nos. 938–54. Ex-Wellcome collection. Probably Roman Period.

784–7. Fragments of calcite, serpentine, and limestone bowls, University College 34954–7. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection. Probably Roman Period.

788–9. Black sandstone drill and head of a bone peg, University College 35295–6. From Coptos or Memphis. Ex-Wellcome collection. Possibly Roman Period.

790. Sandstone stela showing deceased before Isis and Osiris, Wellcome collection 4569/1937. On loan to Manchester Museum. Roman Period.

791–2. Bronze vase handle and drawer-pull, Fitzwilliam Museum E.22–3.1981. Ex-Wellcome collection. Roman Period.

793–5. Bronze bells, University College 33265–7. Probably Roman Period.

796–812. Decorated blocks from Meroë, British Museum 68987–9002. 68987–92 from rear wall, chapel N.17, S. E. Chapman, *The Decorated Chapels of the Meroitic Pyramids at Meroë and Barkal*, pl. 21c.

Coptic Period

813–17. Two pottery dishes and base sherds of Egyptian Red Slip A, University College 35020–2, 35028. From Coptos. Cf. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, 272–3 (stamp), type J, fig. 85, i; type H, fig. 86; p. 397 n. 7. Ex-Wellcome collection. Fourth–seventh centuries AD.

818–19. Two base sherds with paintings of birds, University College 35026–7. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.

820. Fragment of Nile silt ware with black and cream painted design, University College 34873.

821. Bronze censer in the form of the head of a youth, Fitzwilliam Museum E.24.1981. Ex-Berens and Wellcome collection. c. fifth century AD.

822. Bronze necklet with stamped medallions and glass ‘pearl’ pendants, Fitzwilliam Museum E.25.1981. Ex-Grüneisen and Wellcome collection. c. fifth–sixth century AD.

823. Bronze lamp handle with crucifix, Fitzwilliam Museum E.26.1981. Ex-Wellcome collection. c. fifth–sixth century AD.

824–6. Two sandstone and one limestone architectural fragments, University College 30346–8.

Date Uncertain

827. Chips of amethyst, carnelian, and quartz, University College 33319. From Memphis. Ex-Wellcome collection.

828-35. Pieces of obsidian, schist, quartz, steatite, slate, and sandstone, University College 34924-31. From Coptos: see Petrie, *Koptos*, 26. Ex-Wellcome collection.

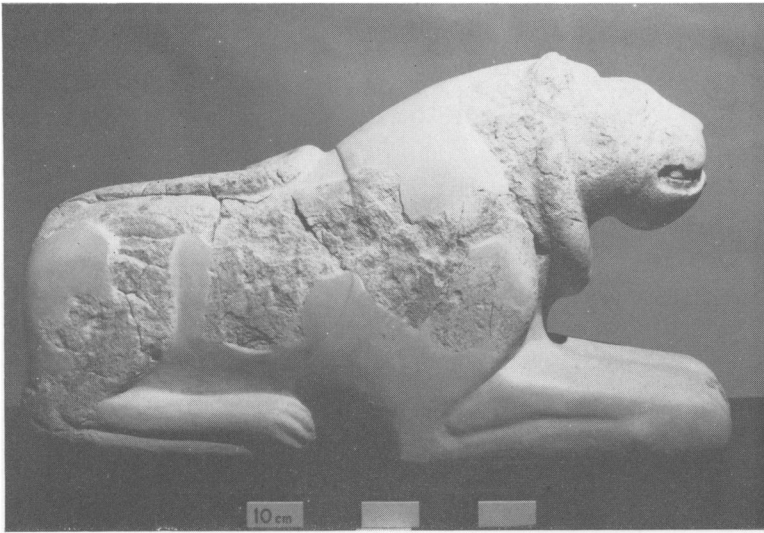
836-41. Lump of iron slag, shells, pottery plumb bob, date stones, fragment of painted plaster and bone, University College 34932-7. From Coptos: see Petrie, *Koptos*, 26. Ex-Wellcome collection.

842-7. Potsherds, University College 35031-2, 35041-4. From Coptos. Ex-Wellcome collection.

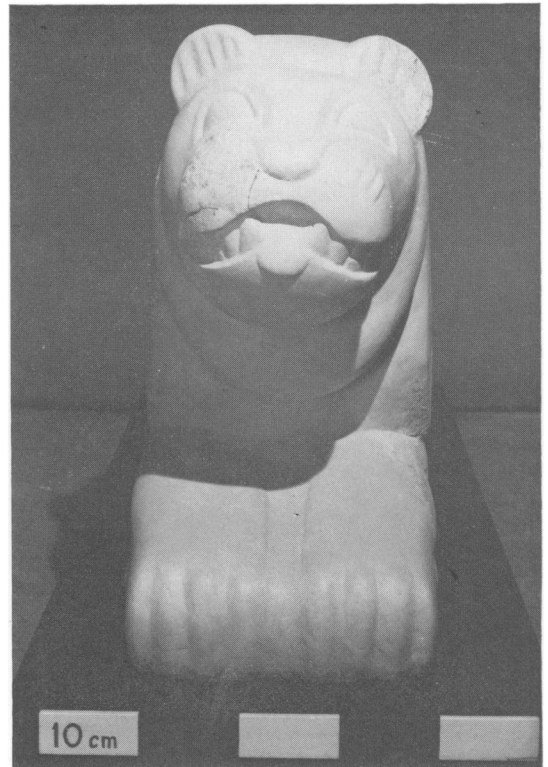
848. Length of papyrus rope, Ashmolean Museum 1981.897. From Tûra quarries: cf. Lucas, *Materials* (4th edn.), 135.

849. Bronze saw, Fitzwilliam Museum E.11.1981. Ex-Wellcome collection.

850. Fragment of gold foil from a mummy or coffin, British Museum 68776. Gift of G. B. Walker.



1. Stone lion, University College, 271



2. Stone lion, University College, 271



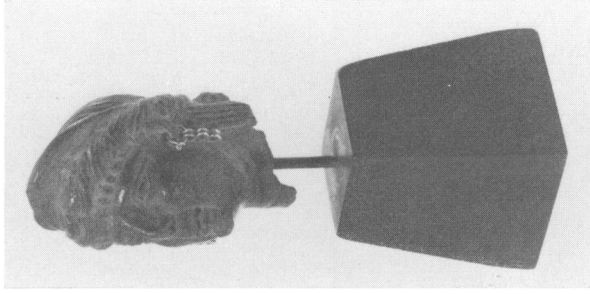
3. Pink limestone Osiris, British Museum, 349



4. Hieratic literary text, University College, 512



1. Basalt torso, Fitzwilliam Museum, 535



2. Black steatite head of a goddess, Fitzwilliam Museum, 684



3. Steatite dish, Fitzwilliam Museum, 725
MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1980-1



4. Portrait of Didyme, Fitzwilliam Museum, 726

REVIEW ARTICLE

Grammatical Models and 'Middle Egyptian'

By J. B. CALLENDER

FRIEDRICH JUNGE has recently published a study of the syntax of Twelfth Dynasty literary texts (*Syntax der mittelägyptischen Literatursprache*¹ (Mainz, 1978)). This is the first treatment in monograph form of the syntax of a particular period of Middle Egyptian using the Chomskyan model proposed in his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), translated into German in 1969. Junge's treatment makes extensive use of sentence-trees, a practice which should be encouraged because of the clarity such devices impose on the practice of syntactic analysis.

Since Junge's treatment brings up certain general problems of grammatical methodology and models, it deserves consideration *in extenso*. The Chomskyan view of language in 1965 provided for a tripartite organization of the grammar: a nucleus of basic sentence patterns, a transformational component that would convert the basic sentences into all possible sentences in the language, and a semantic component that would insert lexical items into the abstract structures produced by the second component. In neither the base component nor the transformational component should meaning be a criterion for derivation of sentences. This formulation, the culmination of a decade of grammatical experimentation, made a great impression in 1965, and was adopted as standard reading in many linguistics courses throughout America as well as abroad. However, almost from the day of its appearance, doubts were raised as to the ultimate validity of this formulation, particularly in the limited role assigned to meaning. Many scholars participated in the ensuing debate, but in the forefront was J. McCauley (1968), who argued that the syntactic and semantic components (transformational section and lexicon) were one and the same, since semantics and syntax are intricately intertwined in the rules of natural language. This is relevant to Junge's work on Middle Egyptian syntax since it rather rigidly adheres to the Chomskyan orthodoxy of 1965 by vigorously denying any role to meaning in syntactic analysis. The more recent developments in discourse analysis (bibliography in Givón, 1979) are not considered by Junge, although work was beginning to appear earlier.² There are, of course, real problems involved in applying all transformational models to the stratified graphemic data of Egyptian, but the exclusion of meaning is a major defect of all work following the Chomskyan model of *Aspects* and an arbitrary limitation on grammatical explanation that is not required by contemporary grammatical models, nor, ironically enough, by the older Neo-Grammarians traditionally used in Egyptology, whatever other deficiencies, and there are many, they may have.

The text of the book is divided into ten chapters of unequal length and is based mainly on the grammar of *The Shipwrecked Sailor* and *Sinuhe*. The first two chapters deal with goals, methods, and socio-linguistic considerations. As a point of departure, the author chooses the sentence frame of the emphatic *sdm-f* (*mrr* form) with adverbial adjunct to define those constructions which he considers adverbials. Chapters Three and Four deal with the syntactic structure of the sentence with adverbial predicate and the role of extraposition (fronting = *Voranstellung*), including an excursus on negation. Adverbial sentences with verbal constituents receive special treatment in

¹ Here 'Mittelägyptische Literatursprache' would best be understood to mean 'the Middle Egyptian language of belles-lettres'.

² In the bibliography of works on discourse analysis that is provided in Givón (1979), xvii-xx, thirty-four of the fifty-nine items which he lists appeared in 1974 or earlier, and should have been reflected in Junge's book, which appeared in 1978.

Chapter Seven, after a digression discussing the syntax of cleft sentences (Chapter Five) and 'pure' nominal sentences (i.e., with *pw*, Chapter Six). Chapter Eight is labelled provocatively 'the end of the verbal sentence' where earlier arguments about the nature of the sentence with adverbial predicate are carried forward to their logical, and highly radical, conclusion to the effect that the forms traditionally labelled the *sḏm.f* are a syntactic unity.

The textual core chosen by Junge for his analysis consists of *Sinuhe* and *The Shipwrecked Sailor*, augmented by a periphery of texts that he considers less reliable. Thirteen examples from *Urkunden IV* are admitted to the company of the elect. His five-fold criteria for limiting his textual basis in this fashion are those of (1) synchrony, (2) homogeneity of the linguistic community to which they were addressed, (3) the exceptional competence of the author(s), (4) minimization of errors in performance, and (5) understandability.

The two texts are synchronous, dating to the early Twelfth Dynasty, and directed to a homogeneous audience, according to Junge, of the high officialdom of the period. The same criteria also apply to the *Instruction of Ammenemes*, *Satire on the Trades*, and *Neferty*, yet the first two of these are excluded. The criteria of exceptional competence and limited influence of performance error are superficially in harmony, yet one would expect to find poetic exaggeration in *Sinuhe* with all the consequent bending of grammatical rules.³ The use of *Sinuhe* contradicts Junge's wish to avoid highly poeticized texts as well as texts that are exclusively for the purpose of conveying information. Why the latter category should be excluded is unclear. Junge's concentration on early Twelfth Dynasty material is an attempt to avoid the problems of contamination with Late Egyptian material, a problem well recognized by Egyptologists in regard to texts from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Since linguistic history is a continuum, the same problems of contamination are present for the early period also, but in this case from Old Egyptian. Anyone working with Middle Egyptian, therefore, is caught by necessity between Scylla and Charybdis.

An alternative approach to strict chronological delineation of whole texts as a basis for grammatical analysis is to take what is usually accepted as the entire corpus of Middle Egyptian texts⁴ as a preliminary basis of analysis, and subsequently to weed out those textual elements that seem to conflict with the overall rules of grammar observed in the bulk of the material. Thus, for example, the use of the definite article *pʿ/tʿ/nʿ*, while attested, is generally avoided in formal material, and other means are used instead (*pn* or \emptyset). The tense system of Middle Egyptian is another area where the defining of paradigmaticity is a question of the parameters of usage. There will, of necessity, have to be material which the grammarian rejects for reasons of principle, including formulaic material and quotations from Old Egyptian as well as that contemporary spoken material that does not correspond to the more generally observed rules. Provided that larger structural reasons can be provided in each case, such as clear instances of rule violation, disallowing certain portions of texts need not be a subjective enterprise, and the essentially layered character of textual material will be brought into better focus.

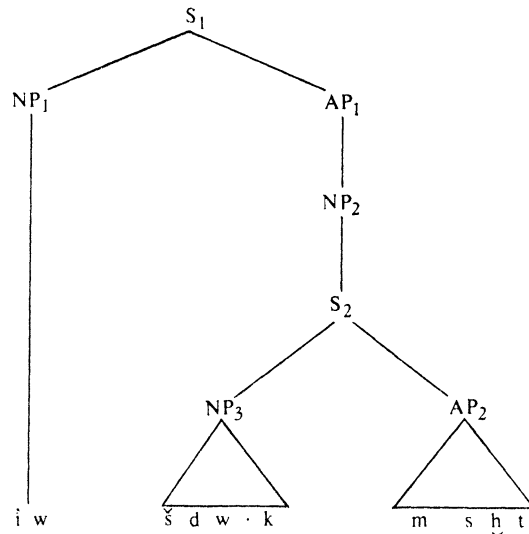
The cornerstone of Junge's analysis is his definition of an adverbial, which he then uses to apply to verbal forms. He chooses the complement of the emphatic *sḏm.f* (the *mrr.f* form) as his defining matrix, i.e., *m r r . f*_____. Apart from direct objects, what can occur in this matrix is to be defined as an adverbial, an important point in Junge's classification of forms of the suffix conjugation, but which comes to grief, in this writer's opinion, on the possibility that this matrix also admits noun phrases at least in the case of the 'Wechselsatz' of the form *m r r . f* (*mrr.f*). Although true adverbial phrases certainly occur in this matrix as the adverbial adjuncts of the emphatic *sḏm.f*, one must

³ Dream language, poetic 'licence', and proper names are all special types of human language that are normally excluded from treatments of usual language, since their grammars differ in marked ways from that of ordinary language.

⁴ I would suggest here that Middle Egyptian be used in the sense of 'la langue classique' of Lefebvre and, most recently, of Polotsky (1976). I would go beyond these authors in also admitting the language of the hieroglyphic texts of the Graeco-Roman Period as well as the unusual text of BM 10828.

ask whether forms like *šdm·n·f*, *NP m pr*, and the passive *šdm(w)·f* are really adverbials or nominals. One's suspicion that all is not well with Junge's analysis is increased by considering another common construction for known adverbials, *iw NP* _____. The three forms cited above are all excluded from this matrix: **iw rmt šdm·n·f*, **iw rmt šdm(w)·f* and **iw rmt st-hjmt·f m pr* are not attested types in Middle Egyptian. On the other hand, the *iw* matrix does admit other forms that are clearly adverbial, such as the pseudo-verbal construction and the *šdm·f* form used in gnomic statements: *iw·(f) šdm=f*. It would seem that the *iw* matrix is more restrictive and less ambiguous than the *mrr·f* matrix, and as such should be the syntactic frame used in defining adverbial forms. It should be remembered also that noun phrases can occasionally fit into adverbial syntactic slots, if they are marked for time (*hrw*, *grh*, etc.) although no one would claim that they thereby become everywhere adverbials. An example with the *mrr* matrix occurs in *Pt.* 17, 6: *r tss·tw im·f rꜥ nb*, 'so that one complains of him *every day*'. I would thus suggest that there is substantial evidence to indicate that the three forms (*šdm·n·f*, *šdm·(w)·f* and *st-hjmt m pr*) cited above are not adverbials, but are more likely to be noun phrases, and that the ambiguous *mrr* matrix in these cases admits noun phrases, not adverbials.

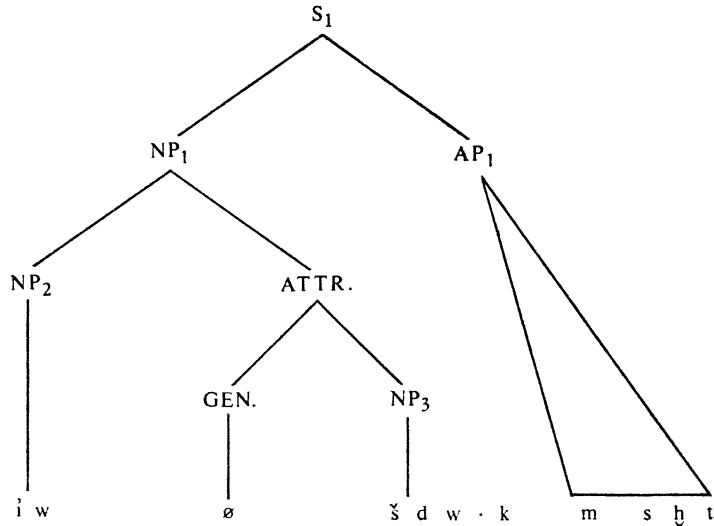
Junge's incorrect classification leads to implausible sentence structures. On p. 86 he presents the following sentence-tree, whose nodes I have indexed for ease of exposition: (S = sentence, clause; N = noun; A = adverbial; P = phrase)



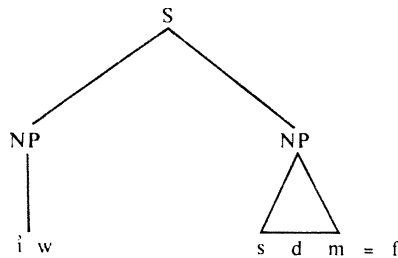
Now the sequence of nodes on the right, reading upwards, S_2 — NP_2 — AP_1 according to the conventions of tree diagrams, means that the clause S_2 (*šdw·k m sht*) can be replaced by a suitable noun phrase (NP_2) which in turn can be replaced by a suitable adverbial phrase AP_1 . All these three nodes are in turn the predicate of NP_1 (*iw*). A crucial question is: what suitable noun phrase could replace S_2 ? It is not that no noun phrase of suitable meaning might exist, but rather that no sentence of the form *iw NP*, (see now Gilula, 1976/390) such as **iw hb*, 'there is a feast', or **iw rnpt*, 'there is a year', is attested. No sentence-tree, therefore, can be constructed that would result in a sentence of the form *iw + NP*, and the node NP_2 , as a result, must be deleted from Junge's sentence-tree diagram.

One test for the accuracy of a tree representation is by applying pronominal substitution. One can replace NP_3 (*šdw·k*) presumably by a *sn* 'they' with the resulting sentence being *iw·sn m sht*, 'they are in the countryside'. However, this is also the only known pronominalized form of *šdw·k m sht* (S_2 , without *iw*) since **sn m sht* is impossible in Middle Egyptian. The pronominal

form of this sentence implies two conclusions: (1) *iw*+*šdw* is *one* node, i.e., a noun phrase, at least in the surface structure of the sentence, since *iw.sn* corresponds to both *iw*+*šdw* as well as *šdw* alone, and (2) the adverbial phrase serving as predicate of *iw* (AP₁) cannot here be subcategorized into a sentence as Junge did (S₂) according to the present formulation, since with the removal of NP₃ and the reassigning of it to the same node as *iw*, the sentence S₂ no longer has a subject. I would suggest that the following tree closer approximates the actual structure of Junge's sentence (ATTR. = attributive phrase; GEN. = genitive relation marker):



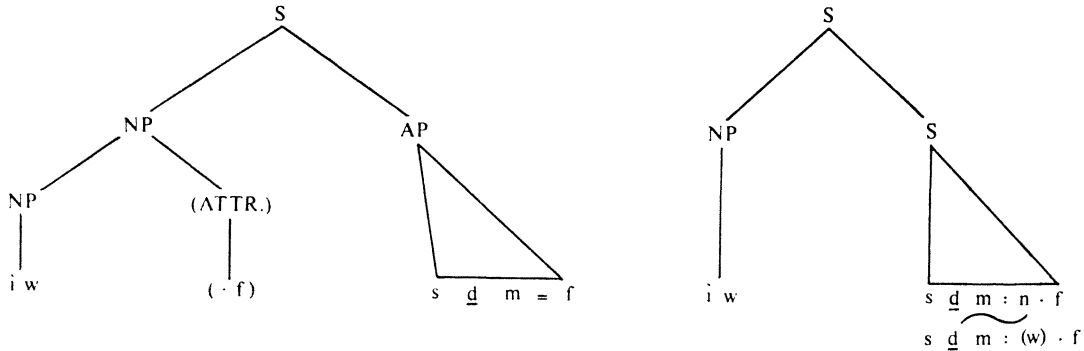
I should hasten to reassure the patient reader who has been willing to follow the tedious technicalities of my explanation, that the correct analysis of this sentence has wider ramifications. On the basis of his analysis Junge claims that the 'present tense' (*iw*.(f) *sdm*=f) is constituted as follows:



Previous treatments have considered the *sdm*·f form here as the circumstantial *sdm*·f (Polotsky (1976), 3.8.8 and 4.1) bearing the node label 'adverbial' (Callender (1975), 3.5.2.6.B). In complementary distribution with *iw sdm*·f is *iw*·f *sdm*·f, a form used mainly for nominal subjects (*iw* NP *sdm*·f). The complementary distribution of these two forms of pronominal and nominal subjects indicates again that *iw*+NP are to be grouped together under one node. Other uses of the circumstantial *sdm*·f are probably adverbial (after *mrr* forms and after *ir*, 'as to, if'), although the evidence is not conclusive.

Of all the forms of the suffix conjugation that can occur after *iw* (apart from extraordinary uses, such as oaths (EG §468)), i.e., *iw sdm*·f, *iw sdm*·n·f, and *iw sdm*·(w)·f, only the first form can have its subject also following immediately after *iw* (i.e., *iw*·f *sdm*·f). This difference in possible formation reflects, I believe, a fundamental difference in constituency separating the first form from the

other two. Only the *iw sdm=f* ~ *iw-f sdm=f* form contains an adverbial '*sdm:f*' form, the others do not. I would suggest the correct representation of these forms is the following:



Junge envisages the existence of an entity known as the '*sdm:f*', which is a syntactic unit, whose differences in form for certain verb classes is part of the arbitrariness of linguistic usage ('Willkür des Sprachgebrauchs', 103). Gemination in certain verb classes indicates merely that these verbs function as subjects, whereas the unmarked form, including Polotsky's prospective form and his circumstantial form, is more appropriate for other uses, such as the object of *rdi*, 'cause'. Gemination and zero-marking are viewed as surface structure additions without syntactic relevance; they only contribute 'semantic' information. This latter, it will be remembered, is excluded from consideration by the grammatical model which Junge is employing. This notion that the '*sdm:f*' exists as a syntactic unity is based on the notion that all of its forms are syntactically nominal phrases which can on occasion be assigned the value of adverbial phrases in a particular syntactic environment. I have attempted to show that this is not the case, that within the so-called unity of the *sdm:f* exist both nominal forms and adverbial forms *ex natura*. If my analysis is correct, then the ghost *sdm:f* of pre-Polotskyian grammar should not be postulated as a unity of a syntactic or any other sort.⁵ The morphological differences, it follows, have to be taken seriously, particularly since what at first glance turn out to be arbitrary differences in form, such as both geminating and non-geminating forms after *rdi* or after the same prepositions, turn out to mean different things.

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



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⁵ The '*sdm:f*' can be said to exist as a historical concept in the study of Egyptian grammar. To be sure, all grammatical categories are fictive in character. They must be postulated by the grammarian. They should be accepted only if they are useful and widely applicable in the grammatical structure of a given language.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A note on an Inscription from the tomb chapel of 'Idw (G 7102)

IN *JEA* 67 (1981), 166–7, fig. 1, Henry G. Fischer published a note on a representation from the Sixth Dynasty tomb chapel of 'Idw at Giza (G 7102).¹ We refer our readers to the description of this procession scene by Fischer, and provide a suggestion for its reading, since our interest is here focused on an amendment which he has made in the accompanying inscription.

Simpson reads the inscription: *ir n Inpw sm3-t3 krs . . . imntyt di smyt cwy-s ir-k šd r Idw*,² which Fischer corrects into: *ir n Inpw sm3-t3 krs tw t3t r imntt di z(my)t cwy-s ir-k dd r Idw imshw*. His translation, therefore, apart from completing the missed portions, differs mainly from that of Simpson in its last part:³ 'I address *Idw*, who is revered.' In his own words, 'the choice between  and  is likewise uncertain, but I believe that I can see the head of the cobra, and it seems more likely that the lector-priest says: "I address *Idw*" than that he says: "I read to *Idw*", especially since one would expect *šdi* to have a specific direct object'.⁴ Furthermore, he adds that it seems unlikely that this part of the sentence should be more closely related to *hry-hbt*, because there would be a missing *in* between *šd(i) r Idw imshw* and the priestly title.⁵ However, his strongest argument in favour of  instead of  is that a reading such as 'reading to/reciting for *Idw*, the revered, (by) the lector-priest' would require an infinitive verb, which could only be *šd(i)t* (). We should like, none the less, to argue in favour of this latter reading since there are some related documents which throw new light on the sense of this text.

Some years ago, we were able to publish, together with the late L. Baqués Estapé, the Ninth Dynasty rectangular wooden coffin of *Nb-it-ikr* (?) preserved at the Museo del Oriente Bíblico de Monserrat (Spain).⁶ Among other curious features in the texts of this coffin, we remarked the appearance of the formula *šd(i)t šshw* included in a *proskynema htp-di-nswt + pr(t)-hrw*.⁷ The *šshw* are known to be a series of hymns recited by the lector-priests while adopting the *hnw*-posture of jubilation, and the rite was usually performed at the same time as the presentation of the *htp-di-nswt* offerings.⁸ The texts accompanying these scenes generally read: *šd(i)t šshw cšw in hry-hbt*, a ritual directive repeated in the corresponding passage of the *Ceremonies*.⁹ Sometimes, *in hry-hbt*

¹ Already published in W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, pl. 18, fig. 35.

² Op. cit. 22.

³ We agree with the afore-mentioned restorations of the damaged signs as made by Fischer, with the exception of the word and word-order discussed below.

⁴ Op. cit. 167.

⁵ But the occasional omission of *in* is known (see Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.* 1, §696), as acknowledged by Fischer himself (167 n. 2).

⁶ L. Baqués Estapé and J. R. Ogdon, 'Un ataúd en el Museo del Oriente Bíblico de Monserrat—España', *Aeg. Ant.* 2 (1977), 1–31.

⁷ Op. cit. 12 (§2.A), 13 (n. b), and 17 (*Excursus*).

⁸ *Šd(i)t šshw* is a formula belonging to the *Ceremonies of the Opening of the Mouth and the Eyes*, Scene LXIX; J. C. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte*, 169. On the nature and role of the 'Glorifications' see C. Rowe, *ASAE* 38 (1938), 174 ff.; J. A. Wilson, *JNES* 3 (1944), 209–10; S. Morenz, *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 132 ff.; J. C. Goyon, *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 89 ff. For some usual scenes cf., e.g., N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*, 1, pl. xix; P. Montet, *Kémi*, 1 (1) (1928), pl. iv; N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. xxxii; P. E. Newberry and G. W. Fraser, *El Bersheh*, 1, pl. xxxiv. See also J. R. Ogdon, 'Observations on a Ritual Gesture, after some Old Kingdom Reliefs', *JSSSEA* 10 (1) (1979), 71–3 and pls. ii–iv, where some remarks on the 'mechanism' of the postures are given.

⁹ Goyon, *Rituels*, loc. cit.; cf. also *šshw cšw in hry-hbt* (Newberry and Fraser, loc. cit.); *šshw in hry-hbt* (J. R. Ogdon, 'Un nuevo ejemplo de la fórmula *šdit šshw* en proscinemas del Primer Período Intermedio

may be absent, as in the case of the MOBM coffin: $\text{\$d}(i)t \text{\$}h\bar{w} \text{\$}w^1 n k\bar{s} (n) \text{\$}m\bar{h}y\bar{t} \text{\$}r \text{\$}n\bar{r}, NN$. It is worthy of note that the only two known examples of the inclusion of $\text{\$d}(i)t \text{\$}h\bar{w}$ in a *proskynema* are dated to the mid First Intermediate Period (c. Ninth Dynasty),² and in our previous notes on this construction we remarked that no further examples were known to us from any other period. We should like to rectify this assertion, as we have realized that the text from the tomb chapel of *Idw* contains, in fact, the third and earliest record of this phenomenon.



FIG. 1

From what one can discern in fig. 1 of Fischer's paper (see our fig. 1, A), the first sign should be read $\text{\$}d$, while $\text{\$}$ is its phonetic indicator (or 'complement'). We cannot agree with Fischer's reading $\text{\$}$, as the calligraphic characteristics of the sign belong point by point to those of the 'water-skin' sign ($\text{\$}$) (see our fig. 1, B).³ We are unable to see the head of a cobra, as Fischer did. The absence of the final *t* in $\text{\$d}(i)t$ may perhaps be explained by lack of space⁴ or by mere carelessness in the work. On the other hand, we have seen that Fischer notes the absence of a specific direct object for $\text{\$d}(i)t$, and uses this point to support his reading $\text{\$}$. But we are not convinced by this explanation, since we are accustomed to the omission of $\text{\$d}(i)t$, which is attested various times in Old Kingdom inscriptions (see p. 159 n. 9). The occurrence of *one* example of $\text{\$d}(i)t$ without $\text{\$}h\bar{w}$ should not, therefore, surprise us, as it is evident that the passage was intelligible to the Ancient Egyptian reader, who knew the meaning of this formula.

A further point supporting our interpretation of this word is provided by the fact that the two First Intermediate Period examples of $\text{\$d}(i)t \text{\$}h\bar{w}$ appear in a *htp-di-nswt* formula, and the case from *Idw*'s chapel also occurs as part of a *funerary* text, which we should like to translate as follows: 'Anubis has made the interment and has buried you, you having been taken to the West. The Desert extends her two arms to you. Recitation (of the Glorifications) for *Idw*, the revered, (by) the lector-priest.' Moreover, the same seems to be a variant of the 'burial'-type *proskynema*,⁵ where Anubis is pre-eminent.⁶

A final observation may be made to conclude this paper. The standing figure of the lector-priest behind the sledge may have served as a semantic indicator (or 'generic determinative') for the

(dins. VII-X)', *BAEO* año xv, parte 2 (Madrid, 1979), 230-2 = coffin (AEIN 1615) of Gemniemhêt, from Saqqâra, Ninth Dyn.; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des sarcophages et cercueils égyptiens*, pl. xv). The occasional omission of $\text{\$d}(i)t$ goes back to the Old Kingdom, see e.g., C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler* (Plates), III, pls. 4-6, 25. The example in M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, I, pl. 23, quoted by Fischer (166 n. 2), depicting a lector-priest in the same attitude as that in *Idw*'s chapel, should be read $\text{\$}h(w)t$ in *hry-hbt* and not $\text{\$}ht$ in *hry-hbt* as done by Fischer, who translates 'transfiguration by the lector-priest', which is meaningless. The text clearly says '(Recitation of the) Glorifications by the lector-priest', and is one more example of the formula $\text{\$d}(i)t \text{\$}h\bar{w}$ without the infinitive.

¹ The adjective *sw*, 'long', replaces here the usual *rszw*, 'numerous'. Should we see here a reference to the 'extensive' series of hymns recited in the 'Glorifications'? This would point to a sort of litany rather than collected or miscellaneous hymns. For $\text{\$}$ in $\text{\$}h\bar{w}$ read $\text{\$}$; cf. Baqués Estapé and Ogdon, op. cit. 24 no. 14, *in fine*.

² See Ogdon, *BAEO*, año xv, parte 2 (1979), 232.

³ Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, Sign List F30; N. de G. Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep*, I pl. xvii, nos. 371 and 377.

⁴ An accumulation of signs due to the presence of the top front of the chapel on the sledge is evident, especially in the nobleman's name. The artist was even forced to write *imshw* over the side-panel of the chapel itself. And do not forget that the $\text{\$}$ below $\text{\$d}(i)t$ needed a place too!

⁵ See N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt* (no. 82), 81 *in fine* (a).

⁶ Op. cit. 82, where a long list can be found.

group $\{\text{A}\}$ written before him, thus becoming a large-sized indicator.¹ This suggestion finds good support when we compare this artistic arrangement with the text of the coffin (AEIN 1615) of Gemniemhēt: here we see the priestly title determined by 𓅓 , a seated man with a papyrus-roll in his outstretched hand (see p. 159 n. 9).

To sum up, we hope to have demonstrated that the reading $\text{šd}(it)$ is to be preferred to dd in this passage, and that the text of *Idw* provides a further example, indeed the earliest, of the inclusion of $\text{šd}(i)t$ $\text{s}h\text{w}$ in funerary *proskynemata*.
J. R. OGDON

The Princess Baketamūn²

IN 1905, the Museum of Fine Arts received a gift of artefacts from the year's excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Included was a fragment of a faience votive object (05.239), probably a *menat*, discovered by Naville³ in his work at the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahri. The object is one of hundreds of faience votive offerings found in a regular stratum in three separate locations: (1) at the western end of the temple platform; (2) in the North Lower Colonnade; (3) in the North Court between the Montuhotpe and Hatshepsut temples. Naville surmised that all the faience offerings could be dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty. Most of the inscriptions were of Hatshepsut's reign, and none was later than that of Amenophis II. It was Naville's opinion that these offerings had been originally placed in the Hathor chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, later to be discarded and tossed down between the two temples and on to the Eleventh Dynasty pavement.

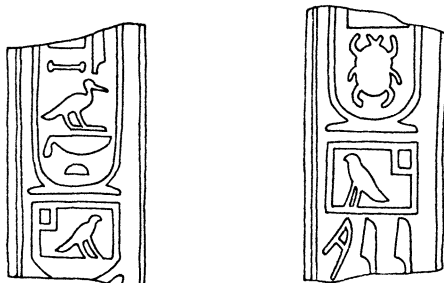


FIG. 1

The MFA votive has a brilliant blue colour, and is inscribed on both sides in black (see fig. 1). One side contains a cartouche which is recognizable as the prenomen of Tuthmosis III: 'beloved of Hathor'. The reverse is inscribed with a second cartouche containing the name *Bkt-īmn*. Unfortunately, any titles which Baketamūn possessed have been broken away.⁴

The name is not a common one. As a private name, Baketamūn occurs sporadically in the New Kingdom written in several forms.⁵ As a royal name, however, only one other example is known

¹ See H. G. Fischer in R. Caminos and H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 35–7. This seems to have been a practice of which the Egyptian artists were very fond.


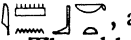

² I wish to thank Mr Edward Brovarski for his comments on an earlier version of this paper, and Mr Lynn Holden for his illustration of the MFA piece.


³ Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, I (1907), 17; III (1913), 13–14.

⁴ Note the unusual writing of Hathor.

⁵ Dyn. XVIII: Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (1915), 4; von Bergmann, *Rec. Trav.* 9 (1887), 47. Dyn XIX: James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Eg. Stelae* 9 (1970), pls. li, no. 314; xx, no. 139; Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (1948), 29, 6. It is interesting to note that the use of honorific transposition in the name does not seem to appear after Dynasty XVIII.

to me. A wooden staff in the Brooklyn Museum (37.1830E; see pl. XX)¹ is inscribed as 'an offering of Amūn (for) the servant of the King's daughter Baketamūn, may she live, Amenmose of the Island of *Hwt*'.² The piece, formerly in the Abbott collection, has been variously dated by scholars. In 1910 Gauthier³ suggested the possible identification of Baketamūn with Baketaten, the sister of Akhenaten. Gauthier hypothesized a change of name paralleling that of Tutankhamūn at the end of the Amarna Period.⁴ However, four years later Gauthier⁵ classified Baketamūn as probably belonging to the Ramesside era. More recently, James⁶ has published the Brooklyn staff, dating it stylistically to the late Eighteenth Dynasty. Finally, Hassan⁷ has identified the same Baketamūn as a daughter of Ramesses IX.

In spite of the later dates assigned to the staff, the MFA faience fragment provides some evidence that it may belong to the Tuthmosid era, since the Baketamūn commemorated on the latter may well be identical with the princess on the former. Certainly, there is nothing in the style of the hieroglyphs inconsistent with such a date. The writing of the name differs on the two pieces, but this is not unusual. Indeed, in a contemporary Theban tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty (no. 82), the name of Baketamūn, the wife of the steward Amenemhēt, is written as , once as , and is most commonly abbreviated as .

The abbreviated form of the name occurs on a scarab in the British Museum⁹ inscribed for the 'king's daughter Baket ()'. On the basis of its style and glazing, the scarab was dated by Newberry¹⁰ to the reign of Tuthmosis III. A similar scarab appeared in a recent Sotheby Sale catalogue.¹¹ The writing of Baket(amūn) without the aleph on the scarabs in Theban tomb no. 82 and elsewhere¹² does not appear to postdate the mid Eighteenth Dynasty. This lends additional support to a Tuthmosid date for the Brooklyn staff.

All the objects inscribed for Baket(amūn) can thus be dated to the same period, indicating that she was a princess of the mid Eighteenth Dynasty, probably a daughter of Tuthmosis III. Interestingly, she does not appear in the group of family members portrayed in his tomb, which includes three wives and a deceased princess, Nefertiri.¹³ However, the Hathor chapel of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri includes representations of two princesses.¹⁴ The first of these is the 'king's daughter, king's sister, god's wife and god's hand, Merytamen', who is also unnamed in her father's tomb. She apparently died as a princess, never achieving the status of 'great royal wife'.¹⁵ The name and titles of the second figure are broken away. If it is not Nefertiri who is represented, perhaps the princess is Baketamūn. The MFA fragment, found near this very chapel and coupling her name with that of Tuthmosis III, provides a strong association between them.

SUE D'AURIA

¹ James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* (1974), 118-19. I should like to thank Mr Bernard V. Bothmer for his permission to publish the staff.

² The location of the place-name 'the island of *Hwt*' is unknown. In the Ramesside Period *t* *Hwt* is an abbreviation for *t* *Hwt Wsr-Mst-Rr-Mr-Imn* (Medinet Habu) (Černý, *JEA* 26 (1940), 127-30).

³ Gauthier, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 207-8.

⁴ None of the representations of this princess appears to incorporate the name of Amūn into her name.

⁵ Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois*, III (1914), 228.

⁶ James, *Corpus*, 118-19.

⁷ Hassan, *MAS* 33 (1976), 150-1. Some confusion is evident here, as the date given is Dynasty XIX, and no references are included for the association of Baketamūn with Ramesses IX.

⁸ Davies and Gardiner, *op. cit.* 4.

⁹ Hall, *Catalogue of Eg. Scarabs etc. in the British Museum* (1913), 47.

¹⁰ Newberry, *PSBA* 24 (1902), 252.

¹¹ Sotheby Sale Catalogue, May 16, 1980, no. 329.

¹² Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, 1, 193, no. 582. I owe this reference to Professor J. J. Clère, who called my attention to the chronological significance of this spelling.

¹³ Helck, *Urk.* IV, 602, 7-10.

¹⁴ Naville, *op. cit.*, III, pl. xxviii B.

¹⁵ Logan and Williams, *Serapis* 4 (1977-8), 25.










Courtesy the Brooklyn Museum
THE PRINCESS BAKETAMŪN


Postscript to 'Three Monuments from Memphis in the Fitzwilliam Museum',
by Janine Bourriau in *JEA* 68

THE provenance of the statue of Amenophis III, Fitzwilliam Museum E.82.1913, can now be confirmed as Memphis. It occurs on a list of items received by the Museum in 1913 from the excavations of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. The list is now kept in the archives of the Department of Antiquities. JANINE BOURRIAU

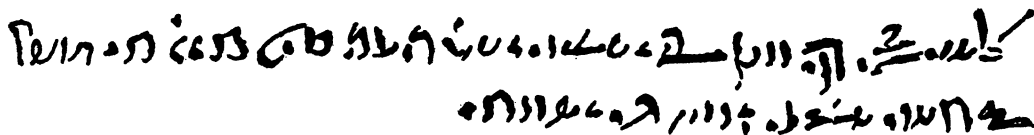
Shꜣ or *Hrw*?¹

As Černý noted,² the sign written  occurs in two groups,  and .³ He thought that the two forms of the same word indicated a semantic difference:  being used in indictments to detail charges, and  being used in letters.⁴ At first he transliterated  as *smit*;⁵ however, by the time he published the Leiden Tablet,⁶ he had altered his reading, in accordance with Gardiner and Peet,⁷ to *shꜣ*, 'memorandum'. This reading is certainly correct for the first expression (*shꜣ r*), as the heading on P. Turin 1887, rt. 1, 1⁸ shows, but is it necessarily the case for the second?

To investigate this question, we begin by examining a common class of demotic letter which is labelled *hrw*, 'plea' [variation *hrw (n) bꜣk NN*, 'plea (of) servant NN'],⁹ and shall then move backwards in time to see if this is the descendant of the letter type identified by .

Three examples of the demotic letter type identified by *hrw* are P. Berlin P. 13544, P. Berlin P. 13547, and P. Berlin P. 15527.¹⁰ The introductory formulae are P. Berlin P. 15527 (Ptolemaic), *hrw (n) NN sꜣ NN m-bꜣh nꜣ wꜣb-w Hr-wr*, 'Plea (of) NN son of NN before the priests of Horwer'; P. Berlin P. 13547 (Ptolemaic), *hrw (n) NN m-bꜣh NN pꜣ shꜣ ir-t-w*, 'Plea (of) NN before the audit scribe'; P. Berlin P. 13544 (Ptolemaic), *hrw (n) NN sꜣ NN m-bꜣh pꜣyꜣf hry pꜣ hm-ntr tpy*, 'Plea (of) NN before his master the First Prophet.' The word *hrw* is clear and is written with the demotic equivalent of . The use of *m-bꜣh* in the formulae would have been inconceivable before the Late Period, and shows that the person to whom the letter is addressed is of higher rank than the writer of the letter. Of particular interest is P. Berlin P. 13544 which, in addition to this opening formula, has several of the common introductory phrases known since the Ramesside Period.

If we move backwards in time, the next example is P. Brooklyn 37.1799E (Late Saïte, unpublished).¹¹ This papyrus is an example of a letter written in a mixture of abnormal hieratic and demotic. The opening formula of this letter is: *hrw (n) bꜣk NN sꜣ-t n NN nty-iwꜣf m-bꜣh . . . (n)*



¹ I should like to express my deep appreciation and gratitude to Dr George R. Hughes for the many hours which he spent reading abnormal hieratic and early demotic with me, and without whom this paper would never have been written.

² *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 49–50 n. 1.

³ Recently this view has been challenged by M. Green in *Orientalia* 45 (1980), 24 n. 51d. However, as I think this article will show, there is a very real difference between the two expressions, and they are not simply variations of each other as Green suggests.

⁴ Later examples are written without the *n*.

⁵ *JEA* 15, 248.

⁶ *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, 46 ff.

⁷ *GTR* (text vol.), 185.




⁸ *RAD* 74.









⁹ For this reading cf. Hughes, *JNES* 17 (1958), 6–7.



¹⁰ All three are published by Zauzich in *Papyri von der Insel Elephantine*.




¹¹ I wish to thank Professor George R. Hughes and Dr Robert S. Bianchi for the photograph from which this hand-copy was made.


pr-Imm NN pꜣy·i hꜣry, 'Plea (of) a servant (of) NN daughter of NN which is intended for (the) . . . of the estate of Amūn, my master'. The similarity between this late abnormal hieratic example and the demotic letters is strong, particularly P. Berlin P. 13544. All four use the word *hrw* (or in the case of P. Brooklyn 37.1799E, *hrw (n) bꜣk*), to characterize the letter-type, all make use of *m-bꜣh* before the addressee, and both P. Berlin P. 13544 and P. Brooklyn 37.1799E use the phrase *m-bꜣh pꜣy·f (pꜣy·i) hꜣry*. All four of these represent a single type of letter, namely a 'plea' written from an inferior to his superior. P. Brooklyn 37.1799E is the oldest example known to me of a letter labelled *hrw (n) bꜣk*.

The latest of the letters designated by  is the Leiden Tablet 1 431 (XXVth–XXVIth Dynasty). Here the opening formula is: *pꜣ  (n) NN nty-ꜣw·f m-bꜣh it-nꜣr NN sꜣ NN pꜣy·i hꜣry*, 'The  (of) NN which is intended for the god's father NN son of NN my chief'. The complete identity of the opening formula of P. Brooklyn 37.1799E and the Leiden Tablet (with the exception of the label designating the letter type) argues strongly that these are the same type of letter with a shift in P. Brooklyn 37.1799E from the abnormal (and, as it happens, normal) hieratic orthography to that of demotic.

An important question is whether *hrw*, which is written earlier with a , and later with the demotic equivalent of , can ever be written with just . While there is no example known to me of *hrw* being abbreviated with only , the abnormal hieratic P. Vienna 12.002 (XXVIth Dynasty), col. A, 4 (unpublished),¹ does have an example of *hrw* in the formula *mꜣr-hrw* which is written . This group-determinative is the abnormal hieratic counterpart of  and it occurs in words like *sꜣm*, 'to hear', *mꜣ*, 'to speak', and *hrw*, 'voice', where earlier examples of these words have only  as a determinative. This examples does at least show that *hrw* can be written without the .

The last example which is clearly parallel is P. Strassburg 39 (XXIst Dynasty),² whose opening formula is very similar to that of both the Leiden Tablet and P. Brooklyn 37.1799E: *pꜣ  it-nꜣr In-hꜣry sh NN nty-ꜣw·f n it-nꜣr sh hꜣw·t-nꜣr NN*, 'The  of (the) god's father (of) Onuris, scribe NN, which is intended for (the) god's father (and) scribe (of) the temple NN'. The differences here are the use of *n* instead of *m-bꜣh*, and the omission of the phrase *pꜣy·i* after the name of the addressee. It is not at all surprising to find *n* instead of *m-bꜣh*, since at the time P. Strassburg 39 was written, *m-bꜣh* referred to no human being except the king. As for the phrase *pꜣy·i hꜣry*, in the case of this text, it is impossible to determine the relative ranks of the writer and the addressee. The parallelisms between P. Strassburg 39, the Leiden Tablet, and P. Brooklyn 37.1977E on one hand, and P. Brooklyn 37.1799E and the three demotic examples on the other, are a strong argument for the basic unity of this type of letter, which should, on the basis of the evidence of the later texts, be read as *hrw*, 'plea', rather than as *shꜣ*, 'memorandum'.

In addition to the above examples, there are three Ramesside examples of texts beginning with . These are O. Cairo 25675,³ O. Berlin P. 12630,⁴ and O. Leipzig 5.⁵ Of these, O. Cairo 25675 is broken and beyond the opening formula  NN *n* . . ., not enough remains to determine if the term 'plea' could be applied to it. O. Leipzig 5 looks more like a practice letter than a genuine letter, and beyond the opening formula,  NN *hr nd-hꜣrt n sh NN*, it consists of nothing beyond standard introductory letter formulae which are very similar to those of the Leiden Tablet and P. Berlin P. 13544. Since there is no body to this 'letter' it is impossible to determine if 'plea' could apply to it. The final example, O. Berlin P. 12630, is a request for payment directed to a woman regarding a debt incurred by her husband. Although either 'memorandum' or 'plea' could be used to describe

¹ This phrase is written:  I wish to thank Dr Richard A. Parker for the photograph from which this hand-copy was made.



² Published by Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 20 ff. (pl. 1), and by Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, I (text vol.), 307–8, II (plate vol.), 104–5.

³ Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca (CCG)*, 76.

⁴ Allam, op. cit. I, 35; II, 10–11.

⁵ Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. xxxvi, 3.

this document, it seems more a request for payment than the reminder of a debt, and on the whole, I am inclined to include it, and, by extension, the other two Ramesside examples, under the heading *hrw*.

I, therefore, propose to read the group written  or later simply  as *hrw n* and *hrw (n)*, and to translate them as 'The Plea (of) . . .'. This certainly seems to be the case with the later examples (from P. Strassburg 39 on). I would also see this type of letter as representing a continuous tradition from the Ramesside Period through abnormal hieratic and on into demotic. Whether or not this type of letter originally had the purpose of being a letter directed to one's superior, in time it came to be so regarded.

MICHAEL E. FITZPATRICK

Major Charles Kerr Macdonald 1806–67

IN an article entitled 'Major Macdonald, a Victorian Romantic', published in *JEA* 58 (1972), 280–5, by John D. Cooney, attention was first drawn in print to a man whose career, although hinted at by Egyptologists of the last century, has nevertheless escaped adequate recording and thus acknowledgement.¹ An attempt to do this must now be made and the following facts are extracted from a short unpublished biographical memoir.

Charles Kerr Macdonald was born on 1 January 1806,² and was the second son of Lt.-Col. Robert Macdonald, CB, Royal Horse Artillery, and nephew of Major-General Sir Benjamin Bloomfield. The family home was the island of Inch Kenneth with seat at the mouth of Loch-na-Keal, Mull Island, Argyllshire.

Macdonald became Ensign 15 May 1823 with the 42nd Regiment of Foot (The Royal Highlanders), an appointment without purchase (WO 25/67). On 26 November 1825 he was appointed Lieutenant in the same regiment by purchase. The following year, on 7 November 1826, his father failing to get him a full-pay company, he was promoted Captain to a half-pay one unattached by purchase, i.e. £1,100. This then was the beginning of his military career which may be picked up again in the 1840s. According to the census of 1841 he was residing in 16 Park Square, London, in the same house as Marianne Ashworth, aged 40, and her family of four children. Shortly after this his travels to the east seem to have commenced since on 21 August 1843 a passport was issued to Lord Culloden (Prince George of Cambridge) and Capt. Macdonald (*sic*) travelling to Corfu (FO 610/3). This would agree with our information on his first visit to Egypt and Sinai, when it was claimed Lepsius ran across him.

In 1847 he is listed as Major (Brevet) 1st Life Guards and in the same year retired from the army, writing to this effect two letters from Park Square dated 11 and 15 May addressed to Lord Fitzroy Somerset. The sum received for the sale of his commission was £1,800. A medical certificate issued at this time, 19 May, refers to him as 'unattached' and without any physical disabilities.

Macdonald was now free to embark on the career for which he achieved some fame later, viz. the Sinai episode and the Cairo phase of his life.³ He must have returned to England by the early 1850s, as a passport, No. 31444, was issued to Charles K. Macdonald 'travelling to the Continent on 29 Oct. 1855'. On this he was recommended by 'Cox' (FO 610/10). Shortly after there appeared the article referred to by Cooney as being published in the *Athenaeum* (No. 1644) 30 April 1859, under the tantalizing section headed 'Our Weekly Gossip':

'A most important discovery of inscriptions has been made in the Holy Land—near Mount Sinai. The following account of the excavations which led to the discovery we owe to a friend. (Major Macdonald is not mentioned by name but there can be little doubt that it is he.)

¹ Briefly and very inadequately mentioned in Gardiner–Peet–Černý, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, 6 and 8.

² The year is assumed as he is stated to have been 17 on appointment in 1823, and 41 on his retirement in 1847.

³ For this see *Who Was Who in Egyptology* (2nd edn.), 188–9.

Suez, April 9

I made a most interesting discovery close in front of the cave at Magarah. I felt so convinced that some of the large blocks there contained inscriptions, that I examined them very closely, and on washing the dust and sand from a huge block of many hundred tons weight, I found to my great delight and surprise no less than six inscriptions remaining of which I have taken five; the remaining one it was impossible to take, owing to the peculiar position of the stone. I then proceeded in my search, and on passing my hands underneath a huge block I could distinctly feel some tablets. I fortunately possessed four crowbars, and, with the assistance of ten Arabs, I succeeded in three hours in raising it and turning it over on its face, and I have never seen any inscription more beautifully preserved. You will find these impressions exceedingly well taken, and I hope they will prove interesting. I have been to Mount Sinai and Mount Sertal since I wrote last. I ascended the highest peak of the latter mountain, and I found the latter mountain covered with inscriptions of the Sinaitic character. No one has ascended the summit besides myself, except Burckhardt, who has given me a very accurate description of it. Dr. Lepsius ascended a lower peak. I never had so hard a day's work in my life.

The inscriptions have reached London and are in the hands of Mr. Birch of the British Museum.'

Little more can be added except to record that Macdonald died at the Deaconesses' Hospital, Alexandria, on 17 October 1867 (Misc. Records of the Registrar General). On the certificate his age is shown as 60, and he is simply described as 'Late Major, H.M.'s 92nd Regiment'.

Such then are some of the brief details to be gleaned about the man whose life, like that of Palmer, must have been so full of adventure that it makes the exploits of Lawrence in this area appear as a minor excursion by comparison!¹

PHILIP J. DYKE and E. P. UPHILL

Current research for higher degrees in Egyptology, Coptic, and related studies in the United Kingdom, No. 5

FOR the previous list see *JEA* 66 (1980), 174-5. The compiler wishes to thank colleagues who have provided information. The following dissertations, in addition to those previously listed, are being prepared:

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY

1. Manniche, L. '“Lost” tombs at Thebes'. 1981. Ph.D. Mr J. D. Ray.

LONDON UNIVERSITY. University College

1. Giddy, L. L. 'Relations between Dakhla Oasis and the Nile Valley from 3000-750 BC, with special reference to the site of 'Ain Aseel, Dakhla' (revised title). 1976. Ph.D. Professor H. S. Smith.

2. Raisman, V. 'Hieratic ostraca in the Petrie Museum'. 1980. Ph.D. Professor H. S. Smith.

MANCHESTER UNIVERSITY

1. Eastwood, G. 'Weft-faced compound weaves and their related techniques'.² 1979. Ph.D. Dr J. P. Wild (Department of Archaeology, Oxford Rd., Manchester M13 9PL).

2. Holgate, M. 'Popular religion in ancient Egypt, as evidenced in museum collections'. 1981. MA. Dr A. R. David.

3. O'Brien, J. 'The workmen's villages of Kahun, Amarna, and Deir el-Medina'. 1981. MA. Dr A. R. David.

¹ Add also the reference in *Arch. Anzeiger* 6, 7 (June-July 1849), 71 (Samuel Birch). We owe this information to D. P. Barag.

² Mainly Coptic.

4. Riley, J. E. 'The Amarna collection in the Manchester Museum' (revised title). 1981. Ph.D. Dr A. R. David.

LIVERPOOL UNIVERSITY

1. Amer, A. A. F. M. A. 'Change and continuity in Egypt during the New Kingdom period'. 1978. Ph.D. Dr K. A. Kitchen.

2. Gardiner, H. M. 'Cereal cultivation and land tenure in ancient Egypt'. 1980. Ph.D. Professor A. F. Shore.

3. Snape, S. R. 'Tomb groups from Abydos'. 1981. Ph.D. Professor A. F. Shore.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY

1. Leahy, L. 'Private reliefs of the Late Period from Lower Egypt'. 1981. D.Phil. Dr H. V. D. Whitehouse.

SWANSEA. UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF WALES. Department of Classics and Ancient History

1. Lloyd-Edwards, H. 'A catalogue of inscribed funerary material in the Swansea Wellcome Collection'. 1980. MA. Dr A. B. Lloyd.

Dissertations completed and approved since the publication of the previous list: List no. 1: London, no. 8; Oxford, nos. 4, 11. List no. 2: Durham, no. 1 (actually approved for D.Phil., Oxford); Liverpool, no. 1; London, no. 2. List no. 3: Cambridge, no. 3; Liverpool, no. 1; London, no. 4. List no. 4: Manchester, nos. 1, 2.

The following theses will not now be submitted: List no. 1: Cambridge, no. 3; London, no. 5. List no. 2: Liverpool, no. 5. List no. 4: London (University College), no. 1.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

REVIEWS

The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom. Evidence on its Economic Decline. By NAGUIB KANAWATI. 300×215 mm. Pp. iii+165. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1977. ISBN 085668 102 4. Price £15.

Das Interesse an wirtschaftlichen Fragen besonders für das Alte Reich wächst gerade in der letzten Zeit.¹ Und in diesen Themenbereich gehört auch die vorliegende Arbeit trotz ihres — in gewisser Weise irreführenden — Titels *The Egyptian Administration in The Old Kingdom*. Das Grundthema dieser Arbeit ist es, die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung innerhalb des Alten Reichs aufzuzeigen. Die Verwaltung spielt dabei eher nur eine periphere Rolle, wobei ihre mögliche Einwirkung auf diese wirtschaftliche Entwicklung untersucht wird. Wer also grundlegende Fragen der Verwaltungsstruktur, Untersuchung von administrativen Einzelproblemen oder Titeln, etc. in dieser Arbeit sucht, wird wenig finden. Aussagen zur Verwaltung, und dann auch in recht allgemeiner Form, finden sich nur in dem Kapitel 'Historical Results and Conclusions' (pp. 69–77).

Prinzipiell zu begrüßen ist es, daß der Autor versucht, mit neuen Methoden — in diesem Fall mit Hilfe der Statistik — zu neuen Aussagen zu kommen. Ihm geht es dabei um die wirtschaftliche, finanzielle Situation der verschiedenen Beamtenkategorien.

Ausgehend von der These, daß sich im Grabbau die soziale, aber auch die wirtschaftliche Stellung des Grabbesitzers widerspiegelt, versucht er deren Entwicklung ('trend in the wealth') herauszufinden. Für den Autor entscheidend ist dabei die Größe, Grundfläche des Grabes, die als Gradmesser für die finanzielle Situation dient. Diese Angaben, die zusammen mit weiteren Details, wie den baulichen Bestandteilen des Grabes, Teilen der Titulatur und Datierung in Tabellen angeführt werden (pp. 81–130), sind in ein Koordinatensystem eingetragen. Die daraus resultierende Kurve zeigt die Entwicklung der wirtschaftlichen Gegenheiten der Beamenschaft, unterteilt in vier Kategorien: die Wesire, die hohen, die mittleren und die unteren Beamten, an die sich dann noch die Beamten der Provinz, sofern sie sich dort ihr Grab errichteten, anschließen. Kanawati meint, einen allgemeinen Trend zur Verschlechterung der wirtschaftlichen und finanziellen Lage der Beamten feststellen zu können, von gelegentlichen Aufwärtstendenzen abgesehen. Die Entwicklung endet damit, daß die unteren Beamten am Ende der 5. Dynastie nicht mehr in der Lage waren, sich Gräber zu errichten; das gleiche trifft für die mittlere Beamtenkategorie in der frühen 6. Dynastie zu, und für die hohen Beamten und die Wesire trat dieser Fall am Ende dieser Dynastie ein. Die Gründe dafür sieht er in der ständig wachsenden Anzahl der Beamten (pp. 72–4).

Mit Sicherheit besteht in Ägypten eine Beziehung zwischen den Vermögensverhältnissen einer Person und ihrer Grabanlage, war die materielle Versorgung der Person ausschlaggebend für die Größe des Grabes. Nach allem, was wir von der Religion bzw. den Jenseitsvorstellungen der Ägypter wissen, erscheint es abwegig, anzunehmen, ein Mensch in einer gesicherten finanziellen Lage habe von der Errichtung eines Grabes abgesehen. Dennoch, kann die Größe des Grabes wirklich als realer Gradmesser für die wirtschaftliche Lage des Besitzers angesehen werden und kann dadurch eine Entwicklung in diesem Bereich aufgezeigt werden? Dies setzt einmal voraus, daß ein mehr oder minder konstanter Prozentsatz des Vermögens für den Grabbau verwendet wurde, was nicht zu beweisen ist, ganz abgesehen davon, daß die Zahl der Gräber (abhängig vom zufälligen Erhaltungszustand und Publikationsstand) nicht für alle Zeiten repräsentativ genug ist, um statistisch ausgewertet werden zu können. Dies trifft vor allen Dingen auf die Verhältnisse in der Provinz zu, was auch an den wenig aussagekräftigen Graphiken (pp. 59–61) zum Tragen kommt. Aber selbst wenn man diese Einwände außer Acht läßt, bleiben noch genügend Dinge, die abgesehen von der Größe des Grabes bei der Kostenfrage eine Rolle spielen. Dazu gehören die Ausschmückung des Grabes mit Reliefs, die gesamte Grabausstattung, die bei der Berechnung der Kosten eine Rolle spielen. Dies wurde genausowenig in Betracht gezogen wie die Frage der Qualität, die ihren Preis hatte. Darüber hinaus können auch noch andere als finanzielle Gegebenheiten Größe und

¹ Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Alten Ägypten im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (HdO I, 1, 5) (1975); Goedecken, *Eine Betrachtung der Inschrift des Meten im Rahmen der sozialen und rechtlichen Stellung von Privatleuten im ägyptischen Alten Reich* (ÄgAbh 29) (1976).

Ausstattung des Grabes beeinflussen (persönliche Einstellung, religiöse Vorstellungen etc.), wie Junker gezeigt hat.² Berücksichtigt werden müßte außerdem die Frage des Privatvermögens, das unabhängig von der administrativen Funktion und sozialen Stellung ist und somit auch die Möglichkeit von Rückschlüssen auf die letzteren einschränkt. Gerade die Graphik basierend auf der Grabgröße für die Wesire, einer in sich relativ homogenen Gruppe, zeigt derartig viele Veränderungen innerhalb der Entwicklungslinie, daß hier die Bedeutung individueller Belange deutlich wird und die von Kanawati postulierte Kausalverbindung von Besitz und Größe fraglich wird.

Kanawati geht davon aus (p. 2), daß die Grabbesitzer für den Bau der Gräber finanziell allein verantwortlich waren, was zwar für viele Fälle wohl zutreffen mag. Dennoch sind hier einige Vorbehalte zu machen. Neben anderen Beispielen³ ist dies vor allen Dingen in Giza der Fall. Wie Reisner und Junker⁴ gezeigt haben, ist ein Teil der großen Mastabas dort aufgrund einer Gesamtkonzeption des Friedhofs vom König angelegt und dann an Beamte vergeben worden. In diesem Falle sagt die Größe einer Mastaba nichts über die finanziellen Möglichkeiten des Grabinhabers aus, sondern vielmehr über seine politische Bedeutung, seinen Rang und (oder) seine persönliche Beziehung zum König, bei sofortiger Benutzung. Und bei späterer Belegung sind ebenfalls keine Rückschlüsse möglich, da das Grab eben nicht vom Benutzer angelegt worden war. Dies trifft für die Angaben Kanawatis für die Zeit der 4. Dynastie weitgehend zu, so daß seine Ergebnisse revidiert werden müssen. Ungenau im Ansatz ist auch der Punkt von Kanawati behandelt, wenn das Grab für den darin Bestatteten von anderen Personen errichtet wurde. Z. B. von dem Wesir *Kj-nfr* nimmt Kanawati an, daß sein Grab von dessen Sohn gebaut wurde (p. 11). Die Größe des Grabes kann in dem Fall nicht, wie es Kanawati tut, als Bemessungsgrundlage für die finanzielle Situation des Wesirs gelten — diese Annahme ist nicht schlüssig in sich — sondern nur für die seines Sohnes, der als *jrj-jht nswt* einer anderen Beamtenkategorie angehört, was auf die Entwicklungskurve von Einfluß wäre. Hierbei ist es in diesem Zusammenhang irrelevant, daß mit einiger Sicherheit die Annahme, der Sohn sei der Bauherr gewesen, zu bezweifeln ist. Ein Stiftungsvermerk befindet sich auf der Opfertafel⁵ und darf wohl kaum auf die gesamte Anlage übertragen werden.

Da bei dem Aufzeigen einer Tendenz die Datierung der für die Entwicklung herangezogenen Angaben von Bedeutung ist, seien einige Bemerkungen dazu erlaubt. Größe des Grabes und Datierung bilden die beiden Koordinatenachsen der von Kanawati erstellten graphischen Darstellung. Während die Grundfläche des Grabes eine weitgehend exakt festzustellende Größe ist, trifft dies für die Datierung nicht immer zu. Wenn Kanawati auch in vielen Fällen Gründe für seine Datierungen aufführt, bleiben dennoch genügend Zweifel bestehen. Beispielsweise sehr fraglich erscheint die zeitliche Einordnung der hohen Beamten *Dd-f-hwfw* und *Kj-m-nfrt* in die Zeit des Cheops, obwohl Junker gezeigt hat, daß sie kaum vor die 5. Dynastie zu setzen sind⁶ — ganz abgesehen davon, daß diese, da sie bereits vorher errichtete 'core mastabas' benutzten, ohnehin hier nicht zu berücksichtigen sind.

Und aufgrund welcher Argumente er seine Gruppen 2 und 3 der hohen Beamten (von ihm selbst beide in die Zeit des Cheops datiert, pp. 15–16) nacheinander einordnet und somit eine stark springende Linie erhält, bleibt unbekannt. Überhaupt fällt, was die Datierungen, besonders der mittleren und unteren Beamten, anbetrifft, eine Frühdatierung auf, die kaum für alle Fälle zutrifft. Damit wird die von Kanawati gemachte Feststellung, die unteren Beamten hätten sich nach der 5. Dynastie keine Gräber mehr angelegt, fraglich. Was ist mit *Snb*,⁷ der nach Einteilung Kanawatis ein unterer Beamter war (Titel *smr-pr, wr-md Šmꜥw*; seine anderen Titel sind nicht unter den typischen Titeln zu Beginn der einzelnen Abschnitte aufgeführt) und sein Grab relativ spät im Alten Reich, während der 6. Dynastie, anlegen ließ? Obwohl in der Liste aufgeführt, wird er im Text nicht genannt. Methodisch fragwürdig ist auch die Tatsache, daß der Autor offensichtlich nach der Größe datiert, die an sich voneinander unabhängigen Werte miteinander verknüpft, wobei er ungefähr gleich große Grabanlagen als zeitgleich ansetzt (vgl. pp. 30–3). Hier wird das Ergebnis bereits vorweggenommen und als Axiom in die Überlegung eingebracht.

Letztlich sei noch die von Kanawati unternommene Einteilung der Beamtenschaft in die verschiedenen Kategorien aufgrund ihrer Titel erwähnt. Vorsicht ist z. B. für den Titel *hqꜣ hwt* geboten, den Kanawati für einen typischen Titel hoher Beamter hält (p. 15). Wie breitgefächert das Spektrum dieses Titels ist,

² Junker, 'Die gesellschaftliche Stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich', *SOAW* 233 (1959), 69–75.

³ Zusammengestellt bei Helck, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 63–7.

⁴ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis*, I (1942), *passim*, bes. 29–30; Junker, *Giza*, I–XII, *passim*; Zusammenfassung in Bd. XII (1955), 16–25.

⁵ De Morgan, *Dahchour en 1894–1895* (1903), 23.

⁶ Junker, *Giza*, x (1951), 1–3.

⁷ Junker, *Giza*, v (1941), 3 ff.

hat Junker gezeigt.⁸ Ebenso ist nicht ganz ersichtlich, wieso Titel wie *jmj-rꜥ mšr* oder *wr-md Šmꜣw* kennzeichnend sind für einen Beamten der unteren Kategorie (p. 28). Daß zwischen den beiden Beamten mit Namen *Kꜣ-nfr* (Kanawatis Nr. 350 und 351) ein so großer Unterschied besteht, daß der eine zu den hohen, der andere zu den unteren Beamten gehört, ist kaum anzunehmen trotz des Titels *ꜣꜣ-nswt* bei Nr. 351, da beide weitgehend gleiche (Amts-)Titel tragen. Überhaupt sind gerade für die Belege der unteren Beamtschaft für die Zeit der 4. Dynastie Zweifel anzubringen, zumal wenn sie aus Giza stammen, das zu dem Zeitpunkt königlicher Friedhof war und weitgehend dem Hofstaat und der hohen Beamtschaft vorbehalten war. Nicht in Erwägung gezogen wird die Möglichkeit einer Evolution der Titel, einer Titel-inflation. Eine Berücksichtigung der besonders von Helck, dessen Arbeiten kurioserweise gar nicht benutzt werden, herausgestellten These von einer Titelentwertung⁹ gegen Ende des Alten Reichs würde mit Sicherheit die hier vorgelegten Ergebnisse revidieren oder zumindest relativieren. Dagegen ist die fehlende Unterscheidung von Amts- und Rangtiteln — wobei der Einfluß der letzteren auf die Vermögenssituation nicht sicher ist — weniger in Betracht zu ziehen, da hohe Rangtitel beispielsweise auch mit hohen Amtstiteln verbunden sind. Schwerwiegender ist hier schon die Begründung für die Auswahl der Titel bzw. die Einteilung der Beamtenkategorien (pp. 3–4). Hier liegt keine objektive Betrachtung des Problems vor, da nur die Titel verwendet werden, die einen gewissen Trend der Entwicklung erkennen ließen. Da liegt es nahe anzunehmen, daß die Einteilung des Systems wegen vorgenommen wurde.

Selbst dann, wenn man trotz der hier vorgebrachten Einwände gegen die Methode Kanawatis seine Ergebnisse zur Entwicklung der wirtschaftlichen Lage der Beamtschaft akzeptiert, bleibt letztlich doch die Frage, wie dabei genaue Rückschlüsse auf die Verwaltung möglich sind. Hier wird *a priori* eine Kausalkette Verwaltung → finanzielle Situation der Beamten → Grabgröße postuliert, die in ihrer Ausschließlichkeit nicht gegeben ist. Vielmehr spielen hier soziale Fragen eine Rolle, die, obwohl eine enge Verflechtung mit der Verwaltung bestand, durchaus nicht direkt, sondern nur mittelbar auf die Verwaltung zurückzuführen sind. Die sozialen Umschichtungen, eine Umverteilung der Besitzverhältnisse sind dabei in Betracht zu ziehen. Dafür spielen z. B. die Pfründestellen eine Rolle, deren Wichtigkeit in dieser Arbeit nicht zum Tragen kommt. Eine gewisse Gefahr liegt bei diesem Buch darin, daß der Verfasser sich nur auf archäologische Quellen stützt und die schriftlichen Quellen, abgesehen von den Titeln, außer Acht läßt. Die Auswertung solcher Befunde bedarf einer gewissen Vorsicht und Zurückhaltung.

Trotzdem sind die Fragestellungen, die hier behandelt werden, interessant, wichtig und wert, daß sie untersucht werden. Hier Anregungen und Denkanstöße gegeben zu haben, sind zweifelsohne ein Verdienst des Autors. Wenn auch der eingeschlagene Weg nicht allgemein nachvollzogen werden kann, finden sich doch eine Reihe von Bemerkungen, die nicht unbeachtet bleiben sollten.

Zum Schluß seien noch einige Bemerkungen zur äußeren Form gemacht. Von der Anlage her ist das Buch unübersichtlich, der Benutzer wird zu einem ständigen Hin- und Herblättern gezwungen. Fast ergerlich zu nennen ist das layout des immerhin 50 Seiten umfassenden 'Conspectus of Tombs'. Es wäre äin leichtes gewesen, die zu einem Grab gehörenden Angaben auf zwei gegenüberliegenden Seiten anzubringen. Der Benutzbarkeit käme dies sehr zugute.

EVA MARTIN-PARDEY

English-Egyptian Index to Faulkner's Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian. By DAVID SHENNUM. Aids and Research Tools in Ancient Near Eastern Studies 1. 275 × 215 mm. Pp. 178. Malibu, Undena Publications, 1977. ISBN 0 89003 054 5. No price stated.

The new series *ARTANES* has made an auspicious start with this handy *Index*, in which the doubly underscored English definitions in Faulkner's *Dictionary* are listed in English alphabetical order with their transliterated Egyptian equivalents and page references. The Egyptian words are clarified where necessary with explanatory abbreviations, notes in parentheses, and cross-references. Given the plan and intent of the book, few will regret the author's decision to omit variant spellings in transliteration, as variants will be found immediately upon consulting Faulkner. More unfortunate is the omission of most compound expressions and idioms, but their inclusion would have vastly increased the bulk (and the cost) of the book. In his brief introduction the author notes that the compilation is limited to Faulkner's lexicon and to the Middle Egyptian phase of the language, and he states that he has designed the format so as to leave space for additional definitions, notes, and references. Moreover, the layout and typography are pleasing to the

⁸ Junker, *Giza*, III (1938), 90–8.

⁹ z. B. *Beamtentitel* (1954), III–19.

eye, and there is a commendable absence of misprints; the volume has been typed and proof-read with care, as a reference work of this kind should be.

Not only does this publication provide students with an English–Egyptian vocabulary far more extensive than that contained in Gardiner's *Grammar*, but it should also prove most useful in lexicographic and semantic studies; by making apparent more or less at a glance the common Middle Egyptian counterparts to an English word, it should stimulate its users to pursue word-studies which might not otherwise be obvious.

There are two criticisms which the reviewer would make regarding the organization of the entries. First, it is surprising that Egyptian synonyms within one English entry are not arranged consistently in Egyptian alphabetical order, i.e., simply following the ascending order of Faulkner's page numbers. Many entries, particularly the longer ones, are quite haphazard in this respect, which is somewhat jarring to the Egyptological eye and will not help students to familiarize themselves with the order of the Egyptian consonants. Second, English homographic homonyms such as, *inter alia*, 'crown' (vb. and n.), 'exact' (vb. and adj.), and 'hide' (vb. and n.), are kept together in the same entry, with a qualifying notation added to each transliterated word. Surely, separate entries would be more helpful, and the additional space required would not be excessive.

However, these fairly trivial shortcomings do not seriously detract from the usefulness of Shennum's painstaking work of compilation, for which he has earned the gratitude not only of all students of Egyptology but of their teachers as well. Future volumes in this series are eagerly awaited. EDMUND S. MELTZER

Deir el-Bahari II. The Temple of Tuthmosis III: Architecture. By JADWIGA LIPÍŃSKA. 210 × 300 mm. Pp. 65, 67 illustrations, 7 maps. Warsaw, Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1977. No price stated.

This volume is devoted to a report on the discovery and architecture of the temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri, with detailed discussions on the possible reconstruction of the building. The temple was built on an inconvenient site between the temples of Montuhotpe and Hatshepsut, with the object of diverting attention from the latter. In such a location, it was difficult to find sufficient space on which to build, and an artificial platform had to be constructed to support the southern part of the temple. This foundation was made in the usual Egyptian manner, by enclosing the area with stone walls and filling the internal space with rubble.¹ The incredibly destroyed nature of the temple is, in part, due to this method of construction, because the dismantling of the platform walls by quarrying after the Twentieth Dynasty caused the filling to collapse, bringing with it the southern half of the building. Further destruction was caused by falls of rock from the cliffs, and a layer of debris accumulated over the site, attaining a depth of 24 m in some places. In this overlying rubble a variety of later remains were discovered, including Late burials and deposits of embalmer's materials, but the debris had been so disturbed that no informative stratigraphy remained. Among the ruins of the temple itself a number of statues were found, one of the most remarkable pieces being the face of a marble statue of Tuthmosis III, the torso of which is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The surviving parts of the temple show evidence of poor and hurried construction, not an infrequent feature of New Kingdom temples generally. Foundations were poor, as shown by the rough state of affairs beneath the granite door (p. 18, fig. 6); the wall-blocks fitted badly and the gaps had to be filled with plaster (p. 15); the over-large size of the south jamb of the granite gate was concealed with whitewash (p. 20); and wall-reliefs were sometimes executed on plaster to hide a damaged block underneath.

The suggested reconstruction of the temple is carefully argued from the remaining elements of the building to show that there was a pillared hall on the top terrace, approached from the east by ramps with flanking porticos, in similar style to the earlier temples of Deir el-Bahri. The hall consisted of a high kiosk with eight tall 32-sided columns, surrounded by lower colonnades of pillars with 16 sides. This created a difference in roof-levels, in which clerestory windows were inserted, fragments of the window gratings

¹ This technique of forming a level foundation occurs in both stone and brick construction. Examples are the stone terrace-wall of the temple of Amosis I at Abydos: see Currelly, Weigall, and Ayrton, *Abydos*, III, 33 and pl. liii; the same kind of wall in brick is known at Saqqâra and Abu Gurab: see W. B. Emery, *JEA* 55 (1969), 34 and pl. xi; *JEA* 56 (1970), 11 and pls. iii, xi, 3–4; L. Borchardt, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-Re*, I, 69–70.

having been found on the site. The author suggests that the size of the hall was 72 cubits in length and 50 cubits and 2 palms in width. This provides a uniform value for the cubit of 52.5 cm, but, in view of the clear irregularity of the work,² it is possible that the true width was intended to be exactly 50 cubits. If this were the case, then the spacing of the columns may well have been designed according to the scheme shown in the accompanying figure. The difficulty here is the calculation of the spacing between the small columns running east-west along the sides of the hall, which do not seem to fit into this layout, but they may well have been placed at slightly irregular intervals in order gradually to absorb the discrepancies over the full depth of the hall.³ Colonnades III-VI would have provided a convenient point for such adjustment, the slight differences not being obvious to the eye in such short rows.

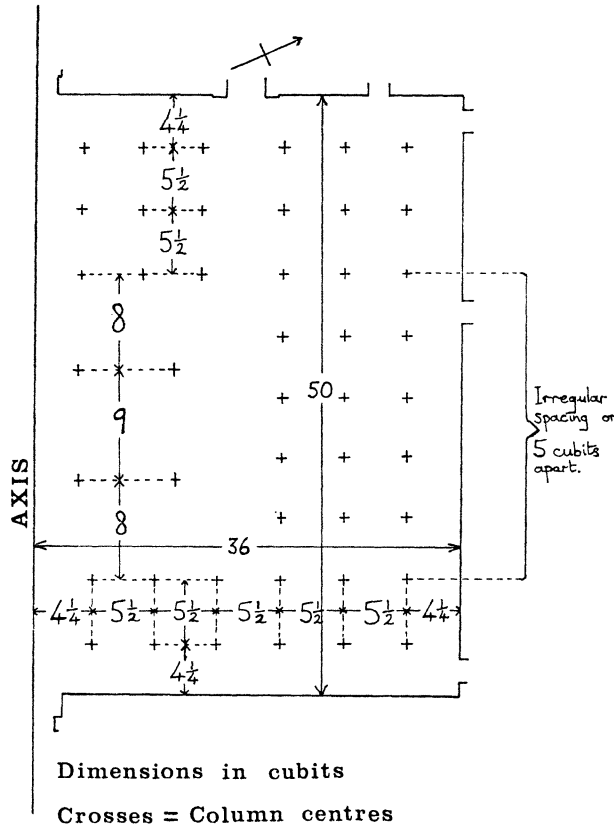


FIG. 1

Although the suggested reconstruction of the hall does not conform to the usual type of Egyptian hypostyle, the author points out that it would have closely imitated the appearance of the temple of Montuhotpe, which itself possessed a raised central structure surrounded by colonnades. Immediately in front of the hall was a portico containing six polygonal columns and six square piers. Further to the east, and at a lower level, were the middle and lower porticos with their ramp approaches. The inconvenient location of the temple severely restricted the extent of the porticos, particularly at the middle level, where the Chapel of Hathor of the Hatshepsut temple blocked the available space to the north. Lipińska is surely correct in making the two sides of this portico of equal length, in spite of the fact that greater space was available to the south, since any overt irregularity would have been abhorrent to the Egyptian love of symmetry.

² See Lipińska's comments on pp. 26 n. 45; 28.

³ The column bases and shafts themselves were in any case not uniform in size. See p. 16. Note also the irregularities on plan IV. As an alternative to irregular spacing, the columns of rows II-VII could have been intended to be set with 5 cubits between their centres, which would fit exactly with a full depth of 50 cubits for the hall ($4\frac{1}{4} + 5\frac{1}{2} + 5 + 5 + 5 + 5 + 5\frac{1}{2} + 5\frac{1}{2} + 4\frac{1}{4}$).

Numbers of fragments of the decorated square piers were found, the arrangement of the reliefs on which showed whether they had belonged to the north or south side of the temple axis.⁴

The ramps between the different levels were built in the normal way, by constructing side-walls of stone and filling the intervening space with rubble, just as in brick architecture.⁵ The surviving section of the lower ramp shows that the blocks of the side-walls were laid at the angle of slope, whereas it would have been better to have set them in level courses to prevent a cumulative pressure down the ramp. The axonometric drawing (fig. 52) gives a very clear impression of the original design of ramps and porticos leading up to the pillared hall, and does much to illuminate the destruction shown by the plan of the actual remains (plan 1).

At the south side of the middle portico was the Ḥathor shrine, discovered by Naville, and considered by Lipińska to have been an integral part of the Tuthmosis III temple.⁶ It was apparently built into the walls of the foundation platform. The fact that the cow-statue found in this shrine had been dedicated by Amenophis II is quoted as part of the evidence that the temple was unfinished at the death of Tuthmosis III.

Lipińska mentions the objects from the foundation deposits of the temple (p. 63), now scattered in various museums. The bronze implements in the British Museum were acquired in 1835 from the collection of Henry Salt, and they are now numbered 6058–68 and 36737. Since they were made as models for a ritual purpose, the adzes and knives were never sharpened.

The author has succeeded in providing a great amount of information in a deceptively slim volume, keeping the discussions concise without omitting points of importance. A few misprints have been left uncorrected—e.g. ‘Westibule’ for ‘Vestibule’ on p. 42; ‘milions’ for ‘millions’ on p. 63—and the grammar of the English text could possibly have been improved in parts, but these are very minor points. The text is well illustrated with drawings and supplemented by the plates and plans at the back of the book. The volume is an example of how careful study and interpretation can yield important results from sites which seem to be completely destroyed.

A. J. SPENCER

The Akhenaten Temple Project. Vol. I: Initial discoveries. By RAY WINFIELD SMITH and DONALD B. REDFORD, with contributions by Sayed Tawfik, †Ramadan Saad, Jocelyn Gohary, with the editorial assistance of Diane Mary Sot. University Museum, University of Pennsylvania, Project. Pp. xvii + 181. 95 pls., text figs., tables, bibliog. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1976. ISBN 0 85668 034 6. Price £24.

Several years have passed since this volume came into the reviewer's hands, and it is a matter of personal regret that pressure of other work has hindered the writing of a proper notice of the book. In the interim other reviews have appeared, and it seems unnecessary to go over much of the same ground again.

First, a synopsis of the contents of the volume, the theme of which is largely concerned with the Amarna royal family and officials who are named on certain of the relief blocks or *talatat*, originally from the Aten complex east of the present Karnak temple of Amūn, and from a temple of the Aten at Luxor. Ch. 1 outlines the history of the Project, and is written by its creator and moving spirit, R. Winfield Smith. The numbering system, computerization of the material, and matching routines are also explained. The same writer in ch. 2 examines the various kinds of thrones, chairs, and offering-tables seen on the *talatat*, as well as statuary represented in conjunction with offering-tables. He then highlights some of the main results of the Project's work. Not only reliefs but also architectural elements were studied, some of which could be reassembled on paper to form interior walls of the Aten complex, as well as pylons and gates. A major discovery was the possibility of reconstructing pillars decorated solely for Nefertiti. So far the blocks and architectural fragments appear to derive from an Aten temple made for Akhenaten, another for Nefertiti, as well as a palace, a jubilee court, one or more buildings constructed of ‘white blocks’ as opposed to the usual sandstone *talatat*, all at Karnak, and a temple at Luxor. Queen Nefertiti is emphasized throughout, by representation and by name.

In ch. 3 the names of the Aten and the designations of the temple and shrines are dealt with by Sayed

⁴ See H. G. Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, I, *Reversals*, 41–7.

⁵ For other examples of ramps built in this way see H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II, 101–2, and pls. xxvi–xxvii; Emery, *JEA* 56 (1970), 11 and pl. ii.

⁶ See the comments made by Brovarski in *JEA* 62 (1976), 71.

Tawfik. The scenes of the royal jubilee are examined in an important chapter (ch. 4) by J. Gohary, and these prove to be some of the most interesting to have been reconstituted by the Project. The late Ramadan Saad writes on the physical dismantling of the Ninth Pylon¹ at Karnak in ch. 5, and the removal and complex problem of storing the resultant blocks.

The royal family as shown on the *talatat* is studied in detail in ch. 6 by Professor Redford. The king is represented 329 times on the blocks examined by the Project, the queen 564, and Redford gives a number of possible reasons for this apparent discrepancy. Conclusions are drawn about the relative chronology of Akhenaten's reign at Thebes. In a most useful section he discusses the relative frequency of representations of the six daughters in the scenes carved in the private tombs at El-'Amarna, and on blocks showing the royal family found at Hermopolis but originally from one or more of the Aten temples at Akhetaten.

Religious titles are studied by Tawfik in ch. 7, and Redford in the final chapter deals with the titles of officials, curiously all unnamed, shown on the blocks, and from them conjures up a picture of the composition of the court. The palace as an element of the Karnak Aten complex (a ceremonial structure built solely for the *sed* festival) and the Amarna palace are examined, as is the Window of Appearings of the Amarna Period, especially from the viewpoint of the Karnak representations. The final two chapters contain information which usefully supplements the prosopography gathered in Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien* (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 4). There are detailed indexes and a bibliography.

The volume must be welcomed, since it contains a wealth of new material on the early and formative stages of the Amarna Period before the transfer of the seat of government to Middle Egypt. Of special value are new facts on the cult, and on administration, architecture, and iconography. Certain scenes shown on the blocks occur in no other source. Yet, from the synopsis of the contents given above, it will be seen that the publication is by no means a final scientific report, but rather a series of essays on some of the more revealing blocks available for study. Ideally every block should be available in clear photographs, or more especially in facsimile line drawings (perhaps in subsequent volumes?), and since some details are not absolutely clear from the illustrations in the present book certain things have to be taken on trust, and some of the more subtle iconographical *minutiae* are lost. The present writer is, however, acutely aware of the technical and other problems faced by the Project, and the immense difficulty of providing such a corpus when at least 35,000 decorated and inscribed blocks are in question. The burden of the Project was increased from the beginning by the fact that much of their material was extracted in the past from sundry monuments at Karnak and Luxor, and stacked in haphazard fashion without an accurate record being kept. Subsequent work has shown that the blocks were dismantled in a more or less systematic way under Horemheb and Ramesses II, so that their juxtaposition in their secondary locations is of great importance. The fruits of this realization will doubtless be apparent when the blocks removed subsequently by the Mission Franco-Égyptienne are published. The present volume also takes account of *talatat* which have been transferred to the Cairo Museum or are in foreign collections, but the combing of the latter is evidently incomplete. The plates show a considerable number of blocks (I have counted 1,054), many matched to form partial scenes, and reconstructions in line drawings by the lamented Leslie Greener are provided in some cases. The defacement of cartouches and royal figures is frequent, and the name Amenophis is often altered to Akhenaten. The small size of the blocks is in itself discouraging, particularly as so much of the decoration was carried out on a large scale, hindering the speedy matching of related material, so that only tantalizing fragments of scenes survive. The blocks themselves were joined with plaster, which itself would have been carved and painted, so that certain elements are irretrievably lost.

One cannot help feeling that the magnitude of the task faced by the Project would have daunted most scholars, and it is to the credit of the authors, as well as to their devoted Egyptian and British staff, that they have placed some of this material at the disposal of their colleagues. Despite the fact that the volume is an interim and partial report it represents a positive advance in our knowledge of a difficult and controversial period.

Finally, the following points may be disposed of: (1) in certain of the copies of texts ∞ should be written 11, which is diagnostic for the Amarna period; (2) the most completely recovered wall scene is available only on the endpapers, which will create a problem if the volume comes to be rebound.

It is much to be hoped that this important Project will be enabled to make available further instalments of fundamental new material.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

¹ Plate 93 of the publication is instructive, since it serves to indicate what the pylon must once have contained (if we assume that it was filled to the cornice with blocks), and how much has therefore been lost.

Analisi statistica di alcuni documenti di carattere religioso provenienti da Deir el Medina. By GIORGIO NOBERASCO. Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino. Serie seconda—Collezioni. Volume I—Appendice. Pp. 24. Turin, G. Giappichelli Editore, 1977. No price stated.

This volume has been produced as an appendix to the publication of the Deir el-Medīna stelae in the Museo Egizio, Turin (M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin, 1972)). It consists of a detailed statistical study of the deities who are represented on stelae and other monuments from Deir el-Medīna. Apart from the Turin catalogue, most of the stelae which are located in museums throughout the world have not yet been properly published. The author thus relies heavily on the entries in Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, I², ii, 714–37, when he lists his sources (Table 1). However, these entries are not always complete in the description of the deities and can sometimes be inaccurate; for example, BM stela 360, which appears as that of a woman Sitpair, in fact depicts the deified Prince Si(t)pair and is thus not included in Noberasco's analysis. It is hoped that the bulk of the Deir el-Medīna inscriptions in the British Museum will shortly be fully published and that those in other collections will likewise be made available for scholarly study. The stelae in Russian collections have in fact been recently published by E. Bogoslovsky in *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (1972). On Table 1 Tartu is not the name of the museum in Voronezh, but the stelae, once in the Museum of Tartu (Estonia), have been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts, Voronezh.

A series of tables lists the time-ranges of the stelae, the number of appearances of each deity, and the various percentages of deities represented alone or in groupings (Tables 2–6). As Amūn (27) and Amen-Rē (30) are catalogued separately, the god's position is somewhat misleading as his total appearances exceed those of any other deity. Mertseger, not surprisingly, heads the list (53 citations) followed closely by Ptaḥ (52), Ḥathor (48), and Amenophis I (47). The deified Tuthmosis IV who is attested on BM 1515 is omitted from the list, as is the goddess Thenent found on Voronezh 157. The author does not specify which deities come from which stelae, and thus it is very difficult to check his sources in Table 1. If he had done so, it would be possible to improve some of his suggested datings in Table 2; for example, the one reference to Raṯtauī under 'era ramesside' presumably comes from Voronezh 157, which can be dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. His figures will inevitably be subject to modification as known stelae are published in more detail or new ones are uncovered. J. J. Clère in *RdE* 27 (1975), 70–7, adds another reference to Renenutet. However, his basic conclusions should not undergo any radical change.

In the final section the author briefly considers the divinities which occur on door-jambes and lintels, offering-tables, libation bowls, pyramidia, and figured ostraca. He does not discuss the divinities who appear in the tombs of Deir el-Medīna or in graffiti and inscribed ostraca. The conclusions reached in this final section are not integrated with those deduced from a study of the stelae. It would be extremely interesting to compare the statistics concerning the deities on monuments from Deir el-Medīna with similar figures of those on stelae and other monuments from the rest of the Theban area. M. L. BIERBRIER

A Tale of Woe. From a Hieratic Papyrus in the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. By RICARDO A. CAMINOS. 340 × 255 mm. Pp. 99, pls. 13. Oxford, The Griffith Institute, 1977. ISBN 0 900416 09 2. Price £12.

In the present publication a long-neglected literary text, P. Pushkin 127, is recognized in its full importance for the first time.

The papyrus had been found near El-Ḥiba in 1890, stored in a pot together with two other famous manuscripts, the story of Wenamūn and the Onomasticon of Amenemope in its best preserved text. Soon afterwards all three papyri were bought by W. Golenischeff and finally found their way to the Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

At all times P. Pushkin 127, formerly labelled 'Petersburger (Moskauer) literarischer Brief', was known to be a complete, uninjured, absolutely unparalleled hieratic manuscript of four and a half pages. In reading, vocabulary, and intelligibility, however, it presented so many difficulties that for a long time it was regarded as hopelessly obscure and left unpublished—unlike the other two manuscripts from the El-Ḥiba find. It was rescued from undeserved oblivion by M. A. Korostovtsev, who presented a meritorious *editio*

princeps in 1960. The author still left many passages untranslated and pointed out the intractability of the text, which he thought to have suffered from considerable corruption in the course of its transmission from the original to the extant version.

As the results of the present publication show, the papyrus could not have found anybody better qualified for a new edition than R. A. Caminos, not only acquainted with the text since 1955, but also the authority on epistolary literature and hieratic palaeography.

The papyrus is republished with magnificent photographs and adjoining folding plates with a meticulously exact and beautifully autographed transcription. A diagram shows the arrangement of lines for the entire length of the papyrus. The general introduction gives a full technical description and an exhaustive account of handwriting, spelling, language, and the history of the papyrus since 1890 with a full bibliography (the author's recent article on 'Literarischer Brief' in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, III, 1066 f., may be added now). The main part contains the translation and a profound philological commentary, subdivided according to the inherent sections of the text. A consecutive translation, the comment on the jottings on the verso, and the conclusion with a paraphrase of the tale and the valuation of its literary aspects follow. Extensive indexes, general and of Egyptian, Coptic, and Greek words, and finally the plates conclude the book.

Two stays in Moscow gave the author the opportunity to study the original manuscript and to collate his results. The present publication shows that a definitive edition has been achieved. The numerous previous problems of palaeography are solved, and the same is true for the even more numerous problems of interpretation. Some minor questions which have had to be left open can be solved only with fresh evidence.

The extant copy is the work of a second-rate *scriba librarius* of the Twenty-first Dynasty, as shown by meticulous comparison with the palaeography of other manuscripts of this period. The handwriting is closely akin to, but not identical with, that of Wenamūn. From internal evidence, especially the distinctly Ramesside name Usimatrē-nakhte, it follows that the original text cannot be earlier than Ramesses II.

As was to be expected for a literary text of this kind the language is Late Egyptian with Middle Egyptian features interspersed. The orthography is marked by many irregular, sometimes faulty, spellings, but at least some of the irregularities may be explained as attempts to reproduce the contemporary pronunciation more adequately. *ꜣwb* (1, 8) and *nhny* (2, 8) for the composite nouns *ꜣwt-ib*, 'joy', and *nhy n*, 'some', > demot. *hyn* > Copt. *ϣⲟⲓⲛⲉ* seem to fall in this category.

The vocabulary is very varied and choice. A great number of hitherto unknown or very rare words occur, and their meaning is established in the philological commentary, a mine of information on all philological matters: e.g. the verbs *bꜣgb*, 'to make one's way', *iwꜣ*, 'take away', *isp*, 'to ache with hunger', *sin*, 'to crush' or sim., *ꜣlm*, 'to yield (?)', *nhꜣ*, 'to neglect'; the nouns *hꜣw*, 'milk', *intnt*, 'one who is hindered', *smt*, 'ear', *ꜣbw*, 'disorders of the body', *sꜣht*, 'mummy-chamber, tomb', *nhrti*, 'sacred well (?)', *ꜣbnbn*, 'vicissitudes', *smn*, 'fixed amount', *ꜣdf*, 'gleanings', *ꜣmꜣm*, 'grain(s)' (see also Chassinat-Daumas, *Dendara*, VI, 132, with pl. 561), *ꜣbtꜣw*, 'oppressors', the plant names *wꜣr* and *isr*, the topographical term *hꜣst Tmꜣw*, a district on the north-western border of Egypt, the idioms *imy-nf* instead of *n-f-imy*, 'belonging to him', and *hꜣr mꜣhy(t)f*, 'loyal'. The alleged occurrences for *ꜣꜣꜣw*, 'tongue', and a word *mrgn* in *Wb.* IV, 545, I and II, 113, 5 are shown to be incorrect.

The text is cast in the form of a New Kingdom letter with its constituent parts: the introductory formula with the names of sender and recipient, the complimentary preamble with good wishes, and finally the subject matter. It deviates from the accustomed epistolary practice of its time in omitting a final farewell, and a rubric *ꜣꜣf*, 'he said', is inserted before the preamble. The introductory formula is preceded only by the note 'copy of the letter sent by (. . .)', which claims that the following letter is not the original version.

The sender and professed hero of the epistolary tale is 'the (once) god's father in the sun temple of Heliopolis, Wermai son of Ḥaya', the recipient 'his friend, the royal scribe in the Residence, Usimatrē-nakhte son of Ramose from Herakleopolis'.

The profuse wishes for this life and the next in the preamble are mostly common stock: life-prosperity-health, a long and happy old age in all physical and mental activity, and after death a proper ritual reanimation, an appropriate burial, and an eternal cult service in the tomb. The recipient is here understood to live in Heliopolis and later to be buried in its necropolis. The only unique element is the wish not to be lonely in 'a place empty of people' in the next world. All these wishes, however, avoid hackneyed formulae

and use choice phrases instead. The preamble is, in this form, strongly reminiscent of that in P. Anastasi I, another literary letter of the Ramesside period.

The subject matter is made up of the 'tale of woe' proper relating Wermai's misfortunes. It lends itself to a division into three sections:

I. *The antecedents.* Unspecified 'great enemies' had attacked Wermai's home town, in all probability Heliopolis. Unlike other citizens, who suffered death or deportation, he was able to escape, though ousted from his town, divested of his post and property, and exposed to a civil war raging in all the quarters of the realm. Deprived of his own ship, the fugitive found a place among the crew of another boat carrying him north to Chemmis. Deprived of his chariot, too, he was forced to walk when his fate drove him from there to the eastern and back to the western border of the Delta, even into Libya (*Thnw*), then back south past Choïs, Tura, and the Oxyrhynchus nome to the Great Oasis (*Knmt*, Kharga and Dakhla), the last place-name enumerated. Here in a classical asylum for fugitives from the Nile valley his Odyssey apparently found an end; it is, therefore, from here that his letter must be written.

Wermai deplors the complete neglect shown by his former friends, who never answered messages in order to ask about him and to console him. As new companions always left him again after only a short time, he sees no guarantee of a proper burial after death. Evidently this lack of sympathy and the solitude in a strange environment were the most bitter cup for him to drink, and in his despair that he might have to endure more he wishes even to find peace in death and then to face the sun-god (*3hty*). His only hope is a powerful benefactor who himself is said to have escaped turmoil safely, to whom he had always been loyal, and in whose hands he places his redemption. This mighty saviour is unspecified and could be either the king or a god, in the latter case probably the sun-god.

The full account of events from the very start of his flight would suggest that this was Wermai's first letter to Usimaṛēc-nakhte. To other friends of former times, however, he seems to have written already before, but without ever getting an answer.

II. *The situation in his present place.* The community of the forlorn village in which Wermai has found a refuge is facing a famine caused by lack of water (*ḥꜣpy*). He has no corn and has been starving for one month already, and in this situation he sends his letter. Things had changed for the worse when he fell victim to a bullying mayor (*nbꜣf*, 'his master') and his staff (*ixyt*). In the modest subsistence he had found they ruthlessly pressed out of him the last grain of corn, even the corn given to him by others, and still asked for more. Exposed to their wickedness, defrauded by a falsified corn-measure, the starving Wermai despairs. He cannot summon up his courage and strength even to guard the corn still left in the field.

III. *A hope for the future.* In his despair Wermai again invokes the mighty saviour whom he addresses as *ntrꜣi* and *pꜣ ntr*, '(my) god' (the king or a god), to come and rescue him from the hands of the scoundrels around him. He adds an apology for disturbing Usimaṛēc-nakhte with his bitter account, and in a last, still obscure, passage he regrets that he has not sent to a place called *Nhr* (Naharina??) from where a 'hidden *tmrgn*' might come to his help, turn the tables, and destroy his oppressors.

The *hapax legomenon tmrgn*, cogently shown to be the correct reading instead of the former *mrgn*, a *vox nihili*, is still a crux for the interpretation of the last passage. The two place names *Nhr* and *Nꜣy-Sꜣr*, which cannot be located (could *Nꜣy-Sꜣr* be the name of Wermai's refuge in the Great Oasis?), make the context even more difficult. Only fresh evidence can lead to a solution here.

As indicated by several factors, the letter is not a real one, but a work of literary fiction: the preamble does not use the epistolary formulae of that time; the subject-matter is treated at too great length; exact time and place indications are lacking; the style is terse; the vocabulary rich and choice. Many elements of the letter are shown to be literary *topoi* known from other Egyptian texts (most obviously the flight of Sinuhe in a moment of political disturbance, or the preamble of P. Anastasi I).

Among the literary devices used parallelism and antithesis are prominent: e.g. *gbikwi iw bw mdw(i)-cwnkwi iw bw nꜣi btꜣ* in 2, 4-5; *nwt bn ink si-dmꜣ bn rh(i) sw* in 3, 7; *iꜣy ssm-wt-i-nhmw wrrytꜣi* in 3, 4-5; *wbnw-cnht* in 2, 14-3, 1; *isy-m mꜣwt* in 3, 8. Preamble and 'subject-matter' themselves are confronted in a distinct positive:negative antithesis. In this contrast their light/gloomy colours have a much more intense effect (also the unique wish of the writer in the preamble not to be lonely), thus confirming the epistolary form as a most appropriate form for this 'tale of woe'.

Rich comparative evidence is adduced (pp. 78 ff.) for the literary valuation of the text as a whole. As a tale composed in 'the epistolary technique', it is a unique piece of literature in Ancient Egypt and in the whole Ancient Near East, and it antedates by more than a thousand years the earliest Greek parallels.

Saving this unique gem among the 'richesses inconnues' of Egyptian literature and presenting it in a form perfect in every respect, this book is welcomed with the highest praise and admiration. Let it finally be said to the honour of the author that the National Book League of the United Kingdom selected *A Tale of Woe* for its typography and make-up as the handsomest scholarly book printed in the English language in 1977.

The author's cogent interpretation and his profound, overwhelmingly detailed commentary hardly permit additional notes, even in places where the author himself allows for different solutions. The following suggestions may be taken for what they are worth:

- 1, 11: Or *hr t̄i* (<w̄?) *hxt mw*, 'with drop(s) of the water vessel'?
- 1, 14: In parallelism to *smtwi*, 'ears', perhaps *nrt*, 'eye' (*Wb.* II, 366; *CT* v, 240c; VI, 342c)?
- 2, 1: Restore perhaps only *dt-k* (<tm̄ r) *irt-s{n}* *nm zpp-k*, 'your body is (perfect in) its function, you have no shortcoming' (for the assumed meaning of *zpp*, attested in the roughly contemporary decree for Neskons, see B. Gunn, *JEA* 41 (1955), 93, quoted by Caminos, p. 23 n. 1).
- 2, 3: A similar corrupt writing of *zmw*, 'offering bread', also in Amenemope 8, 17 (P. BM 10474).
- 2, 4: As the rubric includes *tw-i* after *grg* one might consider also a slightly different separation of words: *tw-i (mn)mn m grgt-i*; 'I was ousted from what I had founded'.
- 2, 11: A possible further occurrence of *dry* in O. DeM 554, rt. 5-6.
- 3, 2: The *hapax legomenon b̄ygb* perhaps also in Fischer, *Dendera*, 148 (if not merely an unusual writing of *b̄gi*, 'weary').
- 3, 12: Or 'to care about me and to see whether I am dead or alive'? $\overline{\text{m}}\overline{\text{m}}$ might be the interrogative particle *in* as in 4, 16, and in Wenamün; for *n mw̄t n cnh*, see P. Koller 5, 3, and also P. Leyden I 365, vs. 3-4.
- 4, 1-2: Perhaps 'a man who was considered as good, he would come out to me in my affliction and annoyance (*kny*: see *Wb.* v 131, 11-12) after he was approached on their behalf'? For the rare verb *dg(i)*, 'go (and see)' or sim., see also *Wb.* v, 497, 2; *CT* VI, 199b, k.
- 4, 3: Perhaps 'hunger has appeared before me' with the compound verb *wn hr* > Copt. $\sigma\Upsilon\omega\eta\zeta$?
- 4, 4: For *h̄cpi*, 'inundation, Nile', in connection with the oases, see also Chassinat, *Edfou*, VI, 198, 2 (cf. also 198, 6 and 197, 5, and K. Sethe in *ZAS* 56 (1920), 48).
- 4, 11: Perhaps *d-i qnbt*, 'that I learn to know the court of justice'.
- 4, 14: For an undersized corn-measure see also Gardiner-Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca*, 34-4 rt. 3-4.

JÜRGEN OSING

Egyptian Studies II. *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, Part I, *Reversals*. By HENRY GEORGE FISCHER. 315 × 245 mm. Pp. xv + 147, frontispiece, figs. 126. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977. LC 77-083719. No price stated.

Eine der bemerkenswertesten Eigenschaften der Hieroglyphen ist die, daß sie ihre Bildhaftigkeit über die Jahrhunderte und Jahrtausende bewahren konnten, daß die Hieroglyphen also stets Schriftzeichen und Bilder zugleich waren. Während ihre spezifische Funktion, die als Schriftzeichen, notwendig im Zentrum des wissenschaftlichen Interesses stehen mußte, ist ihre Funktion als Bilder — wenngleich im Prinzip bestens bekannt — nicht mit gleicher Sorgfalt untersucht worden. Hier nun füllen diese und andere Arbeiten von Verfasser eine Lücke in der Kenntnis der Hieroglyphen.¹

Hieroglyphen, die eine Blickrichtung haben (vor allem Menschen und Tiere in Seitenansicht), schauen normalerweise zum Textanfang, d. h. die Blickrichtung ist der Leserichtung — der Richtung, in der die Hieroglyphen aufeinanderfolgen — entgegengesetzt. Folgen sich die Schriftzeichen von rechts nach links, so blicken die Hieroglyphen nach rechts; folgen sich die Schriftzeichen von links nach rechts, so blicken

¹ H. G. Fischer, *LdÄ*, s.v. Hieroglyphen, 1192 f.; id., 'L'orientation des textes', in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique*, I (BdÉ LXIV/1) (Kairo, 1973), 21-3; vor allem auch die in Anm. 5 zitierte Arbeit.

die Hieroglyphen nach links. Dieser Umstand hat bei der Notation der Schriftrichtung in wissenschaftlichen Publikationen zu erheblicher Verwirrung geführt. Bei manchen Autoren weist der Richtungspfeil in Blickrichtung, bei anderen in Leserichtung, ohne daß der Zeichengebrauch dem Leser immer erkennbar gemacht wird. Um diesem Mißstand abzuhelpen und um darüber hinaus den Gebrauch des Richtungspfeils in gleicher Bedeutung bei bildlichen Darstellungen und bei Hieroglyphen zu gewährleisten, schlägt Verfasser vor, den Richtungspfeil, der Bildkomponente der Hieroglyphen folgend, stets in Blickrichtung zeigen zu lassen (§3). Im übrigen ist dies auch, wie Verfasser aus der griechischen Überlieferung nachzuweisen sucht, die Auffassung der Ägypter selbst (§3).²

Gewöhnlich haben Texte eine einzige Leserichtung (meist von rechts nach links)³ und die hierzu entgegengesetzte Blickrichtung der Hieroglyphen. In Sonderfällen wird jedoch abweichend verfahren: Die Hieroglyphen können gegenläufig ('Reversed') oder rückläufig ('Retrograde') angeordnet werden. Rückläufige Anordnung bedeutet, daß entweder die Blickrichtung oder die Leserichtung⁴ geändert ist, so daß Blickrichtung und Leserichtung miteinander übereinstimmen, d. h. die Hieroglyphen blicken zum Textende. Gegenläufige Anordnung bedeutet, daß sowohl Leserichtung als auch Blickrichtung gegenüber der zu erwartenden Richtung umgedreht sind, so daß zwar Leserichtung und Blickrichtung weiterhin einander entgegengesetzt sind, beide aber gegenüber der 'Grundrichtung', d. h. einer als primär gegebenen Leserichtung bzw. Blickrichtung, umgekehrt sind. (Texte in 'Grundrichtung' werden im folgenden, um sie terminologisch klar von 'gegenläufigen' und 'rückläufigen' abzusetzen, als 'grundläufig' bezeichnet.) Über die rückläufigen Hieroglyphen wird eine andere Schrift von Verfasser ausführlich orientieren.⁵ Die gegenläufigen Hieroglyphen behandelt die vorliegende Schrift.

Die Typologie der gegenläufigen Hieroglyphen, wie sie Verfasser bietet, hat ihre Schwierigkeiten. Er unterscheidet die drei Typen 'Concordance', d. h. Übereinstimmung mit etwas anderem oder Ausrichtung auf etwas anderes, 'Confrontation' und 'Symmetry' (allgemein §5, Einzelheiten §§6–19). Er ordnet dann aber das Material mehr nach den Gesichtspunkten der häufiger auftretenden Einzelfälle: 'Vocative Reversals' als wichtigster Fall der 'Confrontation' (§§20–3) und 'Concordant Reversals Within a Single Line' mit mehreren Unterfällen als wichtigster Fall der 'Concordance' (§§24–37). Am besten dürfte den Befunden folgende Systematik gerecht werden:

A. Herstellung außertextlicher Bezüge: Eine Hieroglyphenfolge ist innerhalb eines grundläufigen Textes nach außertextlichen Gegebenheiten in entgegengesetzter Richtung orientiert. Zwei Fälle sind zu unterscheiden:

1. Die gegenläufigen Hieroglyphen sind auf diese Weise gleichläufig mit den außertextlichen Gegebenheiten. Z. B. werden die Beischriften zu Darstellungen in ihrer Blickrichtung den dargestellten Lebewesen angepaßt (§8).

2. Die gegenläufigen Hieroglyphen sind auf diese Weise auf einen außertextlichen Bezugspunkt orientiert. Z. B. kann im Grab eines Beamten der sprachliche Bezug auf eine königliche Person, der der Beamte verpflichtet ist, zur Orientierung der entsprechenden Hieroglyphen auf die Grabanlage dieser königlichen Person führen (§26). Hierher gehört dann auch der häufige Fall der Ausrichtung von Texten auf eine architektonische Achse (etwa einen Türdurchgang); dazu vgl. unten C.

Die hierher gehörigen Fälle fallen in der Terminologie von Verfasser größtenteils unter 'Concordance', jedoch wird u. a. das letzte Beispiel, der Fall der Ausrichtung auf eine Achse, nicht hierher gerechnet, sondern unter 'Symmetry' subsumiert. Zur Beurteilung der Symmetrie als Spezialfall siehe unten C.

² Der Ausdruck *ḥꜣt zḥꜣw r imnꜣt* (Amduat), den M. Weber in diesem Sinne verstehen will, ist wahrscheinlich doch zu verstehen als 'Der Anfang der Schrift (d. h. des Buches) ist zum Westen (d. h. an der Westwand anzubringen)' und nicht als 'Der Anfang der Schrift (d. h. der Hieroglyphen) ist nach Westen orientiert'. Siehe M. Weber, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Schrift- und Buchwesens der alten Ägypter* (Diss. phil. Köln, 1969), 71 f.; vgl. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat* (ÄgAbh 7) (Wiesbaden, 1963), 45 Anm. 21.

³ Die Alternative Kolumnen- versus Zeilenschreibweise spielt bei den hier erörterten Sachverhalten keine Rolle. Bei Zeilenschreibweise bedeutet Leserichtung, genau genommen, die Aufeinanderfolge der nebeneinander stehenden Hieroglyphen innerhalb der sog. Quadrate und die Aufeinanderfolge der Quadrate. Bei Kolumnenschreibweise bedeutet Leserichtung die Aufeinanderfolge der nebeneinanderstehenden Hieroglyphen innerhalb der sog. Quadrate und die Aufeinanderfolge der Kolumnen.

⁴ Genau genommen: die Aufeinanderfolge der Kolumnen; die Anordnung innerhalb der sog. Quadrate ist kaum betroffen.

⁵ H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs*, II (im Druck).

B. Symbolisierung innertextlicher Bezüge, vornehmlich Oppositionen: Eine Hieroglyphenfolge ist innerhalb eines grundläufigen Textes gegenüber einer anderen, grundläufigen Hieroglyphenfolge in entgegengesetzter Richtung orientiert. Auf diese Weise wird die Opposition zwischen den in beiden Hieroglyphenfolgen genannten Lebewesen oder Sachverhalten symbolisiert. Z. B. können Textteile, die sich auf einen Sprecher und einen Angesprochenen beziehen, gegenläufig angeordnet sein (§§20–3). Die hierher gehörigen Fälle fallen in der Terminologie von Verfasser großenteils unter 'Confrontation'.

Ein seltenerer Fall ist die kreuzweise Anordnung zur Symbolisierung von 'Vereinigung' (§6).

C. Sonderfall Symmetrie: Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der Gegenläufigkeit ist eine symmetrische Anordnung nichts anderes als ein Sonderfall des Typs Az. Die Gegenüberstellung eines grundläufigen, schon ohne besonderes Zutun auf eine Achse ausgerichteten Textes mit einem gegenläufigen, also durch absichtliche Umdrehung, auf dieselbe Achse ausgerichteten Textes bedeutet symmetrische Anordnung um die Achse. Zwei Fälle sind zu unterscheiden:

1. Die beiden Texte liegen in einer Ebene, z. B. auf ein und derselben Wand zu beiden Seiten einer Tür.
2. Die beiden Texte stehen auf verschiedenen, in etwa parallelen, von einander abgewandten oder einander zugewandten Ebenen, z. B. auf Vorder- und Rückseite eines Sarges (d. h. zu beiden Seiten der Sarglängsachse) (§18) oder auf gegenüber liegenden Seiten eines Statuensockels (d. h. zu beiden Seiten der Statuenblickachse) (§15); oder aber auf gegenüberliegenden Wänden eines Türdurchgangs (d. h. zu beiden Seiten der Durchgangsachse).

In der Terminologie vom Verfasser gehört Fall 1 zu 'Symmetry', Fall 2 dagegen großenteils zu 'Concordance'.

Die hier vorgeschlagene Typologie würde eine durchgreifende Reorganisation der von Verfasser vorgelegten Materialien erfordern, was weder an dieser Stelle möglich ist, noch überhaupt materialiter durchgeführt zu werden braucht.

Umgedreht werden Textstücke, angefangen von der Länge einer einzigen Hieroglyphe bis zu kompletten Texten. Z. B. werden die schreitenden Beine in der Schreibung von Wörtern umgekehrt, die eine rückläufige Bewegung bezeichnen (etwa *šm*, 'gehen', in Gegensatz zu *iwj*, 'kommen', §41); oder das Zeichen *ḥpš*, 'Rinderschenkel' mit dem Huf, entsprechend der Haltung beim Opfern, entgegen der Blickrichtung; in der übertragenen Bedeutung 'Arm, Kraft' dagegen, entsprechend der Richtung des menschlichen Armes, in Blickrichtung (§43). Es werden Wörter, Satzstücke, Sätze gegenläufig geschrieben (etwa um die Sprechrichtung der mit dem Wort bezeichneten Person augenfällig zu machen), ganze Texte schließlich in symmetrisch gestalteten Darstellungen oder architektonischen Zusammenhängen.

Ein Paragraph ist der Orientierung eines Gegenstandes in vertikaler Richtung gewidmet (Stab mit Knopf nach oben bzw. unten).

Verfasser erklärt die Besonderheiten der Orientierung der Hieroglyphen aus einem besonderen Hang zur 'Logik', die dem Ägypter eigen gewesen sein soll (§1). Hier von 'Logik' — im allgemeinsprachlichen Sinn — zu sprechen, dürfte jedoch kaum angebracht sein. In der Orientierung der Hieroglyphen liegt nicht eigentlich eine Zwangsläufigkeit oder Folgerichtigkeit. Es wäre angemessener, den Befund dem ausgeprägten Ordnungsdenken der Ägypter zuzurechnen, das die Welt als ein geordnetes Gefüge sieht und die darin gesetzten Ordnungsrelationen anschaulich zu machen wünscht. Diese Orientierung an der Weltordnung kommt u. a. in noch viel stärkerem Maße und mit anderen Mitteln als der Gegen- und Rückläufigkeit der Hieroglyphen in der komplizierten Anordnung der Texte zum Ausdruck, wie sie in Akten, hauptsächlich solchen des Alten Reiches, zu finden ist.⁶ Ebenso wie bei der kunstvollen Disposition der Aktentexte liegt auch bei der kunstvollen Verschränkung der Orientierungen der Hieroglyphen der Höhepunkt der Entwicklung in der Blütezeit des Alten Reiches. Später verwendet man solche Mittel seltener, vor allem aber meist nur noch in einigen Anwendungsbereichen und hier dann in einer standardisierten Weise. Es liegt in dieser Entwicklung gewiß die nach dem Zusammenbruch des Alten Reiches gewonnene Erkenntnis, daß es mit der Weltordnung seine Probleme hat und daß diese Ordnung, soweit sie deutlich zu sein schein, zu komplex ist, als daß man sie mit den einfachen Mitteln der Disposition von Hieroglyphen oder von Texten abbilden könnte.⁷ So wie in den Akten sich nicht viel mehr als der Listenstil in den ferneren Jahrhunderten und Jahrtausenden hält, so bleiben bei der Hieroglyphenschrift, abgesehen

⁶ Siehe W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (MÄS 31) (München-Berlin, 1974), 18.

⁷ Vgl. Helck, op. cit. 25.

von einigen Rudimenten, im wesentlichen die relativ harmlosen Fälle der symmetrischen Anordnung von Texten in symmetrisch gestalteten architektonischen Zusammenhängen und die Gleichläufigkeit von Darstellung und Beischrift in der bildenden Kunst.⁸ Dagegen spielt die kunstvolle Orientierung von Hieroglyphen innerhalb von Texten sowie nach den externen Bezügen der im Text genannten Personen und Sachverhalte keine besondere Rolle mehr.

Unbeschadet der Diskussionsbedürftigkeit der Systematik ist das besprochene Werk eine vorbildliche Leistung. Eine meisterhafte Materialbeherrschung ist hier verbunden mit einer bewundernswerten Fähigkeit der anschaulichen Darstellung detailreicher Sachverhalte. Zu letzterem trägt nicht zuletzt die liebevolle Gestaltung der Illustrationen bei. Die Register, die man zur Erschließung der reichen Materialien sich wünscht, sind für den zweiten Teil der Untersuchungen zur Orientierung der Hieroglyphen angekündigt. Die Druckqualität ist fast makellos. Im übrigen ist der Preis des Buches dank der Unterstützung durch eine edle Mäzenin erstaunlich niedrig und damit für fast jeden Interessenten erschwinglich.

WOLFGANG SCHENKEL

Ancient Egyptian Coregencies. By WILLIAM J. MURNANE. The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 40. Pp. xviii + 272. Chicago, The Oriental Institute, 1977. ISBN 0 918986 03 6. ISSN 0081 7554. No price given.

The postulate of a co-regency is one of the most maddening complications which can bedevil studies in chronology and history in Egyptology today. The co-regency beckons like a siren to the historian eager to extricate himself from an embarrassing chronology championed inadvertently; she offers herself freely to those wishing hastily to explain away the juxtaposition in iconography of two royal names. Yet the co-regency remains a complex and paradoxical creature: on the one hand we cannot deny that she existed; on the other traditional mythology has no place for her. Horus *follows* Osiris when the latter is dead and transfigured; two Horuses do not occupy the throne together.

The co-regency as a mechanism of Egyptian statecraft has too long been taken for granted by Egyptologists. What we have needed is a dispassionate treatment of the mechanism itself, how often it is attested, and how it worked in the life of the community. Just such a treatment is now provided by this splendid book of William J. Murnane, an accomplished Egyptologist who has been a member of the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey since 1972. Since much of the evidence lies within the bailiwick of the epigrapher, Dr Murnane's training enhances immeasurably the value of his work. Not a few of the texts crucial to various hypotheses have been copied and/or collated by the author, a fact which will make the book indispensable to historians for many years to come.

Chapters 1 and 2 deal with attested co-regencies of the Middle Kingdom, and the New Kingdom and Late Period respectively. Every piece of evidence, pro and con, is marshalled, and the author shows few if any signs of predisposition or bias. In the Twelfth Dynasty there is generally little room for doubt as to how long co-regencies lasted, thanks to 'double-dated' inscriptions. Only for Sesostris III–Ammenemes III and Ammenemes III–Ammenemes IV is there uncertainty; but Murnane argues persuasively for a two-year co-regency for the latter and an even shorter co-regency for the former. He ends the first chapter with a chronological framework for the dynasty, his computations resulting in a total of 210 or 214 years. This comes so close, as he realizes (p. 28), to the total given in the Turin Canon (213 years, 1 month, 17 days) that 'one is sorely tempted to take it seriously'. As I hope to show elsewhere, the accuracy of the Canon in the Middle Kingdom sections is a result of the suddenly evolving King-list tradition during the Twelfth Dynasty. On p. 4 I miss a reference to the *hmst-nsiw* text on the south wall of the Hatshepsut block of rooms south of the granite sanctuary at Karnak, a loose block from which, now in the Sheikh Labib, dates the text in the 9th (or 10th?) regnal year ([*hst*][*m-hst*] sp ḥ⁹(?)): see *PM* 112, 107; Redford, *SSEA Newsletter* (Jan. 1973), 2 f. On p. 11 add to the discussion (at [x]) Hintze, *Kush* 13 (1965), 14, and W.-F. Reinecke, *Ägypten und Kusch* (Berlin, 1977), 369 ff.

Among the New Kingdom co-regencies treated in chapter 2 one may mention that of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (32 ff.). Here Murnane is satisfied with rather broad limits (no earlier than year 2, no later than

⁸ Vgl. zur Vorherrschaft dieser beiden Typen die Formulierung bei H. G. Fischer in *LdÄ*, s.v. Hieroglyphen, 1192.

year 7) for the queen's assumption of kingly power. As there is a fair amount of unpublished relief material still at Karnak in which Hatshepsut is pictured in female costume, the span of time from Tuthmosis III's accession to her appearance as 'king' should perhaps be lengthened. On pp. 57–87 Murnane launches into the most detailed and judicious discussion to date of the much-debated problem of the co-regency of Ramesses II with Sethos I. The author opts (p. 86) for 'a period of one or two years' for the duration of this co-regency. Though no double-dated texts are known—many of Ramesses II's early regnal year dates are in later, retrospective inscriptions—Murnane feels that the young co-regent numbered his years from the beginning of his association with his father. This brings up a problem endemic to all discussions of co-regency, viz. the date when the co-regent began numbering his years. Could a junior partner be invested with all the trappings of kingship *without* commencing a regnal-year count? When, for example, Murnane states (p. 115 n. 14): 'there is no evidence that Amenophis I began his regnal count only after his father's death', I am inclined to ask: is there any evidence that he began his count before his death? The desire of a mature king to have his successor don the regalia while he was still alive is expressed in several texts, and is a perfectly natural wish. But this does not logically entail a regnal-year count, nor do the texts say anything at all about it. After all, dating systems which employed regnal-year counts were essentially *practical* mechanisms for dating transactions in the life of the business community, legal matters, and *res gestae* of the monarch. At all times it would have been much more convenient for all concerned to have but one system in operation at a time.

In chapter 3 the author examines the hypothetical co-regencies at length; in chapter 4 he classifies the categories of evidence usually used to support them, and assesses the range of significance of each. Examined in this way, individual items of evidence often lose their force. Murnane's conclusions regarding the hypothetical co-regencies are judicious in the main, and I would question only a few. In the light of the Twelfth Dynasty's practice of tying itself to the Eleventh in commemorative monuments, undoubtedly for the purpose of legitimation, it seems hazardous even to consider a co-regency between Neb-towy-rēc and Amenemes I simply on the basis of a single vase (p. 227 f.). In the case of Aḥmes-Nofretari, who is called 'king's-mother' in Aḥmose's 22nd year, I see no reason to exclude, as Murnane does (p. 230), the possibility of a title borne in anticipation. Assigning titles to, and predicting functions for, children in the hope of what they might become, had wider currency than is sometimes believed (cf. *JARCE* 12, 14 n. 24; *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, 1, 84 n. 72; Edwards, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, iv ser., 11, pls. 16, 34–17, 37, and *passim*); and that a king's-wife, jealous for the status of her royal offspring, should covet the title 'king's-mother' at as early a date as possible, should come as no surprise.

The author must be congratulated for having the courage and stamina to plunge through the alleged co-regency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten once again (pp. 123 ff.). After an extended discussion the author leaves the door barely open for a co-regency which 'would have ended before [Amenophis IV] became Akhenaten' (p. 233). (Note, however, that in the reviewer's excavations of the *Gmt-pi-ḫn* temple in East Karnak, built before the change of name, no mention whatsoever of Amenophis III or Tiy has as yet turned up). There are a number of assertions which the author makes with which one could take issue. In spite of the tone of finality with which both Kühne and Murnane have reported on their reading of the hieratic docket on EA 27, the protagonists of a '[year 1]2' have wholly failed to convince this reviewer. In my photographs of the text the first preserved trace, i.e. the ink mark before the two vertical strokes, retains intact only its left, and part of its lower edge. The top and right-hand sides of the mark itself are lost in the lacuna, so that it is impossible to tell whether it is the lower end of a stroke, or simply the lower left-hand portion of a blob. The curvature of the preserved left edge is concave, with a sharp inward turn at the bottom. Most 10-signs of the period have a thinner, stick-like left leg, and, if they are not straight and tapering to a point, often curve outwards: Möller, *Paläographie*, 11, s.v. 623. Even in those rare examples in which the left leg thickens and curves slightly inwards, the result simply does not suit the traces of the docket. The *sp*-sign in *ḫst-sp*, when it is not a ligature (e.g. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, pls. 2, 5, 6; 3, 11), is made up of two downward-curving strokes, of which that on the left is usually shorter (Möller, op. cit. 11, 403b). The result can be: (1) a closed circle in which the strokes close on one another smoothly (P. Gurob 1, 1, 16; Petrie, *Amarna*, pls. 22 no. 28; 23 nos. 43, 46; 24 no. 87; 25 no. 91; M. A. Leahy, *Malkata. The Inscriptions*, pls. 5, 57; 7, 73); (2) a squashed ovoid in which both strokes curve inward sharply, and join badly, by crossing, side-swiping, or ending in an ink blob (Leahy, op. cit. pl. 3, 17; Černý, op. cit., pl. 3, 12; Gunn, *City of Akhenaten*, 1, pl. 63E; Petrie, op. cit. pls. 22 nos. 5, 16, 27; 23 no. 36; 24 no. 61); (3) a hastily made figure in which the left stroke curves inwards, sometimes sharply, and terminates leaving the bottom open (Leahy, op. cit. pls. 5, 58; 6, 59, 60; Gunn,

op. cit. pl. 63T; Černý, op. cit. pl. 4, 18; Petrie, op. cit. pl. 23 no. 35; less often is the top open); (4) an ovoid with the trace of a stump-tail to left or right (Černý, op. cit. pl. 3, 11; Gunn, op. cit. pl. 63C; Petrie, op. cit. pl. 24 no. 66). Our trace would fit no. 3 admirably, no. 4 if the stump were on the left, and no. 2 if we took the trace to be, not the termination of a stroke, but a sharp turn to the right. The contents of the letter suggest it was the earliest to be written during Akhenaten's reign: would Tushratta have waited twelve years to write, and would he still be concerned by promises made by Amenophis III?

The rest of the evidence is well discussed. Murnane has made a signal contribution in his novel suggestion that the enigmatic royal figure appearing behind Amenophis III on the rear face of the north wing of pylon 3 at Karnak is really Tut'ankhamūn (pp. 162 ff.). His partial acceptance, however, of the argument based on the alleged overlapping in time of 'traditional' and 'revolutionary' art styles (pp. 233 f.) is unfortunate. There is no conclusive proof (certainly not from the Theban necropolis!) that the styles overlapped, and the evidence of the tenth-pylon blocks suggests a relatively swift passage from one to the other (see the forthcoming second volume of *The Akhenaten Temple Project*).

Strangely, Murnane is attracted by the hypothesis of a co-regency between Shabaka and Shebitku, taking seriously 2 Kgs. 19: 8-9 (followed by Isa. 37: 8-9, not the other way around!), with its reference to Taharqa (pp. 189 ff.). But surely what lies behind this Biblical passage is, first, a textual reference to the presence of an Egyptian army at Eltekeh, which mentioned no royal name, and second, the name 'Taharqa', the only Pharaoh of the general period to survive in folk tradition. (Of the other major Twenty-fifth Dynasty names both Shabaka and Shebitku had soon been transmuted into tribal eponyms in the Biblical tradition of the Exile: M. Astour, *JBL* 84, 422 f.). The linking of Taharqa with Eltekeh is, then, simply an error, which can be traced to the inscripturation of the Hebrew traditions early in the Exile. A good deal of unnecessary and mis-directed hypothesizing has, in the reviewer's opinion, resulted from a naïve acceptance of the historicity of the passage in Kings.

In Egypt the co-regency was essentially an *ad hoc* measure adopted to ward off a threat to the dynastic continuum. As such it does not display a discernible pattern of operation, as Murnane discovers in his last chapter on 'The Dynamics of the Coregency in Ancient Egypt'. He also points up the essential difference between the phenomenon in Egypt and the sharing of the *imperium* in Rome under the Principate and Dominate. Would a brief comparison of the alleged co-regencies of the Hebrew monarchies have been profitable? In any event, as it stands Murnane's work is the most thoroughgoing analysis to date of its subject. Those who peruse it will find its author's scholarship outstanding, and his judgement sound.

DONALD B. REDFORD



Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal. Volumes I-II (1968-1976). Articles by Cyril Aldred, Henry G. Fischer, Herman De Meulenaere, Brigit Nolte, and Edna R. Russmann. 280 x 220 mm. Pp. 201, numerous figs. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977. ISBN 0 87099 159 0. No price stated.

This volume of articles on a variety of topics about Ancient Egypt makes available to Egyptologists and other interested scholars a group of studies originally published in volumes I-II of the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal* from 1968 to 1976. The majority of the articles were written by Henry Fischer, and they are of a diverse nature. The remaining studies, by Cyril Aldred, Herman De Meulenaere, Edna R. Russmann, and Brigit Nolte, concentrate on specific objects in the collection of the Museum.



Cyril Aldred devoted his study, 'Some Royal Portraits of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt', to an iconographic and stylistic analysis of royal statuary of the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties as represented in the Museum's Egyptian collection. His introductory remarks include a brief, but insightful and informative, summary of such factors as the nature of kingship and the socio-economic and political trends which may have influenced the royal workshops. Owing to the preciseness of his scholarship and the wide range of examples from which to choose, Aldred is able to offer the reader a fairly complete study of the development and characteristics of the Middle Kingdom royal statuary.¹

¹ We can now add to this study the observations made by Bernard V. Bothmer at the annual meeting of the

Brigit Nolte's study, 'An Egyptian Glass Vessel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art', demonstrates that a small, pear-shaped glass vessel, originally housed in the Greek and Roman Department, is actually Egyptian. Through a careful technical and stylistic analysis Nolte concludes that the vessel, despite its unusual design, fits in well (for reasons of shape, composition, and colour) with other such objects from the Eighteenth Dynasty. She suggests that it was produced in the glass factories at El-'Amarna, thereby providing a precise date and provenience.

Henry Fischer, the author of the next article, 'Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel', organizes the material in three sections: in the first two he discusses two protodynastic schist vessels in the Metropolitan Museum, one in the shape of the hieroglyphs  and ,² and one in the shape of a lotus-leaf; in the third, he studies the emblematic uses of hieroglyphs in personal names.³





In 'Old Kingdom Cylinder Seals for the Lower Classes', Fischer analyses some cylinder seals which, unlike the common variety whose surfaces are incised only with hieroglyphic inscriptions, have decorative designs as well. The figures on the seals consist usually of pairs of animals arranged face to face or head to foot. The series of five seals discussed do not predate Pepy I, and one can be dated to Pepy II. Fischer notes that while wood or steatite is attested as the most common material of Old Kingdom seals, limestone is almost exclusively used in this type. Many of the limestone seals were pierced, and Fischer concludes that the appearance and medium suggest that the seals were produced for persons of fairly low class.

'Sunshades of the Marketplace' is a short note in which Fischer lists the sources of ancient representations of sunshades from the Fifth to the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. Some of the variations of style are attributed to the usage or date of production, and Fischer notes that these shades, prototypes of ones used today in Egypt, were portable. He feels that those pictured  could also have been the type used in the marketplace, whereas those represented by the hieroglyph  were the lighter, more portable version. On the basis of an inscription, Fischer suggests that the ancient Egyptian term for sunshade was *sb*, and that the star-shaped determinative in this word represents the supports and cross-beams.

'Offering Stands from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I', another short note by Fischer, details his conclusions regarding the provenience and original position of the upper part of a red granite offering-stand first published in *MMA Bulletin* 22 (1963-4), 235-45. He also maintains his reading of a damaged sign as *tpt* rather than *wḥmt*, the latter a possibility suggested by T. George Allen. Fischer reads the inscription in question: *ḥwt tpt ḥtpwt Sḥtp-ib-Rc*, 'offerings of the first mansion of *Sḥtp-ib-Rc*', and he suggests graphic transposition as the reason for the order of the words.

In 'Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom', Fischer points out that male determinatives are frequently absent in masculine personal names inscribed in scenes and on statues of the Old Kingdom. He concludes that the representation of the tomb-owner in either two or three dimensions functions as an enlarged determinative; if a male determinative is also placed after the man's name, it is clearly repetitive. Female determinatives, however, seem to be present more often than not in feminine names. Fischer lists

American Research Center in Egypt in April of 1978 in New York regarding the phases, an early and a late—and possibly a transitional one as well—of the sculpture of Sesostris I. It is also possible that a fragmentary head in the collection of the University Museum (E6632) belongs to the reign of Ammenemes III. Like a head which Aldred points out (p. 23), this too may be a representation of Amün with the features of the king, but, because of the damaged state of the crown, the University Museum piece may be the head of a king wearing a red crown.

² In comparing its possible prophylactic use to that of 'cippi of Horus', Fischer refers to several articles (n. 4), to which can now be added J. Johnson, Appendix B of *Excavations at Nippur, Eleventh Season* by McGuire Gibson (OIC 22) (Chicago, 1973), 143-50. In comparison to Fischer's suggestions regarding  and , see J. Baines, 'Ankh sign, Belt, and Penis Sheath', *SAK* 3 (1975), 11 n. 43, who states that the validity of the theory 'that  and  are the same object with lateral strips turned different ways is doubtful'. It may be of interest to note here that offering-tables can often be carved emblematically in the shape of a *ḥtp* sign: see B. Bruyère, *Deir el Medineh*² (FIFAO, 1923-4) (Cairo, 1925), pl. xii.

³ See also B. Bothmer, 'Private Sculpture of Dynasty XVIII in Brooklyn', *The Brooklyn Museum Journal*, 8 (1966-7), figs. 5-8 and pp. 62-3 and the references therein. Note also the Ramesside example in the Oriental Institute where the crown reads *Wsr-mꜣt-Rc* (OI 975). See also the article by this reviewer, 'Cryptographic Writing in the Tomb of Tutankhamun', *SAK* 8 (1980).

the examples where redundant determinatives occur, and he notes that in statue pairs or groups of the tomb-owner and his household, the female determinative is usually present.⁴

In two-dimensional carving redundant determinatives are even less frequently used. Two reliefs, although apparently belonging to women, show such determinatives (Examples 17 and 18).⁵ Fischer suggests that the absence of masculine determinatives in names on statues and reliefs may be due to that fact that the tomb in which the pieces were placed belonged to the man. A female determinative after a woman's name seems almost always to be present because the monument, although often owned by or dedicated to a woman, originally belonged in the husband's tomb. When the tomb belongs to a woman, her name, similar to that of a masculine owner in the same situation, can be omitted completely. According to Fischer, the practice of using redundant determinatives becomes common after the Old Kingdom.

Herman De Meulenaere discusses the statue in the Metropolitan (24. 2. 2) and especially the inscriptions thereon in 'La statue d'un chef de chanteurs d'époque saïte'. The statue, dated stylistically to the second half of the seventh century BC, comes from the temple of Ptaḥ at Memphis. Both the name of the owner, Amen(em)ope-em-ḥat, and his title, Director of Singers of the North, are otherwise unattested. There are clear Heliopolitan references in the inscriptions, and there is a unique obliteration of a text to Sekhmet.

A complete stylistic analysis of this statue is offered by Edna R. Russmann in 'The Statue of Amenemope-em-hat'. Her discussion of the iconography of the piece includes detailed references to similar characteristics found in other Late Period statues. She points out that the object held by Amenemope-em-hat is a cult-symbol of Ḥathor. Often when analysing a gesture, stance, or physical characteristic, Russmann provides in a footnote a complete background of the detail, and several of these notes represent an exhaustive compilation of the data. On the basis of her studies, Russmann too would date the statue in question to the early part of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and, because of the nature of the modelling of the calf muscle, she too feels it is of northern origin.

The following article, written by Henry Fischer, is entitled 'The Mark of a Second Hand in Ancient Egyptian Antiquities'. Often, the alterations to the work can be attributed to roughly contemporaneous craftsmen or the artist himself, as a correction or a revision. Changes can often be made by subsequent individuals, still fairly close in time, who might eliminate, alter, or add names or titles. Often monuments and objects that were reused bear the name of the latest owner,⁶ and figures are accordingly altered to reflect the family or household of the new owner. There are also reuses of monuments after a considerable amount of time, such as the extensive usurpation of earlier structures and statues by Ramesses II and the restoration of ancient architecture carried out by his son Khaemwese. Often tourists from the later dynasties left graffiti on older structures. Fischer also refers to religious beliefs, magic, and superstition as motives for subsequent alterations to monuments. In addition, he points out the more recent defacement during the Victorian Period of representations of a sexual nature.⁷ The Ancient Egyptians themselves restored and

⁴ Fischer points out that these statues belong to masculine tomb-owners. He also refers to a statue in the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 12) which may have come from the tomb of a woman, where the man is represented in a more dependent posture (his arm is around her) and, in analogy to examples from male tomb-owners where only the wife's name is mentioned, here, only the name of the husband is written.

⁵ Like Fischer's Example 18 the woman depicted on a University Museum relief (29-209-1) is on the left. Neither she, *Snb*-s, nor the man seated opposite her, *ḥnḥ*-f, has a redundant determinative, but it is possible, as Fischer has suggested, regarding his Example 20, that an architrave, originally placed above the relief, used the determinative. The University Museum piece was referred to by Fischer in 'A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba', *JNES* 18 (1959), 272 n. 80, and more recently has been the subject of a paper presented by S. D'Auria at the Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in April 1979 in Philadelphia. See also D. Dunham and W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), where the name of Mersyankh does not usually have a determinative. When determinatives do occur (fig. 2), there is no accompanying figure. The name of her mother, Ḥetepheres, however, has a redundant determinative on the architrave on the west wall (fig. 7), which is not used in other instances.

⁶ One might also include in this category many items of the Amarna period, such as the University Museum stela (E16230) that was cut down, reinscribed, and reused as the base for a sphinx of Merneptah (H. Ranke, *Egyptian Collections of the University Museum* (Philadelphia, 1950), 98; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (London, 1973), fig. 35). Because of its placement on the underside of the base, much of the original surface has survived. Note also the carving of Tutankhamun's cartouches over those of Smenkharē in the Canopic coffin (I. E. S. Edwards, *The Treasures of Tutankhamun* (New York, 1976), 157) and the whole category of surcharged cartouches.

⁷ See L. Manniche, 'Some Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Sexual Life', *Acta Orientalia* 38 (1977), fig. 4,

repaired objects and monuments, but often such modifications were carried out much later in time, and Fischer discusses several modern alterations of ancient pieces,⁸ the apparent motive being pecuniary. Modern craftsmen have also produced 'antiquities' copied from existing ancient objects.

Fischer completes his article with three studies, the first of which concerns a Twelfth Dynasty statuette that was reused by a Libyan Period official. The second is a reconstruction and analysis of a dyad of the Twelfth Dynasty that belonged to Sobkhotpe and his wife Shedi-em-niwe, the fragments of which are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and University College London. The final entry is an examination of a dyad from the Eighteenth Dynasty, illustrating what may be the earliest three-dimensional representation depicting a corpulent male and a slim female. The inscription on the back is only partially original, the lower portion being, according to Fischer, the work of a modern restorer.

In 'An Elusive Shape within the Fisted Hands of Egyptian Statues', Fischer suggests that the enigmatic peg-shaped object often held by ancient Egyptian figures in the round⁹ is a bolt of cloth, and he also notes that a handkerchief in the shape represented by the hieroglyph 𓆎 is also held in the hands of some statues (particularly obvious in wooden figures).

Fischer collects and analyses a few reliefs in 'Some Early Monuments from Busiris, in the Egyptian Delta'. A false door from the Fitzwilliam Collection, which he dates to the end of the Heracleopolitan Period, contains the earliest direct reference to the local temple situated there and, in addition, mentions a previously unknown local cult of Hathor. Five other monuments from the same site are discussed as well: one dates to the Old Kingdom; three are from the Eleventh Dynasty; and one is slightly later. Iconography as well as palaeography and phraseology,¹⁰ is noted, and details characteristic of this locality are pointed out. Such information provides invaluable criteria for dating and provenience.

The final contribution, also by Fischer, is a supplementary note, 'More Emblematic Uses from Ancient Egypt', wherein he discusses the use of 𓆎 and 𓆏 as a 'motto'. He also points out that the curious hieroglyphs inscribed on the hands of an Eighteenth Dynasty block statue—on one is the combination of the sun disc and the white crown, while on the other is a moon and the red crown—were probably emblematic of 𓆎 and expressed the universal circuit.¹¹

A section with notes supplementary to Fischer's articles follows. There are several indexes compiled by Russmann, which are a useful contribution to the volume. The collection of such informative essays in one handy source will be of great value to all Egyptologists. Each of the authors has provided the scholarly audience with exhaustive analyses not only of the particular material in question but also of the material related to it, both specific and general. It is certainly hoped that many similar collections will be produced in the future.

DAVID P. SILVERMAN

Food: The Gift of Osiris. By WILLIAM J. DARBY, PAUL GHALIOUNGUI, and LOUIS GRIVETTI. 2 vols. 235 × 180 mm. Pp. xxxiii + 877 + XLII, 10 colour plates and 342 other illustrations. Academic Press, London, New York, San Francisco, 1977. ISBN 0 12 203401 5 and 0 12 0204502 3. Price £12.50 each vol.

A book on food and drink in ancient Egypt has long been needed. Surviving records, supplemented by the visual evidence of tomb- and temple-scenes, provide abundant material for such a work. The Egyptian preoccupation with the continuity of bodily existence after death, and the consequent need to nourish the

for a depiction of sexual activity dating to Hatshepsut. See also the section on wit and humour in the catalogue for the exhibition, *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom*, by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1982), 277–81.

⁸ Bernard Bothmer has indicated that the head of Pashed (OI 13700) is undoubtedly of modern manufacture. See D. Silverman, 'Pashed, The servant of Amon: A Stelophorous figure in the Oriental Institute Museum', *SAOC* 39 (1977), 201–7.

⁹ Note the absence of such an object and the apparent attempt to carve away this space in the fists of *Nfr-Šmm* in the University Museum (E16160), originally published by J. E. Quibell, *El Kab* (London, 1898), pl. iii.

¹⁰ For the phrase *in n kꜣ mry* see also D. Silverman, *Interrogative Constructions with ꜥn and ꜥn-ꜥw* (Malibu, 1980), n. 329.

¹¹ For another New Kingdom composition with both solar and lunar elements, see Tutankhamun's pectoral (Edwards, *Tutankhamun*, p. 137).

body in its posthumous life, determined one of the main intentions of mortuary practice—the provision of food and drink in the forms in which they were served in the earthly lifetime of the deceased. The scenes of daily life on the walls of the chapels of private tombs portray vividly both the husbandry which provided the ingredients of the ancient diet, and the prepared food served at banquets and on less formal occasions. Many specimens of actual food—the tangible remains of meals served to dead persons—have also been found in the course of excavations. Official and non-official documents containing ration-lists, accounts of crops, the effects of high and low Niles; the dockets of wine jars and of food containers; the boxes for joints of meat and other food-stuffs found in tombs; the models of similar eatables also from tombs; all contribute to the general fund of knowledge about Ancient Egyptian food. To these various kinds of evidence, mostly funerary, should be added the information now being obtained from the careful excavation of ancient inhabited sites. Kitchen middens have not, until very recently, attracted the attention of excavators in Egypt, but domestic waste, among which must, reluctantly, be included excremental matter, will undoubtedly yield rich information to the archaeologists and scientists who choose to examine it.

Much of the evidence, already published, is ready for collection; a great deal is unpublished, preserved in museums and in the storerooms of excavations, and still needs to be identified; texts have yet to be scoured by the knowledgeable eye for the recognition and extraction of pertinent material. To what extent have the authors of *Food: The Gift of Osiris* satisfied the claim made on the dust-jacket of their book, that they 'have spent fifteen years gleaning data from ancient papyri, underground tombs, earlier writers, temples and other sources, to make this the most complete study ever presented of the food habits and attitudes of an ancient people'? In simple terms, the answer is 'to a considerable extent'. Unfortunately, the subject is not simple, and it must be said that, although the authors have worked hard, and collected much material, their use of this material is only partly successful. The principal reasons for the inadequacies of this long work are the patent inability of the authors to control the Egyptological sources which they have drawn on so lavishly, and the inclusion of a wealth of information, much of it interesting, which has little to do with food.

The two volumes are allotted to the animal and the plant worlds respectively, and the successive chapters are devoted to a systematic study of all species which might, by the widest interpretation, have been used for food in antiquity. In Vol. I, the fullest treatment, very properly, is given to beef, the meat above all prized by the Egyptians. There are, however, very adequate discussions of other meats, of poultry and of fish; and this volume also contains an interesting chapter on the nutritional state of the Egyptians, which includes an examination of diseases associated with eating and drinking. The principal chapters in Vol. II discuss those vital ingredients of Egyptian diet, bread, beer, and wine; others treat vegetables, fruits, dairy products, and herbs and spices. The text is supported by a splendid collection of photographs, many of little-known and unpublished tomb-scenes, and of specimens of actual ancient food mostly to be found now in the Dokki Agricultural Museum in Cairo. The colour plates, unfortunately, are very poor in quality, while the line-drawings, taken from published sources, have in most cases been redrawn rather crudely; these last also have not always been taken from the best sources, e.g. the bull-fight scene in the tomb of Amenemhēt is reproduced (p. 124) from Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, not from Davies and Gardiner's more recent and more reliable publication;¹ and the authors have the temerity to criticize Wilkinson for discrepancies in his copy (p. 114).

It is perhaps unfair to complain about what the authors of a book may choose to accept as the bases of their work, but in the case of *Food: The Gift of Osiris*, it may yet be reasonable to suggest that far too much weight is placed on the evidence of Classical authors on the one hand, and on the contents of the medical papyri on the other. The former can tell us very little about Egyptian eating and drinking except for the latest periods, and then only at second hand; the latter can inform us only about the medical applications of various substances, including some otherwise used as foodstuffs, but most of which could be ingested only with the utmost distaste. Scarcely any use is made of documentary papyri, or of texts on ostraca, both of which categories provide ample evidence on food and drink, particularly at the lower levels of society. As for literary texts, the translations used are rarely recent, and their evidence is exploited without control. In the discussion of the possible use of ibex as food, we are told (I, 225), 'Sinouhe in his narration said that he ate wild goats (ibex)'. The translation reference is to Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, § 496, which reads: 'I portioned the daily bread, And wine for every day, Cooked flesh, and fowl in roast; Besides the wild goats of the hills.' The words used for the last are *ꜥwt ḥꜣst* (Sin. B89), conventionally translated 'wild

¹ *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, pl. vi.

game'. Ibex may be included, but it is poor method, firstly, to cite this passage as positive evidence, and, secondly, to use such an old translation. Unfortunately, this last example is only too typical of the authors' cavalier use of the ancient evidence. Some further examples, of different kinds, will illustrate this weakness of the book which impairs it fatally as a work of reference:

P. 69. A passage from the well-known rebuke to a dissipated scribe from the *Miscellanies*, quoted in translation from Posener, *Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization* (in the English version of 1962, p. 69) is described as a 'moralizing poem'; there are six variants from the version supposedly quoted.

P. 109. On the branding of cattle, the authors do not seem to be aware of the existence of actual brands, e.g. BM 57321, 58817.

P. 215. Dedwen, the Nubian god, is stated to have become assimilated with Khnum, on the authority of D. Ames (tr.), *Egyptian Mythology* (1965), a work which seems to have escaped the bibliographies. For a more conventional account of Dedwen, see *LdÄ* I, 1003.

P. 269. 'At all periods nobles are shown standing in their shallow marsh boats hurling "throw sticks" (*ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ*), commonly but erroneously described as "boomerangs".' There is nothing erroneous about the identification of at least some Egyptian throw-sticks as boomerangs: see P. Musgrove, *New Scientist* 61, 882 (1974), 186 ff.; F. Hess, *Boomerangs, Aerodynamics and Motion* (Groningen, 1975), 69 ff.

P. 273. 'Some geese were hand-fed, possibly because they were sick, but more probably in order to fatten them, or to enlarge their livers as in the production of *foie gras* (which has been documented since the Roman Period).' The only quoted evidence is taken from Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, referring to a discovery of Apicius'.

P. 282. 'Two words, *ꜥt* or *st* and *ꜥꜥꜥ* have been proposed as equivalent to duck and "pintail duck" . . . Ancient Egyptian literature does not precisely identify "duck" as an article of diet, but an artist's sketch . . . depicts the enjoyment of a meal of "duck".' What about the regular inclusion of *st*, 'duck', in the offering-lists?

P. 325. 'The association of the ibis with the god Thoth easily explains the relationship between the Ancient Egyptian sage/architect, Imhotep, and the millions of mummified ibis found at Saqqara.' How?

P. 457. The discussion of ancient words for grain reveals harshly how the imperfect understanding of philological evidence, backed by reliance on authorities improperly used, leads to the drawing of fallacious conclusions. The confidence with which the whole is set out not only will mislead the unwary, but also wholly obscures the tenuous nature of scholarly understanding of ancient words. Firstly, the hieroglyphic writings of various words for grain are given: *ꜥt*, *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ*, *ꜥꜥ*, *ꜥꜥꜥ*, *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ*, and *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ* (in two writings). Of these the first four are said to 'depict' 'grain in general or barley', *ꜥꜥ* and *ꜥꜥꜥ* being later in usage, while *ꜥꜥꜥꜥ* 'depicted' 'an ear of corn (wheat)' and *ꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥꜥ* 'seed or posterity'. This inadequate, not to say inaccurate, exposition is then commented on as follows:

'The profuse synonymy in ancient writings besets the task of identifying particular grains with great difficulties. It is readily understandable, however, why ancient words for cereals or grains are so confusing, when one considers the number of foreign or national groups that figured importantly throughout Egyptian history. Various travellers identified same grains differently; conquerors added their own appellations, and the resultant confusion is amply documented throughout 12,000 years along the Nile Valley.'

It can hardly be believed that Professor Kuentz, who is thanked 'for highly valuable help and information on historical and philological details', could have been shown this passage.

P. 541. Part of a scene from Davies, *Tomb of Ken-amun*, I, pl. lviii, is reproduced, and in the caption dated to the Middle Kingdom, while the original publication is ascribed to Davies and Gardiner. This kind of careless reference is all too common. What is more to be deplored is the poor redrawing of Davies's original; it does scant justice to his careful draughtsmanship. Throughout the two volumes redrawn scenes distort the fine lines of accurate originals.

P. 656. The discussion of garlic begins: 'In spite of the biblical testimony to the existence of garlic in Ancient Egypt . . . the ancient Egyptian name for garlic is debated.' This *non sequitur* is followed by a pointless debate on the Egyptian word for garlic in which the authors do not recognize that the word they quote from the Great Harris Papyrus as '*khidjana*' is the same etymologically as the Coptic *Ⲭⲏⲩⲏⲓ* (which they give, quoting Loret inadequately, as '*shegen*'): see now Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 263. The evidence which they introduce to establish the existence of garlic in Ancient Egypt seems

unnecessary in the face of the actual examples of garlic found in excavations—evidence which they also quote.

Finally, as a general indication of the authors' lack of understanding, there is their common practice of citing Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* in its fourth edition, revised by J. R. Harris, as 'Harris (1962)'. In their discussion of fats and dairy produce this error leads them to ascribe to Harris the experimental work of Lucas: 'The specimens that Harris, himself, examined were mostly solid fatty acids . . . He concluded that it was not possible to distinguish whether these were of animal or vegetable origin.' Poor Lucas! *quantum mutatus ab illo!* T. G. H. JAMES

The Obelisks of Egypt, Skyscrapers of the Past. By LABIB HABACHI. 230×155 mm. Pp. xvi+203, frontis., 50 half-tone plates, 35 text-figures. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977. ISBN 0 684 14805 6. Price \$12.95.

In this excellent little book Dr Labib Habachi proposes to supply the layman who is curious to know about the history and purpose of obelisks with the most important facts regarding them. He calls his work a 'popular book', and that it certainly is, though it must be added that, as such, it is quite out of the common run. The book comes from the pen of a leading Egyptologist whose knowledge of the ancient sites and monuments which he writes about is first-hand and unequalled; he has devoted much time and thought to this work, has made judicious use of all relevant primary sources—the obelisks themselves, Egyptian hieroglyphic and hieratic texts, Classical writers, Arabic travellers and historians—and has ransacked the modern literature of the subject. The copious information he gathered and his own conclusions are distilled into a straightforward, well-written narrative which, stripped of the usual apparatus of philological and archaeological comments and critical notes, any intelligent person can read with ease, full comprehension, profit, and pleasure. It is 'vulgarization' at its best.

The Obelisks of Egypt is divided into seven chapters. The first explains the religious significance of obelisks and their close connection with the cult of solar gods; it also deals with those obelisks that may be described as being commemorative in character, having been erected either to mark important crown festivals or to serve as records (and what diffuse boastful records they are!) of royal achievement. Ch. II is technical and tells of the kinds of stone of which obelisks were made, how they were quarried, transported, and set up. The next three chapters deal in chronological order with individual obelisks: those of the Old and Middle Kingdoms erected at Heliopolis and Memphis, those which Eighteenth Dynasty rulers ordered to be set up in the Theban area for the most part and exceptionally elsewhere (Heliopolis and Elephantine), then the obelisks erected during the Ramesside period in the capital city of Pi-Ramesse in the Delta and at Karnak, Luxor, and probably Heliopolis; and lastly the lesser-known obelisks which after about 1000 BC were raised at Heliopolis, Saïs, Abydos, probably Horbeit in the eastern Delta, Ashmunein in Middle Egypt, and, farther upstream, at Elephantine and Philae. The final chapters are concerned with those obelisks that either as freely given presents, or extorted gifts, or downright plunder left their native soil at one time or another to be transplanted elsewhere: Rome, Florence, Istanbul, Paris, London, and New York. These 'obelisks in exile', as Erik Iversen aptly called them, are described one by one; also the difficult problems and the vicissitudes of the transport and re-erection of the ponderous monoliths are recounted with a rare combination of great erudition and lively style.

No reader has all his dates always at his finger-ends. Here he will find them gathered up in the final pages, marshalled for his convenience in a chronological table of Egyptian dynasties which includes all the Pharaohs mentioned in the book and is complemented by dated lists of such Roman emperors and popes as were in any way concerned with obelisks. The select bibliography and full alphabetical index that follow show again the author's care for the needs of his audience.

In this regrettably tardy review it would be anachronistic, so to speak, to recommend this book and say that it is a boon to the layman and the scholar alike. It is obvious that the one and the other have already found that out. We understand that the Italian edition of *The Obelisks of Egypt* is almost out of print, while the original American edition is either entirely sold out or very nearly so; for the book is at this time of writing (April 1982) extremely hard to come by. A second edition might perhaps be thought of and

produced sooner or later. It is because of this possibility that several marginalia from the reviewer's copy are reproduced hereunder:

P. 38, l. 6: for 'was found' read 'was founded'.

P. 39, l. 8: for 'Pythagorus' read 'Pythagoras'.

P. 44, l. 14: for 'Egyptologists' read 'Egyptologist' or 'egyptologist', but singular in any case.

P. 44, l. 11 from bottom: for 'Chapels' read 'The chapels'.

P. 53, fig. 22: for 'Konso' read 'Khonsu' or 'Khons'.

P. 78, l. 12 from bottom: delete '[?]'. *Fyt 2* certainly means 'two weights', as Labib Habachi himself suggested when he published this inscription in *JEA* 36, 15 n. c. See also Sethe quoted by Gunn, *BIFAO* 34, 140; Valbelle, *Catalogue des poids à inscriptions hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, 3 (§5) ff., 8 f.; Lemaire and Vernus, *Semitica* 28, 58 n. 4.

P. 86, fig. 29: for '(Blibastis)' read '(Bubastis)'.

P. 87, l. 6: delete 'much work' and read 'numerous workmen', as Labib Habachi did in *BIFAO* 73, 122 top. Here $\text{𓂏} \text{𓂏}$ = *kwtyw* or, more explicitly, *kwtyw m inr*, 'workmen (building) with stone', twice mentioned in a Wādi Mia inscription of precisely the same king and regnal year (Sethos I, Year 9): cf. Schott, *Nachr. Göttingen*, 1961, 144 n. on 8, 6; 46 n. on 11, 3; pl. 19, Text B, cols. 5-6 and 10.

P. 92, l. 10 from bottom including caption: the reference '(plate 21)' should go at the end of the next sentence, '. . . of the city (plate 21)'.

P. 102, l. 6 from bottom: for 'second' read 'third'.

P. 155, l. 21: delete '[?]' ; the *vera lectio* of the epithet on the obelisk is *tnw mnw* (with 𓂏 , not 𓂏): see collated copy in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, II, fasc. 13, 604, 5. *Tnw mnw* means 'distinguished of monuments' without a doubt, and the query is needless.

P. 189, l. 4; n. 18; for 'Badge' read 'Budge'.

P. 195, l. 7 from bottom: for '7, 10' read '8, 10'.

P. 201, l. 15 in 2nd column: for 'Pythagorus' read 'Pythagoras'.

The Obelisks of Egypt is yet another feather in Labib's cap, for which he must be warmly congratulated. And on this occasion a special praise is due to him for having found time, in the midst of a host of scholarly commitments of a graver and more pressing nature, to write this valuable and delightful 'popular book'.

RICARDO A. CAMINOS

Egyptian Objects in the Victoria and Albert Museum. By BARBARA ADAMS. *Egyptology Today* No. 3. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. 61, figs. 15. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1977. ISBN 0 85668 103 2. Price £7.50.

Readers of this journal's reviews will already be familiar with the series of publications cataloguing Egyptian objects in the Petrie Collection at University College London. Two recent volumes in this series were reviewed in *JEA* 64. During the course of this project a scrutiny of the Petrie manuscripts by one member of this team produced an intriguing reference to a collection of Egyptian sculpture at South Kensington, in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Searching for evidence of the distribution of material from Petrie's Theban Temples excavations of 1896—evidence to supplement the Petrie collection of material drawn from these excavations—Barbara Adams discovered a reference to a series of 'Portrait heads' which survived in the basements of the Victoria and Albert Museum. Although almost all the larger fragments of sculpture and relief from this excavation had been illustrated in Petrie's original report (*Six Temples at Thebes* (1897), pl. vi), many remain untraced in the second edition of the *Topographical Bibliography* (Vol. II, Theban Temples). A new series of monographs entitled 'Egyptology Today'—intended to publish recent archaeological work speedily and cheaply—now provides Mrs Adams with the propitious opportunity of cataloguing these 'discoveries' at South Kensington, at the same time enabling her to publish a register of other Egyptian objects held in various departments at the same museum.

Petrie's Theban excavations of 1896 were contained within an area along the desert edge, between the Temple of Merneptah and the Temple of Merneptah-Siptah. The nine fragments of sculpture described

in this catalogue were excavated from the temples of Tuthmosis IV and Merneptah, those from the latter having been removed in antiquity from the Temple of Amenophis III. For the most part, these objects are fragmentary and in poor, sometimes friable condition. The author's descriptions (including basic measurements and bibliographies) remain suitably concise from one so clearly unmoved to offer any stylistic assessment of the more important fragments. However, the observation offered by Miss Christine Strauss of a raised edge around the lips on a fragment of a colossal head from the Temple of Tuthmosis IV, and presumably representing that king (Cat. no. 3, fig. 3), suggests that a closer iconographic study of these fragments may, nevertheless, prove rewarding. The rediscovery of the fragmentary sandstone Osiride figure of Amenophis III (Cat. no. 5, figs. 6, 7, 8 and 9) is certainly a worthwhile addition to the corpus of statues of this much-represented monarch as it represents the king in his rare Osiride guise. It was presumed that this figure once stood before a colossal couchant jackal (a single paw from one such jackal identified in the Petrie Collection is also included in this catalogue, UC 29190, Cat. no. 7) which originally formed part of an avenue leading to the Temple of Amenophis III. It is particularly regretted that the author has omitted to reproduce any photograph of a further limestone head of this king, an interesting head, despite its worn and modest detail, as it formed part of a sphinx placed alongside these colossal jackals (Cat. no. 6). This catalogue presented an opportunity, unfortunately not grasped, to improve on those sorry negatives of Petrie's, reproduced in his excavation report.

Mrs Adams's attributions are based entirely on the commentaries included in this original report. In the case of one example, a black granite 'royal' face, her adherence to their attributions must be shown to be in error. Although well executed, the face entered as Cat. no. 4 is unlikely to be that of Amenophis III. The two significant iconographic elements—the absence of uraeus and the appearance of a beard-strap—do not altogether comply with the standard representations which she so copiously cites in its bibliography. Only one figure of Amenophis III is recorded without uraeus (Cairo CG 42088: Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, I, pl. liii) and, although there are indications that both heads are contemporary, there is frankly not sufficient evidence to identify this face with a head of that king. A private attribution is also unlikely as private representations rarely define the beard with beard-strap (for an example of the late Middle Kingdom see Cairo CG 42034: Legrain, *op. cit.* pl. xxi). It is far more likely, in view of its facial aspect, that the fragment derives instead from a divine figure, possibly Hathor or Ptah-Tenen (cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. cxxiii, 4 and 6).

Together with these sculptures Mrs Adams also catalogues two reliefs of Amenophis II and two more of Tuthmosis IV. Being fragmentary in nature these royal portraits cannot contribute significantly to our knowledge of relief portraiture in the Eighteenth Dynasty (although the reliefs of Tuthmosis IV were certainly taken into account by Karol Mysliwiec in his recent study *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Warsaw, 1976). However, the republication of the head of Amenophis II wearing the 'atef' crown (Cat. no. 9, 'fig. 12' omitted from the caption) provides the excuse to reproduce this relief for the first time in its entirety, Petrie's original negative apparently being too over-exposed to permit full publication. The description for Cat. no. 11 (fig. 14), a relief showing the head of Tuthmosis IV wearing the Red Crown, reveals this fragment as a hitherto unpublished representation of this king. However, I am at a loss to comprehend why Mrs Adams distinguishes this fragment from that published in Petrie's report as pl. vi [7]. Despite the loss of paint, the composition together with the nature of the fractures suggest to me that they are one and the same piece. A further relief-fragment of a woman (Cat. no. 12, fig. 15) is tentatively identified as Sitamun on the strength of a comparative relief in University College (UC 14373). However, Mrs Adams's fragment, previously unpublished, illustrates an interesting head-dress composed of a lotus flower and reeds. A similar head-dress with reeds is found on the walls of a Twenty-second Dynasty chapel of Osorkon II at Karnak (see *PM* II, 2nd edn., 203-4).

The second part of this book comprises a register of provenanced Egyptian material at South Kensington, the legacy of various divisions made to that museum between 1883 and 1908, and between 1921 and 1926. These objects, now scattered around several of its departments, are the produce of excavations undertaken by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt (formerly the Egyptian Research Account) and the Egypt Exploration Society (formerly the Egypt Exploration Fund). Entries are listed by site, according to the chronological sequence of excavations, and comprise museum number, provenance, and bibliographic data. Apart from the absence of stylistic commentary in the earlier part of this book, the outstanding criticism of this catalogue remains the author's failure to arrange the first part of the book with the same degree of clarity afforded this latter register of objects.

As all but Cat. no. 7 of the sculptures and reliefs forming the basis of this catalogue have since been

transferred to the British Museum's Department of Egyptian Antiquities this opportunity is taken to update their registration numbers:

Cat. no. 1 (V & A 913.1896) = BM 69049	Cat. no. 6 (V & A 918.1896) = BM 69054
Cat. no. 2 (V & A 910.1896) = BM 69046	Cat. no. 8 (V & A 908.1896) = BM 69044
Cat. no. 3 (V & A 909.1896) = BM 69045	Cat. no. 9 (V & A 907.1896) = BM 69043
Cat. no. 4 (V & A 917.1896) = BM 69053	Cat. no. 10 (V & A 911.1896) = BM 69047
Cat. no. 5 (V & A 914.1896) = BM 69050	Cat. no. 11 (V & A 912.1896) = BM 69048
„ „ (V & A 915.1896) = BM 69051	Cat. no. 12 (V & A 919.1896) = BM 69055
„ „ (V & A 916.1896) = BM 69052	

LEWIS McNAUGHT

Drawings from Ancient Egypt. By WILLIAM H. PECK. Photographs by John G. Ross. Foreword by Cyril Aldred. 270 × 250 mm. Pp. 207, illustrations 169, colour 16. London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1978. Price £10.50.

The attractive book under review with its sixteen colour plates and 132 monochrome illustrations of drawings on ostraka, papyri, walls, and ceramics is likely to appeal to art-lovers who find it hard to come to terms with the impersonality of monumental Egyptian art. A brief introduction by Cyril Aldred explains the context of these scattered works, and William Peck provides a survey and informative commentaries of the illustrations. Here one's only regret might be that the indications of measurements—so relevant in many cases—are relegated to the list of plates at the end of the book.

The arrangement is according to subject matter, man, woman, the royal image, etc. down to animal life and architecture. There are advantages in this grouping, though the reader has to turn to the text for discussion of the meaning here assigned to the term drawing (that is designing in a liquid medium with a section of rush chewed or beaten to separate the fibres into brush form), and of the extremely varied purposes this technique was made to serve. The proximity to the techniques of the scribe is stressed by Cyril Aldred and is indeed obvious in the case of illustrations on papyrus. There is ample evidence that the technique was also used as a preparatory stage for sculpture, the traces of the brush being more flexible and easier to correct than the marks of the chisel. Even so it is remarkable how rare and how slight are these second thoughts or 'pentimenti', compared, for instance with the *sinopie* found under the painting surface of Italian murals. If to err is human, the Egyptian craftsmen were almost superhuman. Almost, but not quite. For more revealing glimpses are offered by their drawings on slabs or ostraka which the author calls 'trial pieces'. Some appear to be the work of apprentices trying out a formula such as that for the King's head, with the master amending the outline or adding the drawing of a fist or a hand as a guide to the correct proportion. In the majority of trial pieces, however, the author sees the work of a master craftsman struggling with a somewhat unusual subject for which no easy formula was available. Hence, as we read, more trial pieces exist for subjects like wrestlers and dancers, or complicated combinations of animals for hunting scenes, than for the usual compositions which any master could draw without hesitation.

A particularly interesting category is copies, such as the astounding sketch of the Queen of Punt from the temple of Deir el-Bahri. The uniqueness of the model makes the copy easily recognizable, but the author (instancing a version after a relief from Medinet Habu) thinks that many other drawings must have been similarly based on existing monuments. Commenting on the representation of a woman nursing a child which exists in two very similar drawings the author writes: 'It is often the case, that a single drawing of a scene seems to be the product of imagination and invention, until the discovery of others of the same type proves the subject was sanctioned by common usage and needed practice.' Students of European medieval art have found it impossible to arrive at a hard and fast distinction between sketchbooks and pattern-books. Evidently the same difficulties arise in the study of these Egyptian monuments.

Even the renderings of animals in human roles may be more dependent on patterns or pattern-books than their carefree manner suggests. We read that the cats in these drawings were perhaps derived from a common model. The author has no doubt about the interpretation of this genre as humorous and perhaps even irreverently parodistic. There is no mention in his bibliography of the book by Hedwig Kenner, *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Klagenfurt, 1970) which very tentatively

links this type of imagery with utopian dreams of reversal and renewal. Whatever one may think of this interpretation, it is clear that there is always a subjective element in any reading of comic intention. Discussing the memorable drawing of an unshaven stonemason the author wants us to pity the poor man, believing that the 'skilled artist who worked with pen and brush must have looked down on the labourer who toiled with chisel and mallet'. But need the drawing be intended as a portrait? Could it not also belong to the type of generic mockery which has so often prompted rival guilds to deride each other? Or, alternatively, could it not even be a self-caricature by a stonemason, meditating on his lot?

Generally there is less evidence of spontaneity and freedom in these tantalizing drawings than a casual look may convey. Even the few erotic doodles and other scribbles are firmly embedded in the system and procedures of the Egyptian style. They are invariably filtered through the system of Egyptian methods which have been so thoroughly analysed by H. Schäfer and which the author, following Emma Brunner-Traut, refers to as 'aspective'. Without wishing to challenge this interpretation (to which this reviewer has also adhered) it may be opportune to draw the attention of readers of this journal to the alternative view on perspective and non-perspective in art which has been put forward by a leading student of visual perception, the late James J. Gibson, in his latest and last book *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (Boston, 1979). Gibson's reasoning is too subtle and too complex to be summarized in a few words; suffice it to say that he does not fall into the trap of dismissing perspective as a mere convention. What he argues instead is that the arrested monocular vision of the world is an artificial abstraction which can never do justice to the workings of our visual system, which relies not on 'snapshot vision' but on the flow of information obtained by the observer who moves around in the world. The system is geared, in his view, to extracting what he calls the invariants of our environment, its layout and structure, independent of any particular viewing point. This interpretation comes fairly close to the author's formulation that in Egyptian art 'the elements are arranged in a way that conveys not the visual momentary impression but a description of reality at no fixed time'. The reason why Gibson dissociates his view from the traditional interpretation according to which such conceptual images are based on 'knowledge' rather than on 'seeing' cannot here be further set out. What matters is that any aspective system must resemble a map rather than a mirror image and a map demands adherence to the code if it is to function at all. What the author writes about the drawings of constellations on the ceiling of the tomb of Senenmut probably applies to many other subjects: 'The skill of the artist was exhibited only in the degree to which he could be faithful to the original.' It is this approach which was subverted by what may be called the 'eyewitness principle', with its development of perspective. As soon as the representation was conceived as a record of what the artist had actually seen from a particular viewing point at a given moment subjectivity entered the process. In the making of such a record of a real or imaginary experience drawing will also assume a different function. Its role in the formation of the unique and unrepeatable image will be much more creative than it could ever be in the context of a conventional style. In describing the drawings in a papyrus of the *Book of the Dead* the author writes: 'The figures are based on carefully worked out and standardized models, but nevertheless have great vitality and grace.' We need not disagree, to recognize that there is an unresolved problem in his 'nevertheless'. It stems from that great reorientation of image-making that led Vasari in the sixteenth century to collect drawings and an eighteenth-century poet (A.-M. Lemierre) to formulate accepted opinion in the lines:

Le moment du génie est celui de l'esquisse;
C'est là qu'on voit la verve et la chaleur du plan.

Without this conviction this book would not have been compiled and marketed. We have a right to be subjective in our response to the images of the past, and can be grateful to the author for selecting as his first illustration a much simplified (and much enlarged) drawing of a profile which, with good reason, reminds him of Picasso's 'classic' faces. But could we have explained to its master why many would one day prefer this first preparatory exercise to the disciplined perfection of the finished image?

E. H. GOMBRICH

Carian Inscriptions from North Saqqâra and Buhen. By OLIVIER MASSON. With contributions by Geoffrey Thorndike Martin and Richard Vaughan Nicholls. Texts from Excavations, Fifth Memoir. 320 × 260 mm. Pp. ix + 102, pls. 38. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1978. ISSN 0307 5125. ISBN 0 85698 075 7. Price £25.50.

This is the third volume to appear in the Society's documentary series of texts from North Saqqâra, and it is devoted to the remarkable series of Carian stelae discovered by Emery, mainly in the rich season of 1968-9. A few inscriptions from Buhen are also conveniently included in the present volume (nos. 50-5). The Society generously entrusted the collation of this material to Professor Olivier Masson, whose contribution occupies the first part of the volume. Masson's hand-copies and transliterations are based on the Society's photographs, which are usually at their most successful when recording incised surfaces, and on facsimiles by G. T. Martin. The reviewer was present during the relevant seasons at Saqqâra, and is aware of the conditions and pressures under which this epigraphic work was achieved; indeed, such facsimiles are in a way the most important part of such a publication, a fact which is often ignored by reviewers. In the second part of the volume Martin adds short descriptions of the stelae themselves, and their place in the development of East Greek and related art is discussed, with great meticulousness, by R. V. Nicholls. Attention to detail does not disguise Nicholls's enthusiasm for the material, or his determination to set the stelae in the context of the Caromemphite tradition. The notes on the hieroglyphs, however, notably those on pp. 58-9, could have been made a little clearer to a non-Egyptologist, especially when conflicting readings are involved (see below), but this is perhaps a wise course with material that is likely to be discussed and rediscussed.

Any book by three authors will remind one of the monster 'Amemit, but this is unavoidable here, and the monster 'Amemit is not so frightful after all. The main conclusion must be one of gratitude to all three authors, who have worked successfully together to make an impressive contribution to a difficult field.

To turn from the publication to the Carian inscriptions themselves. The language is written with some forty or forty-five signs, many of which bear a close resemblance to letters of the Greek alphabet, but evidently there are too many signs for a simple alphabet, and some elements of a syllabary are usually thought to be present as well. In general, a substitution of sound-values from the Greek alphabet into the Carian script yields rather uncouth results, as in the two systems of transliteration used by Masson himself at different times (*Kadmos* 15 (1976), 82 n. 3, continued on the following page). This may simply mean that the Carian language itself was uncouth, but it is clear that Masson intends his system to be used only as a convention.

If the Greek alphabet is not a reliable guide, what about the inscriptions from Egypt? Bilingual inscriptions are obviously of great potential value, but there are bilinguals and bilinguals. A Carian, such as the one recorded in Stele Lausanne 4727, calls himself in the hieroglyphic text *Psmṯk-rwy-Nt*, son of *Wḥ-ib-r* [. . . ?] (Masson and Yoyotte, *Objets pharaoniques à inscription carienne*, 21 fig. 13). These are precisely the sort of basilophorous names that were regularly assumed by foreigners in Egypt, especially those in royal service, from the New Kingdom onwards, and it is far from certain that a Carian would have called himself by such an Egyptian name when talking to other Carians, or in the Carian part of a so-called 'bilingual'. This, however, is the assumption behind Zauzich's attempted decipherment, which appears in his *Einige karischen Inschriften aus Ägypten und Kleinasien und ihre Deutung nach der Entzifferung der karischen Schrift* (Wiesbaden, 1972) and his privately circulated *Brief zur karischen Frage* (Berlin, March 1979). It is a courageous attempt, and it has the merit of placing values derived from the supposed Egyptian equivalents above arbitrary readings taken from the Greek alphabet, but in general the present reviewer finds it unconvincing, as does Masson.

Some bilinguals are more promising. These are ones where the Egyptian text itself contains names which are 'barbarous', at least to an Egyptologist. Here it is an assumption, but of course no more than an assumption, that these names will also be present in the Carian. These 'genuine' bilinguals are also used by Zauzich, but it might have been better to treat them in isolation. A good example is the clearly written stele from Saqqâra, Masson no. 7 (present volume, pp. 25-6, 86-7 and pls. vi, xxxv, 1). Here the hieroglyphic *Ṛš* corresponds apparently to the first line of the Carian, which is written $\textcircled{\text{P}}\text{P}\text{B}\Delta\text{I}\text{A}$. If we turn to inscription no. 1 of the same corpus (pp. 20-1, 58-60) a group which appears to be the same occurs on a stele which also bears in hieroglyphs the name *Ṛwrš* (cf. pl. ii, 1 and p. 59; the information on this name is unfortunately confusing, at least to a non-Egyptologist). On the same stele another name, possibly that of the father, is written in hieroglyphs *Ṛwry* . . . (?); the Carian text has its third word beginning

Δ 7A. This information suggests that A is a vowel, perhaps *a*, unless the Carians were especially perverse in their treatment of the Greek alphabet; that 7 may be a continuation of this vowel, perhaps as *u* or *w* in the combination *aw* (this would help to explain the alternation between *i* and *iw* in the hieroglyphic equivalents); and that Δ, strangely, is *r*. This may have been a Carian attempt at being different, or it may possibly have arisen from some kind of /dr/ sound which the Egyptians wrote as *r*. This sound may be followed by vowels: D in the first example may be *e*, and that H in the second name (which is written *Iwry . . .* in Egyptian) is also a vowel is suggested by Meier-Brügger in his treatment of the bilingual Greek-Carian text from Athens (*Kadmos* 18 (1979), 87–8). The latter has at least the merit of relying on a known Carian word preserved as part of a compound expression in Greek sources. After this, we are faced with P = *š*, corresponding to the hieroglyphic *š*. This finds some support from Cairo 30837 (Masson and Yoyotte, op. cit. 53 and fig. 24). Here the strange hieroglyphic name *Šrkbym* may correspond to the first word in the Carian, which is written I O B I 7 A P: the opening signs may be *š-a-w*. The following sign is unknown, but, as the next sign looks like a *p* (or *b*?), it should correspond to the *rk* of *Šrkbym*. Perhaps it is a ligature of *r* followed by a *c* or *k*, or a sound distinct from the *r* written Δ which we have already met. A similar sign Y occurs at the beginning of the third line in Masson no. 7 (present vol., pl. vi), and the unfinished sign at the top of the second column of hieroglyphs may be *r* rather than *ih* or *spr*, but it is better to admit ignorance here. Nor can much be done at the moment with the second line of this text, which ought to correspond to the hieroglyphic *Nrskr*. It is possible to read **n-u-s-h-r-* plus an ending with □ = *l* (cf. the use of this sign in the group which may correspond to hieroglyphic *Prim* in Cairo 49061, which it is tempting to read *P-a-w-a-l-e-m*, with the same sign N or M for final *m* that appears in *Šrkbym*: Masson and Yoyotte, op. cit. 43 fig. 21). But this reading raises more problems than it solves.

In conclusion, here are the main identifications proposed in this review, with the conventional numbers of the signs:

1	A = <i>a</i>	11	M = <i>m</i> (?)	27	□ = <i>l</i>
4	Δ = <i>r</i>	15	P = <i>š</i>	30	Y = <i>r</i> +ligature (?)
6	7 = <i>w, u</i> (?)	26	D = vowel, perhaps <i>e</i> (?)	38	H = vowel

Whether these identifications are right or wrong, it is the reviewer's hope that a cautious use will be made of the Carian evidence from Egypt. Certainly the volume reviewed here will give the investigator every chance to reach his own conclusions, based on a reliable and scholarly publication. It is also his hope that the Egypt Exploration Society's work at Saqqāra will help to remind Egyptologists and Classical scholars that they have much to gain and learn from each other. J. D. RAY

Addendum. The realization that M is to be read as *m*, and that P is *š* makes me suspect that we can identify a well-known name. In two graffiti from Abu Simbel (Ševoroškin nos. 74 and 78; cf. Zauzich, *Einige karischen Inschriften*, 31–2) we find the forms ΠϢΑΙΜΘΜ and (retrograde) ΜΘΜΙΑΦ∇. The first is clearly *P-e-s-m-a-š-* with an unknown final sign which I assume to be *k*; the second writing may end with the same sign, or a variant. It may be that the penultimate sign was really P or Ϣ, and it looks as if the two are variant spellings of the name Psammetichus. The form *Psmšk* (perhaps from a palatalized *Psmšk*?) is regular in Aramaic (Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten*, 91–2), and since the Carians owed their original loyalty to the house of Psammetichus this name may well have been used by them. The name in effect became international, and it is, therefore, an exception to the rule that Egyptian basili-phorous names are not likely to be used by Carians. A very similar combination occurs at the beginning of the Lausanne stele (Masson and Yoyotte, op. cit. 21 fig. 13) in the shorter form Ϣ Π Ι Μ Μ; this I take to be *P-s-m-š-k*. Since this king's name also occurs in the Egyptian, it may be that there is a link, as Zauzich thought, but I cannot equate the following signs with *cwy-Nt*, as the Egyptian text implies. This question is best left open for the time being. (This review was received in July 1980.)

Archaic Greek Faience. By VIRGINIA WEBB. 350 × 215 mm. Pp. xi + 174, pls. 22, numerous figs. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1978. ISBN 0 85668 081 8. Price £20.

In the seventh and sixth centuries BC, a short-lived but prolific faience industry flourished in East Greece, producing a variety of distinctive objects, particularly small vessels and figurines, which were exported throughout the Mediterranean and as far as the Black Sea coast and the Sudan. The earliest centre of the industry seems to have been the island of Rhodes, with another important centre established at Naukratis in Egypt at the end of the seventh century. The main period of production in this industry coincides with the expansion of Greek trade and colonization, which brought in a flood of new ideas and influences from the Near East and Egypt, and stimulated the development of local art and architecture. As with other products of the Orientalizing Period, these faience objects show a mixture of styles; the earlier pieces reflect a strong Egyptianizing influence, while many of the products of the later phases are distinctively Greek in style.

Virginia Webb has compiled a catalogue of nearly a thousand objects, chiefly miniature vases and figurines, produced by this industry. Scarbas are wisely excluded on the grounds that they merit a special study. An introductory chapter outlines the general history and techniques of faience manufacture, and the distribution and development of the East Greek industry. The author identifies three phases of manufacture and the catalogue of objects is arranged accordingly: Phase I (chs. 2–6), starting in the mid seventh century, includes the double and figured vases, the low-relief pyxides and alabastra, aryballoi, juglets and flasks, and a group of related objects such as spoons, bracelets, and vases in the form of couchant lions; Phase II (ch. 7) starts at the end of the seventh century, and is the period of figurine production; Phase III (chs. 8 and 9) covers the sixth century, when the spherical and figured aryballoi were produced. In spite of the number of entries, Mrs Webb has not been able to include all the relevant material known to her, and at least one group of vases, those in the form of a monkey holding its young, has been omitted (these are listed in her article in *Levant* 4 (1972), 151); and in one section she has been forced by lack of space to exclude items without a provenance (p. 133, Hedgehog aryballoi). The catalogue is, therefore, only a selection, albeit a very wide one, of this particular faience industry.

The sixth-century date of the later groups, the spherical and figured aryballoi, has long been known from inscribed examples with the cartouches of Apries and Amasis of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The earlier groups are dated by their archaeological context and associated finds, which frequently include Greek pottery, datable to within a few decades. Within the overall time-span of the industry the author tries to establish three phases of manufacture. These are apparently consecutive, as she states (p. 7) that Phase II, the figurines, 'in point of time [falls] between the two phases of vase production'. However, a closer look at some of the dated objects in each phase shows, as one might expect, that certain groups had a longer time-span than her phasing allows. For example, the vases in the form of a kneeling woman are placed in Phase I, but group 3 of this type is dated 'to near the end of the seventh century' (p. 31) when elsewhere (pp. 5 and 7) one is given the impression that only figurines were being produced at that time; similarly, in a group of 17 trefoil jugs of Phase I (nos. 244–59), two are dated to 630–600, one to before 600, and one to 575–500, thus overlapping with both Phases II and III; and although all 425 figurines are placed in Phase II, one group, the 'Astarte' figurines (nos. 628–37), is dated to the first half of the seventh century and so extends back into Phase I. It would seem that her phasing is too rigid, and with only a small percentage of dated objects (eight per cent of the total catalogue) and an industry lasting less than two centuries, it is perhaps unwise at this stage to try to date each group too closely.

The individual catalogue entries vary in the amount of descriptive detail given. The first six chapters are more fully dealt with, but the last chapters appear to suffer from lack of space, and in places the entries are reduced to a list of numbered objects with only the barest description—an abbreviation not undesirable in a catalogue of this length if each group of objects were well illustrated. Unfortunately this is not the case: less than a third of the objects are illustrated, and some groups and sub-groups not at all (e.g. pyxides with one register, nos. 181–8; male figurines, groups i, iv, and v, nos. 277–87; 307–13), thereby reducing the catalogue to a list of objects. No doubt because of the cost of integrating photographs with text, the plates are relegated to the back of the book. In spite of the publisher's note that 'aesthetic presentation has been sacrificed for maximum clarity', many of the photographs are too small and unclear to show the detail of the often elaborate vases and figurines, and in some cases (e.g. nos. 82, 130, 404, 627) they are quite inadequate, being either too dark or too light to be of any use. Scale is not indicated and in a few cases the dimensions are not given in the text either (e.g. nos. 414, 482, 632). With only a selection of the objects

illustrated at all, it is surprising that photographs of some almost unrecognizable fragments should have been included (nos. 265, 266, 618). In addition to the photographs, there are a few line-drawings in the text. These are uniformly careless and seem to be little more than unfinished sketches. Even where comparative details from Egyptian reliefs and paintings have been copied (figs. 8 and 18), the drawings are unnecessarily untidy.

The contracted form of the text, the many minor errors, and the erratic punctuation and abbreviations give the impression that the work was produced in a hurry and not properly edited. Among the minor errors are: p. 1. The Bubastis Treasure is of New Kingdom date, not *post* New Kingdom; p. 116. Nefer-ib-rē is the prenomen of Psamtek II, not his 'Re' name; p. 130. Egypt had nine traditional enemies, not seven; the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum is referred to as 'Egyptology' most of the time. Among the spelling-mistakes are: p. 117; the prenomen of Amasis, which should be Khnem-ib-re, not Khem-ib-re; p. 119, no. 772 (not illustrated) where she states: 'Only the first two signs [of Amasis' name] are represented, *re* and *nem* (num)'; she must mean *re* and *khnem* if she is referring to Amasis. Ch. 9 is omitted altogether from the contents page. The bibliographical entries are not all complete with place and date of publication, and the notes (which are at the back of the book) are sometimes confused; for example, at p. 156 n. 62 she refers to a Saïte relief showing a seated woman carrying her child in a sling 'copied from the New Kingdom Tomb of Menna', but comparison between the two illustrations which she cites (W. Stevenson Smith, *Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pls. 180 and 109) shows that it is not the mother and child which have been copied from the earlier tomb, but the scene in the register above of a girl pulling a thorn out of her companion's foot.

The book ends with two appendices: one is a very useful summary of the excavations at Camirus, Rhodes, from where many of the catalogued items come; the other is a list of some comparative Egyptian objects. There is only one general index and no cross-indexes or tables to show the distribution or date of different groups of objects; these would have been extremely useful to the reader, and also might have clarified certain areas—e.g. the phasing—where the author appears to be confused. Although an outline of the dates and phases is given in the introductory chapter, there is nowhere a concluding assessment of the industry as a whole, and the final chapter promised on p. 6, which should have included such a summary, never appears. The earlier chapters sometimes include a brief summary of the chronology and iconography of certain groups, but usually the reader is left to search through the individual entries for the details. The lack of good indexes and the poor quality and number of the illustrations also diminish the value of the catalogue. Even in 1914, Petrie was campaigning for more illustrations in catalogues: 'The first principle of a modern catalogue is to have full and clear pictures of every object, and then to build upon that such description as is needful to supplement the picture' (*Amulets* (London, 1914)). While printing costs may make Petrie's objective no longer feasible, clear and representative illustrations are still essential in a catalogue of this type if it is to be of use to other scholars. The total impression given by this production is that too much material has been included for the size and scope of the book, and that the results might have been better if a smaller but fully representative sample of the industry had been illustrated and discussed in full. As it is, it falls between two stools, being neither a comprehensive and definitive work on the East Greek faience industry, not a popular and attractive catalogue for the general public.

ANGELA J. MILWARD

Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues. By P. W. PESTMAN, with the collaboration of J. Quaegebeur and R. L. Vos. Tome I. *Transcriptions.* 290×215 mm. Pp. xxiii+161. Tome II. *Traductions.* 290×215 mm. Pp. 135. Tome III. *Index et Planches.* 290×135 mm, pls. xxi. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1977. ISBN 90 04 05255 0. Price complete f 180.

According to the preface (I, p. v) the collection of the texts under review was at its inception inspired by the *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, but in the issue such a publication of demotic texts appeared impracticable. This conclusion may be too pessimistic, but it is clear that to make a success of such a project would require very careful preparation. What the authors in fact provide is a heterogeneous collection of twenty-three texts, mostly demotic but some with passages in Greek or written with the Greek alphabet. The majority of these texts have already been available in earlier publications (albeit in some instances inadequate ones). A survey of the amount of new information provided concerning some of the

texts already published (e.g. Docs. 15–23) raises the question as to whether full republication was really worth the expense. Perhaps demotic studies would be well served by the publication (e.g. in a journal like *Enchoria*) of an annual list of corrections to published texts. Demotists could submit minor proposals directly, while matters requiring lengthy justification would continue to appear as notes or articles, the results appearing in the annual list together with the necessary bibliography.

The preface also stresses that the strictly 'demotic' part of the commentaries is aimed at beginners, but it is doubtful that this expensive, unsystematic selection of texts will ever come into general use as introductory reading for nascent demotists, even those choosing at such an early stage to specialize in legal and economic texts. Notwithstanding, there are worthwhile comments, particularly on matters of palaeography (e.g. the interesting collection of *different* writings of the *same* word by the *same* scribe, I, 4–5, 10). The demotic comments are too little concerned with the problems of novices to be well suited for elementary teaching, and the extensive legal commentaries are so much concerned with controversial details that one would probably use another selection of texts for beginners.

This publication is most likely to be used by specialists, for whom the controversial matter would better be presented in articles unencumbered by the elementary and introductory comments.

An example of the kind of legal problem raised by the authors is the interpretation of Docs. 4, 5, and 6 (to which must be added Vatican Papyrus No. 22, which still awaits a modern edition). Formally these record the receipt of an unspecified price for specified quantities of perishable goods (grain and oil) followed by an undertaking to deliver the goods by a set term. They also contain the usual final clauses governing evidence of payment and performance, sanctioning the undertaking, and (in two cases) providing for a surety. All four texts were written within a short interval of one another, and in each instance the creditor is one and the same person. There were three different debtors, one of whom entered into two separate engagements. In total the debts amounted to nearly 28 artabae of wheat and 44 measures of oil, but the individual debts were modest. In their content and formulation the texts are paralleled by a large number of Greek instruments, and both the Greek and demotic texts of this type have been recently discussed by several writers (Pierce, Menu, Packmann, Bagnall).

The authors offer a new interpretation of the legal construction of these instruments: in their view each undertaking was embodied in two instruments, one a *rc-wh*, relating to the debt of the price, and the other a *šrt* or *sh* relating to the debt of the goods. The latter instrument derived its effect from the former, to which it explicitly referred, and had no independent validity. By this arrangement the creditor was enabled to proceed either for the recovery of the price on the basis of the first instrument or for the delivery of the goods on the basis of both documents together. The surviving papyri are all held to belong to the category of documents that relates to the debt of goods.

The authors are aware of the difficulties inherent in their interpretation, which they admit leads to a 'très insolite' situation which is 'non seulement assez compliqué, mais aussi inusuel' (II, 39). I share this assessment and believe that their interpretation is false and unnecessarily complicated.

Their argument rests upon the phrase *n* or *r rc-wh*, which defines the price received, the remainder of their discussion being secondary and largely concerned with rendering plausible their otherwise forced interpretation. In their view the crucial phrase is to be rendered as 'conformément à une créance' (II, 42, 43, 57, etc.), and the word *rc-wh* is to be regarded as a frequent abbreviation for *sh n rc-wh* (p. 47), which would mean 'un document de créance' or the like.

The primary objection is that, whether one reads the introductory preposition as *n* or *r*, the translation 'in conformity with' is inappropriate. The normal demotic Egyptian expression for 'in conformity with', 'according to', etc. is *r h*, a phrase which also occurs in the texts under consideration and which the authors translate precisely as 'conformément à'. The phrase *n* or *r rc-wh* ought to mean 'as' or 'to be' a *rc-wh*. We then have a sentence which says, 'you have given me the price of such-and-such as (or to be) a *rc-wh*'; and it no longer makes sense to regard *rc-wh* as a shortened writing of *sh n rc-wh*. One does not give value 'as' or 'to be' a document. Moreover, similar phrases explaining the nature or purpose of money or goods received are well attested in clauses of receipt in other demotic instruments (cf. *Symbolae Osloenses*, Suppl. 24 (1972), 44–5), whereas the authors' interpretation results in an unparalleled formulation. The surviving texts do not, therefore, refer to any other document relating to the arrangements which they record and of which they are consequently the sole instruments.

The authors (II, 38) regard it as fortuitous that the creditor in each case was a trader, but this is a fact suggestive of the reasons why these particular documents came into being. In fact, my experience in the Sudan suggests that these and many similar Greek texts give legal form to the set of traditional economic

relationships referred to in Arabic as *shayl* (lit. 'burden'). Characteristically the debtors are poorer members of an agricultural community who borrow to meet immediate needs on the condition that they repay at the harvest with produce of a greater value than whatever they received. This form of rural credit is commonly extended by local traders, in some cases by way of speculation or exploitation but in others also as a moral obligation. There is a considerable literature on *shayl*, but an excellent starting-point is M. W. Wilmington, 'Aspects of Moneylending in Northern Sudan', *The Middle East Journal* 9 (1955), 139-46. There is much more that could be said about the texts in question, but within the compass of a review it must suffice to stress the importance of distinguishing between underlying socio-economic relationships and the legal constructions laid upon them by notaries.

The authors have contributed a number of improved readings (e.g. in the witness lists of Docs. 4-6 and 10), and useful studies and résumés of the state of knowledge about various matters (e.g. the inspection of sacrificial cattle (II, 117-21) and the note on the words for parts of buildings (II, 85-6)); their publication will doubtless become the starting-point for all further consideration of the texts included. There remains, of course, a residue of unsolved problems (e.g. in l. 6 of Doc. 9, where the unread sign may be *iw*, 'receipt', 'quitclaim') and disputable points (e.g. the identification of Bompae as Sohag, I, 117), and the authors do not always give a full account of interpretations with which they disagree.

Each text is reproduced photographically, and, as far as the plates permit a judgement, most of the facsimiles in Vol. I are reliable.

To facilitate study the transcriptions and palaeographic notes, the translations and commentaries, and the photographs have been printed in three separate volumes. The editors have not, however, been strict enough in eliminating costly repetitions between Vols. I and II (e.g. data concerning museum nos., dates, dimensions, etc.), and even within the separate volumes there are instances of needless repetition (e.g. in the notes to Docs. 8 A and B). The general standard of presentation is high, the number of misprints infinitesimal, the indexes elaborate and accurate. The work is very expensive. RICHARD HOLTON PIERCE

Papyri from Tebtunis in Egyptian and Greek. By W. J. TAIT. Texts from Excavations, Third Memoir. 320 × 255 mm. Pp. 134, pls. 12. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1977. ISSN 0307 5125. ISBN 0 85698 062 5. Price £24.

The volume under review contains editions of fifty-three fragmentary texts preserved on papyrus. Twenty-three of the texts are demotic, fourteen are hieratic or hieroglyphic, and the remaining sixteen are Greek. These fragments were purchased at Tebtunis for the Egypt Exploration Fund in the early years of this century and are now housed in the Ashmolean Museum.

The demotic texts edited here include medical and botanical treatises, oneirocritical manuals, and literary compositions. Among the last-named are a set of maxims, a hymn to Isis, a prophecy mentioning Memphis, Alexandria, and the Greeks, narratives related to the Inaros Cycle, and part of a duplicate of the well-known 'Mythus vom Sonnenaug' (P. Leiden I 384). The hieratic and hieroglyphic texts are all religious in nature, many of them hymns in praise of the god Sobk. Some are duplicates of compositions already known from other papyri. Of special interest among the Greek texts are a fragment of Homer's *Iliad*, an illustrated herbal, medical and astrological works, and a list of Roman consuls.

The text editions themselves are of excellent quality, and amply attest to the editor's versatility in dealing with such a broad range of material. Among them, the editions of the demotic texts deserve to be singled out for special praise. The editor has read and translated these texts with skill and care, and his commentaries on them are perceptive and to the point. From a rather unprepossessing pile of tattered scraps, he has succeeded in extracting a wealth of information. Thus his editions of these demotic fragments will be of great value, not only in and of themselves, but as models for future editors of similar texts as well.

The following remarks are concerned with individual words or passages in the various texts:


Text 1

L. 1. As the editor points out in n. c, p. 4, the noun *mꜣc* is used here to mean a 'part' or 'region' of something, rather than simply 'place'. This distinction is nicely illustrated in P. Carlsberg I, iv, 29, where both meanings occur side by side in the same sentence. It is said there, with reference to a group of human-headed birds: *pꜣ mꜣc nt-*iw*=w n-*im*=f r hn r pꜣ mꜣc rs-*ib*t n tꜣ p.t.* 'The *place* in which they are extends to the southeastern *part* of the sky.'

L. 2. The traces at the beginning of this line, discussed by the editor in n. e, p. 5, are probably of $\text{š}[b].t$, 'reward, recompense' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 497). The article t must have preceded $\text{šb}.t$, since it is modified by a relative clause with nt . The line as a whole may be translated: '[... the] reward of our gods, which is more beautiful than all [these].'


L. 12. The verb fy , with strong-arm determinative, is taken by the editor as a writing of fr , 'be greedy' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 60). Since demotic writings of the latter word invariably show a final r rather than final y , and since neither fr nor its hieroglyphic predecessors are determined with the strong arm, an identification of fy with the rf , 'crush, press', of *Wb.* I, 41, 3-4 (Coptic $\omega\epsilon\psi\epsilon$) seems preferable.

L. 14. Spiegelberg's old analysis of $bn-izw mtw$ as the future counterpart of $mn mtw$, cited by the editor in n. *mn*, p. 8, has little to recommend it. There are no passages in any demotic text where $bn-izw mtw$ must be taken as future, while in some, e.g., *rmt* (r) $bn-izw mtw=f rmt n tme tzy=f imy tzy=f mhws$, 'A man who has no townsman, his character is his family' (P. Louvre 2414, ii, 13), it is clearly present. Since $bn-izw$ is well attested as a simple graphic variant of mn , 'there is not' (cf. P. Carlsberg I, ii, 23, 28, 30, 34; iv, 43, 44; P. Krall, xiv, 14 and xviii, 20, to cite only a few examples), $bn-izw mtw$ is probably no more than a graphic variant of $mn mtw$.

L. 21. At the end of the line, read *Hr*, 'Horus', in place of the editor's $i n[tr.t]$. The name is written in hieratic so: ; the right half of the r has been partially rubbed away. Horus is invoked here as protection against the 'destruction at the hands of Pharaoh' and it is to him, presumably, that the second person singular masculine suffix pronouns in the following line refer.


Text 6

F. 1, l. 2. $mtw=k$ here is for the relative $nt-izw=k$. It cannot be the conjunctive, as the editor takes it, since the following $in-nc-k$ is qualitative and thus restricted to use with durative tenses. The phrase $mtw=k in-nc-k n-im=w$ should be translated: 'every matter on which you are going.'

F. 1, l. 3. The editor's tentative translation of hty here as 'heart' (see n. *f*, p. 30) is certainly correct. The word is written in hieratic so: . For writings identical to this one, common in late hieratic texts, cf. P. Cairo 58034, l. 23 and P. Cairo 58036, vi, 10 and 15.

F. 1, l. 6. The signs between $izw=f$ and $n n$, which the editor divides into two words, could also be taken as a writing of the verb dth , 'imprison' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 688-9). Given the broken context, it is impossible to determine which of these two interpretations is the correct one. The word at the end of this line, which recurs in l. 5 of F. 2, cannot be the one discussed in *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 56-7 (as suggested by the editor in n. *k*, p. 30), since the initial signs in the two words are clearly different. It is, in fact, the masculine noun str , 'resting place', for which see P. Harkness, i, 11 and 15. The trace of ink after the looped-cord determinative is the bottom of the phonetic complement f , which is found in the P. Harkness examples of this word as well. (For the shape of the sign, compare the f of the word for 'chancellor' in the following line.) The phrase $izw=f dth n n str.[w]$ can be translated: 'he saying grief in the resting place[s]' or 'he being imprisoned in the resting place[s]', depending on how one interprets dth .

F. 2, l. 5. After n , read $str.[w]$, 'resting place[s]', as discussed above.

F. 2, l. 6. For Fayyûmic writings of wr , 'slander, curse', see P. Vindob. D 6165, iii, 5 (Volten, *Ägypter und Amazonen* (MPER NS 6), pl. 1) and P. Krall, vii, 29. w here, with strong-arm determinative, looks nothing like those writings and is probably a different word, perhaps a demotic form of the , 'fall, sink', of *Wb.* I, 244, 7-8.

Text 8

L. 4. The phrase $iz(y)snf$ occurs here, in ll. 5 and 6 below, and in P. Leiden I 384, xiii, 25; xiv, 12 and 14. It is taken by the editor to be a designation for some divine being. (See his discussions in n. e, p. 36, and *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974), 31; 37 (1976), 41). If this is correct, then $iz(y)snf$ may best be explained as a phonetic writing of $rsy-inb=f$, 'he who is south of his wall', i.e., the god Ptah. Phonetic writings of $rsy-inb=f$ attested in other demotic texts are: $rsnfy$ (Ray, *Archive of Hor*, Text 18 vs. 2), $izrsnfy$ (ibid., l. 19; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 887 and 991), $izirsnfy$ (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 998), and $irsnfy$ (Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, 990). A further variant, $irsnfw$, occurs in the hieroglyphic inscription on a clepsydra published by Quaegebeur (*JNES* 30 (1971), 259-62), who took it as a writing of the royal name Arsinoe. Phonetically, $iz(y)snf$

bears a close resemblance to these writings of *rsy-imb=f*. Moreover, the snake sign which determines four of the six examples of *īr(y)snf* is the determinative in several of them as well. A final point to be noted is that *īr(y)snf*, 'he who is south of his wall', provides an excellent antecedent for the otherwise unexplained suffix pronoun *f* which occurs in ll. 5 and 6 of the text under discussion. Why the god Ptaḥ should be mentioned in the Tale of Sight and Hearing is a question of no little interest. However, any attempt to answer it would be out of place in a review of this limited scope.

L. 10. The distinction between *r r3=f* and *n r3=f*, mentioned by the editor in n. *k*, p. 37 and discussed by him at greater length in *Acta Orientalia* 36 (1974), 34–5, may not be as great as he supposes. In P. Carlsberg 1, iii, 40–1, at least, the two appear to be synonymous. It is said there, with reference to the sky goddess Nut: *ī-īr p3 ntr c q n r3=s n wnw.t shtpns [rh]y d ī-īr p3 ntr c q r r3=s n p3 d-wnw.t III.t n rhy*, 'The god enters through her mouth (*n r3=s*) in the hour *shtpns* of evening, that is to say, the god enters through her mouth (*r r3=s*) in the third hour of evening.' (For the incorrect equation of *shtpns* and the third hour of evening see Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, 1, 62–3.)

Text 10

L. 3. The rather full writing of *ih*, 'bull', here, discussed by the editor in n. *b*, p. 40, has exact parallels in the writings of *ih.t*, 'cow', in P. Krall, v, 30 and xviii, 12–13. In the first of those passages, *ih.t* occurs in the broken phrase *n3 ct n3 ih.wt*, 'the fat of the cows'. In the second, it is a component of the personal name *P3-šr-t3-ih.t*, 'The son of the Cow'.

L. 5. The distinctive form of the bee-sign in this writing of *ibity*, 'honey', occurs only in Roman Period texts from the Fayyum. Compare the form of that sign in the writings of the word for honey in P. Vindob. D 6321, l. 3 and P. Vindob. D 6257, x+iv, 15 and *passim*. (The latter spelling is historical and omits the vocalic initial *i*.) For the texts see Reymond, *From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* (MPER NS 11) (where *ibity* is misread *ieriy*), and ead., *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis* (MPER NS 10) (where (*i*)*bity* is misread *cr*).

Text 11

F. 2, l. 6. In view of its plant determinative, *cnḥ* here is surely the noun 'bouquet' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 64), and not, as the editor takes it, the verb 'live'.

Text 14

L. 3. At the beginning of the line, read *n nt nb*, 'of everything'. The word preceding this phrase, now lost, may have been a noun like 'mistress' or 'creator'. The proposed restoration of 'she who' after *3st*, 'Isis' (see the editor's n. *e*, p. 50) is almost certainly correct. The break is long enough to accommodate *t3 nt* perfectly, and a trace of the relative converter appears to be visible just below it. The word after *hpr*, however, is not *cnḥy*, but *rnnḥy*, 'prosperity' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 250). *t3 nt t3 hpr rnnḥy* here is nothing more than a demotic translation of the Middle Egyptian Isian epithet *shpr rmnt*, 'she who causes Prosperity to come into existence', for which see Broekhuis, *De godin Renenwetet*, 105 ff.; Müller, *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien*, 84; Quaegebeur, *Le Dieu égyptien Shai*, 86.

L. 5. The word read *hcpl.w* by the editor is actually *t3.w*, which in demotic can mean either 'the two lands' (i.e., Egypt) or, as here, simply 'the lands'. For proof of the reading see P. Carlsberg 1, ii, 15, where a writing identical to this one serves as the demotic equivalent of hieratic $\frac{\text{Ⓜ}}{\text{XII}} | \text{Ⓜ}$. The same writing occurs in P. Krall, vii, 32; ix, 24; xxiii, 29; xxiv, 5 (where Amon-Rē^c is called *nb nsw* (sic, for *ns.wt*) *t3.w*, 'lord of the thrones of the two lands'), and xvii, 21 (in the Isian epithet *nb.(t) t3.w*, 'lady of the two lands'), and Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, 1 (Papyrus démotiques du Louvre, fasc. 4), pl. 30, l. 2 (in a broken context). The rather distinctive appearance of *t3.w* in these texts is due to the presence of horizontally arranged plural strokes above its initial sign. These strokes are difficult to account for, but may be derived from those of the combination $\text{Ⓜ} | \text{Ⓜ}$, a common component in late hieratic orthographies of *t3.w*, e.g., the one from P. Carlsberg 1 cited above. For $\text{Ⓜ} | \text{Ⓜ}$ in demotic writings of *t3.w*, 'lands', see P. Leiden I 384, iv, 12; xxi, 28; ix, 22. (The last is cited in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 599, but misread there as *t3.w-ntr*.)

Text 15

L. 7. The verb in this line appears to be *pq*, 'tear' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 141), rather than *phr*, 'enchant'. The phrase *iw=f pq hbs* should be translated: 'he tears clothing'.

L. 13. There is not sufficient space for a sign between *h* and *y* at the end of the line. *hy* with 'evil' determinative is a perfectly acceptable writing of the verb 'perish, fall' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 266).

Text 16

L. 6. Read *iw=w rrt* instead of *iw=w rrgq*. For the verb *rrt*, 'attack', with 'evil' determinative as here, in other demotic texts, see P. BM 10232, l. 24 (Revillout, *Corpus Papyrorum Aegypti*, II (Papyrus démotiques du British Museum, fasc. 1), pl. 7); P. Krall, xvii, 8; P. Insinger, xii, 21 and xxvii, 14; P. Carlsberg II, ix, 4 (Volten, *Kopenhagener Texte zum demotischen Weisheitsbuch* (Analecta Aegyptiaca I), pl. 7). The last-cited example has the walking-legs determinative of the present instance as well. Both the Krall and Insinger examples of *rrt* were read correctly in the earliest discussions of those texts (Krall, *Ein neuer historischer Roman in demotischer Schrift*, 43; Revillout, *Journal asiatique* 6 (1905), 309; II (1908), 258), but these early readings have often been ignored in more modern works. Thus, the instance of *rrt* in P. Krall is read *ššt* in the most recent edition of that text (Bresciani, *Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros* (MPER NS 8)), while in Erichsen, *Glossar*, 530, the Carlsberg and Insinger examples of that word are listed under *ššt* as well. However, comparison of the latter with words in P. Insinger like *šty*, 'remove' (xxix, 15) and *štq*, 'prison' (x, 5) on the one hand, and *rš*, 'call' (xvi, 7) and *rfc*, 'be greedy' (xv, 15) on the other, shows clearly that their initial sign is *r* and not *š*. Similarly, comparison of the supposed *ššt* in P. Krall, xvii, 8 with the clearly written *ššt*, 'tear', in P. Krall, xviii, 6 and words in that text like *rn*, 'cry out' (xi, 19) and *rt*, 'bank' (xiv, 9) establishes the correctness of the reading *rrt* for it beyond any doubt.

Text 18

Col. 2, l. 2. The word following *k.t* at the end of this line is *tys*, 'bandage' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 608). For *tys* written with this particular form of *t*, see P. Vindob. D 6257, x+viii, 15 (Reymond, *A Medical Book from Crocodilopolis* (MPER NS 10), pl. 3). For the looped-cord determinative see the writing of *mr*, 'bind', in the preceding line.

Col. 2, l. 7. The traces at the end of this line are of *hsmn*, 'natron', not *hms*, 'salt'. What the editor describes as an 'extra vertical stroke' in n. p, p. 64 is simply the *s* of that word. For other demotic writings of *hsmn* as if it were *hsm* (reflecting the disappearance of the word's final *n*) see Erichsen, *Glossar*, 332. For the use of natron in ancient Egyptian medicine see von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogen-namen*, 369–72.

Text 19

L. 5. *Šth*, with jar determinative, discussed by the editor in n. c, p. 66, is a demotic writing of *šdh*, 'wine', for which see *Wb.* IV, 568, 12–17; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, II, no. 564; Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 737 ff. Other demotic writings of *šth* occur in P. Harkness, ii, 26, where a deceased woman is told: *wšh=w n=t irp šth irt.t r htp r m Twnw*, 'They offer to you *irp*-wine, *šth*-wine, and milk at the great offering-table in Heliopolis', and P. Harkness, iv, 2–3, where the deceased is told: *wšh=w n=t mw šth irt.t r htp šwsw*, 'They offer to you water, *šth*-wine, and milk at the offering-table of *šwsw*-stone.' Compare also the *šthe* written with jar determinative which occurs twice (ii, x+1, 17) in the wine-account O. Leiden F. 1897/6.35 (Nur el-Din, *The Demotic Ostraca in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, 152–4 and pl. 13, no. 186).

L. 8. Since *hwš*, 'male' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 297–8) has no *n*, []*wnš* at the beginning of this line cannot be part of a writing of that word. Read instead []*wnš*, taking the determinative as the tree sign (Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, III, no. 266) rather than the phallus. For the trace of the initial sign, compare the *k* of *k.t*, 'another', in the preceding and following lines. For the hieratic tree sign as a determinative in demotic writings of botanical names, see, among others, the writings of *qyr*, 'reed', in Mag. Pap., vs., xvii, 3, *hbyn*, 'ebony', in Mag. Pap., x, 33, and *sm*, 'vegetable', in P. Insinger, vi, 9. *kwnš* so determined is presumably a demotic writing of the hieroglyphic tree-name $\text{⊃} \text{⊂} \text{⊃}$ (*Wb.* v, 117, 6), which Černý (*Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 59) has identified with Coptic ⲕⲏⲧⲉ , 'fig'. For the medicinal use of the latter see Till, *Die Arzneikunde der Kopten*, 56.

L. 10. Could the fish-name *mlš* be connected in any way with modern Arabic *bulši* (*Tilapia nilotica*)? Arabic *b* as a reflex of ancient Egyptian *m* is unusual, but does occur, e.g., in the place-name *Hurbait* (ancient *Pr-Hr-mrty*). *mlš* might be explained either as a local variant of *in t*, the standard Egyptian name

for *Tilapia nilotica* (Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Ägypten*, 24), or as a neologism. For the medicinal use of *Tilapia nilotica* in ancient Egypt, see von Deines and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Drogennamen*, 35.

Text 20

F. 1, l. 3. If the plant-name at the beginning of this line is read *smwl* (the alternatives are discussed in the editor's n. b, p. 69), then an identification with the plant-name *sml* in P. Krall, xii, 25 may be proposed. Both words have the same determinative, and the variation in their spellings is attested in demotic writings of other words as well. (Compare those of *m(w)h*, 'burn' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 177), *m(w)hrr*, 'scarab' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 177), and *m̄(w)l*, 'onion' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 195), to cite only a few examples.) P. Krall, xii, 25 describes the delivery of some equipment to the hero Pamu by his retainers, saying: *pl̄s=[w s i-ir]-hr=f hr wr sq n sml wt*, '[They] spread [it be]fore him upon a mat of fresh *sml*.' From this passage, it is clear that *sm(w)l* is the name of a type of reed suitable for the weaving of mats or baskets. A further instance of this word is perhaps to be found in P. Carlsberg 14, h, 3, where [] *mw̄l* written with plant determinative occurs in the broken context: [] *mw̄l iw=f r mw̄t* [], [] *mw̄l*, he will die []. Cf. Volten, *Demotische Traumdeutung* (Analecta Aegyptiaca 3), pl. 8.

Text 21

F. 1, l. 3. Specifically, *gtn* is the name of a type of tunic: see Hughes, *JNES* 16 (1957), 57, where cognates of this word in other languages are listed.

F. 2, l. 3. The non-initial use of the unabbreviated form of *ṣ* in writings of the cloth-name *nfr-lḥ* here and in P. Berlin 13639, l. 16, need not imply a foreign origin for it (as the editor suggests in n. f, p. 71). There are many words of indisputable Egyptian origin for which at least one demotic writing with unabbreviated *ṣ* in word-final or medial position is attested. Among them are *mṣ*, 'canal' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 147), *ḏṣ*, 'lack' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 672), *m(ṣ)wy*, 'think' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 156), and *wṣt*, 'send' (Erichsen, *Glossar*, 103), to name only a few. With *nfr-lḥ* may be compared the *nfr-rṣ.t* which occurs in P. Harkness, 1, 22 and 23. The latter word, written with wood determinative, is the name of a type of bark or boat. In P. Harkness, 1, 23, the god Horus Khenty-Irty says to the deceased owner of the papyrus: *ir=y hny tṣ nfr-rṣ.t*, 'I ply the steering oar of the *nfr-rṣ.t*-bark.' (Cf. *ibid.* iii, 22, where this deity is said to ply the steering oar of the deceased's *wtn*-bark.) In P. Harkness, 1, 22, an anonymous captain performs the same function. The initial element in both the cloth-name *nfr-lḥ* and the bark-name *nfr-rṣ.t* is clearly *nfr*, 'good'. The final element in both may be plausibly derived from the *rṣ*, 'type of string, bandage', of *Wb.* II, 393, 11. Compare also *ṣo*, 'strand, ply of cord' (Crum, *Dict.* 290a). Presumably, the names have reference to the soundness of the fabrication of the objects which they designate; in the case of the bark-name, the specific reference may be to the rigging of the bark.

These few additions and corrections in no way detract from the excellence of the editor's work. (Some, it should be pointed out, are drawn from material only recently published and therefore unavailable to him at the time when he was preparing his book.) One hopes that future volumes in the *Texts from Excavations* series will maintain the high standard set by this volume and its two predecessors. MARK SMITH

La Hiérarchie de cour ptolémaïque. By LEON MOOREN. *Studia Hellenistica* 23. 240×155 mm. Pp. 223. Louvain, 1977. No price given.

This is the second part of a three-volume study of Ptolemaic court titles; for the first part, *Aulic Titulature*, see *JEA* 64 (1978), 176–7. In the main this second volume is a detailed commentary on the officials listed in *Aulic Titulature* and is intended to be used in conjunction with the earlier work.

In the first chapter Mooren begins by establishing the different titles making up the system and their relationship to one another. For the most part he follows the views generally accepted today, but he would add to the list the title *τῶν σωματοφυλάκων* and would rank this lowest, below *τῶν διαδόχων* (it should perhaps have been more clearly stressed that, so far, this title has only occurred once for an individual, Aineas, O 131). He also believes that there was a distinction between *τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων* and *ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ*; it is, therefore, surprising that he does not discuss whether the existence of *τῶν διαδόχων* and *διάδοχος*

could be a parallel phenomenon. He next considers the date at which the honorary titles were created, accepting a date in the reign of Epiphanes. He believes that all the titles were created at one and the same time. The evidence for their creation is reviewed, but does not permit a decision on whether the Ptolemies borrowed them from the Seleucids or vice versa. He is certainly right in supposing that the motive for their introduction was to reinforce the loyalty to the throne of the officials so honoured.

In the next section Mooren considers the relationship between official position and court title. Others have believed that from about 145 BC official position was firmly linked to court rank, with no variation permitted for individuals; Mooren goes well beyond this in contending that such a link was always present, right from the inception of the system, and was always rigidly enforced. This bold hypothesis is central to his whole study, and the remaining three-quarters of the book consist of working out the implications of this view in respect of all officials important enough to have court titles.

It might seem that the office of *strategos* straightaway disproves Mooren's hypothesis, since we know of nome *strategoï* simultaneously holding different court ranks. But Mooren argues that in every case this can be explained by the relative importance of the area under a particular *strategos*' control, e.g. the Arsinoite was more important than the Memphite; therefore, its *strategos* had a higher rank. All apparent exceptions are similarly explained away. The author argues forcefully and ingeniously, and frequently his contentions must be accepted. Occasionally he is less convincing. The hardest cases for him are those like that of the *epistates* of Perithebas, who was τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων in 119, but was succeeded by a man who was only in the lower grade of τῶν φίλων (O140-1). Here Mooren contends (p. 124) that the court title corresponds to the military rank not the civic office, but, since both have the same military title, ἑπάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν, this seems improbable. On pp. 162-3 in fact Mooren comes close to admitting that personal variations were allowed in the army; and, if there, why not elsewhere? Difficult for him also are the *dioiketai*. He seeks to explain different court ranks by supposing the coexistence of *dioiketai* in charge of all Egypt and *dioiketai* in charge of sections of the country only, all called simply διοικηταί; this is unconvincing.

But my feeling that Mooren's hypothesis is unlikely to be wholly accurate springs less from these points than from a general impression that his view has all the marks of being the abstract compilation of a scholar at his desk, which can hardly have corresponded to the realities of political hurly-burly under the later Ptolemies. The whole concept is much too rigid. The right approach, it seems to me, was well put by Skeat in 1935 (quoted by Mooren, p. 62 n. 2): 'It is only natural, too, that a *strategos* would expect and be expected to possess the same dignity as his predecessor in office, or his colleagues in neighbouring nomes. Hence, *without any hard and fast rules connecting office with court rank*, precedents would accumulate which it would be difficult to ignore' (my italics).

Nor is Mooren's exposition always free from circular argument, e.g. (p. 79) 'Komanos n'entre dependant pas en ligne de compte pour cette fonction, parce que son titre aulique est trop élevé'; we cannot argue that a court rank is 'trop élevé' for a job when we are trying to establish whether there is a link between job and court rank. This sentence also illustrates what seems to me the most unfortunate aspect of the book, namely the dogmatic tone in which it is written. On p. 12 Mooren says 'l'hypothèse de travail reste constamment une "hypothèse"', but by p. 205 this has become 'lorsqu'on exerce une certaine fonction, on porte à un moment donné un grade aulique bien déterminé'. The author's tone throughout implies that we know a great deal more about Ptolemaic administration than we do or can; the reader must be warned that the author's 'hypothèse de travail' and all the deductions drawn from it are, and can only be, hypotheses.

When this 'hypothèse de travail' is used to insist that an official *cannot* have held a certain post, or that a document *must* be of a certain date, solely because of the court title, it is dangerous. When, however, it is modified only slightly (but fundamentally) in the manner suggested by the quotation above from Skeat, it becomes a valuable and important tool in unravelling the intricacies of Ptolemaic history. For this reason, it seems to me, most of Mooren's conclusions regarding the administration and the prosopography of its officials will stand, at any rate as probabilities, and in this way he can be seen to have appreciably furthered our understanding of this field. This is apart from the numerous minor points which emerge incidentally, among which note the redating of *BGU* III, 992 to 187/6 (p. 78) and of *SEG* xxv 1059 (p. 191), and the new readings for *P. Berl. Zilliacus* 2 (p. 101 n. 1) and *P. Tebt.* III, 743, 5 (p. 216). The book as a whole is clearly written and lucidly argued, and makes stimulating reading not only for students of the Ptolemaic administration but also for all interested in the organization of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

J. DAVID THOMAS

La Religion égyptienne dans la pensée de Plutarque. By JEAN HANI. Collection d'Études Mythologiques. 245 × 160 mm. Pp. 492, 1 pl. Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1976. Price about £20.

Professor Hani has published a valued study of Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium* (Paris, 1972), with a text, translation, introduction, and commentary. He is also the author of several studies which bear on Plutarch and Egyptian religion. In the present book, while he pays attention to Plutarch's allusions to the religion of Egypt in various works, he naturally concentrates on the *De Iside et Osiride*, but his aim is not to provide a line-by-line commentary. He prefers rather to present a general analysis and synthesis of Osirianism as seen by Plutarch, and in so doing he aims at assessing not only the Egyptological data, but also the place of this work in Plutarch's later religious evolution and its significance in a definition of his role as a theologian and historian of religions. By and large he follows the plan of the text itself: after an introduction he discusses the myth and then the differing interpretations of it. In his remarks on other studies (p. 23), including that of the present writer, he makes two criticisms of Hopfner's commentary (1940-1), after noting that it is long since outdated. First, although Hopfner was a master of the Greek magical papyri, he almost ignored the other Greek papyri such as the 'Archives of Zenon' and the Oxyrhynchus papyri. Secondly, he almost completely ignored the works of French Egyptologists. In fact one finds that Hopfner does refer to the works of Mariette, Maspero, Lacau, and Piehl; what he missed was the early work of Chassinat on the temples of Graeco-Roman Egypt and the studies of Montet and Dunand relating to Byblos. Even Bidez and Cumont on Zoroastrianism are mentioned only in the 'Nachträge'. Yet no one can afford to ignore his elaborate commentary, as Hani readily admits. Hopfner's second volume may show signs of the troubles which were afflicting him during his last years in Prague, as Černý, a former colleague of his in that city, once suggested to me.

Hani devotes a brief chapter (pp. 121-30) to the allegorical element in Plutarch's interpretations. Two welcome features of the discussion are the careful assessment of Plutarch's statements not only in the *De Is. et Os.* but also in his other writings; and the correlation of Plutarch's practice to the Greek allegorical tradition. The interesting claim is made that Plutarch's approach is also initiatory, the conceptual links being the idea of secrecy in the Mysteries and the search for hidden meanings in allegory. Not all Hani's arguments are convincing. For instance, the use of the terms *ἀνίρρεσθαι* and *ἀννγμα* (p. 125) is not an indubitable pointer to the Mysteries. Certainly an analogy is applied to philosophy in general when the understanding derived from it is regarded (ch. 68 *init.*) as a guide to the Mysteries (*μυσταγωγός*). But it is surprising to find Hani saying (p. 124, following Buffière) that one does not see in the *De Is. et Os.* the psychological and moral exegesis which one encounters in the other treatises and dialogues. There is surely a shining example in ch. 64, where Typhon is made to represent whatever is without measure and order, whereas the well-ordered, the good, and the useful are associated with Isis and Osiris. This Platonic approach combines the psychological and the moral. The main defect, however, of this chapter is the pitifully piffling attention it gives to the allegorical tradition in Egypt. After a learned discussion of Plutarch's use of symbolical etymology there comes, at the tail-end of the chapter, a brief recognition of the fact that the same phenomenon is found in Egypt, where its use was even more systematic and extensive than in Greece. Other modes of allegory are also attested in Egypt, as I tried to show in a study entitled 'Allegory in Greece and Egypt' in *JEA* 53 (1967), 79-102. Of this Hani states (p. 131 n. 1), 'Son étude, malheureusement, n'apporte rien de décisif'. It is a study which at least establishes in some detail the types of allegory found in Egyptian religious literature; it also raises the question of how far Plutarch, when he encountered such symbolism in the material he was dealing with, was able to convey it faithfully as *ägyptisches Gedankengut* or how far he preferred an adapted Greek interpretation. Two examples may be cited. When he states in ch. 33 that the wisest of the priests are said to regard Osiris as the whole principle and power of moisture, he is presenting 'a Greek refinement, on the lines of Stoic allegoristic, of the native idea' (my art. cit. 87). Here, one would have thought, is a decisive enough verdict which shows how Plutarch was influenced by the Greek philosophical concern with the primary principle, the *ἀρχή*. In an otherwise acceptable discussion of Osiris and the Nile Hani (pp. 144-6) conspicuously fails to make this point. In 11. 355B Plutarch refers to the sun-god arising from a lotus-flower as a new-born babe; he adds that 'thus they represent sunrise, symbolizing the rekindling of the sun from amid moisture'. Here the Egyptian picture of Nefertum might be described as a mythic symbol. Plutarch represents it as allegory, and may be alluding also to the Stoic doctrine that the sun is kindled from the sea (cf. ch. 41); or is he conveying the Egyptian doctrine that the sun emerged from the primal waters of Nun? Decision on this point is difficult. Perhaps he is combining both ideas, and Hani, in an imposingly detailed discussion (pp. 206-7), rightly

regards the whole statement as including authentic elements of Egyptian theology, but rethought in a Greek perspective which is, *genauer gesagt*, Stoic. This book is indeed at its best in its treatment of some of the particular themes encountered in Plutarch's material; it is sometimes less effective in synthetic appraisals.

A substantial chapter (pp. 62–79) is devoted to the Byblos episode. It is richly informative, although somewhat facile and lacking in rigour. Occasionally one is startled by its laxity. On p. 69 we read: 'De toute façon, le culte du *djed*, ou pilier sacré d'Osiris, interprété comme un arbre, atteste assez clairement qu'Osiris est un dieu arbre.' That the *djed*-pillar was not originally Osirian is now well known, one would have thought; even whether it was a tree is doubtful. The god is of course often associated with funerary trees and with the *djed*-pillar, but this does not justify the claim: see my *Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 31, 91, 162. On p. 75 one is surprised to find approval rightly given to the article by Siegfried Herrmann on 'Isis in Byblos', where it is shown that the Eleusinian tradition has left a heavy imprint on Plutarch's episode: cf. my *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (Cardiff, 1970), 319 ff. What is surprising is that up to now Hani has been trying to persuade us that the episode has its origins in the era of the Pyramid Texts. In support he adduces Sethe's arguments, which I regard as flimsy and fanciful. The causative factor in the whole episode, as Hani justly stresses, is a cult of Osiris at Byblos, and the truth is that there is no hard evidence for this before the New Kingdom. No amount of detail concerning early links between Egypt and Byblos can cover that gap. Hani (p. 68) cites an allusion by Newberry to *Pyr.* 1751, where there is mention, we are told, of a sea-crossing made by Osiris after his death; the oars of his ship are said to be made of juniper and cypress wood—typically Lebanese trees. Hani adds: 'Ce qui veut dire qu'Osiris revient du Liban.' The force of this argument dwindles when we recall that all sea-going Egyptian ships probably used trees from Lebanon, and it collapses when we note that Osiris is neither named nor addressed in the relevant Pyramid utterance. Hani does preserve, it should be added, a vestige of logical consistency on the question of Eleusinian influence; it is only a *part* of Plutarch's myth about Byblos that he views as thus affected. Recently Hellmut Brunner in *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 37–40, has argued that Osiris and Byblos may be associated in *BD* 125: see my *Origins*, 28–34. In any case, this does not concern the Old Kingdom.

A wealth of documentation characterizes much of this valuable work, and the section on animal cults is especially strong. It is also good to see that Hani does not share the current contempt of *Quellenforschung*. He discusses Plutarch's sources in his Introduction and takes them into account in subsequent comments. Perhaps they should have been borne in mind more prominently in the final assessment. Hani's judgement (p. 468) that Plutarch is without doubt antiquity's best historian of religions is worth pondering. His predecessors, especially his sources, were tainted, it is suggested, by Euhemerism, while after him Porphyry and Iamblichus were too often hindered by their rather frenzied mysticism. Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride*, it must be agreed, offers a résumé of all the anterior Egyptological literature—at least that which was subsumed in Greek writings. But its value varies with the sources deployed, and the Manethonian stratum is by far the most impressive.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

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