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FOREWORD

READERS of the *Journal* may not at first sight realize that the present volume marks the introduction of new printing techniques. Up until volume 69, the method known as Letterpress was used, in which individual letters and signs were produced by the hot-metal technique. Sadly, the Oxford University Press, like most printers, has been turning over to more modern methods of printing, using computer setting for production by offset-lithography. The new technology is quicker and cheaper. For the *Journal* and other Egyptological publications an obstacle in the way of using the new technology has been the printing of hieroglyphs. The Oxford Press has managed and used the splendid Gardner hieroglyphic fount since 1927 when it was produced for the printing of Sir Alan Gardiner's *Egyptian Grammar*. Our *Journal* has been printed at Oxford since 1933. It has now been possible, with the financial help of a number of institutions, including the Egypt Exploration Society, to computerize the Gardiner fount at Oxford, and this volume of the *Journal* represents the first original piece of printing in which the new version of the fount is used. Readers may judge how successfully the transition to modern technology has taken place, and we hope that by using such modern technology the costs of printing can now be substantially reduced.

Work was resumed in 1983–4 on most of the sites with which the Society is at present involved. Mr Kemp has enjoyed another successful season at El-ʿAmarna:

> The team assembled at the site during the last week of February; excavation began on 6 March. The excavating team this year consisted of only two site supervisors, Ann Bomann and Linda Hulin, working in two areas, around chapels 570 and 571, and within the Main Chapel, 561.
>
> *Chapels 570, 571*. The squares opened so far delimit the site on the north and probably on the east, revealing courtyards. Further examination of the front of Chapel 571 has also clarified the nature of the two building periods present. In the earlier one the chapel forecourt was approached by a path lined by walls, in one of which was constructed a mud-brick basin. When the area around the chapels has been examined, the team will move eastwards to cover ground where traces of other walls are visible. This work is part of a general policy of running down excavation in the south part of the site in order to concentrate the work increasingly in the ground east of the Walled Village.
>
> *Main Chapel (561)*. The principal result so far has been the clearance of debris covering the floor of the Inner Hall, revealing a second limestone offering-table and flight of steps leading up to the Sanctuary. Amidst the debris from the collapsed walls are more fragments of painted plaster, a few with hieroglyphs. Along the west side of the chapel the opening of new squares has revealed the tops of walls belonging to an annexe on the north side, still deeply filled with sand and rubble. Because the walls in this part are preserved to shoulder height, and the debris contains many architectural fragments, a valuable architectural study should result.

The 1921 Chapels. During last season a start was made on reclearing selected examples of the chapels excavated by Peet in 1921. This has been continued. Chapel 522 has been cleared and planned, and the team for this work has now been moved round to no. 528. This one was chosen because of its unusual plan, and because it was suspected that an arrangement of stones in the middle might mark the position of a T-shaped basin. This has been confirmed. In front of the projecting pedestal and stairway (?) planned by Newton in 1921 a deep T-shaped basin with the ruins of a 'quay' has appeared as well as the remains of an attached garden. 'Chapel' 528 is thus more likely to have been a forecourt to the whole group 528–31, and for this reason it is intended to reclear and plan the whole group.

Further work is also in progress on the contour-mapping of the whole Workmen's Village site at a 1:250 scale.

Amarna Survey. Salvatore Garfi is now well into Sheet No. 5. This includes the large area of official buildings running south from the Great Palace. Although unexcavated, many wall-outlines of courtyards and large building blocks can still be discerned.

Study Work at the House. Textiles: Gillian Eastwood is making good progress with the collection of around 3,500 textile specimens which offer a unique opportunity to study a wide range of domestic textiles from the Pharaonic Period. The pieces recorded so far include identifiable parts of garments (tunics and loincloths), 'tailors'' offcuts, cushions, nets, and bags. One weaver's mark has also been identified. Although the majority of the pieces were made from undyed flax, examples of red- and blue-dyed flax and woollen textiles have been discovered.

Botany: Dr Jane Renfrew has begun the study of the palaeoethnobotany of the Workmen's Village, initially with two aims: to establish the range of cultivated plants used in the village, and to elucidate the nature of the deposits which have a high chaff/straw content. In the single week of work undertaken so far, 300 samples have been examined, leading to the identification of twenty-six species. It has also proved possible to distinguish various kinds of 'rubbish', including dung, ash, and sweepings from the chapels. The value of expert opinion here is its capacity to explain the derivation of deposits which are not related to structures. This is a pilot study with the aim of establishing a more regular botanical examination of material in the future.

Painted Wall Plaster: Barbara Garfi is cleaning and conserving the quantities of painted wall plaster fragments from the Main Chapel, found last year, and continuing to appear this season. It is proving possible to find many joins and to form related groups, though many aspects are still not clear. Some designs are standardized floral motifs, but some appear to be parts of designs very hard to recognize and identify, though in brilliant colours. More of it still remains to be excavated.

Pottery: Pamela Rose and Paul Nicholson are continuing to catalogue the pottery, the former concentrating on material from the Workmen's Village, the latter continuing with the North City sherds collected in 1981.

Dr Martin reports as follows on recent work in the New Kingdom Necropolis at Saqqâra:

The joint Egypt Exploration Society–Leiden expedition worked on the site from 5 January to 29 February 1984. A complete facsimile record was made by the Field Director of all relief fragments and texts from the tomb of Tia and Tia not copied in the previous season. Mr Frazer completed his work on the plans and sections of the tomb, Dr van Dijk studied the inscribed material, and Mr Aston prepared a detailed catalogue of the pottery finds. All the material is now to hand for the publication of *The Tomb of Tia and Tia: a Royal*

Monument of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite Necropolis. Professor Schneider finished his study of the objects from the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb in preparation for volume 2 of *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb*. Preparations were also made for excavating, recording, and X-raying the intact cache of Late Period mummies from the tomb-chambers of Iurudef (within the Tia complex). This work will occupy the expedition during the 1985 season.

Memphis continues to yield intriguing results:

The archaeological survey of Memphis had a further successful season, beginning 20 October and ending 30 December 1983, the staff comprising Professor H. S. Smith, Mrs H. F. Smith, Messrs. D. G. Jeffreys and P. G. French, Dr W. J. Tait, and Miss Mariam Kamish. The work was concentrated on northern Memphis. Complete site maps are being built up by Mr Jeffreys. Professor Smith and Miss Kamish made a full record of all the loose masonry blocks on the site, whether inscribed or uninscribed, and these were photographed by Mrs Smith. Several interesting and important sites of past excavations that had been lost were rediscovered or identified. Among the more important of these were an apsidal church(?) near to the Museum; parts of a pink granite colossus of Ramesside date (of which the fist is in the British Museum) on the eastern approach to the great Ptaḥ temple; a pink granite relief of a king near to the presumptive east gate of the Ptaḥ temple; an extensive Roman or Byzantine stone building of uncertain character on Kom Khanzir; another Roman–Byzantine site on Kom Dafbaby; and a possible church site south of Ezbet Gabri. On the eastern edge of the mounds was identified the probable site of the Roman port of Memphis. Portions of large mud-brick enclosures of the Late Period were observed on many of the mounds; they are at least eight in number, and in several instances adjacent to each other. The loose-block survey charted several clusters of inscribed architectural elements, mostly thrown up by relatively recent digging of shelters by the military authorities. Most of these blocks are of granite, and, when inscribed, exhibit Ramesside cartouches, confirming the widespread temple-building activity of that time. Mr and Mrs Mathieson once more generously gave their time to conduct a detailed resistivity survey for the Society; it is hoped next season to test the area covered by excavation. Meanwhile, Mr French continued his valuable analysis of the pottery from the stratified settlement site at the Anubieion, Saqqâra, and gave advice from time to time on pottery from Memphis, and Dr Tait worked on demotic letters from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at Saqqâra, as a necessary preliminary to the editing of *Saqqâra Demotic Papyri*, volume 2. Mr Jeffreys has now virtually completed in two seasons his work on the topographical survey of the central ruin-field of Memphis (areas occupied by the military being excluded), and hopes to be able to publish his results in the near future.

The Society's recent season at Qaṣr Ibrîm has been unusually successful:

Work at Qaṣr Ibrîm was begun on 8 January 1984 and continued until 24 March. The field team consisted of Dr J. Alexander and Mr B. Driskell (field archaeologists), Mr J. Knutstad and Miss K. Fernie (architect and surveyor), Mr P. G. French (recorder), Ms E. Crowfoot and Mrs N. Adams (textile analysts), Dr P. Rowley-Conwy (plant/animal remains analyst), Miss P. Rose (ceramic analyst), Miss M. Stafford-Blustain (basketry analyst), Dr M. Hainsworth (epigraphist), Mr E. Adams and Miss M. J. Foley (computer scientists), Mr A. Bonner (photographer), Mrs D. Driskell (domestic bursar), and Dr M. Plant (medical officer). Professor W. Y. Adams helped greatly in the preparations for the season and joined in the field-work for the first two weeks.

It had been intended to devote this season to study of the Early and Classic Christian remains at Ibrîm, but, on arrival, the extremely low level of Lake Nasser made a partial change of plan necessary. The eastern quarter of the walled settlement had been flooded

before more than a small test excavation could be carried out, and it had long been assumed that this part of the site had been destroyed. A drop in the lake's waters of some 10 m exposed all but a small part of the flooded area and trial excavations showed that much, expecially of the earlier periods of settlement, survived. As a result, effort was concentrated on the flooded area as a continuation of the UNESCO rescue programme. Overall, the excavations proved unusually rewarding, mainly because of the extraordinarily low level of the lake. The year's most important finds will probably prove to be: 105 Meroitic inscriptions which have increased the total corpus known by 10 per cent. They include a dedication (on a probable temple lintel) by a king of Ibrîm and the two longest inscriptions yet found anywhere; three substantial Meroitic houses which were excavated and a probable Meroitic palace which was delineated but not excavated; an X-Group/Christian complex of a non-domestic kind which was excavated and which seems to have been part of a palace reused as a monastery; and 749 manuscript fragments in Old Nubian, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic (some with two languages on the same document from sealed Christian levels of the eleventh–fifteenth centuries AD).

Lamentably, the period 1983/4 has not been all gain for Egyptology. Abroad the deaths have occurred of a number of distinguished scholars: Professor Abraham Rosenvasser, Buenos Aires, 9 June 1983; Professor Hans Julius Wolff, 23 August 1983; and Dows Dunham, 10 January 1984. The death of Dr Labib Habachi on 18 February 1984 will be a source of particular regret to members of the Society. He was indisputably the outstanding Egyptian Egyptologist of his generation and through his work in the Antiquities Service and in less formal contexts contributed enormously to the development of Egyptological knowledge. He was an unwearying exponent and champion of work on Egypt's standing monuments, particularly those of the Delta, and in the course of decades of field-work made discoveries of fundamental importance of which the most significant were the Ḥeqaib complex at Aswan (1946) and the Kamose Stela at Karnak (1954). Nearer home we have to report the passing of Professor T. W. Thacker on 23 April 1984. A scholar of unusual breadth, he won particular distinction for his important work *The Relationship of the Semitic and Egyptian Verbal Systems* (Oxford, 1954), but in later years he devoted much of his energies to the development of Oriental Studies in the University of Durham where the School of Oriental Studies which he created stands as a fitting memorial to his catholic interests and tenacity of purpose.

On a less sombre note, we have to record the resignation of our secretary Mrs Shirley Strong who has been appointed as Chief Commissioner of the Girl Guides Association for the London and South-east Region. Her sterling service has been much appreciated both by the committee and the membership, and it is gratifying to report that her good-humoured efficiency will still be available to the Society on an informal basis. She has been succeeded by Dr Patricia Spencer, a Liverpool graduate in Egyptology, to whom we all extend our best wishes for a long and successful tenure of office.

THE TOMB OF TIA AND TIA: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SAQQÂRA EXCAVATIONS, 1983

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

THE second season of excavations lasted from 17 January to 18 March 1983. The work of the joint expedition was directed by the writer, the other staff provided by the Society being Miss J. D. Bourriau (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge), Mr K. J. Frazer (surveyor), and Mr D. A. Aston (Birmingham University). Those representing Leiden were Dr M. J. Raven, Dr J. van Dijk (Groningen University), and Mr M. Vinkesteijn (photographer). To Dr Aḥmed Kadry (President of the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities), to our Inspector on the site (Mr Mohammed Assem Abd el-Sabour), and to other Egyptian friends and colleagues, especially Mr Sayed Amer el-Fikey (Director of Saqqâra) we tender our warmest thanks for their courteous and efficient help at all times. Dr and Mrs R. Peters (Netherlands Institute, Cairo) gave us generous hospitality on several occasions.

During the previous season[1] approximately two-thirds of the monument had been excavated, revealing a large courtyard, originally colonnaded, an antechapel, side chapels, cult room, and pyramid. This year, in addition to clearing the substructure of the tomb, the pylon came to light, as anticipated, preceded by a paved forecourt[2] and small porch. Between the pylon and the colonnaded court is a rectangular open court. The full plan of the monument as now fully revealed is shown in fig. 1 and pl. III, 1. From the former all measurements and other pertinent data can be ascertained. The tomb, as befitted the sister and brother-in-law of Ramesses II, was conceived on a grand scale, though the architecture and decoration on the whole are somewhat shoddy compared with the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb adjacent to the south. There is plenty of evidence of hurried workmanship, and the load-bearing walls are not of solid masonry but consist of skin walls (orthostats) of limestone packed with rubble. Given the vast amount of building activity that must have been taking place throughout the country and in Nubia during the reign of Ramesses II, competent masons and artists must have been at a premium, and the funerary monuments even of members of the royal family and the highest officials sometimes show evidence of inferior work. The tomb of Tia and Tia is of interest from many points of view, not least since it is the first large tomb of the Ramesside Period in the Memphite necropolis to have been revealed and planned in its entirety. Full details of all decorative and architectural elements are reserved for the final publication, but a few interim notes relating to the recent excavations are given here.

[1] *JEA* 69 (1983), 25–9.

[2] The depth of superincumbent debris to the east side of the tomb prevented the complete clearance of the forecourt at this stage.

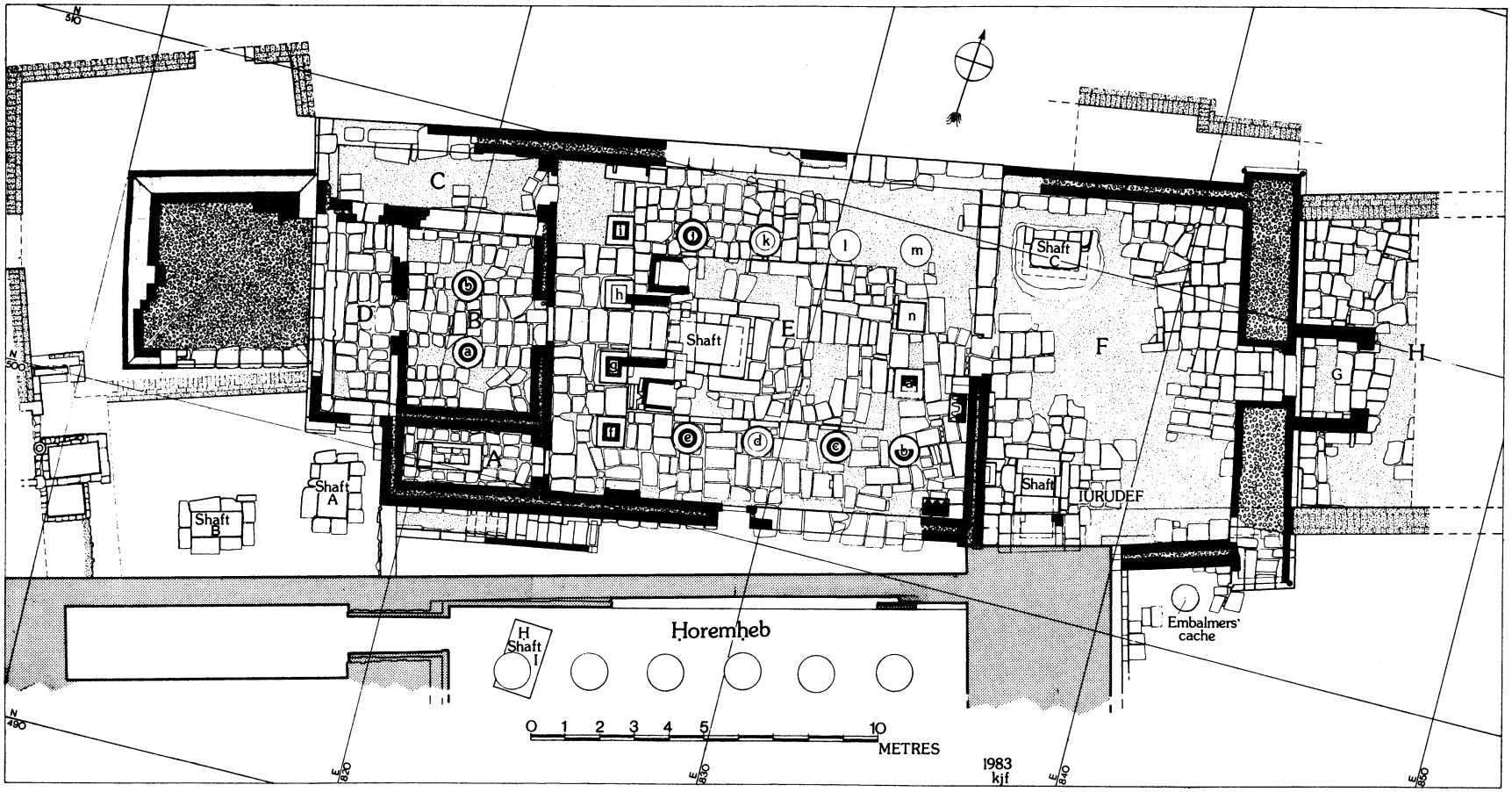


FIG. 1. The tomb of Tia and Tia

The interior and exterior façades of the porch (see pl. III, 2) are inscribed, but the texts are much weather-worn here. The pylon is decorated according to the following scheme. On the inner face of the north wing the king, doubtless Ramesses II, makes offering. On the exterior and interior jambs the king offers above, and the official Tia adores below (see pl. IV, 1). On the thickness of the doorway the king, wearing the ceremonial archaic dress, is confronted by the queen (?), who was doubtless worshipping him (her hands are missing). In a large cartouche adjacent is the text: [*Ra*]*messes, beloved of Osiris, lord of Abydos* (see pl. IV, 3). The scheme was similar on the south wing of the pylon, except that on the thickness of the doorway the official Tia adores the king, while the cartouche text reads: [*Ra*]*messes, beloved of Sokar, lord of Rostau.* In this wall are the cavities which once held the pivots for fastening the wooden door of the tomb. The pylon itself survives to a maximum height of 1.65 m. The upper decorated parts are thus all lacking and were not found in the clearance of the tomb. A number of cornice blocks inscribed with cartouches of Ramesses II are doubtless from the top of the pylon, and these, together with others found in the debris of the forecourt of Ḥoremḥeb's tomb in previous seasons, will be examined in detail next year. One cornice block is inscribed with the text: *He made* (*it*) *as a monument for his father Osiris, foremost of the West*, normally associated with temple dedications. The predominant theme in the surviving scenes of the tomb is that of the royal family and the tomb owners offering to or worshipping the gods, a situation which emphasizes the monument's similarity to a temple.

In the open court, adjacent to the pylon, a heap of shattered fragments of relief was uncovered, and a few others had been neatly arranged in antiquity in a row at right angles to the pylon. On examination some of these could be reconstructed, and proved to be part of the decoration of the north wall of the court, having been dismantled, doubtless in the Coptic Period, for reuse elsewhere. Part of the reconstituted wall[3] shows the husband Tia adoring, and includes a representation of Isis (see pl. IV, 3), a fine and deeply incised example of Ramesside sculpture. As remarked in the previous report, much of the limestone masonry of the great monument was carried off in antiquity, and, to judge from the number of shattered pieces, numbering some hundreds, found in the excavations, the tomb was used as a ready-made quarry. The fragments provide valuable evidence for the overall decorative scheme, and will all be drawn next season for study in the final publication.

It is worthy of note that the forecourt of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb stands at a level of (ASL) *55.67 m, and that of Tia and Tia adjacent at *56.65 m. It is apparent that the north wall of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb and the north boundary wall of his forecourt provided the Ramesside builders with an ideal retaining wall behind which they could backfill to create a terrace 1.0 m high, upon which the superstructure of the Tias' monument was constructed. Without the artificial

[3] Now standing 3.0 m high. The work of assembling the disparate fragments was largely that of Dr Raven, ably assisted by Dr van Dijk.

terracing the tomb would have been overshadowed to some extent by that of Ḥoremḥeb.

A sondage immediately to the south of the pylon, in the courtyard of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, brought to light an intact cache of embalmers' materials, some evidently stored in a fragment of a magnificent painted storage-vessel with moulded Ḥaṯḥor decoration (see pl. V, 2). The contents have yet to be examined scientifically, but a preliminary check of the cache shows that it consists of: (1) long cylindrical ('sausage-shaped') packages of a white material, doubtless natron, wrapped in linen; (2) flattish cake-shaped packages of the same, linen covered; (3) rough ball-shaped packets of the same; (4) fragments of indeterminate shape; (5) parts of jars containing natron (?) with fragments of linen and a few sherds and pebbles embedded in the material, probably the debris gathered up from the floor of the embalmers' workshop after the completion of the work; (6) a black powdery substance. The pit in which the deposit was placed was about 90.0 cm deep, measured from the pavement of Ḥoremḥeb's forecourt. The date of the cache is still an open question, but study of the pottery vessels in it should narrow the limits in due course. On the pottery found between 1982–3 Mr Aston writes as follows:

Although the pottery recovered from the main shaft and its associated burial chambers remains to be studied in detail, very little of the material can be ascribed with any certainty to the burials of the Tias. Nevertheless the ceramic repertoire as a whole is not without interest as a number of large deposits and several closed pottery groups came to light during the work.

South of the staircase which originally led up to the roof of the antechapel and cult-room a large New Kingdom deposit was found at ground level, probably to be associated with the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb. This proved to consist of seventeen large, two-handled marl clay amphorae, used to store water as two of them bore hieratic dockets:[4] *Water of the Inundation brought from Patju*, and *Water from Djufe brought from Djufe on (?) on the East Bank* (see pl. V, 3). Accompanying these were two relatively large Nile-silt plates, and a large blue painted funnel-necked vessel with a schematic lotus design on its upper belly. A quantity of New Kingdom sherds was also extracted from beneath the staircase. Sixty-seven different pots, all broken before being deposited, could be recognized. Some had been utilized by artists and masons for the mixing of paints and plaster. Another interesting discovery here was ostraca, twenty-four figured and three inscribed, present in the sherd group. Within the forecourt of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, as has been noted above, a sondage led to the discovery of a New Kingdom embalmers' cache. This awaits detailed study, but appears to comprise some twenty large Nile-silt storage vessels, most of which had lids encased in plaster. This deposit also contained several Nile silt platters with red-washed rims, and a reused blue painted Ḥaṯḥor vase, the Ḥaṯḥor face and applied cow's head being modelled with the fingers. Four further embalmers' caches, dating to the Late Period, were also found by the expedition. These were all uncovered loose in the sand, consisting of 22, 18, 6, and 4 vessels respectively. By far the largest deposit of pottery dates to the Coptic Period. This was found in the main court, just above floor level. Though a little contaminated by earlier material, it contained 105 different pots of 79 different types.

The pottery from Shafts A, B, and C was very mixed, badly broken, and sometimes very

[4] The dockets were read by Dr Raven.

worn. The material from Shaft A was very weathered, with 30 per cent of the Nile-silt sherds defying definite identification. Of the remainder, 13 Late Period vessels, 10 Coptic pots, and 8 New Kingdom pieces were identified. In the burial chamber of Shaft A were 13 Late Period, 8 Coptic, and 6 New Kingdom pots with 15 per cent of the Nile-silt sherds unidentifiable. In Shaft B were 9 Coptic, 8 Late Period, and 5 New Kingdom vessels, with one Hellenistic sherd,[5] 10 per cent of the Nile-silt sherds not being identified. In the burial chamber of Shaft B were 20 New Kingdom, 13 Coptic, and 11 Late Period pots, with 10 per cent of the sherds being unidentifiable. In Shaft C we collected 15 New Kingdom, 13 Coptic, 5 Late Period, and 2 Old Kingdom vessels, 5 per cent of the material being unidentified. The burial-chamber of this shaft was not fully excavated owing to imminent collapse, but a sample of sherds was collected, all proving to date to the New Kingdom, with evidence of 12 pots, including a fragment of a Mycenaean Late Helladic IIIA.2–B stirrup jar (FS 183) with linear decoration.[6] Other Mycenaean Late Helladic IIIA.2–B sherds were found in the surface debris. These comprised another stirrup jar (FS 183) with linear decoration, a rim of a cup (FS 220) with a weathered 'V' pattern (FP 59), and two joining sherds of a mono open form. A Mycenaean(?) vessel with linear decoration was also recognized after further study of the ceramic material from Shaft II of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb. Other foreign pottery found in the surface debris during the excavation of the tomb of the Tias included a rim sherd of a Cypriote Bronze Age White Slip II milk bowl, an Attic Greek lekythos shoulder fragment of the late sixth to early fifth century BC, a Hellenistic carinated bowl sherd,[7] 3 sherds of Roman African red-slip ware, and several pieces of imported Canaanite and Aegean amphorae.

The original location of the 'staircase cache' mentioned above has yet to be determined with certainty, though as indicated it may derive from the neighbouring tomb of Ḥoremḥeb. In addition to pottery and ostraca it contained among other objects the remains of a cat burial in a small wooden coffin.

As noted previously the substructure of the tomb was cleared this season. The main shaft is located in the second or colonnaded court, the plan being shown in fig. 2. There are emplacements for several burials (see pl. V, 1), so that probably the entire family of Tia and Tia was once accommodated here. Some pieces of the fine granite sarcophagus of the husband were found below and in the superstructure, including a fragment that joins on to the piece that has for many years been in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (no. ÆIN 48).[8] Surprisingly little else remained of the original tomb furnishings, which must have been robbed and dispersed in antiquity, the burial chambers, like most of those in the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, being used for later interments. The almost total lack of skeletal material in the shafts, chambers, and superstructure, may also be remarked upon. Shafts A and B yielded little except fragmentary sherds and some shabti figures. However, the numerous New Kingdom and later objects found in the necropolis since 1975 will provide valuable evidence on funerary equipment and practices in the Memphite

[5] Identified (from a drawing) by Professor R. A. Tomlinson.

[6] I am grateful to Dr K. A. Wardle and Mrs D. Wardle for their help in identifying the Mycenaean sherds. The FS and FP numbers refer to A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery* (Stockholm, 1941), shape and pattern numbers respectively.

[7] I owe the identification of the Hellenistic sherd, and the date of the lekythos fragment, to Professor Tomlinson.

[8] *PM* III², 654–5.

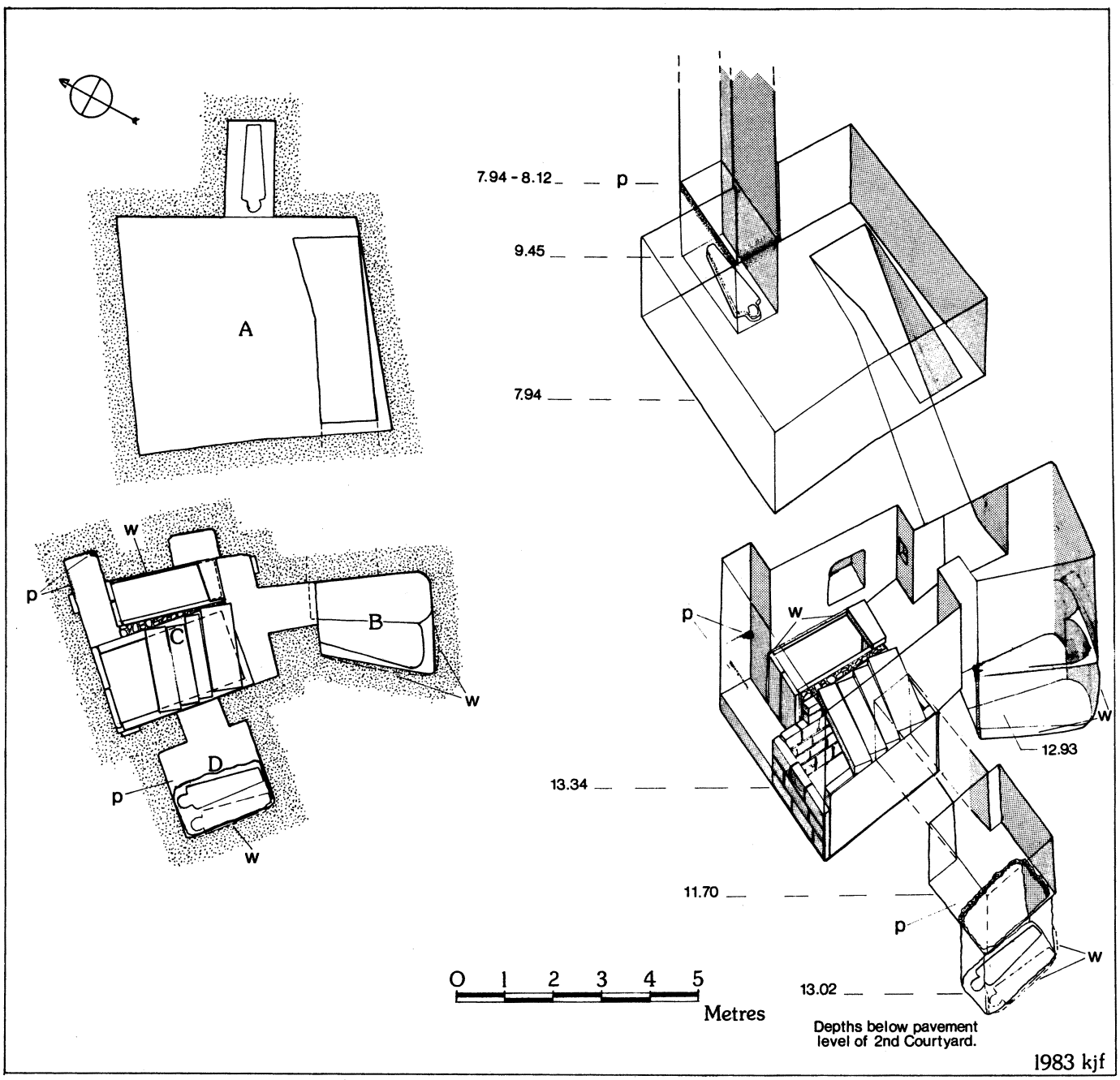


FIG. 2. Substructure of Tomb of Tia and Tia

area, which will ultimately be instructive when compared with Theban and other material.

Two members of the princess's household were evidently buried in the first or open court of the tomb, doubtless a signal honour. One (Shaft C) was robbed out except for sherds, and is now in a collapsed and dangerous state. Its counterpart on the

south side of the courtyard is the shaft of the tomb-chapel of Iurudef, a functionary in the entourage of Tia and Tia, and thus doubtless important and influential in his day in the city of Memphis. He is represented a number of times in the tomb of the princess and also on a stela in Durham (no. N.1965).[9] His shaft descends to a depth of some four and a half metres, at which depth rooms open to north and south. These chambers, which can only be glimpsed from the shaft, appear to be full of wooden coffins, some inscribed, probably of the Late Period or early Ptolemaic era (there may be as many as forty). These are completely undisturbed since antiquity, and, as far as can be seen, are in a good state of preservation. To find a deposit of such magnitude is perhaps unique for the Memphite necropolis, at least in the present century, and it is thus of considerable interest and importance. The coffins themselves and their contents (among which will doubtless be funerary papyri and amulets) will furnish information on a somewhat neglected period of Egyptian history, and the intact mummies will be of great interest from the medical and anthropological points of view, not least if it transpires that the burials are those of one family or group of families. All in all, the discovery has presented us with a challenge and responsibility of a high order, necessitating detailed planning and the use of specialist equipment, including X-ray apparatus, in order to obtain the maximum amount of information. The shaft has been refilled and sealed pending the planning operation.

Concurrently with the excavation certain parts of the monument were being repaired, conserved, and made safe at the expense of the expedition. Full restoration is out of the question since so much of the masonry was removed in antiquity. The north wall of the first court (see pl. IV, 3) has already been mentioned, and other blocks and fragments were reset in position in various walls. Shattered pillars were pieced together from fragments and remounted in the colonnaded court.[10] On each Tia is shown supporting the *djed* pillar (see pl. IV, 2), but his wife is not shown on these architectural elements. The interpretation of this typically Memphite iconographical feature is placed on a firmer footing now that examples have been found for the first time *in situ*. Work was also begun on reconstructing the pyramid, a unique feature in New Kingdom Memphite funerary architecture. The platform on which the pyramid stands was repaired and in places rebuilt, and part of the casing on the north and west sides was repositioned. The podium and pyramid are inscribed, and a translation of the texts is here provided by Dr van Dijk, who copied the weather-worn inscriptions in facsimile:

The text around the base of the pyramid consists of two *ḥtp dỉ nsw* formulae, both beginning in the centre of the west side of the podium and continuing around the corners to the south and north respectively. The northern text is addressed to *Ptaḥ-Sokar-Osiris, who dwells in the Shetyt, Min in* [. . .] *and the* [. . .] *Ennead of the Netherworld* (ỉmḥt) *of Naref, that they may grant* (*the ability*) *to go out as a living ba and to praise Rēʿ, to the* ka *of the royal scribe and overseer of the treasury of the temple of User-maʿat-rēʿ-setep-en-rēʿ in the domain of Amen-rēʿ-king of-the-gods Tia, true of voice*. The other, southern, text, which is partly lost,

[9] *PM* III², 740. [10] Again, Dr Raven and Dr van Dijk were responsible for this painstaking work.

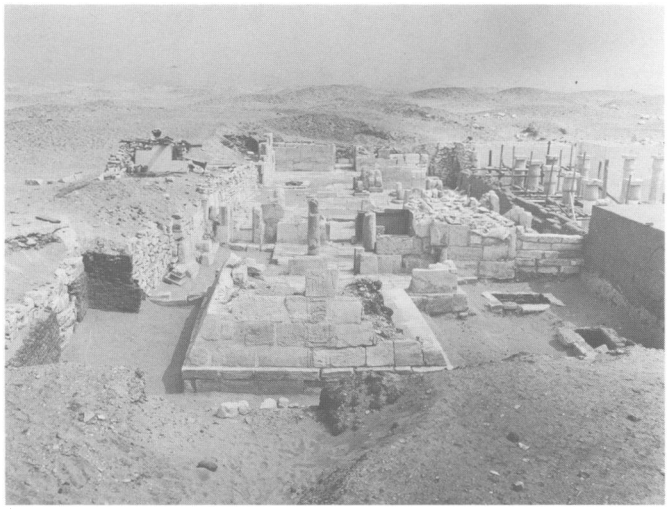
invokes *Rēʿ-Ḥarakhty, the great god, lord of heaven, the* [*great one of*] *Heliopolis, the prince of Thebes, the pillar of heaven who supports the sky* (ỉwn n pt rmn ḥrt), *lord of eternity, ruler of his Two Shores, who sets beautifully as one who shows himself in the West* (ḥtp nfr m dỉdỉ sw ḥr ỉmy-wrt) [. . .]. Most of the epithets enumerated here are usually given to Atum, the setting sun, but since the setting sun is the rising sun in the Netherworld, as explained in the last phrase of the inscription, they are here applied to Rēʿ-Ḥarakhty.

All the reliefs and texts in the tomb have been cleaned and conserved, and the damaging salts removed. This work was carried out by personnel of the Antiquities Organization at Saqqâra, and the writer would like to pay tribute to their skill.

As clearing operations were being carried out around the pyramid at the end of the season the mud-brick walls of at least two other tomb-chapels began to emerge on the north and west. On the jamb and part of a wall on one are inscribed the names of two officials: *ỉrỉ n nb tꜣwy Ḫ*. . . . (?), also called *ỉrỉ nwb*, and the *ḫry pḏt n šwyt n pr-ḥḏ pr-ʿꜣ ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb Ḫʿy*, and his son *Ḫʿw-ỉmn*. On the bottom part of a stela against the façade of another is named the *ḫry pḏt n pꜣ* [*mšʿ ? Rʿ?*]. These potentially interesting tombs will be dealt with after the completion of our 1984 study season at the tomb of Tia and Tia.

Postscript

Further study reveals that the hieratic dockets discussed on p. 8 should be translated: *Water of the Inundation brought from Patju* (f.), and *Choite water brought from the Choite nome which is on the Western River*.



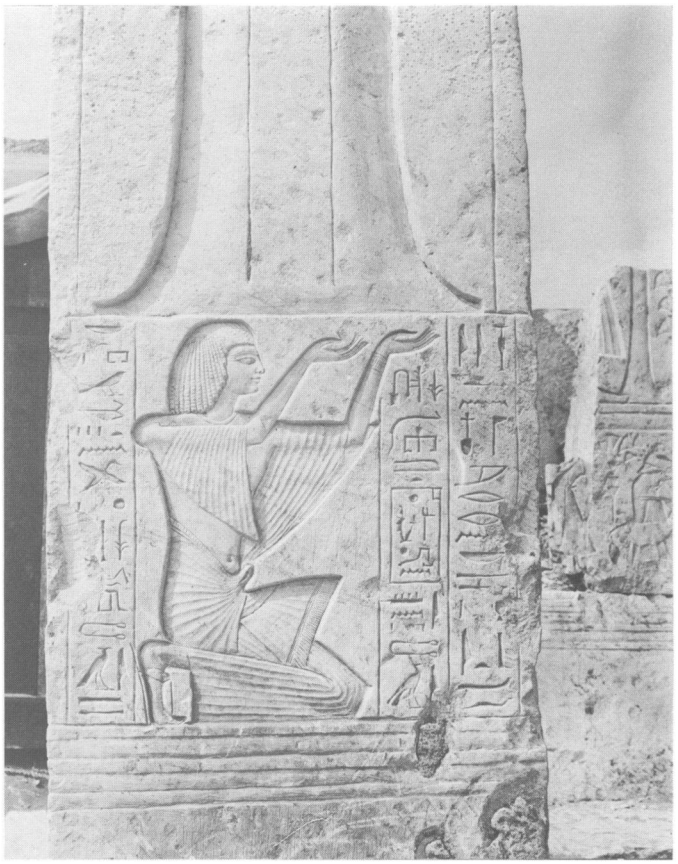
1. Tomb of Tia and Tia, from the west

2. Portico, from the east

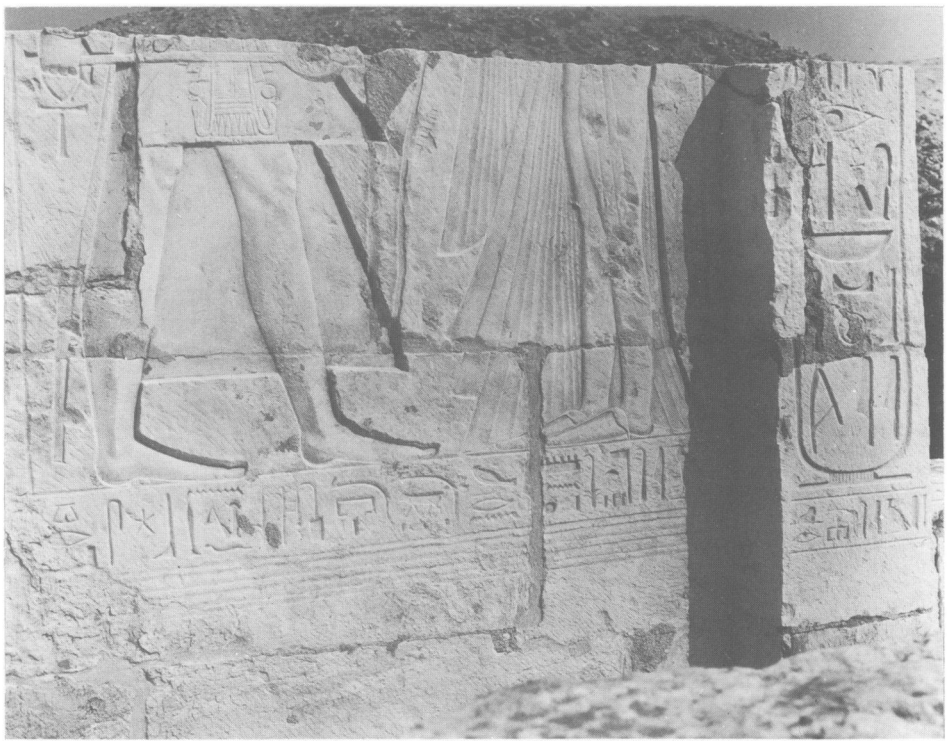
3. First court, reconstructed north wall

THE TOMB OF TIA AND TIA

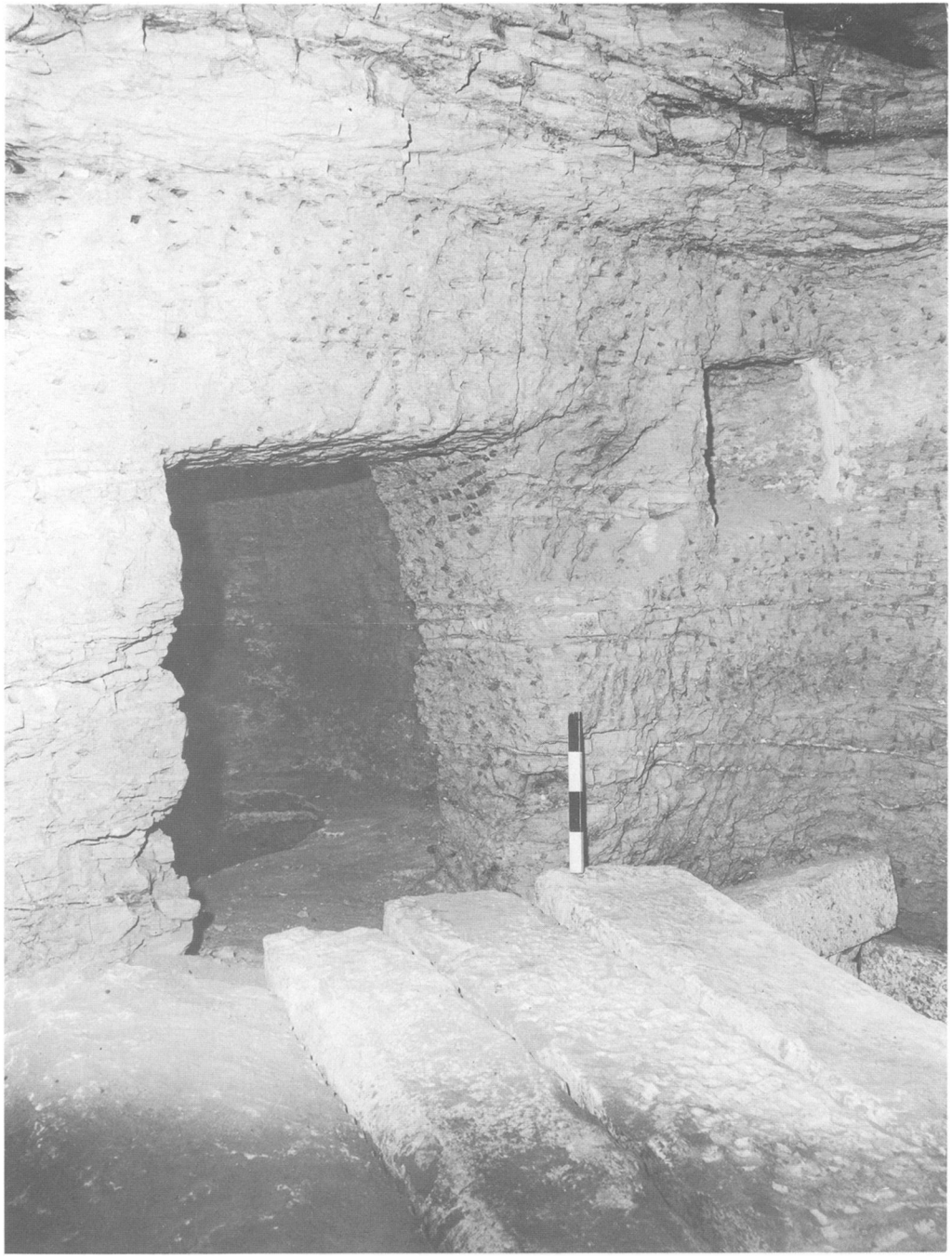
1. Pylon, south wing, outer jamb



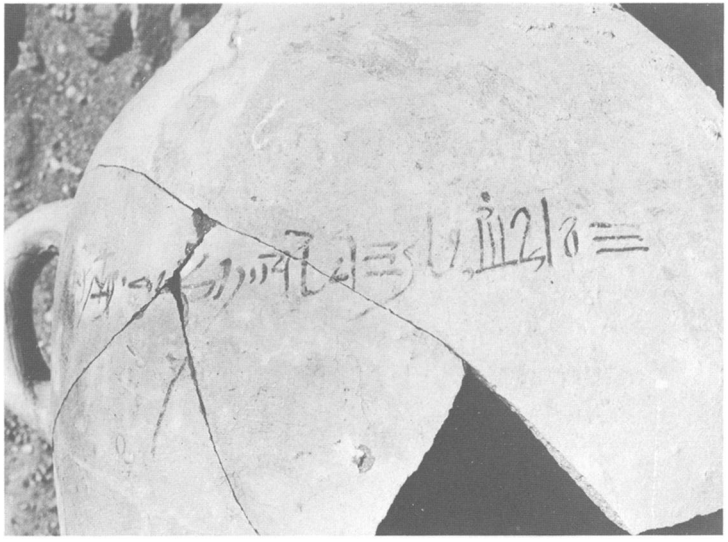
2. Second court, column f, east face



3. Pylon, north wing, thickness of doorway



2. Ḥaṯor sherd from embalmers' cache



ABYDOS, TEMPLE OF SETHOS I: PRELIMINARY REPORT[1]

By JOHN BAINES

THE Egypt Exploration Society has carried out three short seasons of epigraphic and architectural work with the aim of completing the record for vol. v of Amice M. Calverley *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, whose plates have been more than half complete for a number of years. Because fieldwork for the volume is now nearly complete but publication is some way off, it is appropriate to give a brief account here, concentrating on aspects that do not fit well in the final volume.

Work on site ran from 27 September to 11 October 1979, 26 September to 22 October 1981, and 19 March to 17 April 1983. Staff were J. R. Baines and C. J. Eyre (all seasons); J. W. George, S. Matthews, and N. C. Strudwick (1981); A. de Joia, W. Weiser, and P. Wilson (1983). Inspectors for the Egyptian Antiquities Organization were Mr Rifaat Farag (1979), Mr Maged Azmy Yusuf (1981), and Mr Gamal Khalil Kaddis (1983). We owe a great debt to the Antiquities Organization, its successive chairmen, Drs Shehata Adam and Ahmed Kadry, and Mr Mutawwa Balboush and Dr ʿAli el-Khouli, as well as to staff of the Public Relations department under Mr Gamil Shakr. Mme Amina el-Gamal in Sohag, Mr Hussein el-Afyouny in Qena, and Mr Maged Azmy Yusuf in El-Balyana have also been of the greatest assistance.

In the following, I describe the progress and methods of the fieldwork; changes in the design and building of the Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar; the Upper Gallery; and the photographic archive.

Fieldwork: Areas Covered and Methods

The area to be published in vol. v is the northern part of the southern extension of the temple (see fig. 1). Of this, the Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar, the chapels of Nefertem and of Ptaḥ-Sokar, the northern half of the Gallery of the Lists, and the Stairway Passage were decorated in relief, but not given their final painting, at the end of the reign of Sethos I. The Corridor was carved in relief under Ramesses II, as were the entrance to the Hall of Barques and most of the walls of the hall itself. Painted decoration of the reign of Sethos I survives in the areas never carved under Ramesses II or Merneptaḥ, that is, part of the Hall of Barques and its associated Staircase, the Upper Gallery, and the doorway into the South-east Court. The south face of this doorway bears sunk relief of the reign of Sethos I, almost the only decoration of this type and date in the temple. The south-western outer wall of the temple also has reliefs of Ramesses II.

[1] I am most grateful to C. J. Eyre for commenting on a draft of this report.

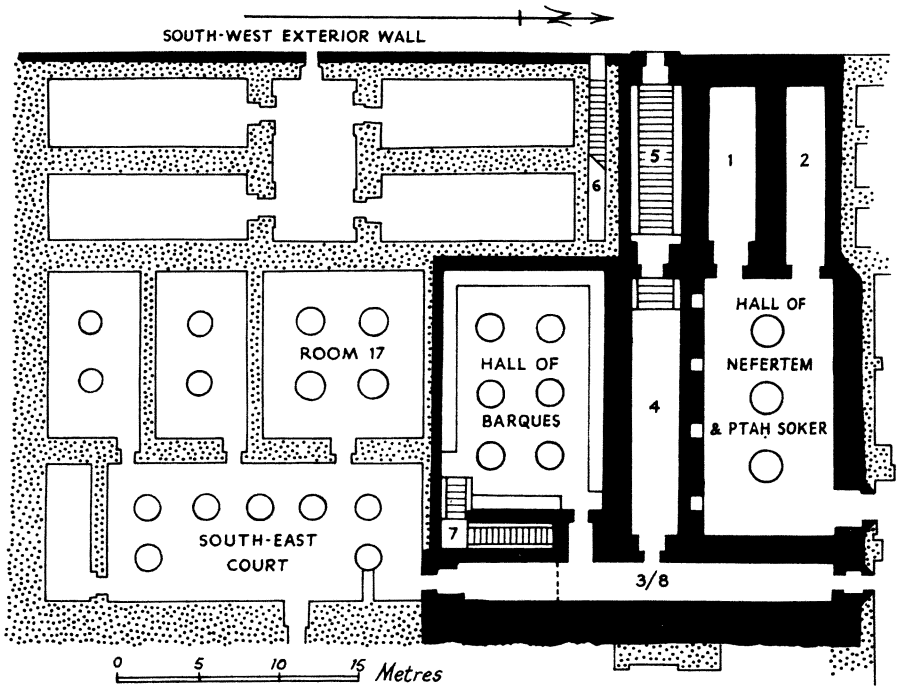


FIG. 1. Temple of Sethos I, southern extension, general plan. Redrawn by Marion Cox from A. M. Calverley *et al.*, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, I pl. 1A. Walls in solid black are to be published in vol. V.

1. Chapel of Nefertem
2. Chapel of Ptaḥ-Sokar
3. Gallery of the Lists (see fig. 4)
4. Corridor
5. Stairway Passage
6. Upper Staircase
7. Staircase from Hall of Barques to Upper Gallery
8. Upper Gallery (north of dotted line: see figs. 3–4)

It is no longer practical to produce the kind of reinforced photographs that were perfected in vols. III–IV, so that it has been necessary to evolve new methods for recording the reliefs and paintings. It was also decided to do a certain amount of architectural work, in response to a concern for the dimensional accuracy of the record and to a feeling that in the earlier volumes it was difficult to site the decoration in context, except where large sections were reproduced, often to a very small scale. Since no separate publication of the architecture of the temple is in prospect, as much as possible that is architecturally interesting has been noted, but this has been done within the context of a primarily epigraphic expedition, not as an undertaking in its own right. We hope that the resulting new volume will both be an adequate successor to its remarkable fellows and advance understanding of the temple on a slightly broader front.

Because of the variety of decorative techniques in the area studied, several different methods of recording have been used. The material inherited from Miss Calverley and Gigi Richter Crompton, who worked on the project after Miss Calverley's death in 1959, consists largely of reinforced photographs. There are also line drawings, mostly based on photographs, of areas that could not be

reproduced in reinforced photographs. For technical reasons a certain amount of this work has had to be rejected and replaced with new photographs or facsimile tracings made at full scale on the walls themselves. Some new photographs will also be used to produce reduced facsimile drawings of the largest inscriptions, such as those on the architraves in the Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar. The reliefs are of superb quality, and a photographic publication is necessary in order to allow their artistic character to be appreciated and studied. Even the reinforced photographs change the relief by simplifying the delicate and expressive modelling of outlines, where the subtlest effects are to be seen. Some well-preserved areas, where the reading of the inscriptions is not in doubt, should, therefore, be reproduced in unretouched photographs.

The chief areas unsuitable for presentation by photographic means are severely damaged walls (notably the end walls of the chapels of Nefertem and of Ptaḥ-Sokar), awkwardly shaped features such as the vertical inscriptions on columns, curved surfaces on columns or vaults, and the paintings, which are uniformly too faint to be visible in photographs. Some drawings were previously made from rubbings of reliefs, but these are less accurate than drawings from photographs or facsimile tracings, so that this technique has been largely eliminated. All facsimile tracings have been made on transparent acetate film, immediately redrawn on synthetic tracing film. Many of the originals are very large and detailed. It will not be possible to include all this detail at the degree of reduction required for publication, so that some selection or partial reproduction at larger scales will be necessary. These difficulties of scale apply still more to the paintings in the Hall of Barques, which present additional problems of a different kind. The degree of preservation varies at the extremes between slight differences in stone patina, which betray the former presence of signs or figures, and full, if faint and fragmentary, colour. The colour repertory is not the same as that of the coloured reliefs in the main area of the temple. Where less than full colour remains, information must be retrieved from successive, often contradictory, stages of work, of which eight or more can be distinguished. Because not enough of any one stage remains to yield a coherent copy, the drawings are composites, representing attempts to recover all relevant traces, and have a complex appearance that does not make for easy decipherment. They should be seen as records that are as full as possible of the processes that lead to a finished painting, preserved to a different extent in different places due to variations in the current state of decay; they are not reconstructions or records of the final product. The underlayers of the painted decoration preserve substantial traces of preparatory grids and other composition marks, among the first to be recovered in a temple. A grid is also discernible on the north wall of the Corridor, but this probably relates to an earlier, obliterated stage of painted decoration and not to the sunk relief of Ramesses II that is now on the wall. Ambiguities of this sort are visible on the south wall of the Hall of Barques.

Because much of the record is based on photographs, its dimensional accuracy cannot be guaranteed. It will also be necessary to reproduce different areas at

different scales according to the amount of detail preserved, the technique of recording used, and the interests of economy in book production.[2] In order to overcome these problems and to present large areas as unities, measured elevations have been made for all wall surfaces. At the same time, the areas to be published have been replanned at a scale larger than that of previous plans. The elevations include the defining edges of scenes and registers, and profiles of broken stonework, all of which is at the tops of walls. The masonry itself has not been recorded, but is visible on all copies that reproduce photographs, either reinforced or unretouched. A detailed record of the masonry would involve extensive work appropriate to a full architectural study. Our limited architectural investigations have, however, produced results on two points that are worth outlining briefly here.

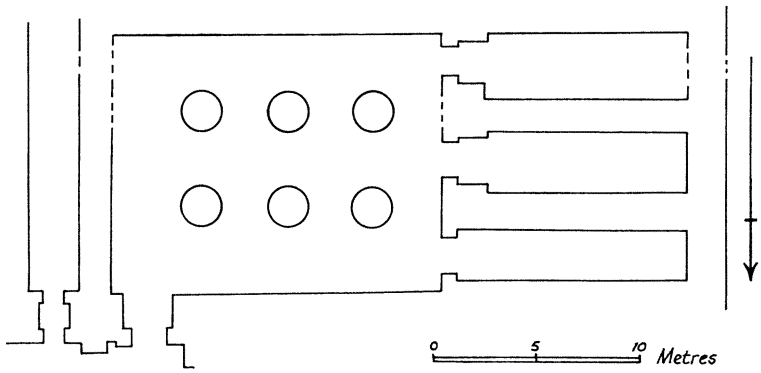


FIG. 2. The Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar, suggested first design. Schematic plan by Marion Cox.

Modifications in the Plan of the Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar

The south wall of this hall was originally planned and executed as a row of three columns on the same alignments as the northern set of columns which can now be seen. At this stage there were probably three chapels opening off the three-bay hall, all of them vaulted structures of generally similar size and form.[3] Their owners were presumably, as later, Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar, with the third perhaps dedicated to a Memphite goddess, such as Sekhmet or Ḥathor.[4] There was then no access from the temple to the desert west of it, except from the South-east Court by way of the south outside wall. This first stage of construction is shown in fig. 2. The plan was then changed, before any decoration was executed, and the sandstone columns were infilled with limestone to form the south wall of the hall. This created a corridor to

[2] Compare the comment of Gardiner in the Introduction to Calverley's vol. IV, viii.

[3] This reconstruction has been presented by A. R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (*c.* 1300 B.C.) (Warminster, 1973), 167–8, without detailed observation or plans.

[4] It is impossible to say whether the same chapels were dedicated to the same deities in the first plan. Since the decoration was probably not executed until after the changes in plan, the ownership could have been reassigned without leaving any trace. Any evidence derived from such features as the relative proportions of the different chapels, which are not identical, would be very tenuous.

the south, leading to a staircase which was built within the third chapel and is now known as the Stairway Passage. In its turn this led, by way of the South-west Exterior Wall, to the Upper Staircase on to the roof. In this new arrangement the Corridor, in particular, is hard to parallel in other temples of the period, in most of which rooms open directly from one to another. Reasons for the new layout can be seen both in requirements for ritual purity and for separation of inner areas of temples from the outside world, and in the practicalities of access to the various rooms involved.

The original columns in the south wall of the Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar are visible as sandstone piers, between which the limestone infill corresponding to the upper register of decoration has been robbed away. The column bases were cut down, but can still be seen as projections on the paving of the floor on both sides of the wall (visible in pl. VI, 1). On the south side of the wall, in the Corridor, the frieze—the architrave in the first plan—is the only element decorated in raised relief of Sethos I. This detail probably does not date to an early decoration of the hall in the first plan, but reflects later procedures, in which decoration was executed from the top down. No other decoration relates to the first plan, and apart from this wall nothing in the structure itself shows unambiguously that the design was changed. This is particularly striking in the Corridor, with its doorway from the Gallery of the Lists, because the doorway, and hence the final form of the Gallery, can hardly have been in the first plan. At the top of the Stairway Passage, the accommodation to the new design in the doorway leading out of the temple is architecturally awkward and the modern reconstruction correspondingly uncertain; the door must have been very low. Under Ramesses II the design was changed again here, and access to the Upper Staircase on to the roof was gained from within the Stairway Passage without leaving the temple. The outer door into the Upper Staircase was then walled up.

The Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar thus preserves evidence of changes of design at an early stage in construction. Modifications of this sort can rarely be identified in Egyptian temples.[5] The succession of stages has implications for the general understanding of temple construction. Since it was possible to change surrounding walls more discreetly than the columns within the area they enclosed, the columns must have had a certain priority in the execution, even though the architraves supported by columns rested at their ends on the walls. The detailed implications of this are, however, uncertain, because the Egyptians expended such enormous amounts of labour in their buildings and may have been willing, at least in the initial stages, to go to great lengths to conceal a change in plan.[6] The columns could be plastered and incorporated fairly easily, while it was, in any case, normal for the floor-paving nearest to a wall and the lowest course of masonry in that wall to be made in a single process. At doorways, where sandstone lintels had to be inserted into the mass of limestone, some rebuilding would have been unavoidable, and a

[5] Cf. R. Tefnin, *CdÉ* 50 (1975), 136–50.

[6] Compare the comment of A. St. G. Caulfield, *The Temple of the Kings at Abydos (Sety I)* (ERA 8, 1902), 11, §26.

great deal more than the minimum may have been done. A further imponderable is that the stage of work at which stone was dressed smooth is not known with any precision; before dressing, quite substantial changes would be relatively easily dissimulated.

The Upper Gallery (see figs. 3–4 and pl. VI, 2–3)

The northern part of the Gallery of the Lists has a strikingly low ceiling consisting of monolithic sandstone slabs. Both floor and ceiling slope gently upward from north to south. The southernmost section of the gallery, south of the entrance to the Hall of Barques, has no ceiling preserved and a wall height roughly double that of the rest. The area above the northern part, which will be termed the Upper Gallery here and in the final publication, is reached from a staircase leading out of the Hall of Barques. The Upper Gallery is significantly wider than the Gallery of the Lists. In structural terms this is reasonable, because the Upper Gallery's walls supported relatively little weight. There could, however, be other reasons for the difference.

No wall of the Upper Gallery or its approach is preserved to anything like its full height and the decoration is extremely faint, so that any reconstruction is uncertain. The Staircase contains a procession of fecundity figures leading down from the gallery to the Hall of Barques, offset only by a ceiling band of inscription running in the other direction; this means that the gallery must be anterior and secondary in function in relation to the hall, which in turn appears to service the main parts of the temple proper. The chief problems posed by the gallery are its final form and the nature of its decoration. First, it is necessary to describe it briefly.

The south wall of the Upper Gallery is the same as the parapet at the south end of the low-ceilinged part of the Gallery of the Lists; it is preserved for only one course above the floor level of the Upper Gallery, which forms a flat, raised area here. The Upper Gallery's east wall is almost entirely lost, and all decorated surfaces are missing. At the north end of the east wall is a doorway which leads into empty space. The position of this makes it unlikely that it was a 'window of appearances', but it is not clear what access could have been planned for it. Apparent traces of a staircase further east on the south outside wall of the hypostyle halls might suggest that it was to be reached from a platform or walkway abutting that wall.[7] These traces are, however, probably misleading; they are more likely to be the staggered points at which the smooth dressing of this wall was abandoned. The function of the doorway, therefore, remains enigmatic. There is no access from the Upper Gallery on to the rest of the temple roof; any rituals involving the roof must have passed through the Stairway Passage and Upper Staircase.

The north and west walls are slightly better preserved and retain faint painted decoration, apparently in the same style and technique as the other paintings of the reign of Sethos I in the temple (no cartouches remain). The figures in the decoration were extremely large, and on the west wall there was at least one fairly long text.

[7] Caulfield, op. cit., pl. 25 top R at D, and David (n. 3 above), 195, both make this suggestion.

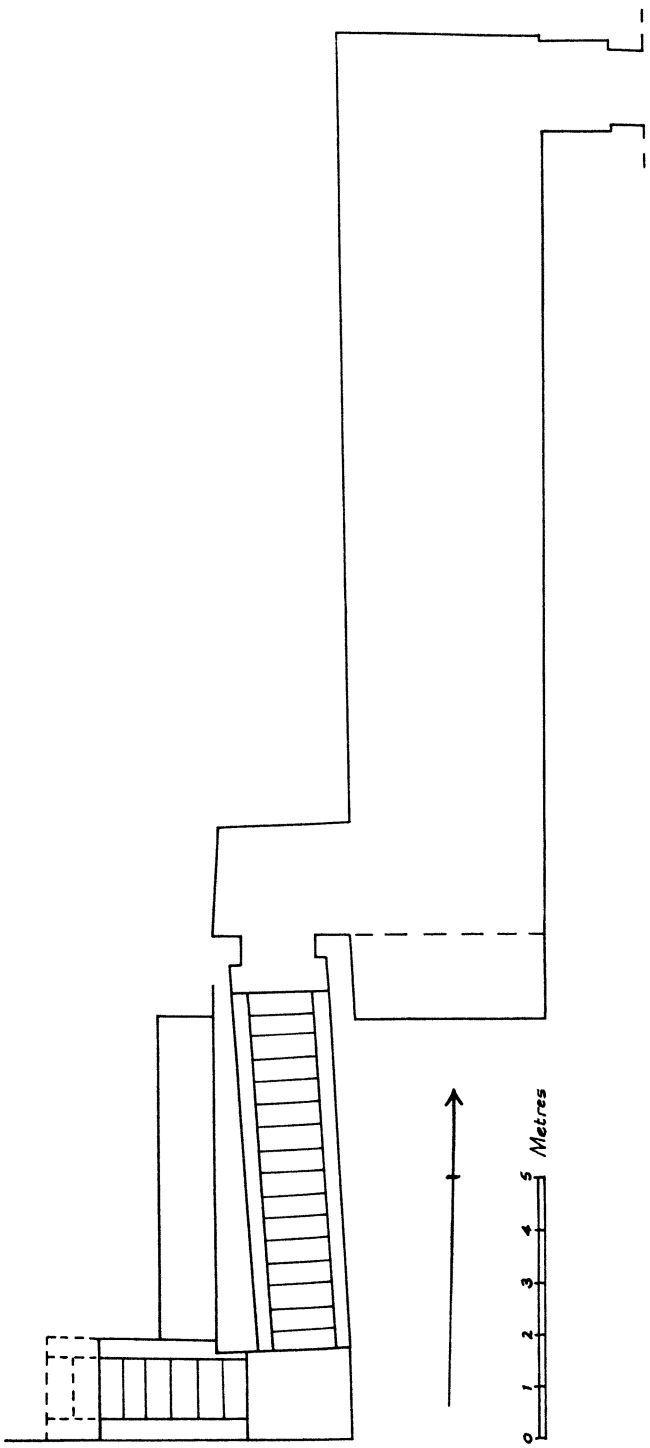


FIG. 3. The Staircase from the Hall of Barques and the Upper Gallery, plan; surveyed by Winfried Weiser.

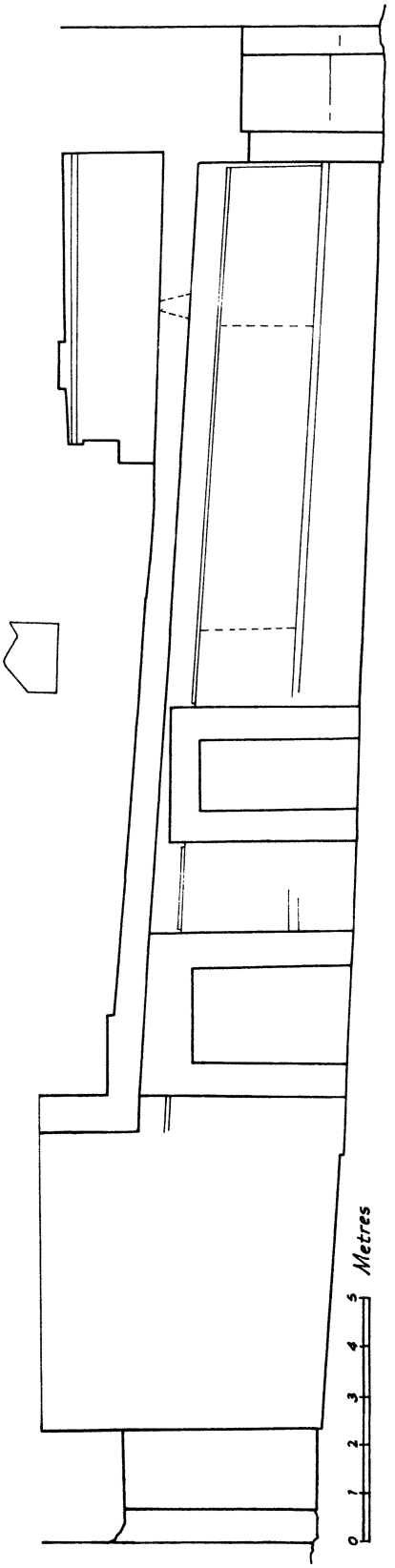


FIG. 4. The Gallery of the Lists and Upper Gallery, section looking west; surveyed by Jeff George, Stephen Matthews, and Winfried Weiser.

Figures of the king probably faced in the same direction as in most other parts of the temple, from east to west and in this case also from north to south. No more than the general orientation of the decoration can now be reconstructed, only some feet and the bottoms of legs being identifiable. Since this decoration is comparable in character and technique with other interior areas, I assume that the Upper Gallery was roofed.

The large scale of the figures precludes any reconstruction with a low ceiling; the probable height is between 4 and 4.7 m. In theory the area could have been open to the sky, but there is no parallel for a fairly small space enclosed on all sides but open above, while the minimum ceiling height, which gives a total height to roof level of *c.* 8.4 m for the two superimposed galleries, is identical with the overall height of the hypostyle halls (8.4 m),[8] and so would fit the general design of the temple.[9] It is less clear how the southern part of the Gallery of the Lists was related to the taller Upper Gallery. If it was roofed at the same height, the accommodation of the upper part of its south wall to the ceiling blocks of the doorway into the South-east Court must have been adroitly managed, with the adjacent ceiling of the colonnade in the court tongued into the wall above. Such a reconstruction cannot be disproved from the extant masonry, but seems unlikely. Another factor here is the presence of an east-facing air- or light-scoop in the ceiling of the Hall of Barques (pl. VI, 3), which one would expect to be adjacent to a level, unencumbered surface. If the galleries had a tall ceiling here, this would not have been the case. The most probable reconstruction is that the southern roof of the Gallery of the Lists was a course above that of the colonnade to the south, like the 'clerestory' of Room 17 (visible in pl. VI, 3); it is not clear how the roof would have been accommodated to the south wall of the Upper Gallery. This leaves the height of the roof of the top of the staircase and of the vestibule to the Upper Gallery uncertain. All these features were fitted into a very tight space, and the walls here are much thinner than is normal in a temple. However all this may be reconstructed in detail, it is improbable that part of the Gallery of the Lists was open to the sky while all other contiguous areas were roofed.

Thus both the Upper Gallery, which has received almost no mention in the literature,[10] and the Gallery of the Lists present unique features in their sloping floor-lines—which accommodate to variations in ceiling height and access routes, and possibly to the terrain on which the temple was built—and, for the latter, in the existence of two different elevations and ceiling levels. Any decoration there may have been in the southern part of the Gallery of the Lists has disappeared

[8] The elevations in Calverley's vol. IV, facing p. vii and on p. viii, give different ceiling heights. The estimate I give here is based on an *in situ* measurement of 7.808 m (which is between the two) for the ceiling of the west part of the Second Hypostyle Hall, and an average thickness of 600 mm for roofing slabs.

[9] The context is visible in the exaggerated section of Caulfied (n. 6 above), pl. 24 top, where a dotted line marks the roof of the Gallery of the Lists/floor of the Upper Gallery.

[10] Caulfield, op. cit., 10, §22; David (n. 3 above), 195. Caulfield's reconstruction (pl. 25 top R at Q) with a further stairway in the south-west corner of the Upper Gallery, is not supported by any traces. His posited roof to the southern part of the Gallery of the Lists has the slabs running in the wrong direction.

completely, but it probably had paintings of the reign of Sethos I like all the other areas around it.

The Photographic Archive

The publication of the temple is based largely on photographs taken by Miss Calverley at different times between 1928 and 1949. The glass negatives of these, long believed lost, have been recovered since 1980 and supplemented with very extensive series taken by Herbert Felton in 1925–7. The total number of negatives, in formats from 127 × 102 mm (5″ × 4″) to 298 × 238 mm (12″ × 9½″), is between 1,500 and 2,000. They cover the entire temple, except for most of the painted rooms in the southern extension and various small parts of the outer areas that have been excavated since the Second World War. There is much duplication of views in different formats and lighting conditions but rarely more than one identical negative. There are also substantial gaps. The current expedition has rephotographed certain sections, to be published in vol. v in 127 × 102 format, including some paintings which have been recorded in colour. There are considerable problems of conservation with the glass negatives. All but the most decayed are being treated chemically and cleaned. They will then be contact-printed, so that they can be consulted without handling the originals. It may be possible to copy irretrievably damaged negatives from contact prints. The most important negatives are obviously those which record unpublished parts of the temple, especially when, as in the Hall of Barques, they show decoration that has deteriorated significantly in the last few decades. There is, however, also a more general value in the archive. Any publication that is based on photographs but is not simply a photographic print omits some information on the negative; even published prints seldom equal their originals in quality. Consultation of the photographs allows a check on the publication and may add supplementary information, especially from sections of the negative cropped away from the published print. Miss Calverley's method of reinforcing photographs required work to start from a low-contrast print, with the result that the artist's share in the final product was maximized and the photographer's (the same person in her case) minimized. When some of her negatives are printed at high contrast, they produce renderings at least as good as the published reinforced copies. While such negatives are of the highest quality, the archive as a whole is rather variable, and for some sections of the temple it does not constitute either a satisfactory record or a basis for drawings for publication. For the outer courts the negatives could probably serve as the nucleus of a publication, but this is not the case with the crucial First Hypostyle Hall.

Most of the photographs were taken during the modern restoration work on the temple, before many parts received their present roofs. It was, therefore, possible to record in full some walls that are now very dark; because of the large scale of the reliefs, it would be very difficult to achieve comparable results with artificial light. In the temple's former state of partial demolition, many architectural details were visible that can now only be inferred. The old photographs, therefore, help greatly in

the interpretation of methods of construction and of the sequence of work. Here they have been particularly valuable for the Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar. In the restoration, which was a major engineering project, it was inevitable that some details should be damaged, and the photographs sometimes show these intact.

In these and numerous other respects, the photographic archive is an irreplaceable resource for studying the temple. Miss Calverley seems to have left no notes to complement it, which is perhaps not surprising, since she saw herself as an artist and technician rather than an Egyptologist. It is not practicable to publish the archive, but in the long term such a record will be second in importance only to the monuments themselves. The published volumes are a distillation of what the authors considered most significant, produced within the technical limits of printing. The archive offers considerably more (except for information on colour), but anybody who works on the standing monuments will know that it is impossible to produce a record of any sort that will do duty for the original, even if this impossible feat must be the ultimate goal.

1. Hall of Nefertem and Ptaḥ-Sokar, looking south-west
(photograph taken by natural light)

2. Upper Gallery and Staircase, looking north.
Foreground: modern covering of the southern part of the Gallery of the Lists. Background: roof of the Second Hypostyle Hall

3. Upper Gallery and Staircase, looking south
On the right is the reconstructed air scoop of the Hall of Barks

Photographs by C. J. Eyre

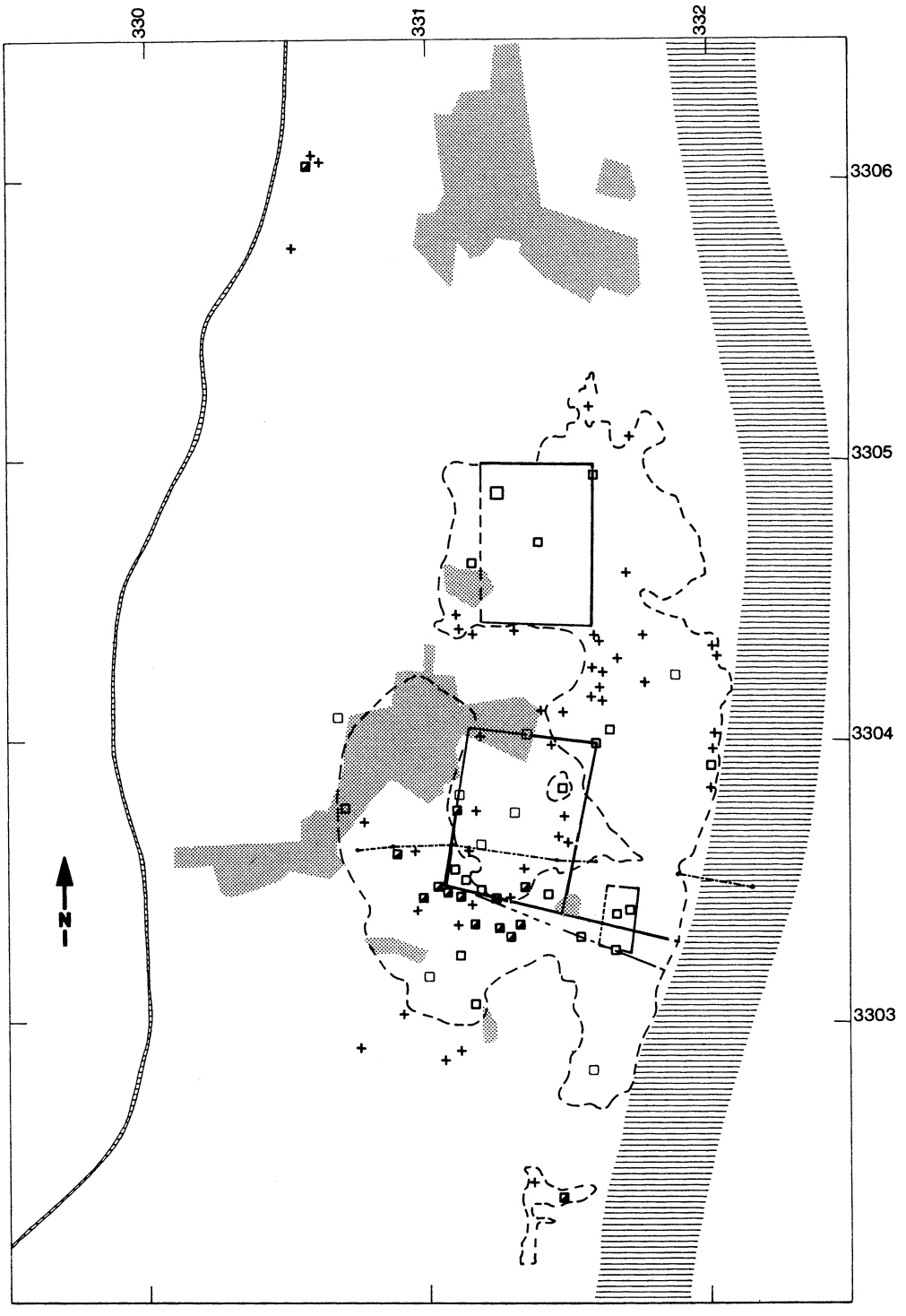
THE SURVEY OF MEMPHIS, 1982

By D. G. JEFFREYS, J. MALEK *and* H. S. SMITH

THE Egypt Exploration Society began its Centenary campaign to survey and record the ruins of ancient Memphis on 24 September 1982, having undertaken preliminary investigations in autumn 1981.[1] The survey concession granted by the Permanent Committee of the Antiquities Organization covered the south-western region of the ruin-field, comprising Kôm Râbi'a, Kôm Fakhri, and Kôm Sabbakha. The Society is deeply grateful to the Antiquities Service for its co-operation in this project for the communal benefit of Egyptological science. At the administrative level Dr Aḥmed Ḳadry, Senior Under-Secretary of State and Head of the Antiquities Organization, and Dr Maḥmud Abu Raziq, Director-General for Egyptian Antiquities, were of great help in setting up the project, while thanks are due to many members of their staff for assistance in matters of detail. Mr Sa'id el-Fikey, the Director for Memphis and Saqqâra, aided the Society in their day-to-day work on site with all his usual efficiency and cordiality, while Mr 'Abd el-Kerim Abu Shenab, Inspector of Memphis, and Mr Muḥammad Ḥusni, the inspector attached to the expedition, co-operated in the work, which continued until 22 December.

The Society's staff comprised H. S. Smith, Mrs H. F. Smith, D. G. Jeffreys, J. Malek, Miss L. L. Giddy, P. G. French, and Miss H. McKeown, with the addition of Dr E. Strouhal, the distinguished Czech anthropologist, who came at the Society's invitation with the permission of the Náprstek Muzeum, Prague, to examine and report on the skeletal material from the cemeteries underlying the Saqqâra Anubieion. Mr and Mrs I. J. Mathieson spent a fortnight working with the Society's expedition, in which they generously undertook a programme of resistivity survey. With the courteous consent of Mme P. Posener-Kriéger, Director of the Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, M. J.-F. Gout undertook for the Society the specialist photography of the reliefs and inscriptions of the temple copied by Dr Malek and Miss McKeown. M. C. Décobert, also of the French Institute, visited for a few days to study the topography of the site in relation to his work on Arabic manuscripts. Miss H. Ganiaris also joined the Society to advise and report on future conservation needs. Finally, M. M. Wuttmann, also of the French Institute, visited the work in order to report on the condition of the stonework of the temple. A contribution of an equally valuable order was the loan of a distomat theodolite by the American Research Center in Egypt, by kind permission of the Director, Dr Robert Wencke. To all these persons, and especially to our foreign colleagues for their generous co-operation, the Society owes a large debt of gratitude.

[1] See *JEA* 68 (1982), 3.



Memphis 1982

UTM GRID INTERVALS 1 000 m

+ loose/stray block

built-up area

visible extent of ruin field

line of resistivity meter traverse

course of Bahr Libeini

suggested course of Nile in C4 AD

site surveyed 1981-2

site identified

site not identified

FIG. 1

The reports on the archaeological survey and the epigraphic survey by their individual directors, Mr D. G. Jeffreys and Dr J. Malek, are followed by excerpts from the reports of other contributors.

The Archaeological Survey

Surface planning and mapping of the southern area of the Memphite ruin-field (excluding the present military camp) has now been completed (see fig. 1). This comprises Kôm Fakhri, Kôm Râbi'a, and Birket Mît Rahîna inside the Badrashein/Saqqâra canal network, and Kôm Sabbakha outside it. Large-scale planning of individual exposed monuments was achieved. These include:

(1) The small temple constructed by Ramesses II for Ptaḥ at the south-west corner of the main Ptaḥ temenos, which was also the subject of the season's main epigraphic work (see below). Although a good plan of this monument by J. Jacquet appeared in Anthes, *Mit Rahineh* (Philadelphia, 1956), it was replanned (see fig. 2), and axonometric projections were drawn in order to show the location of individual blocks as a key to the elevations prepared by Miss Giddy (see fig. 3) and Dr Malek's facsimile copies. Observation of the pylon suggests that the plan of the temple was modified during the reign of Ramesses II; stone sections were added within the pylon towers, originally infilled with brick, and a new, wider girdle wall was constructed to enclose a larger temenos. These changes in plan may be relevant to the discrepancy in orientation between the pylon and the sanctuary.

(2) The West Gate of the Ptaḥ temenos and the pylon of the 'West Hall' of the great Ptaḥ temple were replanned in order to establish accurately the difference in alignment between the pylon frontage and the axis of the hypostyle hall, noted by Petrie. Planning revealed an unrecorded limestone- and granite-built approach to the West Gate from the west, and a granite threshold within the north wall of the hall, demonstrating the existence of a hitherto unnoted north-south cross-route through the hall.

(3) Further clearance of the area south of the great limestone colossus of Ramesses II (see *JEA* 68 (1982), 3) revealed a stone-paved way, almost certainly the main axial south approach to the Ptaḥ temenos. This approach was flanked by the two small temples of Ramesses II noted last year, and at least two others, with attached installations for purification and libation. Projection southwards of this sacred way suggests that the building of Siamūn, excavated by Petrie in 1907–8, also lay close to this road. Doubtless it led to a main south gate in the Ramesside enclosure of the Ptaḥ temenos, which the great limestone colossus of Ramesses II may have flanked.

(4) The remains of buildings exposed during extensions to the car-park west of the Museum included sections of three distinct brick enclosure walls. The northernmost is the south wall of the recognized Ptaḥ enclosure of late date. The construction trench for this wall was isolated and seen to cut through an earlier brick massif on its southern side. Further to the south is another massive wall, stratigraphically later than that of the Ptaḥ enclosure, the alignment of which seems

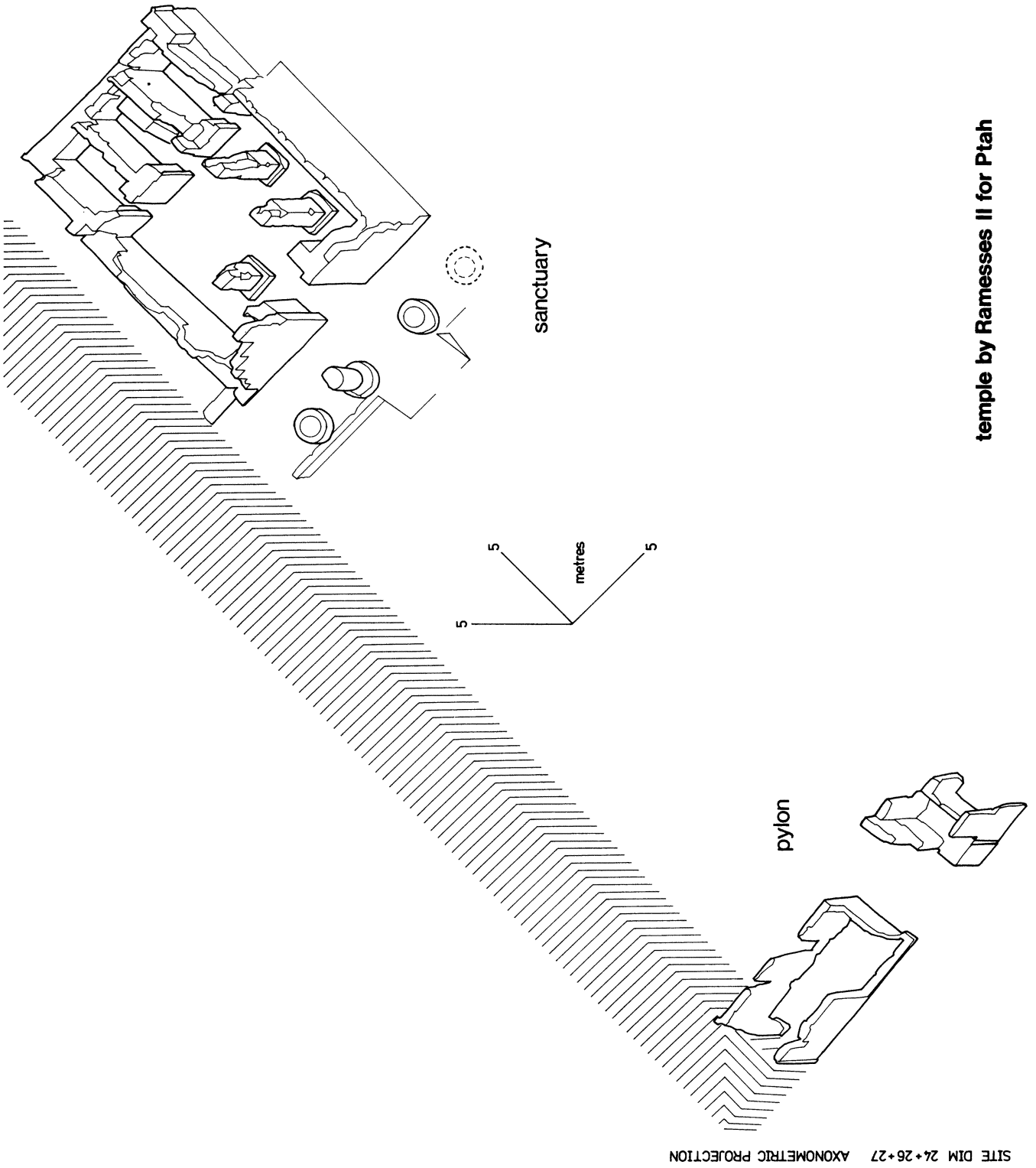

temple by Ramesses II for Ptah
sanctuary
pylon
5
5
metres
5
SITE DIM 24+26+27 AXONOMETRIC PROJECTION

FIG. 2

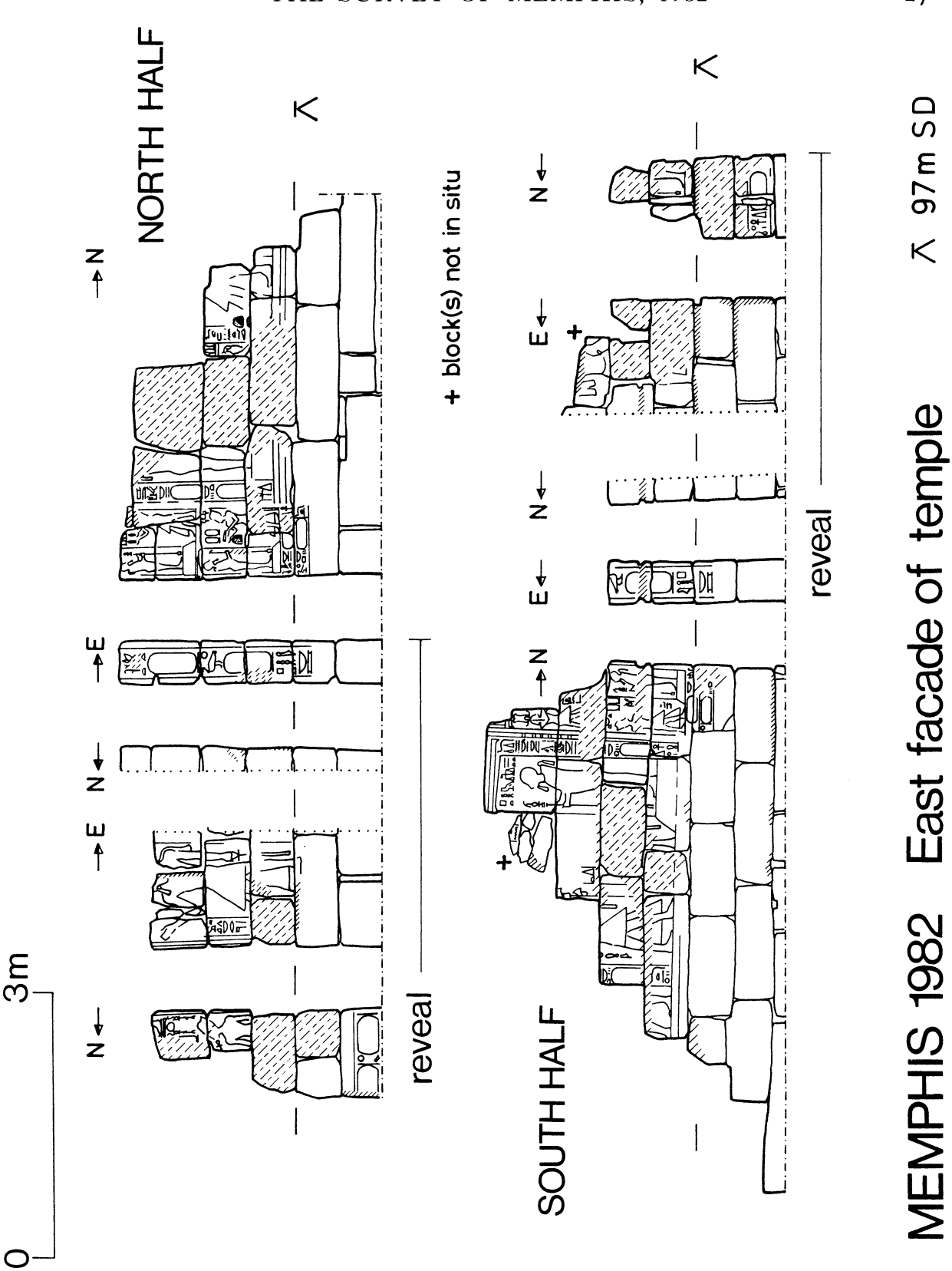

NORTH HALF
SOUTH HALF
+ block(s) not in situ
reveal
reveal
0
3m
MEMPHIS 1982 East facade of temple
97m SD

FIG. 3

consistent with that of a Ptolemaic wall noted by Clarence Fisher over the 'South Portal' of the palace and temple complex of Merneptaḥ.

(5) The accumulated results of ten years of sporadic excavation at Kôm Sabbakha at the south end of the ruin-field were recorded. These include a Ptolemaic bath, with footbaths similar to examples found at Karnak and at Buto. The building-level comprising this and other baths was destroyed in the Roman Period, when a brick complex on a gridded plan replaced it. This peripheral mound may be of comparatively late formation: the level of the bathhouse floor was comparable with Ramesside floor-levels at Kôm Râbi'a.

(6) A site grid aligned on magnetic north for 1982 was established, and the sites planned in 1981 (Kôm Fakhri: early Middle Kingdom settlement and cemetery; Kôm Râbi'a: temple of Ḥathor and high priests' tombs of the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties) were incorporated in it.

(7) Two resistivity traverses were carried out by Mr and Mrs I. J. Mathieson, who report as follows:

> Our first series of traverses was run north-south over the tell (Kôm Râbi'a) approximately on the axis of the Ḥathor temple, and revealed four major anomalies at various depths. A general reading of 12.5 Ω appears to be standard for tell detritus. Our second series of traverses was run east–west through the cultivation on a line through the centre of temenos of Ptaḥ. No indications were recorded other than those expected from large stones or poorly earthed electrodes. However, as soon as we reached the area of the Middle Kingdom settlement and cemetery (Kôm Fakhri) a dramatic change occurred in the readings. Traverse 27, for instance, show definite anomalies at several depths (see fig. 4).

The absence of anomalous readings at any depth beneath the Ptaḥ temple, contrasted with the sharp anomalies on Kôm Fakhri to the west, raises the possibility that the area occupied by the known buildings of the Ptaḥ temple was comparatively barren archaeologically before the reign of Ramesses II.

(8) Preliminary reconnaissance was made of the northern areas of the ruin-field, which will be the subject of archaeological survey in autumn 1983. The archaeological potential of this area, which is relatively under-explored apart from Petrie's great excavation at the Palace of Apries, is immense; it is particularly attractive in view of the fact that the greater part is preserved well above the level of the water-table in contrast with the south end of the site. Its scope is suggested by a chance find made outside the area of the protected Memphite ruin-field. During dredging operations along the east bank of the Marioutiya (Muḥiṭ) Canal which follows the Gîza–Saqqâra road west of the village of Azîziya, a series of limestone blocks was exposed. At the request of Mr Sa'id el-Fikey, Director of Saqqâra and Memphis, the Society planned these blocks, which belonged to a structure, probably of the Late Period, founded some 2 m below the field surface. One block, perhaps reused, bears part of two columns of sunk relief inscription reading: (1) . . . *mry 'Ist* (2) . . . *dì ꜥnḫ mì Rꜥ ḏt*, '. . . beloved of Isis . . . given life like Rēꜥ for ever', presumably epithets following a royal titulary. These blocks lie not far from the line of the Serapeum Way projected eastwards from Anubieion, known locally as *Sign Yusuf*,

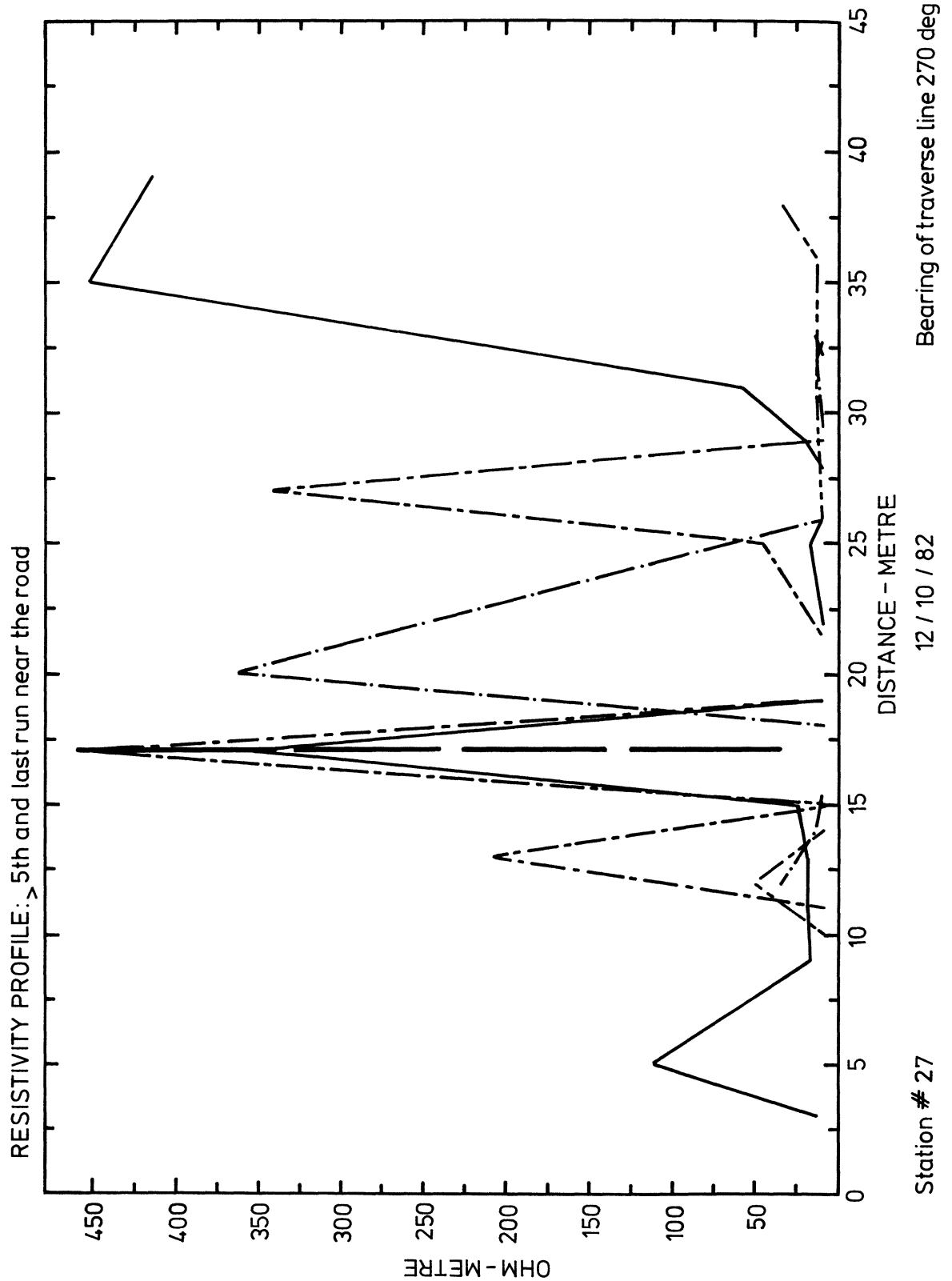

RESISTIVITY PROFILE: 5th and last run near the road
OHM-METRE
450
400
350
300
250
200
150
100
50
0
5
10
15
20
25
30
35
40
45
DISTANCE - METRE
12 / 10 / 82
Station # 27
Bearing of traverse line 270 deg

FIG. 4

'Joseph's Prison'. Local tradition also records a 'Palace of Zalikha', stated to have stood opposite the caves (Tura?: see Stricker, *Acta Orientalia* 19 (1943), 127–8); and Zalikha was reported to be the name of a district near Azîzîya by Qalqashandi in the thirteenth century AD. As Zalikha is, in Islamic tradition, the equivalent of the Biblical 'Potiphar's wife', and Azîz of 'Potiphar', these traditions may well represent folk-memory of some ancient link between Anubieion and the area of Azîzîya, to which these blocks may perhaps form a clue. This is but a single instance of how the collocation of evidence from survey, from inscriptions, and from local tradition may in the future lead to important results.

The Epigraphic Survey

For the 1982 season the epigraphic section of the expedition chose as its main task the complete recording of the reliefs and inscriptions of the inner part of the small temple[2] built by Ramesses II at the south-western corner of the late enclosure wall of the Great Temple of Ptaḥ (see pl. VII). This was accomplished[3] in facsimile copies by Jaromir Malek and Helen McKeown in six weeks between 17 October and 25 November.

The monument has suffered severely from the fluctuating level of ground water combined with erosion and salt exudation since its excavation[4] by Aḥmed Badawi in February–April 1942. No detailed epigraphic record was, apparently, ever made, but the few old photographs which we have been able to consult show that some of the originally extant decoration has by now been lost, and all the reliefs have seriously deteriorated. As a result of this, the copying presents considerable problems.

The temple is of a modular construction, and was built and decorated throughout by Ramesses II. Only the names of Sethos II were added on the spurs of masonry near the entrance to the Pillared Hall, on the bases of pillars, and on the low ledges in the Northern and Central Chapels. The inscription on the northern face of the base of the north-eastern pillar may contain the name[5] of the temple, but, unfortunately, the base is much damaged, and the corresponding south-western pillar is completely lost.

All the reliefs and inscriptions were executed in sunk relief. The highest preserved part of the inner temple is the Portico, but only the lower register has survived elsewhere. The scenes fall into two distinct categories. On the pillars Ramesses II is shown receiving *ꜥnḫ*, *ḏd*, and *wꜣs* from Ptaḥ, who was the principal god worshipped in the temple, and other deities. In the other scenes the king is represented in an

[2] No. 24, with the Pylon as Nos. 26 and 27, on the Map of Memphis prepared by John Dimick and accompanying R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1955*; *PM* III², 843–5, and monument K on map lxxi.

[3] In addition, facsimile copies were made of the scenes and texts of the Pylon excavated in 1950 by Labib Habachi (northern wing) and in 1955 by the University Museum of Philadelphia (southern wing). The reliefs of the northern wing of the Pylon were published in photographs by Labib Habachi in *Mit Rahineh 1956*, pls. 20–3, and the texts in hand-copies, fig. 4, pp. 60–5.

[4] The history of the excavation of the temple is detailed in *Mit Rahineh 1955* and *1956*, the latter also containing plans, sections, and elevations of the inner part made by Jean Jacquet in 1955.

[5] See Anthes' extensive discussion in *Mit Rahineh 1956*, 9–17, which does not take account of this inscription.

active role, offering to gods. The orientation is consistent, with the king always facing towards the interior of the temple, the only exception, as yet unexplained, being the scene on the western face of the northern wing of the Pylon.[6]

Two forms of the nomen[7] of Ramesses II were used in the temple, *(Rʿ-ms-sw mry-ʾImn)* and *(Rʿ-mss mry-ʾImn nṯr ḥqꜣ-ʾIwnw)*, the former found in two variants depending on whether the text is written horizontally or vertically. Their distribution in the temple presents a clear pattern, with the first form used in the Chapels and the Portico (excluding the doorway), as well as on the Pylon.

The temple walls contain a large number of reused blocks, some of them decorated. One of these,[8] built into the western wall of the Central Chapel and only partly accessible, originally carried the prenomen and nomen of Amenophis III, but only the *Nb-mꜣʿt-Rʿ* cartouche is preserved intact. The other was effaced, no doubt during the Amarna Period, thus indicating that the structure from which the block originated was probably still standing at that time.

Some two hundred decorated blocks were found by us lying in the temple or its vicinity, and were also recorded. Many of these belong to the temple decoration; others represent material from earlier buildings reused in the temple. Some of these pieces are decorated in fairly high raised relief and probably come from temple structures of the Sixth Dynasty. Among those which are not associated with the temple are two fragments belonging to the granite sarcophagus of Amenḥotpe Ḥuy of the reign of Ramesses II, discovered by A. Badawi,[9] and a relief with the serpent-headed goddess Renenutet which probably comes from a Ramesside tomb.

On the present state of the monument, M. Michel Wuttmann reports as follows (abbreviated and adapted from the French original):

This sanctuary and the pylon which fronts it have been excavated to the ancient ground-level; the walls are no longer encumbered with baulks of humid soil. At its lowest level the water-table laps the bases of the pillars; at its highest it reaches a third of the height of their lowest course of masonry. If we take the north-west pillar of the court as an example, the surfaces of the blocks of the first course and the lowest third of those of the second appear to be the zones where salts are being actively deposited, as is evident from the fine, diffused, and continuous white coating. The upper part of the second course is well preserved. The third course and, to a lesser degree, the lower part of the fourth are an old zone of crystallization; the surface, encrusted in salt, has fallen away piecemeal, leaving a pulverized mass mixed with crystals of salt. Above, the salts disappear, the surface is intact, but the stone is fissured in many places, mainly vertically. This sequence is typical for the walls and pillars of the sanctuary. Certain blocks are too fragile to be moved without suffering damage. The first step in conservation should be the cleansing of these blocks of salt and pulverized stone, and their consolidation. The fissured and broken blocks of the upper courses should

[6] The problems posed by this feature are considered in *Mit Rahineh 1956*, 5–6.

[7] The distinction may be chronological and provide a clue to the date of the building (or, more precisely, the decoration) of the temple: see J. Yoyotte in *Mit Rahineh 1956*, 66–9, and for a comparable problem K. A. Kitchen in W. F. Reineke (ed.), *First International Congress of Egyptology. Cairo, October 2–10, 1976. Acts*, 384–6. A date in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II seems most probable.

[8] Presumably that mentioned in *Mit Rahineh 1956*, 5.

[9] A. Hamada, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 122–31 with pls. i, ii; *PM* III², 847. Registered as JE 59128 of the Cairo Museum, but now displayed in the garden behind the Museum of the Colossus of Ramesses II at Mît Rahîna.

simply be collected and rejoined. As it seems impossible to eliminate the cause of the crystallization by lowering the water-table (such a measure would require the excavation of a drain lowering the water-table by more than 3 m, which appears impracticable), the only satisfactory solution consists in taking down the monument and re-erecting it at the level of the unexcavated surface of the surrounding mound on newly prepared foundations, systematically replacing the restored blocks in their places one by one.

Should the Egyptian Antiquities Organization decide to undertake such a re-erection of the temple, the Society's complete block-by-block record will be available to make this practicable.

Preliminary hand-copies were made of the inscriptions at present accessible in the pylon and West Hall of the great Ptaḥ temple, as a preparation for future epigraphic work, which, owing to the size of the blocks and inscriptions, will require special methods.

Anthropological Study of Skeletal Material from Anubieion

Dr E. Strouhal reports as follows (abstract):

The skeletal material excavated by the EES expedition in 1976–9 in the cemeteries underlying the Anubieion, Saqqâra, was examined. Human remains were studied in two distinct lots, the larger one (130 individuals) from the Late Period Cemetery, the smaller one (48 individuals) comprising intrusive burials found in a New Kingdom shaft at the south-west corner of Area 5. The first group were in a very brittle state, and a restoration-programme was undertaken before scientific study could be started. The second group were well preserved, but comprised skulls only. The scientific study consisted of recording about 150 measurements and about 200 descriptive features for each complete skeleton. The data will be used to analyse the demography, morphological type, and palaeopathological profile of both the studied populations. Two hundred and eighty photographs were taken as basic documentation for both series. Study of the Anubieion anthropological series, when compared with certain other series from the Memphite area of approximately the same date at present under study, should bring a new insight into the life, living-habits, disease, and death of the ancient inhabitants of Memphis.

Conclusion

The field-studies recorded here will, with the co-operation of the Organization of Antiquities, be extended and expanded in forthcoming seasons. Meanwhile, the study of ancient, medieval, and modern documents bearing on the history and topography of Memphis by various scholars, and the study of excavated material from Memphis in museums will be prosecuted as and when possible. By such co-operative scientific research alone can a picture of the ancient life of this great but little-known city be reconstructed.

Temple of Ramesses II at the south-western corner of the enclosure wall of the Great Temple of Ptaḥ

OLD KINGDOM MODELS FROM THE TOMB OF IMPY: METALLURGICAL STUDIES

By R. MADDIN, T. STECH, J. D. MUHLY, *and* E. BROVARSKI

THE latest group of mastabas at Gîza is the complex of the Senedjemib family at the north-western corner of the Great Pyramid of Khufu (Cheops), which contained the well-known mastabas of Senedjemib Inti (G2370) and Senedjemib Mehi (G2378), who served kings Isesi and Unas of the late Fifth Dynasty as viziers and overseers of royal works. The two tombs, however, were only part of a great complex of the tombs of one family built around a large offering-court. Reisner cleared the site in 1912 and 1913 and discovered other tombs, including the mastaba of Nekhebu (G2381), which had been destroyed to its foundations, although many of its decorated blocks were found in the debris.[1] Nekhebu served Pepy I of the Sixth Dynasty, and constructed temples and dug canals for his royal master in Upper Egypt and the Delta.[2] Opposite the tomb of Nekhebu, Reisner came upon a sloping shaft closed with a great block of limestone that protected the unviolated burial of one of the sons of Nekhebu. The coffin was inscribed for two of the latter's sons but contained only one body, so it is impossible to determine which of the sons was buried there.[3] The alabaster head-rest found in the coffin itself, which supported the head of the mummy (MFA 13.2925), was inscribed for one son, Ibebi, but the broad collar of gold and faience beads (MFA 13.3086) at the neck of the mummy was inscribed with the name of the other son, Impy. In a wooden box in front of the coffin were jars and vessels of copper, model tables, tools, and dishes of copper, along with model quartz and slate vessels.[4] The burial was dated by a sealing of Pepy II on a jar to the late Sixth Dynasty.[5]

In an attempt to learn if the technological procedures by which the tomb models were made are representative of those used to manufacture utilitarian items, the study of seventeen tomb models—fifteen from Tomb G2381A—was undertaken. A sample was removed from each artefact with a diamond cut-off wheel and mounted

Acknowledgements. We are grateful to William Kelly Simpson, Curator of the Egyptian Section of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for his kindness in facilitating the analytical studies. Thanks also go to Bert van Zelst of the Analytical Laboratory in the MFA for analyses of two of the artefacts. We thank the Laboratory for Research on the Structure of Matter, University of Pennsylvania, for use of its facilities and access to its personnel, of whom the following are owed special debts: Asha Varma for elemental analyses, Alexander Vaskelis for photography, and Robert White for scanning electron microscopy.

[1] G. A. Reisner, 'New Acquisitions of the Egypt Department', *Boston, Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* 11 (1913), 58 ff.

[2] Dows Dunham, 'The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo', *JEA* 24 (1938), 1 ff.

[3] *Pace* Reisner, op. cit. 59.

[4] Ibid., the contents of the tomb are shown in figs. 12–16 on pp. 59–61.

[5] Reisner and W. Stevenson Smith, *A History of the Giza Necropolis*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 54, fig. 54.

in cold-setting epoxy. The mounted specimens were ground and polished following standard metallographic procedures, and then etched with ammonium hydroxide. They were studied under the optical and scanning electron microscopes. Elemental analysis was by atomic absorption spectroscopy, except for model plate 13.3181 and vase cover 13.2981, which were by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry.

1. *Model Axe* (*Fourth–Fifth Dynasty*) (*03.1669*) (*see pl. VIII, 1*)

Elemental analysis (see Table I) shows that the copper used to make the axe was of high purity and in all probability unalloyed. The amount of tin is too small (0.38 per cent) to call this a deliberate alloy; the tin could have been introduced from the ore,

TABLE I. *Elemental analyses by atomic absorption spectroscopy of Egyptian models*

	Cu	Fe	Pb	Ag	Sn	Na	Ca	As
03.1669	99.35	0.48	n.d.	n.d.	0.38	0.69	0.10	—
03.1672	99.2	0.42	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.26	0.12	—
13.2937	99.78	0.18	0.12	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	—
13.2943	99.24	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.19	n.d.	n.d.	—
*13.2981	—	0.8	0.06	0.08	0.1–0.2	—	—	0.1–0.2
13.2987	99.48	0.22	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.01	n.d.	—
13.3000	99.60	0.35	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.08	n.d.	—
13.3063	98.98	1.08	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.39	0.52	—
13.3074	99.32	0.44	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	0.28	0.18	—
13.3181	—	0.3–0.4	0.1	0.3–0.4	0.1	—	—	0.005
*13.3244	99.63	0.15	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	n.d.	—

* Analysis by X-ray fluorescence (B. van Zelst)

although conglomerate tin–copper ores are extremely rare, or from the use of recycled bronze scrap. The latter possibility seems unlikely because there is little evidence for Egyptian bronze production in the Old Kingdom.[6] The presence of tin in this axe is therefore probably of the greatest importance for its potential in shedding some light on the types of ore sources being used. The small amount of iron could have come from an ore, e.g. chalcopyrite (although there is no indication that such an ore type was used in Old Kingdom Egypt), or from an iron-ore flux added to the smelt. Sodium and calcium come from corrosion products. Examination with the scanning electron microscope (SEM) confirmed the relative 'cleanness' of the metal and the presence of internal corrosion.

To manufacture this object, molten copper (more will be said about smelting and refining in the conclusions) was cast in a slab. The slab was then hammered into shape, with intermittent annealing at low temperatures to permit further shaping. Hammering and low-temperature annealing are indicated by sporadic annealing-

[6] J. D. Muhly, 'New Evidence for Sources of and Trade in Bronze Age Tin', in A. D. Franklin, J. S. Olin, and T. A. Wertime (eds.), *The Search for Ancient Tin* (Washington, DC, 1977), 45.

twins in the microstructure (see parallel bands with single grains in pl. VIII, 2). The low temperature of the annealing operation is deduced because the twins are not homogeneous throughout the sample and because strain-markings are still visible (see pl. VIII, 2, right side). (Strain-markings are created by hammering; when the object is annealed to soften the strain produced by cold-working and thus permit further working, the strained grains of metal recrystallize—the extent of the recrystallization depending on the time and temperature of the annealing operation. When the grains recrystallize, annealing-twins appear. Therefore, the presence of both annealing-twins and strain-markings in the microstructure indicates either incomplete recrystallization or recrystallization followed by further cold-working and no more annealing. Careful observation of the microstructure allows the determination of which case is applicable.) In sum, the axe was cast into rough shape, and repeatedly cold-worked and annealed to produce the final shape. If the axe were a functional implement, it would have been harder, and therefore more useful, in a less completely recrystallized condition. (The question of using models as indicators of the smith's skills will be addressed in the conclusions.)

2. *Model Adze* (*Fourth–Fifth Dynasty*) (*03.1672*) (*see pl. VIII, 3*)

Elemental analysis shows that the adze was made of copper of a high purity, with iron coming from the ore or the flux, and sodium and calcium from the corrosion products. SEM examination confirmed the purity and cleanness of the metal; no second-phase particles, which are concentrations of impurities insoluble in the molten metal, were visible.

The molten copper was cast into a thin slab and reduced 30 to 50 per cent by hammering. The strain-markings in the microstructure indicate that the slab was heavily cold-worked (see pl. VIII, 4); there is some slight evidence for recrystallization in a few annealing-twins. The fact that the object was left in the cold-worked state means that it could have been a useful tool, since this is the best way to achieve hardness in copper without alloying.

3. *Model Table, G2381A, Gîza* (*Sixth Dynasty*) (*13.2937*) (*see pl. VIII, 5*)

Elemental analysis again shows a copper of high purity; lead may result from some galena in the copper ore and iron from pyrite in the copper ore or from the use of chalcopyrite. The presence of these impurities was confirmed by SEM study, in which second-phase particles composed of various combinations of copper, iron, sulphur, and lead were detected.

The molten copper was cast into a slab and hammered into a sheet; the sheet must have then been repeatedly annealed to soften it so that the table could be constructed. The bending of the side-flaps of the sheet to form the legs and the joining of the edges of the legs required many different reheatings, which would account for the completeness of the recrystallization (see pl. VIII, 6). The opening in the legs would probably have been cut out (with a stone tool?), while the table was hot.

4. *Model Axe, Tomb of Impy* (*13.3066*)

The axe is too corroded for profitable study. Varying states of preservation of metal artefacts with similar compositions from the same archaeological environment are not unusual. The phenomena which produce corrosion are poorly understood. They may be affected by minor differences in the micro-environment of each artefact (e.g., soil, the action of water, decaying biological materials), and, in the absence of detailed analytical studies of the immediate physical surroundings of each object, cannot be defined.

5. *Model Adze, Tomb of Impy* (*13.3070*)

The adze is too corroded for profitable study.

6. *Model Tray, G2381A* (*13.3074*) (*see pl. VIII, 7*)

The copper was of high purity, with iron coming from the ore or the flux and sodium and calcium from the corrosion products. SEM study showed the presence of second-phase particles composed of copper, iron, and sulphur (see pl. IX, 1). Particles of such a composition are most likely to be unsmelted chalcopyrite or undissolved matte (matte is a waste product of the smelting of chalcopyrite ores, most of which is usually removed from the copper during smelting). The tray was made from a sheet of cast copper, which was cold-worked into shape and annealed for a short time. A short annealing time is indicated because recrystallization of the grains is incomplete, i.e. not all grains show annealing-twins.

7. *Model Vase, G2381A* (*13.3244*) (*see pl. IX, 2*)

The model vessel lacks its neck and flat rim. The vessel is the *ḥes*-vase, a ritual container for water or wine. Elemental analysis shows a copper of high purity. The amount of iron is smaller than in the other objects studied, a fact which indicates that either the copper was the product of an efficient smelt in which almost all of the iron oxide (Fe_2O_3) was slagged off, or the copper ore itself contained very little iron. The vase was cast to shape and was not worked after casting. This is proved by the typical dendritic structure (see pl. IX, 3), in the interstices of which are located the last components to freeze in the molten metal, i.e. the second-phase particles. The grain-size is large; therefore, the casting cooled slowly. The mould must have been made of clay, stone, or some other material with low thermal conductivity. SEM study showed that the second-phase particles are all non-metallic.

8. *Model Adze G2381A* (*13.3080*)

The adze is too corroded for profitable study.

9. *Model Plate, G2381A* (*13.3181*) (*see pl. IX, 4*)

Elemental analysis, by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry, is consistent with that of the other samples in revealing a more or less pure copper. The cleanness of the

metal was confirmed by scanning electron microscope study, in which very little second-phase material was detected.

The copper was cast into a thin slab and then hammered to reduce the thickness. An alternating series of hammering and annealing operations is indicated by the microstructure (see pl. IX, 5), in which annealing-twins are visible. The recrystallization is heterogeneous, a situation which probably results from a final phase of working in which deformation was heterogeneous; that is, the sheet was probably hammered into a wooden (?) mould, so that some areas required more working than others to take the shape. The plate was annealed after the final shaping, perhaps at a fairly high temperature (*c.* 500 °C) for a fairly long time (1–2 hours).

10. *Model Dishes, G2381A (13.3000) (one sample shown in pl. IX, 6)*

Elemental analysis shows a copper of high purity, containing a small amount of iron, which could have been introduced from the ore or an iron-ore flux. SEM study confirms the cleanness of the metal; there are very few second-phase particles. The second-phase particles which were detected are copper sulphide and copper–lead sulphide, non-metallic components which occurred as minor impurities in the ore.

The copper was cast into a thin slab, worked to reduce it in thickness (probably in a series of hammering and annealing operations), and given final shape by hammering into a wooden (?) mould. The heterogeneous deformation seen in 13.3168 etc. (no. 9) is also apparent here (see pl. X, 1); it is, in fact, possible that the model dishes and plates were made by the same smith from the same batch of copper. The similarities in material and manufacturing techniques indicate that the smith's metal-working skills were not accidental, but well understood and frequently practised.

11. *Model Vase-cover, G2381A (13.2981) (see pl. X, 2)*

Similar full-sized vases in the shape of truncated cones were made of red pottery and were used for ceremonial lustrations.[7]

Elemental analysis by X-ray fluorescence spectrometry reveals several impurities in concentrations greater than in the other samples. Arsenic, tin, and silver could result from remelted scrap or from some impurities in the copper ore. The iron could have several possible origins, as discussed above. SEM study showed a fairly clean copper with few second-phase particles.

The sample was removed from the side of the cover and included a piece from the side. Microscopic study suggests that the cover and the side were made from two separate pieces of worked and annealed copper (see pl. X, 3). The grain size in the two pieces is different; this variation could have been produced by different annealing times or temperatures. The grain size in annealed copper is determined by the amount of cold-hammering prior to annealing, the time at the annealing

[7] G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire* (Cairo, 1921), 311.

temperature, and the temperature at which the annealing occurs. The variable over which the coppersmith had the least control was temperature, and it is therefore likely that the sheet having the larger grain size was heated to a higher temperature. The cover, therefore, must have been made by hammering together two sheets of copper. Since the interface between the sheets is corroded, it is difficult to determine how the joining was done.

12. *Model Blade, G2381A (13.3057)*

The blade is too corroded for study.

13. *Razor-blade, G2381A (13.3064)*

The blade is too corroded for study.

14. *Razor-blade, G2381A (13.3063) (see pl. X, 4)*

The end was originally rounded and the razor fastened by means of the projecting tang to a wooden handle. It closely resembles the razors set in a case in the wall paintings of the Dynasty III chapel of Ḥesyrēʿ,[8] and actual gold and silver razors found in the tomb of the mother of Khufu (Cheops).[9]

Elemental analysis shows that the copper used to make this blade was not as pure as that used for the other objects studied. The presence of 1.08 per cent iron may indicate a relatively inefficient smelt using either an ore containing pyrite and/or haematite, or an iron-oxide flux (or perhaps both). Careful smelting procedures would have resulted in the removal or exclusion of more iron. The few second-phase particles detected in the SEM study are composed of copper–iron sulphide, suggesting the use of a fairly well-weathered copper ore. The razor is, however, fairly heavily corroded and the relatively large amount of iron detected may simply result from the corrosion products.

To form the razor, the copper was cast into a thin slab and worked to the desired shape and thickness in a series of working and annealing operations. After the final shape was attained, the blade was annealed (see pl. X, 5), to the point of recrystallization as far as can be discerned; the corrosion limits the completeness of the observations. A fully annealed, and therefore soft, object would not be particularly useful as a razor. The apparent contradiction between 'function' and metallurgical state may be explained in several ways: (1) the blade was made specifically for funerary purposes and was not intended to be used (the size of this blade, 0.109 m in length, does not compel us to classify it as a 'model'); (2) after the final annealing, the edge was ground to sharpen it. The edges cannot be examined because of the advanced state of corrosion. In fact, the extent of the corrosion of edges provides indirect support for a honed edge, since the grinding would have made the edge more susceptible to corrosion than an unground edge. Honing an

[8] J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1911–12* (Cairo, 1913), pl. 21.
[9] Reisner and Stevenson Smith, op. cit. 45, fig. 45, with pl. 40 a, c.

edge involved grinding with a stone or polishing with grit, the latter, in all probability, suspended in a liquid. By either method, the metal on the edges would have heavily deformed in metallurgical terms. The internal deformation, detectable microscopically, creates weak areas in the crystalline structure, which in many cases can be attacked by corrosive agents more readily than undeformed or lightly deformed specimens.

15. *Model Chisel, G2381A (13.3060)*

The chisel is too corroded for study.

16. *Lower Part of an Incense-burner, G2381A (13.2943)*

To be used, the incense-burner would have had a liner of another material which would not conduct heat. The copper, as indicated by elemental analysis, is of high purity, with a small amount of tin (0.19 per cent). Such a quantity of tin does not prove that deliberate alloying was taking place; it may be present either because it was an impurity in the copper ore or because bronze scrap was being recycled. The absence of iron suggests that the copper was the product of a remelting operation, because successive recycling involves refining, and, therefore, the removal of iron. (In scrap recycling, if tin were present in only one or a few objects, it would be diluted by the addition of scraps made of unalloyed copper. It should also be noted that refining and remelting do not concentrate tin, but rather make the tin composition of the finished product more homogeneous.) This is the only piece studied which contains no iron; even the axe (03.1669, no. 1) contains some iron, as well as tin. The presence of tin in this object, therefore, suggests that some 'bronze' was being used in Old Kingdom, whether of the accidental variety as 03.1669, or of sporadic local production, or as the product of foreign trade.

The copper was cast into a thin slab and worked into a sheet through successive hammering and annealing operations (see pl. XI, 2). The body and base of the vessel were made of separate pieces of copper sheet, that forming the body apparently bent round to form a cylinder, with the edge joined by hammer-welding, and that forming the base bent up to form a lip into which the body was inserted. The body and base were probably then hammer-welded together.

17. *Punch or Blade, G2381A (13.2987) (see pl. XI, 3)*

Elemental analysis shows a copper of high purity. The cleanness of the metal was confirmed by SEM study, in which few second-phase particles were detected; those examined contained copper, iron, and sulphur, while a few also had some lead. These particles result from impurities in the copper ore. The object was cast and then heavily cold-worked (see pl. XI, 4). No annealing was done. The fact that the punch/blade was left in the cold-worked state shows that the smith was probably aware, in a pragmatic way, of the properties of copper. A stronger tool could have been produced only by alloying the copper, a process either unknown or little used in the Old Kingdom.

Conclusions

1. *Technological Considerations*

Of the seventeen objects of Old Kingdom date six were too corroded for study (3.3057, 3060, 3064, 3066, 3070, 3080). The following comments therefore relate to the eleven viable specimens.

The metal from which the objects were produced is quite pure, averaging over 99 per cent copper. The most significant impurity is iron. In the specimens which contain iron, except 13.3063, the iron concentration is small enough to justify the view that the copper ore is its most likely source. Many copper ores do contain iron, which can be removed by careful smelting and refining operations. An iron-ore flux in the smelt is another possible source for the iron, but the use of such a flux would probably have resulted in consistently higher iron contents.

The presence of tin in four objects also calls for explanation. Most analyses have indicated that Egyptian smiths were not producing bronze in the Old Kingdom; and low tin concentrations in 03.1669 (0.38 per cent), 13.2981 (0.1–0.2 per cent), and 13.3181 (0.1 per cent) support this observation since these amounts are too small to show deliberate alloying. Two possible sources for the tin are: (1) the use of a conglomerate copper ore containing tin as a impurity; (2) the use of remelted scrap, some of it bronze. The latter alternative is indicated for 13.2943 since it contained no other impurities; the resulting metal could have been well refined through remelting and drossing-off of impurities. The tin in 03.1669, 13.2981, and 13.3181 could have come from the ore or from scrap. The fact that there were bits of bronze scrap available to Egyptian smiths is significant, although it cannot be stated with certainty whether the bronze was acquired from abroad or resulted from the use of a conglomerate ore.

The clean condition of the copper (few impurities detected by elemental analysis, metallography, and scanning electron microscopy) indicates that it was being produced by an efficient smelting operation using a uniform ore; a refining operation must have followed the smelting. In refining, the copper was held molten under a solid, air-tight covering of dross or slag, which was removed. Since no second-phase particles of copper oxide were detected, the copper was cast into tight moulds, whether into ingot form or the blank from which the finished objects were made; the pouring of the molten metal itself was done in such a way that air was excluded.

It is interesting to speculate on the number of stages through which the copper passed from ore to finished object, and the different people involved in those stages. It seems likely that the copper was cast into an ingot form of some type after smelting. This raw copper may then have been purchased by smiths who refined it, sometimes extending the metal by the addition of scrap, and cast into shape. The skills of the smith are best seen in the treatments he gave the castings. He had at his disposal knowledge of the techniques by which copper can be worked—casting, hammering, annealing—and he appears to have understood the relationship between these metallurgical treatments and the properties of the finished objects. In

cases in which strength and/or ductility were not needed, he simply cast the object to shape and did not work it (cf. vase 13.3244). For some pieces, the casting may not have been completely successful, so additional working and annealing were necessary in order to achieve the ideal form (probably table 13.2937—a shape difficult to achieve by direct casting; tray 13.3072, plate 13.3168, vase 13.2981, dish 13.3000, and vase 13.2943—these last two objects probably could have been made by direct casting, but nevertheless may have been worked to make them suitable for the smith and his customers). Two objects, adze 03.1672 and blade 13.2987, were left in the worked condition, the state in which they would be the hardest, and, therefore, have the maximum utility.

2. *Applicability of Results to General Problem of Egyptian Copper Production and Working*

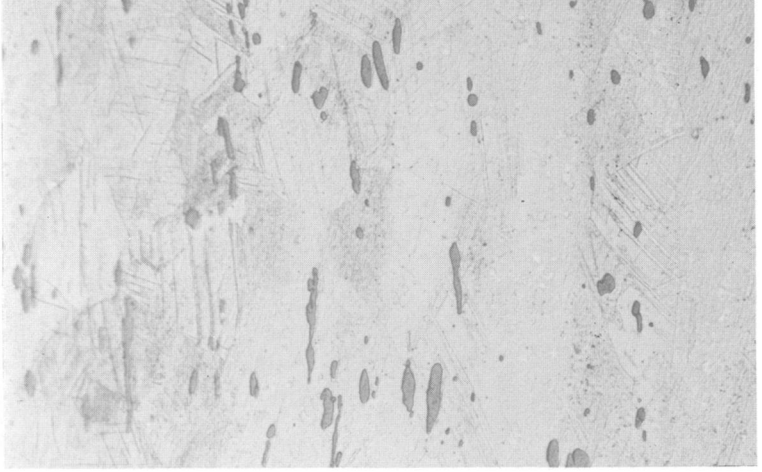
The objects analysed were, for the most part, from a tomb and some, if not all of them, were models. It is, therefore, pertinent to consider how model objects, perhaps made specifically for funerary or ceremonial reasons, reflect contemporary technology:

I. *Material.* The smith used the material, i.e. copper, most reasonable in the context of time in which he was working for the purposes which he wished to fulfil. Lead was also available, but would not have held up for objects made of sheet-metal, even in a funerary context. Gold and silver were being worked, but were much more expensive. The copper that the smith used must have been the same as that which served for all other kinds of objects—smelted in the same way from the same kind of ores, refined and cast as copper for any other purpose would have been.[10]

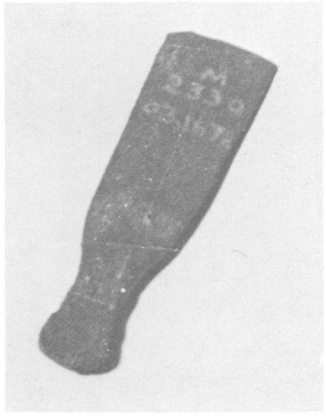
II. *Technology.* If the smiths had wished to make all the objects in the easiest way, they would have cast them and not subjected them to subsequent working. That most of the objects were worked indicates either the desire of the smith to have his object conform perfectly to his mental template of shape or the fact that most or all axes, for example, were made in the same way, whether they were specifically intended for the tomb or not. The techniques used to fashion the Old Kingdom pieces studied here are all those which were at that time available to a smith working with more or less pure copper—casting, cold- (or hot-) hammering, and annealing. These processes are also documented in the Fifth Dynasty Egyptian pictorial record.[11] Therefore, even a group of model objects provides information on metal-working techniques, because it demonstrates what were at least the minimum accomplishments of the smith. The questions which might be asked about metal tomb 'models'—were they made specifically for the tomb?; did this purpose affect the way the smith made the object?; were even tomb models made in the best way known in the anticipation of eventual use, when the deceased was reborn?—need only be mentioned here.

[10] On casting and crucibles see A. Nibbi, 'Some Remarks on Copper', *JARCE* 14 (1978), 59–66.
[11] J. Weinstein, 'A Fifth Dynasty Reference to Annealing', *JARCE* 11 (1974), 23–5.

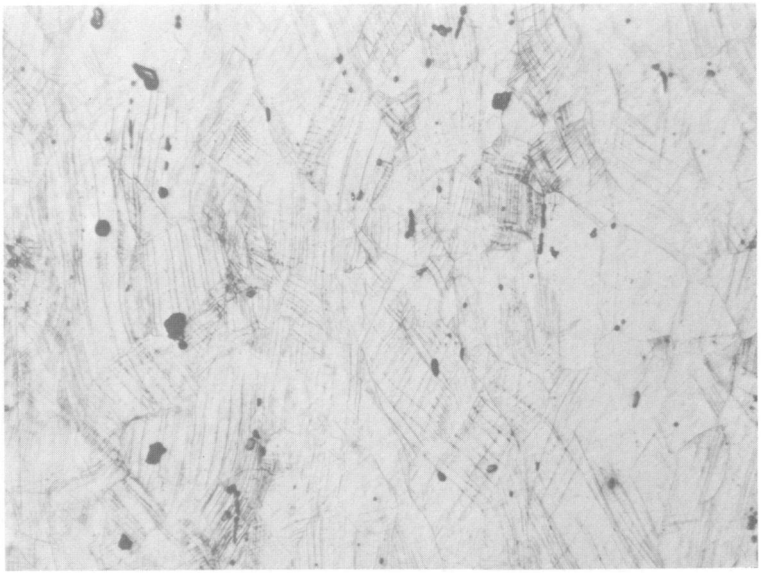
1. Model axe (acc. no. 03.1669)
Dynasty IV–V



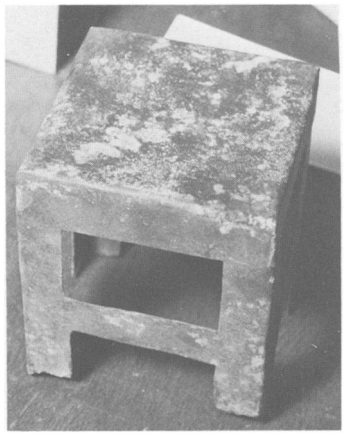
2. 03.1669, ×750



3. Model adze (acc. no. 03.1672)
Dynasty IV–V

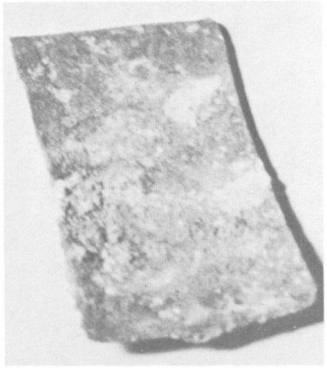


4. 03.1672, ×300



5. Model table (acc. no. 13.2937),
G2381A

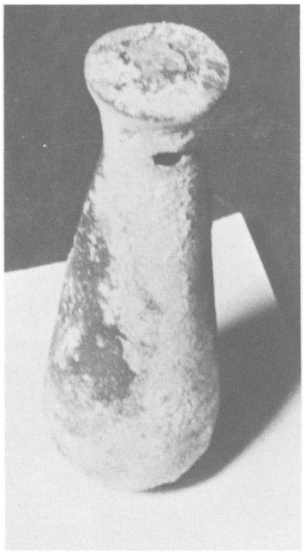
6. 13.2937, ×150



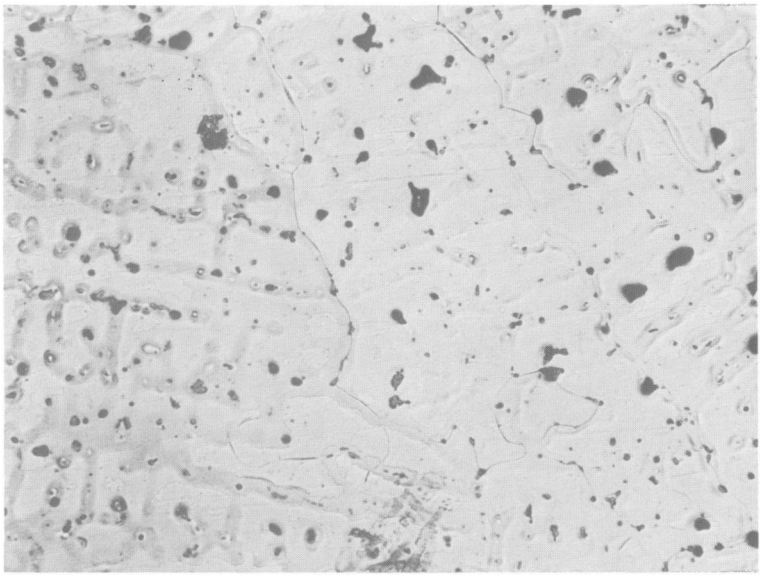
7. Model tray (acc. no. 13.3074),
G2381A

OLD KINGDOM MODELS

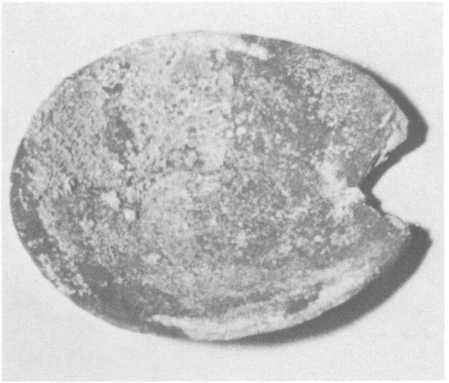
1. 13.3074, ×300



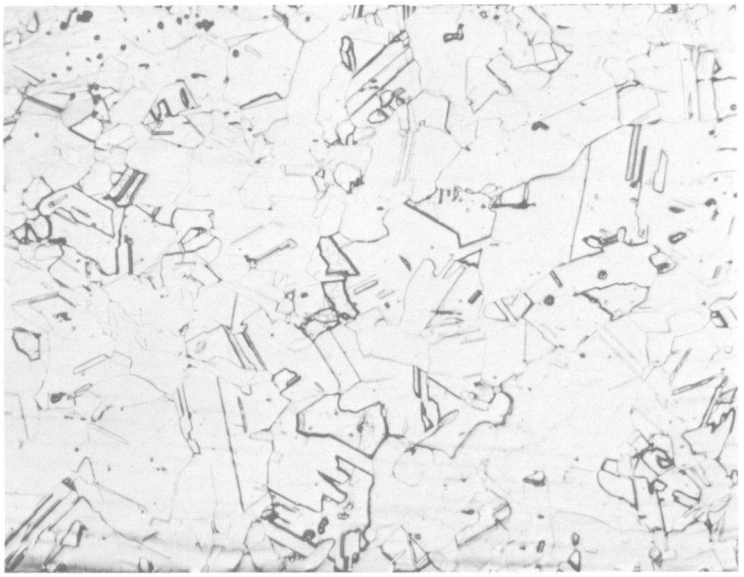
2. Model vase (acc. no. 13.3244), G2381A



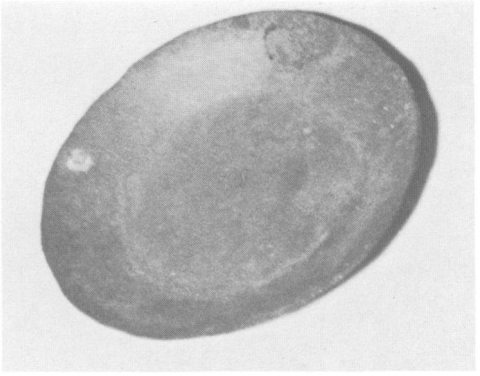
3. 13.3244, ×150



4. Model plate (acc. no. 13.3181), G2381A

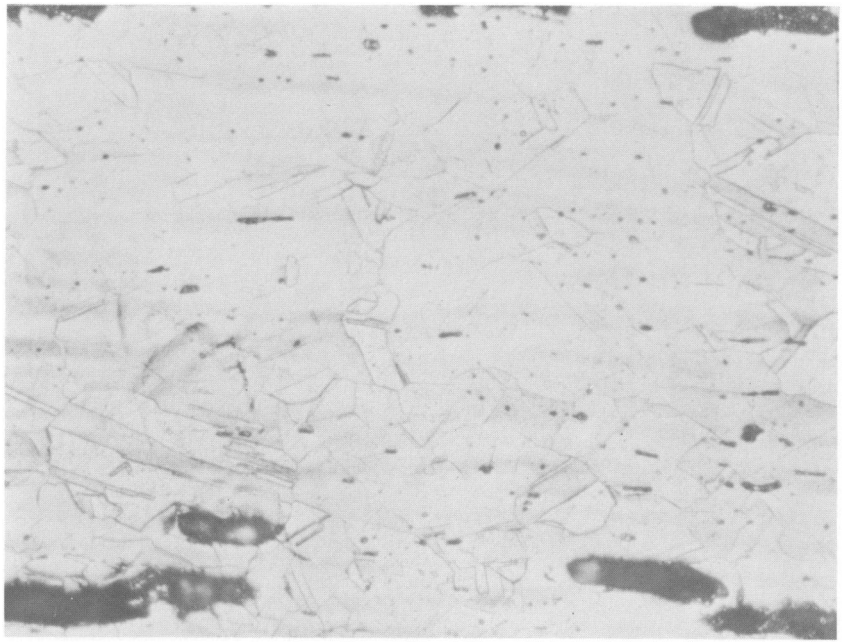


5. 13.3181, ×150



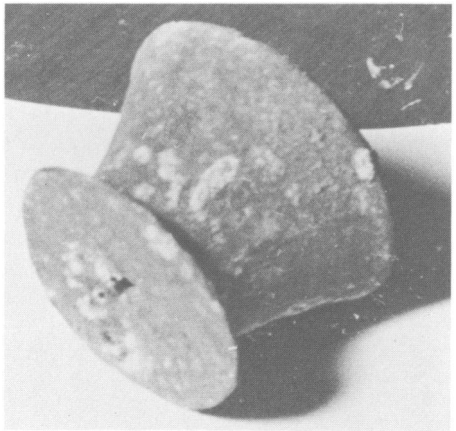
6. Model dish (acc. no. 13.3000), G2381A

OLD KINGDOM MODELS



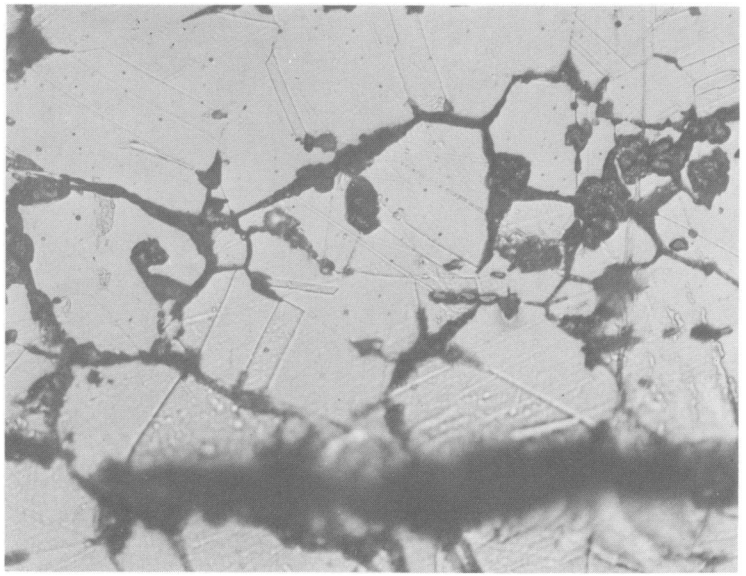
1. 13.3000, × 300

3. 13.2981, × 100

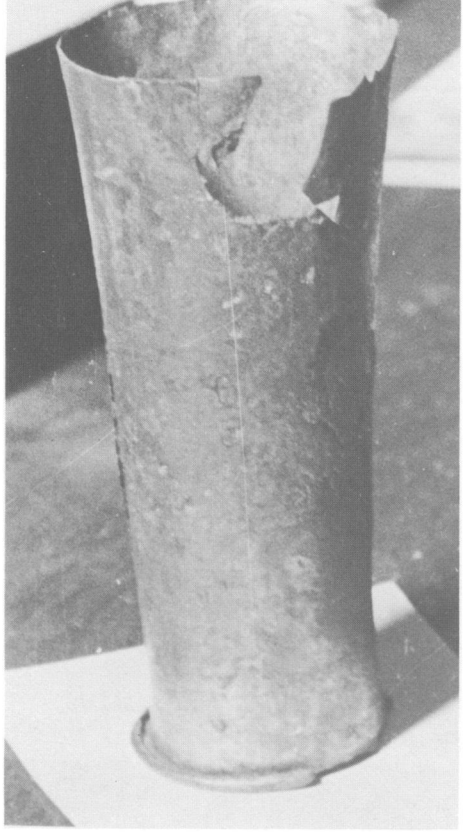


2. Model vase cover (acc. no. 13.2981), G2381A

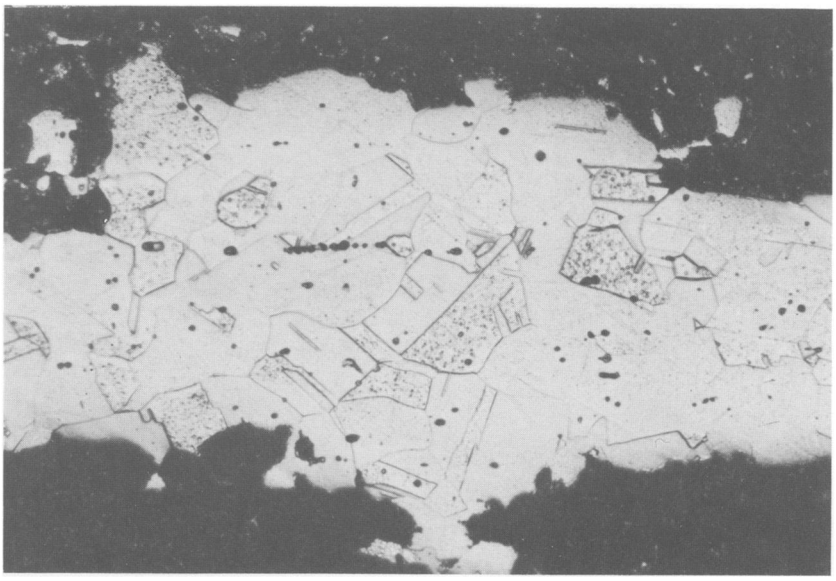
4. Razor blade (acc. no. 13.3063), G2381A



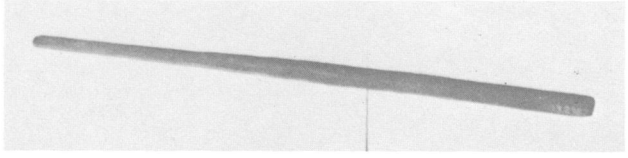
5. 13.3063, × 750



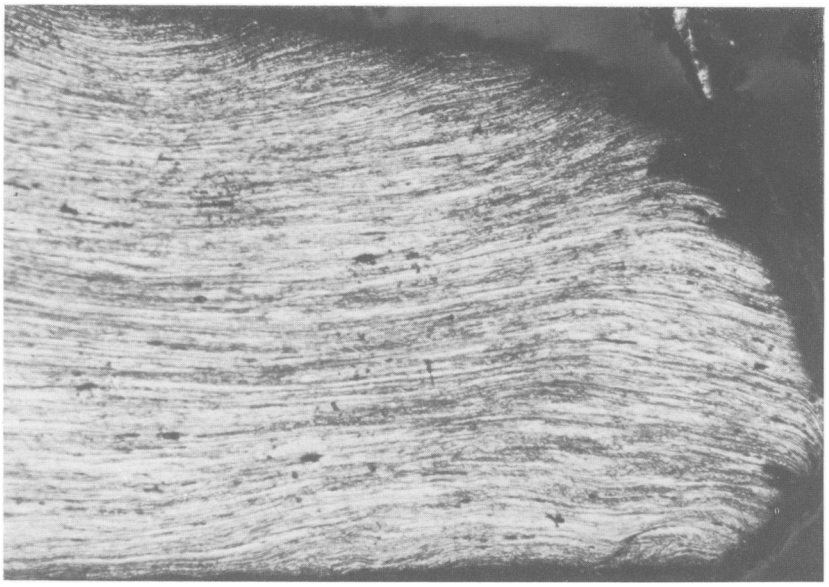
1. Model vase (acc. no. 13.2943), G2381A



2. 13.2943, ×300



3. Blade (acc. no. 13.2987), G2381A



4. 13.2987, ×150

THE HEREDITARY STATUS OF THE TITLES OF THE CULT OF ḤATḤOR

By MARIANNE GALVIN

FROM a total group of 469 persons holding some Ḥatḥoric title during the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period, approximately 339 recorded biographical material in their tombs that included some genealogical information. Of these 339, only a small number of persons recorded having a relative who also held a Ḥatḥoric title.[1] A close examination of this genealogical information makes it possible to determine whether certain patterns of familial participation occurred within the cult of Ḥatḥor and whether those titles held by family members bore a hereditary status.

Mother/Daughter Relationships

Approximately seventy-eight priestesses recorded having one or more daughters, and approximately twenty-seven priestesses recorded the name or titles belonging to their mother. Only nine out of this total of 105 relationships indicated that both the mother and the daughter served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor.

In Cusae, at least eight women who had at least one daughter can be identified. Two of these had daughters who held Ḥatḥoric titles. One woman, named *Mrr rn nfr ʾIbỉ*, served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor.[2] She recorded four daughters and three sons in her tomb inscription. All four of her daughters held the title of Priestess of Ḥatḥor as well as the distinction of *špss-nsw* which their mother also held. None of *Mrr*'s sons, nor her husband, held a Ḥatḥoric title. One other woman also from Cusae, named *Nfrw rn nfr Ffỉ*, held the title of Priestess of Ḥatḥor and the distinction of *rḫt-nsw*.[3] She recorded one daughter and two sons. Her daughter, Ḥetyaʿḥ, served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Cusae, and *rḫt-nsw*. *Nfrw*'s sons and her husband did not hold Ḥatḥoric titles. *Nfrw*'s daughter, Ḥetyaʿḥ, married into one of the leading nomarch families at Cusae, and her husband, Pepi-ʿankh the Middle, held several Ḥatḥoric titles, as did many of his immediate family members.[4] Ḥetyaʿḥ had three daughters and seven sons, none of whom held any Ḥatḥoric titles, although her daughters did hold the distinction of *rḫt-nsw* and *špss-nsw* in common with their mother and their grandmother, *Nfrw*.

[1] Approximately 130 persons recorded no family member at all; ninety-four recorded a spouse only; three recorded their spouse's family only; all the remainder recorded either a son, a daughter, a sibling, a parent, or a person of non-specific relationship.

[2] J. E. Quibell, 'Rapport', *ASAE* 3 (1902), 256–7.

[3] A. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, IV (London, 1924), pl. xv; A. Kamal, 'Le tombeau nouveau de Meir', *ASAE* 15 (1915), 209–58.

[4] Blackman, loc. cit.

Therefore, in Cusae, there do appear to have been a significant number of Ḥatḥoric titles, but these do not indicate clear evidence that the title of Priestess of Ḥatḥor, or Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Cusae, was being inherited by a daughter from her mother. It must be remembered that in only two out of a total of eight families did a mother and daughter both hold Ḥatḥoric titles. Cusae is known to have been a major centre for the cult of Ḥatḥor during the Sixth Dynasty.[5] The cult of Ḥatḥor permeated several levels and aspects of life at Cusae. It was desirable to hold a Ḥatḥoric title. Therefore, it is probable that those daughters who held a Ḥatḥoric title did not inherit it from their mother but rather chose to participate in the cult of Ḥatḥor themselves because of the social, religious, and/or political import that that title held. This will be borne out in the following section, where it will be shown that a mother who held Ḥatḥoric titles had daughters and sons not holding such titles but a daughter-in-law who did.

From Saqqâra, at least forty-nine women who had at least one daughter can be identified. Only two of these women had a daughter who also served in the Ḥatḥoric cult. Again, the statistics would indicate that the titles of the Ḥatḥoric cult in Saqqâra were not inherited by a daughter from her mother.

From Dendera, at least ten women having one or more daughters can be identified. One of these had a daughter who also held a Ḥatḥoric title. That woman served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor, Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Dendera, and *ḫkrt-nsw-wʿtt*.[6] She had four daughters and two sons. Neither her sons nor her husband held Ḥatḥoric titles, and, although all four of her daughters held the distinction of *ḫkrt-nsw-wʿtt*, only one held a Ḥatḥoric title. She served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Dendera. Allam mentions these two women as a possible indication of 'die Erblichkeit des Amtes'.[7] However, it is here suggested that one example of a mother and daughter both holding Ḥatḥoric titles does not substantiate a hereditary status. The fact that there is only one mother/daughter relationship out of a total of ten possible such relationships would indicate that these titles did not hold a hereditary status.

In Hamamîya, three women who had at least one daughter can be identified. One of these had a daughter who also held a Ḥatḥoric title. Khentkawes served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor and *rḫt-nsw*.[8] She recorded three sons and four daughters in her tomb inscription. Only one of her children, a daughter named Ifi, held a Ḥatḥoric title. Ifi served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor, Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore, Priestess of Ḥatḥor in all her Places. It is probable that Ifi earned her numerous titles on her own merit as her mother held only one of these titles.

Thus, three main geographical areas are discernible here: Cusae, Saqqâra, and

[5] S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin, 1963), 23–5; Blackman, op. cit. 1, 1–2.

[6] L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* (CGC), II (Berlin, 1937), 122–3; H. G. Fischer, *Denderah in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Domination of Upper Egypt* (Locust Valley, NY, 1968), figs. 31, 31 a; W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah 1898* (London, 1900), pl. ix.

[7] Allam, op. cit. 55.

[8] E. Mackay and W. M. F. Petrie, *Bahrein and Hemamieh* (London, 1929), pls. ix–x, xviii, xx–xxiv; Fischer, op. cit. 24–5; V. Stuart, *Funeral Tent of an Egyptian Queen* (London, 1882), 83–6, pl. 14.

Dendera (since Hamamîya lies in close proximity to Dendera, it can be linked with it here). In all three areas the statistics would clearly indicate that the Ḥatḥoric titles were not being inherited from a mother by her daughter.

Mother-in-law/Daughter-in-law Relationships

Twenty-three priestesses recorded information concerning their mothers-in-law. Eleven of these indicated that their mother-in-law also held Ḥatḥoric titles.

From Cusae, five mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships are identifiable. Three of these revealed that both women held Ḥatḥoric titles. Pernofret served as *rḫt-nsw*, Priestess of Ḥatḥor, and musician priestess.[9] She had ten sons but apparently no daughter. Four of her sons married and three of those four married women who held Ḥatḥoric titles. Two of the daughters-in-law served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor,[10] and the third served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Cusae and chief musician priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Cusae.[11]

With regard to Pernofret's title of musician priestess, none of her own children held this position. However, one daughter-in-law, Ḥetyaʿḥ, did hold the title of chief musician priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Cusae. Ḥetyaʿḥ's own mother held the title of Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Cusae, but she held no musician priestess responsibilities.[12] Therefore, her daughter could not have inherited such a title from her. Pernofret had no daughter to inherit such a position, and none of Ḥetyaʿḥ's daughters held a Ḥatḥoric title, so they did not inherit from their mother. Although Pernofret and Ḥetyaʿḥ both held musician priestess titles, it seems unlikely that Ḥetyaʿḥ, who served as chief musician priestess, could have inherited this position from her mother-in-law who served simply as musician priestess. Rather, it would seem more likely that both women earned their positions independently.

From Dendera, three mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships are known. All three indicate that Ḥatḥoric titles were held by both women. However, all three relationships stem from the same family including three generations. *Ḥnwt·sn* served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Dendera.[13] Her husband served as Overseer of the Priests and Herdsman of the Thentet-cattle. They had at least one son who also served as Overseer of the Priests and Herdsman of the Thentet-cattle. The son married two women, both of whom served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Dendera.[14] The first wife had one son and one daughter, neither of whom held Ḥatḥoric titles. However, the son married a woman who was Priestess of Ḥatḥor and Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Dendera.[15] She, in turn, had two daughters and four sons. Only one of her children held a Ḥatḥoric title. That was a daughter who served as Priestess of Ḥathor Mistress of Dendera. Thus, this particular family was deeply involved in the

[9] Blackman, op. cit. IV, pl. xv; Kamal, loc. cit.

[10] Quibell, op. cit. 254–8; M. Chaban, 'Sur une nécropole de la VI[e] dynastie à Koçeir El-Amarna', *ASAE* 3 (1902), 250–4.

[11] Blackman, op. cit. IV, pls. iv, vii, ix; Kamal, loc. cit.

[12] See above, p. 42 and n. 3.

[13] Petrie, *Denderah 1898*, 50; Fischer, op. cit. 114, 142.

[14] Petrie, op. cit. 16, 47, pls. viii, viii b; Fischer, op. cit., figs. 31, 31 a; Allam, op. cit. 55.

[15] Petrie, op. cit., pl. ix; Fischer, op. cit., figs. 31, 31 a; Borchardt, loc. cit.

cult of Ḥatḥor. However, it must be remembered that it is only one family, and, therefore, should probably not be accepted as characteristic of all Denderite families associated with the Ḥatḥoric cult.

From Abydos, only one mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship is known and both women held Ḥatḥoric titles.[16] From Thebes, there are two mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships known. In one, both women held Ḥatḥoric titles.[17]

From the Gîza–Saqqâra area, twelve mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships can be identified. Four of these indicate that both women held Ḥatḥoric titles. Merysʿankh held, among several other titles, the title of Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of *'Iwnt*.[18] Her tomb inscription records one daughter and two sons (as well as her mother). None of these held a Ḥatḥoric title. One of her sons married a woman named *Nbw-ḥtp* who served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore in all her Places. She could not have inherited this title from her mother-in-law as Merysʿankh did not hold that title. There is no indication as to whether *Nbw-ḥtp* herself had any children.

Ḥnwt·sn served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore, and Priestess of Ḥatḥor in all her Places.[19] She had two sons and two daughters, none of whom held titles of Ḥatḥor. One of her sons married Ḥetepḥeres, who served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore.[20] She, in turn, had four sons, none of whom held titles of the cult of this goddess.

Khentkawes, who served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore, had at least one daughter and one son.[21] None of her children held Ḥatḥoric titles. Her son's wife was *Tỉst*, who served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor and Priestess of Neith.[22] Curiously, Khentkawes's sister-in-law was also Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore.[23] So, in this one family, two brothers, neither of whom held a Ḥatḥoric title, each married a Priestess of Ḥatḥor. None of their children held Ḥatḥoric titles although one daughter did become a Priestess of Neith, and one son married a Priestess of Ḥatḥor. This would appear to be a clear-cut case against the hereditary status of these titles and also a clear indication of the social influence that those titles and the cult of Ḥatḥor held.

Ḥatḥoric titles held a certain prestige that was desirable, and probably they were indicative of a certain attitude of devotion, respect, or intelligence that was desirable

[16] Borchardt, op. cit. II, 64.

[17] M. Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 14) (Mainz, 1977), 18–22; P. E. Newberry, *ASAE* 4 (1904), 97–100; Allam, op. cit. 58; Fischer, op. cit. 29 (11).

[18] W. K. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III* (Boston, 1974), G7530; Fischer, op. cit. 23; C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler, Ergänzungsband* (Leipzig, 1897–1913), pl. xxxiv; A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 549; H. Gauthier, *Le Livre des rois d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1907), 80, 90–1; S. Hassan, *Excavation at Giza*, IV (Cairo, 1929–60), 125.

[19] H. Junker, *Giza*, III (Vienna, 1929–55), 9, pl. 9, grave 5170; J. de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte* (Paris, 1877), pl. lxiv; MFA Boston XL G2200, A5981, A5875, A5873.

[20] Junker, op. cit. III, 9, pl. i; de Rougé, op. cit., pl. lxiv.

[21] A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des NiankhChnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz, 1977), 5, 3*b*, pls. 46–7.

[22] Ibid., pl. 81*b*.

[23] Ibid., pl. 4, 3*a*, p. 146.

and admirable. In the process of choosing a spouse such qualities may have been sought out. Further, the society of acquaintances of eligible males and females from which one would have chosen a spouse may have been influenced by a mother's participation in the Ḥatḥoric cult. A mother might even have suggested a suitable spouse from a family that she knew as a result of her own participation in the cult. This would seem even more probable when it is remembered that most of these mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships are known from the three major Ḥatḥoric centres: Cusae, Dendera, and Gîza. Certainly, within the close-knit noble community of Cusae the cult of Ḥatḥor was exploited for its religious and political and social potential. Ḥatḥoric titles seem to have permeated every family for several succeeding generations. It is logical, as well as predictable, that the members of a noble-class family would have sought out other members of the nobility when looking for suitable spouses, which, in Cusae, would have also meant a family affiliated with the cult of Ḥatḥor. This was not a coincidence but rather a predetermined, desirable socio-religious and political aspect of the obligations of the noble class in Sixth Dynasty Cusae.

In Dendera and in Gîza, the community was much more diverse. There are no clear-cut socio-economic lines to be traced, but, certainly, the process of choosing a marriage partner would still have been affected by one's personal community and by those qualities which one's family held as ideal. For a son whose mother held a position as priestess, it is likely that this would have provided certain criteria for choosing a wife as well as providing a certain community from which to choose.

Conclusions for all Female/Female Relationships

Out of a total of 154 female/female relationships,[24] only twenty-seven priestesses indicated having one or more female relatives who also held a Ḥatḥoric title. With the exception of the group of mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships, there is no consistent pattern to indicate that Ḥatḥoric priestly titles were being inherited within female/female relationships. For the group of mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationships, it is probable that the high percentage of cases of both women serving as Priestess of Ḥatḥor should be viewed as a manifestation of the social implications of the cult of the Ḥatḥor, of the community that it formed, and of the pervasiveness of that cult with respect to the lives of its adherents.

Husband/Wife Relationships

Approximately 220 priestesses recorded biographical information concerning their husbands. Eighteen of these indicated that both spouses held Ḥatḥoric titles. Only four husbands held the title of Priest of Ḥatḥor. Thirteen held an administrative title for the cult of Ḥatḥor. Ten were Overseers of the Priests, two

[24] The 154 females include fourteen sister/sister relationships, in which only one occurs with an indication that both held Ḥatḥoric titles, and twelve females of non-specific relationship where it is clear in five cases that both held Ḥatḥoric titles.

were Inspectors of the Priests, and one was the Overseer of the Transport. Clearly, these statistics would indicate that it was not common practice for a husband and wife both to hold a priestly title in the cult of Ḥatḥor during the Old Kingdom or the First Intermediate Period. And, as no woman held an administrative title in the cult of Ḥatḥor, the statistics would also indicate that one spouse did not inherit Ḥatḥoric titles from the other.

Father/Daughter Relationships

Approximately thirty-six priestesses recorded their father's name and titles. Only one of these indicated that her father also held a title in the cult of Ḥatḥor. She was *ʾIfi Mry*, who is attested in Gîza.[25] Her father was the Overseer of the Priests of Ḥatḥor Mistress of Dendera and the Overseer of the Thentet-cattle.[26] *ʾIfi Mry* obviously did not inherit her titles from her father, and, as it is here clearly shown that the Priestess of Ḥatḥor did not receive or inherit her title from her father or her mother, it is perhaps wisest not to assume that any priestess of an Egyptian deity inherited her title from her father until a statistical analysis can prove otherwise. Therefore, the attitude such as is expressed by M. Sauneron that '... dès l'Ancien Empire, les exemples de femmes prêtresses de déesses et même de dieux ne manquent pas: dames de la haute société ou simplement filles de prêtres ayant reçu en héritage la fonction de leur père...' must be re-examined.[27]

Father-in-law/Daughter-in-law Relationships

Approximately eighteen priestesses recorded the name and titles of their father-in-law. Two of these priestesses, both having the same father-in-law, claimed that he held the title of Herdsman of the Thentet-cattle.[28] These two women did not inherit their priestly title from their father-in-law.

Mother/Son Relationships

Approximately 118 priestesses recorded having one or more sons. Three of these indicated that they had one or more sons who also held Ḥatḥoric titles. In Gîza, a total of sixty-two mother/son relationships can be identified. One woman, named *Nbw-ḥtp*, who served as Priestess of Ḥatḥor and Priestess of Ḥatḥor Mistress of the Sycamore, had five daughters, none of whom served in the Ḥatḥoric cult, and one son, who served as Priest of Ḥatḥor.[29] Another Priestess of Ḥatḥor, named *Nbw-ʾIrt*, was married to a man who held several priestly titles in the cult of Rēʿ but no Ḥatḥoric title. Their two sons both served as Priest of Rēʿ-Ḥatḥor in the sun temples of Neferirkarēʿ and Userkaf.[30]

[25] Hassan, op. cit. II, 169–78.
[26] Ibid.; Allam, op. cit. 51–6; Fischer, op. cit. 25–6.
[27] S. Sauneron, *Les Prêtres de l'Ancienne Égypte* (Netherlands, 1960), 67.
[28] Fischer, op. cit. 114, 142; Petrie, op. cit. 47, 50, pl. xi; Borchardt, loc. cit.; Allam, op. cit. 55.
[29] Mariette, op. cit. 196–201, D11; Borchardt, op. cit. I, 84–7; II, 28–30.
[30] L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* (Berlin, 1911), 48–9, Abb. 55.

In Cusae, a total of twenty-four mother/son relationships are identifiable. One of these mothers indicated that four of her ten sons held Ḥatḥoric titles.[31] As her husband and several other relatives also participated in the cult of Ḥatḥor, it would certainly seem that a family devotion is indicated here. It should not, however, be considered as an indication that these sons inherited their titles from their mother.

Conclusions for all Female/Male Relationships

In a group of female/male relationships totalling 418, only twenty-five indicated that one or more male relatives also held a Ḥatḥoric title. Seventeen of the males held an administrative title and seven held the title of Priest of Ḥatḥor.[32] No consistent pattern exists to indicate a hereditary status within this female/male grouping.

Father/Son Relationships

Approximately 209 father/son relationships can be identified. Only two families indicated that both father and son participated in the cult of Ḥatḥor. In Cusae, a total of twenty-four father/son relationships can be identified. One family recorded that eight males over a period of three generations held titles within the cult of Ḥatḥor. The eldest member of the family was Sobkḥotpe, who was the Chief Nomarch of the XIVth Nome.[33] He was also the Overseer of the Priests of Ḥatḥor. He was succeeded in both these titles by his sons Pepi-ʿankh the Elder, Pepi-ʿankh the Middle, Pepi-ʿankh Ḥeni, and one grandson, Pepi-ʿankhnes Ḥepi, who claimed only the title of Overseer of the Priests. Therefore, a succession of Nomarchs and Overseers can be determined in Cusae during the Sixth Dynasty.[34] It seems reasonable to say that both these titles were being passed from father to son in the same noble family during the Sixth Dynasty in Cusae.

In Dendera, approximately seven father/son relationships can be identified. Only one indicated that both held Ḥatḥoric titles. *Mrry* held the titles of Overseer of the Priests, Overseer of the Thentet-cattle, and Chief of the *Dꜣt*-robe, all three of which his father had held before him.[35] *Mrry*, in turn, had at least one son and one grandson, neither of whom held Ḥatḥoric titles. Therefore, although it would appear that *Mrry* inherited his titles from his father, it was not necessarily a traditional practice for a son to inherit in this way. This would be substantiated by the fact that of the six other men who held the title of Overseer of the Priests and

[31] Blackman, op. cit. IV, pls. iv, vii, ix, xiv, xv; Kamal, loc. cit.

[32] The seventeen administrators span a time period from the Fourth to the Eleventh Dynasties and appear in both Upper and Lower Egypt. Six of the seven priests have been attested in the Gîza–Saqqâra area during the Old Kingdom. It would appear that the statement made by Henry G. Fischer that no men held the title of Priest of Ḥatḥor in Dendera after the Sixth Dynasty until the Eleventh Dynasty can be extended to the whole of Egypt (Fischer, op. cit. 8). Further, it would appear that Gîza was the Ḥatḥoric centre that realized the majority of male participation in the cult of Ḥatḥor by means of the title of Priest of Ḥatḥor or by a non-administrative position.

[33] Blackman, op. cit. IV, 6, pl. xv; Kamal, loc. cit.

[34] Blackman, op. cit. I, 13; Allam, op. cit. 32.

[35] Fischer, op. cit. 114, 142; Petrie, op. cit. 50, pl. xi; Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches*, II, 122–3.

Chief of the *Dꜣt*-robe in Dendera, none recorded a father or son or any male relative who also held a Ḥatḥoric title.

In Gîza, approximately ninety-nine father/son relationships are identifiable. None of these indicate that both father and son held Ḥatḥoric titles. The same is true for Thebes, where eight such relationships are identifiable, for Aswan, where six are known, and for Tehna, where nine are in evidence. Therefore, it would seem that, as a general practice, a son did not inherit any Ḥatḥoric title from his father. Sixth Dynasty Cusae would mark a clear exception to this finding.

Conclusions for Male/Male Relationships

From a group of 209 father/son relationships, only seven indicate that both father and son held Ḥatḥoric titles. Six were recorded in Cusae and one in Dendera. All seven pairs of men held and inherited one or more administrative titles of the cult of Ḥatḥor. None held or inherited the title of Priest of Ḥatḥor. It is, therefore, reasonable to say that there existed no consistent pattern suggesting the inheritance of priestly titles by a son from his father in this cult. However, there does exist a consistent pattern suggesting the inheritance of Ḥatḥoric administrative titles, such as Overseer of the Priests, in Cusae during the Sixth Dynasty.

THREE RECENT FINDS IN THE VALLEY TEMPLE OF UNAS

By AḤMED MAHMOUD MOUSSA

THE three monuments about to be discussed were found by me in 1974 in the debris of the Valley Temple of Unas at Saqqâra during excavations sponsored by the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities.[1] One is Middle Kingdom in date, thus adding to the somewhat sparse corpus of material of this period from the Memphite necropolis, the other two date from the New Kingdom. All are intrusive in the temple area, but presumably derive from dismantled tombs nearby. They are at present stored in an Antiquities Department magazine at Saqqâra.

1. Block statue (see pls. XII–XIII and fig. 1 a–c)

Material: limestone. Dimensions: ht. 47.0 cm, width 37.0 cm, depth 59.0 cm. Ht. of base 15.0 cm. Date: Dynasties XII–XIII.

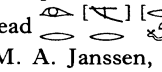
As can be seen from the photographic illustrations, the statue is badly smashed, only the lower part remaining. To judge from the surviving portion the workmanship was summary. The front (a), back (b), and left edge of the right side (c) bear incised inscriptions, carefully cut. The left side of the statue is broken away. The texts read as follows:

(a) On the front, bottom two lines surviving, with the remains of a sole hieroglyph in the line above: [*I was one who . . .*][2] *daily, who acted according to his desire,*[3] *the steward of the funerary estate ʿAnkhu, true of voice, possessor of reverence, engendered of Satnefertem.*[4]

(b) On the back: [*O you living*] *ones*[5] *upon earth, who shall pass by this statue,*[6] *sailing downstream or upstream,*[7] *as truly as you love*[8] [*your king/city god/god* NN], *you will say: 'A thousand of* [*bread and beer*]*' for the steward ʿAnkhu, true of voice.*

[1] I wish to thank my Saqqâra colleagues Dr G. T. Martin and Dr J. van Dijk for their assistance, and Dr C. J. Eyre for taking the photographs.

[2] Perhaps restore 'I was one who was praised of his lord daily'.  is certain.

[3] Read  , *ỉrw mrrt·f*, with the suffix referring to the king—the end of an autobiographical text: cf. J. M. A. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, I (Leiden, 1946), 46–7, nos. 120–37.

[4] Ranke, *PN* I, 290, 11, does not cite the name *Sỉt-Nfr-tm* before the New Kingdom.

[5] [*ỉ ʿnḫ*]*w tpyw tỉ*, etc.

[6] *swỉty·s*[*n . . . ḥr twt*] *pn*.

[7] *m ḫd m ḫsfwt*. The sign  , a 'cord wound on stick' is used for the spindle  *ḫsf* here. A word  meaning 'razor' is quoted by P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les Archives du temple funéraire de Neferirkaré-Kakai*, II (Cairo, 1976), 423(d), which D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique*, 77.3169, 77.3180, and 78.3124, reads as *ḫsf* in view of the verb  , 'shave', occurring in the so-called Tomb of the Two Brothers at Saqqâra: see A. M. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz, 1977), 81, with fig. 10.

[8] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3] (Oxford, 1957), §444. 2.

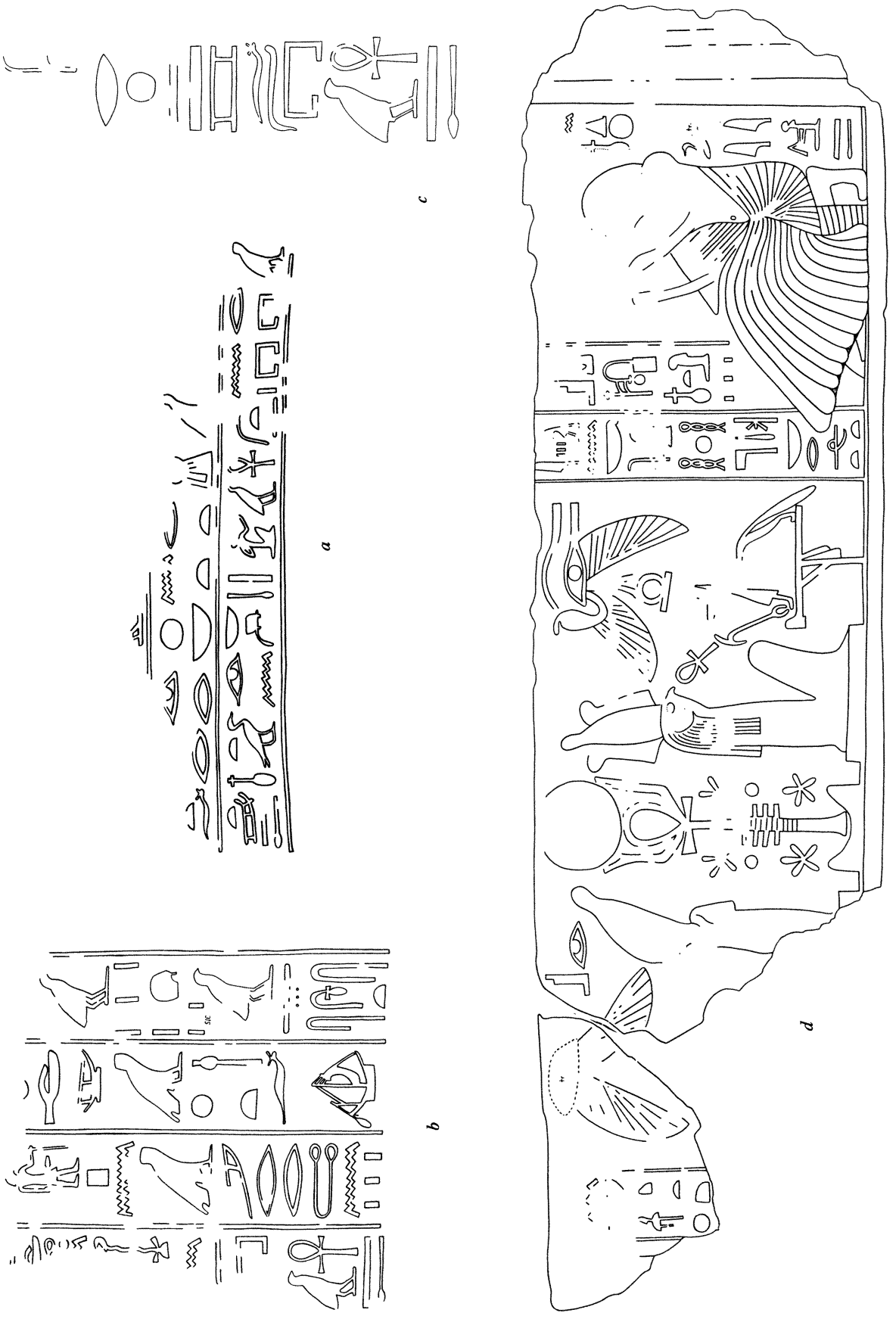


FIG. 1

(c) On the right[9] side: *The loyal acquaintance*[10] *of the king, his beloved, the steward ʿAnkhu, true of voice.*

2. Relief from a tomb (see pl. XIII, 2)

Material: limestone. Dimensions: ht. 15.2 cm, length 56.0 cm, thickness 32.0 cm. Date: Late Dynasty XVIII.

This tiny block, in sunk relief, is of remarkable workmanship. There is some surface damage; otherwise the block is in excellent condition. It depicts a scene in a workshop, presumably in nearby Memphis, where military equipment and weapons are being manufactured. To the left a chariot is to be seen, its shaft resting on a pole with a papyriform top. Above is shown a mat, perhaps for throwing over the flanks of a horse. In the centre a craftsman runs his eye along a completed arrow to test its accuracy. In front of him is a heap of arrows awaiting like treatment, while behind him is a container with arrows that have already been examined. In the upper right-hand corner there are traces of a craftsman with an adze, apparently working another arrow on his knee. Adjacent is a military standard. The head of another employee survives below.[11] There are traces of red-brown on the flesh of the first two figures described.

3. Lintel from a tomb (see pl. XIII, 3 and fig. 1, d)

Material: limestone. Dimensions: ht. 30.5 cm, total length (including small fragment positioned to the left) 1.18 m, thickness 18.5 cm. Date: Early Dynasty XIX.

The surface of this sunk-relief block is greatly weather-worn and pitted, the outlines of the scenes and texts being blurred in consequence. The owner is shown kneeling to the right, facing left with his arms raised in adoration. The text before and behind him reads: *Adoration to thee, king*[12] *of eternity, great god, lord of Rosetau. The Osiris, scribe of harîm ladies*[13] *. . . [M]emphis, Pay*[14] *true of voice.*

The principal scene shows one of the numerous variants of the vignette which constitutes the so-called chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead, which in fact illustrates the hymns of chapter 15. It symbolizes the resurrection of Osiris or the birth of the

[9] From the point of view of the statue.

[10] Regrettably the determinative of *rḫ*, which might have furnished an indication of date, is not clear. The sign immediately below is *mꜣꜥ*: cf. *Wb.* II, 446, 14: 'seit MR'.

[11] For scenes of activity in military workshops see N. de G. Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperrasonb, Amenmosĕ, and Another* (London, 1933), pl. 12; id., *Scenes from some Theban Tombs* (Oxford, 1963), pl. 8. For a well-known example from the Saqqâra tomb of Kairi see *PM* III², 2, 668. Attention may also be drawn to the article by J. D. Clark, J. L. Phillips, and P. S. Staley, 'Interpretations of Prehistoric Technology from Ancient Egyptian and other Sources. I. Ancient Egyptian Bows and Arrows and their Relevance for African Prehistory', *Paléorient*, 2, 2 (1974), 323–88.

[12] The meagre traces support this reading.

[13] *Nfrwt*, 'Mädchen im Harem o.ä.', *Wb.* II, 258, 7.

[14] The reading seems to be *Pꜣy* rather than *T̲ꜣy*, being supported by the fact that *T̲ꜣy* is usually, though not always, written with the phallus-determinative, which is absent on the lintel. Our *Pꜣy* may possibly be the same as the owner of a tomb-chapel located immediately south of the tomb of Ḥoremḥeb: see *PM* III², 2, 655.

sun-god.[15] The falcon-headed god to the right may be Rēʿ, though here he resembles Sokar. The four stars represent the twelve hours of the night (one for each group of three).[16] On the parallels in the tomb of Ramesses VI Barguet comments as follows:[17] 'Les deux disques . . . représentent, soit le soleil et la lune, soit le soleil des six premières heures et celui des six dernières.' Perhaps the first interpretation is the more probable. Representations of Nut on the interiors of Late Period coffin-lids sometimes show the goddess in the company of the hours of night and day, while her body is covered with stars and with two circles which represent sun and moon.[18] Another possibility is that the two circles are the hours of the day, or more precisely the last and first hours of the day. On the Leiden coffin cited above the hours of the night are shown as goddesses with a star on their heads, the hours of the day as goddesses with a circle (sun-disc) on their heads.[19] In any event, the addition of these celestial bodies to the vignette on our lintel stresses the Osirian interpretation of the vignette,[20] that is, the rebirth of the sun-god as a result of the nightly unification of Rēʿ and Osiris.

The text on the very worn fragment which adjoins the left side of the main block reads: . . . *to* [*thee*], *foremost of the West* . . .[21]

[15] See K. Sethe, *Altägyptische Vorstellungen vom Lauf der Sonne* (Berlin, 1928) = *SPAW* 22, 271–3; H. Schäfer, 'Altägyptische Bilder der auf- und untergehenden Sonne', *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 15–38; H. Altenmüller in *LdÄ* 1, col. 1103.

[16] In a scene in the tomb of Ramesses IX these hours are shown as four groups of three stars, accompanied by two circles: see A. Piankoff, *La Création du disque solaire* (Cairo, 1953), pls. 36–7.

[17] *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 53.

[18] See, for example, Leiden coffin Inv. AMM 5 (H. D. Schneider and M. J. Raven, *De egyptische oudheid: inleiding . . . Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* (The Hague, 1981), no. 127).

[19] Cf. A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI* (New York, 1954), pls. 115–16.

[20] Cf. Altenmüller, loc. cit.

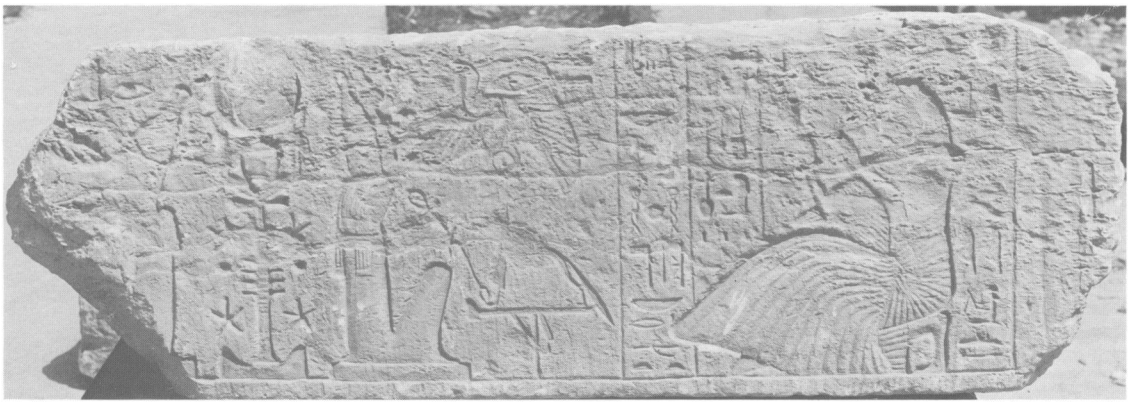
[21] The trace of the sign after *'Imntt* is uncertain.

1. Statue of ʿAnkhu, front

2. Statue of ʿAnkhu, back

1. Statue of ʿAnkhu, right side

2. Relief showing military workshop



3. Lintel of Pay

THREE RECENT FINDS IN THE VALLEY TEMPLE OF UNAS

THE GUROB SHRINE PAPYRUS

By H. S. SMITH *and* H. M. STEWART

THE Papyrus UC 27934. i and ii, now in the Petrie Museum at University College London, was bought by Petrie at an uncertain date from a dealer of El-Lahun, who said that it had been found at Gurob. It was bought as one roll, 'broken across the middle', according to Petrie.[1] On one portion (UC 27934. i) is shown the front elevation and on the other (UC 27934. ii) the side elevation of a portable temple-shrine drawn in black ink on a grid of squares in red. The two main pieces were already made up of many fragments of papyrus when Petrie first published the document in 1926, as is evident from his plates. In 1977, a package containing further fragments of the papyrus was rediscovered among linen which had been transferred by the Petrie Museum to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1972, and subsequently divided to the Bolton Museum.[2] These fragments were wrapped in copies of *The Standard* newspaper, the front elevation in the issues for 6 and 13 May 1904, the side elevation in the issue for 5 May 1913; these dates suggest, though they do not prove, that the papyrus was already in fragments when Petrie acquired it. This rediscovery led to the decision of the Petrie Museum to put in hand the restoration of the papyrus. It was carefully reassembled during 1980 by Mrs Gillian Pettman and remounted in 1981 by Mr S. W. Baker, both formerly of the conservation staff of the British Museum. Although it has not been possible to restore every small papyrus fragment belonging to the background, virtually all those fragments showing part of the black-ink drawing are now correctly placed. As a result some interesting new details have emerged. Although the document has been reproduced and described several times,[3] it seems appropriate to publish photographs of it in its restored state with an amended description.

The Papyrus

The papyrus is of very fine texture and excellent quality. The original light-brown colour is preserved on the rediscovered fragments; the main portions have, however, been darkened to a greyish colour by exposure to the London atmosphere. At the top of the piece bearing the drawing of the side elevation of the shrine (UC 27934. ii) a strip of lighter papyrus 6.5 cm wide has been pasted to the main roll. As its fibres run

[1] W. M. F. Petrie, *Ancient Weights and Measures* (London, 1926), 46, pl. 54; *Ancient Egypt* 11 (1926), 24 ff. with plate.

[2] Gratitude is due to Mrs Angela Thomas, Keeper of Archaeology at the Bolton Museum, for recognizing the contents of this package and returning them to the Petrie Museum.

[3] See n. 1 above; S. Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (Oxford University Press, 1930), 46–8, fig. 48; also R. Engelbach, *Introduction to Egyptian Archaeology* (Cairo, 1946), 131, fig. 121; A. Badawy, *Le Dessin architectural chez les égyptiens*, (Cairo, 1948), 206; W. H. Peck, *Drawings from Ancient Egypt* (London, 1978), 195, fig. 128.

in the opposite direction to those of the main roll, it most probably represents the usual protective strip at the outer end of the roll; thus the side elevation of the shrine presented itself first when it was unrolled. The two drawings were on the interior of the roll, the side on which, as usual, the fibres ran along its length, but, in order to accommodate their height, the draughtsman turned the roll through 90° from the position normal for documents, and drew the elevations with their vertical axes parallel to the fibres along the length of the roll and across the sheet-joins. UC 27934. ii, bearing the side elevation in addition to the protective strip, comprises six sheets of papyrus, of which the widths are consecutively 13.5 cm, 13.0 cm, 14.0 cm, 13.0 cm, 13.0 cm, and 11.5 cm (an incomplete sheet, which has been cut across); its total extant height is 53.5 cm, and total extant length 84.5 cm. UC 27934. i, the piece bearing the drawing of the front elevation of the shrine, is also made up of six sheets of papyrus, of which the widths are consecutively 7.0 cm (an incomplete sheet), 14.0 cm, 15.0 cm, 13.8 cm, 14.0 cm, 14.0 cm; its total extant height (allowing for minor inaccuracy in mounting) is 54 cm, almost certainly the full original height of the roll, and its length 78.0 cm. At its extant base is a straight edge, which, though it might represent a cut, seems quite likely to be the original end of the roll. The backs of both UC 27934. i and ii are blank.[4] There is nothing about the physical appearance of the papyrus or its dimensions to cast doubt on Petrie's statement that the two pieces came from a single roll; the slightly larger sheet-widths of UC 27934. i are surely not significant. Granted that they belonged to a single roll, the portions of sheets at the bottom of UC 27934. ii and at the top of UC 27934. i cannot have belonged to a single sheet, as their combined width, 18.5 cm, is too great. Thus, there was a minimum interval of 7.5 cm between the two elevations, and if, as is possible, a whole sheet-width or more is lost, proportionately more. That there was some loss is also probably shown by the fact that Mrs Pettman, the restorer, found difficulty in placing certain fragments within the portions preserved. Thus the full height of the papyrus was probably 54 cm, and its full length not less than 1.70 m; it appears to be of greater height than any papyrus roll known from written documents,[5] perhaps because a special size was manufactured for cartoons and working drawings. It was doubtless convenient to have both drawings on a single

[4] In this description, in order to avoid confusion, the term 'height' has been used, as is normal with documentary rolls, to mean the dimension measured along the sheet-joins, and the terms 'recto' and 'verso' have not been employed.

[5] J. Černý, *Paper and Books in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1952), 16–7, quotes a New Kingdom Book of the Dead, P. Greenfield in the British Museum, as the highest known papyrus of dynastic date at 47–8 cm, followed by a Turin Necropolis Journal at 47 cm, and P. BM 10403 at 45 cm; those very long documents, P. Wilbour and the Great Harris Papyrus, are written on rolls only 42 cm high. For Hellenistic times the largest height known is apparently 47 cm, exemplified by P. Leiden G (U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, 106 = M. T. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolemées*, item 62), a royal rescript of Ptolemy X Alexander I dated 15 Oct. 99 BC, which bears the king's autograph and a clay impression of the royal seal showing the Ptolemaic eagle. This should, therefore, be the format used by the Royal Chancery, described by Hero of Alexandria, *Automatopoetica* 26, 3, as ὁ βασιλικὸς χάρτης, by Catullus, xxii, 6 (in the plural) as *cartae regiae*, and by Suetonius in Isidore, *Origines*, VI, 10, 2 as *Augustea regia*, references which we owe to Dr W. E. H. Cockle. That the Gurob Shrine Papyrus appears to be alone in exceeding this 'royal' size by some 6 cm is the justification for thinking that such a size may have been specially manufactured for the use of draughtsmen.

roll for safety and convenience of transport, but, for working purposes, it may have been better to consult them side by side. If so, it is possible that the drawings were cut apart by the ancient craftsman, though the division may equally well be modern work.[6] A vertical break along the middle line of the elevations may show that the papyrus has been folded either by the ancient carpenter during use or after being discarded.

A squared grid was initially ruled on the papyrus in red. The verticals of the grid stretch to the bottom margin of UC 27934. ii and from the top margin of UC 27934. i, so that, if we assume that these pieces formed a single roll, the grid may have been continuous.[7] The bottom three compartments of the grid on UC 27934. i were, however, added in black ink, apparently with the pen used for drawing the elevations of the shrine (see below, p. 59).

The Architectural Drawings

The two elevations conform to the principles of projection followed on modern working drawings, with the sole exception that the sun-disc of the uraeus is represented frontally. The shrine, which from its framed construction is clearly of wood, consists of two main elements: (*a*) an outer shrine or baldachin, open on all sides, with four columns at the corners supporting a curved canopy with cavetto cornice; (*b*) an inner shrine or *naos* proper, enclosed on three sides and to at least half its height in the front, having a cavetto cornice and curved roof. From the side elevation, it is clear that the inner *naos* was connected by rope ties to the canopy of the baldachin, and that similar ties secured the base of the *naos* to the plinth.[8] The purpose of this device was perhaps to stabilize the *naos* and its contents when carried in procession; it cannot have been intended to allow sufficient sway for the divine image to move backwards and forwards in response to oracle questions since carrying-brackets were attached to the inner shrine.[9] The semi-circular hoops shown holding these ties evidently represent copper or bronze stanchions similar to those which hold the bolts to the doors of Tutʿankhamūn's gilded wooden shrine.[10]

Curved details such as the column capitals and the uraeus on the top of the cornice

[6] If it is assumed that one sheet of papyrus is now missing between the two drawings, the total gap would have been 20–2 cm. If the ancient craftsman deliberately cut the drawings apart, this would have given a 10 cm margin at the base of the side elevation, and a 10 cm margin at the top of the front elevation for handling during actual use. The 'protective strip' provides a margin at the top of the side elevation; this suggests that there may have been a margin at the base of the front elevation, now cut away.

[7] The purpose of the grid and its metrology are discussed below, pp. 59 ff.

[8] Parallels for these ties are to be found on temple reliefs, e.g. A. M. Calverley, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* (London, 1933–8), I, pl. 31. As the *naos* was the heavier structure, the baldachin being a light framework, it is quite probable that the purpose of the ties was to anchor the baldachin to the *naos* rather than to suspend the *naos* from the baldachin, just as the ties on the Tutʿankhamūn chest were intended to secure the lid. Rope ties would have allowed some play, thus avoiding strain on the timbers during movement.

[9] See the chapter by J. Černý, in R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus* (Providence, RI, 1962), 35–48 and pl. 1. As the carrying-brackets (see below) were attached to the inner shrine, this would have rested firmly on the carrying-poles and the shoulders of the bearers.

[10] See I. E. S. Edwards (ed.), *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (British Museum exhibition catalogue) (London, 1972), no. 25. Similar ties and staples also occur on the alabaster canopic shrine of Tutʿankhamūn: see A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-amon*, (New York, 1955), pls. 10–11.

show traces of the initial drawing, and the decoration below the column capital of the rear column has never been filled in in black.[11] The final drawing in black has been done with a broader scribe's rush pen and a straight edge, which has effectually obscured the straight lines of any initial red-ink drawing.

Front Elevation (*see pl. XIV*)

The baldachin stands on a projecting plinth[12] from which the sides rise with an inward batter of about 3° from the vertical. The cornice of the outer frame is decorated by a centrally placed sun-disc with flanking uraei, and also by the usual vertical leaf pattern, abbreviated by the draughtsman to a few units. At the sides are shown the front two columns which support the roof of the baldachin, these columns being of the type symbolized by the hieroglyph 𓊪, and inclined at the same angle as the sides. Above the capitals are small impost-blocks containing blacked-in rectangles, which perhaps represent mortises. Within the columns, and partly masked by them, is the inner *naos*, the cornice of which is shown in profile by thinner lines cutting across the capitals. Both this cornice and the cross-beam below it are decorated with centrally placed sun-discs with flanking uraei. Quite probably these would have been gilded when the shrine was built. Round the frame of the *naos* are double lines, presumably representing a torus moulding. Where it is masked by the columns, this moulding is shown in thinner lines as in the case of the cornice profile. The lower part, marked off by the sky-symbol, also appears to have been framed by a torus moulding, and would have contained a scene not indicated here. Near the bottom a dado of 'palace-façade' motifs is abbreviated like the cornice decoration.[13]

[11] This decoration is sketched in red as four vertical lines, whereas on the completed front column it has been shown in black by three horizontal lines, correctly according to Egyptian architectural convention.

[12] One might have expected this 'plinth' to represent a sled, either separate from, or more probably built in one piece with, the shrine. In the front elevation, it might be maintained that such a sled is shown in section, and that, therefore, the upturning front is not shown. The side elevation, however, shows clearly that the plinth was designed to have a straight front, which is shown by a vertical line. The rear of the 'plinth' is lost, but to the best of our knowledge the front of the sled is never shown in Egyptian draughtsmanship at the rear end of the shrine. One must conclude either that this particular shrine was not intended to have a sled as mount, or that this feature is conventionally omitted in the drawing like some of the details of decoration. Note that shrines of this type on plain plinths are shown in Calverley, op. cit. I, pl. 14 and elsewhere.

[13] To understand precisely what the draughtsman intended to represent here, it is again helpful to compare Tutʿankhamūn's gilded wooden shrine (see n. 10). At the base of the side elevation of that shrine there is shown a plain beam, above this the vertical arcaded 'palace-façade' dado, then a rectangular element with similarly 'panelled' decoration in a horizontal plane. It is manifest that the three horizontal lines at the base of the Gurob front elevation represent the top of each of these features. Above this on the side of Tutʿankhamūn's gilded shrine there is a lower decorated panel, topped by a 'sky'-sign; evidently this is what the low 'sky'-sign on the front elevation of the Gurob shrine represents. Likewise the upper sky-sign on the side elevation of the Gurob shrine must correspond with the upper decorated panel on the side of Tutʿankhamūn's shrine. The interesting feature is, though, that the lower frame occurs on the *front* elevation of the Gurob shrine, where, on the analogy of Tutʿankhamūn's shrine, one would expect full-length double doors. It is for this reason that one suspects that the Gurob shrine may have been intended to have a low screen across the front, with double doors only in its upper half. For parallels see G. Roeder, *CCG: Naos* (Leipzig, 1914), 138–9 (no. 29752, wooden, complete), 140–2 (no. 70043, wooden, with panel and doors lost), 100–2 (no. 70023, wooden, panel only), 1–11 (nos. 70001 a–b, the Ḥatshepsut ebony shrine, where the doors covered less than half the height of the shrine). Note that the last example is relatively close in date to the Gurob papyrus. Several examples of wooden doors which had become separated from this type of shrine were found by W. B. Emery at the Sacred Animal Necropolis, N. Saqqâra, and will be published by Miss C. D. Insley in a forthcoming volume on temple furniture from this site.

Owing to a central vertical fold in the papyrus some of the detail along this line has been lost, such as the possible indication of double doors and their bolts. One might have expected, however, that traces of the latter would have extended into the preserved area, had they existed.[14]

Surmounting the cornice is a uraeus in profile, with a disc on its head which is shown frontally. Its modelling is drawn: it may have been intended to be gilt, and inlaid with lapis and jasper, or with red and blue glass. Whether this was intended to represent a single uraeus, or, by abbreviation, a frieze of uraei across the full width of the cornice is unclear. The latter arrangement is certainly very common.[15] On the front elevation, there is a horizontal line in black preserved at the level of the top of the disc on the uraeus's head; this line might be intended to mark the extent of the top of the frieze. Near the right-hand end of the cornice what appears on the photograph to be a shallow horizontal rabbet is in fact a break in the papyrus.

Side Elevation (see pl. XV)

The columns of the outer structure and the sides of the *naos* are inclined as in the front view. The walls of the *naos* also show the same framed construction edged with a torus moulding. Clearer in this view are the details of the canopy and shrine-roof. In form these show the curving roof-line typical of the Upper Egyptian *pr-wr* shrine, sloping upwards slightly from the rear and descending to the cornice in a graceful arc.[16] No decoration appears on the side panel with the exception of the sky-symbol just below the upper transom. As in the front view this symbol presumably surmounted a scene not shown in the drawing.[17] Between the vertical jambs at the base are two horizontal beams of equal height, the top line of the upper one being level with the top of the dado in the front view. Possibly the upper beam belongs to the *naos* and the lower one to the outer structure, though both are circumscribed by the jambs of the lower shrine.[18] Connecting the upper beam to the plinth are two narrow ties, diagonally striped, ending at their bases in semicircular hoops which rest directly on the plinth; at their tops they end in similar hoops just below the top of the upper beam. Similar ties connect the top of the *naos* to the canopy of the outer framework. As already divined by Petrie, these represent ropes fixed to metal staples in order to secure the *naos* in transport.[19] In this connection it should be noted that

[14] If, however, no double doors, or their bolts, were portrayed in the upper half of this front elevation, it was presumably open, as in the miniature wooden shrine from Saqqâra illustrated in *JEA* 53 (1967), pl. xxv, 4. In temple-reliefs, when a shrine is shown carried in public procession on a bark or by bearers, the divine image is normally shown screened from public view by a curtain, e.g. Calverley, op. cit. I, pls. 7–22; presumably in such instances the shrine was partially open at the front.

[15] For this type of frieze, cf. R. A. Parker, op. cit., pl. 1; and the Tutʿankhamūn canopic box, Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pls. 10–11.

[16] While the ingenious exposition of the mechanical purpose of this form of roof in this type of shrine by Petrie (*Weights and Measures*, 46, also *Ancient Egypt* 11 (1926), 24) may, like so many of his observations, have some truth in it, it must be observed that this type of curved roof was traditional in the *pr-wr* shrine from the earliest times.

[17] For the type of scene that might have stood here, compare once more Tutʿankhamūn's gilded shrine, side elevation, Edwards, op. cit., no. 25.

[18] For a possible parallel to this double beam, see Calverley, op. cit. IV, pl. 45, top.

[19] See nn. 9, 11 above.

just under half-way up the shrine, level with the top of the inner torus in front view, is a horizontal line, and two squares below it is a second horizontal line. Between them are drawn two square elements, placed asymmetrically within the width of the shrine. It seems probable that they represent projecting square brackets through which the carrying-poles were placed, when the shrine was borne in procession by priests. Actual examples of such brackets are extant in museums.[20]

The front columns of the baldachin bear the cornice, and are, therefore, lower than the rear columns, which support the canopy. As in the front view, they are *ꜣ*-columns bearing impost-blocks possibly showing central mortise-holes; in the side view, however, the decoration below the capital is shown by three horizontal lines in black on the front pair, while four vertical lines are sketched in red on the rear pair. The single uraeus shown above the cornice may, as already suggested, represent a frieze of uraei.

The Grid, the Proportions, the Measurements and the Scale

The draughtsman prepared the papyrus for drawing the elevations by ruling a squared grid. The fact that the papyrus has been cut horizontally across the middle makes it uncertain whether he ruled a single grid for both elevations or one for each.[21] For each elevation the grid comprises twenty-two squares from top to bottom and fourteen squares from side to side; however, the bottom three rows of squares required for the front elevation, which stood below, were omitted in drawing up the red grid, and were added later in black, presumably while the elevation was being drawn.[22] As it was ruled up before drawing began, the grid was certainly primarily intended for use as a proportion-grid in constructing the elevations of the shrine, like the proportion-grids used by Egyptian craftsmen in constructing the human figure.[23] The grid will also have been of use to the carpenter in building the shrine, since he will have taken it as a convenient base for his practical calculations at whatever scale he was working.

[20] See O. Königsberger, 'Beschläge für Tragstangen', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 247–55, where these brackets are technically described with references to illustrations on actual shrines, especially the Saft el-Henna shrine: see E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft El-Henneh* (London, 1887), pl. 2, and Roeder, op. cit., pls. 18–9. The brackets are of metal, with a variety of types of attachment fitting into a slot in the side walls of the shrine, and have a square hole in the centre through which the wooden carrying-poles passed longitudinally. In the vignette to the Saïte Oracle Papyrus (Parker, op. cit., pl. i) the ends of the carrying-poles are shown as rounded, as in other illustrations, but, as Königsberger suggests, the central part of the pole may have been of square section for better load-bearing qualities. In the Gurob Shrine Papyrus it is probably the square holes for the attachment of these brackets, or else the side-view of the brackets themselves, that are shown. It is notable that they are shown approximately a third of the way up the shrine, as are the poles in the vignette to the Saïte Oracle Papyrus; evidently this was the correct point of balance for a tall and heavy shrine carried by bearers. Where a shrine was carried upon a divine bark, it was of course naturally supported at its base: see the illustration of the shrine of Ḥerihor in the Bark of Amen-Rēʿ in Parker, op. cit. 4.

[21] The vertical red grid lines continue to the bottom edge of UC 27934. ii as preserved, and start from the broken top edge of UC 27934. i. A single grid is, therefore, possible.

[22] It is perhaps easier to understand the draughtsman's miscalculation in not allowing sufficient squares for the lower elevation if he constructed a single red-ink grid for both elevations (n. 20); for then he may, for instance, have failed to allow for an interval between the two drawings. The sheet-joins show that such an interval existed (see p. 55).

[23] E. Iversen, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art*, 2nd edn. (Warminster, 1975), 14–38.

TABLE I. *The Proportions of the Gurob Shrine*

FRONT ELEVATION *Heights*	*Squares*
Plinth	1
Shrine-base to bottom of dado	½
Shrine-base to top of dado	2
Shrine-base to top of element over dado	3
Shrine-base to bottom of sky-sign	6½
Shrine-base to top of lower frame	7
Shrine-base to bottom of inner lintel	13½
Shrine-base to top of inner lintel	14⅓
Shrine-base to bottom of lower cornice	14½
Shrine-base to ledge of lower cornice	15¾
Shrine-base to top of lower cornice	16
Shrine-base to top of front columns	16
Shrine-base to bottom of upper cornice	16¼
Shrine-base to ledge of upper cornice	17¾
Shrine-base to top of upper cornice	18
Shrine-base to impost block for uraeus	18¼
Shrine-base to top of uraeus-head	20¼
Shrine-base to top of sun-disc	21
Total height including plinth	22
Widths	
Width of plinth at base	11⅓
Between bases of outer faces of columns	9
Between outer walls of shrine at base	8
Between inner walls of shrine at base	6
Width of inner lintel at base	5
Width of lower cornice at base	7
Width of lower cornice at top	8
Width between column capitals (maximum)	8½
Width of base of upper cornice	8
Width of top of upper cornice	9

SIDE ELEVATION *Heights*	*Squares*
Plinth	1
Shrine-base to top of lower floor beam	1
Shrine-base to top of upper floor beam	2
Shrine-base to beam below carrying-brackets	5
Shrine-base to beam above carrying-brackets	7
Shrine-base to bottom of upper sky-sign	13
Shrine-base to bottom of inner lintel	13½
Shrine-base to top of inner lintel	14½
Shrine-base to bottom of lower cornice	14⅔
Shrine-base to ledge of lower cornice	15¾
Shrine-base to top of lower cornice	16
Shrine-base to top of front column	16
Shrine-base to bottom of upper cornice	16¼
Shrine-base to top of lower roof	16½
Shrine-base to top of rear column	17½
Shrine to ledge of upper cornice	17¾
Shrine-base to top of upper cornice	18
Shrine-base to impost block for uraeus	18¼
Shrine-base to top of roof of outer canopy	19
Shrine-base to top of uraeus head	20¼
Shrine-base to top of sun-disc	21
Total height including plinth	22
Widths	
Width of plinth at base	14+
Between bases of outer faces of columns	13½
Between outer walls of inner shrine at base	11
Between inner walls of inner shrine at base	9
Width of inner lintel at base	8
Width of lower cornice at base	10
Width of lower cornice at top	11
Width between column capitals (maximum)	12¾
Width between cornice of canopy and rear column	12
Width between front top of cornice and rear of canopy roof	13

NB. It should be noted that the only discrepancy in the proportions shown in the two elevations concerns the height of the base of the inner shrine's cornice. In the front elevation the draughtsman showed this at 14½ squares above the base, but in the side elevation showed the base of the torus moulding below it at this height. As a result, the base of the cornice is shown at 14⅔ squares and the cornice itself is correspondingly ⅛ square less in height—a relatively minor error easily corrected in practice.

In Table I are set out the lengths and breadths of the main elements of the shrine in terms of proportion-squares. A simple system of proportions is apparent from this table. The height of the outer shrine, exclusive of plinth and frieze of uraei, is 18 squares; this is double its external width at base (9 squares), and 1⅓ times its breadth from back to front (13½ squares). The three basic dimensions of the outer shrine are

thus in a 2 : 3 : 4 relationship. In the case of the inner shrine, its internal height ($13\frac{1}{2}$ squares), and its external height ($15\frac{3}{4}$ squares) are in a 6 : 7 : 8 relationship with the unadorned height of the external shrine (18 squares); its breadth from back to front (9 squares) is in a relationship of 3 : 2 to its internal width (6 squares), and is equal to the external width of the front of the outer shrine (9 squares). Other, subtler proportions can be worked out from the table. Such mathematical relationships cannot very well be the product of chance; evidently, a *naos* was constructed according to a set canon of proportion, and examination of extant examples would, we think, bear this out.

Comparison of this grid with the proportion-grid used by Egyptian artists for constructing the human figure (down to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty) shows that the number of squares (18) used for the height of the human figure to the hair-line is the same as the number of squares (18) used in the Gurob Papyrus for the unadorned external height of the shrine.[24] In both cases, variable elements such as wigs, crowns, and friezes were excluded from the basic measure. While it cannot be certain, it seems probable that the common use of eighteen squares for the basic unadorned height shows a relationship between the canons of proportions used for the human figure and for the shrine.

We need to consider separately the way in which the grid was intended to be used by the carpenter, and the way in which it was constructed by the draughtsman. The former was presumably simple. In the drawings of the elevations, the major timbers making up the shrine, whether horizontal (e.g. plinth, floor-beams, transoms) or vertical (jambs), are one grid-square wide. The carpenter could thus take one grid-square as representing whatever width his timber was, and to obtain the length required for any particular element of the shrine would simply multiply this figure by the number of proportion-squares shown in the drawing. Thus, in theory at least, he could have produced a shrine of any size from this drawing,[25] though in practice the finished shrine is unlikely to have been smaller than the drawing. It did not even matter to the carpenter if the widths of the individual grid-square varied somewhat or if they were drawn by hand, so long as the proportions of the shrine were correctly shown in terms of the numbers of squares. However, in the early grids used for the proportions of the human figure, the grid-square always represents the breadth of the fist, that is to say the breadth of the hand plus the breadth of the thumb. In the Egyptian system of mensuration, in which the human forearm or cubit was equal to 6 hand-breadths or palms and each palm equalled 4 finger-breadths or fingers, the thumb-breadth or 'inch' was reckoned as $1\frac{1}{3}$ fingers, and the fist consequently as $5\frac{1}{3}$ fingers.[26] *If*, therefore, the grid on the Gurob Shrine Papyrus was really related to the grids used for the proportions for the human figure, it is reasonable to suggest

[24] Iversen, op. cit. 38.

[25] As is argued below, there are good reasons for believing that the drawing was intended to be used at a scale of one-third. However, it would not have been difficult to mark on a plain rod divisions representing the grid-squares at whatever converted scale was desired, and to use the rod for measuring the timbers by counting off the same number of divisions as grid-squares shown in the elevation.

[26] Iversen, op. cit., table on p. 19, with text pp. 6–19. For the small cubit of 6 palms see ibid. 16.

that the side of each grid square was taken to represent 1 fist, i.e. $1\frac{1}{3}$ palms. If the carpenter had done this, then the unadorned height of the shrine (18 grid-squares) would have been 24 palms, i.e. 4 cubits of 6 palms.

When we consider how the draughtsman proceeded in constructing the grid or grids, it is useful to set out the actual metric dimensions:

Dimensions of papyrus		1.70+ m × 0.54 m
Dimensions of grid for each elevation	22 × 14 squares	*c.* 0.75 m × *c.* 0.48 m
Dimensions of outer shrine, unadorned	18 × $13\frac{1}{2}$ squares	*c.* 0.615 m × *c.* 0.46 m
Dimensions of individual grid squares (mean)		3.43 cm

It may be observed that, when actually ruling the red-ink grid, the draughtsman used a rule that was $13\frac{1}{2}$ squares long; for a perceptible doubling of line or ink-blot may be seen at one or other end of each red horizontal where the draughtsman has relaid his rule to complete the 14 squares, and likewise on the verticals of the red-ink grid $13\frac{1}{2}$ squares below its top on UC 27934. ii and $13\frac{1}{2}$ squares above its bottom on UC 27934. i.[27] As $13\frac{1}{2}$ squares measure *c.* 46 cm, and as the small cubit of six palms is shown by extant cubit-rods to measure approximately 45 cm,[28] it seems highly probable that the draughtsman used his cubit-rod, the first tool to hand, for drawing up the grid. In choosing a size for the grid, the draughtsman would naturally have favoured the divisions on the cubit-rod, provided that they allowed the grid to fit the drawing-space available. However, as Petrie observed, the mean length of the side of an individual grid-square, 3.43 cm, does not fit any obvious division of the 'small cubit'. The nearest is 2 fingers, i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$ palm at 3.75 cm; even assuming some shrinkage in the papyrus, the discrepancy is too great for this to have been intended.[29]

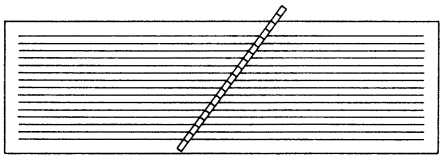


FIG. 1

The failure of the side of the grid-square to fit any obvious division of the cubit measure is susceptible of two explanations. The draughtsman could have intended to construct his grid of fourteen squares' breadth at a convenient measure of half a palm per square but, finding that the papyrus was not quite broad enough to accommodate this with adequate margins, he may then have reduced the grid proportionally by laying his scale-rule obliquely across the sheet, marking off divisions of half a palm, and ruling the gridlines through these points (see fig. 1). The slight reduction in the size of the square would have been of no consequence; it was what the square represented that mattered to the craftsman building the shrine. The alternative

[27] We owe this acute observation to Dr W. J. Tait.

[28] Iversen, op. cit. 19. The discrepancy of *c.* 1 cm from the normal measured small cubit must be admitted, but is probably not significant; cubit-rods can vary slightly in length.

[29] Petrie's measurement (1.3614 in., i.e. 3.458 cm, op. cit. 46) is at the upper end of the range of variation between individual squares. Petrie's suggestion that, if we assume some contraction of the papyrus, the side of each square equalled $\frac{1}{8}$ Punic foot seems improbable on grounds of anachronism alone.

explanation is that, in ruling up the grid, the draughtsman did not consider the size of the individual grid-squares specifically at all, but focused his attention on how the overall dimensions of the grid were to accommodate the intended dimensions of the shrine when built. It is immediately apparent that the length of the cubit-rod ($13\frac{1}{2}$ squares) is the same as that of the breadth of the shrine from front to back, and that this dimension is the central element in the 2 : 3 : 4 proportions of the external dimensions of the shrine. Thus these basic dimensions of the outer shrine in the scale-drawings were:

unadorned height	18 squares	8 palms
breadth, back to front	$13\frac{1}{2}$ squares	1 cubit, i.e. 6 palms
width at base	9 squares	4 palms

This obviously represents a very convenient series of dimensions. The only apparent exception is the side of the individual grid-square, which works out at *c.* $\frac{2}{27}$ of a cubit, i.e. $\frac{4}{9}$ of a palm. As many of the proportional measurements of the shrine (see Table I) are based on grid-squares and fractions of grid-squares, this seems inconvenient until it is realized that four-ninths of a palm is exactly one-third of a fist, i.e. $5\frac{1}{3}$ fingers or $1\frac{1}{3}$ palms. Thus, as suggested above on *a priori* grounds, it seems highly probable that the draughtsman intended one grid-square to represent 1 fist; i.e. his drawing was at a scale of one-third. The Egyptian system of division and multiplication of fractions worked basically with the integers 2 and 3; conversion into cubits, palms, and fingers of the proportional measurements given in Table I will show that they could all be handled by this system. Presumably, therefore, in drawing up his grid the draughtsman ruled the overall dimensions with his cubit-rod, assigned three grid-squares to each 'fist' (a measure presumably marked on his rod because of its use in drawing the human figure), and added an extra half-square to the breadth of the grid so as to have complete squares throughout.

If one-third was the scale at which the drawings were intended to be converted for use, then the unadorned height of the finished shrine would have been 4 cubits (1.80 m), its breadth back-to-front 3 cubits (1.35 m), and its width 2 cubits (0.90 m); the full height including plinth and frieze (22 squares) would have been 4 cubits $5\frac{1}{3}$ palms (2.20 m). Unfortunately, few wooden shrines of New Kingdom date are available for comparison, but the great ebony shrine of Ḥatshepsut from Deir el-Baḥri was over 1.73 m in height without frieze;[30] this compares reasonably closely with the unadorned height of the Gurob shrine. In testing the possibility of a shrine of this size, regard should be had to the position of the carrying-brackets; at a scale of one-third, these would have been 8 fists (including the plinth), i.e. 80 cm, above the ground. This would have given ample clearance when carried on the shoulders of male priests. Thus it appears most probable that these drawings were intended to be used at a scale of one-third for the construction of a large portable temple *naos* of just over human height.

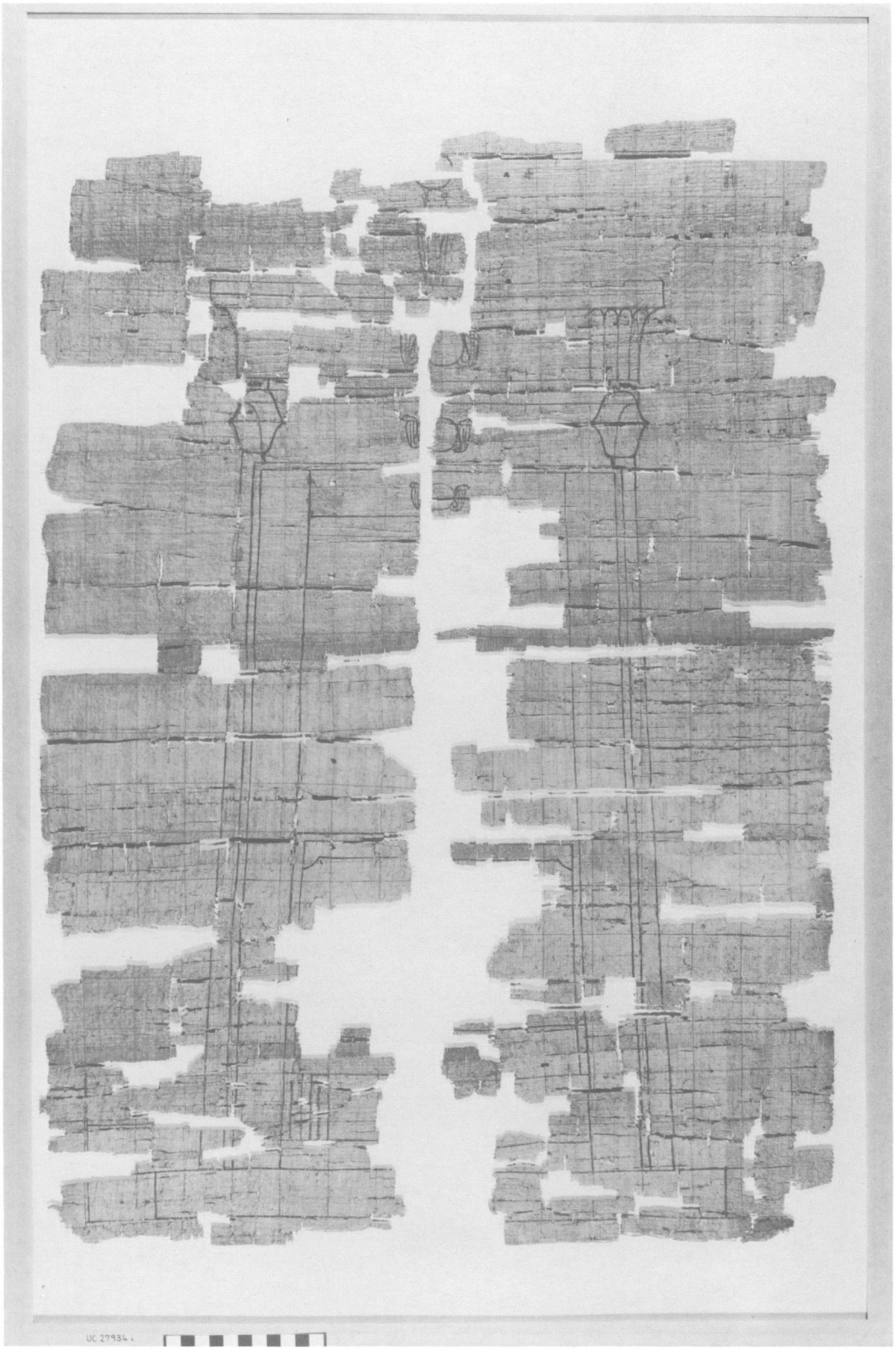
[30] Roeder, op. cit. 1–11 with Taf. 1–3 (Nos. 70001 + 70001a).

The Date and Interest of the Drawings

Petrie dated the drawings to the New Kingdom on the basis of the statement of the dealer from whom he bought them that they came from the town site at Gurob. Petrie himself assessed the full occupation of this site as extending from its foundation by Tuthmosis III to the reign of Merenptaḥ, with perhaps some residual occupation extending until the time of Ramesses III. Thomas in her recent study of the site suggests, on the basis of scarabs from the cemetery, that there may have been some initial settlement earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty, though a lintel and stamped bricks from the temple enclosure bearing the cartouches of Tuthmosis III date the establishment of the settlement as a town. On the basis of the mentions of the 'Mansion of Ramessesmiamūn', the landing-place of Pharaoh and the Harîm at Miwēr in the Wilbour Papyrus of the 4th year of Ramesses V, she extends the occupation to his reign or a little beyond.[31] This would give a probable date-range for the papyrus from 1490–1140 BC. While, naturally, a dealer's statement is an unsatisfactory basis for dating a document, the details of the shrine elevations seem in perfect accord with this dating. Indeed, the relatively close parallels with the decoration of Tutʿankhamūn's gilded wooden shrine tempt one to think that a dating in the fourteenth–thirteenth century BC might be most appropriate, but caution is in order. Thus these drawings are in all probability the earliest known working-drawings of their scale and size from Egypt or from any other ancient culture. For their skill, accuracy, and technique they are worthy of more attention than they have received, and it is our hope that their restoration and republication may secure this.[32]

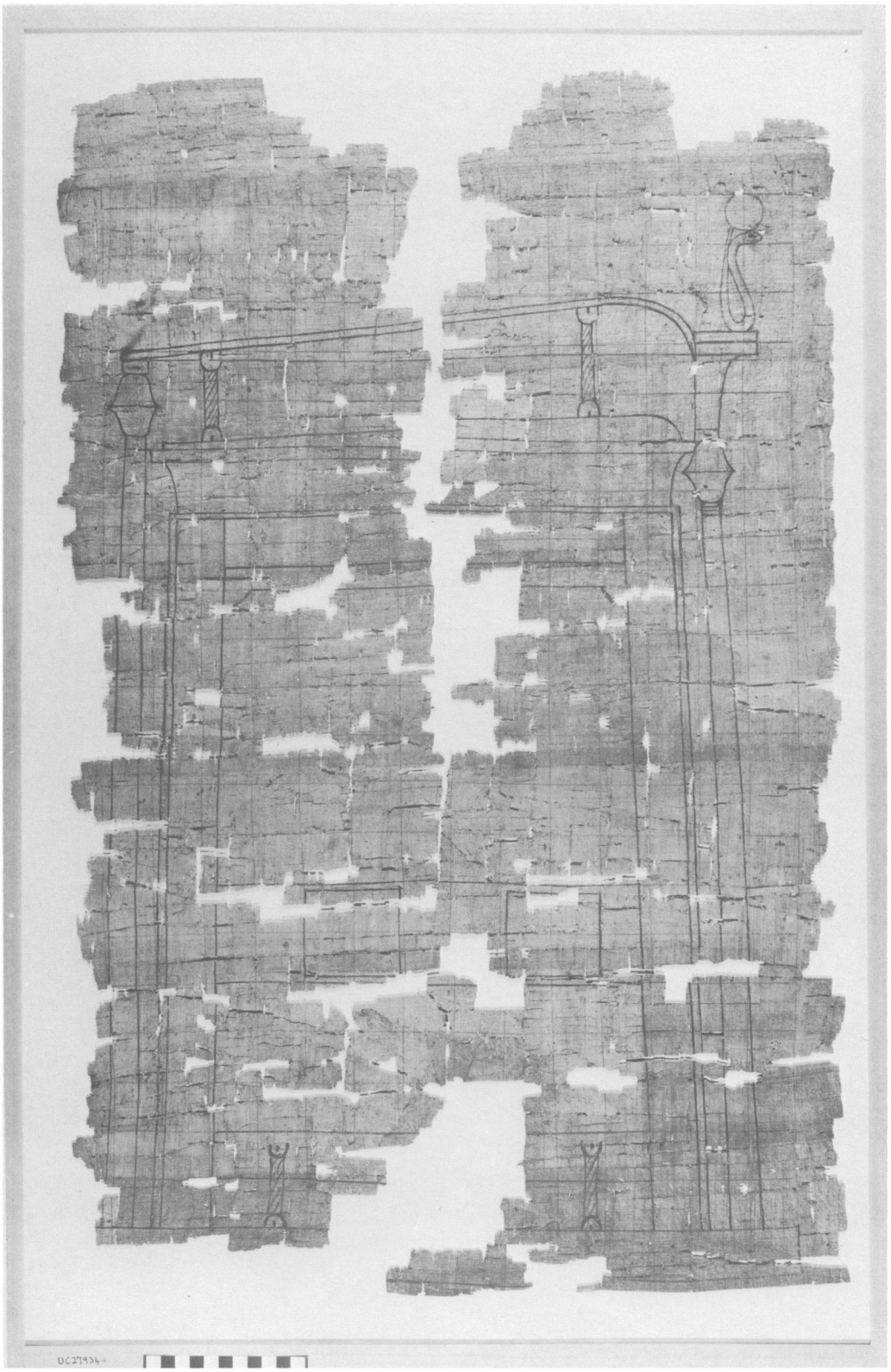
[31] A. P. Thomas, *Gurob, A New Kingdom Town* (Warminster, 1981), 4–5.

[32] We are deeply indebted to Professor J. R. Harris for kindly reading the draft of this manuscript at a certain stage, and for providing many searching criticisms, telling comments, and useful references, which caused us to rewrite parts of the article. We are also grateful to Dr W. J. Tait for physically examining the papyrus, and providing valuable technical information.



UC 27934. i

THE GUROB SHRINE PAPYRUS



UC 27934. ii

THE GUROB SHRINE PAPYRUS

AN UNUSUAL PRIVATE STELA OF THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY FROM COPTOS

By ALY O. A. ABDALLAH

THIS stela commemorates one Wenen-nufer, who was a second prophet of Min at Coptos during the reign of Pinudjem I in the Twenty-first Dynasty (see pls. XVI–XVII). The stela has been in Cairo Museum since 1939, bearing the number J. 71902. It is cut from limestone and measures (at its limits) 121.5 cm in height, 95 cm in width, and 13 cm in thickness. Although the stela is in fair condition, it has suffered damage, the lower parts of it being lost.

Edge

Wenen-nufer was not the first owner of this stone. On the left edge can be seen remains of two vertical lines of text, one having been cut down the middle when Wenen-nufer removed the original front of the stela (see pl. XVI, 1 and fig. 1). This older text[a] reads as follows:

(1) *Praising* [. . .] *the great god,* [. . .] *temple* [. . .]. (2) *May I join in seeing his beauty*[b]*—for the* ka *of the troop commander, the overseer of horses, and Chief of Medjay-militia,*[c] . . .[d]

a. The inscription on the edge seems to belong to the New Kingdom,[1] possibly to the Nineteenth Dynasty.[2]

b. The beginning of l. 2 might also be translated: *May you join me* (verb, suffix, dependent pronoun), instead of treating the verb as old perfective.

c. The title *wr n Mḏꜣyw* is well known in the New Kingdom, not least in Ramesside times and from Coptos.[3]

d. Unfortunately, the name of the original owner of this stela is completely lost; one trace after *Mḏꜣyw* remains very obscure.

Obverse

The obverse is occupied mainly by a scene dominated by the figure of Pinudjem I as a king, making offerings to Osiris at the left, who holds the customary flail and *ḥḳꜣ*-sceptre and stands on a small dais (see pl. XVI, 2 and fig. 1). Behind Pinudjem stands a regal lady, wearing the vulture head-dress, arms raised in adoration to

I wish to thank Dr M. Saleh and the Cairo Museum staff for the photographs used here, and Dr K. A. Kitchen for his help and advice at various stages, and for autographing the text, incorporating collations and readings by both of us.

[1] In particular because of the title *ỉmy-r ssmt*, unknown earlier, and infrequent later.

[2] Cf. the style of carving of the signs and another monument of a chief of Medjay from Coptos, of the Nineteenth Dynasty, *KRI*, III, 270–1.

[3] For Ramesside holders of the title, see *KRI*, III, 268–77, and IV, 376–7.

Osiris, holding a sistrum in her right hand. Above these three figures are label-texts and a winged sun-disc. Below them is the main text, of which only five broken horizontal lines survive.

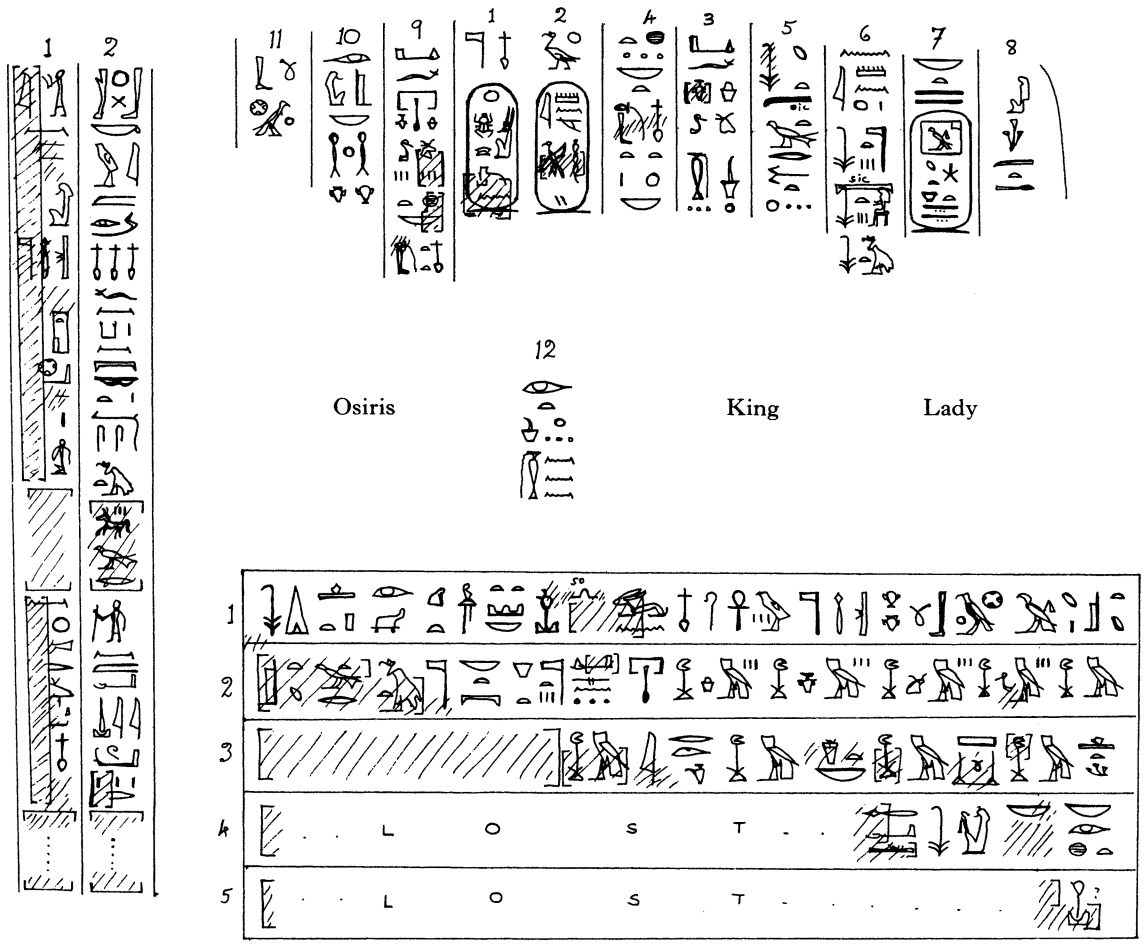


FIG. 1. Cairo J. 71902, Left edge and obverse

Label-texts

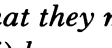
(1–8) *The good god Kheperkharēʿ Setepenamūn, Son of Rēʿ Pinudjem, beloved of Amūn. May he (Osiris) give offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl, incense, libations, and every good and pure thing, every day. Real(?)*[a] *King's Daughter, Chief of the Harîm of Amen-Rēʿ, King of the Gods, Chief of the Royal Ladies, King's Mother, Lady of the Two Lands, Ḥent-tawy, adoratrix of Ḥatḥor, justified.*

(9–11) *May he give invocation-offerings of bread, beer, oxen, fowl and every good, and pure thing, (namely) Osiris Lord of Eternity, who dwells in Coptos.*

(12) *Offering incense and libations.*

Main Text

(1) *A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris, Chief of the West, Lord of Abydos,* [. . .], *Wenen-nufer, ruler of the living ones, the great god who dwells in Coptos; (to) Horus son of Isis; (and to)* (2) [*Isis the great*],[b] *mother of the god, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods, that they may give invocation-offerings: a thousand (loaves of) bread, a thousand (jars of) beer, a thousand of fowl, a thousand* (3) [*measures of incense, . . .*], *a thousand jars of milk, a thousand of every ointment, a thousand of alabaster and clothing, a thousand bundles* (4) [*of flowers/vegetables . . . . .*], [. . .] *every king* [. . .], *lord of action,* (5) [*rest lost . . .*].

a. The peculiar sign  in l. 5 of the label-texts could be a mis-writing of the sign  *mꜣꜥ(t)*.

b. I restore the beginning of l. 2 thus, because *ỉst wrt, mwt nṯr*, is the common titulary of Isis; moreover, it occurs again in Scene A, l. 8, on the reverse.

Reverse

The reverse is divided into four parts (see pl. XVII and figs. 2 and 3). The uppermost is the lunette. Below a winged disc flanked by hieroglyphic texts is a scene in which kneeling male figures to the left and right adore gods in a sacred bark. These are Thoth as a baboon, Isis and Nephthys, the sun-god enthroned, and Horus at the steering-oar.[a]

The upper middle part has two main scenes separated by a tall *sḫm* sceptre upon a *šn*-sign. The right-hand scene (A) shows Wenen-nufer's father Mer- . . . (at right) censing and libating before Min, Isis, and Horus. The left-hand scene (B) shows Ḥarmose, son of Wenen-nufer, adoring Osiris (who stands on a small dais), Anubis, and Thoth. Over all these figures we find the usual label-texts. The lower middle part is occupied by a major text in fifteen lines of hieroglyphs. Finally, there is the lowest register, where only a part of the label-texts of a lost scene (?) survives at the left edge,[b] indicating perhaps that there had originally been at least one more scene here.

Lunette

(1–2) *A boon which the king gives to*[c] *Amen-Rēꜥ-Ḥarakhty, the great god, lord of heaven.*

(3–4) *Isis the great, mother of the god; Nephthys.*

(5–6) *Words to be spoken by Thoth, Lord of* Nyn (*greeting*),[d] *the great god, who is in Hermopolis.*

(7–11) *Giving praises to your beautiful face; adoration to Amen-Rēꜥ-Atum-Ḥar*[*akhty?*] *who crosses the sky—for the* ka *of the second prophet of Min, Wenen-nufer, justified.*

(12–21) *The one who directs for Rēꜥ, for ever . . . your steering-oar, daily. I make . . ., in conveying(?) you, for what . . . the sky gives—for the* ka *of the prophet Wenen-nufer son of the god's father, pure of hand(s), of Min, Mer . . ., justified, begotten of Tarennut, justified, the . . . (?) of Min.*

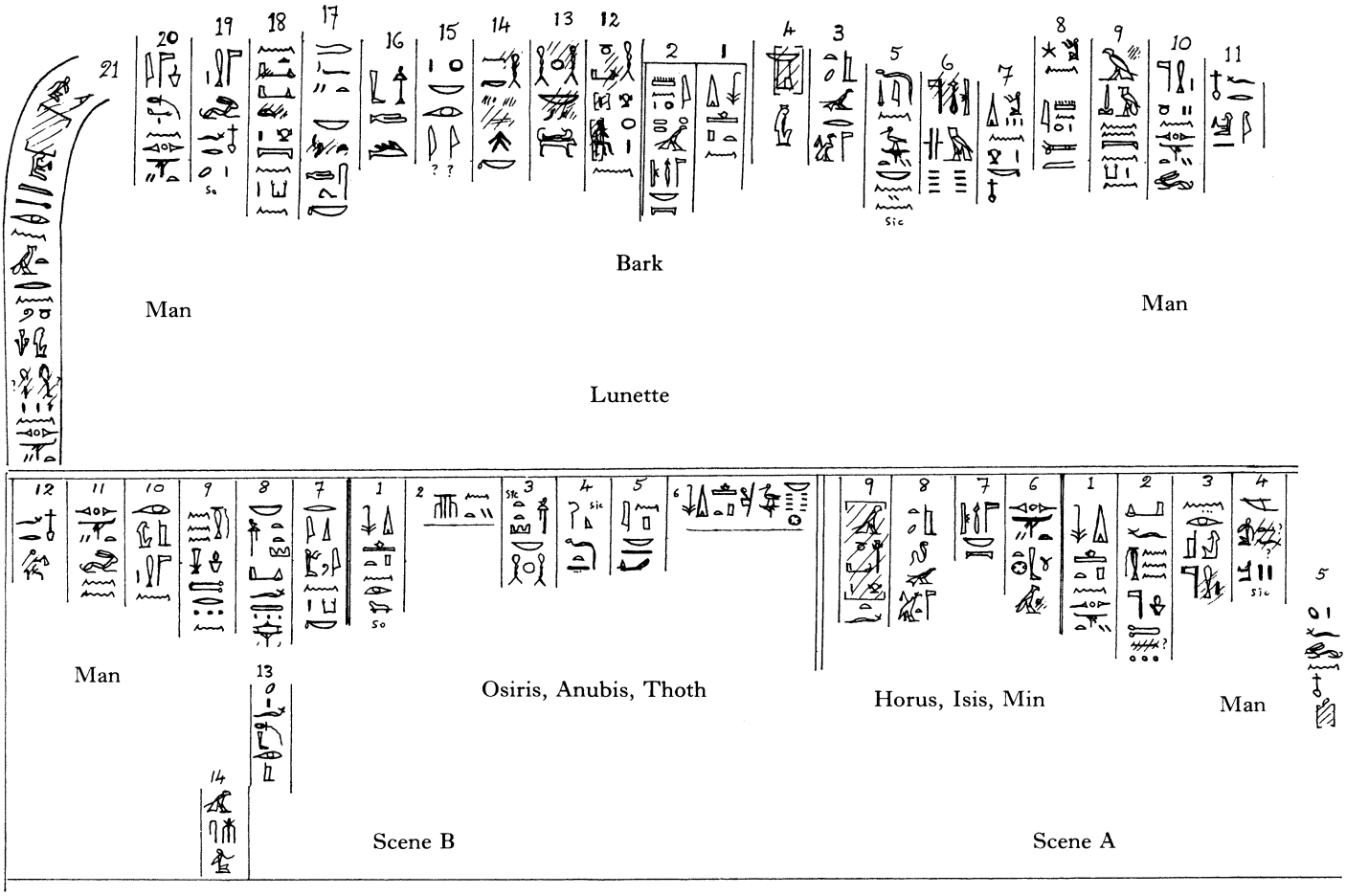


FIG. 2. Cairo J. 71902, Reverse, upper half

Scene A

(1–4) *A boon which the king gives to Min, that he may give libations and incense to the Osiris, the prophet Mer*[. . .], *justified.*

(5) *His son, Wen(en)-nufer.*

(6–7) *Min of Coptos, the great god, lord of heaven; Isis the great, mother of the god;* [*Horus the protector of*] *his father.*

Scene B

(1–5) *A boon which the king gives to Osiris, Chief of the West, Lord of Eternity, and Ruler of Everlasting, and* (*to*) *Anubis, lord of the sacred land.*

(6) *A boon which the king gives to Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis.*

(7–12) *Giving praises to your* ka, *O Lord of the West—that he may give breezes,*[e] *libations and incense to the Osiris, the prophet of Min, Wenen-nufer.*

(13–14) *His son, the priest of Osiris, Ḥarmose.*

Main Text

(1) *The second prophet of Min Wenen-nufer says: 'O prophets, priests, lector-priests, god's-fathers . . . of the temple. I say* [*my utterance?*][f], *I will let you know my character.* (2) *When I was on earth, to me*[g] *belonged Coptos as father and mother,* (*as*) *a child of citizens of her*[h] *house. I grew up as a boy on the territory of her city.* [*I was*] *excellent of teaching* (or: *excellently taught*) *as one who practised* (3) *writing books in her house. My offerings were in her temple.* (*I*) *did not know embracing . . . I made* (*visited?*) *her open court . . . I consecrated* (?) *the* (4) *milk for my mother* ⟨*from*⟩ *their milk-jars* (*of*) *my nurse. I acted as a priest under the hand of my father . . .,* (*while*) *I was observing the prophets.* (5) *I was given a charge* (*?*)*/made arrangements* (*?*)[i] *in front of this god, while the overseers of the farmers were in her*[j] *house. I acted as a scribe of the divine book who read out the Opening of the Mouth in front of them. I made a spell* (*over?*) *the companions of* (6) *the evil* (*serpent*), *overthrowing the disaffected, the abomination of the Neshmet-boat, he being given over to the flame, the knife abiding on his head.*

I was inducted into (*the post of*) *god's-father, of* (*my*) *fathers. I acted as a prophet who supported* (7) *the statues, going about* (phr/dbn?)*/offering* (wdn?) *as a scribe in festal perfume. I brought the god to the offerings. I paid honour to all gods. I worshipped every god by his name without having to think about any one of them.*[k] *I was one* (8) *who* [. . .][d] *their* ka[l] (*spirit/provisions?*). *I am a priest who knows mysterious secrets, without its/their becoming separated*[m]*; one who gave direction to the staff. I guided those who came after me.* (9) *I* [. . .][d] *all exactness* (*?*). *I did not forget any dues. I gave to* (*?*) [. . .] *all* [. . .]. *I placed the crown on the head of its mistress/master, who established justice together with* [. . .]. (*I*) *made* (10) . . . *cloth, thread as an offering* (m wdn?) *in this place. I made a shrine in* [. . . with?] *its plot-of-ground* (rmn·s). *I tied on the fillet, the counterpoise* (*?*)*/necklace* (*?*)[n] *and the amulets, on his breast . . . quickly* (*?*). (*I*) *libated/doubled*[o] (11) [. . .] *for/to the Ennead mourning as Lords of the Valley, and the first royal herald of Sokar, lord-of-all.*

Let one invoke in the presence of the great god (12) [. . .] . . . *that you may mingle with the gods of the Netherworld. O prophet Wenen-nufer, who are in front of the glorious ones, may my* (*?*) *name endure.* (13) [. . .] *since the primeval time. He says to you, O generations who shall come: 'Behold, I* (14) [. . .] *May you pronounce my name among you, without doing evil in saying it.* (15) [. . .] *reporting* (*?*) [. . .].'

Lower part

(16) [. . .] (17) *Chantress of* [. . . *Taren*] (18) *nut, lady* [. . .]. (19) *Chantress of Amūn,* [. . .] (20) *Mut/mother of* [. . .].

a. For Horus so named in this function see, e.g., *KRI*, I, 295, 8–9.

b. Perhaps this lost scene represented members of Wenen-nufer's family presenting offerings.

c. The *n* in *ḥtp-dỉ-nsw n 'Imn-rᶜ-Ḥr-ỉḫty* (lunette, ll. 1–2) is a deliberate writing, not a mistake, because it occurs also in Scene A, l. 1, and Scene B, ll. 1 and 6; but it does not occur on the obverse (e.g., main text, l. 1).

d. The word *nyn* might conceivably indicate a place-name with determinative omitted, or it may be the word *nỉnỉ*, 'greeting', in a spelling more abbreviated than normal.

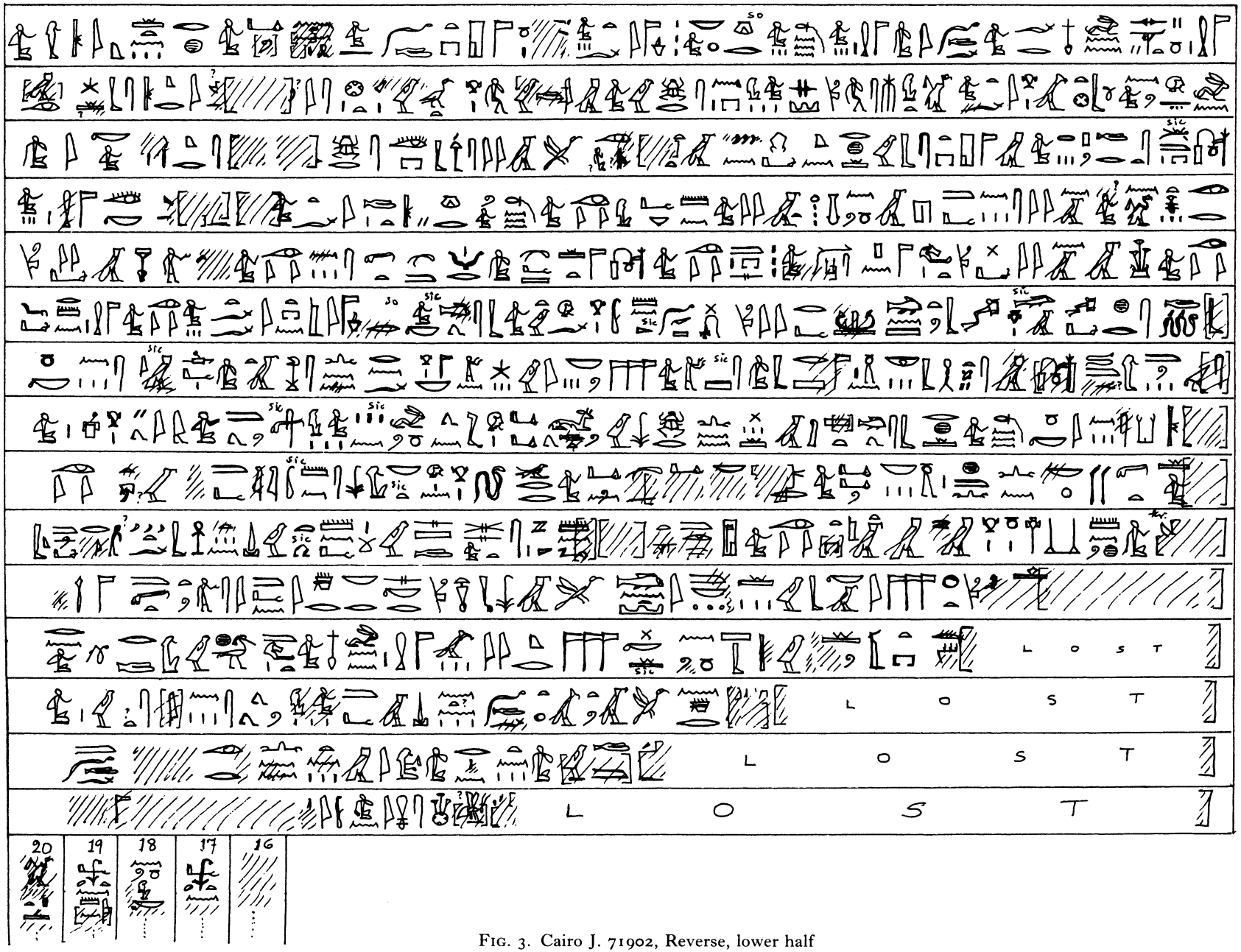


FIG. 3. Cairo J. 71902, Reverse, lower half

e. For this spelling of *ṯ3w* as *t3w* cf. similar spelling of *t3-wr* for *ṯ3-wr* in *Wb.* v, 353.

f. A word *šnt* appears to be written here; for its possible meaning cf. *šnw*, 'announcement', *Wb.* IV, 496, 1. One might have expected *n·tn*, 'to you', but not all the traces suit this.

g. *N·ỉ Gbtyw*; the suffix pronoun 1st singular is here written *wỉ*, perhaps owing to some confusion with the dependent pronoun: see *Wenamūn*, 2, 74, 81.

h. In ll. 2–5, the 'her' is ambiguous referring either to the city of Coptos or to its goddess. 'She' in l. 9 may well be Isis, the known consort of Min in Coptos (as in Scene A), unless the *t* under *nb* was derived from a hieratic 'spacefiller', and *nb*, 'master', should be read, i.e. Min.

i. The translation could take either form as given above; it depends on the specific meaning to be assigned to the word *ḥn(y)/ḥ3ny* in this context: cf. *Wb.* III, 101.

j. See n. h.

k. *Dw3·n·ỉ nṯr nb ḥr rn·f, nn sḫ3t wr ỉm·sn*, lit. 'I paid honour to every god by his name, without recalling any one of them'—which presumably means that he knew all their names by heart.

l. *K3w·sn* could be translated as either 'their *ka*' or 'their provisions', but loss in this part of the line makes it impossible to determine which meaning applies here.

m. i.e., he claims he was worthy of being entrusted with such secrets of the gods, not spreading them abroad (an unusual use of *ỉwd*).

n. This word seems to be a misspelling of *mnỉt*.

o. The proper translation of this word depends on whether one should restore *ḳbḥ* or *ḳ3b* at the change of line.

General Comments

The stela published here is the most impressive monument from outside Thebes to show and name Pinudjem as a king,[4] although other monuments are known from Abydos and Tanis. The prominence of Pinudjem I as a king in the scene on the obverse may suggest that Wenen-nufer was a loyal supporter of the Theban high priest in his royal claims. The role of the royal lady Ḥent-tawy on this stela is not certain.[5]

Although this stela came from Coptos, where the chief god was Min, the scene on the obverse shows Osiris as chief deity. The reason for Osiris' presence is probably that the stela is ultimately funerary, and Wenen-nufer might have thought that it would be to his benefit in the afterlife to depict Osiris, god of the dead, instead of Min.

One of the most interesting features is that the stela enables us to follow the career of a provincial priest in the Twenty-first Dynasty, a period for which there is very little information from anywhere outside Thebes or Tanis. The text includes some hints about the cult of the temples in Coptos. One may see there the growing influence of the regular cult of Osiris from mention of the Neshmet-bark and Sokar.

From the inscriptions on the reverse of the stela, we learn that Wenen-nufer was born and brought up in Coptos, his parents being also Coptite citizens. His ancestors were god's-fathers of Min, and his father attained the rank of prophet. Unfortunately the full name of his father is not decipherable because of damage to the stela at both

[4] Cf. list of such monuments, K. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1973), 258–9, with references.

[5] Cf. Kitchen, op. cit. 54–5, and more recently A. Niwiński, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 49–68.

occurrences. His mother Tarennut also held religious titles. Wenen-nufer had a son, Ḥarmose, who was an ordinary priest of Osiris, presumably within the cults at Coptos itself.

It is possible now partially to reconstruct the family of Wenen-nufer:

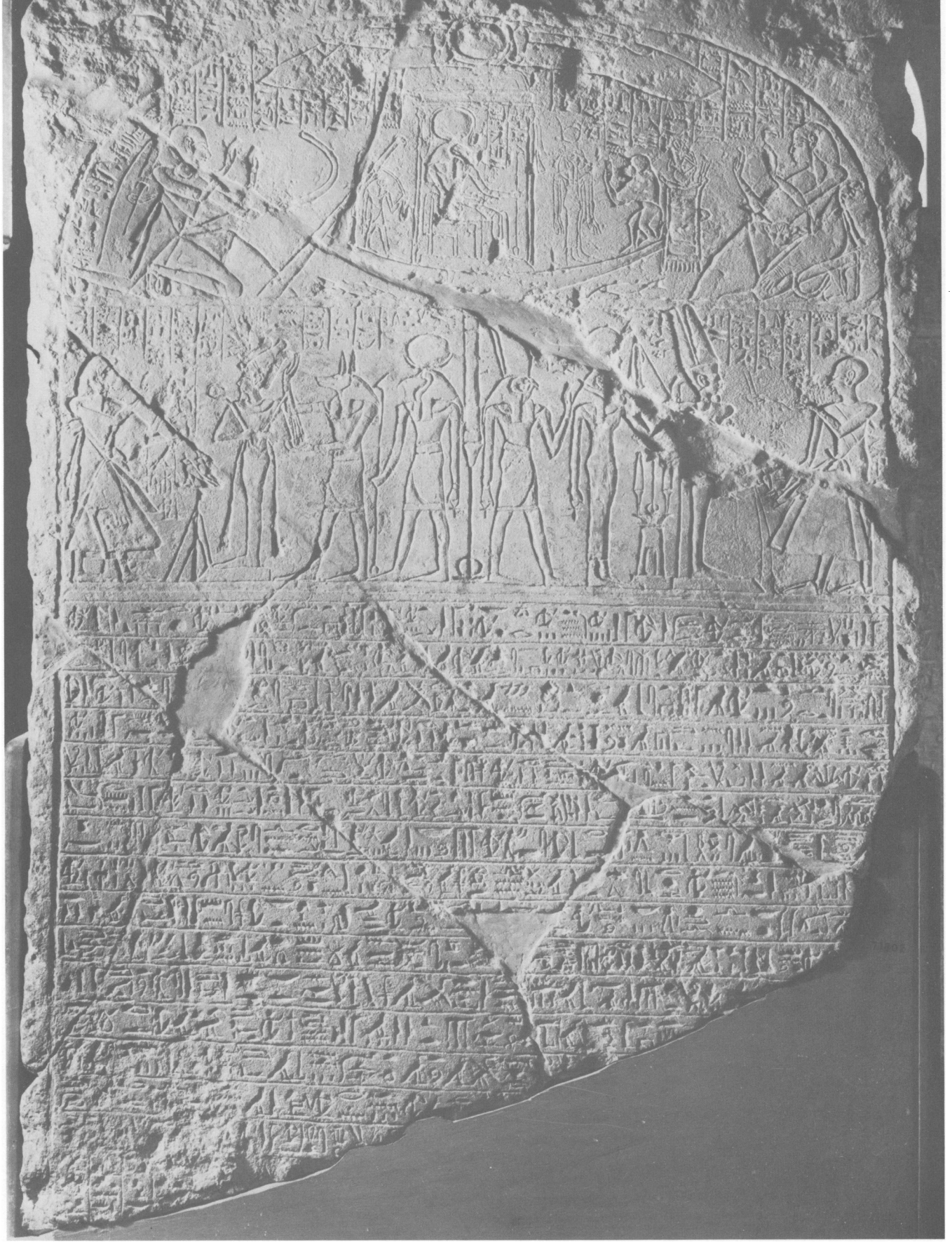
Mer[. . .] = Tarennut (f)
|
Wenen-nufer = (. . .) (f)
|
Ḥarmose

Wenen-nufer was taught to read and write in the temple of Coptos. His early training as a *wʿb*-priest was under his own father. He got his first job as a scribe of the divine book, being probably concerned with temple rituals or even the Book of the Dead. It is very interesting to note that, as a temple-scribe, he had to read out the spells during the ceremony of Opening the Mouth.[6] Afterwards he was promoted to be a god's-father before going on to become a prophet. Wenen-nufer claimed that he inherited the post of god's-father from his forefathers. His duty as a prophet included supporting the statue of the god during festivals, and to act as a scribe. He also had to bring the gods to their offerings and to worship them individually in the rites, knowing all their names by heart. He was considered to be trustworthy and as a result he had access to cultic secrets. Unfortunately, he does not make clear by what means he gained such access. He ended his career as second prophet of Min; his duties included managing and directing the rites in the temple as well as teaching the new and junior priests. It is very clear that Wenen-nufer ended his career in a higher post than his father had done.

[6] Possibly at funerals, but also possibly in the rededication of the temple at the New Year: see briefly H. W. Fairman, *Bulletin, John Rylands Library* 37 (1954), 172–3, with reference to temple ceremonies, and at greater length, A. Blackman and H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 32 (1946), 75–91, esp. 81 f., 84 f.

2. J. 71902, Obverse

J. J. 71902, Edge



J. 71902, Reverse

AN UNUSUAL PRIVATE STELA

THE BAB EL-GUSUS TOMB AND THE ROYAL CACHE IN DEIR EL-BAḤRI[1]

By ANDRZEJ NIWIŃSKI

> Yet the mine of the royal cache can still be worked with profit . . . When the el-Gusus inscriptions are incorporated in full with the contemporary records . . . the period can be studied from all angles . . . (E. Thomas, *Necropoleis*, 262)

THE Royal Cache at Deir el-Baḥri (Tomb 320) has long been a topic of discussion in which it is mainly Winlock,[2] Černy,[3] Thomas,[4] and Dewachter[5] who have played the leading roles. The two last-mentioned scholars, in particular, furnish many interesting analytical observations, though their work is not free from weak points. It seems that some problems could be more easily solved with the help of data derived from a study of the style of Twenty-first Dynasty coffins. The typology of these coffins, which has been the subject of my research for ten years,[6] often allows a more precise dating of Twenty-first Dynasty burials than other methods used so far. Since we have at our disposal additional chronological data concerning TT 320 (i.e. the graffiti or 'dockets' with dates), the reconstruction of the history of the Royal Cache can be once more attempted.

The following three problems, which concern the ancient history of the Royal Cache, have been discussed previously and will be considered in this paper:

(1) The initial date of the cutting of TT 320 (Dyn. XVIII or XXI);

(2) The original ownership of the Cache (Inḥapy or Pinudjem II's[7] family);

(3) The sequence of burials or the history of the Royal Cache in the Twenty-first/Twenty-second Dynasties.

The first problem is connected with the question of whether the whole tomb 320 (see Fig. 1) was made in one stage or in two. The change of the floor-level near the

[1] The article is a by-product of the research project, 'Studies on Twenty-first Dynasty coffins', which the author is pursuing as a holder of the scholarship of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (Bonn) at the Egyptological Institute of the University of Heidelberg.

[2] H. Winlock, *JEA* 17 (1931), 107–10.

[3] J. Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 24–30.

[4] E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 257–62; id., *JARCE* 16 (1979), 85–92.

[5] M. Dewachter, *BSFE* 74 (1975), 19–32.

[6] The first volume of *Studies on the decoration of the coffins of Amun's priests from Thebes (21st Dyn.). Part I. History—State of Researches—Technique—Formal typology and chronology. Part II. List of the 21st Dyn. coffins—Appendices, indices, bibliography, tables* is in preparation for the series 'Theben', vol. 5 (ed. Jan Assmann, Heidelberg).

[7] Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 85, and Addendum on p. 92, mistakenly quotes Dewachter's opinion, writing twice 'Pinedjem I' instead of 'Pinedjem II'.

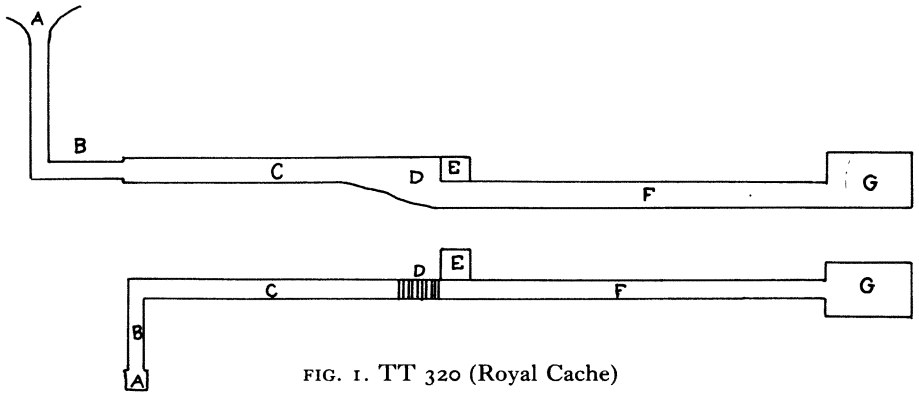


FIG. 1. TT 320 (Royal Cache)

E-chamber affords the following solution; in the first stage the tomb consisted of shaft A, corridors B and C, and burial-chamber E. In the next stage, after the decision to enlarge the capacity of the tomb had been made, a part of corridor C directly preceding chamber E was lowered and transformed into staircase D; then the next (lower) corridor (F) and the second (lower) burial-chamber G were added. Thus the original chamber E lies in an atypical position compared with the rest of the tomb, which explains very well why the term 'niche' was used by the first Egyptologists to visit the Cache.

I have not had the opportunity to see the tomb architecture of TT 320, but I know that of the Bab el-Gusus tomb, which was rediscovered by the Polish Archaeological Mission at Deir el-Baḥri in 1969. It was subsequently transformed into a store-room, and is now accessible to scholars.[8] The Bab el-Gusus tomb, the plan of which (see Fig. 2) shows the closest analogy to the TT 320, seems to have had an identical history, in that it was constructed in two stages. In the first stage, the shaft A and the long corridor B led to the double burial-chamber D. In the second stage, a part of the corridor B near the chamber was hewn out and changed into the staircase C, which led, in turn, to the lower corridor E. This corridor is obviously unfinished; it should presumably have led to a non-existent 'chamber F'. In fact, the double chamber D lies in an atypical position in relation to the rest of the tomb; it is inaccessible without a ladder, and one is tempted, at first sight, to call it 'a niche' as was done in the case of TT 320. These similarities hint, I think, at the same period of origin for both tombs, and also at the same authorship for their plans.

Daressy was the first to claim that the Bab el-Gusus tomb was originally built in the Nineteenth Dynasty ('quelques débris d'un cercueil'), and that it was then twice extended in the Twenty-first for the family of the High Priest Menkheperrēʿ, then for priests of Amūn[9]. Later Winlock[10] stated that:

> . . . in the pontificate of Menkheperre the ancient subterranean corridor was found and was first used as a common burial crypt for the priests and priestesses of Amūn.

[8] The summarized inventory of the discovery, as well as the fragments of the Twenty-first Dynasty coffins found there, will be published soon by the author.

[9] Daressy, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 144.

[10] Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931* (New York, 1942), 92 ff.

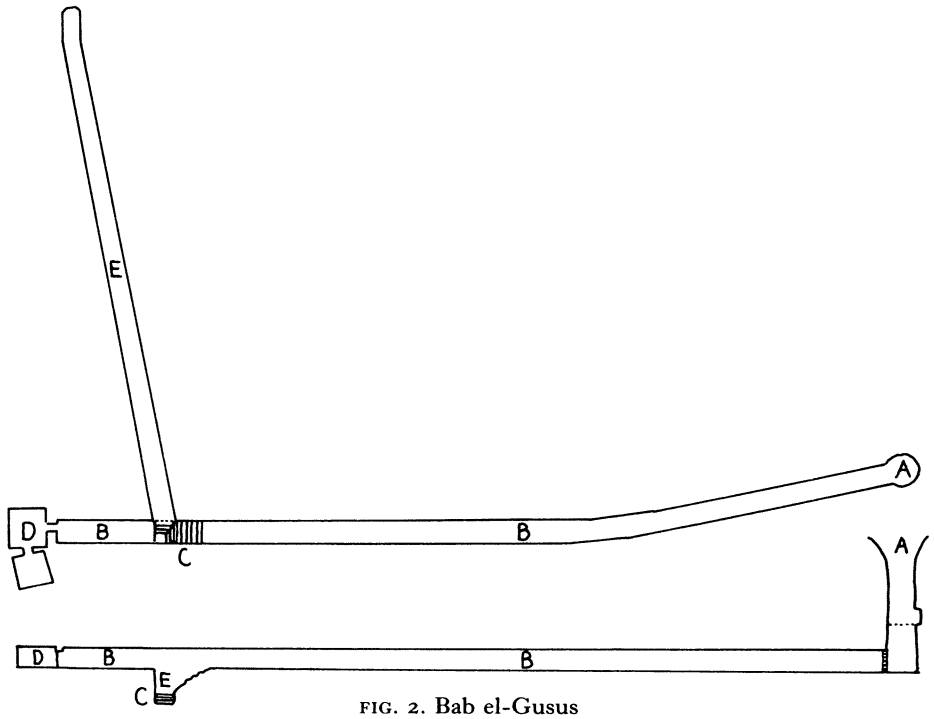


FIG. 2. Bab el-Gusus

Thomas[11] has reservations regarding the date of the original tomb, and she explains why the Bab el-Gusus tomb has been discussed in her book in the chapter entitled: 'Tombs of Dynasty Eighteen':

Hence the tomb cannot be dated without Winlock's 'later excavations' and Daressy's coffin fragments, the latter not necessarily those of the original tomb's owner. However, since the original tomb is as logically a part of the Queen's Cliffs as of Dyn. 11 or Dyns. 18 or 19, it is provisionally included here[46]. [Note 46: For possibility of Dyn. 11 see P–M I Pt. 2, 630; Dr. Moss tells me that the attribution to Thonefri . . . comes I think from Chassinat's unpublished MS, La Seconde trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari (Sarcophages) (CCG) I pt. 2.]

It should be explained that in the above-mentioned manuscript, the publication of which I am preparing,[12] there is no mention of the attribution or the dating of the Bab el-Gusus tomb; the text consists exclusively of the descriptions of the coffin decoration, according to the pattern published by Chassinat in the first part.[13] Dr Moss has seen the manuscript in Montpellier, but the materials from this, unfortunately, have not been mentioned in PM I².

I have no idea what kind of material could be furnished by Winlock's 'later excavations'; the tomb seems to be totally anepigraphic, and, after the clearance of its rich contents in 1891, it was reused, perhaps by Winlock himself, as a kind of unofficial store-room, where a number of small fragments of objects of various

[11] Thomas, *Necropoleis*, 175 and n. 46.

[12] Vol. I pt. 2, and vol. II pts. 1–2, of *La Seconde Trouvaille de Deir el-Bahari* (*Sarcophages*) in the series Cat. Gén. Cairo. The manuscript is kept in Montpellier by Professor François Daumas.

[13] E. Chassinat, *La Seconde Trouvaille*, I, pt. 1 (Cairo, 1909).

categories were deposited; these were mostly in a very bad state of preservation and had originated from Winlock's excavations, among others of the season 1923/4, as some slips of paper stated which were found together with the objects. The tomb was then filled up with sand, and it was rediscovered in 1969 by the Polish Mission while attempting to verify information that some decorated blocks originating from the Ḥatshepsut temple had been cached there.

As to the fragments of the Nineteenth Dynasty coffin, I do not suppose that they could be of great importance to the dating of the tomb. First, in Daressy's days, attribution to the Nineteenth Dynasty was often based on coffins originating from the late Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasties for which an archaizing tendency to imitate the decoration of the Ramesside period was characteristic.[14] This dating could, therefore, be erroneous. Secondly, the niche in the shaft of the Bab el-Gusus tomb, where these fragments were found, was clearly connected with an artificial floor made in the middle of the shaft, undoubtedly to mislead tomb-robbers. The niche, the floor covered with mats, and the coffin fragments functioned as a dummy burial-chamber, and their purpose was to discourage thieves from continuing their search. The floor of the shaft proper and the entrance were some 5 m under the false chamber.[15] The niche was, I think, contemporaneous with the whole tomb, or, at the latest, with its second stage.

Now the location of the Royal Cache was its most important protection, a circumstance which made the repeated burials possible. On the other hand, the location of Bab el-Gusus on the flat surface of the area of the Ḥatshepsut temple, just outside the precinct wall, made the tomb-entrance easily accessible. In this condition, it seems that any repeated process of opening and closing the tomb after each burial, including the necessity of filling up the 15 m-deep shaft, would have been very difficult or impossible. Probably, the entire operation of filling the Bab el-Gusus tomb with 153 coffins of priests (among others, some high Theban dignitaries, and some members of the High Priests' family) lasted only a few days, during which the tomb-entrance was very well guarded. The above-mentioned supposed change of the plan of the tomb had, therefore, undoubtedly taken place before the first coffin was introduced into the tomb. This supposition of a single interment seems to be supported by the inscriptions found on the mummies from Bab el-Gusus as well as by the style of the coffins buried there. In chamber D, it is true, several coffins of the children of the High Priest Menkheperrēʿ and their next of kin were ensembled, but another two coffins of Menkheperrēʿ's children were found elsewhere in the tomb. Besides, in corridor B, just outside chamber D, lay the coffin of the daughter of the High Priest Pinudjem II, Maʿatkarēʿ. Stylistically, the earliest coffins from Bab el-Gusus originate from the last few pontifical years of Menkheperrēʿ, but they were all deposited in corridors B and E. Thus Winlock's

[14] For example, the early Twenty-second Dynasty coffin of Amenemope in Paris, Louvre E. 3864 was first dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty by de Rougé, and this dating has been repeatedly encountered in publications (for example, in C. Boreux, *Musée National du Louvre. Département des Antiquités Égyptiennes. Guide-catalogue sommaire* (Paris, 1932), 301–3, pl. 41.

[15] Daressy, op. cit. 141–3.

dating of Bab el-Gusus to the period of the High Priest Menkheperrēʿ becomes groundless. The latest coffins belong stylistically to the pontificate and reign of Psusennes. On Mummy 66 (according to Daressy's list) mummy-braces with the name of King Psusennes II were found.[16] Psusennes became king *c.*960–958 BC, and this date seems to be the *terminus ante quem non* for the use of the Bab el-Gusus tomb. A few years earlier[17] the burial of Pinudjem II in Tomb 320 took place; this tomb was then, of course, already finished. If we suppose that the same planner was responsible for the shape of both tombs, and if we accept that the Bab el-Gusus tomb was never finished, the following hypothesis may be offered.

During the pontifical years of Pinudjem II, work on his family tomb began (the still undiscovered tomb of the High Priest Menkheperrēʿ was hewn earlier, during the latter's pontificate); parts A, B, C, and E of TT 320 were finished first. It is uncertain whether an old, already existing tomb was then enlarged, and I personally doubt if J. Romer's argument based on the character of the chiselling[18] could be decisive. Such a huge rock tomb as TT 320 could not have been hewn out with 'the neat small type' of chisel. This kind of chisel was certainly used only for secondary correction work, and probably not only in the Eighteenth Dynasty but in the Twenty-first as well.

When the tomb in its original form was ready, a decision was made to enlarge it considerably. It is feasible that the plans concerning the creation of a special, well-guarded, pontifical cemetery at Deir el-Baḥri already existed, and, according to these plans, the newly made tomb was intended to play a double role as the family tomb of the High Priest Pinudjem II and, at the same time, as the cache for the royal mummies, which even in the Valley of the Kings were still exposed to the danger of desecration. The new work on the enlargement of the tomb was finished in year 5 of Siamūn at the latest, probably because of the death of Pinudjem II's wife Nesikhons, who had to be buried there.

At the same time (year 5 of Siamūn), the first stage of the Bab el-Gusus tomb (parts A, B, and D) was also finished. The tomb was begun at the same time as TT 320 or, at the latest, contemporaneously with the second stage of the latter tomb. If work on the Bab el-Gusus tomb was begun after the completion of TT 320, the tomb would have been differently planned without the necessity of the later corrections to the size.

After work on TT 320 had been stopped because of the burial of Nesikhons, the decision was made to repeat the technical operation on this tomb in the Bab el-Gusus structure, enlarging it and making more room for coffins. The work on the lower corridor E continued until at least year 1 of Psusennes II. Then the tomb, although not finished (probably because the purpose of this tomb was now to function as a mass

[16] Daressy, *ASAE* 8 (1907), 28.

[17] In year 10 of Siamūn. The length of Siamūn's reign is not precisely known. Manetho confers on 'king Psinaches' nine years, which is supposed to be a mistake for nineteen; the correction of Manetho's figure is not, however, supported by any document, and the nineteen years for Siamūn should be treated as nothing more than a convention.

[18] Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 85.

tomb-cache, and the classical burial-chamber used in the individual tombs became meaningless), was filled with coffins and minor objects of funerary furniture originating from many individual caches. The coffins of the members of the High Priests' family were naturally treated as having priority; they were the first to be lowered into the tomb and located in both D-chambers. The rear part of corridor B behind staircase C was certainly filled second, then corridor E, third, and finally, the part of the corridor B preceding the staircase. The last coffins were laid near the shaft: in this part of the tomb the coffins were found crowded together, in spite of the fact that there was still much room in the two corridors deep inside the tomb. This seems to point to somewhat hasty final work on the part of the undertakers. After the last coffin had been placed in the tomb, the mouth of corridor B was closed, the shaft filled with sand and gravel, and in the meantime the dummy burial-chamber in the niche was created. The mouth of the shaft was filled with boulders and concealed well enough to remain undiscovered until the late nineteenth century.

The Royal Cache and the Bab el-Gusus tomb were not the only tombs within the area of the late Twenty-first Dynasty protective cemetery. In close proximity to Bab el-Gusus, three other tombs were discovered by Winlock: 59 (Minmose), 60 ('The Three Princesses'), and 358 (Merytamūn). In each one of them coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty were found, and, in Tomb 60, the whole series of such coffins which gives this tomb the charater of a mass cache. *Pace* Winlock, who believes[19] that

> . . . the tomb was opened and reopened again and again. Evidently, three or four coffins would be piled in on top of those already there, and then as a newcomer arrived, room was made for him by the simple expedient of tossing one or more of his predecessors out into the pit,

I believe that in this case too all the complete coffins found in the tomb were placed there during a single operation, the date of which one can calculate, according to the style of the coffins, to be the late Twenty-first Dynasty. So this tomb was used as the cache (although it had been an individual tomb before, obviously robbed) approximately at the same time as the Bab el-Gusus tomb. The fragments of the coffins of the Twenty-first Dynasty which had been destroyed by water, and which were probably rediscovered by the Polish Mission in 'Winlock's deposit' in the Bab el-Gusus, perhaps belonged to the family members of the original possessor of Tomb 60. The mummies were stolen by thieves in the Twenty-first Dynasty, the coffins thrown into the pit, perhaps to make room for a newcomer, as Winlock supposed, and then destroyed by water. The open and empty tomb (the newcomer could not use it for some reason) was then taken over by the administration of the necropolis, and used as a cache. There is no hint, in any case, that Tomb 60 was cut at any time other than the Twenty-first Dynasty, and I cannot share Thomas's opinion that:[20]

> . . . no shaft or cliff tomb is known to have been initiated as a cache or otherwise in Dyn. 21.

[19] Winlock, *BMMA* (Dec. 1924), pt. 2, 28. [20] Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 90.

It is significant that every one of the three caches belonging to the 'pontifical cemetery' (viz. TT 320, Bab el-Gusus, and 60) included coffins of stylistic type IIIc;[21] these came into use late in the pontificate of Pinudjem II. To this group belong, among others, the coffins of Maʿatkarēʿ, daughter of the High Priest Pinudjem II (Bab el-Gusus, Daressy's list A132); the coffin of an anonymous priestess (Bab el-Gusus, Daressy's list A124), on the mummy of which the linen was found with the dates 'year 8 of Siamūn' and 'Year 10'; as well as the coffins of Astemkheb, the sister of Pinudjem II (Royal Cache, CCG 61031). The late style and also the lack of any docket concerning the burial of Astemkheb (which could have justifiably been expected on a wall of TT 320 if the burial had taken place between those of Nesikhons and Pinudjem II) hint at a late date for this burial, probably during the reign of Psusennes; at any rate, after year 10 and the interment of Pinudjem II. The style of Astemkheb's coffins came into use long after the period of the High Priest Menkheperrēʿ so that statements like: 'Menkheperre cut the lower section for his daughter Astemkheb,'[22] or, 'Hall G: primarily the burial chamber of Astemkheb', [23] are absolutely unacceptable.

The burial of the second wife and sister of Pinudjem II was the third or the fourth occasion for the opening of the tomb. At that time corridors B, C, and F were probably still empty; possibly the coffin of Sethos I lay near the angle between the corridors B and C, although one would expect it rather in the chamber E, where two other royal mummies mentioned in the two 'Dockets of Transfer' were placed. In any case, nothing seems to support Thomas's picture of the burial of Pinudjem II:[24] '. . . probably taken through already crowded corridors to the hall before the three Dyn. 19 kings were lowered down the shaft.' On the contrary, in year 10 of Siamūn, before 20.IV.*Prt* only Nesikhons lay for certain in the lower chamber of TT 320; and, in its upper chamber, lay only king Amenophis I and Inḥapy if Thomas's hypothesis is right, according to which the *ḳꜣy* from the 'First Docket of Transfer' meant the actual upper burial-chamber E.[25]

Perhaps the transfer of the mummy of Inḥapy took place at the same time as the burial of Nesikhons. It is not clear why it was chosen as the first to be transported to the Royal Cache, but chamber E was thereby given the designation *ḳꜣy n* ⟨*'In-ḥrpỉ*⟩. For the priests responsible for the necropolis the name had a double meaning; it stated that Inḥapy was lying in the upper chamber of Pinudjem II's tomb, and, at the same time, it implied the existence of the second, lower chamber in this tomb. The upper chamber was, then, intended to be the cache of the royal mummies; the lower one to be the tomb of the High Priest Pinudjem II. Sometime between year 5 and year 10 of Siamūn, the '*ḳꜣy* of Inḥapy' received the holiest relic from among the royal mummies: Amenophis I. Thereby *pꜣy ḳꜣy n* ⟨*'In-ḥrpỉ*⟩ became *nty st-ḥꜣt nty* ⟨*'Imn-ḥtp(w)*⟩ *ỉm ḥtp*. Evidently the transfer of Amenophis I took place shortly before 20.IV.*Prt* of year 10, since the priests used

[21] According to the typology to be published: cf. our n. 5.
[22] Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 92 (Addendum 1). [23] Ibid., 89.
[24] Id., *Necropoleis*, 261. [25] Id., *JARCE* 16 (1979), *passim*.

in the 'First Docket of Transfer' of 17.IV.*Prt* of this year two designations for the tomb: *ḳꜣy n* ⟨*'In-ḥrpỉ*⟩ (the usual name), and *st-rꜣt n* ⟨*'Imn-ḥtp(w)*⟩ (the new name, added to emphasize the importance of the cache). Three days later, on 20.IV.*Prt*, in the 'Second Docket of Transfer', the first of these two designations was already omitted, having been eclipsed by the second one. On this day the mummies of Ramesses I, Ramesses II, and Sethos I were deposited in the cache in which the priests had total confidence at this time. The day was not chosen by chance, because it was at precisely this time that the burial of Pinudjem II took place, and the cache had to be opened in any case.[26]

The next certain occasion for officially tearing off the seals was the burial of the second wife of Pinudjem II, Astemkheb. Certainly some additional mummies were then deposited in the cache; in its lower chamber, perhaps those of Masaharti, Maʿatkarēʿ, and Tayuheret; in the upper one probably some royal mummies. It seems, however, that even then the cache was not yet filled with coffins, and its corridors may still have been relatively free, because the coffin of Djedptaḥefʿankh, placed in the tomb after year 10 of king Sheshonq I, perhaps together with the coffin of Nesitanebasheru,[27] was not found near the entrance of the tomb, and had been laid inside, probably in chamber G, before the coffins of Nebseni, Seqenenrēʿ[28] and Ḥenuttawy obstructed corridor B.

Probably it was on the very day of the burial of Djedptaḥefʿankh that the decision to fill up the cache to its limits was made; the cache was long since regarded with total confidence. It is significant that the mummies of Pinudjem I and Nodjmet qualified as royal mummies, and were, therefore, placed not in the lower 'pontifical' chamber G, but in the upper 'royal' chamber E. This is not strange, however, when one considers that Nodjmet was mother of the king (Neferkheres) and Pinudjem I was given the royal titles because of his position and connections with Ramesses XI (son-in-law).[29] Ḥenuttawy, daughter of Ramesses XI, who originally possessed coffins just as rich as those of Pinudjem I and Nodjmet, was located in the corridor, probably for no better reason than a lack of room in both chambers.

To find a place for a mummy in the trusted and well-guarded royal cache was the most important thing; the type and even the existence of each mummy's own coffin seems to have been treated as being of secondary importance. The proof of this is the mummy of Ramesses IX, which was introduced into the cache without any coffin, and placed instead in one of the coffins of Nesikhons. To give one old coffin to a royal mummy was, however, one thing (the outer coffin of the coffin-ensemble of the Twenty-first Dynasty was, as a rule, never closed and it was sufficient to take the

[26] I do not share the reservations of Dewachter as to the identity of the dates on the 'Second Docket of Transfer' and on the docket of Pinudjem II's burial.

[27] The coffin of Nesitanebasheru was coated with black bitumen. This custom, the meaning of which is not clear, was practised in the Twenty-second Dynasty, as coffins and cartonnages of this period often show. The coffin of Nesitanebasheru was, therefore, taken to the Royal Cache not before the Twenty-second Dyansty.

[28] Unlike Thomas, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 87, I do not suppose that the Maspero's term 'coffre' means something other than the coffin of Seqenenrēʿ. This coffin brings to mind the old semi-rectangular forms of *rishi*-coffins and differs from all other pure anthropoid types of coffin found in the Royal Cache.

[29] Cf. Niwiński, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 49 ff.

inner coffin with the mummy inside out of the outer case; the latter was then ready to receive another coffinless mummy); to envelop the new mummy in a shroud taken from another mummy, the legal possessor of the coffins, was something else. Therefore, I think there is some justification for suspecting that Abd el-Rassoul may have played a part in creating the disorder amongst the mummies which was found in TT 320 by Brugsch.[30] We can hope that new discoveries and new detailed studies of the Royal Cache, and the Twenty-first Dynasty in general, will throw new light on all the enigmas still connected with the topic.

[30] As Dewachter supposes, op. cit. 27.

TWO CONFUSING COFFINS

By M. L. BIERBRIER

A LARGE part of the history of the administration of the government and temples of the so-called Third Intermediate Period rests on the evidence of inscriptions from coffins of that time. It is, therefore, a happy coincidence that texts from two more coffins, long known but inadequately published, can be added to the list of those already attested.

The coffin of Namenkhamūn (Boston MFA 72.4824)[1]

This coffin was discovered by Édouard Naville at Deir el-Baḥri in 1893–4 and had been reused as a store for embalming equipment.[2] Apart from two brief references, the ancestry of the owner has never been published in full.[3] The main genealogical inscription is located on the bottom of the coffin and is supplemented by another on its left side (see pl. XVIII and figs. 1–2). The coffin was made for the prophet of Montju lord of Thebes, Namenkhamūn, son of the prophet of Amūn in Karnak (or alternatively Amenresonther), chief of five, *ỉmy-ỉs* priest, *ḥsk*-priest, ᶜAnkhpakhered, son of the prophet of Amūn (or Amenresonther), chief steward of Amūn, chief of five, overseer of the city, the vizier ᶜAnkh-Osorkon, son of the overseer of prophets of Khnum-rēᶜ, lord of the Cataract region, overseer of the prophets of Horus of Beḥdet lord of Edfu, overseer of *wnt*-people,[4] king's son of Osorkon, king's brother of Takelot, Djedptaḥefᶜankh. The mother of Namenkhamūn is named as the lady Nesweret, daughter of the prophet of Amūn, chief steward of Amūn, him of the curtain, the worthy, ᶜAnkh-Osorkon. The second inscription (see fig. 2) assigns the titles of overseer of prophets of Khnum-rēᶜ lord of the Cataract region and Horus of Beḥdet lord of Edfu, to the vizier ᶜAnkh-Osorkon as well.

Unfortunately, the information in the inscriptions is not enough to fix the career of the owner and his ancestors absolutely in time. Osorkon I, Osorkon II, and Osorkon III were all succeeded by Takelots. The list of viziers in the Third Intermediate Period is sufficiently elastic to accommodate a vizier ᶜAnkh-Osorkon as the grandson of either Osorkon.[5] In style the coffin appears to date to the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The front of the lid has the usual design of the winged Nut on the breast below a bearded head. Underneath the goddess is a horizontal line of text across the width of the coffin, and below this is a single vertical line of text down the centre of

[1] I wish to thank Dr W. K. Simpson for permission to publish the genealogical inscriptions on this coffin, and Mr E. Brovarski and his staff for the supply of photographs and help during my stay in Boston.

[2] F. L. Griffith (ed.), *Archaeological Report of the Egypt Exploration Fund* (1893–4), 7; E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, II (London, 1896), 6.

[3] *PM* I², 2, 649–50; De Meulenaere, *CdÉ* 41 (1966), 112.

[4] H. G. Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 261–4.

[5] K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1973), 483.

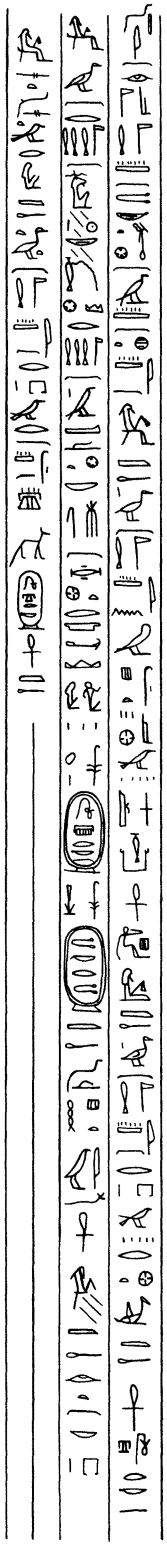


FIG. 1

FIG. 2

the coffin. On each side of this are four separate panels depicting a god with prayers, apart from the bottom two on each side which show *udjat*-eyes. The design can be compared with Cairo Museum 41054.[6] The texts on the bottom (consisting of four columns) and sides of the coffin are painted on alternatively yellow and white backgrounds, a technique which is followed on Cairo coffin 41054 (although here written in blue, not black like the Boston coffin) and BM 6668, whose owner was an official of the God's Wife Amenirdis, daughter of Kashta, or her cult.[7] Thus it would appear that the Boston coffin belongs to a descendant of Osorkon III.

A second piece of evidence which would favour this proposal is a statue of the prophet of Montju lord of Thebes, Djedptaḥefᶜankh son of the prophet of Amūn in Karnak, chief of five, ᶜAnkhpakhered, which was set up by his son the prophet of Montju ᶜAnkhpakhered (Boston MFA 1971.21).[8] It seems likely that this Djedptaḥefᶜankh was a brother of Namenkhamūn. As the statue is inscribed with the Saïte formula and is dated stylistically to the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the coffin of Namenkhamūn should also be ascribed to this period.

If the king named on the Boston coffin is indeed Osorkon III, it would seem that his control extended as far south as Aswan in order to appoint his son to oversee the priests in that region. The control of the dynasty must have continued, possibly in name only, into the next generation, since the vizier ᶜAnkh-Osorkon also bore the same priestly titles as his father. He may have been ousted by the Nubian advance. He was probably the immediate predecessor of the vizier Ḥarsiēse whose family held that office for several generations under Nubian patronage.[9]

One interesting feature of the genealogy of the owner of this coffin is that it appears that his parents were brother and sister, since it is unlikely that there were two viziers of this name at this time. This is the second example of a brother–sister marriage among the members of the royal families of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties. The high priest of Ptaḥ at Memphis, Pediēse, a great-grandson of Osorkon II, married his sister Tairy. There are also instances of a probable uncle-niece marriage (Takelot II and Karoma) and an aunt–nephew marriage (Tjesbastperu, daughter of Osorkon II, and the high priest of Ptaḥ Takelot).[10]

The Coffin of ᶜAnkhpakhered Son of ᶜAnkhefenkhons Son of Besenmut (BM 24958)

The genealogical information on this coffin was published by Lieblein, based on notes supplied by Birch when the coffin was still in the possession of the Duke of Sutherland before it was presented to the British Museum.[11] Unfortunately, Birch

[6] H. Gauthier, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Cairo, 1913), pl. xvii.

[7] E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1981), 26–8.

[8] W. K. Simpson, *Kêmi* 21 (1971), 17–25.

[9] Kitchen, op. cit. 230–3.

[10] Ibid. 100–2, 328.

[11] J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques* (Leipzig, 1871), no. 1347.

omitted the eldest attested generation of ʿAnkhpakhered's maternal line. The inscription on the inside of the lid of the coffin (see pl. XIX, 1) names the mother of the god's father of Amūn ʿAnkhpakhered as Muṯetepti, daughter of the prophet of Montju, lord of Thebes, the prophet of Amenresonther, *ỉṯw nṯr* Iufaa son of the prophet of Amūn in Karnak, *ỉṯw nṯr* ʿAnkhpakhered. However, the inscription of the interior of the bottom of the coffin, apart from slight variations to the titles of Iufaa and ʿAnkhpakhered, adds the fact that ʿAnkhpakhered was the son of the fourth prophet of Amūn in Karnak, Nakhtefmut (see pl. XIX, 2). This new discovery further confuses the genealogy of the ʿAnkhpakhered family. In previous studies it had been assumed that Muṯetepti's grandfather might be identical with the prophet of Amenresonther, *ỉṯw nṯr* ʿAnkhpakhered II, son of the same Nakhtefmut (D), or with Nakhtefmut (D)'s father ʿAnkhpakhered I, son of Pashedmut.[12] The latter conjecture must now be abandoned. The former conjecture does not fit the most recent chronologies of the families of this era, in which ʿAnkhpakhered II, son of Nakhtefmut (D), is identified with an ʿAnkhpakhered, son of Nakhtefmut, who flourished in 651 BC as a contemporary of the owner of BM 24958. Moreover, Nakhtefmut (D) is nowhere given the title fourth prophet of Amūn. However, there is a family of fourth prophets of Amūn in which the name Nakhtefmut is used for two, if not three, fourth prophets.[13] It might be speculated that ʿAnkhpakhered, son of the fourth prophet Nakhtefmut, was in fact a son of the attested fourth prophet Nakhtefmut B. If so, then there would need to be no major change to the generations in the interlocking nexus of families of the Theban priesthood during this period. This new ʿAnkhpakhered would be quite distinct from ʿAnkhpakhered I, son of Pashedmut, who would have flourished a generation later.[14] He may or may not have been distinct from ʿAnkhpakhered father of Ḥormaʿat, whose daughter was another wife of ʿAnkhefenkhons, son of Besenmut. Certainly the plethora of contemporary ʿAnkhpakhereds makes it difficult to distinguish them. Moreover, there was a family link between ʿAnkhpakhered, son of Pashedmut, and the fourth prophet Nakhtefmut, but the vital inscription is damaged.[15]

BM 24598 is almost exactly similar in style to BM 6668, which is dated by the name of Amenirdis, daughter of Kashta, who is last attested in the reign of Shebitku (702–690 BC).[16] Now Vittmann in his study proposes that ʿAnkhpakhered, son of ʿAnkhefenkhons, owner of BM 24598, had an elder half-brother Besenmut, whose wife Tabetjet was a first cousin of the well-known fourth prophet Montjuemḥēt, who was alive as an old man in 651 BC.[17] The apparent contradiction in dating can

[12] Kitchen, op. cit. 214–17; M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975), 86–91; G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Vienna, 1978), 10–16, 122–3.

[13] Bierbrier, op. cit. 79–85; id., *BiOr* 36 (1979), 307, 309.

[14] On the chart in *BiOr* 36 (1979), 309, ʿAnkhpakhered I and his wife Djedmutesʿankh would move down a generation, leaving ʿAnkhpakhered and Tarwa as parents of Ḥormaʿat. ʿAnkhpakhered, father of Iufaa, would fall in the same generation as ʿAnkhpakhered, father of Ḥormaʿat, but not necessarily the same man: see Vittmann, op. cit. 13.

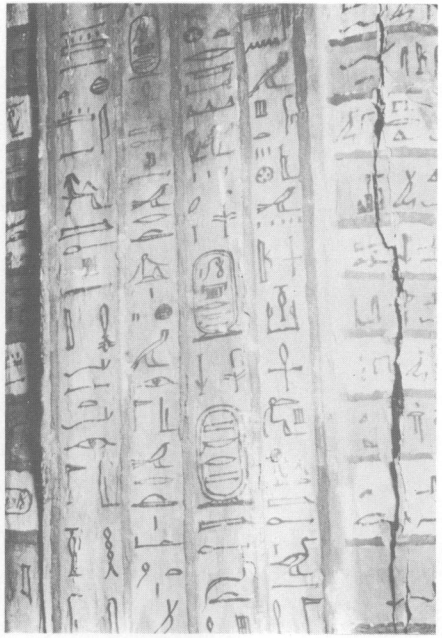
[15] L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten III* (Berlin, 1930), no. 717.

[16] Graefe, op. cit. 26–8.

[17] Vittmann, op. cit. 7–8, 36–9.

be reconciled if, for example, ʿAnkhpakhered died at a relatively young age, and Tabetjet was somewhat older than her cousin Montjuemḥēt. The coffin itself might have been made a few years later, but a full stylistic analysis of coffins of this period is still awaited. Therefore, this coffin, like Boston MFA 72. 4824, appears at first sight to create more confusion in established theories than to settle outstanding problems. Graefe's suggestion that the owner of BM 6668 was an official of the cult of the deceased Amenirdis might reconcile these apparent contradictions.

1



2

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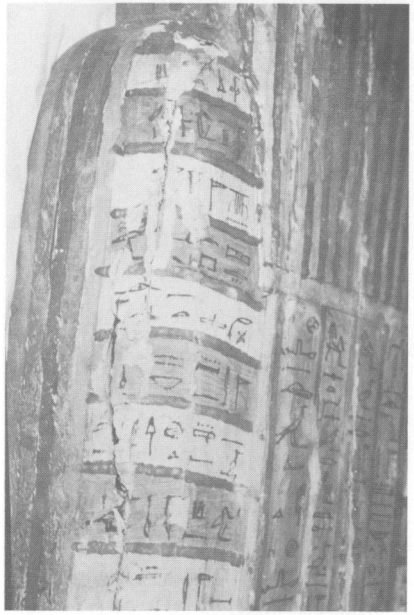
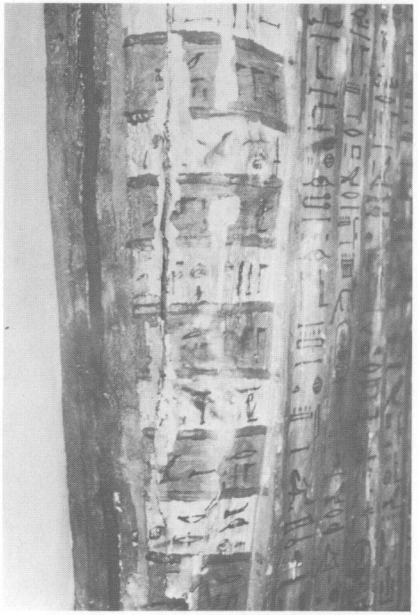


4



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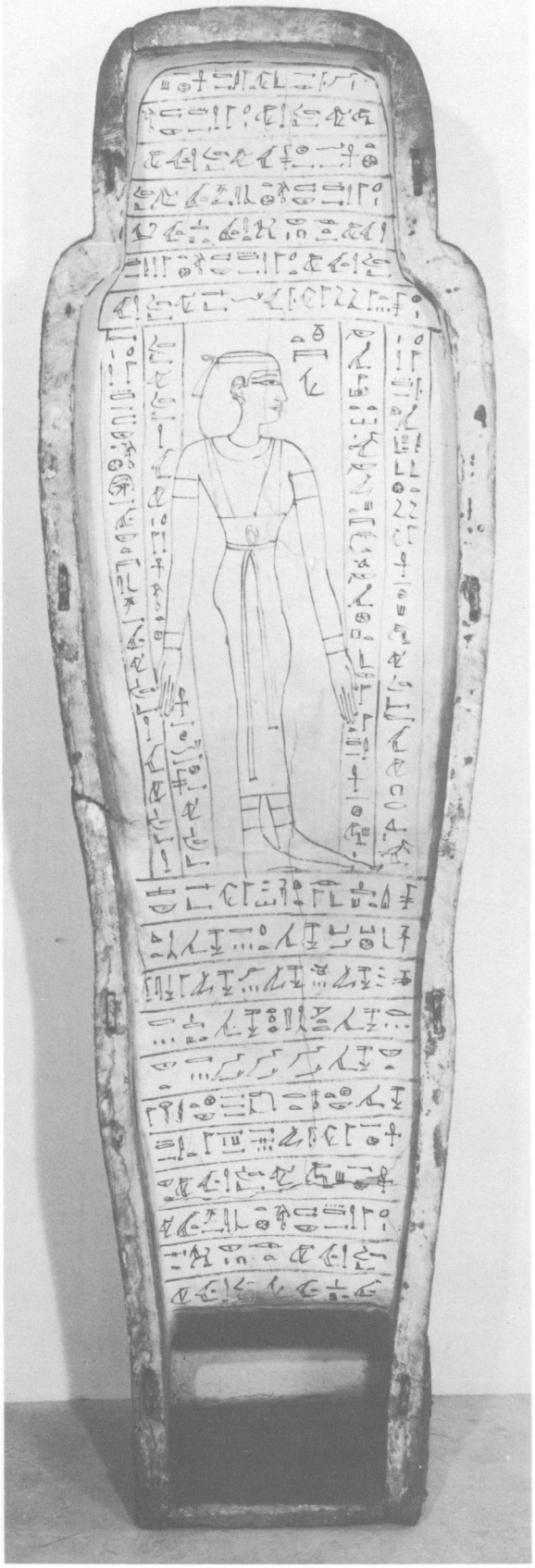
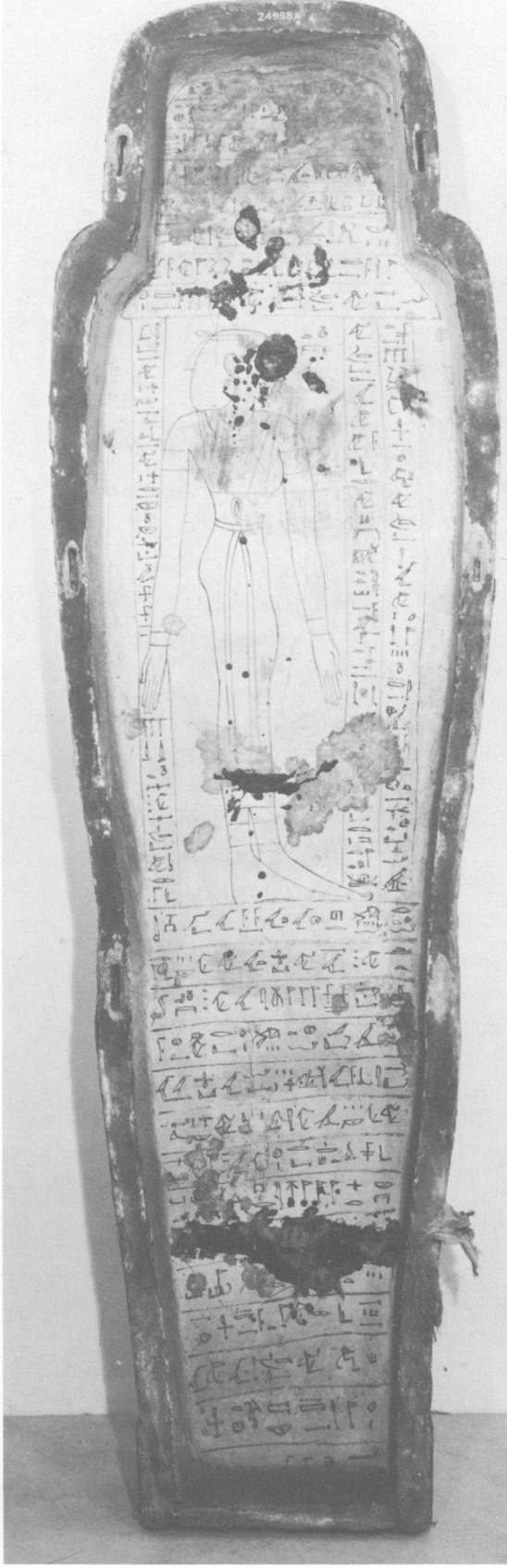
6

7



1. The coffin of ʿAnkhefenkhons (inside of lid)



2. The coffin of ʿAnkhefenkhons (base)

THE DATE OF THE REUSED FALSE DOOR OF *NFRTM-M-S3·F* AT SAQQÂRA

By WILLIAM A. WARD

IN *JEA* 68 (1982), 20 ff., A. J. Spencer has presented the first detailed study of the northern false door in the tomb-chapel of the Sixth Dynasty Mastaba of Prince Zatju at Saqqâra (Mariette's D 46). The original text of this false door was almost completely erased and a new text inscribed for one *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* at a later date. Spencer's admirable drawing of the false door shows both the new text and the scanty traces of the original one, so there is no doubt that *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* did indeed usurp an earlier monument.

The date when this new text was carved on the false door has been variously given. W. S. Smith[1] felt that the new text might have been carved as late as Saïte times. H. G. Fischer[2] has pointed out that the book-roll determinative used in this text assures a date no earlier than Sesostris I and that the *śn*-sign in this text is very like the form this hieroglyph may take in the Empire Period, though it does appear much later as well.[3] H. De Meulenaere, in a letter to Fischer quoted in the same article, thinks that there is no positive indication of a Saïte date and that the personal name *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* makes a Middle Kingdom date 'at least probable'. Spencer himself leans strongly toward a date in the Middle Kingdom.

While there is thus a general feeling that this text was carved during the Middle Kingdom, the long titulary is not at all what one expects to find in this period. A closer study of several of the titles preserved as well as the name *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* itself leads me to conclude that this text probably dates from Saïte times.

According to Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 200, 27, the name *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* occurs elsewhere only on a Middle Kingdom stela in Leiden (V 7) dated to the reign of Ammenemes III. However, if we examine the two components of this name separately—the divine name *Nfrtm* and the phrase *m-s3·f*—a much larger body of evidence can be collected which shows that we need not restrict our search for a date to the Middle Kingdom.

Nfrtm as a private name was used mainly in the Old and Middle Kingdoms,[4] but there are several examples from the Third Intermediate Period.[5] Compound names which include *Nfrtm* (with the exception of *Nfrtm-m-s3·f*) begin in Ramesside times

[1] W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, 2nd edn. (London, 1949), 186.

[2] H. G. Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 24 n. 6.

[3] e.g. H. Gauthier, *ASAE* 35 (1935), 89, pl. ii, C (Dyn. XIX); M. Basta, *CdÉ* 108 (1979), 190 (Dyn. XXVI).

[4] Ranke, *Personennamen*, I, 200, 24, to which may be added an Old Kingdom example in H. Junker, *Giza*, VIII, 26, and a Middle Kingdom example in T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, I (Brooklyn, 1974), no. 133.

[5] M. Malinine, *et al.*, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, I (Paris, 1968), nos. 37, 43, 52, 60, 110.

and are fairly common in the Third Intermediate and Saïte Periods, for example *Nfrtm-ḥtp(w)*[6] and *Šd-Nfrtm*.[7] A similar situation prevails with names of the pattern *(Deity)-m-sꜣ·f*. Most personal names of this pattern are of Old and Middle Kingdom date,[8] but there are several such names which are found in later times, for example: *ʾImn-m-sꜣ(w)·f*, *Pṯḥ-m-sꜣ·f*, *Ḫnsw-m-sꜣ·f*, *Skr-m-sꜣ·f*, etc. It is thus possible that *Nfrtm-m-sꜣ·f* could have existed in the post-Empire Period, especially since names compounded with *Nfrtm* are more at home at that time than before. The name *Nfrtm-m-sꜣ·f* is, therefore, not diagnostic of the Middle Kingdom even though the only other example is from that time.

If we turn now to the titles recorded on this false door, we find that they can be divided into three groups:

(A). Titles which are unique in this text and which, therefore, have no value for dating purposes (except for the *wrš.wt* in title A8; see below on C2): (1) *ỉmy-r rḫyt*; (2) *ỉmy ḫnt ʿḥ n ḥṯ P*; (3) *ỉry ỉr n ḥḏt*; (4) *mnḫ m snw*; (5) *mnḫ m ḏꜣt Nmty*; (6) *ḥry sšꜣ n rsyt mḥyt*; (7) *sꜣ ỉswy*; (8) . . . *wḏ n wršwt ḏꜣḏꜣt·f r rꜣ-wr*.

(B). Titles used in all periods from the Old Kingdom to Ptolemaic times, which are thus of no value for dating:[9] (1) *ỉry pʿt*; (2) *ỉry ḫt nsw mꜣʿ*; (3) *ḥry-tp ḫry-ḥbt*; (4) *ḫrp šndyt nbt*; (5) *ḫry-ḥbt m ỉnt nṯr hrw r hrw*; (6) *sm*.

(C). Titles which can be used for dating:

1. *ỉmꜣ-ʿ*, 'Gracious of Arm', is frequent in the Old Kingdom and is interpreted by Helck as a ranking title.[10] I know of only three examples from the Middle Kingdom,[11] and the title was not used again until Saïte times.[12] This was, therefore, an active title only in the Old Kingdom. Since it appears so rarely in the Middle Kingdom and seems to serve no function, the Middle Kingdom examples must belong to the category of 'archaizing titles', that is, older titles added to a titulary where they are out of place and where their original function no longer applies. Another example of such a title is *mḏḥ Nḫn*, 'Carpenter of Nekhen', known already in the Third Dynasty and throughout the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period;[13] it appears only once in the Middle Kingdom (Louvre C 179).

[6] Ranke, op. cit. I, 201, 1; Malinine, op. cit., nos. 163, 194–6; J. Málek, *Topographical Bibliography*, III², 962, no. 1043, etc.

[7] Ranke, op. cit. I, 330, 24; Malinine, op. cit., nos. 52, 132, 173, 189, 216. Other names compounded with *Nfrtm* given by Ranke, 200–1, are of the Empire and later.

[8] Now conveniently collected in Ranke, op. cit., III, 109–10.

[9] Title B5 is simply the common *ḫry-ḥbt* with an additional phrase explaining more precisely the functions of this office. Titles B4 and B6 normally appear together in the Old and Middle Kingdoms as they do in this text (on the edge of the stone). More often than not they were used separately in post-Empire times, but they do occasionally appear together in that period, following the older usage: B. Bruyère, *ASAE* 54 (1957), 17 (Dyn. XXII); H. De Meulenaere, *Mél. Mariette* (Bibl. d'Étude) 32 (Cairo, 1961), 289, gives a few examples from the Saïte Period. While De Meulenaere feels that the title *sm* is 'almost always closely tied to the functions of *wr ḫrp ḥmw* and *ḫrp šndt nbt*', the title *sm* is quite common without any links to these titles.

[10] M. A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London, 1908), pl. xvii; H. Junker, op. cit. III, 10; XI, 126; W. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 118.

[11] P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, I, pls. 25, 46; M. Alliot, *BIFAO* 37 (1937–8), 108.

[12] *Wb.* I, 81, 9; R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (Bibl. d'Étude 69) (Cairo, 1975), 164 f.

[13] P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1966), 43; H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (Locust Valley, 1968), 123 ff.

2. *wršyt*, '(Female) Watcher'. While the masculine counterpart *wršw/wršy* is common in the Old Kingdom and is likewise found in Middle Kingdom times,[14] the feminine is limited strictly to the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, usually in the title *wršyt Mnw*, 'Watcher of Min'.[15] On the false door of *Nfrtm-m-s3·f*, this title is in the plural as part of a longer title (no. A8), the beginning of which has been lost.

3. *ḥm-nṯr Nt*, 'God's-servant of Neith', is basically an Old Kingdom title,[16] a point emphasized by Fischer and El-Sayed.[17] It does not occur again until late times: examples can be quoted from the Twenty-fifth,[18] Twenty-sixth,[19] and Twenty-seven Dynasties,[20] the 'Spätzeit',[21] and the Thirtieth Dynasty.[22] While El-Sayed[23] states that the title was only honorific in Saïte times, this can be questioned since it appears more frequently than he implies, and we find such variants as *ḥm-nṯr mnḫt Nt*, 'God's-servant of the Vestments of Neith', which implies active duties on the part of this particular priest.[24]

4. *ḥry-sšt3 n W3ḏty*, 'Master of Secrets of Nekhbet and Buto (or: the Two Crowns)', was not used in the Old Kingdom and appears for the first time in the Middle Kingdom.[25] It continued to be used in the Empire and as late as Saïte times.[26]

5. *ḫrp tm3*, 'Controller of a Troop (soldiers, workmen)'. Only Old Kingdom examples have been quoted[27] with very rare occurrences in the Saïte Period. For the latter age, the *Wörterbuch* lists only Louvre Stela A94, but another example has been published by De Meulenaere, who emphasizes that this title was borrowed from the Old Kingdom.[28]

[14] Old Kingdom examples given by Spencer, *JEA* 68 (1982), 25, n. 21; Middle Kingdom examples in W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), nos. 5, 137, 466.

[15] P. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, II, p. 154 (6 exx.); P. E. Newberry, *LAAA* 4 (1912), 108, 190; *Hier. Texts BM*, II, pl. 38 (no. 307). The latter stela is dated to the later Middle Kingdom in the publication, but the general style (elongated figures, etc.) is that of the First Intermediate Period.

[16] Murray, op. cit., pl. xxviii; *Hier. Texts BM*, I², pls. 7, 40; H. Junker, op. cit. II, 162; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, X, 77 (refs. to all 10 vols.).

[17] H. G. Fischer, in *LdÄ* IV, 1101; R. el-Sayed, op. cit. 101 n. a.

[18] G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), no. 152 (Inv. 22.145); G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 25 (1925), 27 (Cairo JE 49159, here in the feminine).

[19] El-Sayed, op. cit. 101 n. a, who notes only Cairo 658 for the late period; B. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), no. 56, figs. 123, 130 (Brooklyn 60.11); *ḥm-nṯr wḥm Nt*, 'berichtenden Gottesdieners des Neith', in E. Brunner-Traut and H. Brunner, *Die ägyptische Sammlung der Universität Tübingen* (Mainz am Rhein, 1981), 42 (Inv. 1150).

[20] G. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte* (Bibl. d'Étude 11) (Cairo, 1936), 10 = H. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 62 (1964), 162 (Vatican 158).

[21] E. Otto, *MDAIK* 15 (1959), 205 (Louvre N663).

[22] *CAA Cuba* 1, p. 1. 68 (Havana 30); El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), Suppl., p. 317 (Cairo 688).

[23] *Documents relatifs à Saïs*, 101 n. a.

[24] El-Sayed, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 101 ff. (Saïte; note also a *wʿb mnḫt Nt* on the same statue; *Documents relatifs à Saïs*, 106).

[25] Ward, op. cit., no. 1009.

[26] *Wb.* IV, 299, 10, to which may be added: Helck, *Verwaltung*, 450; W. C. Hayes, *JEA* 36 (1950), 22; E. Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple*, III, pl. iv, 4 (= XB); El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs*, 239.

[27] Fischer, *JNES* 18 (1959), 267–78; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 100; *Wb.* V, 307, 19.

[28] De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 22. Another possible example is in E. Otto, loc. cit., though the spelling of *tm3* is abnormal.

6. *ḫt wr*, '*ḫt*-priest of the Great One', is restricted to the Old Kingdom;[29] the *ḫt*-priest was associated with several deities, as shown by the lists given by Málek and Goedicke.[30]

7. *sꜣ mḥty*, meaning uncertain, is known only from the Old Kingdom.[31]

8. *dwꜣ(t) nṯr*, 'Divine Adorer (Adoratrice)', is known from the Eighteenth Dynasty to Saïte times and, as part of compound titles, in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties.[32] This title was held by both men and women.

The results of this short discussion may be tabulated as follows:

Title	OK	FIP	MK	Empire	Post-Emp.	Saïte
(1) *ỉmꜣ-ḳ*	×		×			×
(2) *wršyt*	×	×				
(3) *ḥm-nṯr Nt*	×				Dyn. XXV	×
(4) *ḥry-sštꜣ n Wꜣḏty*			×	×	×	×
(5) *ḫrp tmꜣ*	×					×
(6) *ḫt wr*	×					
(7) *sꜣ mḥty*	×					
(8) *dwꜣ nṯr*				×	×	×

It is evident that there are no titles or epithets in this text which are exclusively of the Middle Kingdom. Of the eight titles in Group C, only one (C4) can properly be considered a Middle Kingdom title, but it had a long period of subsequent usage into Saïte times. The same is true of the titles in Group B. Three of the titles tabulated above (C2, 3, 5) are known only from the Old Kingdom and Saïte Periods, and here we must include C1 since the Middle Kingdom examples are archaizing. Two titles are unknown from the Old Kingdom but have long histories and were still in use in Saïte times; C4 was first used in the Middle Kingdom, C8 in the Empire.

The use of the titles in this inscription thus points to a date in the Saïte Period. Palaeographical considerations plus titles C4 and C8, which were not used in the Old Kingdom, rule out that period. The only titles in this text which were used in the Middle Kingdom continued to be used at least until Saïte times (Group B and C4). The rest of the titulary is so foreign to the Middle Kingdom that it is difficult to see how it could have been compiled at that time. The Empire and post-Empire dynasties must be excluded since much of this titulary does not appear in these periods. In fact, the only time when such a titulary could have been created was during the Saïte Period, when, under the conscious archaizing of that age, the

[29] To the examples noted by Spencer, op. cit. 25 n. 18, may be added S. Hassan, op. cit. x, 69 (refs. to all 10 vols.).

[30] Málek, op. cit. III², 922, nos. 312–15; H. Goedicke, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (Vienna, 1970), 229. To the references given there may be added *Hier. Texts BM*, I², pl. x: *ḫt Ḥr* and *ḫt Mnw*.

[31] Fischer, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 24 n. 2; E. Drioton, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 500; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 112 n. 5; H. Junker, op. cit. II, 162

[32] *Wb.* V, 430, 3–4. Many additional references can be quoted, for example: *ASAE* 7 (1906), 190–1; 8 (1907), 265; 9 (1908), 277; 22 (1922), 261; 51 (1951), 507, pl. vii; 52 (1952–4), 152–3; 53 (1956), 50, 57–8; 54 (1957), 83 ff.; *CdÉ* 111 (1981), 19, fig. 2; *JEA* 62 (1976), 21, fig. 8; ibid. pl. 26, 1; *BIFAO* 55 (1955), 66. Several of these compound titles are listed in J. Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens* (Bibl. d'Étude 17) (Cairo, 1954), 96. On the title *dwꜣt-nṯr n Ỉmn*, see E. Graefe, *SAK* 3 (1975), 75 ff.

engraver incorporated into his text Old Kingdom titles[33] which had long been out of use (C 1–3, 5–7) and titles with a long history which were still current in Saïte times (C 4, 8, and Group B).

Other details give added support to this conclusion. Spencer suggests that this text contains the title *ỉmy ḫnt ḥ n ḥt P* (Group A2), which would mean something like 'Chamberlain of the temple of the *ḥt*-priest of Pe'. He further notes that the title *ḥt P* and its equivalent *ḥt Dp* appear only in the Old Kingdom and post-Empire times.[34] This title thus fits into the category of an Old Kingdom title which went out of use after that period, to be revived only after the Empire. Another title which may be in the same category is *ỉmy-r rḫyt*, 'Overseer of Commoners' (Group A1); I know of no other occurrence of this title, but there is a rare *wr rḫyt* in the Saïte Period.[35]

From the preceding discussion, we may conclude the following:

(*A*) The personal name *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* does not automatically indicate a date in the Middle Kingdom.

(*B*) The titulary as a whole does not belong to the Middle Kingdom. There are clear indications that this titulary could only have been engraved in the Saïte Period.

(*C*) *Nfrtm-m-s3·f* must thus have lived in Saïte times and usurped an Old Kingdom mastaba and one of its false doors for his own use.

[33] On the borrowing of Old Kingdom titles in Saïte times, see E. Jelínková, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 79 n. 3.

[34] Spencer, op. cit. 24 n. 14; *Wb.* III, 203, 15.

[35] El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs*, 220. In both titles, the Old Kingdom spelling of *rḫyt* is used, though this spelling does occur in other periods: see, for example, an occurrence in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos: A. Zayed, *ASAE* 57 (1962), 116.

CRIME AND ADULTERY IN ANCIENT EGYPT

By C. J. EYRE

ONE of the most fruitful lines of enquiry into the functioning and nature of a society is the attempt to juxtapose what can be seen from specific examples of the actual working of social relations with the formal statements of the society's ideals found in its laws and moralistic literature. Of the latter Egypt has left a considerable body in the form of didactic and quasi-philosophical wisdom literature,[1] but of actual Egyptian laws only a few isolated examples have been preserved from the Pharaonic Period.[2] There is, indeed, no certain indication that any form of codified law existed before the Third Intermediate Period,[3] and the earliest preserved set of laws, from the Ptolemaic Period,[4] has the appearance rather of a practitioner's handbook than a code proper. Reconstruction of Egyptian law, therefore, depends almost entirely on the deductions drawn from specific cases of practice. In this it differs radically from the other legal systems of the Ancient Near East, where the numerous codes stand at the centre of attention. Conversely, despite the specific nature of their clauses, the understanding of these codes depends on an assessment of the extent to which they were statements of the ideal rather than mandatory codes of judicial practice. In that sense they could provide an indication (perhaps, but not necessarily, with some relation to specific examples of case-law) of the level of sanction the state authority would accept and supervise, and, therefore, a basis for settlement and the limitation of private vengeance, instead of a list of rules for judges to enforce.

On the level of comparative law,[5] and, therefore, comparative social structure, a central question is the extent to which the state authority involves itself as giver and enforcer of judicial decisions between individuals. This refers particularly to the range of offences against an individual which are treated as crimes,[6] and, therefore, the extent to which the sanction of vengeance taken by the injured party is not only governed by state control but replaced by state action. Put another way, this means the extent to which the classification of crime expands, from offences committed

[1] For translations of literary texts see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I–III.

[2] *LdÄ* II, 570–1, 'Gesetze'; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 14 (1947), 107–52; id. in *Le Droit égyptien ancien* (Colloque organisé par l'Institut des Hautes Études de Belgique, les 18 et 19 mars 1974 à l'initiative de Mr. Aristide Théodoridès) (Brussels), 3–22.

[3] *LdÄ* V, 182–7, 'Recht'; Arangio-Ruiz, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 11–12 (1957–8), 25–46; Allam, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 1–6.

[4] Mattha and Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*; P. Oxy. 3285 = Rea, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XLVI, 30–8.

[5] Cf. Diamond, *Primitive Law Past and Present* (London, 1971); Gilissen in *Le Droit égyptien ancien*, 227–43; Allam, op. cit. 3–6.

[6] For a basic collection of the Egyptian material see Bedell, *Criminal Law in the Egyptian Ramesside Period* (Doctoral Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1973). On the issue in general see Parant in *Le Droit égyptien ancien*, 25–55; Michel, ibid. 219–20; Allam, *JEA* 64 (1978), 65–8.

against the ruling authority directly, to include more and more offences that are only disruptive of good order and social relations among those it rules.[7]

Egyptian material does not provide evidence for the legal treatment of homicide and wounding, the most obvious of offences against the person. The basic classification of theft in Egypt seems clearly to have been as a tort. The injured party pursued the matter himself, and the sanctions, so far as they could be enforced, normally took the form of restoration in small multiples of the loss. Where a state or temple was involved, however, theft became a crime. It was then pursued by official action that was as effectively an administrative exercise of enquiry as a judicial process,[8] and it was punished infinitely more severely.[9] The third basic class of injury to the individual, that of the sexual offences of adultery, rape, and seduction, is of more ambiguous significance for a consideration of the dichotomy between tort and crime. However, a body of material, mostly dating from the New Kingdom through to the Ptolemaic Period, makes it at least possible to examine the issue in an Egyptian context.

A small number of New Kingdom papyri contain lists of complaints or accusations concerning illegal or immoral behaviour, and more specifically official malfeasance. A common element in these indictments is the accusation of fornication with married women. Thus the Turin Indictment Papyrus[10] contains accusations of corruption in the priesthood and administration of the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, mostly concerning a *wꜥeb*-priest Penanuqet. His alleged offences ranged from irregularities in the cult, through a variety of thefts, frauds, and briberies, to violence and the illegal imposition of mutilation as a punishment. Among these varied accusations is[11] the 'Memorandum about the copulation[12] he did with Tabes, daughter of Shuy, she being wife of Aḥauty'. Personal animosity is revealed as a motivation for the composition of this text; one of the accusations[13] concerned bribes paid by the priest, whereby he gained some advantage over his unknown accuser.

The Salt Papyrus 124[14] contains a similar range of accusations against Paneb, foreman of the works on the Royal Tomb in the Valley of the Kings at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Theft, bribery, violence, and disregard for his superiors are the theme of most of the accusations made against him, but there is also[15] the passage:

Memorandum about this. His son fled before him to the place (office?) of the gatekeepers,

[7] This lies at the core of Diamond's classification of the degree of primitiveness or sophistication of legal systems, op. cit., *passim*, but esp. p. 292. Cf. also Bluche, *RIDA* 22 (1975), esp. 145–7 and 167–73.

[8] Cf. Parant in op. cit. 48–9, and note the manner of proceeding in the Tomb Robbery trials: Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*; id., *The Mayer Papyri A and B*; Gardiner *et al.*, *JEA* 22 (1936), 169–93.

[9] For punishment in general see Lorton, *JESHO* 20 (1977), 2–64.

[10] *RAD* 73, 12–82, 10.

[11] *RAD* 74, 11–14.

[12] The word is used here as an unsatisfactory conventional translation of Egyptian *nk*, which has, in fact, the same sense and range of meaning as the standard English transitive four-letter word. Depending on context, this ranges from what is in effect rape (as in the standard curse 'May a donkey *nk* him; may a donkey *nk* his wife'), through illicit casual liaisons, to regular marital relations.

[13] *RAD* 76, 6–16.

[14] Now BM 10055; see Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 243–58; Allam, *HOPR* no. 266.

[15] Rt. 11, 1–4.

and swore an oath, saying, 'I will not bear with him!',[16] and he said, 'Paneb copulated with the citizeness (*ʿnḫ n nỉwt*) Tuy, she being wife of the workman Qenna. He copulated with Ḥul, she being with[17] Penduau. He copulated with the citizeness Ḥul, she being with Ḥesysunebef', so said his son. And when he had copulated with Ḥul he copulated with Webkhet, her daughter. And Aapeḥty, his son, copulated with Webkhet as well.

The accusations of the Salt Papyrus were made in the name of the workman Amennakhte, son of a previous foreman Nebnefer. Amennakhte believed that Paneb should not have been appointed foreman, evidently thought that he himself had a better claim to the post,[18] and doubtless still hoped that he might achieve it. It is quite possible that Paneb was eventually dismissed.[19] Late in the reign of Ramesses III, Paneb's son Penanuqet made a series of accusations against a group of workmen led by a certain Userḥēt.[20] The first of these was that they had removed stone from a royal tomb or tomb-chapel, and this was probably the substantive offence; for Penanuqet referred to the reaction of the vizier to his father Paneb committing that same offence. The other accusations against Userḥēt were that he stole an ox belonging to the mortuary temple of Ramesses II, and also that[21] 'He copulated with three married women; the citizeness Menat, she being with Qenna, the citizeness Taiuenes, she being with Nakhtamūn, (and) the citizeness Tawerethetpet, she being with Pentaweret'. Penanuqet's accusations were made to the local foreman and scribe, but his threat to take them to higher authority makes it a reasonable guess that his aim was to discredit the administration that had succeeded his father's at Deir el-Medîna.

A brief reference in Deir el-Medîna papyrus no. 26 also belongs here.[22] The fragmentary text seems to contain a collection of different legal cases, held before the local tribunal or before the oracle of Amenophis. The preserved record of one of these cases[23] (the beginning is lost) opens abruptly with a woman accusing a man: 'You copulated with a married woman in the-place-of-carrying-torches.' The following lines make no further mention of this affair, but deal with the honesty, or otherwise, of the transport of some fats. Despite the damaged condition of the text, there can be little doubt that the two matters belong to the same case. It is

[16] Lit. 'I will not stand before him'.

[17] No convincing legal distinction has yet been made to explain the variation in terminology between *ỉw·s m ḥmt n*, 'who is wife of', and *ỉw·s m-dỉ*, 'who is with', in reference to marital status. The same problem arises when trying to distinguish between *ḥmt*, 'woman', 'wife', and *ḥbsyt*, 'wife (?)', 'concubine (?)': cf. Tanner, *Klio* 49 (1967), 7–9; Pestman, *Marriage*, 10–11. There may be no significant legal distinction in either case. Attempts to classify marriages of different legal type and status have not been successful (see the remarks of Edgerton, *Notes on Egyptian Marriage*, 6–9), except that a woman of higher status could demand more in the way of legal and financial safeguards (cf. below, n. 30), and presumably cohabitation and concubinage could exist without the recognition of a marriage with its financial commitments (cf. Allam, *GM* 13 (1974), 9). The exact force of *ʿnḫ n nỉwt*, translated here conventionally as 'citizeness', is obscure: see Allam, *HOPR* 60 n. 9; *LdÄ* II, 290–1; Pestman, op. cit. 11 n. 2; and note the issues raised by Berlev, *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 22–6, 42, 48.

[18] See rt. 1, 1–4.

[19] See Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 301–5.

[20] *RAD* 57, 6–58, 6. His motivation, like that of Amennakhte, was presumably resentment that the office of foreman had slipped from his family. There is a possible indication that he made trouble for the crew in a similar way on another occasion: see O. DM 148, rt. 10–vs. 6.

[21] *RAD* 57, 14–16. [22] Allam, *HOPR*, pls. 92–6; pp. 297–301. [23] Ibid., pl. 96.

noteworthy that the accusations in all these instances refer to married women.[24] At judgement in the underworld, in the negative confession, it was necessary to make the denial:[25] 'I have not copulated with a married women.' The negative attitude of the Chester Beatty Dream Book towards the Sethian man and the disorder of his behaviour was also associated with the extent and range of his sexual behaviour, and in particular with his failure to distinguish the married woman.[26] It may thus be presumed that copulation with an unmarried and willing woman was of relatively neutral implication socially and legally, at least for the man. The male orientation of the advice in the wisdom texts, and of Egyptian texts in general, would not necessarily reflect the attitude a woman's family might take to her debauchery, although there is no reason to believe that a feeling of dishonour normally led to the most drastic of actions. In a general sociological context one may more often expect seduction, and even rape, to be the prelude to (perhaps forced) marriage than to a revenge-killing.[27]

The *Maxims of Ani* do warn against carnal knowledge even of a stranger who is unaccompanied and eager, but this is because the willing woman away from her husband would thereby ensnare a man into what was a capital offence when it became known.[28] The implication seems to be that an extramarital affair with even the least respectable of women was inherently dangerous, since she was likely to have a husband somewhere. Under these specific circumstances Assyrian law would have attached no blame or punishment to the man, on the assumption that, in a case of prostitution, without special knowledge, he could presume the woman to be single and available.[29] In the demotic story, Setne's approaches to Tabubu were rejected at first on the grounds that his offered money and protection were too little in relation to her high social class, not on moral grounds. She could demand marriage (?) and a property settlement as the price of favours he could obtain much more cheaply from a woman of low class.[30]

Although few in number, such texts do not give the impression that sexual behaviour in New Kingdom and Late Period Egypt was subject to a particularly

[24] The relations with both a married woman and her daughter mentioned in P. Salt are doubtless meant as an aggravating circumstance. For the problematic phrase *ḥmt ṯ3y*, 'married woman', see Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, 50, 158; *Hierat. Pap. BM* (3rd Ser.), I, 20 n. 15. Goedicke, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 98–9, is doubtless strictly correct in defining the term as 'a woman who has sexual relations with a man', although the essence will be the regularity of the relationship, and the general trend of his argument is unacceptable.

[25] Naville, *Tb.* 125, Confession 19. Note the variant, 'I have not copulated with the wife of another', and compare also the usually briefer denials of copulation, ibid., Einleitung 15, where it is treated as a sin on a par with onanism (?) (Confession 20; Einleitung, 15) and homosexual relations with a boy (Confession 27).

[26] Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. BM* (3rd Ser.), P. Chester Beatty III, 11, 7–13; cf. Te Velde, *Seth*, 55–6.

[27] Cf. Middle Assyrian Laws, Tablet A, §§55–6 = Driver and Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935), 52–61; Diamond, op. cit. 101, 344; but note possibly *Blinding of Truth*, 6, 1–2 = *LES* 33, 5–6.

[28] *Ani*, 3, 13–17.

[29] Tablet A, §14, and cf. §23; see Driver and Miles, op. cit. 37–44, and cf. pp. 129–34 on the veiling of married women, but not of prostitutes.

[30] *Setne* I, 5, 3–30; see also below, n. 99, and note Pestman, op. cit. 46–7. His argument that actual marriage was not at issue may find some confirmation in P. Turin 2021, III, 11–12 = Černý and Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), 30–9. Cf. also *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 27, 7: 'If a wife is of nobler birth than her husband he should give way to her'; O. Turin 57089 (= 6391) = Posener, *RdÉ* 8 (1951), 184–5: 'Do not marry a woman richer than yourself, lest you. . . .'

strict moral code.[31] Conversely, actual evidence for prostitution in the New Kingdom is slight. School texts refer to the idle pupil drinking, merrymaking, and 'fraternizing with the Babylonian woman',[32] or sitting surrounded by *nꜣ ḫnmwt*,[33] a term that would translate literally as 'filles de joie'.[34] Also, in a passage from a New Kingdom letter to the dead, the husband stressed that from faithfulness to his dead wife he has not only remained unmarried, but had not frequented the establishments of certain ladies who can best be understood as courtesans.[35] Demotic wisdom-literature, however, makes clear references to the expense of sexual favours, whether simply in terms of payment,[36] or because 'he who makes love to a woman of the street[37] will have his purse cut open on its side'.[38] The later fame of Rhodopis, a Greek courtesan of the Saïte Period, and the stories of the prostitution of the daughter of Cheops to raise money for pyramid building, belong essentially to the world of dragoman's tales,[39] and the milieu of foreign mercenaries and merchants, not to that of native Egyptian life.[40]

Compared with relations with loose women, adultery was a different matter. At a later period, according to Diodorus, the punishment for violation of a free married woman was emasculation. For willing adultery the man received a thousand lashes and the woman had her nose cut off. Diodorus cannot be relied on to report, rather than philosophize and attribute to the Egyptians the ideal practice of making the

[31] For brief surveys of Egyptian sexual life see Manniche, *Acta Orientalia* 38 (1977), 11–24; *LdÄ* II, 4–11, 'Erotik'; III, 415–17, 'Keuschheit'; 1036–7, 'Liebe'.

[32] P. Lansing, 8, 4–7 = *LEM* 106, 15–107, 2. For implications of the exotic and improper in relations with foreign women cf. Te Velde, op. cit. 112–13. The implication of P. Turin 2021, III, 11–12 is that relations with a foreign woman might not count as marriage.

[33] P. Anastasi, IV, 12, 3–5 = *LEM* 47, 15–48, 3.

[34] *Wb.* III, 292, 16–17. There is, however, considerable room for confusion with a homonym *ḫnmt*, 'nurse' (*Wb.* III, 293, 11–14; 294, 2–3). *Ḫnmt* are mentioned in parallel or contrast to widows in two Ramesside royal encomia. In the first (Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns*, 19–20) the passage simply refers to types of reversal of fortune, the two groups probably being intended as the proverbially deprived classes of society. In the second example (O. Turin 57001), telling of the rejoicing at the king's accession, widows are said to open their houses to travellers, and *ḫnmt* to shout with joy and sing their songs. This text is hardly justification for an assumption that sexual licence accompanied the accession of a new king (although note Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind* (London, 1981 reprint of 1972 edn.), 144). Probably *ḫnmt* more accurately refers to a girl as a singer-dancer or entertainer rather than as a harlot, although the distinction is doubtless unrealistic; cf. Vandier d'Abbadie, *RdÉ* 3 (1938), 34–5; Omlin, *Papyrus 55001*, 52–3; and note that in Hammurapi's Babylon even entry into an alehouse implied immoral behaviour from a woman, *Hammurapi's Law*, §110 (Driver and Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1952, 1955)). For the existence of a professional class of itinerant singers and dancers cf. the disguises taken by the goddesses in P. Westcar, 9, 27 ff. The sense 'prostitute' for *kꜣt/kꜣrt* (*Wb.* V, 101, 14; 107, 10–1; and cf. 94, 1) is not really properly attested (but note Stadelmann, *Syrisch-pal. Gottheiten*, 116).

[35] P. Leiden, I, 371, 38, discussed by Guilmot, *ZÄS* 99 (1973), 96 n. 2, and 98. Pestman, op. cit. 54, 56, seems, however, to think household slaves are referred to.

[36] P. Insinger, 5, 22; *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 24, 10.

[37] For the term cf. *Setne*, I, 5, 10; Williams, in *Studies . . . Hughes*, 270; perhaps also P. Insinger, 8, 16.

[38] *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 22, 6.

[39] Coche-Zivie, *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 115–38.

[40] The question of whether temple prostitution (Yamauchi in Hoffner (ed.), *Essays presented to C. H. Gordon* (AOAT 22), 213–22) existed in Egypt remains open: Bonnet, *RÄRG* 578–80, 'Pallakide'; note the conclusions of Thompson, *JEA* 26 (1940), 68–9, concerning the children of unknown fathers, and cf. Helck, *JNES* 25 (1966), 36, although in a slightly different context ignorance of the father's name in an inscriptional text is not necessarily proof of illegitimacy: see Spiegel in Firchow (ed.), *Aeg. Stud.*, 315–21. Conversely the impression of rampant prostitution in ancient Mesopotamia is obviously exaggerated by the untypical nature of the evidence, particularly the law-codes, and the uncertainty of its interpretation; see Driver and Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, 129–30; *Babylonian Laws*, I, 360–1.

punishment fit the crime,[41] although the punishments of emasculation of the man and disfiguring the woman by cutting off her nose are well attested in other cultures.[42] The literary norm in Egypt was that adultery resulted in death.

The *Maxims of Ptaḥḥotpe* warned that, when another man's house was entered, the women should not be approached. For brief pleasure the consequence was death.[43] This death was, however, expected as the revenge of the deceived husband, not as the result of criminal proceedings.[44] Thus, in the *Story of the Two Brothers*, when Anubis suspected his brother of making approaches to his wife, his immediate reaction was to slay Bata out of hand. When the truth was made clear to him, that his wife was the guilty party, he killed her instead, and threw her to the dogs.[45] This was presumably the meaning of the warning of *ʿAnkhsheshonq*:[46] 'He who makes love to (*mrỉ*) a woman who has a husband is killed on her doorstep.' Thus Sinuhe[47] denied to his patron that there was any justification in the challenge made to him by a native champion; that he did not know the man, to be able to walk about his camp, and that he had never 'opened his back rooms or climbed over his fence'. One may presume that the purpose of such actions would have been to reach the women's quarters. Another passage of *ʿAnkhsheshonq* warns, 'Do not copulate with a married woman. He who copulates with a married woman on her bed, his wife will be copulated with on the ground.' The suggestion might be that revenge would take the form of rape rather than homicide,[48] although it would also be reasonable to presume that the wife, once scorned in this way, would herself take to a low form of dissipation.[49]

Evidence from a wide time-span is being compared here. It is impossible to be sure that differences in emphasis in the demotic texts do not reflect actual changes in attitude and behaviour, particularly under the influence of the influx of foreigners, and of the foreign dominations, that followed the New Kingdom. However, it seems more likely that the change lies essentially in the practice of writing classes of document that simply did not exist at earlier periods, than that social customs changed in broad outline. It seems reasonable, for instance, to take the clauses found in the various types of so-called demotic 'marriage-contracts' as fair reflections of actual practice at earlier periods, even if confirmatory evidence for this conclusion is tenuous.[50] In the case of the *Instructions of ʿAnkhsheshonq*, quoted here so frequently,

[41] Diodorus, I. 78: see Burton, *Diodorus Siculus*, 231, and 2, 5, 29–32, 35–6.

[42] Cf. *Middle Assyrian Laws*, Tablet A, §15; note Diamond, op. cit. esp. 102 and 194.

[43] *Ptaḥḥotpe*, maxim 18, ll. 277–97.

[44] Cf. Lorton, op. cit., §9.1, discussing P. Westcar, 1, 17–4, 17. Note also *Blinding of Truth*, 6, 1–2 = *LES* 33, 5–6, and my remarks in *SAK* 4 (1976), 112–13. The judgement of the woman at the end of the *Story of the Two Brothers* (19, 3–5 = *LES* 29, 3–6) does not contradict this, for the judge, as well as being king, was also the aggrieved husband, gaining general approval for his actions long after the event.

[45] 5, 4–7; 8, 7–8 = *LES* 14, 11–15; 18, 8–9.

[46] *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 23, 7. Cf. P. Louvre 2414, I, 7 = Volten in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, II, 269–80. Perhaps also P. Insinger, 7, 11.

[47] *Sinuhe*, B, 114–17 = Brunner, *ZÄS* 91 (1964), 139–40. Cf. *Ani*, 3, 9–13.

[48] *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 21, 18–19. Such a punishment would be following the principle of talion, for which some examples can be quoted, although it is not generally suitable for this offence; *Middle Assyrian Laws*, Tablet A, §55; Diamond, op. cit. 102, 223, 399.

[49] Cf. *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 20, 19; 28, 5.

[50] Cf. for instance Allam, *JEA* 67 (1981), 117.

a rather different factor may be of importance. The work seems to have been aimed at a relatively low social stratum, to an unusual extent outside the explicit milieu of the official and administrative classes to which the run of Egyptian wisdom-texts of earlier periods belong. Its particular format of aphoristic pieces of advice seems to reflect a type of social relations and behaviour that is outside or below the polite ideal of other texts, and should not simply be taken to reflect a change in social behaviour and attitudes in the Late Period.

Although ʿAnkhsheshonq has the traditional and usual respect of such didactic texts for early and happy marriage, and for orderly family life, and refers in the normal way to the fatal dangers of adultery,[51] he has a clear contempt for the level of honesty, discretion,[52] and faithfulness[53] of women as a sex: thus his presumption that beauty is only likely to lead a woman to take a lover,[54] that neglect of a husband's affairs can best be explained as indicating infatuation for another man,[55] and the simple instruction that, if you catch your wife with her lover, you should get a new bride.[56] He does, however, clearly imply that, if a wife is adulterous, blame lies also on the character or behaviour of the husband.[57] Here we find an attitude of practicality, as opposed to the romanticism of the love poetry, where, however, it should be noted, the eroticism is always that of licit, if sometimes hindered, courtship, and does not involve adultery.[58]

No doubt in practice adultery usually resulted in divorce or repudiation and not death.[59] For instance, sets of rules for cult-guilds of the Ptolemaic Period provide only that, if one member prove adultery between his wife and another member, the adulterer shall pay a monetary fine and be excluded from the association.[60] In an early Middle Kingdom letter home, Ḥeqanakhte warned the members of his family and household against any attempt at intercourse with his concubine (? *sp nb ḥr pgꜣ n ḥbswt·ỉ*), something that he would not tolerate any more than they would in relation to their own wives (*ḥmt*). However, the sanction he threatened was his personal enmity, and the impossibility of having them any longer at his table: expulsion from the household, not death.[61] Moreover, marriage contracts, first known from the Third Intermediate Period, sometimes allow that in the case of 'the great sin which is found in women' the financial rights of the wife on divorce lapse.[62] This fits well with the essential purpose of these contracts, which seems to have been to ensure that a

[51] Notably 11, 7; 24, 21; 25, 5; 25, 14; 25, 18. See Müller in Assmann, Feucht, and Grieshammer (eds.), *Fragen . . . Lit.*, *Studien . . . Otto*, 349–60; Allam, *Or. An.* 16 (1977), 89–90.

[52] e.g. 12, 13–14; 13, 16–22; 15, 11–12; 18, 9; 25, 8–9.

[53] Cf. 13, 22.

[54] 18, 15. Cf. also P. Insinger, 3, 16–17, and note the prediction of the seven Ḥathors concerning the extraordinarily beautiful wife of Bata in the *Story of the Two Brothers* (9, 7–9 = *LES* 19, 8–11). The punishment of the adulterous wife according to Diodorus (above, n. 41) thus had the purpose of destroying her looks.

[55] 25, 20.

[56] 13, 12.

[57] 20, 19; 28, 5.

[58] *LdÄ* III, 1048–52, 'Liebeslieder'.

[59] Cf. *LdÄ* I, 1174–5, 'Ehebruch'; II, 285–6, 'Frau'; Pestman, op. cit., Ch. III; Théodoridès, *BSFE* 47 (1966), 6–19.

[60] De Cenival, *Associations religieuses*, 9; 36, note to 25, 1; also pp. 67, l. 22; 88, l. 19; 97, l. 9; 200–1.

[61] James, *Ḥeḳanakhte Papers*, pl. 6, 40–4; Baer, *JAOS* 83 (1963), 9. Cf. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 47 (1910), 92–3 = *Urk* IV, 1408–11, for a denial of relations with a slave or serving-girl in the father's household.

[62] Edgerton, op. cit. 20; Pestman, op. cit. 56; Grunert, *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 116 n. 8; id., *Das Altertum* 21 (1975), 89; Rabinowitz, *JNES* 18 (1959), 73; Moran, *JNES* 18 (1959), 280–1.

repudiated woman not only retained the property she brought into the marriage, but that she was provided with sufficient for maintenance, and, therefore, that divorce was too expensive for a husband to enter into lightly.[63] It also explains why women swore oaths at law that they had not had relations with any other man during the marriage, often in conjunction with the denial that they had misappropriated matrimonial property.[64] The husband would then have had to give the wife her full financial rights.

Divorce may have been relatively common at all periods, and for any number of reasons, although it is not often possible to follow the background to specific cases. A silly, and presumably apocryphal case, quoted as part of an argument in a letter from Deir el-Medîna, at least goes some way to illustrate the local attitude to the matter:[65]

> The case of the woman who was blind in one eye, and who was in the house of one man for twenty years, and he found another woman, and he said to her, 'I shall throw you (out), for you are blind in one eye.' So it is told (*ḫr·w*). And she said to him, 'Have you found this out, in the twenty years I have been in your house?'

One may also quote documents from Deir el-Medîna which seem, like later demotic texts, to refer to measures designed to protect women from the financial consequences of divorce: an oath imposed on the husband,[66] or formal assurances about the woman's property rights.[67] A general presumption in the marriage-contracts is that divorce will be caused by the husband finding a new woman,[68] and for a man who married young there might be great temptation to take a younger, prettier, or more socially suitable wife as his career progressed,[69] but, in practice, one might expect infertility to be the most common cause of the dissolution of marriage.[70] Remarriage was then possible for the woman as a matter of course, although it is likely, to judge from a number of demotic documents where a husband disclaims any further marital rights over his divorced wife,[71] that ʿAnkhsheshonq's warning,[72] 'Do not marry (?) a woman whose husband is alive, lest he become your enemy', should be related to the real possibility, in such cases, that ill will could lead to danger, and even false accusations of adultery.

[63] Tanner, op. cit. 16–17, 19–21; Allam, *JEA* 67 (1981), 117–23; 128; id., *Or. An.* 16 (1977), 89; Grunert, *Das Altertum* 21 (1975), 87–91; id., *ZÄS* 105 (1978), 114–22: cf. also Diamond, op. cit. 274.

[64] Kaplony-Heckel, *Demot. Tempeleide*, nos. 1, 2, and 5–14.

[65] *LRL* 67, 13–68, 1. For a specific local example of divorce see Janssen, *GM* 10 (1974), 25–6 = O. Gardiner 157. For the relevant local texts concerning subsistence and divorce see Allam, *Bibl. Or.* 26 (1969), 156–7.

[66] *HO* 64, 2 = Ward, *Or.* 32 (1963), 430–2; cf. Allam in *Le Droit égyptien ancien*, 144.

[67] *HO* 23, 4.

[68] See Pestman, op. cit. 61–4, 76.

[69] Cf. Guilmot, op. cit. 98–9.

[70] Note *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 14, 16: 'Do not divorce a woman of your household because she has not conceived a child' (see Pestman, op. cit. 76). A preferable solution, particularly if the wife was of means, was doubtless to obtain a surrogate mother by purchase of a slave-girl (see Gardiner, *JEA* 26 (1940), 23–9 = Allam, *HOPR*, no. 261; as, for instance, *Hammurapi's Laws*, §§144–8), or the taking of a second, subordinate wife, although evidence for polygyny is sparse and doubtful: cf. Spalinger, *RdÉ* 32 (1980), 98, 109, but note Tanner, op. cit. 21–3, 26–30 on the title *nbt-pr*. 'mistress of the house'.

[71] Pestman, op. cit. 71–5, 77–8; Allam, *JEA* 67 (1981), 122.

[72] 8, 12; the doubt here is whether *irì s-ḥmt* should be translated as 'marry' or 'seduce', in which case the passage is a warning against adultery: see Pestman, op. cit. 57 n. 1; Stricker, *OMRO* 39 (1958), 63 n. 46.

New Kingdom documents from Deir el-Medîna do not give a picture of great marital fidelity within the workmen's community, but the significant texts are few in number, difficult to interpret, and not necessarily representative. One very obscure text[73] records accusations made to a husband about the blatant infidelities of his wife. The accusation was apparently made by another woman, who seems to have taken particular exception to the husband's overlooking his wife's behaviour. Another incomplete ostracon[74] seems to refer to the resolution of a dispute before the local court, involving accusations against a woman. It contains the apparently indignant declaration (of her husband?), '. . . (a) wife (*ḥmt*) is (a) wife. She should not make love (*irì mr*). She should not copulate.' [75] If the end of the text is properly understood, it seems that the husband divorced the woman. A third text is better preserved, and records a more complex case.[76] The complainant had made a woman his wife, but seems not to have been cohabiting with her, as he spent the night at his father's house and she at hers. One day he found a crewman, Merysakhmet, son of Menna, sleeping with her. He complained to 'the magistrates', but they, surprisingly and for some unrecorded reason, had the complainant himself beaten. A foreman, who indeed should have been one of these 'magistrates', protested that they did wrong in this. The scribe then administered an oath to the offender, that he would not again speak to the woman, on pain of mutilation and exile. However, he went again to the woman, and this time made her pregnant. Thereupon his own father hauled him before the magistrates, and once more had him swear not to go to the woman again, on pain of penal labour. No actual punishment seems to have been enforced. The background to these events is doubtless more complex than the text reveals. Perhaps, if the woman had remained in her father's house, the marriage was unconsummated and, therefore, considered incomplete.[77] It would seem at least very unusual in the Egyptian context for a wife to reside outside here husband's home, although one might quote other societies where such a pattern of residence is, or was, normal within marriage, particularly in its early stages.[78]

Here it is necessary to consider the nature of marriage in Egypt. The sole significant act seems to have been the cohabitation, and, in particular, the entry of one party, usually the woman, into the household of the other. Marriage was referred to simply as the founding of a house (*grg pr*), the entry into the partner's house (*ʿq r*

[73] O. DM 439 = Borghouts, *RdÉ* 33 (1981), 11–22.

[74] O. Cairo 25527 = Allam, *HOPR*, pl. 28, no. 26.

[75] See Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, ex. 922; Wilson, *JNES* 7 (1948), 136, no. 36; Pestman, op. cit. 56.

[76] P. DM 27 = Allam, *HOPR*, pls. 98–9, no. 272. Possible comparisons may be made with Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit., no. 4, an oath not to have approached or made presents to another man's wife, and no. 3, an oath that a man has not slept and will not sleep with a named woman (possibly his wife's sister).

[77] Cf., for instance, *Hammurapi's Laws*, §§155–6 and 159–61 = Driver and Miles, *Babylonian Laws*, I, 322–4; Exod. 22: 16–17; Lev. 20: 10–11; Deut. 22: 22–8. P. Rylands, IX, 8, 3 ff. (see Pestman, op. cit. 8–9) refers to a girl promised in marriage remaining at home until her time had come (presumably sufficient physical maturity), then being married once the financial arrangements were satisfactory. Note, however, Pestman's hesitations about the necessary significance of consummation, op. cit. 50.

[78] Cf. Driver and Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, 134–42.

pr),[79] or simply living together (*ḥmsỉ ỉrm*).[80] Similarly divorce is referred to simply as the expulsion (*ḫ*ʾ*ʿ*) or departure (*šm*), generally of the woman, from the house.[81] The arrangements worth recording in legal documents were the provision of subsistence for the wife[82] and inheritance for the children, and the measures to be taken for disposal of the property at the dissolution of the marriage, whether by death or divorce. The typical distinction is that between the property brought into the marriage by the wife as trousseau and dowry, that brought in by the husband, and that acquired in common during the course of the marriage. This distinction placed restrictions on the husband's administration and rights of disposal of property, although it was equally a serious matrimonial offence for the wife to squander the common property.[83]

There is indeed no indication that ceremonies were necessary, or even available, in Egypt to sanction a marriage in religion or law,[84] although there is no doubt that marriages were celebrated by parties and festivities.[85] There is therefore no reason to believe that marital behaviour or the regulation of marriage were in themselves matters of ritual or administrative significance that would lead the state to exercise legal authority over the institution. However, the claim of Ramesses III[86] to have ensured that the woman of Egypt could go about wherever she wanted without being molested on the road is a reminder that at least on the level of public order the state was expected to take some interest in sexual behaviour. It is only at that level that one may reasonably look for some indication of the state treating adultery as a crime. In so far as a 'primitive' society does not treat adultery as a ritual offence, the interest of the public authority is only likely to be in the preservation of public order, and the restriction of the vendetta. The relative inconsistency with which even quite developed societies treat adultery as a crime[87] can best be seen, not so much as a straightforward indication of their level of legal development as a reflection of the strength of feeling within the society about 'honour' or the husband's property in his wife, and, therefore, the level of urgency for authority to intervene to maintain order.

[79] Pestman, op. cit. 10; Tanner, op. cit. 6 and 14–16; Gardiner, *JEA* 21 (1935), 143 n. 5; Guilmot, op. cit. 99. *ʿq r pr* could also refer to irregular sexual liaisons: cf. Driver and Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, 42. Other verbs of motion could equally well be used to refer to marriage (Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit. nos. 15–17: *ph* and *ỉỉ*) or adultery (nos. 1, 2, 4–6, 10–12, 14: *ph* and *šm*).

[80] Tanner, op. cit. 6 = *Wb.* III, 97, 12–13; Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit., Index, s.v. *ḥms*. Her No. 11 uses *ḥtp* as a variant for *ḥmsỉ*, and this does not exhaust the possibilities: see Pestman, op. cit. 10. On concubinage and cohabitation see above, n. 17.

[81] Pestman, op. cit. 60; Allam, *HOPR* 253 n. 2 and 11; *Bibl. Or.* 26 (1969), 156–7; Gardiner and Sethe, *Egn. Letters to the Dead*, 23: cf. Coptic ϪⲰ ⲈⲂⲞⲀ, Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 96b–97b.

[82] Allam, *Bibl. Or.* 26 (1969), 156–7; id., *JEA* 67 (1981), 119–20. For an early example showing the requirement for the husband to provide for his wife see Baer, *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 6–7 n. t.

[83] Cf. Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit., nos. 5–13, 15–17, 19, 21, and, for instance, *Hammurapi's Laws*, §§141, 143; *Middle Assyrian Laws*, Tablet A, §§3–4, 6.

[84] Cf. Pestman, op. cit. 6–7, 29–30, 52; Janssen, *GM* 10 (1974), 25–8; Allam, *GM* 13 (1974), 9–11; *JEA* 67 (1981), 116.

[85] Cf. Janssen, *JEA* 68 (1982), 256–7; Edgerton, op. cit. 1–5. Coptic ϩⲟⲙ, 'feast', 'marriage-feast', 'bride-chamber', is derived from the standard Egyptian word for 'festival, *ḥ*(*ỉ*)*b*: Crum, op. cit. 695a; Černý, *CED*, 289; Westendorf, *Kopt. Handwörterbuch*, 382; Gardiner, *Hierat. Pap. BM* (3rd Ser.), 1, 19 n. 2.

[86] P. Harris, 1, 78, 8–9.

[87] Diamond, op. cit. 65–6, 77–8, 101–2, 166–7, 194, 223–4, 249, 267, 290, 295, 318, 326, 344, 398–9.

The penalties, death or otherwise, prescribed by various early codes or even customary law can best be regarded as maxima, the exercise of which cannot be permitted to lead to vendetta. Particularly instructive in that context are provisions in the Babylonian and Assyrian laws forbidding the husband to punish an adulterer more severely than his own wife,[88] that is, the imposition of equity in the case.

The impression from Egyptian evidence is, therefore, that an adulterer who was effectively caught in the act might expect to be killed by the enraged husband or his circle on the spur of the moment. Such action is, of course, tolerated quite widely in societies where adultery is not otherwise punished severely, if at all,[89] just as it is often permissible to kill a thief caught in the act, when otherwise the punishment for theft would not be particularly severe.[90] Outside those bounds, marriage in Egypt seems to have had no more nor less legal force than any other personal or financial agreement of partnership,[91] and on that basis cases of adultery should have been matters for the injured husband to pursue as best he could, within the limits of public order.

It is not, in fact, to be expected that a wronged husband would have much hope of gaining material compensation through recourse to the local courts. One of the most noticeable aspects of legal texts from Deir el-Medîna is the apparent difficulty in getting any enforcement of 'decisions' expressed by the local tribunal.[92] It is clear that it acted more as a witnessing and arbitration tribunal than as a court of judgement able to enforce penalties in civil cases.[93] The essential factor in a settlement was clearly the pressure of public opinion.[94] Thus a particularly recalcitrant offender could five times refuse to accept an oracle judgement, before three different gods, until, under the pressure of public opinion, and following a beating, he was willing to accept responsibility for, and the consequences of, his offence.[95] Similarly the literary format of the *Story of Horus and Seth* shows Seth time and time again rejecting the decision against him, until eventually, under threats, he gives in.[96] The Saïte/Persian Period petition of

[88] See Driver and Miles, *Assyrian Laws*, 47–8; *Babylonian Laws*, I, 281–2.

[89] See n. 87; it is not uncommon, even in modern legal systems, for the 'crime of passion' to be treated leniently. On the punishment of adultery by death in the Ancient Near East see Kornfeld, *Revue biblique* 57 (1950), 92–109, although he generally overstresses the role of the state as the instigator, rather than as the authority certifying that the killing was justified, and thereby obviating the possibility of vendetta.

[90] Diamond, op. cit. 66–7, 77–8, 102, 122, 144, 268, 344. Modern American law effectively tolerates this.

[91] Pestman, op. cit., Ch. I; Allam, *Bibl. Or.* 26 (1969), 155; id., *JEA* 67 (1981), 116–17, 133–5.

[92] Cf., for instance, Černý, *Community of Workmen* 282–3; Allam in *Le Droit égyptien ancien*, 152–60; id., *Verfahrensrecht*, 35–6, 71–2, 98–106.

[93] For analysis of the functions of the tribunal see Théodoridès, *RIDA* 16 (1969), 103–88; Allam in *Le Droit égyptien ancien*, 148–52; id., *Verfahrensrecht*, passim; *LdÄ* II, 536–53, 'Gerichtsbarkeit'; and cf. Parant in *Le Droit égyptien ancien*, 25–55, on the inapplicability of the concepts of 'guilt' and 'innocence'.

[94] On the significance of public opinion see Théodoridès, *RIDA* 20 (1973), 60–6, and compare Diamond, op. cit. 170, 186–90, 216–18, 224, 239, 262.

[95] P. BM 10335 = Dawson, *JEA* 11 (1925), 247–8; Blackman, *JEA* 11 (1925), 249–55: see Théodoridès, *Acta Orientalia Belgica* (*mai 1963-juin 1964*) = *Correspondance d'Orient* 10 (1966), 1–16. Cf. Tanner, op. cit. 18–19, on the 'Scheinprozeßprotokoll' or 'gerichtliche Beurkundungen' being typical for the period rather than 'Schreiberurkunde'; also Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit. 16, on the role of the strategos.

[96] *Horus and Seth*, 15, 11–16, 1 = *LES* 59, 3–9.

Petiēse[97] or the New Kingdom inscription of Mes[98] show the interminable length to which legal disputes could extend, trials and judgements failing time and time again to produce a lasting conclusion. The *Story of Setne* provides another extreme, but instructive example. In order to protect the endowment she demanded, Tabubu first insisted that Setne have his children sign away their claims on his property, but then, under the pretext that this would not in fact prevent them from making claims, she had him kill them as well.[99]

The picture presented by these examples, extreme as they are, was probably not unrealistic in relation to private legal proceedings.[100] The Egyptian ideal was always to judge litigants so that they both went away satisfied.[101] At Deir el-Medîna, as in general for the New Kingdom, the impression is that private affairs normally required the agreement of the offending party to the judgement and the penalty before it could be effective,[102] public opinion being the agency to force it upon him. Here the standard use of oaths[103] in legal contexts is instructive. The contestant called down severe punishment on his own head if his testimony be proved false, or his promises of payment or restoration unfulfilled. Comparative evidence[104] would indicate that this was at least partly a way of raising the stakes in a private case, tending towards its conversion into a criminal one. The man swearing in this way was not only calling down the vengeance of the gods,[105] but also, since the oath was by the king as well as the god, inviting the intervention of authority in his punishment for what was in origin a private matter, where enforcement would be extremely difficult and the sanction probably very much less. Such oaths, whether they were fulfilled or not, did, in fact, form the commonest technique, in our documents, for bringing cases to some sort of conclusion.[106]

Despite the difficulty of understanding why the complainant himself was beaten, the actions of the court towards Merysakhmet son of Menna, when adultery was proved against him, seem to fit just such a pattern of arbitration and persuasion to mend his ways better than that of a trial for a 'crime', with punishment of the guilty. Similarly there is nothing in the other fragmentary references to legal cases involving adultery to show that the trial and punishment of a 'crime' was at issue, rather than a civil case concerning divorce and the related financial settlements. In fact, the most revealing description of the actual practice of private law is probably

[97] P. Rylands, IX, particularly 18, 5–22 (= Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*).

[98] Gaballa, *Memphite Tomb-chapel of Mose*.

[99] *Sethe*, I, 5, 18–27. For the legal context cf. Allam, *Or. An.* 16 (1977), 93–6; Grunert, *Das Altertum* 21 (1975), 90–1.

[100] Cf. Diamond, op. cit., 241–2; Bloch, *Feudal Society* (trans. L. A. Manyon, 1982 pb. reprint of 1962 edn, London and Henley), 359–60.

[101] Cf. Janssen, *Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie*, I, 53–4; Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, II, pl. xii, 24.

[102] To some extent a similar argument can be put forward that a confession was required in a criminal case (cf. particularly P. BM 10052, 14, 19–21; 4, 6–14), but the investigating official used methods that were as likely to elicit a false confession as to allow the guilty to escape, cf. Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, passim.

[103] Wilson, *JNES* 7 (1948), 129–56; Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit., *LdÄ* I, 1188–204, 'Eid' and 'Eid, demot.'.

[104] Diamond, op. cit., Ch. 21 and pp. 270, 390–4.

[105] Note the texts in Lichtheim, op. cit. II, 104–10; Hughes, *JEA* 54 (1968), 176–82.

[106] Cf. Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 18, 19, 23–4, 67–71.

another maxim of ʿAnkhsheshonq:[107] 'If you are powerful, throw your documents into the river; if you are weak, throw them also.' He who was in a position to bribe, control, or ride roughshod over local public opinion need not fear the courts.[108] Indeed, the whole trend of advice given by Egyptian wisdom-literature is to pacify and get into favour with the superior, not to stand up for one's rights against him.[109] Under such circumstances a cuckolded husband could hardly expect much satisfaction before the local court unless his social influence and power were considerable.[110]

It seems fairly clear that, in the indictment-texts quoted above, the allegations of misbehaviour with married women were not the substantive accusations. In all cases there were clear allegations of official malfeasance, and of the misappropriation of state property. The priest Penanuqet was charged with defrauding his temple.[111] The workman Penanuqet primarily accused Userḥēt of the illegal removal of stone from the work,[112] as the foreman Paneb was similarly accused, among other abuses of his office, of using stone from the work for his own tomb.[113] The accusations about the sexual behaviour of these people might, therefore, seem, on the face of it, to have been added merely for the sake of blackening their characters. However, in the case of Paneb, at least, there is another likely strand. The women with whom he was alleged to have misbehaved belonged to his subordinates, men who, if the accusations of the papyrus as a whole are believed, were cowed by his violence and in no position to gain redress against him by any normal process, in the face of his office and his recalcitrance. Such tyrannizing and abuse of his subordinates by a petty official[114] is highly plausible, and would certainly, if proved, show that Paneb's accuser was justified in his conclusion: 'It (or 'he') is not worthy of this office.'[115] The Insinger Papyrus warns:[116] 'Do not let your name come before him (= your master?) in any matter concerning a woman.' It is also worth while in this context to cite a letter quoted by Weigall as received in his function of Inspector of Antiquities in the early years of this century. An accusation against a subordinate inspector, it included allegations that he 'became so proud of himself thinking he was the only chief one there who can do as he likes. He is always willing to mischief the poor in order that he can do what he likes. Also he is a gallant and tries to lead the good women a fast life.'[117] It is, perhaps, in the end, not asking quite the right question to consider whether such an allegation indicates that adultery was, in some sense, a crime, or

[107] 18, 6.

[108] Cf. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 16 (1969), 175–6, especially concerning P. Anastasi, II, 8, 5–9, 1 = *LEM* 17, 11–14, and O. Borchardt = Allam, *HOPR* no. 19.

[109] Some of the issues involved are discussed by Poláček, *Aegyptus* 49 (1969), 14–34.

[110] Cf. Diamond, op. cit. 267. [111] *RAD* 73–82. [112] *RAD* 57, 10–12.

[113] Listed in the middle of the accusations against Paneb, P. Salt, 124, rt. II, 5–12.

[114] Cf. *ʿAnkhsheshonq*, 17, 3: '[Do not] insult a woman whose husband is your subordinate.' Perhaps note also P. Insinger, 3, 9: 'Do not do what you desire with a woman by cajoling her.' Possibly the general sense of P. Louvre 2377, 12 = Williams, op. cit. 266, is that the man of no account cannot ensure or protect the chastity of his wife. Note also the unusual examples from autobiographies, where the official denied having carried off the daughter of anybody, Janssen, *Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie*, I, 154, no. 15 (= Cairo 20001, b, 3–4); 162, no. 16 (= *Urk.* I, 77, 4), and compare also *Pyr.* §510.

[115] P. Salt, 124, vs. 2, 1. [116] P. Insinger, 11, 1. [117] Weigall, *Glory of the Pharaohs*, 225.

whether, being a typical form of abuse of power, it was included in the indictment texts as an indication of specific official malfeasance, or whether such an accusation of a general moral nature was simply designed to bias authority against the accused. In view of the informality and relatively non-specific nature of ancient Egyptian practices of judgement, aiming at equity rather than the enforcement of detailed legal enactments, one need not expect such an indictment to be either specifically relevant or narrowly legalistic in character, nor imagine that the official responsible for dealing with it would, in coming to his judgement, wish to draw such distinctions about the nature of the offence.[118]

[118] Cf. Parant in op. cit. 48–9; Poláček, op. cit. 27; Bloch, op. cit. 114, 359–60; Diamond, op. cit. 238–43, 261–5, 376; elsewhere, esp. 60–1, he underestimates the significance of the processes of judgement through over-stressing the importance of the clauses of the codes, or the terms of the laws.

STATE ARCHIVES IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT FROM 30 BC TO THE REIGN OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

By W. E. H. COCKLE

IN the following paper the area to be studied is deliberately confined. That area is the state public archives or record offices in Egypt from the accession of Octavian as Pharaoh in 30 BC following the suicide of Cleopatra VII after her defeat at Actium.[1] I am not therefore intending to discuss the period of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, nor archives in the sense of private collections of documents belonging to individuals.[2]

Our purpose in studying the state archives is firstly to see what type of transaction was recorded; secondly, where; thirdly, who had access to the record; fourthly, how copies were obtained, by whom, and for what purpose; and fifthly, whether the system of state archives in Egypt of the Roman Period can tell us anything about the system elsewhere in the Roman empire, whether in Rome or in the provinces? I am not going to claim that the system outside Egypt was identical with that in Egypt. However, I hope that the examination of a real working system may in due course allow others to ask how similar problems were faced elsewhere.

In other provinces our knowledge of the archival system is too frequently based on sporadic literary references, a scatter of material from inscriptions, diplomata, and occasional archaeological remains; this is fleshed out by the legal sources in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and the jurists.[3] But in any empire the size of the Roman, Chinese, or British, certain problems are common for the administration. Who is entitled to citizenship? Who pays the poll-tax? What is the annual revenue from a given area? For all these questions to be answered records are needed and they need to be filed in a way that makes them accessible. An empire cannot be run on total guesswork. To discuss the archives, therefore, we require an outline of the officers of the administration whose papers fill the archives.

The people of Egypt in many ways resembled those of India under the British Raj rather than a monoglot Western European state of homogeneous origin. The country had been Hellenized by the Ptolemies as successors of Alexander the Great. The Graeco-Macedonian settlers formed an upper class who controlled the civil administration, and their language

[1] A version of this paper was first given in Professor Fergus Millar's seminar on 'Education, Information and the Codification of Knowledge' at the Institute of Classical Studies, London on 28 May 1981. A list of the standard papyrological abbreviations used here is to be found in E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*[2] (1980).

[2] These latter kinds of archive are listed in O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (1973), 247–61.

[3] E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (1972), 186–223.

was Greek.[4] The common people spoke Egyptian as they had done since the earliest dynasties. Their language was written in demotic, the third stage in the evolution of the Egyptian script after hieroglyphic and hieratic.[5] Egyptian religion had been long predominant over the Olympian Greek and the administration of the temples was largely carried out in Demotic.[6] The third element was the Roman government of the prefect based in Alexandria and the legionary garrison, who spoke Latin, but they were a tiny minority. In legal contracts or documents the language of the contract determined the law which would apply. In case of disagreement a Greek contract was judged by Greek law, an Egyptian Demotic contract by Egyptian native law, and a Latin contract by Roman law.[7] The recent publication in P. Oxy. XLVI, 3285, of a Greek version of the Demotic Law Code of Hermopolis West copied in the late second century AD shows that native law was still current then. We had previously only known of this code from a Demotic version of the third century BC.

The Egyptians had maintained archives and records under the Pharaohs. These had continued during the first Persian domination under the Achaemenids and, with some modification, under Alexander and the Ptolemies who succeeded him.[8] So the Romans on their assumption of power found a system of administration and records already in existence. They did not have to set a new system up from scratch as may have been necessary in some of the new provinces of the barbarian West. The same may be said in the provinces which the Romans took over from the former Seleucid and Antigonid kings.[9]

On Octavian's departure for Rome, Egypt was governed on his behalf by a prefect, ἔπαρχος Αἰγύπτου or ἡγεμών, *praefectus Alexandriae et Aegypti*.[10] His base was in Alexandria, and he took over many of the royal functions, including being subject to the taboo against sailing on the Nile at the time of the annual flood. He held a regular *conventus*[11] at three centres, Pelusium in the Eastern Delta, Alexandria in the west, and Memphis for the rest of Egypt. Below him in the central administration was the *iuridicus Alexandriae et Aegypti*, δικαιοδότης Αἰγύπτου καὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας,[12] also an *eques*, who had a special competence over Greeks and Romans. He acted in lieu of the prefect, when that office was vacant. He was also in charge when the parties in a lawsuit came from different nomes. Second was the *archidicastes*, (ἱερεὺς) καὶ ἀρχιδικαστὴς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆι ἐπιμελείαι τῶν χρηματιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων

[4] E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1927); P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972), Ch. 2; H. I. Bell, *Egypt from Alexander the Great to the Arab Conquest* (1948).

[5] Sir Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3] (1957), 1–18.

[6] W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (1905–8); H. I. Bell, *Cults and Creeds in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (1957), Ch. 1.

[7] R. Taubenschlag, *The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*[2] (1955), 19–21; E. G. Turner, op. cit. 132–3.

[8] Posner, op. cit. 71–90; C. Bradford Welles, 'The Ptolemaic Administration in Egypt', *JJP* 3 (1949), 21–47.

[9] C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (1934), xxxvii–xli and W. L. Westermann, 'Land Registers under the Seleucids', *CPh* 16 (1921), 12–19.

[10] A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1950); O. Reinmuth, 'A Working List of the Prefects of Egypt 30 B.C. to 299 A.D.', *BASP* 4 (1967), 75–128; 5 (1968), 105–6; G. Bastianini, 'Lista dei prefetti dal 30[a] al 299[p]', *ZPE* 17 (1975), 263–328; 38 (1980), 75–89; P. A. Brunt, 'The Administrators of Roman Egypt', *JRS* 65 (1975), 124–47; A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976), 162–3; G. Bastianini, 'Successioni nella prefettura d'Egitto', *Aegyptus* 58 (1978), 168–71; J. Schwartz, 'Préfecture d'Égypte et intérim', *ZPE* 20 (1976), 101–7; R. Katzoff, 'Sources of Law in Roman Egypt: the Role of the Prefect', *ANRW* II, 13 (1980), 807–44; M. Hombert, 'La Juridiction du Préfet d'Égypte d'Auguste à Dioclétien' in F. Burdeau *et al.*, *Aspects de l'empire romain* (1964), 95–142.

[11] G. Foti Talamanca, *Ricerche sul processo nell'Egitto greco-romano I—L'organizzazione del 'Conventus' del Praefectus Aegypti* (1974); G. Zavattoni, *Studi G. Scherillo*, I (1972), 153–64; J. Mathwich, *ZPE* 15 (1974), 69–78; N. Lewis, *BASP* 9 (1972), 29–31; 13 (1976), 7–14; 18 (1981), 119–29.

[12] H. Kupiszewski, 'The Iuridicus Alexandreae', *JJP* 7–8 (1953–4), 187–204; L. Mitteis, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, II, 1 (1912), 26.

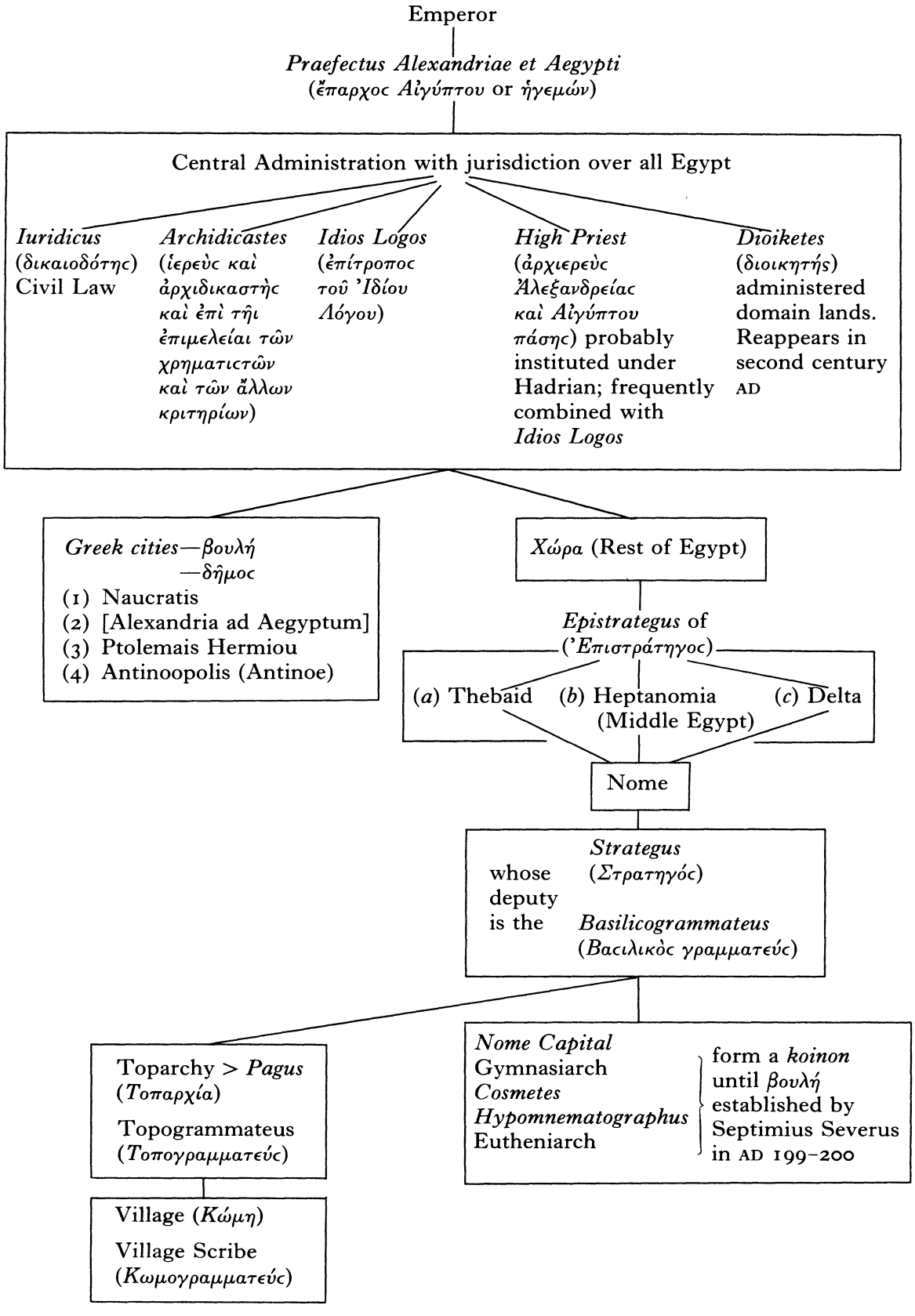


FIG. 1. Outline Diagram of Egyptian Administration in the Early Roman Empire

κριτηρίων, 'priest and chief justice in charge of the *chrēmatistae* and the other courts'.[13] His competence was analogous to that of our Master of the Rolls, in that he was a senior judge and also in charge of the καταλογεῖον,[14] a record-office of legal judgements in Alexandria, and also of the χρηματισταί[15] (who gave judgement in accordance with the city law of Alexandria) and of the other courts. His office continued from the Ptolemaic Period, but his precise functions are not wholly clear from lack of evidence. A third central officer is the *idios logos*,[16] ἐπίτροπος τοῦ Ἰδίου Λόγου. He was originally in charge of the Privy Purse of the Ptolemies and Emperors and had a responsibility for all sources of irregular income, *bona vacantia*, and the finances of the Egyptian temples and priesthood. As number four of the central administration stood the high priest of Alexandria and all Egypt, ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Αἰγύπτου πάσης.[17] He was not a native Egyptian, but a Roman official. The first high priest known to us is Iulius Vestinus[18] in the late 120s AD, and Miriam Stead has shown that it is likely that the office was instituted under Hadrian.[19] Before that time his functions were apparently carried out by the prefect and the *idios logos*.[20] Fifthly, the *dioikētēs*[21] administered the domain lands of the Emperor, but he was of lesser state than his Ptolemaic predecessor in title, who was the royal finance minister, and, in effect, the second in charge of the kingdom.[22]

Alexandria to the Greeks was Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ πρὸς Αἰγύπτωι, in Latin *Alexandria ad Aegyptum*, a city technically not part of Egypt.[23] The rest of the country was the *chōra*. It was divided into forty-six or forty-seven nomes or counties, varying in number according to occasional local reorganizations.[24] Of these, half were in the Delta and half in upper Egypt. Within the *chōra* were two 'Greek' cities with the traditional organization of *boulē* and *dēmos*. They were Naucratis in the Western Delta, founded by the Milesians in the time of the Saïte Pharaohs in the seventh century BC,[25] and Ptolemais Hermiou[26] in the Thinite nome of Upper Egypt, founded by Ptolemy Soter in the third century BC. To these were added

[13] A. Calabi, 'L'ἀρχιδικαστής nei primi tre secoli della dominazione romana', *Aegyptus* 32 (1952), 406–24; Mitteis, II, 1, 27–8; P. Koschaker, 'Der Archidikastes', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, romanistische Abteilung* 28 (1907), 254–305; 29 (1908), 1–47; F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Ägypten* (1910), 292–301; P. Tiberii Iulii Theones, pp. 129–49; Brunt, art. cit. 130; Taubenschlag, op. cit. 484–5 and Strabo, XVII, 1, 12.

[14] See n. 71 below.

[15] Taubenschlag, op. cit. 489, 492, H. J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens* (1978), 28, 92.

[16] G. Plaumann, 'Der Idios Logos' *Abh. der Preuß. Akad. der Wiss.* (1918), phil.-hist. Kl. 17, 1–71; P. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (1970), and Bowman, art. cit. 163–4.

[17] M. Stead, 'The High Priest of Alexandria and All Egypt', *Proc. XVI Int. Cong. Pap. New York, 1980* (1981), 411–18; Otto, op. cit.; G. M. Parássoglou, 'A Prefectural Edict regulating Temple Activities', *ZPE* 13 (1974), 21–37; Swarney, op. cit. 83 ff., 92 ff.; U. Wilcken, *Hermes* 23 (1888), 592 ff.; *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, I, 1 (1912), 114, 126 ff.; W. G. Uxkull-Gyllenband, *Der Gnomon des Idios Logos* (1934), 5 ff.; O. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian* (*Klio* Beiheft 34) (1935), 27 ff.; Plaumann, op. cit. 39; H. Henne in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicholas Iorga* (1933), 435 ff.

[18] *PIR* IV, 623.

[19] Op. cit. 412.

[20] P. J. Parsons has made a strong case for believing that the ὀρᾶπις καὶ ἀρχιπροφήτης of Memphis was the head of the Egyptian hierarchy and the authority on sacred law. The High Priest, by contrast, is a Roman administrator: see P. J. Parsons, *CdÉ* 49 (1974), 144, cf. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, 'The Archiprophetes', in *Actes du XV^e Congrès international de Papyrologie. Bruxelles 1977*, IV^e partie (1979), 124–31.

[21] He only reappears in the second century AD and works in conjunction with the *idios logos*: see J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule*[3] (1924), 124–5; H. I. Bell, *CAH* X, 289; Montevecchi, op. cit.; G. M. Parássoglou, *Imperial Estates in Roman Egypt* (1978), 4, 85–6.

[22] Bevan, op. cit. 133–5; M. Rostovtzeff, *A Large Estate in Egypt in the Third Century B.C.* (1922), 21–2; Fraser, op. cit. I, 103.

[23] E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum* (1922).

[24] N. Hohlwein, *Le Stratège du nome* (1969), 25 ff.

[25] Alan B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II, Introduction* (1975), 24 ff.; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*[3], pp. 118–33.

[26] G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (1910); Bevan, op. cit. 104–8.

Antinoopolis or Antinoe[27] in middle Egypt, which Hadrian founded in AD 130 in memory of his drowned favourite, modelling its constitution on that of Naucratis. It is not clear whether Alexandria had a *boulē* under the Ptolemies, but certainly it did not under the Roman emperors until the reforms instituted by Septimius Severus in AD 199–200.[28] The presence of a *boulē* in Naucratis before this time is inferred from its presence in Antinoe.

The rest of the *chōra* came under the jurisdiction of three *epistrategi*,[29] one for the Thebaid in Upper Egypt, one for the Heptanomia = Middle Egypt, and one for the Delta. The *epistrategus* had no jurisdiction in civil cases.[30] Below them came the *strategus*,[31] now a civilian official, one in charge of each nome. His administrative colleague and deputy was the royal scribe or *basilikos grammateus*,[32] whose office had been continuous from the Pharaonic Period.

It is due to the nature of the survival of our evidence that we know far more about the administration of the lower echelons than of the central administration in Alexandria. No papyri, apart from a few carbonized pieces,[33] have been found in the Delta, because they have rotted in the damp soil, but in Upper Egypt they have been preserved from the rubbish-dumps and ruins of towns and villages where neglect of scouring the irrigation canals in the third and fourth centuries AD allowed the desert sands to enroach. A mere half-inch of wind-blown sand covers and preserves any vegetable material, which is soon desiccated by the torrid sun.[34] It is from the villages and nome capitals of Middle and Upper Egypt that the bulk of our papyri survive, and hence our view of the central administration of Alexandria is like that we might have of London, if the only evidence we had survived from the rubbish-dumps of Exeter or Hexham.

Below the *strategus*' centre of administration in the nome capital, each nome was divided into toparchies, each with a *topogrammateus*[35] or scribe of the toparchy. Within them the village or κώμη was the smallest unit of administration; its head was the village scribe or *kōmogrammateus*.

The system of state archives was linked to the civil administration, which I have outlined above. The five names which are regularly found to designate archives are *grapheion*, *agoranomeion*, *bibliothēkē*, *katalogeion*, and *mnēmoneion*.

At the bottom level, the administrative official, the *kōmogrammateus*,[36] had a term

[27] H. I. Bell, 'Antinoopolis: A Hadrianic Foundation in Egypt', *JRS* 30 (1940), 133–47; A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (1971), 14–15; R. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* (1959), II, 46–51.

[28] Fraser, op. cit. I, 94–6; Bowman, *Town Councils*, 11–14; P. Jouguet, *La Vie municipale dans l'Égypte romaine* (1911), 160–3, 345–51; H. I. Bell, *CAH* X, 294–300.

[29] V. Martin, *Les Épistratèges* (1911); M. Vandoni, *Gli epistrategi nell'Egitto greco-romano* (1970); J. D. Thomas, *The Epistrategus in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, Part 2, in *Papyrologica Colonensia* 6 (1982); Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976), 165.

[30] Taubenschlag, *Law*, 485.

[31] N. Hohlwein, op. cit.; H. Henne, *Liste des 'stratèges' des nomes* (1935) supplemented by G. Mussies, P. Lugd.-Bat. xiv (1965); G. Bastianini, *Gli strateghi dell'Arsinoites in epoca romana* (1972); for *strategi* of the Oxyrhynchite nome see J. E. G. Whitehorne, *ZPE* 29 (1978), 167–89; id., 'The Strategia in Administrative Continuity', *Proc. XVI Int. Cong. Pap. New York, 1980* (1981), 419–28.

[32] E. Biedermann, *Studien zur ägyptischen Verwaltungsgeschichte in ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit — Der Βασιλικὸς Γραμματεύς* (1913); W. Schubart, 'Die Bibliophylakes und ihr Grammateus', *AfP* 8 (1927), 14–24.

[33] See p. 119 below.

[34] Turner, op. cit. 25–37; K. Preisendanz, *Papyrusfunde und Papyrusforschung* (1933).

[35] F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie* (1917), 164–5; E. Van 't Dack, 'La toparchie dans l'Egypte ptolémaïque', *CdÉ* 23 (1948), 147–61.

[36] M. Larson, *The Officials of Karanis* (Diss. Michigan) (1954), 12–26; U. and D. Hagedorn, L. and H. C. Youtie, *Das Archiv des Petaus* (1969); Oertel, op. cit. 157–60; L. Criscuolo, 'Ricerche sul komogrammateus nell'Egitto tolemaico', *Aegyptus* 58 (1978), 3–101.

Prefect's Bureau: *Βιβλιοθήκη ἡγεμονική* (P. Oxy. XIV, 1654, 7, *c.*AD 150); *Ἀρχιταβλάριο[ς] Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπίτροπος προσόδων Ἀλεξα(νδρείας)* (*OGIS* 707, 5, after AD 163)

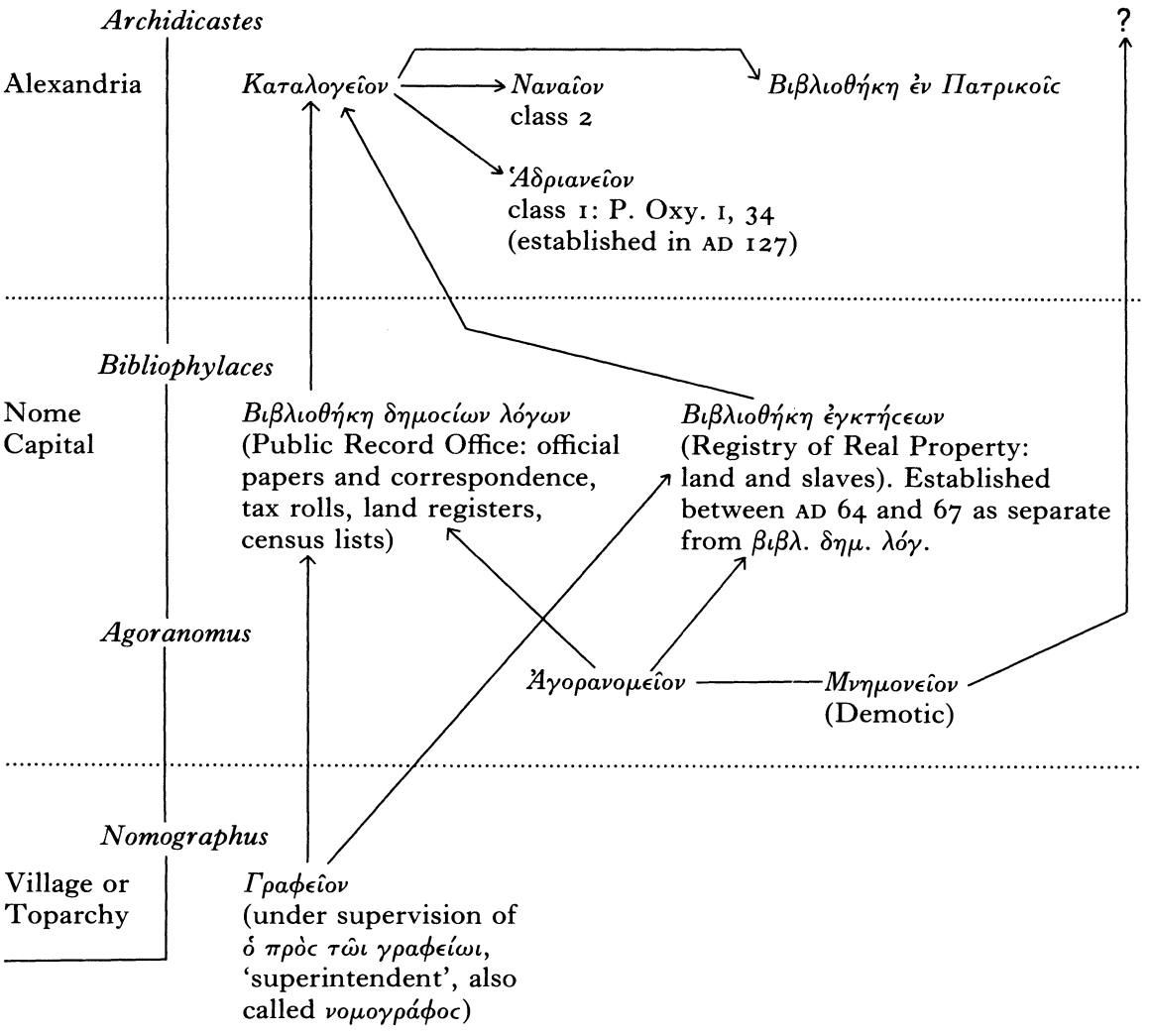


FIG. 2. Outline Diagram of State Archives in Egypt in the Early Roman Empire

of office usually of one year, and he was generally a village resident. It is uncertain whether his office was a liturgy, and there is evidence that at one period he was salaried from a fund collected by the villagers. The papers he generated would find their way to the *topogrammateus* and the archives of the nome capital. One extraordinary holder of this office was Petaus, son of Petaus, the village scribe of Ptolemais Hormou in the Fayyûm in west central Egypt in the late second century AD.[37] One item from his papers runs: 'I, Petaus, the village scribe, have issued this', laboriously written out twelve times.[38] It is clear that he was, in fact, illiterate, but

[37] Hagedorn and Youtie, op. cit. [38] P. Petaus, 121.

had hired literate scribes to do the work for him. He had sufficient knowledge laboriously to attach his subscription to authenticate a document, but no more. When he had to reply to Apollonius the *strategus* about the charge made against Ischyrion, the scribe of the neighbouring village of Tamauis, that he is a debtor, of insufficient means, and illiterate, he covers for him saying that he is not illiterate because he can subscribe his name.[39] His own literary capacity was in fact no greater. The *kōmogrammateus* and village elders (*presbyteroi*) were largely replaced by kōmarchs[40] in the administrative reorganization at the beginning of the third century.

In each toparchy and in many individual villages there was a notarial office called a *grapheion*.[41] This was under the supervision of a superintendent, ὁ πρὸς τῶι γραφείωι. A. E. R. Boak succeeded in identifying him with the *nomographos* or notary.[42] The *nomographos* operated the *grapheion* as a concessionaire and was required to submit four-monthly accounts and make regular payments to the grant authorities. In the *grapheion* at Tebtynis in the Arsinoite nome in west central Egypt, for example, an assistant and secretaries were employed to draft documents in both Demotic and Greek. Copies were made for the parties concerned and the original documents were numbered at the top and pasted into long rolls called τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι, 'pasted rolls'. In addition, an abstract of the instrument was entered in a dated chronological list called an εἰρόμενον, and a more abbreviated list called an ἀναγραφή was compiled to serve as an index to the abstracts, as formal registration of the documents, and to record payment of the scribe's fee. The *nomographos* forwarded the τόμοι συγκολλήσιμοι, εἰρόμενα, and ἀναγραφαί to his superiors.[43]

In the nome capitals or *mētropoleis* the comparable notarial office was the *agoranomeion* under the supervision of the *agoranomos*.[44] His office elsewhere in the Greek world was traditionally that of Clerk of the Markets, but in Egypt in the Roman Period he was primarily a notary. From the middle of the first century AD he was a liturgic official, but he may have been salaried before that. The position is attested from the Ptolemaic Period down to AD 307.[45] A similar range of public and private documents passed through his hands. Frequently combined with the *agoranomeion* was the *mnēmoneion*,[46] which registered Demotic contracts. This was

[39] P. Petaus, 11, 35–7; H. C. Youtie, 'Pétaus, fils de Pétaus', *CdÉ* 41 (1966), 127–43.

[40] H. E. L. Missler, *Der Komarch* (Diss. Marburg) (1970).

[41] R. H. Pierce, 'Grapheion, Catalogue and Library in Roman Egypt', *Symb. Osl.* 43 (1968), 68–83; Wolff, op. cit. 52–5; P. Oxy. XLIV, 3166; F. von Woess, *Untersuchungen über das Urkundenwesen und den Publizitätsschutz im römischen Ägypten* (1924), 34–5; E. Husselman, 'Procedure of the Record Office of Tebtynis in the first century A.D.', *Proc. XII Int. Cong. Pap. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1968* (1970), 223–8; A. E. R. Boak, 'The Anagraphai of the Grapheion of Tebtynis and Kerkeosouchon Oros. Pap. Michigan 622', *JEA* 9 (1923), 164–7.

[42] P. Mich. v, pp. 1–2.

[43] Pierce, art. cit. 69–70.

[44] M. G. Raschke, 'The Office of the Agoranomos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt', *Akten des XIII. Int. Pap.-Kong. Marburg. 1971* (1974), 349–56; Preisigke, op. cit. 272–6; H. I. Bell, *AfP* 6 (1920), 104–5; Wolff, op. cit., *passim*; G. Fogolari, *Aegyptus* 2 (1921), 327–36; A. E. Samuel, *JJP* 13 (1961), 40; Jouguet, op. cit. 327–38; M. G. Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1976), 17–29; H. Kreller, *Erbrechtliche Untersuchungen auf Grund der gräco-ägyptischen Papyrusurkunden* (1919), 318 ff., 392 ff.; F. Uebel, *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen d. Berl. Ägypt. Museums* (1974), 441–52; N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (1968–75).

[45] *P. Thead.* 32.

[46] Mitteis, op. cit. II, 1, 60; Preisigke, op. cit. 273–8, 301; Jouguet, op. cit. 335–6; Wolff, op. cit. 18[48]; Samuel, art. cit. 40; von Woess, op. cit. 35. Written registration of house sales in a record office is already provided for in

sometimes under the charge of the same person as the *agoranomeion*, as H. I. Bell showed[47] from a document[48] of the first year of Commodus (AD 180) from Ptolemais Euergetis in the Fayyûm. It is clear that the two offices were sometimes in the same premises. It seems to me possible, but I cannot prove it, that the *mnēmoneion* was originally the office of the μνήμων, the native Egyptian 'recorder' for Demotic documents, but the two functions, *mnēmoneion* and *agoranomeion*, had already become virtually synonymous in the Roman Period. In the Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite, Antaeopolite, and Athribite nomes the office of the *agoranomos* was centralized in the metropolis, but in the Arsinoite, Memphite, and Heracleopolite nomes there were *agoranomeia* in the toparchies or larger villages as well.[49]

Demotic documents could be drafted by the native Egyptian notaries, *synallagmatographoi*,[50] in the *grapheia* and *mnēmoneia*.[51] The *Gnomon*—the schedule of regulations of the *idios logos*[52]—shows at §100 that registration of Demotic documents from the *chōra* in Alexandria was required in the Roman Period, but so few documents of this period have been published that our knowledge of this aspect of the central state archives is minimal.

In each nome capital stood the central record-office of the nome, the βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων or δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη, public record-office.[53] This originally contained a registry of real property, i.e. land and slaves, as well as official correspondence, official papers, tax returns, census lists, etc., but in AD 72 a separate registry of real property,[54] the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων, was established. Mitteis and Preisigke disagreed on the legal function of this office.[55] Mitteis held that it was a central archive for keeping all kinds of private deeds, and also a landed-property register for recording immovables. The acquisition of legal rights, he thought, did not follow on registration, but real rights thus registered had precedence over those which had not. Preisigke maintained that the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων was not a register of landed property, but an archive for the 'deeds of possession' of real property and chattels executed in the district and filed voluntarily. The most convincing synthesis has been provided by von Woess, who re-examined the existing evidence and documents which were published later. He agrees with Mitteis that the βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων was a landed-property register, but holds that registration had no effect on the acquisition of real rights. However, he asserts with

Pharaonic times: see G. Mattha and G. A. Hughes, *The Demotic Law Code of Hermopolis West* (Cairo, 1975), col. IX, ll. 28–9.

[47] Bell, *AfP* 6 (1920), 105–7.

[48] P. Lond. inv. 1897.

[49] Raschke, *BASP* 13 (1979), 17–29.

[50] Preisigke, op. cit. 277–8, 301.

[51] SB 5232, Socnopaiou Nesos, Fayyûm, AD 14–15; von Woess, op. cit. 40².

[52] BGU V, 1210, *c.*AD 150.

[53] Taubenschlag, *Law*, 222 ff.; O. Eger, *Zum ägyptischen Grundbuchwesen in römischer Zeit* (1909), 18–20; Mitteis, op. cit. II, 1, 94; P. Ryl. IV, 599; P. Oxy. XLVII, 3332 (introd.).

[54] Taubenschlag, *Law*, 222 ff.; Montevecchi, op. cit. 185–7; S. Avogadro, 'Le ἀπογραφαί di proprietà nell'Egitto greco-romano', *Aegyptus* 15 (1935), 140 ff.; G. Flore, 'Sulla βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων', *Aegyptus* 8 (1927), 43–88; A. M. Harmon, 'Egyptian Property Returns', *YClS* 4 (1934), 133–234; Wolff, op. cit. 223–54; Hohlwein, op. cit. 75–81; Eger, op. cit., *passim*; Mitteis, op. cit. II, 1, 90 ff.; von Woess, op. cit., *passim*.

[55] Detailed account in Taubenschlag, *Law*, 223–4.

Preisigke that the legal purpose was to provide through survey-sheets a quick means of finding out whether the seller held the title necessary for conveyance. He also holds that the filing of instruments was mandatory. The purpose, then, was to give prospective purchasers of land the greatest possible security. This would fulfil the edict of the prefect Mettius Rufus of AD 90 'that those who make agreements may not be defrauded through ignorance'.[56]

Within the *βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων* each *mētropolis* had its proper *διαστρώματά*.[57] These were abstracts of title divided in alphabetical order by rolls. Each roll again had sheets, *κολλήματα*; (*κόλλημα* is a single papyrus sheet which has been pasted to others in series). Each *κόλλημα* has the personal records (*ὄνομα*) of a single individual owner and may run over several sheets. Every holder of property had a single personal folio entered by his place of origin (*ἰδία*), where all his titles of property wherever situated were entered by village (*κατὰ κώμην*) and by parcel of land therein (*κατ' εἶδος*). The *διαστρώματα* or survey-sheets were based on a collection of deeds. A pigeon-hole was provided for each individual containing all documents filed by him or his predecessors in title. Everything of importance for an individual was entered in these records, property owned, tax status, i.e. whether Alexandrian or Roman citizen, member of the gymnasium, *katoikos* or descendant of the Macedonian settlers, or native Egyptian.[58]

All except the native Egyptians enjoyed exemption or reduction in poll-tax on a hereditary basis which had to be registered with documented evidence in each generation. For example, P. Oxy. XVIII, 2186, an application for examination of eligibility (*epikrisis*)[59] of a fourteen-year-old boy for membership of the gymnasium at Oxyrhynchus, which was filed by his father in AD 260, lists the details and date of *epikrisis* for his father's ascendants for seven generations back to the original registration established in the thirty-fourth year of Augustus in AD 4–5. The details of the boy's mother's ascendants are listed for six generations back to AD 79–80, where the document breaks off. It is an astonishing tribute to the quality of the recording-system that such records could be checked over so many years; for it is clear that admission to the gymnasium was a jealously guarded privilege for its social and fiscal advantages.

The survey-sheets also included all evidence of bank-loans or mortgages, so that the authorities could check on the financial capacity or *πόρος* of any magistrate, office-holder, or subject called on to perform any liturgy or office.[60]

The Roman government introduced a rule that documents which had not been drafted by a notary could only be produced in a court action if they had been given

[56] P. Oxy. II, 237, col. viii = P. Sel. II, 219, quoted in full p. 115 below.

[57] Eger, op. cit. 155–67; Wolff, op. cit. 232–5.

[58] Taubenschlag, *Law*, 224–30; von Woess, op. cit. 98 ff.; Turner, op. cit. 134–5; for examples see P. Oxy. XIV, 1648 (introd.), 1724, 1725, P. Mich. 121 verso, 123, 128.

[59] C. A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (1979); P. Mertens, *Les Services de l'état civil et le contrôle de la population à Oxyrhynchus au III^e siècle de notre ère* (Acad. roy. de Belgique, cl. des Lettres, Mémoires 53) (1958), Fasc. 2, 102–12, 118–20, 133; P. J. Sijpesteijn, *BASP* 13 (1976), 181–90. A recently published application for *epikrisis* at Alexandria is P. Oxy. XLIX, 3463, which dates from AD 58.

[60] Taubenschlag, *Law*, 277 ff., 617; Oertel, op. cit. 359 ff., 397 ff.

publicity (*δημοσίωσις*)[61] by depositing two copies of the document in Alexandria in the state registry offices of the *Nanaion*[62] and *Hadrianeion*,[63] which I shall discuss shortly. The survey-sheets were updated and renewed every five years. The order of the prefect Mettius Rufus for the first such revision is preserved in P. Oxy. II, 237, col. viii = P. Sel. II, 219.

Proclamation of Marcus Mettius Rufus, prefect of Egypt. Claudius Arius the *strategus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome has informed me that neither private nor public business is receiving proper treatment owing to the fact that for many years the abstracts in the property record-office have not been kept in the manner required, although the prefects before me have often ordered that they should undergo the necessary revision, which is not really practicable unless copies are made from the beginning. Therefore, I command all owners to register their property at the property record-office within six months, all lenders the mortgages which they hold, and all other persons the claims which they possess. In making the return they shall declare the source from which, in each case, the possession of the property devolved upon them. Wives also, if on the strength of some native law they have a lien on the property, shall add an annotation to the property-statements of their husbands, and likewise children to those of their parents, if the enjoyment of the property has been secured to the latter by public instruments and the possession of it after their death has been settled on their children, in order that those who make agreements with them may not be defrauded through ignorance. I also command the scribes and recorders of contracts not to execute any deed without authorization of the record-office, being warned that such a transaction has no validity and that they themselves will suffer the due penalty for disregarding orders. If the record-office contains any property-returns of earlier date, let them be preserved with the utmost care, and likewise the abstracts of them, in order that, if afterwards an inquiry should be held concerning persons who have made false returns, they may be convicted thereby. In order, then, that the use of the abstracts may become secure and permanent, so that another registration shall not be required, I command the keepers of the record-office to revise the abstracts every five years, transferring to the new lists the last statement of property of each person arranged under villages and kinds. The 9th year of Domitian, Domitianus 4 (1 October, AD 89).

The *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων* (Public Record Office) continued, after the *βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων* was hived off, to contain the public documents of the nome, the *strategus*' day-book, the census-returns[64] collated by the royal scribe (*basilikos grammateus*),[65] and the minutes of the *boulai* or senates of the nome capitals once these were established by Septimius Severus in AD 199–200.[66] These two *βιβλιοθῆκαι* in each nome were in the charge of two *bibliophylaces*, keepers of the records,[67] who held office for one year which could be renewed. There is an example in P. Oxy. IV, 713, of three in office at Oxyrhynchus in AD 97. *Bibliophylaces* are first attested from

[61] Montevecchi, op. cit. 198; Mitteis, op. cit., II, 1, 82, 126; Pierce, art. cit. 71–8; P. Jors, '*Δημοσίωσις* und *ἐκμαρτύρησις*', *Z.d.Sav.Stift.* 34 (1913), 107–58.

[62] See pp. 116–17 and n. 72 below.

[63] See pp. 116–17 and n. 73 below.

[64] M. Hombert and C. Préaux, *Recherches sur le recensement dans l'Égypte romaine* (P. Lugd.-Bat. v) (1952); K. Hopkins, *Comp. Studies in Soc. and Hist.* 22, 3 (1980), 312–20.

[65] See n. 32 above.

[66] Bowman, *Town Councils*, 15–19.

[67] Lewis, *Inventory*; Oertel, op. cit. 286–9; W. Schubart, op. cit. 14 ff.; P. Fam. Teb. 24; Wolff, op. cit. 49 ff., 250–4.

the Arsinoite nome in AD 67 (BGU 379). They were normally ex-gymnasiarchs till the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and thereafter ex-*exēgētai* (the magistrates in charge of the registration of ephebes). In the third century they were of bouleutic class. P. Giss. 58 (of AD 116 from the Heptanomia) mentions a necessary financial capacity of more than a talent for the *βιβλιοφύλαξ δημοσίων λόγων*. Their latest attested date is in P. Harris 131 of AD 324. They countersigned documents received in their archives and issued certified copies on payment of a fee. Documents like bank-loans were cancelled by them on evidence of repayment. Declarations were made to them when foreclosure took place if a loan was not repaid, as it affected the lien established on the creditor's property through the registry office when the loan was made.

One further record-office at the level of the nome is recorded at Hermopolis Magna in the third century AD, which I have not included in my schema.[68] It is the *χωρικὴ βιβλιοθήκη* mentioned in P. Flor. I, 46. 1, *ἔκλημψις ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ χωρικῆς βιβλιοθήκης*, 'Extract from the rural record-office in the prytaneum'. Mitteis suggests[69] that this may be the same as the *βιβλιοθήκη τῶν ἐγκτήσεων*. However, it may be the local term for the 'registry for the rural area outside the town'. Not every nome needs to have precisely identical terminology.

We have already seen that Demotic notaries were required to deposit their documents in Alexandria. Let us now examine the similar procedure for Greek documents.

In Alexandria the *archidicastes*, chief justice or 'master of the rolls',[70] was in charge of the *katalogeion*, a record-office of legal judgements.[71] This office acted as the place of 'publication', *δημοσίωσις*, of private documents, whereby, through their registration there, they acquired the legal status so that they could be produced in court as evidence. This was done by means of an application to the chief justice accompanied by a fee of twelve drachmas. The *katalogeion* also served as a clearing-house for documents destined for deposit in two separate deposit-registries, the *Nanaion*[72] and the *Hadrianeion*.[73] The latter was established by Hadrian in AD 127, as we find from P. Oxy. I, 34, verso, an edict of Flavius Titianus, prefect of Egypt of that year:

> The accountants up to now in the Catalogue, called secretaries according to the old usage, shall tally up the agreements including the names of the *nomographoi* and parties, the (index-?) number of the documents, and the types of contracts, and they shall deposit in both the libraries.
>
> Those called copyists shall, whenever they examine the so-called composite roll for deposition, make marginal notations if there has been anything expunged or anything

[68] See p. 111. [69] L. Mitteis, op. cit. II, 2 (1912), no. 185. [70] See n. 13 above.

[71] Pierce, art. cit.; W. Schubart, *AfP* 5 (1913), 60–2, 71; Preisigke, op. cit. 294–301; Wolff, op. cit. 28 ff.

[72] *Ναναῖον, ἡ τοῦ Ναναίου βιβλιοθήκη*: see Preisigke, op. cit. 300; Mitteis, op. cit. II, 1, 84; Wolff, op. cit. 47, 129, 131; P. Oxy. I, 34; XII, 1473; XVII, 2134 (introd.); P. Mich. XI, 614, 43; 615, 23–5. If P. Oslo inv. 1621 of s. iii–iv, published by M. H. de Kat Eliassen, *Symb. Osl.* 56 (1981), 103, refers to Alexandria, it describes the surrounding buildings.

[73] Preisigke, op. cit. 280[6], 299; J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt under Roman Rule* (1898), 219–20; Taubenschlag, *Law* 35; Wolff, op. cit. 48, 52, 129–31, 134; A. Adriani, *Repertorio d'arte dell'Egitto greco-romano*, serie C, I/II (Testo) 1966), 222–3.

different added; and they shall deposit a copy on a separate sheet in both libraries—for I command that there shall obtain in the rest of Egypt as well the procedure now followed in the Arsinoite and [. . .]polite nomes. They shall also add the page numbers and the names of the parties.

Likewise, those called secretaries of the Bureau of Examination of the officiating chief justices shall do the same and shall deposit every five days.[74]

Furthermore the superintendent, *epitērētēs*, of the *Nanaion* is forbidden to lend the documents committed to his charge away from the building or to allow inspection of them without the consent of the keeper of the Archive of Hadrian. The cause of this restriction is stated to be that the keeper of the *Nanaion* had attempted to tamper with the documents. It is clear that the *Hadrianeion*, the archive in the temple of the Divine Hadrian, was newly set up and had a prior status over the existing *Nanaion*. Documents were to be deposited, one copy in each *bibliothēkē*, and, in case of dispute, the certified copy from the *Hadrianeion* was to be preferred.

R. H. Pierce points out[75] that P. Fam. Teb. 29, 10, a document of AD 133, records that the contract in dispute, which was drawn up in AD 100/1, is stated to have been brought for examination from the *Nanaion*. So we know that the *Nanaion* was already in existence in AD 100.

The *Nanaion* was the temple of Isis Nanaia, that is the Babylonian goddess Nana identified with Isis. P. Fam. Teb. 29 is the earliest reference to the cult in Alexandria, but, since Nana is mentioned in an Aramaic land lease from El-Hibeh in the Heracleopolite nome of Middle Egypt dated 3 June 515 BC,[76] it would seem that the cult of Nana was brought to Egypt during the first Persian domination.[77]

The third public registry and archive which was under the control of the *archidicastes* was the *βιβλιοθήκη ἐν Πατρικοῖς*.[78] The *Patrica* is apparently a quarter of Alexandria, although not mentioned in Fraser's *Ptolemaic Alexandria*. It is certainly the place in Alexandria where official journals and reports from all over Egypt were preserved. It is mentioned in BGU III, 981, i, 9 of AD 79, which is official correspondence referring to the deposit documents there. BGU XIII, 2244, recently published by W. M. Brashear, is the record of the opening of a will in AD 186: 'It was opened (and read in Alexandria) in Egypt in the *Patrica* at the office (of the five per cent tax on inheritances and manumissions) five days before the Ides of the same

[74] Trans. Pierce, art. cit. 76.

[75] Pierce, ibid. 75^{27}.

[76] Published by H. Brauer and B. Meissner in *Sitz. der Preuß. Akad. der Wiss.* (1936), phil.-hist. Kl., 414–24.

[77] This possibly raises a crux of interpretation in Cicero's Letters. In *Ad Atticum*, I. xvi. 5, written early in July 61 BC, Cicero says *Nosti Caluum ex Nanneianis illum, illum laudatorem meum, de cuius oratione erga me honorifica ad te scripseram*. The person referred to is M. Crassus. Editors down to Shackleton Bailey have tentatively thought that the *Nanneianis* referred to a Nanneius who may have lost his lands in the proscriptions of Sulla, and that Crassus bought them, but it remains a guess. In the wall-paintings of the Temple of Isis at Herculaneum (Naples Museum inv. 8919) Egyptian priests are depicted with their heads completely shaved, and hence were bald (*caluus*). Could Cicero perhaps mean: 'you know that bald-headed fellow from the priests of Isis Nanaia'? But this is sheer speculation. The temple and cult of Nana is not attested in Alexandria before AD 100. I have no evidence that Cicero knew of it in 61 BC. Finally the Latin *Nanneianis* has 4 *n*s, whereas the Greek *Ναναῖον* has 3 nus.

[78] Wolff, op. cit. 47^{14}; BGU III, 832, 25; XIII, 2244, 12; P. Vindob. Boswinkel 1, 19; P. Lips. 123, 3, 24; Schubart, *AfP* 5 (1913), 70–1.

month.' We do not know when this archive was founded, but there may be some continuity with the *archeia* or central archives of the Ptolemies.

There is one high official concerned with records whom I have not included in my schedule. This is because of a doubtful supplement in the text. It is an inscription from Ptolemais in the time of Hadrian (SB 3998): 'The *boulē* and the people honour Eudaemon, the procurator for finance of Alexandria of Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, procurator of Greek and Roman archives'—ἐπ]ιτρόπῳ βυ[β]λιοθηκῶν | [Ῥωμαικῶν τε καὶ Ἑλ]ληνικῶν. The Ῥωμαικῶν is supplemented without a parallel. Though the Ἑλ]ληνικῶν shows that more than one archive is meant, and though, no doubt, there was an archive for Roman documents in the city, there is no reason why the supplement should not be Δημοτικῶν καὶ or Ἐγχωρίων τε, both of which mean 'native Egyptian'.

Separate from all these we have at the very head the prefect's archive or bureau (ἡ ἡγεμονικὴ βιβλιοθήκη). Our evidence for this is slender, but firm. One single document refers to it, an account of notarial expenses of about AD 150. It runs: 'Account of expenditure. Mesorē day 3: to notaries for writing two memoranda, 16 obols. Papyrus for these, 4 obols. Day 4: for another papyrus roll bought for cutting up, 4 drachmas. To a searcher in the prefect's archive, 10 obols . . . For investigating two memoranda of the *archidicastes*, 4 obols' (P. Oxy. XIV, 1654). We can only guess the range of the prefect's archive, but presumably it would contain correspondence with the emperor and with the lower officials in Egypt, and would carry details of legal appeals from the prefect to the emperor. I suppose that it would also issue outward-bound passports, which are in the form of an order to the procurator of the Pharos lighthouse from the prefect to let X pass aboard.

An official of the prefect's bureau, who may be connected with its administration, is attested from an inscription[79] from Tyre in Phoenicia made in honour of Titus Furius Victorinus, former prefect of Egypt and *praefectus praetorio*, by Fortunatus, freedman of Caesar, ἀρχιταβλάριο[c] | Αἰγύπτου καὶ | ἐπίτροπος προσόδων Ἀλεξα[νδρείας], i.e. chief accountant of Egypt and procurator of taxes in Alexandria. We know that T. Furius Victorinus was prefect of Egypt in AD 159–60, was *praefectus praetorio* in AD 163, and was killed in the Marcomannic Wars in late 166. Fortunatus is considered by P. R. C. Weaver[80] to have been a senior clerical grade accountant in the prefect's bureau. He was certainly very senior in Egypt. Since Fortunatus is called the ἀρχιταβλάριο[c] Αἰγύπτου, we are reminded that *professiones* of birth of Roman citizens were received in Alexandria by the archivist of the *tabellarium* in the name of the Prefect, and later published in the *Tabula alibi professionum* in the Forum of Augustus or at the Atrium Magnum.[81] *Professiones* made in Rome were made in the *aerarium* of the temple of Saturn.

[79] *OGIS* 707.

[80] *Familia Caesaris* (1972), 244–6.

[81] Mertens, op. cit. 65–6; M. Hammond, '*Curatores Tabularum Publicarum*' in *Studies in Honor of Edward Kennard Rand* (1938), 123–31; A. A. Schiller, 'The Diplomatics of the *Tabula Banasitana*' in *Festschrift für Erwin Seidl* (1975), 143–60.

To the best of my knowledge only one archive building of the Roman Period has ever been found in Egypt. It was the *βιβλιοθήκη δημοσίων λόγων* from the capital Mendes-Thmouis in the Mendesian nome in the central Delta. The following is the account of Professor Edouard Naville, who examined the site for the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1892:

The most interesting place in the Roman mound is the library. It consists of a series of rectangular chambers of different sizes. All these rooms, a few of which have been cleared, were filled with papyri; it was either the library or a place for the archives of the city. I should rather think it was a library, because of the size of the rolls. Unfortunately they have all been burnt, and you may see in the middle of each room the remains of the fireplace where these invaluable documents have been thrown. They are now quite carbonized, like those of Herculaneum, but even in a worse state. They are most difficult to take out, they crumble to pieces when they are loosened from the earth which covers them, but by looking sideways the characters are still discernible; they generally are Greek, in good handwriting. As for those which have escaped the fire they are quite hopeless. The moisture and the salt in the soil have reduced them to a kind of brownish paste, which seems to be very fertile, for roots of plants grow in it in abundance. I tried to see whether some of the carbonized papyri, well packed in cotton, would stand a journey, but the contents of the five boxes which I sent to London are nothing but crumbs of charcoal and ashes. What treasures we probably have lost by the destruction of the library of Mendes![82]

Some of these carbonized rolls are in Paris, some in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, and some in Florence. They are being worked on by M. Sophia Kambitsis, who reports[83] that they were set on fire during the Bucolic Revolt in the Delta in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. They contain much evidence for social conditions and depopulation in the years preceding the revolt. As for the site of Mendes, a team from the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University and the Brooklyn Museum excavated there in 1964–6. Their publication, which should include a detailed description of the remains of the archive building, is in the press.

Our discussion to this point has given an outline of the record-offices in Egypt in the early Empire. Our knowledge of the system in the countryside is clearly far greater than that of the archives in Alexandria. Within the nome capitals and villages an extraordinarily tight control was kept on all taxation in cash, in kind, and in forced service. From P. Oxy. XVII, 2116, of AD 229, we see that the alum-monopoly was required to submit sextuple accounts:

Aurelius Domitius, superintendent of the prefect's boats (?), etc., to his dear friends the Aurelii Sarapion also called Apollonianus, Diogenes son of Sarapion, and Ptolemaeus son of Ptolemaeus, all three ex-magistrates of the city of Oxyrhynchus, superintendents of the alum-monopoly greeting. The 6 five-day accounts of the alum-monopoly, from the 1st to the 5th of the month Thoth of the present year, which you have sent, 2 for the department of

[82] *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Report* (1892–3), 4–5. The subsequent examination of the contents showed that the building was a public archive, not a library. Indeed, 'archive' is most frequently the correct translation of *βιβλιοθήκη* when it occurs in inscriptions. Library and archive buildings of the Pharaonic period have been discussed by Günter Burkard, 'Bibliotheken im alten Ägypten', *Bibliothek — Forschung und Praxis* 4, 2 (1980), 79–115. I am grateful to Professor H. G. T. Maehler for drawing my attention to this.

[83] *Proc. XIV Int. Cong. Pap. Oxford. 1974* (1975), 78; S. Kambitsis, 'Un nouveau texte sur le dépeuplement du nome mendésien. P. Thmouis, 1 col. 104–105', *CdÉ* 51 (1976), 130–40.

the *dioeketes*, 1 for the Roman (?) archives, 1 for the *procurator ad Mercurium*, 1 for his bureau, 1 for the *oeconomi*, were received by me on the 20th of the month and forwarded. I pray for your health, dear friends. Through Aurelius Achilles also called Nemesion, secretary. (Date.)

We observe that these detailed accounts are required at five-day intervals by six separate departments. The destination of most sets is Alexandria. 'The Roman (?) archives' is in the original [Ῥω]μαϊκὸν ταβουλάριον, for which compare ἀρχιταβλάριο[c] (p. 118 above). The *procurator ad Mercurium* has a competence covering the Alexandrian corn-supply, military supplies, and some farmed taxes, as well as the alum-monopoly.[84]

Declarations of death[85] were addressed in the second century to the γραμματεὺc πόλεωc, the town scribe.[86] Subsequently in the third century they came to the *amphodogrammateus*, the scribe of the amphodon[87] or quarter of the town, with the change of registration once the nome capitals had gained a senate in the reorganization of Septimius Severus. In the late third-fourth centuries these declarations came to the *systatēs*.[88] The official changed, but the registration remained similar. Deaths of members of guilds were reported to the guilds in respect of the χειρωνάξια—a capitation-tax paid on trades.[89] A further entry was made in the register of the dead[90] (τάξιc τῶν τετελευτηκότων) to ensure that heirs could avoid paying poll-tax on the deceased after his death. One of the few benefits enjoyed, if that is the right word, by the Graeco-Egyptians who became *Aurelii* through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of Caracalla issued in AD 212, was that the new Roman citizens became subject to the *vicesima hereditatum*—the one-twentieth tax on inheritance—in addition to the many local taxes to which they were already subject.

In the Roman Period the census[91] was held at fourteen-year intervals beginning perhaps in AD 19–20.[92] It was taken on the orders of the prefect, and the returns were usually made to the royal scribe. They show the age, sex, occupation, civil status, employment, and filiation of every member of each household. The returns were later correlated with the poll-tax and property-registers. Keith Hopkins has recently made good use of them in his study of 'Brother–Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt'.[93] The general process will be familiar from the account of the Palestine census in the second chapter of St Luke's Gospel.

[84] P. Coll. Youtie 1, 32. Record Offices of the *procurator ad Mercurium* may be referred to in P. Oxy. XI, 1382, 18–20: καὶ καταχωρίζεται ἡ ἀρετὴ ἐν ταῖc Μερκουρίου βιβλιοθήκαιc, 'This act of grace is registered in the record-offices of Mercurius'. This text is an aretalogy of Sarapis copied in the second century AD. It refers to the bestowal of water on the people of Pharos. Hence, in the context of Alexandria, even this religious document may refer to a local office of record: see Adriani, op. cit. 250.

[85] Mertens, op. cit. 69–70.

[86] Mertens, ibid. 2–7; Oertel, op. cit. 160–2; Lewis, *Inventory*. See also P. Mich. XI, 603, of AD 134 where nine scribes contract to prepare for the two γραμματεῖc μητροπόλεωc of Arsinoe a summary of census-lists (λαογραφίαι ἐν κεφαλαίωι). It reveals that this bureau also kept records of (1) house-by-house registration (κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή), (2) population-lists arranged person by person (λαογραφίαι κατ' ἄνδρα), (3) lists of *catoeci* (λόγοι κατοίκων) and (4) lists of minors and those excluded from the tax estimate (ἀπολογιcμοὶ ἀφηλίκων καὶ ἐκτὸc cυνόψεωc).

[87] Mertens, ibid. 7–16; Oertel, ibid. 172–4; Lewis, ibid.

[88] Mertens, ibid. 30–47; Oertel, ibid. 176; Lewis, ibid.

[89] Mertens, ibid. 70, 74.

[90] P. Oxy. I, 79; II, 262; XII, 1551.

[91] See n. 64 above.

[92] P. Mich. X, 578.

[93] Op. cit. 303–54.

Earlier in this paper I quoted the edict of the prefect Mettius Rufus of AD 89.[94] Now I want to mention two extraordinary documents from Tebtynis in the British Library, which reveal an exceptional condition of disarray in the papers of the public record-office and registry of real property in the Heracleides division of the Arsinoite nome in west central Egypt in the later half of the first century AD. They were published by B. A. Van Groningen as nos. 15 and 24 in *A Family Archive from Tebtynis* (P. Lugd.-Bat. VI) in 1950. The first (no. 15) is a copy of a Report with annexed documents addressed to the *strategus* of the Arsinoite nome in AD 115. The second (no. 24) is the report of a trial before an ex-*strategus* in May, AD 124. Both refer to the same affair:

In the period before AD 71/2 Apion and Isidorus were keepers of the public archives in the Arsinoite nome. Protogenes and Isidorus II were appointed as their successors. This pair may have been appointed just after the division of the archives into two sections of *δημοσίων λόγων* and *τῶν ἐγκτήσεων*. Some documents accepted by them were in bad condition on transfer; others were lost or damaged during their term of office which lasted eight years. At the spring *conventus* of AD 90 the prefect Mettius Rufus noticed that a document was lacking its beginning. Proof was given that other documents were in poor condition at transfer, and Apion the keeper of AD 70 was called to account. In AD 90 Heliodorus and Zopyrus became keepers. They both refused to take over damaged rolls. Mettius Rufus ordered that Archelaus, the *strategus* of the Heracleides district, should have the mutilated documents supplied with replacements from the archive *in Patricis* (15, 52) at the expense of the ex-keepers Protogenes and Isidorus. Eight years later Heliodorus and Zopyrus were still refusing to accept the damaged documents. In June, AD 98 the prefect Junius Rufus ordered the *strategus* to ensure that Heliodorus and Zopyrus accept the damaged rolls and have them pasted together at their predecessors' expense. Some time before AD 103 Classicus the *procurator usiacus* reported to the prefect Minicius Italus that the *ἐγκτήσεων* records were in disrepair. Transfer was impossible because the officials responsible had died. In the presence of the three *strategi* he had chosen a site for a new building at a cost of 3,283 drachmas 3 obols. The cost was borne by the present keepers as part of their liturgy.

In the late AD 103 Protogenes, having alone paid for the building and taken over some of the rolls, died. His colleague was already dead. In November, AD 108, after two successive sets of keepers, the storehouse of the *δημόσιοι λόγοι* was delapidated, and the rolls were in a miserable condition. During two sessions in March and June, AD 109, Leonides the salaried clerk of the keepers was cross-examined by the *strategus* on the responsibility of himself and his employers for the rolls. Over the next fifteen years a series of law-suits was reported between the salaried clerk Leonides, his heirs, and the heirs of various *bibliophylaces*. Finally in May, AD 124, the arbitrator Apollonius sequestrated the property of both parties in the suit to pay for the cost of repairing the rolls.

We see that this dispute dragged on for years; yet there was no stagnation in the public service. The ordinary well-preserved documents had been regularly transferred.

The function of *bibliophylax* was often given to elderly people. One was aged seventy-one on taking office. The keepers had a salaried staff of clerks and servants who did much of the work at the keepers' expense as part of their liturgy. The keepers signed and endorsed documents, and were responsible to the government

[94] See p. 115 above.

with their private fortune. They were entitled to take a new head clerk, but rarely did, since he provided continuity and experience. The clerk's legal responsibility is ambiguous.

The legal transfer of rolls to a new Keeper required 'handing over' (παράδοσις), 'receiving' (παράλημψις), and 'listing' (ἀναγραφή) of the rolls transferred. When there had been damage there could be difficulty in completing any of these procedures. It is clear that a change of prefect had often been an excuse for slackness and delay. Van Groningen concludes:

> The state never takes any direct risk itself; in case of default it seizes the first person available, leaving him to take care of himself.
>
> As far as it is concerned here, the whole administration produces an unpleasant impression of ineffic[iency], especially on account of the ruinous and half-hearted system of liturgies. It is too easy to offer passive resistance. The state shuns every responsibility of its own, but has to pay the price of a bad administration.[95]

His conclusion is fair as regards this particular, lengthy episode, but is it true in the wider context of Roman Egypt as a whole? I would suggest not. It is easy to blame the Roman administration for not having a salaried civil service at this level, paid for from taxation, as the Ptolemies had done. In fact, they had a liturgic system paid for in personal service. The disarray is confined to a group of older documents. New documents were transferred in an orderly manner. If disarray and chaos had been general in the archives of the forty-seven nomes, obviously much of the civil administration would have ground to a halt. It is clear that it did not do so. The existence of multiple copies of the same document in different archives did make it possible to repair the deficiencies, even if it was difficult to get someone to pay for it.

In short, Roman Egypt had an extremely detailed system of archiving public and private documents, which seems to have been used to the full.

[95] Op. cit. 108.

HERBERT WALTER FAIRMAN

By A. F. SHORE

EMERITUS Professor Herbert Walter Fairman, who occupied the Brunner Chair of Egyptology in the University of Liverpool from 1948 until his retirement in 1974, died in hospital in Liverpool on 16 November 1982, aged 75. By the time of his appointment to the Chair at the age of 41, Fairman had during his childhood, during his association with field work of the Society, and during and after the Second World War, passed more years of his life in Egypt than most of his colleagues. With his death one of the last links with the Society's excavations at El-Amarna between the two world wars has been broken.

Herbert Fairman was born on 9 March 1907, the son of the Reverend Walter Trotter Fairman, a Baptist missionary attached to the American Mission at Heliopolis. Ironically, in the light of his subsequent career, he was the only member of the family not to be born in Egypt. His family's association with the country aroused a passionate interest in its ancient civilization and a profound and abiding love for the land and its people. That he was able to devote his life to the pursuit and practice of his chosen field of study, despite unfavourable and indeed adverse circumstances, was a measure of his exceptional qualities of industry and perseverance. Educated at Bethany School, Goudhurst, Kent, he went in 1926 to the former Institute of Archaeology at Liverpool to read for the Certificate in Archaeology (Egyptology) at a time when Peet was Professor of Egyptology and Garstang Professor of Methods and Practice of Archaeology. After a break due to ill-health, necessitating his return home to Egypt, he obtained the Certificate in 1929. Thereafter, until the outbreak of the Second World War, he was regularly engaged in consecutive seasons of fieldwork in Egypt and the Sudan. From 1929 until 1931 he participated in excavations initiated by Sir Robert Mond at Armant, coming into contact with Oliver Myers, who was largely responsible for new standards in the scientific presentation of archaeological data in the publication of the Mond excavations. In this company Fairman developed an interest in both the theory and the practice of archaeology, as well as taking responsibility for the publication of hieroglyphic and hieratic texts. His understanding of the importance of excavation of settlements in Egypt is evidenced by his report in *Bucheum I* (1934) of the Roman village outside the temenos wall of the Baqaria. He contributed an extensive chapter in *Bucheum II* (1934) on the hieroglyphic inscriptions found during the excavations between January 1927 and March 1931, discussing in masterly fashion the names and titles of the Buchis as well as the origins of Buchis-worship.

PLATE I

HERBERT WALTER FAIRMAN
1907–1982

From 1931 to 1936 Fairman was Assistant Field Director under John Pendlebury on the excavations of the Society at El-Amarna. He was responsible for the chapter on inscriptions in the *City of Akhenaten II* (1933), and, after the tragic death of Pendlebury in Crete in May 1941, he was entrusted with revising and editing the manuscript of the report on the central area of the city with its temple and plans (*City of Akhenaten III*, 1951). His own chapter on the inscriptions (the hieratic, mainly dockets, in collaboration with Černý) contained a detailed discussion of the topography of the central city as well as a thorough review of the vexed question of a possible coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten. It was evident from his later reminiscences that this period was one of the happiest memories, and his devotion to these unpromising mud-seals and hieratic sherds is neatly caught in Mary Chubb's *Nefertiti Lived Here*, where he appears under the sobriquet of Tommy:

> The more funny little bits of baked clay and sherds you could find him—so long as they had inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions on them—the happier he became. While there was always the chance and the hope of a fragment which bore an inscription giving fresh historical knowledge, the bulk of his material consisted of day-to-day happenings—sealings for oil and wine and food-jars; sometimes a letter from one official to another. He had just deciphered a painted clay-sealing from a wine-jar, which read: 'Wine of the Royal House, very, very good.' After each long day on the dig, he slipped away to the small room where the numbered boxes of small dark clay fragments were stacked, and where his notebooks were spread out, filled with long, incredibly neat columns of copied hieroglyphs, transcriptions and translations alongside. Perhaps he watched the ups and downs of the season with the same detachment that he brought to bear on the long ago, tiny goings-on of Akhenaten's City, saw us just another phase of its history, interesting to contemplate, but as ephemeral as all the rest of it. Perhaps this accounted for the degree of unrufflement he attained.

On relinquishing the concession at El-Amarna, the Society was attracted for the season 1936–7 to the site of Sesebi (Sudla), where a temple was said to bear erased reliefs of Akhenaten. It was the first time that the Society had undertaken work in the Sudan, and the expedition was led by Blackman and Fairman. In the following season, 1937–8, with Fairman as Field Director, the excavation of the town area, begun in the previous season, was completed and the expedition moved some 65 miles northwards to another town site at Amarah West. A temple of the time of Ramesses II was located containing copies of the dream- and marriage-stelae. Fairman returned to Amarah West for a further season in 1947–8. Preliminary reports on these excavations appeared in the *Journal* for 1938, 1939, and 1948.

The modest honorarium earned by Fairman for his work in Egypt was supplemented by commissions undertaken for Dr (later Sir) Alan Gardiner. He had already drawn a number of hieroglyphic plates for Peet's edition of the *Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, published in 1930. In his preface Peet describes how 'Fairman went to infinite trouble to raise his hieroglyphic script to a sufficiently high standard for this work at very short notice'. Fairman drew the text plates of Gardiner's edition of the Chester Beatty hieratic papyri, published in 1935, as well as undertaking the laborious task of autographing Gardiner's transcription for the *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, published in 1937. The clarity,

sustained evenness, and artistic quality of his impeccable hieroglyphic hand have never been surpassed.

Fairman's commitments in Egypt, and his work for Gardiner, left him little time for other study. Nevertheless, he worked closely with Aylward Manley Blackman, Peet's successor to the Brunner Chair in 1934, on the reading and interpretation of Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts. One of the fruits of their collaboration were three papers in the *Journal* (vols. 28, 29, 30) on the myth of Horus at Edfu and a further paper on the consecration of the Egyptian temple according to the use of Edfu (vol. 32). The invaluable collection of card-indexes dealing with Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, begun at this time with Blackman, has been bequeathed to the University of Liverpool.

On the outbreak of the Second World War Fairman was recruited to the staff of the British Embassy in Cairo. In spite of the demands of his war work, he found time to continue his Egyptological studies, and some of his most important and substantial contributions appeared in these years, particularly in the field of Ptolemaic hieroglyphic texts: 'Notes on the Alphabetic Signs employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu', *ASAE* 43 (1943), 193–310; 'Ptolemaic Notes', *ASAE* 44 (1944), 263–77; 'An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and their Values', *BIFAO* 43 (1945), 51–138. With Grdseloff he collated the hieroglyphic texts inside the Speos Artemidos, publishing the results in *JEA* 33 (1947), 12–33. He enjoyed, too, giving lectures to the troops in Cairo, making himself intelligible and interesting to a popular audience.

Until his appointment to the Staff of the Embassy, Fairman had held no assured position which promised security of tenure or, as one would now say, career prospects. He had married in 1937 Olive Winifred Nicholls, and letters to Blackman at the end of the war reflect the anxieties of a man with family responsibilities and the fear that he might not be able to continue in his chosen field. In 1948, however, he was appointed to succeed Blackman to the Brunner Chair at Liverpool. Nothing is perhaps so indicative of his stature at this time, of his tenacity of purpose and intellectual integrity, than his coming to the Chair without a formal degree, but with an established international reputation as a thorough and painstaking excavator, with a deep knowledge of Egypt, and as a philologist whose knowledge of the temple inscriptions of the Ptolemaic and Roman epochs was hardly to be equalled by any of his contemporaries.

In 1947, following the deliberations of the Post-War Planning Committee, the Institute of Archaeology at Liverpool, founded in 1904, had been formally incorporated in the University as the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies. It fell to Fairman to preside over this change in the aftermath of the war. He methodically catalogued and organized the important teaching collection of provenanced Egyptian and Meroitic antiquities, acquired mainly from the excavations of Garstang, which had been seriously disorganized in the course of a hasty change of premises following bomb damage. He spent much time and care on the organization of the surviving records of excavations conducted on major sites in

Egypt and the Sudan in the name of the former Institute of Archaeology. Though hampered by difficulties of staffing, accommodation and resources, he succeeded in building up a department with an enviable reputation for the systematic coverage and overall balance of its courses, drawing a steady flow of undergraduates. At the same time he attracted a number of postgraduate students, from this country and abroad, notably Egypt, many of whom now hold positions of responsibility in universities and museums.

To his students Fairman gave generously and ungrudgingly of his time and of his learning, his hours of teaching being considerably in excess of the norm. He had a great gift for illuminating the minds and the imagination of the young with the intensity of his own vision, seen with clear insight and amplitude of mind. It was no private, no selfish thing: once glimpsed, it urged him to share and communicate, no matter what the cost, that love which he had for his Egypt, which he had pursued with such tenacity of purpose. He saw, therefore, his prime duty as that of a University man, as a tutor to his pupils, and, once he was convinced of a person's sincerity, no enthusiastic candidate was turned away. His devotion to, and concern for, his students won from them great affection and great respect, which showed itself in the presentation to him in June 1979 of a volume of studies in his honour, entitled *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*. Its thirty contributions reflected his own remarkable range of interests in the fields of philology, archaeology, and religious studies. His three students who conceived and carried out the tribute wrote of their good fortune in having had the advantage of learning from an enthusiastic and devoted teacher who brought to his instruction depth of learning and breadth of vision combined with a sense of dedication and fun in equal measure. At a time when the shibboleth of the educationalist is relevance, when there is competition with demands for funds to combat disease and starvation, he was convinced that it was incumbent upon the Egyptologist himself to interest the public in his subject, and this conviction led to his very active association over a period of more than twenty-five years with the Institute of Extension Studies, conveying to an ever widening public, with clarity and a complete lack of condescension, his understanding of Ancient Egypt. His wider interest in the education of the young showed itself also in his long association with the Belvedere School GPDST, as a member of the governing body from 1964, and for fourteen years as its Chairman.

Inevitably, the responsibilities of his University position as he saw them prevented Herbert Fairman from carrying on with his fieldwork, and his own enthusiastic absorption in teaching at undergraduate and graduate levels restricted the opportunities for bringing to fruition much of his own research. As his work showed, he was unwilling to set forth his views before he had thoroughly investigated a subject. Once he did so, his views were expounded and were well based, displaying, at times, little patience with the opinion of others when he was convinced they were wrong. Few could lucidly and succinctly describe the religious role of an Egyptian temple in the Graeco-Roman Period as he did in his 'Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple' (*Bulletin of the John Rylands*

Library 37 (1954), 165–203), or evoke the character of an Egyptian town as he did in 'Town Planning in Pharaonic Egypt' (*Town Planning Review* 20 (1949), 32–51).

On his retirement from the Chair in 1974 Fairman was appointed for a year as Honorary Lecturer in Ptolemaic. He was looking forward to devoting himself to his great love, the temple of Horus at Edfu, intending to produce a definitive study of its history, worship, and festivals, and the role of its services and gods within the life of the community. In the *Triumph of Horus*, published in the year of his retirement, he had argued forcifully that we had the text of the oldest complete play known. He delighted to show a video of a performance of the play as he had reconstructed it, presented by the Drama Studio at the Padgate College of Education. He had looked forward to going once more to Edfu, but sadly it was not to be. Early in 1975 he was severely affected by a heart condition, and, thereafter, the treatment to which he was subjected, and the strict regimen that he had to follow, curtailed his activity. He bore his disabilities with fortitude, with the devoted support of his family. To the end he retained the tall upright figure of a walker and swimmer, ever alert with a genuine friendly interest in one's activities, eyes occasionally mischievous, but never malicious, as he recalled some episode of camp life in his successive seasons of excavation in Egypt, with John Pendlebury at Amarna, with Oliver Myers at Armant, or with Aylward Blackman at Sesebi, drawing on his rich reminiscences of days spent in the warmth of his beloved Egypt and its people.

SIR ERIC TURNER

By PETER PARSONS

PROFESSOR SIR ERIC TURNER, Chairman of the Egypt Exploration Society's Committee from 1956 to 1978, and a Vice-President of the Society since 1978, died at Inverness on 20 April 1983, at the age of 72.

Turner received a classical education at King Edward VII School, Sheffield, and at Magdalen College, Oxford (1933–7). He held his first posts at the University of Aberdeen, as Assistant in Humanity (1937), and then Lecturer in Classics (1938); in 1948 he moved to University College London, as Reader in and then Professor of Papyrology; he retired in 1978. Among many other distinctions, he served as first Director of the London Institute of Classical Studies (1953–63); as President of the Hellenic Society (1968–71); as President of the Association Internationale des Papyrologues (1965–74) and of the Union Académique International (1974–7). He was elected to the British Academy in 1956. The Crown honoured him with the CBE in 1975, and with a knighthood in 1981.

Turner's scholarly work centred on the Greek and Latin papyri from Egypt (an interest first suggested to him at Oxford by Hugh Last). He was active in publishing new texts, documentary as well as literary: from the Aberdeen collection (1939), from the John Rylands Library (1952), and above all from the old and new excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society—pieces from Qaṣr Ibrim (1976) and Saqqâra (1974–6; his complete edition of Saqqâra material remained unfinished at his death); the second volume of Hibeh papyri (1955); and numerous contributions to *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1957–83), among which the decipherment and reconstruction of new fragments of Menander attracted particular attention. But he was no less active in synthesizing results. The general survey, *Greek Papyri* (2nd ed. 1980), became at once a standard work; *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (1971) and *The Typology of the Early Codex* (1977) study the script and format of the ancient book with an observant practicality and imaginative intelligence rare in palaeographic literature. All this made Turner the doyen of papyrologists world-wide, and on his seventieth birthday some fifty colleagues from some ten different countries united to celebrate his achievement with the volume *Papyri Greek and Egyptian edited in Honour of E. G. Turner* (1981).

At the Egypt Exploration Society, Turner's work was many-sided. In the Graeco-Roman branch he gave new vigour to editorial policy, and created the collaboration with the British Academy which has made possible the systematic cataloguing and photographing of the papyri. For Egyptology in general his active chairmanship represented an epoch of expansion. In twenty years the Society's

PLATE II

SIR ERIC TURNER
1911–1983

membership, and its budget, quadrupled; it secured its new base in Doughty Mews (1968); it developed new activities for members, and a new branch in Manchester (1976); it undertook a new and wider programme of field-work, at Saqqâra (reopened in 1964), at Buto (from 1964), at the Nubian sites of Buhen (from 1957), Qaṣr Ibrim (from 1963), and Kor (1964–5). In all this Turner played a leading part, in London and on his visits to Egypt; his ties with the University of London and the British Academy, his rare talents as diplomat, publicist, organizer, and negotiator, his wide sympathies, intellectual distinction, and international prestige, combined to render exceptional service to the Society and to scholarship.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1982

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1982 BY MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Edited by JANINE BOURRIAU

UNLESS otherwise stated all the acquisitions of the Fitzwilliam Museum and the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham, were gifts from the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine. Further items from the collection appeared in the previous list for 1980–1. Barbara Adams reports from University College that additional Petrie notebooks have been identified to add to the list published by her in *JEA* 61 (1975) 110–11, viz. 142–7 Ballas, 135–41 Naqada, 136 Naqada and Ballas, 148 Diospolis Parva.

Palaeolithic

1–4. Four flint flakes from Thebes, Fitzwilliam Museum E.399–402.1982.

Neolithic

5–40. Flint arrow-heads, sickle blades, leaf-shaped points, and knives, Fitzwilliam Museum E.341–76.1982. From the Fayûm.

41–50. Flint flakes, blades, knives, and drills, Fitzwilliam Museum E.377–86.1982. From the Fayûm. Neolithic–Old Kingdom.

Predynastic

51–2. Breccia and alabaster and limestone vases, University College 35970, 35973, 36065. From Ballas grave 449, 710, 599 (?).

53–4. Flint blade, broken knife, University College 35980, 36075. From Naqada (?) grave 667, 1683.

55–125. Pebble rubbers and grinders, University College 35981–6051. From graves at Naqada and/or Ballas.

126–39. Beads and shells, University College 35976–7, 35979, 36064, 36074, 36078–86. From graves at Naqada and/or Ballas.

140–3. Potsherds, University College 36066, 36072–3, 36087. From Naqada graves 241, 1834, 1850, T17.

144–5. Resin sherds and fragments of stick bound with leather thongs, University College 36090, 36102. From Naqada graves 743, 1503.

146–55. Flint axes, flakes, knives, Fitzwilliam Museum E.405–8., 411–12., 416., 419–21.1982. Surface finds from Abydos, Semaineh, Fayûm, Naqada.

156–64. Flint knives, leaf-shaped points, and axes, Fitzwilliam Museum E.403–4., 409–10., 413–15., 417.1982.

165. Slate cosmetic palette in the shape of a fish, Fitzwilliam Museum E.427.1982. Naqada II.

166–7. Beaker and bowl, Nile-silt wares, Fitzwilliam Museum E.433–4.1982. Said to be from Dendera. Naqada II.

168. Ivory 'tusk' with incised decoration, British Museum 69242. Given by Mr L. Riches.

169–73. Ivory pins, comb and shell bracelets, British Museum 69243–7. Given by Mr L. Riches.

Early Dynastic

174–95. Stone vases and fragments, University College 35959–69, 35971–2, 35974–5, 36057–63. From Ballas graves Q31, Q83, 100, 136, 208, 275, 520, 656, 789, 795, 834, 840, 867. Ist Dynasty.

196. Fragment of gneiss vase, University College 35306. From Coptos. Cf. *Hierakonpolis*, II, pl. xxx, 3–4.

Old Kingdom

197–202. Cowrie shells, agate pebbles, flints, and faience scarab, University College 37151–6. From Kafr Ammar grave 524 or 559. IIIrd–Vth Dynasty.

203–17. Fragments of shell bracelets, beads, bone arrows, needles, tools and an ivory tusk, University College 37093–4, 37102–7, 37111–12, 37337–40, 37438, 37500. From graves at Kafr Ammar.

218–29. Flint knives and drills, Fitzwilliam Museum E.387–98.1982, E.422.1982. From the Fayûm.

229A. Nile-silt jar with burnished redslip, Fitzwilliam Museum E.23.1982.

230–45. Limestone model vases and set of model copper tools, British Museum 69226–41. Gift of Mr L. Riches.

246. Wooden head-rest inscribed for Khnumʿankh, British Museum 69249. From Meir (?). VIth Dynasty. Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome collection. *ASAE* 13 (1913), 172, fig. 22.

First Intermediate Period

247–9. Fragments of stone and bone bracelets and beads, University College 37113–15. From Kafr Ammar grave 269.

250–5. Bronze mirrors and blue faience disc beads, University College 37187, 37426–30. From Kafr Ammar.

256–7. Potsherd and bone fragment, University College 31395–6. From Sedment.

258. Diorite head of a man from a statuette, Fitzwilliam Museum E.24.1982.

259–60. Green feldspar amulet in form of a recumbent lion and button seal, Fitzwilliam Museum E.256.1982, E.26.1982. R. V. Nicholls, *The Wellcome Gems* (Cambridge, 1983), nos. 13–14.

Middle Kingdom

261–6. Serpentine vase, faience beads, and a seal, University College 37150, 37157–61. From Kafr Ammar, graves 443, 558, 623, 786. XIth Dynasty.

267. End section of a glazed steatite magic rod, Fitzwilliam Museum E.426.1982 (pl. XX, 1). XIIth–XIIIth Dynasties.

268. Fragment of a black granite statue inscribed with the cartouches of Sobkḥotpe I, British Museum 69497.

269–70. Glazed steatite scarabs, one inscribed 'the judge, Nebipu', the other with *ʿankh* and *nefer* signs, British Museum 69224, Fitzwilliam Museum E.439.1982. The latter bequeathed by Miss Mabel Kay. XIIIth Dynasty.

271. Carnelian beads, University College 35978. From Ballas grave 181.

272–3. Fragments of baton of hippopotamus ivory, University College 35309–10. Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome collection. For University College 35310 see *Catalogue of Hilton Price Collection*, II.

274–6. Flint knives, Fitzwilliam Museum E.423–5.1982. From Kahun.

New Kingdom

277–8. Nile-silt ware beaker and terracotta statuette of a woman, Fitzwilliam Museum E.26.1982, E.430.1982 (pl. XX, 2). From Esna graves 24, 81. Late Second Intermediate Period to early XVIIIth Dynasty. For the latter see D. Downes, *The Excavations at Esna 1905–1906* (Warminster, 1974), 86, fig. 50.

279. Pottery vase ornamented with six hanging persea fruit, Fitzwilliam Museum E.29.1982 (pl. XX, 3). From Abydos, Garstang's excavations of 1909, grave 949. Reign of Tuthmosis III. See *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Burlington Fine Art Club, 1922), pl. 36.

280–1. Painted Nile-silt ware lentoid flask and two red lustrous spindle bottles, Fitzwilliam Museum E.28., E.435–6.1982. Reign of Tuthmosis III.

282. Funerary cone, British Museum 69225. Gift of Mr A. F. Guile. Davies and Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, no. 2.

283–91. Funerary cones, Birmingham City Museum A 2203-, 2205-12-1982. Ibid., nos. 304, 570, 273, 311, 400, 45, 5, 304, 273.

292. Funerary cones, University College 37510–989, 37992. Ibid., *passim*; Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, pl. 21 ff.; Daressy, *MMF* 8 (1893), 269–352; Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, 101.

293. Limestone jar lid in the form of a recumbent antelope, British Museum 69250. XVIIIth Dynasty.

294–309. Sherds of Mycenaean pottery, LH IIIA, 2, University College 25249–64. From Amarna, central city rubbish-heaps.

310–22. Beads, inlays, fragments of furniture, leather, bronze needles and scarabs, University College 35935–47. From Amarna. Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome collection.

323. Unfinished red quartzite head, probably of a princess, British Museum 69223. Top of back pillar remains behind head. Amarna Period.

324. Pottery funerary cone, inscribed with cartouches of Ramesses II, Birmingham City Museum A2204-1982.

325. Fragment of schist palette of Raʿḥotpe, Vizier of Ramesses II, Fitzwilliam Museum E.428.1982 (pl. XX, 4). See Petrie, *History of Egypt*, III, 100; Černý in *Bi. Or.* 19 (1962), 143 (j).

326–7. Glazed steatite scarab and cowroid, Fitwilliam Museum E.257–8.1982. XIXth Dynasty.

328. Upper part of wooden shabti of a Vizier, British Museum 69220. From Thebes. XIXth Dynasty. Gift of Mrs D. H. James.

329. Slate cosmetic palette in form of a hand holding a shell, Fitzwilliam Museum E.429.1982 (pl. XX, 5).

330–1. Wooden neck of angular harp, red slipped ware sherd incised with an offering scene, University College 35804, 35809.

332. Fragments of faience sistra in the shape of a naos, University College 35803, 358087.

Third Intermediate Period

333. Faience shabti of Psusennes II, Fitzwilliam Museum E.445.1982. Inscribed with the king's prenomen.

334. Amulets, beads, scarabs, jewellery, ivory combs and pins, faience inlays, flint tools, inlaid eyes, fragments of gold leaf and plaster, University College 37168, 37172, 37175, 37178–86, 37188–92, 37196–204, 37206–89, 27291–303, 37319, 37321–2, 37325–31, 37333, 37335–65, 37368–74, 37376–85, 37389–96, 37400–6, 37408–25, 37434–53, 37455, 37457–62, 37464–509. From graves at Kafr Ammar and Tarkhan.

335–9. Faience, alabaster, and pottery vessels, University College 37205, 37332, 37334, 37375, 37463. From Kafr Ammar.

340–2. Upper part of pottery and faience shabtis and head from a larger figure, University College 37317–18, 37454. From Kafr Ammar.

343–7. Bronze arrowheads and weights, University College 37366–7, 37386. From Kafr Ammar.

348–50. Fragments of cloth, University College 37407, 37418, 37456. From Kafr Ammar.

351. Faience knob incised with circles, University College 33535. From Memphis (?).

352. Funerary cone, British Museum 69222. Davies and Macadam op. cit. no. 3. XXVth Dynasty.

353. Faience group statuette of musicians, University College 35801.

354. Crystal scaraboid, Fitzwilliam Museum E 259.1982.

Late Period

355. Upper part of basalt statue of a 'Priest of Amun in Karnak' holding a figure of Sekhmet, British Museum 69248. Square-topped back pillar with inscription. From the Temple of Mut. XXVIth Dynasty.

356. Bronze figure of Thoueris, British Museum 69894. Eyes inlaid and gilded. XXVIth Dynasty.

357–63. Beads and amulets, University College 37134, 37143–8. From Kafr Ammar grave 380. XXVIth Dynasty.

364. Black steatite knife handle in form of a recumbent lion, Fitzwilliam Museum E.31.1982. Ex-collection Sursock. Persian Period.

365–6. Bronze rings and beads, University College 37123–4, 37290. From Kafr Ammar.

367–8. Faience model jug and beads, University College 33536–7. From Memphis.

369–71. Terracotta and limestone erotic figures with a plaster mould, University College 35956–8. From Memphis.

372–6. Fragments of bronze and faience sistra, University College 35791–3, 35802, 35808.

377–8. Steatite erotic figure and limestone figure of a woman, University College 35949, 35952.

Ptolemaic Period

379. Limestone torso of the 'High Priest of Thoth, Wennefer', holding a figure of a baboon, British Museum 69486.

380. Papyrus with 14 lines of text in demotic, University College 31906. A letter to a district official. From Gurob. 3rd–2nd century BC.

381. Fragment of limestone stele with six lines of hieroglyphic text, probably part of a trilingual decree for the coronation of Ptolemy III, Oriental Museum, University of Durham, 1982.4. *c.*246 BC (see below, pp. 149–50 ff.).

382–5. Bone reliefs of draped woman and head of Aphrodite, a terracotta Aphrodite, and a head of a mime, Fitzwilliam Museum E.32., 34.–5.1982, 432.1982. The last said to be from Dendera. 2nd–1st century BC.

386–401. Trial pieces, plastercasts, University College 33417–32 (pl. XXI, 1). From Memphis

402–6. Terracotta, faience, and limestone figures, University College 33447, 33476, 35953–5 (pl. XXI, 2). From Memphis.

407–11. Black ware pottery. University College 33442–6. From Memphis.

412–15. Faience alabastron, amulet, beads, and fragments of another faience vessel, University College 37177, 37193–5. From Kafr Ammar.

416. Papyrus fragment inscribed in Greek, University College 31908. Extracted from cartonnage.

417–23. Arretine, Samian, African redslip ware, and Barbotine ware, University College 33433–9. From Memphis. 1st–2nd century AD.

424–52. Faience vessels and relief fragments, University College 33450–8, 33463–72, 33497–507. From the faience factory at Memphis.

453. Faience vessels and relief fragments, University College 33484–5, 33488–96, 33508–34, 33538–61. From Memphis, location unknown.

454–5. Terracotta head of Osiris and serpentine lion in relief, University College 35297. From Coptos. Graeco-Roman.

456–61. Fragments of lamps, pottery plaques, and sherds of Italian sigillata ware, University College 35298–303. From Coptos. 1st–4th century AD.

462–3. Blue and green glass dramatic masks, University College 35926–7. From Naukratis and Koft. 1st century BC–1st century AD.

464–6. Fragments of blue faience dishes, University College 36105–7. From Oxyrhynchus. 1st–2nd century AD.

467–91. Alabaster vase, faience ring, ivory disc, beads, scarab pendant, bronze rings, mud figures and papyrus fragments, University College 37098–101, 37304–15, 37320–4, 37369, 37397–9, 37432–3, 37436. From Kafr Ammar. Roman Period.

492–9. Pottery whistle, bronze bells and cymbals, University College 35790, 35794–9, 35800. Roman Period.

500–1. Terracotta erotic figures, University College 35950–1. Roman Period.

502. Faience, imitating porphyry, dramatic mask of a youth, Fitzwilliam Museum E.33.1982. 4th century AD.

503. Glass amulet showing a sphinx, Fitzwilliam Museum E.438.1982. Late Roman Period.

504–15. Bone and ivory carvings depicting Silenus, Dionysus, Eros, and Aphrodite from boxes and furniture, Fitzwilliam Museum E.37–48.1982 (pl. XXI, 3). 2nd–4th century AD.

516–17. Child's bone doll and ivory statuette of a woman, Fitzwilliam Museum E.36., 431.1982. AD 100 and 8th–9th centuries AD.

518–35. Beads, coin, bronze jewellery, nut, shells, and bones, University College 31398–415. From Sedment. Coptic Period.

536. Double-reed pipes (clarinet type), University College 35805. From Gurob(?). Seventh century AD(?).

537. Glass dramatic mask, University College 35930. 1st century BC to 1st century AD.

538. Limestone group of lion and man, University College 35948. Coptic Period.

539–52. Pottery St. Menas flasks, Birmingham City Museum A.2247–60.1982. Coptic Period.

Date Uncertain

553. Single reed, probably one of pair for a double pipe and single-reed pipe, University College 35311, 35806.

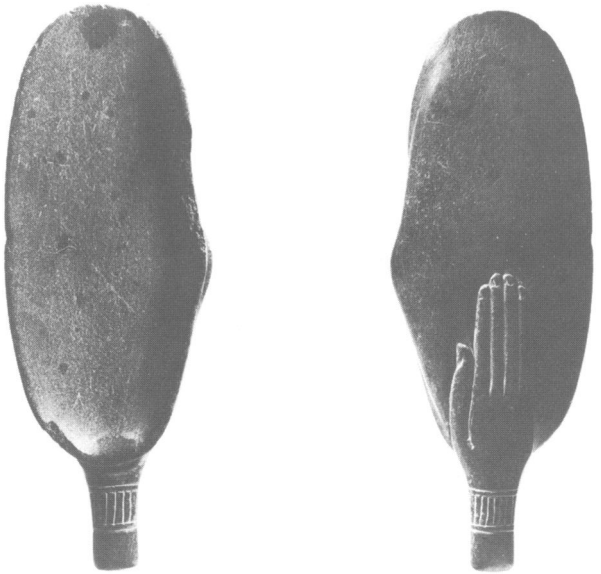
554. Quartz weight or pestle, University College 35314. From Coptos.

555. Alabaster vessel, University College 37174. From Kafr Ammar grave 99.

1. Steatite magic rod, Fitzwilliam Museum, **267**

3. Pottery vase, Fitzwilliam Museum, **279**

4. Palette of Raʿḥotpe, Fitzwilliam Museum, **325**



1. Plaster trial-piece, University College, London, **291**

2. Terracotta, University College, London, **405**

3. Bone and ivory relief, Fitzwilliam Museum, **508**, **504, 512, 509–10**

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A pleated linen dress from a Sixth Dynasty tomb at Gebelein now in the Museo Egizio, Turin

A FINE linen dress (see pls. XXII and XXIII), bearing both sleeves and horizontal pleats, was discovered by Schiaparelli in his Mission d'Archéologie (MAI) excavations of 1911 at the North Necropolis of Gebelein.[1] Although it has been exhibited in Room VI of the Museo Egizio, Turin, since this date, and bears the Schiaparelli inventory number 14087, it has received scant attention from Egyptologists, and remains unpublished. It is, therefore, published here,[2] for it provides a further parallel to the Deshasheh dresses which were also first published in this journal.[3]

The Turin dress (see pl. XXII) derives from one of a group of unnumbered Sixth Dynasty tombs which contained an unsexed skeleton. The funerary equipment took the form of a wooden head-rest (Schiaparelli Inventory No. 14088), a stone vase (Inv. No. 14089), and a very decayed pair of leather sandals (Inv. No. 14090). Unfortunately, it has proved impossible for us to trace the above items in the Museo Egizio's reserve collection, due both to the fading away with time of inventory numbers, and to Schiaparelli's failure to make any notes or drawings of the objects. It is thus much to be regretted that the chance for a comparative dating of the grave-group is now lost.

The dress comprises three pieces of material joined together by seams (see fig. 1). The total length is 122 cm and the maximum width, when folded, is taken at the hem as 59 cm. The yoke is made from two equal-sized pieces of material, in total 135 cm long by 42 cm wide, formed to cover the chest and shoulders, and extending laterally into the sleeves. The two sides of the yoke are juxtaposed in the centre to produce a V-shaped neckline at both front and back of the garment. These openings were fastened by means of strings of twisted flax which pass through the selvage of the material as single strands. Each strand is then doubled, and the two strands twisted together. These strings on the front left side of the garment are better preserved than those on the right side, where they are covered by a fringe issuing from the selvage. Similar strings at the back of the yoke are well preserved on both sides. The length of the strings is approximately 3 cm in all cases.

The lower section of the dress is made from a single piece of material 101 cm long by 118 cm wide, sewn along the two shorter sides, so that the seam now appears on the right side of the garment. A back-stitch secures the yoke to the shirt section, and is used also for the side and sleeve seams. The hem of the dress is formed by a double-folding of the material, and is held in place by a hemming stitch.

The garment is pleated[4] overall (see pl. XXIII, 1) with straight, regular horizontal pleats,

[1] E. Schiaparelli, 'La missione italiana a Ghebelein', *ASAE* 21 (1921), 126–8.

[2] Our thanks are due to Professor S. Curto, Superintendent of the Museo Egizio, for granting permission to publish the dress, and for kindly allowing us to examine the garment and to take a sample for scientific fibre analysis. Thanks are also due to Miss Gillian Shinar for her valuable assistance during the examination of the dress in Turin during March 1982.

[3] R. M. Hall, 'Two Linen Dresses from the Fifth Dynasty Site of Deshasheh now in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London', *JEA* 67 (1981), 168–71, and pls. xix, xx.

[4] For the technique of pleating see E. Riefstahl, 'An Additional Footnote on Pleating in Ancient Egypt', *Newsletter ARCE* 92 (Winter 1975), 28–9.

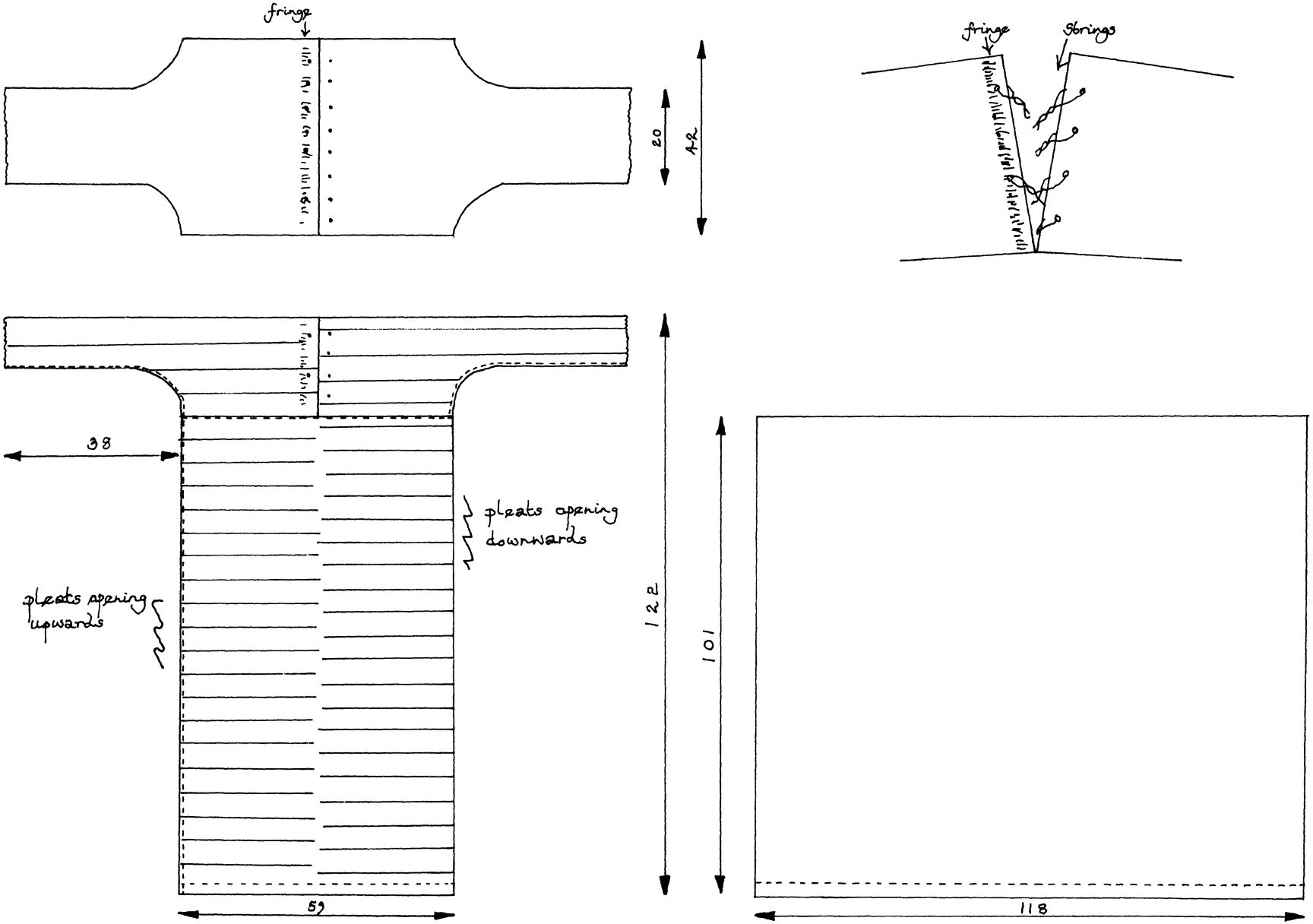


FIG. 1. Pattern layout of Gebelein dress, Inv. No. 14087

each approximately 10 mm in width. It was obviously pleated horizontally after having been folded vertically in four, as four separate panels are now evident with the pleats opening alternately upwards and downwards. This same technique has been noted on the four Boston dresses,[1] so it is evident that the pleating took place on all three parts before they were assembled into the finished garment. The disposition of the pleats in the yoke follows that in the skirt, and the pleats are stitched together at each side of the dress by a seam which was evidently sewn in after pleating the material. The fact that the pleats under the armpits have almost disappeared, and the presence of possible perspiration staining in the same area, would seem to indicate that the dress was worn by the owner during life. The actual dress dimensions also suggest the possibility of a made-to-measure garment.

Brunton published a curious garment deriving from Schiaparelli's 1920 season at Gebelein, which is now in Cairo (Temporary Registration No. 64815).[2] Burial No. 3 formed one of the Fifth Dynasty group of graves at the edge of the cultivation, and contained a female skeleton clothed in what Winifred Brunton describes as a 'loose dressing-gown'. It appears to be an old sleeved garment worn in life and adapted for use as a shroud by cutting down the front of the dress, following the neck opening, and adding two additional side sections of material, bearing fringes, to fold over the front. These side-pieces are wide enough to wrap right over. The original form was therefore in exactly the same style as the Turin dress but lacking any pleating, and the total length was 140 cm.

The front of the Turin dress is well preserved, whereas the back has suffered extensive damage. Large spots, probably due to fluids used in the mummification process on the corpse, can be seen on the sleeves and along the sides of the skirt. The lower part is missing from both the sleeves, and the left sleeve is now shorter than the right. The fabric is rather thickly woven and somewhat stiff, owing probably both to materials exuding from the corpse, and also to chemical compounds used in the pleating process.[3] A thread sample from the dress was secured for fibre analysis, which was undertaken by the Department of Textile Industries at the University of Leeds.[4] Examination in the scanning electron microscope (see pl. XXIII, 2) indicated that the material was made of bast fibres, the numerous axial nodes and dislocations along the fibres being characteristic of either flax or hemp. Cross-sections pointed to a small lumen usually associated with fibres of the flax types, although this may not have been a completely reliable indicator owing to the possibility of structural collapse over the ages. The fact that the fibres were shown to be coloured also meant that identification by staining methods would be uncertain.

Parallels to the Turin dress comprise the long-sleeved, horizontally pleated dresses excavated by Reisner in the First Intermediate Period cemetery at Naga ed-Dêr.[5] Tomb N94, dated to the Sixth Dynasty and belonging to a woman, contained twelve dresses. Four are now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (13.3966A–C; 34.56),[6] and one in Cairo (JE 88144). Tomb N110, the burial of an adult female, contained a dress now in Cairo (JE 88145), and photographic evidence indicates that one or more additional tombs may also have contained pleated dresses, but in these cases the records are incomplete. The 1903

[1] E. Riefstahl, 'A Note on Egyptian Fashions', *Boston Museum Bulletin* 354 (1970), 244–59.

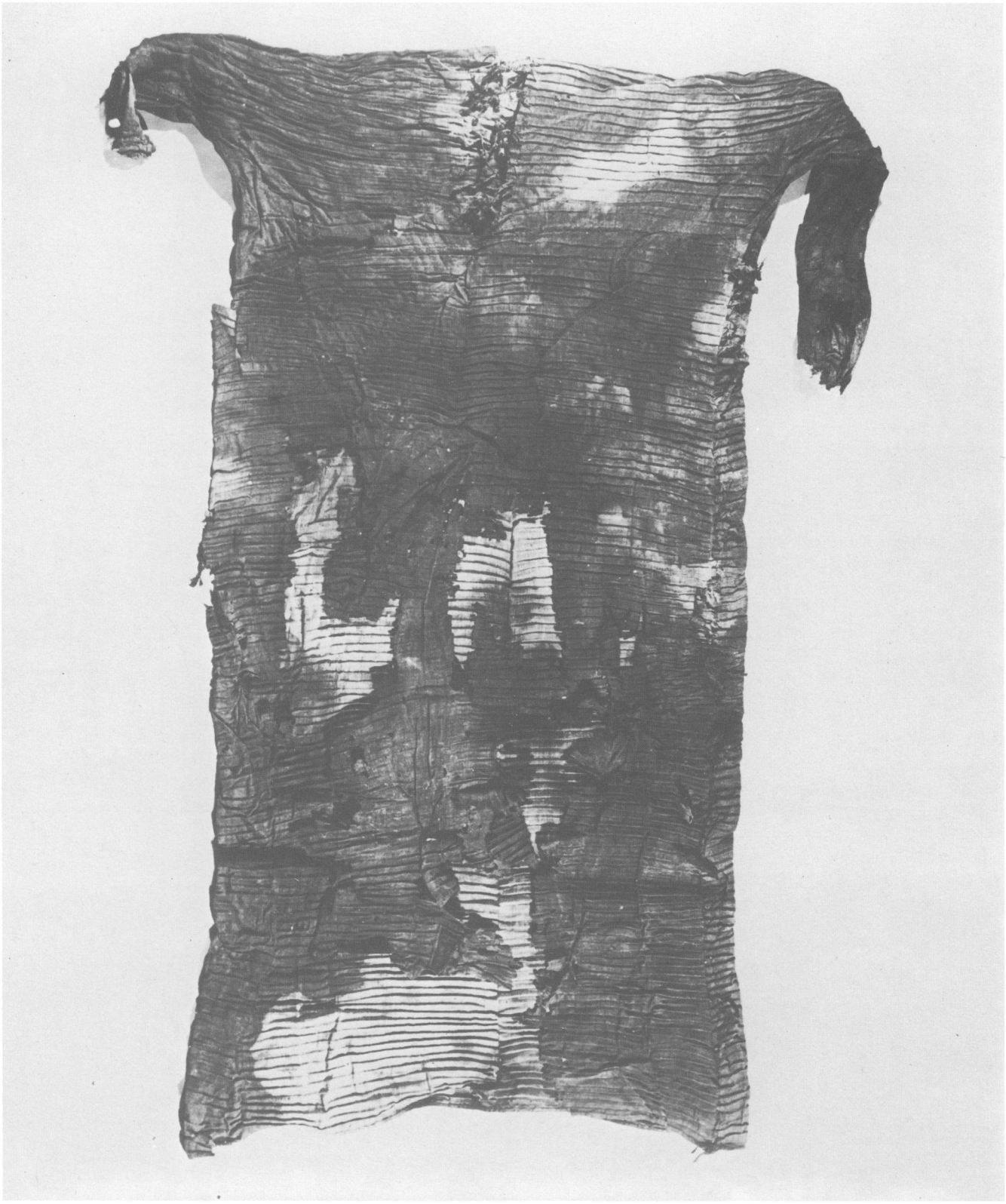
[2] G. Brunton, 'Objects from Fifth Dynasty Burials at Gebelein', *ASAE* 40 (1940), 521–7 and pls. l; li, 21.

[3] E. Staehelin, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich* (Berlin, 1966), 15.

[4] The analysis was carried out by Mr M. G. Dobb in May 1982 by kind permission of Professor P. Grosberg.

[5] G. A. Reisner, *A Provincial Cemetery of the Pyramid Age. Naga-ed-Dêr*, III (Oxford, 1932), 11–13. D. Dunham, *Naga-ed-Dêr Stelae of the First Intermediate Period* (Oxford, 1937), pls. i–xxxiv, provides useful comparative material in the form of female dress depicted on these stelae.

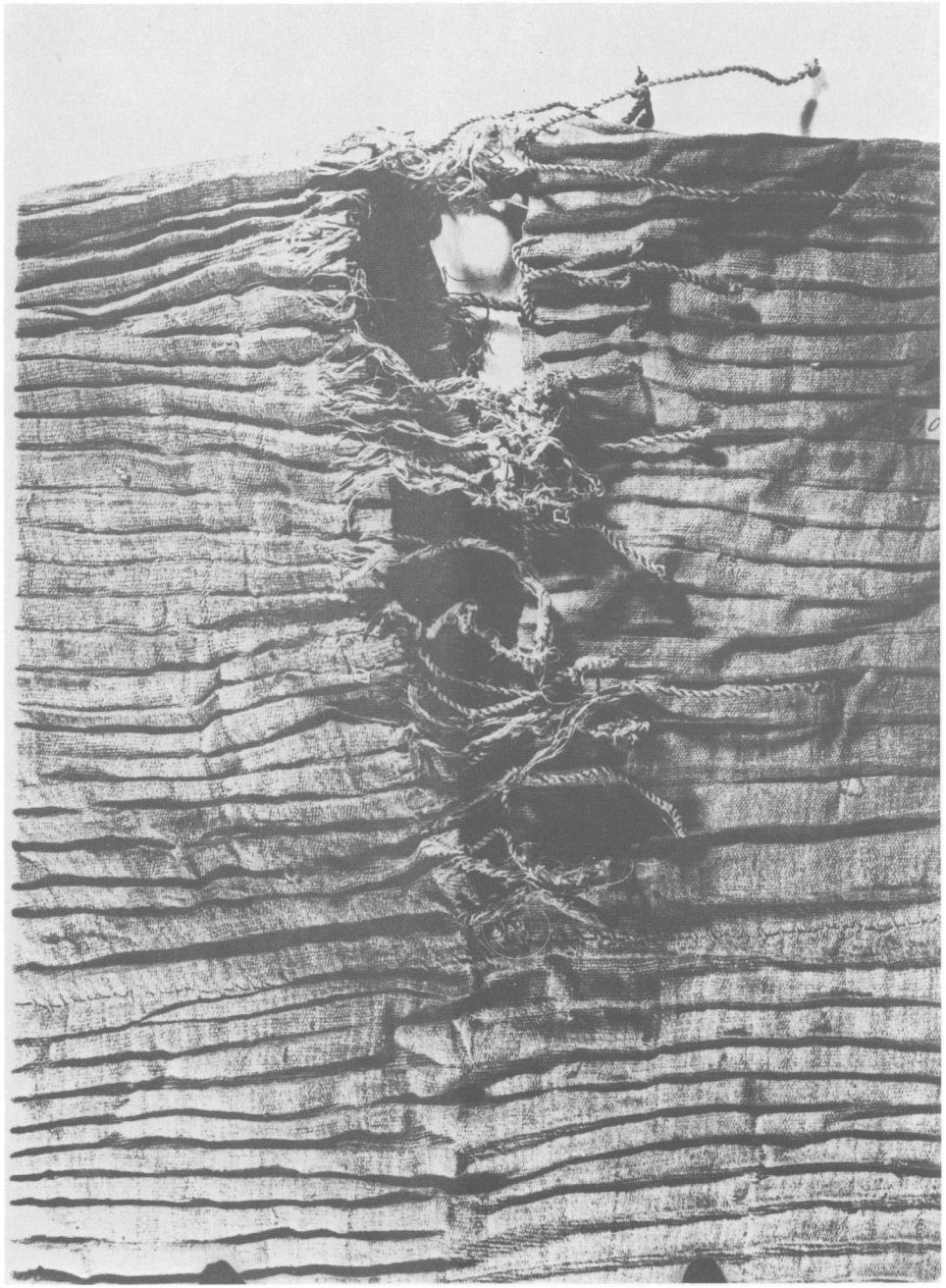
[6] One of the Boston examples is illustrated by W. Stevenson Smith, 'The Old Kingdom Linen-List', *ZÄS* 71 (1935), 139, fig. 1, and another in E. Riefstahl, *Patterned Textiles in Pharaonic Egypt* (New York, Brooklyn Museum, 1944), 8, fig. 7.



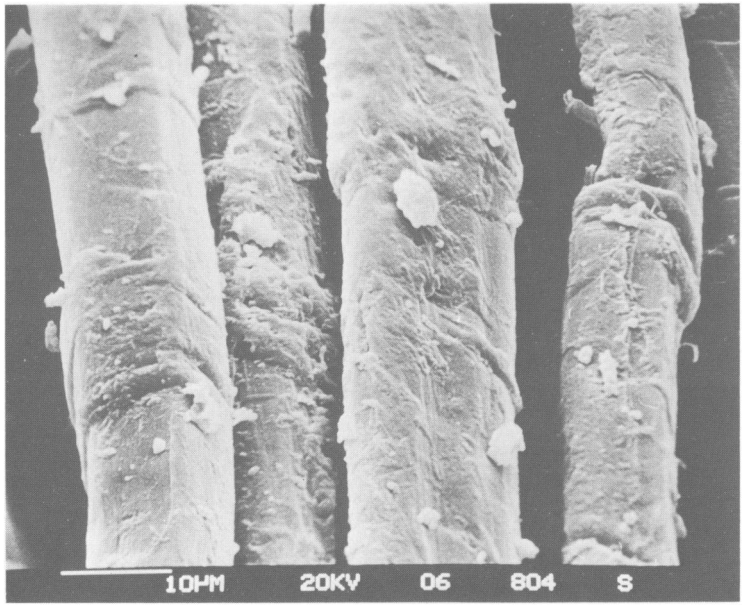
Gebelein dress, Schiaparelli Inv. no. 14087

Courtesy The Museo Egizio, Turin (from the original Schiaparelli glass negative)

A PLEATED LINEN DRESS



1. Gebelein dress, detail of pleating, stitching, and



2. Gebelein dress, fibre examination in the scanning electron microscope

Courtesy the Department of Textile Industries, University of Leeds

French excavations of First Intermediate Period burials at Asyût[1] yielded 'several' identical garments, the only salvageable example, deriving from Tomb 13, now being in the Louvre (E 12026).[2] The excavations of Said Bey Khachaba at Meir in 1912[3] yielded the two dresses now in Cairo (JE 43684 and one other). Of the nine long-sleeved but unpleated dresses found by Petrie in Tomb 148b at Deshasheh in 1897,[4] two now reside in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London (UC 31182; UC 31183),[5] and the others are lost.

The excavation records relating to these garments show that, where known, namely at Naga ed-Dêr and Deshasheh, these garments all derive from female burials. There seems no reason to doubt that they, and also the pleated dresses from Asyût, Meir, and Gebelein, were clothing worn in life solely by women. This is reinforced by the fact that they seem to represent a logical development from the Old Kingdom shift with shoulder-straps.[6] The topographical distribution of the garments is also significant, as, apart from our Gebelein dress, they clearly derive from provincial cemeteries confined to a narrow area of the Fayûm and the northern part of Upper Egypt. They may thus appear to be indicative of a purely local fashion dictated by the adverse cold of the winters in these regions. The need for warmer clothing is illustrated by the long robes, kilts, and stoles depicted in the Meir tomb reliefs.[7] They would also have provided protection for the wearer engaged in agricultural labour.[8] The Gebelein dress presents an exception to the rule, as it was found in the very centre of Upper Egypt and, therefore, in a region with a warm climate all the year round.

It seems that the dresses enjoyed only a brief and limited vogue, perhaps because they proved impractical, for the pleats would sag from the weight of the linen, or because they were aesthetically unappealing, as they are both clumsy and ugly. However, they deserve a place in the history of dress as evidence of early extant garments. The actual objects and texts are at all times more reliable than the tomb reliefs and sculpture,[9] which are essentially both idealized and conservative in nature and fail to mirror contemporary fashions in Ancient Egyptian dress.

ROSALIND HALL and LIDIA PEDRINI

A bronze mirror with the titles *rḫt-nsw ḥm(t)-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr*

MAIDSTONE Museum and Art Gallery in Kent has two Egyptian mirrors in its collections. One is a plain copper example, while the other is of silvered bronze and bears the inscription: *rḫt-nsw ḥm(t)-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr Mrtw*, 'King's/Royal acquaintance, Prophet/Priestess of Ḥatḥor, *Mrtw*'. There are only eight other examples of mirrors with these titles listed in Christine Lilyquist's *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom*

[1] E. Chassinat and C. Palanque, 'Une campagne de fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout', *MIFAO* 24 (1911), 162–4, and pl. 33.

[2] Recently on display in the *IFAO* Centenary Exhibition in Paris, *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte 1880–1980* (Paris, 1981), 135, Cat. No. 134.

[3] M. A. B. Kamal, 'Rapport sur les fouilles de Said Bey Khachaba au Deîr-El-Gabraouî', *ASAE* 13 (1914), 171–2, fig. 21; W. Spiegelberg, 'Altaegyptische gefältelte (plissierte) Leinwandstoffe', ibid. 27 (1927), 154–6.

[4] W. M. F. Petrie, *Deshasheh* (London, 1898), 16, 31–2, and pl. xxxv.

[5] Illustrated in Hall, op. cit., pls. xix, xx; id., *Textile History* 13, 1 (1982), 27–45 and figs. 5–9.

[6] E. Staehelin, op. cit. 166–70, and Taf. iii, Abb. 4, xi, Abb. 17.

[7] A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, III (London, 1915), pl. xiv (Tomb B4); id., op. cit. V (London, 1953), pls. xiv, xvi (Tombs A1 and A2).

[8] I am grateful to Miss Nora Scott, Curator Emeritus of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for the observation that sickle flints, polished by the grain, would have been very hard on the skin of the agricultural labourer.

[9] As noted by J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 249–50.

(Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Heft 27, 1979): three are in Cairo, two in the Louvre, and one each in Liverpool University's School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (Lilyquist, figs. 10–17 and p. 89). Only one, the Ashmolean example, has a definite provenance, being from A. H. Sayce's excavations at El-Kab (Sayce, *ASAE* 5 (1905), 241), and for this reason Lilyquist refers to this type as El-Kab discs. They are dated from the late Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period. Unfortunately, the Maidstone example is unprovenanced and its donation is uncertain. It is probably the entry in the museum's accession books 'Portion of bronze mirror (Egyptian?)' listed among a large collection of ethnography and antiquities donated by W. T. Fremlin of the local brewing family in 1925.

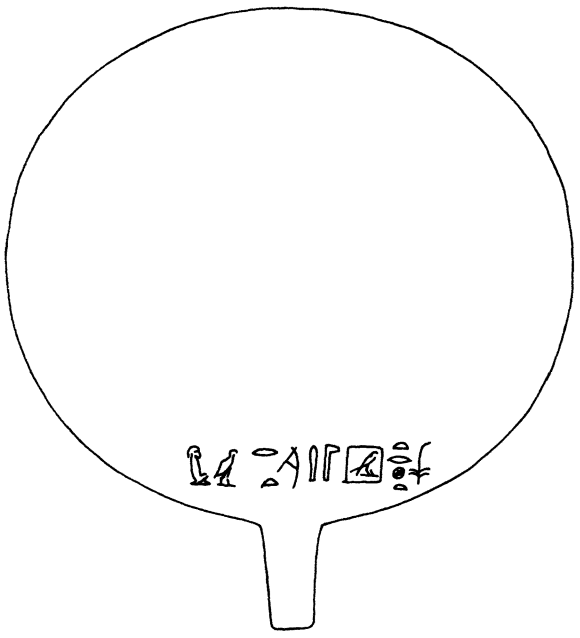


FIG. 1

The dimensions of the disc are: height, 11.5 cm; width, 12.6 cm; length of tang, 2.4 cm; thickness of tang, 0.25 cm. The disc increases marginally in thickness as it approaches the tang, which flattens out slightly at the base, particularly on the reverse. The tang has a dull patina from its being previously covered by a handle. It has the appearance of having been made in one piece with the disc, rather than riveted on. The mirror is in good condition, with no pitting and little surface discoloration. The inscription is clearly incised, though the *Ḥr*-bird and *nṯr* sign are slightly worn. The *ḥwt* sign has no small square within it as some examples with this title have. Ḥaṯḥor was especially associated with mirrors in the Old and Middle Kingdoms and most of her ordinary cult servants were women. The mirrors are almost certainly votive, and a number belonging to priestesses of Ḥaṯḥor have been found at such sites as Gîza, Saqqâra, Dendera, and Ḥu.

CAROLINE ELLIS

Spinning-rings from Qoseir el-Qadim

DURING the recent excavations at Qoseir el-Qadim[1] several light-weight wooden and bone rings were discovered. They have an outside diameter of between 4 and 9 cm and are 1 to 1.5 cm thick (fig. 1). In each ring there are two small holes set about 2 cm apart which have been drilled from the side. Evidence of wear is present along the opposite inside edge. This type of ring was found in both the Roman and the Mamluk levels. The Roman levels were pure while the Mamluk levels appear to have been mixed. The rings are probably of Roman origin rather than Islamic. They were originally believed to be for use in ships or with fishing nets,[2] but they have now been identified as spinning-rings.[3]

[1] The excavations were directed by Donald Whitcomb and Janet Johnson of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago. Funded by the Smithsonian Institution and the National Geographic.

[2] D. Whitcomb and J. Johnson, 'Quseir al-Qadim 1978 Preliminary Report', *ARCE* (1979) 203–5.

[3] My thanks to Madame Jacquet for suggesting that these rings were used in the production of textiles.

The earliest illustration depicting their use appears to be from the XVIIIth Dynasty tomb of Djeḥutynefer at Thebes (Tomb 104). Above the figure of the spinner a beam has been fixed to the wall from which two spinning-rings hang. In Davies[1] (see fig. 2) three cords tie

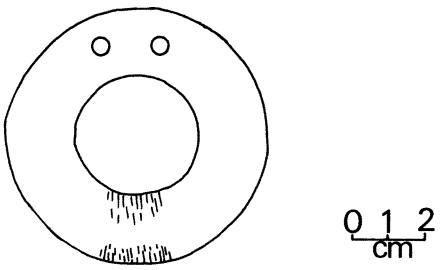


FIG. 1. Spinning-ring from Qoseir el-Qadim

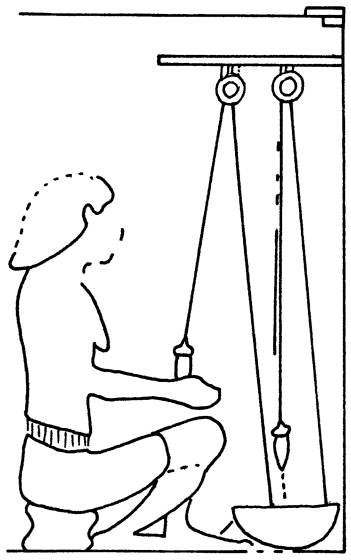


FIG. 2. Spinner from tomb of Djeḥutynefer (adapted from Davies)

the rings to the beam, but an examination of the original painting showed that there were three cords to the right-hand ring, but four cords to that on the left. Two are at the front of the ring and two at the back, a fact which indicates that the cords passed through two holes. Wear would have been caused opposite this point by the flax's being pulled through the ring during spinning.

Despite the gap of about 1,500 years, the similarity between the rings depicted at Thebes and those found at Qoseir el-Qadim is such that there is little doubt that they were used in the production of yarn. It has been suggested that they were used to help in the plying of spun yarns, but the explanation given by Crowfoot[2] that they were used to add extra tension while spinning fine yarns seems more plausible. GILLIAN EASTWOOD

La vingt-cinquième statue de Senmout

PEU de personnages non royaux de l'Égypte pharaonique ont fait couler autant d'encre que Senmout,[3] intendant (entre autres) de la reine Ḥatshepsout. Indépendamment du rôle romantique qu'on a voulu lui faire jouer (mais apparemment, Senmout n'est pas Lancelot, et Ḥatshepsout n'est pas la reine Guenièvre), sa personnalité intrigue et séduit. Son rôle auprès de la reine, comme d'ailleurs celui d'Ḥapousenbu, grand prêtre d'Amon, a certainement été

[1] N. de G. Davies, 'The Townhouse in Ancient Egypt', *Metropolitan Museum Studies* i (1929), 234, fig. 1; cf. *PM* I², 218.

[2] G. M. Crowfoot, *Methods of Handspinning in Egypt and the Sudan* (Bankfield Museum Notes, 1931, 2nd ser.), 16 no. 12.

[3] Nous maintenons la transposition traditionnelle: nous ne voyons aucune raison de lire Senenmout, en introduisant un génitif indirect syntaxiquement inutile.

déterminant dans l'incroyable parenthèse que constitue, en Égypte ancienne, le règne d'une reine-roi.

Peu de favoris (à l'exception de cet autre architecte qu'était Amenḥotpe fils de Ḥapou) ont en outre bénéficié d'autant de largesses royales. Certes, Senmout a suivi sa maîtresse dans la disgrâce posthume, et ses monuments ont été brisés, et son nom martelé dans les édifices publics où il apparaissait.[1] De ce fait, nous ne possédons probablement qu'une partie des témoignages qui affichaient sa splendeur. Cela rend d'autant plus remarquable leur abondance, notamment en matière de statues et de statuettes appelées, certainement, à figurer dans les temples où elles pouvaient bénéficier des offrandes aux dieux et aux rois divinisés. Des inventaires successifs ont été faits des vestiges des monuments de Senmout en ronde-bosse. Dewachter[2] les rappelle dans un article récent. Actuellement le chiffre total de vingt-quatre statues et statuettes de Senmout est admis, soit les vingt-deux inventoriées par Helen Jacquet-Gordon,[3] auxquelles Dewachter ajoute les deux statues 'fixes' du spéos du Gebel Silsila, et de la niche au-dessus de la tombe No. 71, première tombe, inachevée, de Senmout.

Pour la commodité de notre propos, il n'est peut-être pas mauvais de rappeler ces vingt-quatre monuments, en renvoyant pour plus de détails aux auteurs cités plus haut; nous nous bornerons à compléter leurs indications par celles qu'ils ont omises, ou qui sont postérieures à leurs publications; nous indiquons en outre les 'attitudes', selon la typologie de Vandier (*Manuel d'archéologie*). L'ordre adopté est celui de H. Jacquet-Gordon.

1. Berlin 2296.[4] Attitude PNE XIX-A. Granit noir.
2. British Museum 174.[5] Attitude PNE XIX-C. Granit noir.
3. British Museum 1513. Attitude PNE PNE XI-A. Quartzite jaunâtre.
4. Brooklyn Museum 6768. Attitude PNE XIX-C[a]. Granit gris-noir.
5. Cairo Museum CG 22114 (JE 37438 bis).[6] Attitude PNE XIX-A. Granit noir.
6. Cairo Museum 42115 (Temp. 16.2.21.9).[7] Attitude PNE XIX-A. Granit rouge.
7. Cairo Museum CG 42116.[8] Attitude PNE XIX-B. Granit noir.
8. Cairo Museum CG 42117. Attitude PNE XV-A. Granit noir.
9. Cairo Museum CG 579. Attitude PNE-XIV-B. Quartzite jaunâtre.
10. Cairo Museum JE 34582. Attitude PNE XIV-C.[a] Quartzite pourpre.
11. Cairo Museum JE 47228.[9] Attitude PNE XIX-A. Quartzite jaune.
12. Chicago Field Museum 173988.[10] Attitude PNE XIX-D. Granit noir.
13. Louvre 11057. Attitude PNE-XX. Porphyre rouge.
14. Metropolitan Museum of Arts Access. 48.14.97 (= 142761).[11] Attitude PNE XIV-B. Diorite noire.

[1] Comme la *damnatio memoriae* d'Hatshepsout, celle de Senmout n'est pas à attribuer à Thoutmès III (dont on a démontré, dans le premier cas, qu'elle n'aurait pu intervenir au plus tôt qu'en l'an X de son règne solitaire, ce qui est peu vraisemblable). Il faut en créditer, dans un cas comme dans l'autre, Séti I[er] et, surtout, Ramsès II qui, rappelons-le, a exclu Ḥatshepsout de ses listes royales. Restent exceptés quelques cas où Thoutmès a procédé à des remplois, ou à des usurpations.

[2] Michel Dewachter, 'La base d'une nouvelle statue de Senenmout', *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 87–96; cf. en particulier p. 87 n. 1 et 3.

[3] Helen Jacquet-Gordon, 'Concerning a Statue of Senenmut', *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 139–50; cf. en particulier p. 142 n. 1.

[4] Lepsius, III, 25 h; Schulman, 'Some Remarks on the Alleged "Fall" of Senmut', *JARCE* 8 (1969–70), 40; S. Ratié, *Hatshepsout*, 246, n. 13: elle y voit une réplique du No. 11; Jocelyne Berlandini-Grenier, 'Senenmout, stoliste royal, sur une statue-cube avec Neferouré', *BIFAO* 76 (1876), 114.

[5] Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, pl. 33.

[6] Berlandini-Grenier, op. cit. 115.

[7] Ibid. 115–16.

[8] Schulman, op. cit. 38.

[9] Berlandini-Grenier, op. cit. 116.

[10] Ou, selon Dewachter (op. cit. 96), Chicago NHM 173800.

[11] W. Hayes, *BMMA* 35 (déc. 1940), No. 12, fig. 2.

15. Coll. privée New York. Attitude PNE XIV-B. Granit noir.
16. Coll. privée Paris. Attitude PNE XIX-C[a]. Schiste gris-vert.
17. Magasin Cheikh Labib Karnak.[1] Attitude PNE XIX-A. Granit noir.
18. Magasin Caracol Karnak.[2] Attitude PNE XIX-A. Granit noir.
19. Deir el-Baḥri (= BMMA?).[3] Attitude PNE XIX-A (?). Granit noir.
20. Deir el-Baḥri 1963. Attitude PNE XIX-B. Granit noir.
21. Deir Rumi (Queen Valley).[4] Attitude PNE X-A ou PNE XIX-B. Granit noir.
22. Edfou (disparue). Attitude? Granit noir.
23. Spéos Gebel Silsila. Attitude PNE XIX-C (?). Grès.
24. Niche tombe No. 71. Attitude PNE XIX-A. Calcaire.

Le Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève vient de faire l'acquisition d'une base fragmentaire de statue,[5] qui constitue ainsi le vingt-cinquième monument en ronde-bosse de Senmout. Son origine est incertaine. Selon les indications du vendeur, elle aurait été acquise à Louqsor, et son lieu de découverte aurait été la région de Sheikh Abd el-Gournah. De telles indications sont à accueillir avec prudence; mais il faut rappeler que la première tombe de Senmout se trouve précisément dans ce site.

Ce socle mesure, dans ses dimensions maximum, 130 × 56 × 110 mm. Si la largeur est bien celle du monument original, il est en revanche difficile d'extrapoler, à partir des inscriptions latérales, sa profondeur à l'origine (ce qui aurait permis de déterminer si nous avions affaire à une statue debout ou, comme c'est notre sentiment, à une statue agenouillée). Selon l'interprétation que l'on donne à l'inscription, il pourrait s'agir d'une des nombreuses statues ou statuettes où Senmout porte la petite princesse Neferouré.

Ce petit monument fragmentaire présente une première originalité: il est en albâtre. Or, les vingt-quatre autres n'utilisent pas cette matière: ils sont essentiellement en granit (les indications 'quartzite', 'schiste', 'diorite', 'porphyre' relèvent probablement de cette catégorie générale). L'albâtre, beaucoup utilisé dans la statuaire de Thoutmès III, est par essence, semble-t-il, une pierre réservée aux monuments royaux. On remarquera en second lieu que ni le nom de la reine, ni celui de Senmout, n'ont été martelés. La statuette paraissant avoir été brisée intentionnellement, il faut supposer que cette destruction fut considérée comme suffisante.

Les deux lignes sur le dessus de la base, devant les restes du pied gauche, donnent (voir fig. 1 et pl. XXIV, 2):

1. *Donné comme témoignage de faveur* (ḥswt), *de par le souverain, le roi de Haute et de Basse-Égypte*
2. *Maât-ka-Ré, vivante* (fém.), *au surintendant* (mr-pr wr) *Senmout.*

La bande courant autour du socle pose plus de problèmes (voir fig. 2 et pl. XXV, 2). L'inscription a souffert de trous probablement causés par l'emploi de la pierre, à une période récente, comme percuteur. Dans les limites des restitutions possibles, elle se lit:

Comme on le voit, la partie frontale, écrite de droite à gauche comme le texte de l'entablement, débute et s'achève sur un *di* symétrique. La symétrie exige d'autre part

[1] Berlandini-Grenier, op. cit. 111 ss.
[2] Ibid. 116–17.
[3] Hayes, 'Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 88–9 et pl. xiii-1; Schulman op. cit. 41.
[4] Doublet de Caire 42116 (No. 7)?
[5] Inv. 23438.

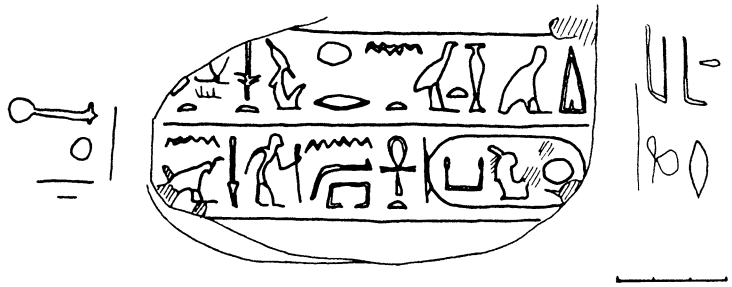


FIG. 1

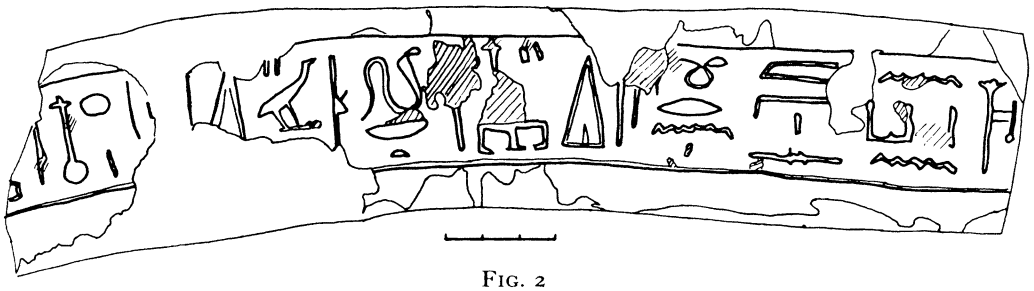


FIG. 2

qu'au texte de droite, écrit de gauche à droite, corresponde, à gauche, un texte écrit de droite à gauche.

La restitution du nom de la déesse Seshat nous paraît évidente, et le déterminatif de *isw* vraisemblable. L'épithète—dans des graphies diverses—n'est pas rare. En revanche, les signes qui précèdent le nom de la déesse nous laissent, nous l'avouons, dans la perplexité. Il ne s'agit pas d'un *ḥotep-di-nesou*. La déesse est censée faire don à Senmout de diverses faveurs (à droite, la perpétuation de son nom). En bonne logique, seuls son nom et son ou ses épithètes devraient figurer sur cette partie frontale; on voit mal l'une de ses épithètes figurer avant son nom, à moins d'admettre que l'inscription frontale avait deux directions, de part et d'autre du nom 'Seshat'. Or, nous ne connaissons pas d'épithète qualifiant la déesse d'une expression combinée avec le monogramme des 'Deux Maisons'; et de toute façon, cette disposition graphique serait pour le moins inattendue. De plus, l'inscription de droite reste ambiguë. A-t-on *di·s rwḏ rn(·f) m-bꜣḥ·s n kꜣ n sš . . .*, ou *di srwḏ*, etc.? De cette lecture dépend la lecture de la partie latérale gauche, où le *di* peut, ou peut ne pas être suivi d'un *·s* disparu dans la cassure.

C'est d'ailleurs cette partie gauche qui est la plus troublante. En effet, les signes subsistants peuvent s'interpréter soit soit . Dans le premier cas, on pense inévitablement à la princesse Neferouré, allusion qui serait remarquable puisqu'on aurait là le premier exemple de son nom écrit sans cartouche. Au demeurant, comment intégrer, dans un texte faisant de Seshat la donatrice de faveurs, cette princesse dont le nom, de surcroît, se situerait en début de phrase? Mais d'autre part, quel sens attribuer à ce 'jour heureux' offert au même titre que le souhait éternel d'une perpétuation du nom? Nous nous sentons bien contraints de laisser à la sagacité de nos collègues le soin de résoudre ce rébus.

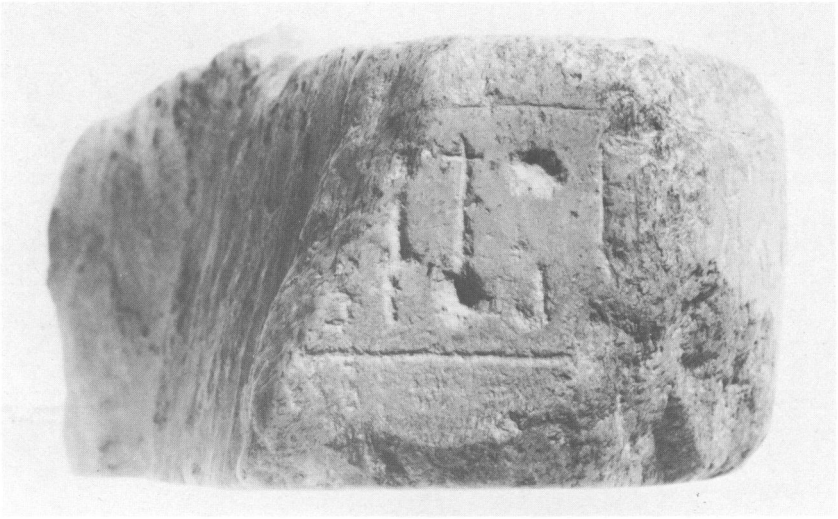
ROBERT HARI

1. Musée d'art et d'histoire, Genève, 23438

2. Genève, 23438, le dessus

1. Genève, 23438, face

2. Genève, 23438, droit



3. Genève, 23438, gauche

LA VINGT-CINQUIÈME STATUE DE SENMOUT

Encore Ro-setaou

La connotation solaire du lieu funéraire dit Ro-Setaou et primitivement associé à Sokaris a déjà été souligné.[1] Si on trouve des allusions à cet aspect dans certains passages du Livre des Morts[2] et même sur des ouchebtis du Moyen Empire,[3] c'est avant tout le texte spécifique des ouchebtis à 'formule Khaemouas'[4] qui nous éclaire sur ce point de vue. Ils portent en effet à quelques variantes près la formule suivante: *ḏd·f wn ḥr·k mꜣꜣ·k ỉtn dwꜣ·k Rʿ m ʿnḫ nỉs·tw·k m Rꜣ-stꜣw pḥr·k ỉꜣt-Tꜣ-mwt nʿy·k ỉnt r Rꜣ-stꜣw ḥry wbꜣ·k Tpḥt štꜣ ḥms·k (ḥr) st ỉmy Tꜣ-ḏsrt mỉ ỉst wr ḥr Rʿ*, 'Il dit: puisses-tu être ouvert de visage; puisses-tu voir le disque; puisses-tu adorer Rê en vie; puisses-tu être appelé dans Ro-Setaou; puisses-tu circuler dans Iat-Tja-Mout; puisses-tu traverser la vallée vers Ro-Setaou supérieur; puisses-tu contempler la caverne mystérieuse; puisses-tu être assis sur le siège qui est dans la Terre Sacrée comme le grand équipage auprès de Rê.'

La formule dont il est question semblait ainsi réservée à des ouchebtis dont certains furent trouvés 'hors tombe'. Ces substituts du mort jouaient alors le rôle d'intercesseur pour que soit accordée au défunt la faveur de bénéficier perpétuellement de la contemplation du dieu solaire et par là-même de la vie que diffusent ses rayons. Je veux simplement attirer ici l'attention sur un autre type de texte qui reprend le même thème sous une formulation apparemment plus brève.

J. Málek a signalé récemment l'existence d'un fragment de relief, malheureusement très incomplet, appartenant à la tombe memphite du dignitaire de l'Époque Ramesside, Mes.[5] On y voit le personnage et son épouse Moutnefert en adoration devant un dieu aujourd'hui perdu, avec l'inscription fragmentaire suivante: . . . *pr m Rꜣ-stꜣw r mꜣꜣ Rʿ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty Wsỉr sš* . . ., '. . . sortir dans Ro-Setaou[6] pour contempler Rê-Ḥarakhty; l'Osiris, le scribe . . .'.

Il s'agit évidemment d'une partie de l'invocation adressée par le couple à la divinité inconnue qui se trouvait en face de lui. Ainsi c'est le mort lui-même qui dans sa tombe sollicite directement d'un dieu (Sokaris, Osiris?) la libre circulation dans Ro-Setaou pour y contempler le dieu solaire, ici sous sa forme de Rê-Ḥarakhty. On peut supposer à titre d'hypothèse que le choix de Rê-Ḥarakhty au lieu simplement de Rê, s'explique par la proximité d'Héliopolis et de Giza et par l'influence de la théologie héliopolitaine sur toute la région memphite.[7]

Il est vraisemblable que ce type de prière a dû être gravé dans d'autres tombes, peut-être de préférence memphites. On connaît naturellement de nombreux exemples de formules destinées à permettre au mort de circuler dans Ro-Setaou mais sans que s'y manifeste une quelconque connotation solaire. Du moins peut-on constater dans le cas présent que l'invocation attribuée au prince Khaemouas n'était pas exclusivement réservée aux ouchebtis mais pouvait être mise directement dans la bouche du défunt. D'autres exemples à condition d'être bien datés permettraient aussi de s'assurer qu'il s'agit effectivement d'une formule ramesside ou au contraire en feraient remonter l'origine à une date antérieure.

Christiane M. Zivie

[1] J. et L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes*, 89; Schneider, *Shabtis*, I, 277 et 285; C. M. Zivie, *LdÄ* V, 307.

[2] *LdM*, chap. 15, 18, 126.

[3] Cf. ouchebti de Iounefer; à ce sujet voir Schneider, op. cit. 284.

[4] Pour une liste complète des ouchebtis portant cette formule, voir en dernier lieu Schneider, op. cit. 285–6.

[5] Málek, *JEA* 67 (1981), 163 et fig. 3.

[6] Selon toute vraisemblance il s'agit là de la formule relativement banale *ʿḳ pr m Rꜣ-stꜣw*, 'entrer et sortir dans Ro-Setaou', 'aller et venir dans Ro-Setaou', plutôt que de *pr m Rꜣ-stꜣw* seul, 'sortir de Ro-Setaou', ainsi que l'a compris Málek. Ce qui fait l'originalité et l'intérêt de ce texte fragmentaire est le complément *r mꜣꜣ Rʿ-Ḥr-ꜣḫty*, qui lui donne sa connotation nettement solaire et non plus seulement funéraire.

[7] Sur cette influence depuis la XVIII[ème] dynastie, cf. C. M. Zivie, 'Giza au deuxième millénaire', *BdÉ* 70, 317, et *LdÄ* II, 606.

Three miscellaneous fragments in Liverpool

THE three previously unpublished objects which form the subject of this paper are from the collections of the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies at the University of Liverpool.[1] Although each of these is not particularly exceptional in itself, 'minor antiquities' of this kind are often not without interest.

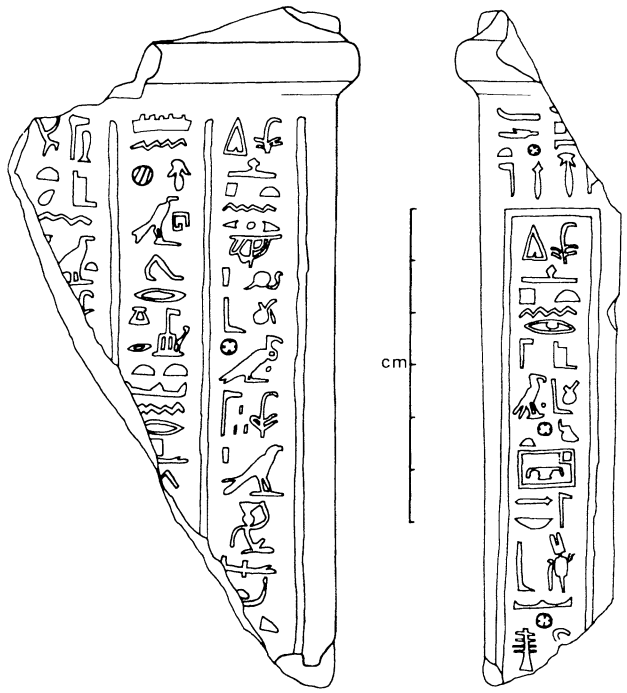


FIG. 1

Fragment 1

Previously belonging to the Grant Collection,[2] and now bearing the Liverpool SAOS number E.515c, the fragment is part of an inscribed black basalt naos. Only the front upper left-hand corner survives (as viewed, see fig. 1). Vertical columns of incised hieroglyphs cover both the outer side and the jamb, while the surface which would have formed part of the inner face of the side wall has been left uninscribed. The greatest surviving height and depth of the fragment are 129.5 mm and 63.5 mm respectively. The jamb, which is 25.6 mm thick and, on the inner side, 35 mm deep, ends at a protrusion which marks the back, interior face. The original width would, perhaps, have been between 140 and 170 mm, but the height is difficult to estimate; for the material used and diminutive size of the piece probably indicate that it was not originally free-standing, but part of a naophorous figure. Moreover, the shallowness of the interior implies that the naos may have contained the figure of a deity, modelled in high relief, while the considerable depth of the exterior suggests that the figure

[1] I am grateful to Professor A. F. Shore for permission to publish these objects and for his encouragement. My thanks are also due to Dr K. A. Kitchen for his helpful comments.

[2] Objects from the collection of James Sandilands Grant were deposited in the Institute of Archaeology at Liverpool by his wife during the First World War.

carrying the naos was either standing or kneeling and holding it well in front of him[1]. This type of statuary was particularly popular during the Late Period[2] although examples do occur as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty.[3] Certain naophorous figures, from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards, may provide parallels for several features of this surviving fragment.[4]

Translation

(1) *The Behdetite, the great god, lord of heaven, variegated of plumage . . .* (2) *An offering which the king gives to Osiris the Coptite, foremost of the Mansion of Gold*[a], *great god, lord of Abydos, (? ruler of Busiris*[b] *. . .)* (3) *An offering which the king gives to Min-Rēʿ the Coptite*[c], *King of the Gods, the Horus, raised of arm*[d], *lofty of (plumes)*[e] *. . .* (4) *(efficient . . .), going down to the necropolis,*[f] *to (the* K3 *of*[g]*) the hereditary prince*[h] *. . .* (5) *Prophet of Isis of* t3 (ỉnsw)[i] *. . .*

Commentary

a. For *Wsỉr Gbtyw ḫnty ḫwt-nbw* see the references cited by J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains* (Cairo, 1965), 282.

b. It is possible that the broken signs at the end of this column are to be read *ḥḳ3 Ḏdw*.

c. *Contra* H. Gauthier (*Les fêtes du dieu Min* (Cairo, 1931), 181–2), who specifically states that there was no Min-Rēʿ apposition at Coptos. Rather Min-Rēʿ was especially known as *nb ỉpw*, 'Lord of Akhmim', from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, as well as being attested at Dakkeh, Edfu, and Athribis. However, besides the piece under discussion, there are other attestations of Min-Rēʿ at Coptos during this period, notably on a stela of Parthenios (see W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 22, pl. 22, 3.) and on the first gate of the South Temple (see C. Traunecker, 'L'étude et la publication des monuments ptolémaïques et romains de Coptos', *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, II (Paris, 1982), 98–9).

d. Compare *Mnw Gbtyw Ḥr f3ỉ-ʿ* on the naos of Sennushepsi (*PM* V, 132–3), also from Coptos. 'Raised of arm' is often used as an epithet of Min, and of the composite deity Min-Horus (see *Wb* I, 572, 11, and also E. Brovarski, 'Senenu, High Priest of Amun at Deir el-Bahri', *JEA* 62 (1976), 64).

e. One may confidently restore *ḳ3ỉ šwty*, 'Lofty of plumes'. As with the previous *f3ỉ-ʿ* this epithet is the written equivalent of the attributes of Min, apparent in visual representations of the god.

f. The list of benefits, which this phrase concludes, would have begun in the missing portion of the previous column.

g. The use of *n* for *n k3 n* is occasionally found on private statuary, including naophorous figures, when the space available for an inscription is limited, a practice which seems to have become fairly widespread from the Ramesside era onwards (see Vandier, op. cit., pl. clxiii (2) and G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 63 (No. 180), pls. xxxi and cxvii).

[1] For commentary on the modelling of naoi in the Late Period see B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), 46–7.

[2] A list of examples is given in M. A. Nur el-Din, 'A Demotic Text on a Torso at Leiden' *OMRO* 61 (1980), 34. For a description of the function of naophorous statues as ex-votos see A. B. Lloyd, 'The Inscription of Udjahorresnet', *JEA* 68 (1982), 167–8.

[3] J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958), 468 ff.

[4] For an example with a parallel provenance and dedicatory deities see S. Pernigotti, *La Statuaria Egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1980), 61–2, pl. 18, 2, and 81–3.

h. The broken sign below *ỉry-pʿt* is, perhaps, a squatting male figure with an exaggerated flagellum, Gardiner A. 52, as a determinative for *ỉry-pʿt*.

i. The remaining traces would suit the signs and Compare, perhaps, the naos of Sennushepsi, where the owner is said to be a prophet of 'Isis *tȝ ỉnsw* in the Coptite Nome' (see K. Sethe, *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, I (Leipzig, 1904), 63, 8).

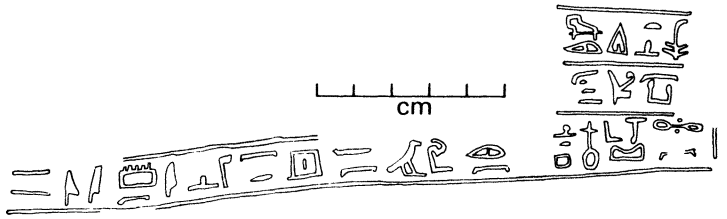


FIG. 2

Fragment 2

Nothing is known of the previous history of Liverpool E.2801 (see fig. 2). This is the designation given to the lower half of a steatite figure of a squatting man, a type of statuette common to the Middle Kingdom and to the site of Abydos where many were deposited as ex-votos.[1] Its present height is 62 mm while the dimensions of the base are 62 mm wide by 78 mm deep. The top of the surviving fragment has a flat surface, smooth apart from striations created during a later cutting. The stone is chipped and broken around the base and on the right forearm. The figure is represented as wearing a long kilt and an overlapping fold is indicated by modelling at the waist. The hands are placed, palms downwards, on the tops of the thighs, and no effort has been made to represent the doubled-up legs or feet which are hidden by the kilt. It is on the kilt that the text has been roughly inscribed, beginning at the waist and running in three horizontal registers to knee-level, then continuing around the lowest part of the figure to end halfway along the left thigh.

Translation

(1) *A boon which the king gives* (*to*) *Osiris* (2) *for the* Kȝ *of the Regulator of* (3) *the Phyle of Abydos*,[a] *Neferḥotep* (4) *begotten of the Measurer*[b] *of the Granary of the Divine Offerings, Ameny, the justified.*

Commentary

a. For other examples of a *mty n sʾ n ȝbḏw* see K. A. Kitchen, 'An unusual stela from Abydos', *JEA* 47 (1961), 10–18, pls. 2–3; id., 'Amenysonb in Liverpool and the Louvre', *JEA* 48 (1962), 159–60; K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke. Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Leipzig, 1924), 76.

b. For titles compounded with *ḫȝỉ* see A. Gardiner, *AEO* I (Oxford, 1947), 91.

The form of the offering formula, *nswt ḥtp dỉ*, suggests that the statuette was inscribed before the variant *nsw dỉ ḥtp* became the predominant horizontal writing during the second half of the Thirteenth Dynasty (see W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), 72–80), while the writing of *Wsỉr* with the carrying-chair determinative seems to give a *terminus post quem* during the reign of Sesostris III (see C. J. C. Bennet,

[1] Vandier, op. cit. 226, 233.

'Growth of the Ḥtp-Dỉ-Nsw Formula in the Middle Kingdom', *JEA* 27 (1941), 78). This date is not far removed from that of the *mty n sʒ n ʒbḏw*, Amenysonbu, who served under King Nekhanemaʿatrēʿ Khendjer (see Sethe, op. cit.).

Fragment 3

The faience vessel fragment illustrated in fig. 3, Liverpool E. 185, also has no known provenance. Broken all around the perimeter, it has a present height of 106 mm, while its greatest width is 84 mm. It tapers in thickness from 18.5 mm at the topmost part to 13.5 mm at the bottom. If the original vessel was evenly rounded it would have been 180 mm in diameter at the level from which this fragment comes. The body-material is of the homogenous paste described as 'Type II' by Kemp and Merrillees.[1] The original vessel was glazed on the outside only, the figures drawn in deep purple on a variable blue background. The lower half of the right-hand edge of the sherd is stained brown, perhaps due to the decomposition of the core material.[2] The drawing on the sherd depicts an offering scene. The standing male figure, who wears a costume typical of the Ramesside Period,[3] is, presumably, the person referred to in the horizontal text below the scene: '. . . to/of all the gods, Ḥor, the justified.' He is shown offering to a seated goddess, who bears a sceptre and an *ʿnḫ*. The remains of a vertical column of hieroglyphs on the right of the fragment are illegible except, perhaps, for another *Ḥr* sign with determinative. The traces on the topmost part of the sherd, behind the head of the deceased, are likewise unidentifiable.

FIG. 3

In all likelihood the original vessel from which this fragment comes was a canopic jar. Examples exist of Ramesside faience canopic jars which have offering scenes depicted on them, surrounded by text, the deceased standing over an altar and worshipping a deity, either Osiris[4] or a jackal-headed god.[5] The present author is not aware of the existence of any examples of this type of canopic jar bearing the depiction of a female deity, but, as canopic chests often bear representations of female guardian deities,[6] it may not have seemed unnatural to transfer the depiction of these goddesses onto the jars themselves.

S. R. SNAPE

A new fragment of a Ptolemaic priestly decree at Durham

THE University of Durham Oriental Museum has recently acquired a fragment of hieroglyphic inscription,[7] evidently coming from a priestly decree in honour of Ptolemy III (see pl. XXVI, 1–2). Parts of six lines are preserved; there is a small, unrecognizable trace of a sign from the line preceding them, and a similar trace from the line that follows, but these have been disregarded in the numbering of the lines. Despite its appearance (see pl. XXVI, 1), the stone is a firm, hard limestone, although of mediocre quality. The fragment measures

[1] B. J. Kemp and R. S. Merrillees, *Minoan Pottery in Second Millennium Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), 115.
[2] Ibid. 116.
[3] Vandier, op. cit. 497.
[4] G. A. Reisner and M. H. Abd-ul-Rahman, *Canopics* (CCG, 1967), 155–7 (Nos. 4221 and 4223), pl. 33; 157–8 (No. 4224), pl. 34; E. Brovarski, *Canopic Jars* (Mainz, 1978), I, 163–4.
[5] Probably Qebeḥsenuf; Reisner, op. cit. 158–9 (No. 4225), pl. 63.
[6] e.g. Reisner, op. cit. 383–4 (No. 4980), pl. 89–90.
[7] Inv. no. 1982.4. A brief description has appeared in *Arts of Asia* 13 (6) (Nov.–Dec. 1983), 82.

41 cm in width by 27 cm in height. The back of the piece has been trimmed in recent times (the maximum thickness is now 6.75 cm). Many of the hieroglyphs, executed in sunk relief, show considerable detail in their carving, not always revealed in the photograph.

The text is presented here with a minimum of comment. Clearly enough, the fragment comes from an inscription similar to the famous priestly decrees of Canopus and Rosetta, and like them was doubtless trilingual.[1] It is also certain that the text honours Ptolemy III, but it can in no way be interpreted as a variant of Canopus, the one well-preserved example from his reign. A few fragments of trilingual decrees have already, with varying degrees of confidence, been identified with the 'earlier decree' mentioned at Canopus 17 (*Urk.* II, 137, 9; cf. l. 33 of the Greek text, *OGIS* 56).[2] The suggestion may be offered that the Oriental Museum fragment belongs to this 'earlier decree', which perhaps played a similar role at, or near, the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy III as Rosetta played in that of Ptolemy V.

Translation[3]

x+1] all the divine, honoured sacred-animals in Egypt[a] [*x*+2] making numerous provisions before them, and doing all their duties,[b] as [*x*+3] His Person being as a god among them,[c] his heart caring at every moment[d] for the affairs of the gods,[e] together with . . .[f] [*x*+4 In] good [fortune.[g]] *space* It is a thought in their hearts, the priests (lit. god's-fathers) of the tempes of Egypt, to increase and sanctify[h] [*x*+5] (Ptolemy, who lives for ever, beloved of Ptaḥ), son of (Ptolemy) and (Arsinoe), the Sibling-Gods, and [*x*+6] in them, and one shall make the noble shrines of the Beneficent Gods appear together with them, in order to cause one to recognize[i][

Notes

a. Cf. Canopus 5 (*Urk.* II, 128, 7); Rosetta R3 (*Urk.* II, 185, 3).

b. See e.g. Canopus 20 (*Urk.* II, 140, 7).

c. Presumably read  ; for a similar problematic sign see Pithom Stela 10 (*Urk.* II, 90, 12).

d. The photograph is rather misleading—probably some form of animal head like that found, e.g. at Canopus 21 (*Urk.* II, 141, 1), is to be restored. The sense is not in doubt.

e. Cf. esp. Berlin 14400.4 (*Urk.* II, 23, 5).

f. After *ḥnᶜ*,  is virtually certain; the following trace may be deceptively damaged.

g. Cf. Canopus 11 (*Urk.* II, 132, 12); Rosetta R5 (*Urk.* II, 188, 1); also *Urk.* II, 205, 11; 225, 3.

h. Cf. Canopus 11 (*Urk.* II, 133, 1–2); Rosetta R5 (*Urk.* II, 188, 2); *Urk.* II, 225, 4.

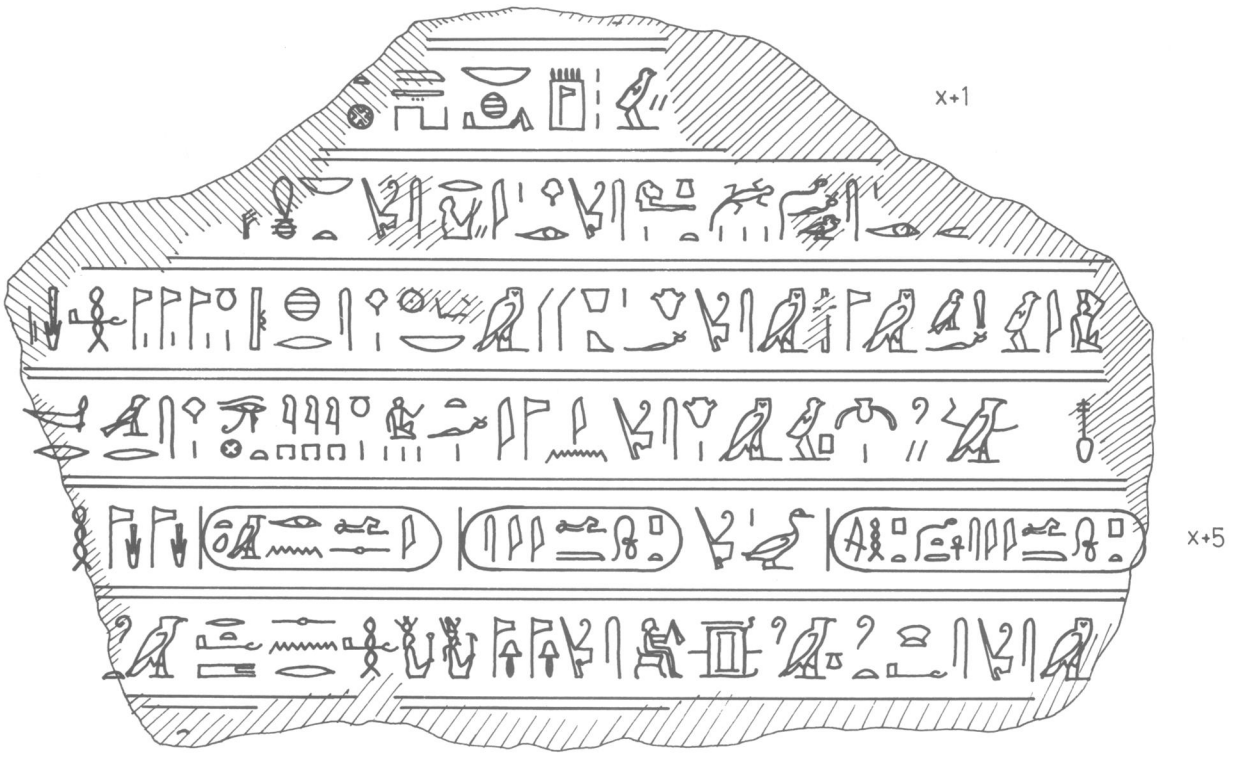
i. Cf. Rosetta R8 (*Urk.* II, 191, 8–192, 1). W. J. TAIT

[1] For the trilingual decrees of the Ptolemaic period see T. Säve-Söderbergh, 'Ein neues zweisprachiges Dekret einer ägyptischen Priestersynode unter Ptolemaios III. Euergetes I.', in *Einige ägyptische Denkmäler in Schweden* (1945), 39–54; A. Bayoumi and O. Guéraud, 'Un nouvel exemplaire du Décret de Canope', *ASAE* 46 (1947), 373–82; F. Daumas, *Les Moyens d'expression du grec et de l'Égyptien* (1952); S. Sauneron, 'Un cinquième exemplaire du Décret de Canope: la stèle de Boubastis', *BIFAO* 56 (1957), 67–75; J. Schwartz, 'Pierres d'Égypte' (with an appendix by M. Malinine), *Revue archéologique* (1960), i, 77–90; F. Daumas, 'Les Textes bilingues ou trilingues', in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique: hommages à Jean-François Champollion* (1975), III, 41–5; H.-J. Thissen, 'Kanopusdekret', *LdÄ* III, col. 321. Further bibliography may be found in these; the work of Säve-Söderbergh and Daumas's *Les Moyens d'expression* contain surveys of the texts, including the fragmentary examples then known.

[2] See esp. Säve-Söderbergh, op. cit. 53; J. Schwartz, op. cit. 85. On grounds of material and of size, none of the other fragments so far described in print seems likely to have come from the same stone as the Oriental Museum piece.

[3] A substantial amount of text seems to be lost from each line, and so no close connection should be assumed between the surviving contents of one line and the next.

1



2

A PTOLEMAIC PRIESTLY DECREE

Lycophron on Isis

SOMEWHAT surprisingly, we depend on Plutarch for a connected account of what to the Graeco-Roman world appeared the central myth of Egyptian religion. In relating the legend of Osiris (*De Iside* chs. 12–20 (*Mor.* 355 D–359 B)) he cites no authorities, and we cannot divine his sources,[1] but his version undoubtedly contains Greek elements, even if their extent is controversial. Obviously there was nothing like an authorized ἱερὸς λόγος circulated with a Memphite *imprimatur* for the edification of Isiac congregations oecumenically. Egypt's gods were not designed for export, and even in their own country their mythology had been subject to development and variation; we should expect mutations to proliferate with the diffusion of their worship. We must, therefore, wonder how far Plutarch's account of the myth represents the form in which it was familiar to most Greeks and Romans who (whether or not they were initiates) took an intelligent interest in the cult of the Egyptian gods. By and large, however, this is an unanswerable question; we have to make what we can of scattered allusions, and even in an explicitly Isiac context we are uncomfortably aware that we see through a glass darkly. Undoubtedly we miss much which in antiquity would have seemed obvious not merely to devotees but to anyone with a reasonable range of general knowledge. My object in this note is to examine the implications of a passage in Lycophron's *Alexandra*[2] where an interesting difference from Plutarch's account appears to be presupposed.

Converting into hyper-Aeschylean iambics Herodotus' chapters (1. 1–5) on the series of abductions to which (allegedly) Oriental traditions traced the origins of the hostility between Europe and Asia,[3] Lycophron puts in Cassandra's mouth the following reflections on the kidnapping of Io (*Alex.* 1291–5):

> *Ὄλοιντο ναῦται πρῶτα Καρνῖται κύνες,*
> *οἳ τὴν βοῶπιν ταυροπάρθενον κόρην*
> *Λέρνης ἀνηρείψαντο, φορτηγοὶ λύκοι,*
> *πλᾶτιν πορεῦσαι κῆρα Μεμφίτῃ πρόμῳ,*
> *ἔχθρας δὲ πυρσὸν ἦραν ἠπείροις διπλαῖς.*

'Ruin seize first the Carnite[4] sailor hounds, the merchant wolves, who carried off the ox-eyed bull-maid girl from Lerna to bring her as a fatal bride to the lord of Memphis, and raised the torch of hatred between the two continents.'

Io is more famous as a mother than as a wife, and the marriage which proved disastrous to an Egyptian king (1294) introduces a detail absent from Herodotus and not easily to be supplied from elsewhere. 'Daß sie den König heiratet und ihm eine κήρ wird, befremdet sehr' observed Wilamowitz.[5] Lycophron surely envisaged readers sufficiently familiar with Herodotus to be struck by this innovation. We cannot meet the difficulty by supposing him

[1] See further J. Gwyn Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* (1970), 75 ff.

[2] Doubts (which I do not share) have been expressed about the traditional attribution of the *Alexandra* to Lycophron the scholar and tragic poet active under Philadelphus, but for my purposes it makes no difference whether the poem was composed by a contemporary of Callimachus or belongs to the early second century. For a clear and compendious guide to the Lycophron Question (apparently first raised by Charles James Fox in 1800) see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972), II, 1065 ff. n. 331.

[3] For some interesting observations on reflections of Herodotus in Hellenistic poets (though regrettably Lycophron is ignored) see O. Murray, 'Herodotus and Hellenistic culture', *CQ* 22 (1972), 200 ff., esp. 203 f.

[4] Apparently simply a recherché synonym for 'Phoenician'; *Κάρνη πόλις Φοινίκης* schol. vet.

[5] *Hellenistische Dichtung* (1924), II, 158; Io's vicissitudes fall within the passage which he selected for detailed comment (1281–1361) and his discussion, though unsympathetic, is a valuable supplement to the indispensable commentary of C. von Holzinger (1895).

merely to mean that Io married the Pharaoh of the time, whoever that might be;[1] though Cassandra is made to take a somewhat jaundiced view of matrimony (*παρθένειον ζυγόν*, as she terms it (1131)), she could hardly regard it as automatically catastrophic for the man concerned, and the specific detail of *κῆρα* implies a ruler well known for his sad end. No one is likely to find immediately persuasive the explanation offered in the scholia, where it is alleged that Io is so described *διότι ἀρχὴ πολέμου καὶ στάσεως ἐγένετο αὕτη αἰτία ταῖς δυσὶν ἠπείροις*. Egypt could not sensibly be regarded as involved in the conflict between Europe and Asia before the Persian conquest, and, in any case, Lycophron's words suggest personal tragedy.

The mythographer Apollodorus (II, 1, 3) offers a husband for Io in the shape of an Egyptian king called Telegonus,[2] but throws no light on subsequent developments. This obscure ruler was, it appears, unknown to the sources of our scholia; the prince of Memphis is there confidently identified as Osiris, and no alternative is offered.[3] If this is not what Lycophron intended, he is open to criticism for failing to provide sufficient information to avoid misconception. But exploitation of the equivalences afforded by *interpretatio Graeca* is peculiarly characteristic of the *Alexandra*,[4] and the identification of Io with Isis, first explicitly attested in Callimachus' *Ἰναχίης Ἶσιδος* (*Epigr.* 57. 1),[5] might be expected to appeal to Lycophron. Though the scholiasts' identification seems to be merely conjecture, it is surely right.

The hypothesis that Io is here assimilated to Isis helps to explain the unique epithet *ταυροπάρθενος* (1292), which incurs scholiastic censure as *cόλοικον*. Tzetzes elaborates: *οὐ γὰρ ἀρρενόθηλυς ἦν ὥστε λέγειν αὐτὴν ταυροπάρθενον· οὐ γὰρ ταῦρος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ βοῦς*. Like many of Tzetzes' comments, this may seem a shade heavy-handed, but draws attention to a point of importance: the compound suggests paradox or oxymoron, and we feel a sense of anticlimax to be told that the first element is merely equivalent to *βοῦς*.[6] Yet even on this interpretation we may not feel entirely satisfied, since Lycophron, by adopting Herodotus' demythologizing approach to this tale and to that of Europa (1296–1301), discourages us from imagining that Io was even partially transformed. We thus seem reduced to supposing that the strange

[1] Comparison with Herodotus' account of pre-Saïte history (2. 99 ff.) fails to indicate any likely candidate. The latest possible Pharaoh is Sesostris (102–10), two generations before the Trojan War; his history suggestively resembles that of Osiris as related by Plutarch, inasmuch as both suffer from a murder-attempt by a brother at a banquet given to celebrate the king's return from a successful and wide-ranging mission, though Sesostris survived, thanks to his wife's ingenuity. Herodotus has nothing to record about the wife of any earlier Pharaoh.

[2] (*Ἰὼ*) *εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθοῦσα ἐγαμήθη Τηλεγόνῳ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τότε Αἰγυπτίων. ἱδρύσατο δὲ ἄγαλμα Δήμητρος, ἣν ἐκάλεσαν Ἶσιν Αἰγύπτιοι, καὶ τὴν Ἰὼ Ἶσιν ὁμοίως προσηγόρευσαν*. Holzinger notes that Io's marriage to the king of Egypt is already implied by Ephorus (*FGrH* 70 F 156), but the latter's primary concern was evidently to demythologize Io's transformation, and he does not appear to have interested himself in what happened to her once the king had paid her father compensation.

[3] Schol. vet. on 1291 f.: *Φοίνικες δὲ τὴν Ἰνάχου θυγατέρα Ἰὼ ἐξ Ἄργους ἁρπάσαντες ἐκόμισαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τῷ Ὀσίριδι*.

[4] We find an extreme and idiosyncratic application of this principle (the normal Greek approach to the problems of comparative religion) in Lycophron's treatment of 'Zeus' and 'Agamemnon' as interchangeable terms (335, 1124, 1370), an equation suggested by the Spartan cult of Zeus Agamemnon; similarly with 'Zeus' and 'Erechtheus' (158, 431).

[5] Cf. also fr. 383, 12 ff. Callimachus is the earliest witness to this equation, and we are not entitled to assume that it was current much earlier. Certainly Herodotus (for whom Isis is Demeter (2. 59)) is unaware of it, though he alludes (2. 41. 2) to the iconographical resemblance which favoured the identification (and which almost certainly accounts for the extension of Io's wanderings from Euboea to Egypt). Had he known of it, we might expect him to have objected that Io was not a goddess but a mortal, and the generation-gap was too great (cf. his discussion of the identification of Heracles with an Egyptian divinity, 2. 43–4). See further Roscher, II, 270 (Engelmann); *RE* IX, 1737 (Eitrem), s.v. Io.

[6] So (e.g.) Holzinger (*ad loc.*), Wilamowitz (op. cit. 157), Bühler (on Mosch., *Eur.* 135).

compound (surely his own invention) was merely intended to characterize Inachus' daughter as a virago;[1] this hardly seems satisfactory. If, however, we may suppose that Lycophron has Isis in mind here, the apparent oxymoron may be allowed its full force, recalling the goddess's part in the procreation of Harpocrates,[2] one of the most important and memorable features of the myth. On this interpretation Lycophron's coinage is fully justified by the unique occasion to which it refers. The conceit is entirely characteristic of this poet; the reader who misses the allusion may advert censoriously to incorrect usage but will not feel baffled, while the better informed will appreciate this neat reference to an essentially mysterious story.

The assumption that Lycophron's focus has shifted from Io to Isis does not produce a clear-cut solution to the problem of 1294, but it indicates a promising approach. While the vicissitudes of Io's barely identifiable spouse can hardly be regarded as a matter of much moment, the death of Osiris was tragic, unnatural, and central to the myth; it is, moreover, a subject on which we know we are inadequately informed. Plutarch's account of the circumstances in which the god met his end (ch. 13 (*Mor.* 356 B–C)) is one of the least satisfactory parts of his narrative;[3] this far-fetched tale of Typhon's ruse with the made-to-measure sarcophagus looks suspiciously like a Greek aetiology intended to account for the coffin traditionally associated with the god.[4] If it seems a natural (though, admittedly, not an inevitable) inference from Lycophron's text that he supposed Isis to have borne some responsibility for her husband's death (presumably as a result of an accident or misunderstanding),[5] we should surely not be unduly surprised by such evidence for an alternative version.

Whether there was any basis for such a form of myth in Egyptian sources or whether it should rather be taken to represent Greek innovation must, for the moment at least, remain uncertain, but there is perhaps something to be said in favour of the latter. To a Greek, considering the legend with the critical detachment of an outsider, the extravagance of the goddess's mourning and her unparalleled efforts to secure the perpetuation of her husband's seed might well have suggested an attempt to atone for a wrong for which she felt herself to blame, and such a development of the legend would be well in keeping with the taste for erotic sensationalism so often observable in Hellenistic poetry.

It may be objected that, while curious learning manifests itself in virtually every line of Lycophron's poem, he does not otherwise evince much interest in Egyptology,[6] and we should, therefore, be sceptical of alleged allusions to Egyptian legend so long as there is any

[1] For the metaphorical connotations of *ταῦρος* cf. (*ἀπο*)*ταυρόομαι* A., *Ch.* 275, E., *Med.* 92, 188, *ταυρηδὸν βλέπειν* Ar., *Ra.* 804, Pl., *Phd.* 117B, Call., fr. 194. 100–1.

[2] See Plut., *de Iside*, ch. 19 (*Mor.* 358 D), with Gwyn Griffiths's note, ch. 65 (377 B–C), and H. Bonnet, *RÄRG* s.v. Isis (esp. 327). J. Hani (*La Religion égyptienne dans la pensée de Plutarque* (1976), 80 ff.) draws attention to a certain incoherence elsewhere in Plutarch's narrative (chs. 17, 18 (*Mor.* 357 D–F)), where it seems that the myth has been bowdlerized to the point of unintelligibility; what the unfortunate boy from Byblus observed (*Mor.* 357 D) must have been the goddess's union with her dead husband, but the circumstances surrounding the conception of Harpocrates are treated so allusively as to suggest that Plutarch found the episode rather disturbing and preferred to sacrifice clarity rather than scandalize his readers.

[3] What may be inferred from Egyptian sources about this part of the myth is summarized by Gwyn Griffiths, op. cit. 33 ff.

[4] For another bizarre coffin-story, evidently inspired by Greek incomprehension of rituals in honour of Osiris, cf. Herodotus' account of the annual parade of the wooden cow to which Mycerinus consigned his daughter's corpse (2. 129–32).

[5] Such a version of the myth is postulated (for quite different reasons) by R. Merkelbach, *Roman u. Mysterium in der Antike* (1962), 66–7.

[6] Thus, in relating Menelaus' arrival in Egypt (847–9), he allots equal space to the Nile and to Proteus' seals, and neither here nor when Proteus is first introduced (115 ff.) does he exploit the opportunity to descant on the wonders of Egypt.

conceivable alternative; here we cannot absolutely exclude the possibility that this erudite poet refers to an otherwise unrecorded episode in Io's later career and should not lay too much stress on the apparent hermaphroditism of ταυροπάρθενος. But the myth of Osiris surely had an unusually strong claim on the attention of educated Greeks. Every reader of Herodotus (and Lycophron had clearly read him very attentively)[1] must have wondered what lies behind the historian's tantalizing parade of reticence when he touches on matters relating to the passion of Osiris;[2] the diffusion of the cult of the Egyptian gods allowed the curious to inform themselves more fully on the subject. To argue that Lycophron could reasonably have expected his readers to recognize an allusion to this legend does not presuppose any strong general interest in Egyptian mythology among those to whom he addressed himself.

STEPHANIE WEST

[1] This is not the place for a general survey of Lycophron's debt to Herodotus, but another Egyptian episode, the story of Helen and Proteus, well illustrates his detailed knowledge of the text. As in Herodotus (2. 112 ff.), Helen is detained in Egypt by Proteus without any diminution of her guilt (115 ff.); the long harangue which Herodotus gives Proteus (2. 115) is embroidered and elaborated (131 ff.), and there is an added piquancy in Lycophron's reference to the ξενοκτόνοι πάλαι of Proteus' sons (124) if we recall the emphasis with which the Herodotean Proteus insists that his principles forbid him ξεινοκτονέειν (115. 4–6). We have a further reminiscence of these chapters in Lycophron's use of Ξένη as a title of Aphrodite (832), which must be connected with the reference to ξείνη Ἀφροδίτη, worshipped by Phoenicians in Egypt, with which Herodotus introduces his account of Helen (112. 2); this cannot be a genuine *epiclesis* of Aphrodite, but it is controversial whether we are dealing here with a complicated misconception or with Herodotean invention: see further D. Fehling, *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot* (1971), 50.

[2] 2. 61. 1; 86. 2; 132. 2; 170. 1; 171. 1.

REVIEWS

The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II, G 7110–20, 7130–40, and Subsidiary Mastabas of Street G 7100. By WILLIAM KELLY SIMPSON. With drawings and contributions by Suzanne Chapman, Nicholas Thayer, Lynn Holden, and Timothy Kendall. Based upon the excavations and recording of George A. Reisner, William Stevenson Smith, Alan Rowe, T. R. D. Greenlees, Dows Dunham, and Nicholas Melnikoff of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston–Harvard University Expedition. Giza Mastabas, 3. 344 × 275 mm. Pp. ix + 34, frontisp., pls. 47, figs. 72. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1978. ISBN 0 87846 120 5. 78-4413. Price $50.

In continuation of the volumes on the mastaba of Mersyʿankh III (vol. 1 of the series), and the mastabas of Qar and Idu (vol. 2), the third volume of this series is dedicated to the first row of large double mastabas to the east of the three subsidiary pyramids of the Cheops Pyramid, to the first small mastaba to the south of this row, and to street G 7100. As was the case with the first two volumes, this third is of high quality, its succinct, clear descriptive text abundantly illustrated with photographs, maps, plans, and drawings of the decoration and the most important objects which were found in connection with these mastabas. One appreciates the quality of the present volume the more when one realizes that the notes on which it is based are those of excavations of more than half a century ago.

Especially in the case of the badly damaged mastaba of Kawab, the illustrations are very illuminating and make it possible—even for a reader who is unfamiliar with the site—to visualize what is explained in the text. It is an intriguing problem why, when, and by whom this once beautifully decorated mastaba was destroyed. Notwithstanding the thoroughness of the destruction, from the very few remaining fragments it can be discerned that the walls must have offered a much more varied collection of subjects than the chapel of Khafkhufu. The ingenious reconstruction of the fragments and the way they are assigned to different parts of the chapels, even when there is some doubt left, are proof of the profound knowledge which the early excavators had of the site and its material. It is Simpson's great merit to be able to order and publish so clearly the excavation notes, at the same time referring to (later) Egyptological literature in the case of specific problems, which are of main importance, e.g. for Stevenson Smith's reconstructions of the Kawab fragments and the former's publications on the subject (e.g. p. 3 n. 7).

The main part of the publication is that dealing with the mastaba of Khafkhufu I, which is far less damaged than Kawab's and contains scenes in the best quality of relief. The facsimile drawings are of special value here, because they show the intricate details of the hieroglyphs, an important feature for the still-awaited hieroglyphic palaeography of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period. With regard to the subjects of the scenes in this mastaba it should be noted that no reference at all is made to agriculture, butchery, hunting, fishing, and the catching of birds, all known since the Meidum mastabas of Raʿḥotpe and Nefermaʿat. As remarked above, the Kawab fragments (figs. 11–12) are the poor remains of some of the themes just mentioned. Instead, Khafkhufu's chapel contains what is, to my knowledge, the earliest representation of the *ỉmy-r pr ḏ·ḏ·t* with his scribes (fig. 33), who are reckoning *prt-ḫrw* offerings. Apart from the large figures of the owner with his relatives, the scenes are concerned only with the presentation of a great variety of offerings.

The difference between the decoration of Khafkhufu I and II (the latter a few generations later) is noticeable. Although the decorations of the latter's chapel are of far less artistic value because of the technique used—text and figures are partly carved on stone and on plaster—the scenes offer a much more extensive range of subjects: catching birds, fishing, hunting in the papyrus thicket, boats, harvesting (fig. 47), butchery, dancing (figs. 48–9), cooking scenes, and craftsmen at work (fig. 50) which continue the trend so clearly set by Mersyʿankh III. The most interesting feature of the mastaba of Khafkhufu II from the architectural point of view was the presence of a ramp, now demolished, at the west side of the superstructure, which led to the roof, of which the other known examples are quoted on p. 22 n. 2.

Apart from the points mentioned earlier, another praiseworthy feature of the publication is its judicious commentary to the descriptive text, which draws attention to specific details which might easily escape notice, e.g. the position and/or reversal of signs (e.g. pp. 10, col. 2, 12, col. 1, 23, col. 1, 25, col. 2), the representation of hands, arms, and sceptres (pp. 14, col. 2–15, col. 1; 16, col. 2). A most useful observation in this respect is made on p. 18, col 1, in the general comments on chapel G 7140, viz. the sculptor's preference for using large blocks without joins for representing the large figures of the tomb owner and his wife, demonstrating the care with which the ancient Egyptian sculptors *could* work.

The following is a list of points of criticism as they occurred to the reviewer:

fig. 3. No orientation arrow as in fig. 1.

figs. 4–5. No letters in the subsidiary figures indicating their relation to the main drawing of fig. 4. Further, why was the latter not turned 90° as in figs. 2 and 5? This would have made it unnecessary to split the isometric drawing (enough space would have been available for the subsidiary figures) and would have created a coherent relation between figs. 2, 4, and 5. Again there are no orientation arrows; these should be used in each figure, or, if not, the orientation should be mentioned in the caption.

pl. VIIa. There is a contradiction in the captions of this pl. and fig. 15: on pl. '*in situ*' on fig. 'assigned to'.

fig. 12. Why no photographs of the larger frags.: 24-12-857, 25-5-52?

fig. 14. Id. 24-12-852, 24-12-860?

fig. 16. Id. 24-12-1107?

pl. VIa & fig. 11d. On the drawing the bottom and foot of the sitting man are drawn as an added (?) fragment, which seems to be supported by the photograph, where it is missing. Is it lost? In the text there is no note about this discrepancy.

p. 1, col. 2, l. 13, fr. b. Read pl. IVd–e instead of c–e.

p. 2, col. 1, ll. 13–15. Here is the proper place to refer again to pls. IIa and IVa, c, apart from the main reference on p. 1, col. 2.

p. 3, col. 1, text before n. 5. '. . . beating papyrus with mallets in each hand . . .'. Here Simpson makes a bad mistake. Although referring to Montet's text and plate (wrong no., cf. next note), he apparently did not read the text or study the picture. Montet's term for the objects in the hands is 'balai', which can never mean 'mallet', but should be translated as 'broom' and in this case more correctly as 'brush'. It is exactly what the men are doing: cleaning the papyrus fibres before the production of rope. Moreover, the details in the quoted relief from Ti's mastaba clearly show that we are dealing with brushes of some kind, an identification further suggested by the asymmetrical shape of the objects: bending under the pressure and movement of the hand. The subject is also mentioned in Vandier, *Manuel*, v, 473–8.

p. 3, n. 5. Read VII, 1, instead of VIII, 1.

p. 4, col. 2, under the heading 'miscellaneous', l. 6. 29-7-11. On fig. 23 the same fragment is given the no. 29-7-9. Which is the correct no.?

pl. 29. No letters under separate pictures as is done on all other pls.

p. 5, col. 1, l. 4 up., 24-12-11. Add: fig. 17, top right.

p. 6, Shaft G 7120 B. 24-11-792 (fig. 9) is not mentioned in the text.

p. 7, col. 2, l. 1. Read Pl. VIIId, instead of VIIIe.
l. 23. Id. Pl. VIIIa–c, instead of VIIIa–d. 24-12-980 a–h. On fig. 18 only F, G, F (*sic*).
24-12-978. No reference to which frag. in which row of pl. IX as is done for the other frags.

p. 8, col. 1, l. 2. 'fig. 17 lower right' to be transferred after the next object: 24-12-621 A. 24-12-827 is not illustrated in this fig.

pp. 11 ff. Nos. in brackets in description of individual scenes were not added to the figures.

pp. 12–13, 'south jamb . . .; north jamb . . .'. A rather similar composition of the jambs, together with an almost exact copy of the phrases *mꜣꜥ ḫtmt* . . . and *mꜣꜥ pr(t)-ḫrw* . . ., occurs in the mastaba of

Mer-ib (G 2100–I; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, pl. 22a–p; Junker, *Gîza*, III, 36–7). The similarity is close enough to justify the assumption that either the same artist was at work, or that one was copying the other.

p. 14, col. 1, ll. 18–19, 'covers fitted with loop seals through which a piece of wood is placed to seal them'; col. 2, ll. 18–19, '. . . with a cord loop tie through which a short rod is passed to lock it'. I find it very difficult to visualize how chests could be 'locked' in this manner. Is it not more plausible to see here a kind of handle, the loop between the middle and ring-finger, while the rod is resting on all four fingers?

Third register. Twice the 'stippling near the top' of the sealed cylindrical vessels is mentioned. It might have been useful if a reference had been added to Balcz, 'Die Gefäßvorstellungen des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 5 (1934), 78 ff., fig. 105, where we are informed that this type of (unguent) vase was sealed most of the time by *leather*, which is indicated by the stippling.

Fourth register. *ỉꜣ mꜣst*, 'knee-mantel'. In the same article of Edel, quoted in n. 23 (E. Edel, 'Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon'), p. 29, it is stated correctly that the translation of *mꜣst* by 'knee' is untenable, because the garment is longer than knee-length, and he refers to another *mꜣst* which, according to Keimer, may indicate a kind of gazelle, antelope, or stag, in any case an animal, parallel to *bꜣ*.

p. 14 n. 27. Read 'Gebrawi', instead of 'Bebrawi'.

fig. 31. The herringbone pattern in the kilt, mentioned in text of p. 15, col. 1, l. 5, was not drawn.

p. 15, col. 1, l. 10. Read *Ḥꜥ·f . . .*, instead of *Hꜥ·f . . .*

col. 1, par. 3. It is more likely that *prt-ḫrw ḥnḳt t* (cf. fig. 30) should be read simply *prt-ḫrw*; ib. *ḫt*, instead of *ḫt t ḥnḳt*, cf. *Wb.* I, 124, 5; 529, 2.

n. 30. Another reference can be quoted: H. Miller, 'Darstellungen von Gebärden auf Denkmälern des Alten Reiches', *MDAIK* 7 (1937), 57–118, especially p. 79, fig. 18.

col. 2, l. 7, fr. b. Read *Ḫwfw*, instead of *Hwfw*.

fig. 32. The wig of the lower female domain is wrongly drawn: the strands of hair falling on the breast have not been inked in, although they are clearly visible on pl. 20 a.

p. 16, col. 1, par. 1, 4) *ḫt t ḥnḳt*, cf. above, second note on p. 15.

par. 2, 1). Add: inscription *ś*(?) *rt*.

p. 17, col. 1, l. 7. *Bbs*. The reading is wrong; both on pl. 22 a and on fig. 33 the last sign is undoubtedly *i*, which is further corroborated by Ranke, *Pn* I, 95, 16, who only knows *Bbỉ*.

col. 2. There is no reason given for the unconventional transcription of  as *ḫtm* in words meaning 'treasure' and 'treasurer': Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 258.

p. 18, col. 2, l. 9, fr. b. Read 'of Khafkhufu', instead of 'a . . .'.

p. 20, col. 1, Ptolemaic (?) shafts X, XI, and XII are not described.

col. 2, l. 12. Read *sḏꜣwty*, instead of *sdꜣwty*.

Dependants. Read *Bbỉ*, instead of *Bbś*, cf. note on p. 17.

fig. 42. Letters 'a' and 'b' mentioned in text on p. 22, col. 2, and 23, col. 1, are omitted.

p. 23, col. 1, l. 11. Add after '. . . before the great god . . .' '2) . . .'.

p. 24, col. 2, l. 10, fr. b. The suggestion 'one seems to be removing an object from a box' is wrong. There are two possibilities:

(1) The binding of grain into sheaves (preceded by the cutting of the grain) to be transported on donkeys to the threshing-floor (originally (?) in the damaged right part of the register). For similar scenes cf. Vandier, *Manuel*, VI, figs. 4, lower reg., 8, 4th reg., 20, lower reg., 55, 3rd reg., 59, 2nd reg. All quoted examples show the same large square object with which a man is engaged and which often displays the same details as the grain in the field, mostly juxtaposed to the reaping of corn. (So there is no reason for hesitation in identifying the left part of the register as the reaping of corn, as is done in the text.) The main difference with the Khafkhufu scene is that, in the examples quoted, fig. 8 excepted, the man is resting with one leg folded on the grain, which is typical for the binding of sheaves.

(2) The *un*binding of sheaves to be thrown on heaps for threshing (originally (?) in the damaged right part of the reg.): cf. Vandier, op. cit., figs. 35, 5th reg., 37, 5th reg., 58 top (Leiden Mastaba), 78,

2nd reg. The position of the man is in all examples the same as in our relief. The fact that the unbinding is directly juxtaposed to the reaping, while the binding and transportation by donkeys has been left out, is no obstacle to the last interpretation, as in many other scenes several stages are omitted. I prefer the second possibility.

p. 25, col. 1, ll. 3–4. The suggestion 'perhaps fashioning statues' is highly improbable because this activity, so typical of craftsmen, never occurs to my knowledge in the middle of agricultural scenes. It is much more likely to be the counting and/or measuring of grain, cf. Vandier, op. cit. figs. 10, 2nd reg., 74, 5th reg., 89, 3rd reg. In the text no mention is made of the accompanying text traces: *sš(?)*, *iry-ḫt* (*Wb.* I, 104, 1; Vandier, op. cit. figs. 32, 3rd reg., 67, 3rd reg.; *w . . . t*; *r . . .*; *ḫ³ . . .* (*ḫ³ỉ* (?), *Wb.* III, 223, 4 ff., 'to measure', or *ḫ³ḫ³*, *Wb.* III, 233, 17, 'to winnow').

p. 26, col. 1, l. 20, *mḥ iwf* (?). Cannot this simply be translated by 'filling (with) meat', with omission of *m* after *mḥ*?

p. 27. Shaft D. No (cubic) measurements are given as is done for all other shafts, although this could have be done by means of fig. 38.

p. 28, n. 1. Read 'van de Walle', instead of 'van der Walle'.

p. 29, col. 1, l. 20. Read 'same', instead of 'smae'.
col. 2, l. 4. Read 'canopic', instead of 'eanopic'.

p. 31, col. 1, 25-1-311. Read pl. XLVId, instead of XLVI.
25-1-68-70. Read pl. XLVIId, instead of XLVII.
25-1-1222-24. Read pl. XLVIf, instead of XLVI.
Shafts 7112 B–D. Add: fig. 58.

p. 33, col. 1, l. 7. Read 'see', instead of 'se'.

fig. 68. In section A–B no indication of total depth of shaft is given.

figs. 70–2. These are addenda to vols. 2 and 1, respectively, it might have been useful to draw attention to this in the preface.

In the light of what has been said in the first part of this review the above list of points of criticism does not diminish at all the great value of the present volume, and for the sake of the advancement of our knowledge of the Gîza necropolis it is to be hoped that this series will be continued on the same level. The fact that volume 4 has appeared clearly demonstrates the editor's determination to fulfil this important task.

RENÉ VAN WALSEM

La Chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef. By BAUDOUIN VAN DE WALLE. 275 × 220 mm. Pp. 96, pls. 23, figs. 3. Brussels, 1978. Price £20.

Die bereits gegen 1860 von Mariette entdeckte, dann aber wieder unter dem Wüstensand verschwundene Mastaba des Neferirtenef wurde in den Jahren 1905–6 von Quibell ein zweites Mal ausgegraben und gelangte anschließend durch Vermittlung des Service des Antiquités in die ägyptische Abteilung der Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire von Brüssel, wo sie heute unter der Inv.-Nr. E 2465 aufbewahrt wird. Die Reliefs der Kultkammer dieser Grabanlage gehören zu den besten, die das Alte Reich uns hinterlassen hat, und sind daher schon mehrfach Gegenstand wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten gewesen (vgl. Porter–Moss, *Top. Bib.* III², 583 f.). Eine erste Bestandsaufnahme gibt A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris 1889) 324–8. Auführlicher behandelt das Bildprogramm B. van de Walle in seiner im Jahre 1930 herausgegebenen 'Notice sommaire[1]'. Doch erst jetzt ist mit dem hier zu besprechenden Werk eine Publikation der Mastaba erschienen, die als endgültig zu bezeichnen ist.

Die Arbeit kann verdeutlichen, wie lückenhaft bisher unsere Kenntnisse über diese Mastaba gewesen sind. Erstmals wird bekannt, an welcher Stelle der Nekropole von Saqqâra die Grabanlage ursprünglich gestanden hat. Die von W. Stevenson Smith vorgeschlagene Lokalisierung 'east of the

[1] B. van de Walle. *Le Mastaba de Neferirtenef aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles* (*Parc du Cinquantenaire*). *Notice sommaire* (Brüssel 1930, Revidierte Ausgabe Brüssel 1973).

Step Pyramid'[1] konnte nunmehr durch einen im Museum von Brüssel aufgefundenen Karteneintrag aus der Zeit Quibells präzisiert werden. Sie befand sich, wie es heißt, 'à quelque cinquante mètres de l'angle sud-est de l'enceinte entourant le monument funéraire de Zeser' (p. 9). Weiter versucht die Neuveröffentlichung der Mastaba bisher unbekannte Informationen zur Architektur der Grabanlage zu liefern. Dabei wird deutlich, wie wenig sich die Ausgräber für baugeschichtliche Fragen interessierten. So gibt es keine Hinweise über die Ausmaße des Graboberbaus oder über die exakte Lage der kreuzförmigen Kultkammer innerhalb des Mastabamassivs; Angaben über die Zahl der Grabschächte und ihre Lage innerhalb des Baukomplexes konnten nicht gefunden werden. Selbst die Frage, ob die Mastaba ursprünglich einen Serdab aufwies, in dem die aufgefundenen Statuen des Neferirtenef aufgestellt gewesen sein könnten, und wo sich dieser gegebenenfalls befand, ließ sich aus dem erhaltenen Material nicht mehr beantworten. Die Publikation mußte sich daher, notgedrungen, auf die eingehende Beschreibung und Kommentierung der Wanddarstellungen der Kultkammer beschränken.

Die aus einem einzigen Raum bestehende und in ihren Dimensionen recht bescheidene Kultkammer (3, 95 m (NS) × 1,25 m (OW) = etwa 4,95 m²)[2] weist vorzüglich gearbeitete Reliefs auf, die von Vf. in der Reihenfolge ihrer Anbringung auf den 3,40 m hohen Wänden der Kultkammer [West- (p. 23–36), Süd- (p. 37–44), Nord- (p. 45–50) und Ostwand (p. 51–72)] und den etwa 2,50 m hohen Wänden des Eingangs (p. 73–6) beschrieben werden. Zeichnungen aus der Hand von Frau H. Kinnard-Roussel (pl. 1–15) und beigefügte Fotoabbildungen (pl. 16–23) illustrieren das Bildprogramm, über das Wandschemata am Ende des Bandes (p. 91–2) zusätzlich einen Überblick verschaffen.

Die Kultkammer des Neferirtenef zeigt ein Bildprogramm, das im wesentlichen dem der Gräber aus der zweiten Hälfte der 5. Dynastie entspricht. Es umfaßt Szenen des Totenkultes (Schlachtung, Opferdienst, Speisetischszenen, Musik, Spiel und Tanz, Statueneinführung), Bilder vom Leben auf dem Lande (Aussaat und Ernte, Viehzucht, Fisch- und Vogelfang) und Darstellungen von Arbeiten im Garten (Singvogelfang, Feigen- und Weinernte). Eine besondere Bedeutung kommt dem Bild der Vogeljagd und des Fischespeerens im Papyrusdickicht zu, das sich auf der Ostwand der Kultkammer über dem Grabeingang befindet (pl. 1). Ungewöhnlich und nur selten in Gräbern des Alten Reiches belegt ist die Szene, die den Fang der Goldamseln im Garten darstellt (p. 45, pl. 9). Besondere Aufmerksamkeit jedoch verdient eine Szenenfolge, deren Deutung bisher noch nicht einwandfrei gelungen ist. Sie ist den Bildern der Aussaat und Ernte vorangestellt und zeigt Männer bei der Bearbeitung eines Feldes (pl. 11). Die Szene wird von J. Capart vorsichtig als Vorbereiten des Bodens für die Aussaat interpretiert. Vf. (p. 54) stellt diese Deutung in Frage, weil eine entsprechende Szene in anderen Gräbern des Alten Reiches bisher nicht belegt sei, und schlägt stattdessen vor, in der Bildfolge eine Ernteszene zu sehen. Möglicherweise hat er damit recht.

Neferirtenef, der Eigentümer der Mastaba, war zu seiner Zeit ein hochgestellter Schreiber (*sḫḏ*, *jmj-rꜣ* und *ḫrp zšw*), der offenbar im Gerichtswesen zu tun hatte. Seine eigentlichen Aufgaben haben sich aber vermutlich aus seiner Eigenschaft als Angehöriger der Priesterschaft der Sonnenheiligtümer des Userkaf und Neferirkarēʿ und aus seinem Ḥaṯor-Priesteramt am Meret-Heiligtum des Saḥurēʿ ergeben. Seine Titel legen eine Amtszeit während der zweiten Hälfte der 5. Dynastie nahe.

Die vorliegende Neupublikation des Grabes besticht durch ihre abgewogene Behandlung der einzelnen Fragenkomplexe und stellt alles in allem eine dieses Grabes würdige abschließende Buchveröffentlichung dar. Nur bei ganz wenigen Punkten könnte man anderer Meinung sein. So ließe sich diskutieren, ob pl. 8 und p. 39 (vgl. p. 74)—wie vorgeschlagen—*snṯr*, 'encenser', zu lesen ist oder nicht vielleicht doch mit *Wb.* IV, 376, 10, *snṯr* (*ḥr*) *sḏt*, 'Weihrauch aufs Feuer (geben)'. Im mittleren Register von pl. 13 sieht Rez. in dem mit *wḥʿ* bezeichneten Landbewohner nicht einen Fischer (p. 71), sondern einen Vogelfänger, der mit dem Braten eines Vogels und nicht mit der 'conserve des poissons' (p. 71) beschäftigt ist. Ein Vergleich des Fotos dieser Szene bei Vandier, *Manuel*, V, pl. xxxiv, fig. 243 mit *LD* II, 66, 77., *LD* Erg., pl. 7, CG 1562, *Sheikh Said*, pl. 12, und mit

[1] W. Stevenson Smith, in G. A. Reisner, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 392.

[2] In ihrer Größe dazu vergleichbar sind die Grabanlagen des Ḥetepḥerachti in Leiden (ca. 4, 9 m²), des Kaemremetsch in Kopenhagen (ca. 4 m²) und des Achtiḥotpe im Louvre.

einer unveröffentlichten Szene im Grab des Mehu in Saqqâra legt diese Deutung nahe. Druckfehler wären zu berichtigen auf p. 28, wo die Herkunft der 'serviteurs du ka' aus dem *pr ḏt* noch nachzutragen wäre, und auf p. 57, wo *jnk pw* von pl. 12 nicht in den durchlaufenden Text mit aufgenommen wurde.

Die Zeichnungen am Ende des Bandes machen einen sehr zuverlässigen Eindruck, auch wenn sie nicht in allen Teilen am Foto kontrolliert werden können (vgl. pl. 13 mit Vandier, op. cit., v, pl. xxxiv fig. 243). Die ausgewählten Fotobeispiele verdeutlichen die unterschiedliche Qualität des Reliefs und den an manchen Stellen bereits weit forgeschrittenen Verfall des Steines. Das glänzend geschriebene und ansprechend gestaltete Buch wird sehr bald dem ihm in der ägyptologischen Literatur gebührenden Rang einnehmen.

HARTWIG ALTENMÜLLER

Amenophis I. Versuch einer Darstellung der Regierungszeit eines ägyptischen Herrschers der frühen 18. Dynastie. By FRANZ-JÜRGEN SCHMITZ. Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge, 6. 235 × 170 mm. Pp. xiii + 273. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg-Verlag, 1978. ISBN 3 8067 8032 3. No price stated.

Ce livre se divise en dix chapitres dont le dernier constitue une brève synthèse de l'ensemble. Le premier traite de la titulature, des documents datés et de la momie du roi; le deuxième, des questions chronologiques; le troisième, de la famille d'Aménophis I, avec ses ascendants et descendants; le quatrième, des constructions royales; le cinquième, de l'iconographie; le sixième, des stèles contemporaines, royales ou privées; le septième, de la politique intérieure et de l'administration; le huitième, de la politique extérieure et le neuvième, du tombeau du roi. Le culte posthume d'Aménophis n'est pas abordé dans cet ouvrage qui s'achève par une liste des documents et par des index.

Avant d'analyser le contenu du livre, quelques remarques s'imposent sur ce genre d'études. L'auteur s'étonne dans son introduction qu'on ait écrit si peu de monographies sur des rois d'Égypte. Je crois que, pour la plupart d'entre eux, il est trop tôt, si tant est que cela soit jamais possible. La documentation dont nous disposons est capricieuse; elle peut éclairer splendidement certaines zones secondaires et ne rien nous dire sur les problèmes fondamentaux. En outre, cette documentation—si elle est publiée à l'état brut, comme par exemple les textes dans les *Urkunden* de Sethe—doit être étudiée en profondeur pour prendre un sens. Enfin, il faut bien admettre qu'à peu d'exceptions près, quand on est parvenu à rassembler pour un règne déterminé une documentation assez abondante, celle-ci se trouve entassée pêle-mêle dans le grand sac que constitue ce règne, sans qu'il soit possible de donner aux divers monuments un ordre logique ou chronologique. Faire une monographie, pour l'instant—si on veut dépasser les brèves mais utiles notices du *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*—consistera donc non seulement à mettre bout à bout ces informations disparates, mais surtout à mener sur chaque point, si elles n'existent pas encore, les enquêtes approfondies sans lesquelles les monuments sont muets ou trompeurs.

A la lecture du livre, il faut bien constater que l'auteur n'a pas été conscient des périls du genre et qu'il pèche sans cesse par manque de prudence et de rigueur; il semble aussi avoir été dépassé tant par la quantité des documents que par la bibliographie. Le travail ici recensé sera peut-être considéré comme *la* somme sur Aménophis I et sera beaucoup consulté; il faut donc avertir le lecteur que cet ouvrage est dangereux tant dans les grandes lignes que dans les détails. Disons d'une manière générale que l'auteur affirme plus de choses qu'il n'en démontre, souvent sous le couvert de l'argument d'autorité; il supplée trop souvent par l'imagination ou par 'son opinion' à l'indigence des sources ou à leur obscurité; en outre son information n'est pas toujours contrôlée par la critique ni à jour. Faute de pouvoir reprendre chaque point litigieux, voici quelques remarques au fil de la plume:

A quoi bon citer Ruffer (pp. 17–19), à propos de l'âge d'Aménophis I, alors que les chiffres de ce médecin sont uniquement tirés des spéculations historiques de Petrie (cf. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis* (1971), 199 n. 5); sur l'âge du roi à sa mort l'auteur prend à la lettre les chiffres assez vagues suggérés par Derry: 40–50 ans, pour rejeter l'âge de 35 ans que j'avais proposé pour Amosis à sa mort, et préférer 40, conclusion qu'il utilisera plusieurs fois par après (ex. p. 39); toute la p. 18 ne tient pourtant pas si l'on se souvient que le père d'Amosis est mort à 30 ans (cf. Vandersleyen, *CdÉ* 52, 237–8, en notant qu'il n'y a en fait que deux filles nommées sur la statue de prince du Louvre).

A propos de la généalogie du roi et de sa famille, on est certain à présent qu'il n'y a pas eu d'ʿAḥḥotpe épouse d'Aménophis I (cf. Cl. Vandersleyen, 'Les deux Ahhotep', *SAK* 8 (1980), 237–41).

Il est inacceptable de s'appuyer sur le *Livre des Rois* de Gauthier pour présenter la série des fils (p. 45) et des filles (p. 49) d'Amosis, alors qu'il faut non seulement discuter l'ordre chronologique, mais avant tout savoir s'il s'agit bien d'enfants de ce roi: deux fils seulement sur quatre sont sûrement d'Amosis, et sur les six filles proposées, une seule l'est probablement, Méritamon.

L'auteur fait de la mère d'Ḥatshepsout, une fille d'Amosis, ce que son nom d'ʿAḥmès pourrait suggérer, mais elle n'est nulle part dite *s3t-nsw*, ce qui est un sérieux obstacle à cette identification. Écrire (p. 66) que l'origine de cette reine, son rôle pour légitimer l'accession au trône de Touthmosis I, etc. 'können als gesichert gelten' est prématuré.

Dire que Satkamose (p. 50–1) a eu le titre de *ḥmt nsw* parce qu'elle était prévue comme épouse pour le futur roi Aménophis I tient du roman.

Comment prouver (p. 68) que le fils de Touthmosis I, Amenmes, est mort dans un âge tendre (Kindesalter) s'il était déjà général (*mr mš*ʿ)?

Tant de détails auraient dû être débattus et justifiés et pourvus d'une bibliographie complète. Plus d'une fois, par exemple, à propos d'ʿAḥmès Néfertari, on se demande pourquoi les écrits de Gitton ne sont pas cités chaque fois qu'il le faut, alors que l'auteur le connaît. Ou si l'auteur ne tient pas compte d'opinions exprimées avant lui, il doit s'en expliquer, et non simplement les passer sous silence.

L'exposé sur les constructions du roi est instructif; malheureusement il fourmille d'affirmations gratuites de sorte qu'on n'ose plus rien croire: quelle preuve a-t-on que c'est Touthmosis III qui a démonté les piliers de Sésostris I et la porte d'Aménophis I dans la cour de la cachette (p. 74) ou que le 8e pylône a d'abord été construit en briques par Touthmosis Ier (p. 77)? Si quelqu'un l'a dit, il faut le citer, car ce n'est pas une donnée qui est dans tous les esprits; sinon, il faut prendre soi-même la peine de le démontrer. Toute la reconstitution de la cour de la cachette (plan p. 73 et pp. 80 et 87) relève également de la pure fantaisie. Sur le temple *Mn-ỉst* (p. 109), l'idée qu'il s'agit d'un temple avec déambulatoire a déjà été exprimée par Derchain, *Kémi* 19, 18, article connu de Schmitz; dans ce cas il ne faut pas écrire: 'Daher möchte *ich* einen "Tempel mit Säulen-Umgang" annehmen . . .'. Alors qu'il avait annoncé (p. 2) qu'il ne traiterait pas du culte posthume, c'est de cela qu'il s'agit aux pp. 115–18 dans la plupart des sanctuaires du roi cités là. Il n'y a pas d'Aménophis I avec couronne bleue et uræus à El-Kab (p. 122): on ne voit sur ce bloc que la tête d'une déesse coiffée d'une dépouille de vautour.

Le chapitre sur l'iconographie royale (pp. 131 sqq.) commence par des considérations théoriques montrant que l'auteur aborde le problème avec un esprit prévenu. Au lieu d'examiner sobrement et concrètement les œuvres conservées, il parle par exemple des *intentions* d'Aménophis I et de l'inspiration qu'il tire du Moyen Empire, toutes choses non démontrables; dogmatisme et imagination vicient tout ce chapitre. Peut-on admettre (p. 144) qu'il ignore en outre la quantité de reliefs d'Aménophis I figurant la tête du roi qui sont entreposés dans les magasins de Karnak? Quant aux chapitres consacrés à la politique intérieure et extérieure, je renonce à les analyser en détails, tant ils comportent d'imprécisions et d'affirmations non contrôlables. Vu le caractère laconique de tant de documents égyptiens, on ne peut se contenter de citer Sethe, *Urk.* sans un sérieux commentaire appuyé sur les recherches de ceux qui en ont précisé l'interprétation; la lecture du texte va rarement de soi. Or l'auteur passe trop souvent sous silence ce qui a été fait avant lui. Il est curieux que citant mes recherches sur *Djahy*, il fasse référence non aux pages de l'ouvrage où j'ai publié ces recherches, mais uniquement à la carte qui les accompagne (p. 185 n. 17)! Ainsi s'explique peut-être qu'il traite de divers points de la biographie d'ʿAḥmès fils d'Abana (pp. 194–5) en ignorant complètement ce que j'ai écrit là-dessus dans le même livre.

Le chapitre IX, bien qu'il soit entaché des mêmes faiblesses de méthode et de rédaction, présente pourtant un intérêt tout spécial, car je pense que l'auteur, abandonnant le rêve et l'imagination pour des observations concrètes et des chiffres, donne beaucoup de force à l'idée que la fameuse cachette royale, c'est-à-dire la tombe nº 320 de la nécropole thébaine, serait, non celle de la reine Inḥapi, mais celle d'Aménophis I lui-même (pp. 219 sqq.); cette fois, Schmitz recourt aux textes et les analyse lui-même au point de vue de la philologie et du contenu et ce qu'il écrit est très intéressant.

L'ouvrage s'achève par une liste des documents du roi. Les statues C3 (p. 253) sont très probablement de Mentouḥotpe III et non d'Aménophis I. En C6, je trouve indélicat de citer comme statue du roi Caire CG 42099, en se contentant de se référer au catalogue de Legrain, car ce dernier n'a

pas identifié cette statue anépigraphe; il fallait évidemment citer l'auteur de l'identification: R. Tefnin, 'Contribution à l'iconographie d'Aménophis I', *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoires Orientales et Slaves* 20 (1973), 433–7). Enfin, l'attribution à Aménophis I de la statuette de Marseille (C7, p. 254) ne me paraît pas soutenable (déjà Tefnin, op. cit. 437 n. 1).

En résumé de ce compte rendu trop long et pourtant fort insuffisant, je dirai que ce livre n'aurait pas dû paraître, car il n'était pas au point. L'égyptologie risque fort, comme Rome jadis, de périr écrasée sous son propre poids: la bibliographie s'accroît de façon angoissante et—cercle vicieux—elle compte aujourd'hui trop d'ouvrages dont les auteurs n'ont pas bien assimilé ou même connu les travaux antérieurs tout en manquant de prudence et de sens critique. CL. VANDERSLEYEN

Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis. Neue Veröffentlichungen und Studien. By RAINER HANKE. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, 2. 235 × 170 mm. Pp. x + 273, figs. 61. Hildesheim, Gerstenberg-Verlag, 1978. ISBN 3 8067 8013 7. No price stated.

Scholars whose work is mainly devoted to the close of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the so-called Amarna Age, are to be admired for their long-suffering nature, and forgiven any frustration they might show. The evidence with which they must deal is maddeningly repetitive. The iconography and epigraphy, a delight perhaps to the art historian, yield for the political historian only a limited number of stereotypes and caption texts which change but rarely and tell only of name, rank, kinship, and affection. Through the reliefs we see, as it were, a rich and effete court doomed to a perpetual elegance, and engaged in an elaborate masque, while the mass of the great unwashed bustles about their supporting tasks with an unaccustomed gaiety. From the Amarna Letters we know that these were 'real' people; why, in the Egyptian remains of the period, do they hide from us?

It is regrettable but unavoidable that under these conditions Amarna scholarship has engaged too long in 'rethrashing old straw'; and thus when any new evidence turns up more may be expected of it than it can produce. The present volume continues the publication of the relief-material of 'Amarna' date found by the Germans at El-Ashmunein over three decades ago; and, while not as rich, perhaps, as Roeder's earlier volume (*Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim, 1969)), it nevertheless contains just the sort of new evidence which at first view quickens the heart. Sadly it provides little with which to solve the many outstanding problems of Amarna history.

Hanke contends that the chapels from which some of these blocks come (decorated for the last time, at least, late in Akhenaten's reign: cf. Helck, *CdÉ* 44 (1969), 209, and Hanke, p. 198) once stood in the court of the great Aten-temple (p. 70), and has offered some plausible architectural reconstructions (cf. Abb. 25 ff). A few of the architectural features find parallels at Karnak: e.g. a dado reminiscent of the guilloche pattern at the bottom of Abb. 24, and the lofty pylons in Abb. 30 (at Karnak mostly in the *Ḥwt-bnbn*). But the lay-out of the only temple thus far excavated at Karnak, viz. the *Gm(t)-pꜣ-itn*, helps very little in solving problems of architectural reconstruction at Amarna, as it seems to have been designed solely for the celebration of the *sd*-festival (cf. *JARCE* 14 (1977), 22 ff.).

For the reviewer a major source of interest in Hanke's book lies in a comparison of his material with that forthcoming at Karnak (chronologically, over a decade earlier), as the following random notes demonstrate:

(1) Abb. 6 (PC 189), cf. p. 14 f. Hanke argues well that the female here is a (grown) daughter. Naturally no such scene occurs in the Karnak talatat. The inclination of the heads is of some interest, as it indicates an activity different from the ubiquitous presentation of offerings; (for royal heads, bowed or horizontal to varying degrees, cf. Cairo 34175, L. Habachi, *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung* 12 (1971), 42 (possibly the *bnbn* of Akhenaten: Redford, *Akhenaten Temple Project*, 1, 78); ibid., pl. 18 no. 6 (foundation ceremony); unpublished block from the 1978 excavations on the west side of the *Gm(t)-pꜣ-itn*, Karnak).

(2) Abb. 6 (14), cf. p. 21 f. That the little dwarf, the 'queen's vizier', occurs only during the time when three daughters are present, and later disappears, would militate in favour of the earlier years at the new capital. But such a dwarf is never present in the Karnak reliefs.

(3) Abb. 8 (15), cf. p. 23. Often in the Karnak talatat one will find at one end of a stretcher the representations of a dining area or apartments, and at the other end, separated by a vertical line,

large figures facing in the opposite direction (cf. *ATP* I, pl. 56 and *passim*). In fact, such a block straddles two scenes, and the apartments with continued matching usually turn out to be those of the palace.

(4) Abb. 10 (19), cf. p. 28. Everywhere the greater freedom of conception and execution the artist enjoyed at Amarna is evident. These fan-bearers, at Karnak, would undoubtedly have been shown, either singly in the same posture, or in echelon.

(5) Abb. 11 (29), cf. p. 33. On the male musicians, see L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (Munich, 1975), 91 and pl. 14, fig. 23; *ATP* I, pl. 66, 69, 71, p. 132 n. 83; on the palace, see ibid. 122 ff.

(6) Abb. 14 (36), cf. pp. 40 f. An interesting footnote might be supplied to the oft-repeated phenomenon of two parallel lines used to denote the circumvallation of the Aten-temple. At Karnak in the excavations of the *Gm(t)-pꜣ-itn* temple two parallel walls *c.* 5 m apart were in fact uncovered, defining the perimeter of the vast open court: the inner of sandstone (on which the reliefs were carved), and the outer a sort of temenos-wall of mud-brick, in which the courses undulated.

(7) Abb. 15 (37), cf. 41 ff. This block shows an unusual 'slaughtering' scene. The trussed animal has already been despatched and its head cut off, and a butcher (not a priest: Hanke, p. 42) is about to dismember the carcass. In the register above are the feet of bowing 'officers' (note the wands of office), each before a rectangular object which Hanke construes as an altar. The parallel Hanke elicits (PC 93 = Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim, 1969), pl. 186) is not exact: the officials are apparently nobles, without wands, and occasionally a servant can be seen still preparing an altar. PC 93 in fact gives us the 'Amarna' version of a motif which is better known from the Karnak *Gm(t)-pꜣ-itn* jubilee scenes, and from the scenes of the Feast of Opet at Luxor, viz. the 'censing and benediction' ritual: cf. Smith, *National Geographic Magazine* 138 (5) (Nov. 1970), 650 (bottom); Redford, *JARCE* 10 (1973), 90 (I, f); Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II pl. 195 a (bottom reg.). The rites performed by the harîm-overseer Paser are essentially the same: J. Berlandini, *BIFAO* 77, pl. iv.

(8) Abb. 20 (47), cf. pp. 55 ff. I simply find it very difficult to accept this scene as a depiction of a 'Transportstraße' for the moving of heavy objects. From Karnak talatat we do indeed encounter construction scenes—one unpublished scene has to do with the building of a ramp—but nothing such as Hanke here suggests is ever found. Could we here be dealing with a depiction of men pruning trees?

The historical conclusions Hanke draws will surely elicit some debate. Not all readers will be prepared to agree with Hanke on his reading of the controversial erasures (cf. pp. 138 ff.), and one can only hope that the unfortunate Kiya does not become a *dea ex machina* for future scholarship. Hanke finds this queen attested before year 9 (p. 195), but correctly notes her absence at Karnak (p. 196). Who she is remains a mystery, but 'Kiya' looks suspiciously like a hypocoristicon of a foreign name. Hanke, finding support in the recent work of R. Krauss, emphasizes the enhanced political and dynastic role which Meritaten was made to play in Akhenaten's closing years, and this finds far sturdier support in EA 11, 25 than in Amarna fragments of dubious import. (That her father ever enjoyed a marital relationship with her I very much doubt.) Finally, Hanke leaves the reader with an unsubstantiated identification: Meritaten is made out to be the unnamed Egyptian queen who requested the son of Suppiluliumas (p. 203). In the light of recent trends in Amarna scholarship (cf. A. R. Schulman, *JARCE* 15 (1978), 43 ff.; id., *JNES* 38 (1979), 177 f.; also the writer's earlier remarks in *BASOR* 211 (1973), 36 ff.) such an identification would seem to be virtually out of the question today.

DONALD B. REDFORD

The Temple of Khonsu—Volume I: Plates 1–110. Scenes of King Herihor in the Court, with Translations of Texts. By the Epigraphic Survey. University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications, volume 1003. 490 × 375 mm. Pp. xxvii + 55, pls. 110. Chicago, 1978. ISBN 0 918986 20 6. Price £50.

Toute publication de la prestigieuse série de l'OIC est en soi un événement. Celle-ci l'est particulièrement, d'autant plus qu'elle résulte d'un travail commencé en 1935, mais longtemps retardé, et, pourtant, vivement attendu par les égyptologues en raison de l'importance du monument

et de l'insuffisance des éditions antérieures (*PM* II,² 229–32). Au demeurant, la publication a traversé les fluctuations des conventions adoptées par l'*Epigraphic Survey*, entre autres, celle permettant d'opposer le relief dans le creux au relief levé. Par un heureux hasard, le principe qui régit la décoration de la cour d'Ḥériḥor élimine toute ambiguïté: à l'est de l'axe, les parois sont en relief levé; en revanche, les parois de l'ouest de l'axe et les colonnes sont en relief dans le creux; cette partition des techniques selon la position par rapport à l'axe est déjà attestée dans la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak.

Les scènes et les inscriptions de la cour offrent un grand intérêt. Dans la préface du fascicule accompagnant les planches, E. Wente discute en détail les problèmes historiques que la nouvelle publication permet de renouveler. Tout d'abord, la célèbre procession de la famille d'Ḥériḥor (= pl. 26); jusqu'à présent, on s'accordait à identifier le premier prince représenté au grand-prêtre d'Amon [Pay]ᶜankh, en s'appuyant sur la reproduction de Lepsius; Wente montre qu'en fait, ce prince est le majordome d'Amon et prophète de Mout ᶜAnkhefenmout. Voilà donc ruinée la thèse qui faisait de Payᶜankh le fils d'Ḥériḥor. En conséquence, l'épithète *mst kꜣ nḫt*, 'celle qui met au monde le taureau puissant', portée par la reine Nedjemet (pl. 26, l. 28), et qui indique que cette reine était mère d'un pharaon, ferait allusion à Smendès, puisque Payᶜankh doit être écarté. Puis, Wente souligne la possibilité, voire la probabilité, d'une origine libyenne de Ḥériḥor, en évoquant la représentation sur une scène (pl. 14) de Horus [*pꜣ*]*n-pꜣ-ỉḥ*, divinité qui pourrait tirer son nom du camp (*pꜣ-ỉḥ*) de El-Hiba et de sa garnison à composante libyenne. Il conforte aussi la thèse de Kitchen relative à la construction de la barque d'Amon, construction mentionnée dans le temple de Chonsou, et pour chercher les matériaux nécessaires à laquelle Ounamon partit en expédition. Enfin, examinant les attributs de Ḥériḥor, il constate que dans 97% des scènes, celui-ci porte la calotte 'ecclésiastique', alors que les couronnes ou la barbe, spécifiquement pharaoniques, n'interviennent que dans trois scènes. Autrement dit, c'est avant tout en tant que grand-prêtre d'Amon que Ḥériḥor accomplit les fonctions du pharaon. Ce fait, à mon sens, pourrait être mis en relation avec le nouveau concept de théocratie; de plus, c'est sans doute un jalon dans l'évolution qui a conduit progressivement à l'autonomie de la fonction ecclésiastique par rapport à la fonction monarchique, au point qu'à l'époque gréco-romaine, le pharaon doit se justifier comme prêtre, lui qui, à l'origine était le prêtre par excellence (voir Otto, *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit*, 73).

La préface de Wente est suivie de la liste des planches, et d'une traduction de toutes les inscriptions, traduction excellente, — est-il besoin de le dire? — et accompagnée de notes concises mais toujours pertinentes. Au demeurant, la confrontation entre cette traduction et les planches est aisée en raison de la minceur et de la maniabilité du fascicule. Les 110 planches ne sont pas reliées, ce qui complique un peu l'utilisation intensive, mais abaisse le coût. Quant aux scènes reproduites sur ces planches, on peut retrouver immédiatement leur position sur le monument grâce à un plan d'ensemble du temple et à cinq schémas de position. Trois planches photographiques donnent une idée d'ensemble de cette cour. En bref, voilà une publication épigraphique modèle.

Son excellente qualité est une invite à l'exploitation de la documentation, non seulement du point de vue historique, mais aussi du point de vue de l'écriture et de la langue. Dans l'ensemble, dessinateurs et graveurs maîtrisaient assez bien la technique de mise en hiéroglyphes. Toutefois, le signe  a suscité quelques difficultés, d'une part, en raison de son occupation de l'espace, un quart de quadrat, d'autre part, à cause des fluctuations de ses valeurs, consonne *t*, mais aussi simple support vocalique à la suite de l'évolution phonétique. D'où, des hésitations telles, pour *ḫrt*, 'ciel',  (pl. 9, l. 6) sans *t*, mais aussi (pl. 90, l. 12), où le *t* est placé au-dessus du *r* afin que le vide dû au peu d'espace qu'il occupe soit moins disgrâcieux en prolongeant l'espace de séparation des cadrats. Pour écrire *nḫt*, les scripteurs organisent le quadrat en plaçant le *t* de façon qu'il occupe l'espace symétrique de la courbe du signe  , d'où  (pl. 7, l. 4 et *passim*). A noter l'haplographie dans  pour *ỉmnt ḫryt-ỉb* (pl. 8, l. 5), et, au contraire, le recours à tous les *t* possibles pour occuper l'espace dans  (pl. 40, l. 5). Remarquable aussi la graphie  dans *dỉ·s*, reflétant la neutralisation entre *d* et *t*, mais utilisée uniquement dans la légende des déesses (pl. 10, l. 8; pl. 38, l. 8; pl. 53, l. 32; pl. 64, l. 6; pl. 103, l. 6); autrement dit, il y a coalescence entre un fait

phonétique et un fait graphique, *t* étant senti aussi comme le *déterminatif* du féminin; d'où, au demeurant,  à côte de (pl. 43, l. 8).

Les signes sont en général assez sobres et sans trop de variations (toutefois voir, pour  , pl. 15, l. 8; pl. 17, l. 7; pl. 83, l. 8). On relèvera la forme très détaillée de , pl. 37, l. 3 (comparer avec Spalinger, *JSSEA* 11 (1981), 37–46) et surtout le signe du bœuf de la pl. 70, l. 1, dont les cornes sont ornées de végétaux, et les sabots démesurément effilées parce que l'animal a été maintenu dans une quasi immobilité pour engraisser (cf. Leclant, *MDAIK* 14 (1959), 128–45).

Les légendes sont rédigées, bien sûr, dans une langue imitant l'Égyptien de la Première Phase (Ancien Égyptien et/ou Moyen Égyptien), et utilisant ses tours et formules; mais le *sḏm·n·f* 'présent synchronique' (cf. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, 69–74) est limité au verbe *rdì*, et encore, uniquement dans les phrases stéréotypées (opposer, par exemple, pl. 21, l. 4). Toutefois, certaines de ces légendes prennent en charge des notions ou des idées plus récentes, et que trahissent des faits linguistiques. Outre l'article dans l'épithète *t3 mk špst*, 'la grande protectrice', portée par Rêttaouy (pl. 37, l. 6), ou dans *n3 mdw nty ḫr-ḥ3t nṯr pn šps*, 'les enseignes qui sont devant ce dieu vénérable' (pl. 55, l. 4), la légende de Iounmoutef (pl. 71, l. 5–15) mérite d'être étudiée à cet égard; introduite par l'antique formule *ḏd mdw*, elle comporte une addition disparate linguistiquement: *r-nty ỉry n·tn nsw bỉty nb t3wy* N. *mnw wrw m pr ỉt·f 'Imn ỉw·w smnḫ m k3t ḏt dì·f ḥr-ḥ3w-ḥr ỉr·n nswy bỉtyw ỉmy wḥm·f sw m ḥḥ n rnpwt ḏnḫ ḏd w3s sm3 m ḥ‘w·f ỉ·dḥ n·f pḏt* 9 *ḥr ṯbwy·f ỉmy rwd rn·f mỉ rwd rn·tn mỉ ỉr·n·f n·tn m3‘t m-ḫt ỉdbwy*, 'Le roi du sud et du nord, le maître des deux terres N. a fait pour vous de grands monuments dans le domaine de son père Amon, (monuments) qui sont rendus achevés en travail d'éternité; il a ajouté à ce qu'avaient fait les rois du sud et du nord; faites-le se renouveler en millions d'années, la vie, la stabilité, la prospérité étant unies à son corps; abattez pour lui les 9 arcs sous ses deux sandales; faites prospérer son nom comme prospèrent vos noms; dans la mesure où il a fait pour vous l'ordre à travers les deux rives'. Cette inscription comporte des faits linguistiques propres au néo-égyptien et à sa tradition cursive: *ỉry*, perfectif (à opposer aux *sḏm·n·f*), perfectif avec un *w* provenant de l'hiératique, *r-nty* pour *r-ntt*, *ỉw·w*, *ỉ·dḥ*, impératif à prothèse d'un verbe non classique. Ces éléments ont été adaptés à une langue imitant l'égyptien de la Première Phase, en supprimant l'article là où il devrait figurer, et associés à des tours ou des formules directement puisées dans la tradition ancienne, à l'aide d'une syntaxe qui se veut 'classique' (par exemple, *ḏnḫ ḏd w3s sm3 m ḥ‘w·f*, circonstancielle sans *ỉw*). Ce disparate linquistique caractérise une des formes de ce que j'ai proposé d'appeler 'égyptien de tradition' (Vernus, *L'Égyptologie en 1979*, 1, 81).

En revanche, la légende reproduisant l'hymne de joie poussé par l'équipage des barques (pl. 20, l. 1–7) est proprement rédigée en langue récente, adaptée en hiéroglyphes, ce qui peut lui donner une allure plus formelle (ainsi *ḏr* pour *m-ḏr*, l. 7) mais ne modifie pas sa syntaxe de base qui demeure celle du néo-égyptien. Ainsi cette légende, par son niveau linguistique, se spécifie comme référant à un fait 'actualisé' et anecdotique, et s'oppose à la légende précédente, qui, parce que son niveau linguistique fondamental imitait l'égyptien classique, — au-delà des instrusions néo-égyptiennes — se spécifiait comme référant à un fait sacralisé et inséré dans l'ordre du monde; le propos, au demeurant, était censé être tenu par un dieu. P. VERNUS

Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period. Papyrus Turin CG 54031. By VIRGINIA CONDON. Münchner ägyptologische Studien, 37. 235 × 170 mm. Pp. 75, pls. 6. Munich/Berlin, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1978. ISBN 3 422 00830 6. No price stated.

Die Edition un- und unzureichend veröffentlichten Materials bleibt die vordringlichste Aufgabe der Ägyptologie.[1] Daher ist dieser schmale Band uneingeschränkt zu begrüßen. Texte, die in der Faksimile-Publikation von Pleyte und Rossi über 100 Jahre lang ein Schattendasein geführt haben, sind nunmehr der Wissenschaft erschlossen und werden künftig in der Diskussion um die Königsideologie des Neuen Reichs zweifellos eine wichtige Rolle spielen.

P. Turin 54031 besteht aus drei großen, nicht miteinander zusammenhängenden Fragmenten,

[1] G. Posener, 'Tâche prioritaire' in *Acts 1st ICE*, 519–22.

deren Zusammengehörigkeit Vf. aufgrund äußerer (A und B haben ein in regelmäßigen Abständen wiederkehrendes Loch gemeinsam) und innerer Kriterien (Schrift, Farbe, Textsorte) zeigen konnte:

A	B	C	
Recto [. . .] 87 [. . .]	21–2 [. . .]	88	‖ Ende der Rolle
Verso [. . .] 86 [. . .]	20 I, II [. . .]	89	
24 cm	41 cm	22,5 cm	

Nach dieser Rekonstruktion (die Zahlen beziehen sich auf die Tafeln bei Pleyte–Rossi) haben wir es bei den drei Fragmenten mit höchstens der Hälfte der ursprünglichen Papyrusrolle zu tun. Diese ursprüngliche Rolle ist, nach unserer bisherigen Kenntnis, ein ganz einzigartiges literarisches Dokument, zumal wenn man sich darunter nicht einen Zyklus vorstellt wie den 'Liederkranz auf Sesostris III', die Amūnshymnen des P. Leiden J 350 oder die Liebeslieder-Sammlungen, sondern 'an anthology of model texts not unlike P. Anastasi II and other miscellanies of the Ramesside period'.[1] Die ramessidischen Miscellanies enthalten immer Texte verschiedener Gattungen. Es scheint aber mehr als Zufall, daß in den erhaltenen Fragmenten des von Vf. rekonstruierten Papyrus ausschließlich Königshymnen stehen; offenbar muß man sich doch wohl den gesamten Papyrus als eine Sammlung solcher Texte vorstellen. Die Annahme eines Zyklus scheint der Vf. deshalb ausgeschlossen, weil die erheblichen graphischen Varianten auf Benutzung verschiedener Vorlagen schließen lassen, die z. T. eine längere Redaktionsgeschichte erkennen lassen und sowohl aus Theben als auch aus Unterägypten stammen sollen. Eine so weitreichende These hätte unbedingt am paläographischen Befund demonstriert werden müssen. Wenn Vf. Recht hat, besäßen wir hiermit das vielleicht einzige Beispiel einer gattungsspezifischen literarischen Anthologie, die aus verschiedenen Quellen Texte einer Gattung zusammenstellt. Statt einer Schülerhandschrift scheint mir jedoch die Annahme einer 'Festrolle' näher zu liegen, die etwa bei der Begrüßung des in Memphis gekrönten Königs anläßlich seiner Antrittsreise nach Theben verwendet wurde.[2] Ein entsprechender Fall ist der P. Golenischeff mit den 'Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen', auf den Vf. als Parallele verweist:[3] hier sind für einen bestimmten kultischen Zweck, nämlich den Kult des Sobek von Schedet, verschiedene Hymnen aus dem königlichen Kronenzeremoniell zusammengestellt worden.

Bei der Transkription läßt vor allem die Wiedergabe der Lücken zu wünschen übrig. Durch Vermeidung der üblichen Schraffur bleibt unklar, ob eine Ergänzung die Lücke füllt oder nicht (z. B. 87 I, 8 und 10; 22, 8; 89, 2 und 6; 86, 2, 5 und 7 u. ö.). Zuweilen sind auch auf dem Photo und in Pleyte–Rossi Facs. deutlich erkennbare Lücken in der Transkription gar nicht wiedergegeben, wie z. B. in der rechten Hälfte von 21, wo in Z. 7 vor dem rätselhaften ⌜ bzw. *nḫt n nṯr* ein Quadrat fehlen könnte. Z. 87 I, 9 ist im Original ganz anders angeordnet als in der Transskription. An der Qualität der Reproduktion und vermutlich der Verwendung eines ungeeigneten Zeichengeräts liegt es, daß oft Unklarheit über das Vorhandensein von Verspunkten aufkommt (87, 3 zwischen *ỉrt* und *ḥpw*? 21, 2 nach *ỉnwt*? 21, 8 nach *wꜥwt*? 22, 2 nach *nḫḥ*? usw.).

Die Übersetzung ist angesichts der enormen Schwierigkeit der Texte eine beachtliche Leistung. Eigentümlich ist nur, daß sie trotz einiger Dutzend Fragezeichen die Schwierigkeit des Originals in keiner Weise kenntlich macht. Auch der äußerst knappe Kommentar geht souverän über alle Klippen und Untiefen hinweg. Oft kann man nur soviel sagen, daß der Vorschlag der Vf. aus bestimmten Gründen nicht möglich ist:

> 'Those who took from us the food of [. . . are (now) wi]dows
> those who caused to be consumed the best portions of the geese are in the hands of harlots'

Der Leser findet den hieroglyphischen Wortlaut auf S. 12 = 88, 2–3 und mag sich selbst den Kopf zerbrechen über den Sinn dieser Stelle. Die Übersetzung S. 19–20 enthält noch nicht einmal ein Fragezeichen; der Kommentar auf S. 30 geht auf die einzigen Punkte ein, die einigermaßen klar sind. Solche Fälle sind typisch; fast hinter jedem Satz der Übersetzung möchte man ein paar

[1] S. 6.

[2] Vgl. 87, 5–6, und 9–10; 21, 1; 88, 6; 20 I, 6–8; II, 7, wo in aller wünschenswerten Deutlichkeit Hinweise auf diese Verwendungssituation der Hymnen gegeben werden, sodaß ich die unschlüssige Haltung der Vf. in diesem Punkt nicht ganz verstehen kann.

[3] S. 5 Anm. 4.

Fragezeichen anbringen. 21, 7 wurde schon erwähnt. Auf S. 18 liest man: 'in whom is the self-assurance of a god'. Mit 'self-assurance' ist das vermutlich als *nḫt* 'Stärke, Sieg' gelesene Zeichen des (schlagenden?) Armes wiedergegeben, das aber auch Det. zu einem ausgefallenen Wort in der (in der Umschrift nicht berücksichtigten) Lücke davor sein kann. Auch hier fragt man sich, was das heißen soll; zumal im nächsten Satz von diesem 'Gott' weiterhin die Rede ist: 'er hört nicht auf das, was sie sagen'. Vf. löst diese Schwierigkeit: 'he (Amun) heeds not what they say'.[1] Im Kommentar ist von alledem überhaupt nicht die Rede.

Man kann sich fragen, ob in solchen Fällen gar keine Übersetzung nicht besser wäre, weil dann zumindest die philologischen Probleme nicht verschüttet würden sondern zu weiterer Bemühung herausforderten. Auf jeden Fall erwartet man von einem Kommentar, daß er die vom Text gestellten Probleme behandelt, Emendationen begründet, alternative Übersetzungsmöglichkeiten diskutiert und das Gesicherte vom bloßen Vorschlag und der Vermutung unterscheidet. So muß man sagen, das die Übersetzung insgesamt den Charakter eines Vorschlags hat, den man oft verwerfen, dem man aber auch oft dankbar folgen wird. Von einem wirklichen Verständnis dieser, noch einmal sei es gesagt: äußerst schwierigen Texte sind wir noch weit entfernt.

Das eigentliche Interesse dieser Texte erschließt sich erst im Horizont einer Fragestellung, von der man deutlich sieht, daß es nicht die der Vf. war.[2] Es ist die Frage nach der Geschichte der ägyptischen Heilsvorstellungen, wie sie in der Königsideologie formuliert und tradiert wurden. Der Satz 'Wer arm war, ist (jetzt) reich' gehört im MR bekanntlich in die Topik des 'Unheils';[3] hier erscheint er nun als Ausdruck der eingetretenen Heilszeit, und zwar im unmittelbaren Anschluß an einen Satz, der die Wende zum Heil—wiederum im Gegensatz zum MR—nicht vom Auftreten des Königs, sondern von der Zuwendung Gottes abhängig macht: 'Amūn hat sich Ägypten (wieder) zugewendet'.[4] Was diesem Satz vorausgeht, wird man als Schilderung des vorhergehenden Unheils verstehen müssen, die deshalb besonders interessant ist, weil hier von Auswanderung oder Anachorese die Rede ist;[5] ein Motiv, das in Z. 8 dann durch die Heimkehr wieder aufgenommen wird. In anderer Hinsicht interessant ist z. B. die Passage 21, 9ff., die mit dem Satz beginnt: *ḏrt n 'Imn m-dì·k*, 'die Hand Amūns ist mit dir'. Die 'Hand' Gottes ist ein ambivalenter Ausdruck. Wendungen wie 'ich war in ihrer Hand',[6] 'sie ließ mich ihre Hand sehen'[7] und 'verhöhne nicht einen, der in der Hand Gottes ist'[8] beziehen sich auf eine negative Form von 'Gottesbefallenheit', nämlich Krankheit, Unglück, Gebrechen usw. Aber hier muß der Sinn natürlich positiv sein, die schützende und helfende Hand, die Gott dem reicht, der ihn anruft.[9] Davon handeln die folgenden Sätze in der Sprache der Persönlichen Frömmigkeit: 'Du riefst zu ihm um Mitternacht, und "fandest"[10] ihn, wie er hinter dir stand, auf daß er für dich handele, du Einer unter Hunderttausenden, auf daß er Millionen zu Einem mache.' Im Weiteren wird dann die morgendliche Erfüllung der nächtlichen Verheißungen geschildert.[11]

[1] Diese Beziehung des Suffix ist ausgeschlossen, weil von Amūn im ganzen vorhergehenden Text nirgendwo die Rede ist und ein rein pronominales Reden von Gott ('ER') im Ägyptischen nicht üblich ist. Im vorhergehenden Satz muß demnach von der strafenden Gewalt Gottes die Rede sein, die 'bei ihnen' ist.

[2] Das ergibt sich daraus, daß sämtliche einschlägige Literatur zu Königsbild und Geschichtsverständnis in der Bibliographie fehlt, z. B. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (1948); Jacobsohn, *Die dogmatische Stellung des Königs in der Theologie der alten Ägypter* (ÄgFo 8, 1939); Posener, *De la divinité du pharaon* (1960); Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum Königtum des Mittleren Reichs*, I (1970); Barta, *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs* (1975); Hornung, *Geschichte als Fest* (1966); Morenz, *Die Heraufkunft des transzendenten Gottes* (1964), um nur das Neuere und Wichtigste zu nennen.

[3] Vgl. hierzu zuletzt F. Junge, in *Gedenkschrift E. Otto* (1977), 275–84.

[4] Vf. verweist im Kommentar, 30, zurecht auf die Parallele in der Israelstele, l. 25. Ähnlich auch P. Harris I, 75, 6.

[5] Posener, 'L'anachoresis dans l'Egypte pharaonique' in *Hommages à Claire Préaux*, 663–9. Eine ähnliche Formulierung kommt aber auch *LEM* 12, 10–11 im positiven Sinne eines 'Synchorismos' vor.

[6] Turin 1593 + 1649 = *ÄHG* Nr. 149, 11.

[7] Ebd., Vers 24.

[8] *Amenemope* 24, 19–20.

[9] Vgl. Qadeš-Gedicht §126: *ỉnk ỉtỉ·k ḏrt·ỉ m-dì·k*, auch ibd. §123.

[10] *ꜥš* und *gmỉ* ebenso auch im Qadeš-Gebet Ramses' II (§123). *gmỉ* als Erfahrung des im Beistand sich offenbarenden Gottes ist terminus technicus der Persönlichen Frömmigkeit, vgl. z. B. *ÄHG* 597 zu Nr. 148, 39 f.

[11] Vgl. die Traumoffenbarung des Djeḥutemḥeb ed. Assmann, *RdÉ* 30 (1978), 22 f., spez. 28, Vers 35.

Wenn man diese Texte korrekt in die ihnen eigentümliche Gattungstradition und Vorstellungswelt einordnet,[1] dürften sie sich als ein hochinteressanter und wichtiger Beitrag erweisen, für dessen Erschließung der Vf. unser Dank gebührt. Es ist sehr zu wünschen, daß dieser Vorstoß möglichst viele Nachfolger findet.

JAN ASSMANN

A New Temple for Hathor at Memphis. By ABDULLA EL-SAYED MAHMUD. Egyptology Today, No. 1. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. vi + 22, pls. 19, figs. 18. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1978. ISBN 0 85668 098 3. Price, £7·50.

Egyptologists spend so much time bewailing the hiatus between excavation and publication that it would be graceless not to welcome a series that is addressed, in part, to meeting this problem. The excavation reported in this volume took place in the years 1970 and 1971, and it is still not complete: in area, it encompasses roughly half of the first court of a temple dedicated to Ḥaṯḥor by Ramesses II, and only the upper levels of these walls have been cleared to date. Continued excavation, following the completion of the seasons reported here, now reveals the south-east corner of the court, but much of what was exposed earlier has been reburied and the mound lying over the temple proper has not been touched. What has been published here is in the nature of a preliminary report, and by this standard it is quite generous. After placing the new temple in the context of nearby monuments (p. 1 with fig. 1), the author describes the exposed portions of the building (pp. 3–4, fig. 2), adding a few remarks on the history of Ḥaṯḥor columns (p. 5). Summary descriptions and translations of the texts on reliefs follow (pp. 7–11, figs. 3–4), after which the objects found in the excavation are discussed (pp. 12–14). In his conclusions (pp. 15–16), the author suggests that this temple was built for the Heliopolitan form of Ḥaṯḥor, and that another temple dedicated to the Memphite Ḥaṯḥor was located nearby. Photographs of the site (figs. 1–8), of some of the reliefs (figs. 9–16), and of some of the objects (figs. 17–18) appear next, followed by eighteen plates containing line-drawings of the reliefs carved on the excavated walls of the court.

Since the clearance of the Ḥaṯḥor temple is not yet finished, one may expect the present report eventually to be superseded by a fuller publication. How soon this will happen, if at all, is another question. For this reason, it seems a pity that more thought was not given to the layout of this volume and that more detailed information was not supplied at this time. One would have been grateful for a more thorough account of the excavation, with more emphasis on the distribution of the finds and on different periods in the site itself. As for the drawings of the reliefs, while it would be unfair to demand the greatest refinement in technique, there are some basic desideranda to be met: (1) All inscribed surfaces, if they are not drawn, should be accounted for accurately. The author does not fully describe the decoration on the western end of the south wall (fig. 2, wall D; cf. p. 11) even though it was cleared by this time: this fragmentary scene shows the king's legs advancing towards the left, with a column of text ('. . . given life, stability, and dominion like Rēʿ') behind him. (2) The drawings, even if they are rough in execution, should not give misleading information. True, the reliefs are themselves crudely done, but the bottom of the *sw*-plant found so often here does not flare as in these drawings, being rounded or, in some cases, squared off. Nor are the irises shown in the figures' eyes as they appear on pls. vii and ix (other examples are buried and could not be checked): rather, the surface of the stone is modelled to suggest the rounding of the eye, with no trace of the paint that could have delineated this feature. Other questionable forms include the tail of the goose in *sꜣ-Rʿ* (pl. iv); the oval jar of *ʿbw* (pl. v, right), of which the rim and the water issuing from it are visible; the feather of *sꜣb šw* (pl. v), preserved more completely on the right side and more slantingly angled; on pl. vii, the crossbars of the djed-pillar that supports the

[1] Mögliche Beziehungen zu anderen Texten werden von Vf. meist sehr pauschal angedeutet: 'The various points of similarity (zwischen Text V und der Krönungsinschrift des Haremhab) are too numerous to list here' (p. 43); 'Finally it might be mentioned here that the tomb of Ramses VI contains a number of texts which share some of the features of the present text' (p. 37). Diese Bemerkung ist besonders wenig einleuchtend, weil sie offenbar eine Verbindung herstellen will zwischen den Anspielungen des Königshymnus auf den Sonnenlauf und den kosmographischen Darstellungen in diesem (und natürlich auch in anderen) Königsgräbern.

kiosk of Ptaḥ have been omitted, as have the tops of the jars in the sign *ḫnty*, and I should have been more sceptical of the apparent signs *ḫr tꜣwy* in the midst of the group *ḫsrt* just below, which I think are the illusory result of flaking in the stone; above this scene, the windpipe of the *smꜣ-tꜣwy* cuts through the two lungs, and the base is flat, not rounded; on pl. viii, the ties of the aberrant book-roll determinative for *tꜣš* are barely visible, and the *sw* of the king's nomen has its top curving towards the right, not (abnormally) towards the left; on pl. x, the determinative of *nht* has a rounded, not squared and flaring bottom. For most purposes these are, admittedly, trivial corrections; but their necessity limits the volume's usefulness as a guide to Ramesside palaeography and usage. (3) Traces in damaged areas should be recorded completely and be made as comprehensible to the reader as possible. Scrutiny of pl. i, however, might not suggest that a *rnpt*-staff hung with jubilee insignia stood in front of the plumed god at the left side of the main panel and, above this scene, numerous traces of the frieze (cartouches atop baskets alternating with the signs *stp·n·Rʿ*) have not been recorded (cf. the author's own description on p. 7). At the right end of the main panel there are uncopied remains of a shrine (?) with a curving roof; and, on the reveal, the beard and shoulder of the god are similarly omitted from the copy. All these problems would be of smaller moment were a complete and definitive copy to be issued in the foreseeable future. As it is, some traces copied by the author have now disappeared, and the exposed surfaces are likely to deteriorate even further with the passing of time.

The publishers, sad to say, have not improved matters by the manner in which they have chosen to print the drawings. Avoidance of folded pages is understandable, given the expense, but surely there were alternatives to the present arrangement, whereby the drawings run continuously from page to page, with no regard paid to divisions between scenes or even to the integrity of figures. The resulting inelegance and inconvenience (the reader must turn several pages to assemble for himself the elements of each scene) might have been avoided had the upper and lower registers been printed separately, and at different scales of reduction, so that each scene fitted comfortably on to one page. The complete surface of each wall might have been printed separately, appropriately reduced, to establish relationships between scenes.

The above has been written in some distress. Obviously, Egyptian scholars should be encouraged to publish the field-work which they are often in a unique position to accomplish, and Aris and Phillips should be encouraged to continue making such reports available at a modest cost. One can only hope that future volumes in this series will be more successful than this one.

W. J. MURNANE

Isis, Mythe et Mystères. Par FRANCE LE CORSU. Collection d'Études Mythologiques. 155 × 245 mm. Pp. x + 318, pls. 50, figs. 22. Paris, Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1977. Price F 144.

In his Preface to this welcome synoptic study Professor Leclant notes that the author comes well equipped to her task. She is a trained Egyptologist as well as a student of the Classics and of comparative religion. In the last-named areas her main interests are in the parallels and impacts provided by the Eleusinian and Dionysiac initiations.

The first chapter is, however, devoted to Isis in the Pharaonic period, and it concludes with a discussion of mysteries and initiations. It is rightly inferred from various words and expressions that the idea of initiation was then applied only to the priestly enactors. Yet a feature of the Greek Mysteries, as Daumas has reminded us, was a dramatic portrayal, and this was probably the major resemblance which prompted Herodotus to use the term of Egyptian rites. A discussion of Isis in the Hellenistic era begins with a sketch of Alexander in Egypt and the work of Ptolemy I Soter. Here one feels that the treatment is at once too expansive and too cursory, and one raises eyebrows to find an old cliché repeated in 'la création, tout artificielle, du dieu Sarapis' (p. 51), especially as mention is then properly made of 'Osiris-Apis'. Again one is surprised to read (p. 59), apropos of the Homeric hymns, 'En fait, il est loin d'être sûr qu'Homère soit l'auteur de ces hymnes.' Surely the ancient attribution to Homer has long since been discarded. In spite of this there are useful remarks on the affinities between Isis and Demeter. In this connection Clement of Alexandria reports a tradition that Baubo made Demeter laugh by an act of self-exposure. An apt comparison recalls the similar act of Ḥaṯḥor in *The Contendings of Horus and Seth*, an act which produces a

similar result. It is doubtful, however, whether one should conclude from this (p. 60) that an assimilation of the myths of Demeter and Isis occurred in the Christian era. The episode has widespread parallels; and allusion is rightly made to Alexandrian terracottas and to the festival of Bubastis as described by Herodotus (II, 60). One must agree, at the same time, that the episode of Isis in Byblos as narrated by Plutarch is palpably influenced by the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, where immortality by fire is one of the motifs. Mme Le Corsu assures us that this is not an Egyptian conception. She admits that in the afterworld we encounter an 'isle of fire' and a 'lake of fire', but these are explained as obstacles on the path of the deceased. The 'isle of fire', *îw nsrsr*, is sometimes a source of rebirth, but it must be conceded that the idea differs from the episode with Metaneira's child, where burning confers immortality.

The Isiac rites in the Graeco-Roman era had a conspicuous connection with the crops, and here the parallel with the rites of Demeter (and not only those of the Eleusinian Mysteries) is justly stressed, even if care is taken not to follow the theory of Paul Foucart which posited a wholesale borrowing from Egypt including the neat derivation of μακάριος from *maa-kheru*. (It seems that the late A. A. Barb was the only writer of recent years who remained still attracted to Foucart's theory: see his essay in J. R. Harris (ed.), *The Legacy of Egypt*, (2nd edn.), 1971). It is well urged (p. 70) that the Orphics probably played a significant part in the assimilation of Dionysus and Osiris as well as of Demeter and Isis; and the entry of Dionysus into the Eleusinian orbit is cogently traced. It is pointed out that Pindar at the beginning of the fifth century names Dionysus as the πάρεδρος of Demeter; and it may be added that later in the same century Herodotus presents the double equation Dionysus = Osiris and Demeter = Isis. The popularity of Dionysus in Ptolemaic Egypt led to the equation of the god there with Sarapis and Osiris, and it is happily suggested (p. 81) that the elderly Sarapis matched Osiris in his funerary aspect while the young Dionysus reflected him as a god reborn. Indeed a relief of Alexandrian style in the Louvre (pl. 7) figures Isis with Sarapis, Harpocrates, and Dionysus. Later, however, one is startled to read (pp. 163 ff.) that an initiation rite seen in the Pompeian Villa dei Misteri is linked to 'Dionysus-Osiris' and that the female consort of Dionysus there depicted is explained, not as Ariadne, but as Demeter-Isis. It is as well that the idea is described on p. 171 as a hypothesis; there is no clear support for it in the depictions (the female's head is, alas, missing).

A similar rejection must be accorded to the theory, put forward on pp. 150 f., that the second initiation described by Apuleius is devoted to 'Dionysus-Osiris'. Here the evidence is a little more tangible; for Lucius in a dream-vision sees initiates carrying thyrsi and ivy. Such Dionysiac attributes certainly figured in the Osirian rites in the Roman era. But Apuleius specifically names the god as Osiris, adding magniloquent epithets. It is this god, by the way, that is identified with the sacred Nile water, so that it is puzzling to read (p. 144), 'l'eau du fleuve sacré, c'est Isis en personne'.

That there was a degree of interpretation in the relationship of the mystery religions is fairly clear: cf. my remarks on the episode of divine judgement which occurs in several of them (Bianchi and Vermaseren (eds.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, (Leiden, 1982), 192–222); yet the episodes are coloured by markedly different religious traditions. It seems to me that Mme Le Corsu ventures too boldly in her attempt to equate the various rites. Her book does offer, none the less, a number of new insights, especially in the sphere of the art and archaeology of the cults. The section on the diffusion of the Isiac cults (pp. 211–78) is particularly attractive, enhanced as it is with relevant illustrations. For the detailed documentation one naturally turns to the works of Dunand, Malaise, Leclant, and others, but this survey gives a valuable conspectus.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Die numinose Mischgestalt. Methodenkritische Untersuchungen zu tiermenschlichen Erscheinungen Altägyptens, der Eiszeit und der Aranda in Australien. By RICHARD MERZ. Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, 36. 223 × 150 mm. Pp. xviii + 306. Berlin & New York, W. de Gruyter, 1978. ISBN 3 11 007443 5. Price DM 98.

Diese religionswissenschaftliche Dissertation der Universität Zürich versucht, das Problem der göttlichen 'Mischgestalt' durch den Kontrast des altägyptischen Materials mit dem der Eiszeitjäger

und der Aranda in Australien aufzuhellen. Ob diese Zusammenstellung glücklich war, scheint fraglich. Allzuviel ist in der Datierung und Deutung der eiszeitlichen Malereien noch unklar; die so oft herangezogenen 'Vogelmenschen', die wir in der modernen Kunst wieder antreffen, würde ich nicht als Mischwesen deuten, sondern als extreme Stilisierung der Menschengestalt. Das reichbezeugte Fortleben der 'Mischgestalt' in der christlichen Ikonographie (Christus, die Evangelisten, Heilige und Engel) bleibt ungenutzt, nur die Darstellung des Teufels wird kurz erwähnt (p. 272).

Das altägyptische Material wird p. 3–69 und 255–66 ausführlich vorgelegt und kommentiert. Merz ist überzeugt, daß die Mischgestalt bis in die Vorgeschichte zurückreicht (p. 13), aber eindeutige Belege gehören erst dem 'Beginn der historischen Zeit' an (p. 26). Damit rückt der Ursprung dieser Form in zeitliche Nähe zur Schrifterfindung, der er auch sachlich eng benachbart ist. Die 'Mischgestalt' ist eine der vielen Möglichkeiten, über die die ägyptische Bildsprache verfügt; mit ihr, wie mit Symbolen und Modellen, lassen sich komplexe Bedeutungen mitteilen, für die ein Wort der Sprache niemals ausreichen würde (*pace* p. 275, wo Bedeutung nur mit Wörtern verbunden wird, nicht mit Bildern). Daher ist es methodisch von Nachteil, nur die spezielle Kombination von Tierkopf und Menschenleib zu betrachten, statt der ganzen Skala von Möglichkeiten, die auf Särgen der 21. Dynastie bis zum Ersatz des Kopfes durch ganze Szenen (Ḥathorkuh im Westberg, Sonnenlauf) oder durch den Namen von Göttern reicht (Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, II, Tav. 246 und 250, mit Parallelen auf einem Sarg in Grenoble).

Das Buch von Merz bietet auch dem Ägyptologen viele Anregungen und darf als gedankenreicher Beitrag zur Deutung der 'Mischgestalt' ägyptischer Götter begrüßt werden. E. HORNUNG

Le Caractère du dessin en Égypte ancienne. By MARCELLE BAUD. 240 × 175 mm. Pp. 94, coloured pls. 24, monochrome 98. Paris, Libraire Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1978. No price stated.

In 1953 Marcelle Baud published *Les Dessins ébauchés de la nécropole thébaine (au temps du Nouvel Empire)* and wrote the introduction to the present work shortly thereafter. Here she has attempted a discussion of the principles of Egyptian two-dimensional representation. This work is illustrated almost throughout with the author's line drawings and water-colours, the exceptions being a limited number of photographs and drawings reproduced from other works. As an elementary introduction for the non-specialist reader, this book makes the generally accepted point that Egyptian art is not to be understood or evaluated by the use of the principles of 'Western' art. The history of art from the Renaissance on has been one of illusion and of a fixed point of view with deviations from these rules recently allowed only in the modern schools of painting. The author makes much of the fact that with the advent of Cubism the doors are opened for the modern viewer to understand Egyptian drawings and design. With the Cubists, as with the Ancient Egyptians, the rendering of an object strives for a representation of *essence* rather than momentary appearance. This observation may have been valid in the earlier decades of this century, but so much constructive work has been done on the understanding and interpretation of Egyptian art in recent years as to make this a somewhat redundant and unnecessary apology for an art form outside 'Western' tradition.

The first chapter is concerned with the history of the misunderstanding of Egyptian design and expresses the idea that it is a mistake to apply general rules to particular cases (the rules of 'Western' art to Egyptian art). The author quotes Bénédit: 'Le dessin est chose mentale'—a simple statement, but one that comes close to explaining all of the art of ancient Egypt. From this, the notion is developed that we, who inherit the ideas of the Greeks, also inherit the basic misunderstanding of what is attempted (and also what is left untried) in the art of Egypt. Much of this has been expressed better by Schäfer in *Principles of Egyptian Art*, where he refers to the art of the 'pre-Greeks', an art not of illusion but of meaning. The author suggests that it is to the hieroglyphic signs that one must refer in order to explain the drawing of the Egyptians because the act of writing imposes necessary simplification and schematization. Examples are given of signs that illustrate basic principles, the profile face with the frontal eye, the combination of plan and elevation, the juxtaposition of the most characteristic views of different parts of the same object which are more descriptive but would not be seen from the same vantage-point. The use of certain signs for different

meanings is questioned, and allusion is made to the wider meaning of signs that have become more expressive by their associations. It is asserted that the scribe (by extension 'scribe' is used to designate the designer and painter), having learned to handle the written language, was prepared to embark on more complicated tasks. 'Consciously or not' the Egyptian artist is said to obey three rules which were fundamental to his art and had few exceptions. The totality of the characteristics of a motif are expressed, and the principal characteristic is given in its true proportion and in its aspect most easily understood. The elements of a decoration are represented in relationship to a moving spectator, the scribe moves and invites the spectator to participate in the action. The proportions employed express the major theme or idea of the scene.

Three chapters are devoted to an examination and illustration of these principles. Other chapters take up Perspective, Views the Face, Expression, and Techniques of Drawing.

For the most part, what is said in this work about Egyptian two-dimensional art is essentially correct, but the omission of references to other authors who have essayed the explanation of Egyptian design is curious. Heinrich Schäfer devoted much of his career to an elucidation of the problems of understanding Egyptian art, and, in the recent English translation of his *Principles*, Emma Brunner-Traut has made an important contribution of her own in her epilogue on *Aspective*. Eric Iversen has provided the basic reference for the Egyptian canon of proportion. William Stevenson Smith discussed many aspects of two-dimensional representation in his works, which include many valuable observations. None of these authors are mentioned. This book is illustrated, with few exceptions, by water-colours and drawings of the author's. She has studied her subject over a long period of time and in the course of this study has doubtless made many of the drawings as *aide-mémoire* or notes. This is generally a commendable method of working because the act of making a personal copy requires that the copyist analyse and understand the subject thoroughly. The use of such copies as illustrations is to be questioned. Copies do not convey the character, subtlety, or expressiveness of the original. They do remind the reader of a composition or a detail, but they cannot serve to suggest the original work of art. This problem is amplified when the drawing is a copy of an earlier illustration. In many cases it will be found to be necessary to turn to a photograph to verify the accuracy of the illustrations in this book.

There are some simple errors in the text and captions. The name of the famous early French Egyptologist, Nestor l'Hôte, is misspelt in two places. In the caption for plate 80 c, the drawing is given as on an ostracon when it is, in fact, a detail copied by Erman from the Turin Erotic Papyrus. A number of illustrations are given with no source or with incomplete information as to museum location. The value of this book is that it brings to an uninformed public some of the considerations which must be understood in an evaluation of Egyptian art. It may be hoped that this introduction is the inspiration to the reader to search out actual examples where the quality of Egyptian art may be experienced directly.

WILLIAM H. PECK

Das Senet-Brettspiel im Alten Ägypten. By EDGAR B. PUSCH. Part 1, volumes 1 and 2. Münchner ägyptologische Studien, Heft 38. Pp. x+421, pls. 105. Deutscher Kunstverlag, Munich–Berlin, 1979. ISBN 3 422 00831 4. Price DM 140.

Mr Pusch's publication is a revision of his dissertation, which was submitted in 1976 to the Philosophische Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn. This study is primarily a catalogue of scenes and objects related to the ancient Egyptian thirty-square board game of senet. The book is divided into two parts, a text-volume discussing each of the entries, and an accompanying plate-volume illustrating much of that text.

Pusch has divided the catalogue into three sections. The first (pp. 1–148) is a listing of representations of Egyptians playing the game. He has subdivided these scenes into the four chronological categories of the Old Kingdom (scenes 1–12), Middle Kingdom (scenes 13–17), Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties (scenes 18–40), and the Late Period (scenes 41–4). With some exceptions (scenes 13, 16, 17, 19, 32, 33, 36, 37, 39, 40), most of these are portrayed in painting or relief on the walls of tombs.

Each entry contains the name of the tomb-owner, the date of the tomb, its provenance, the location of the scene within the tomb, the method of execution, bibliography, and short commentary, often

with a hand-copy of the accompanying text. One unfortunate inconsistency lies in Pusch's handling of these texts. He has translated only those in the New Kingdom examples, while he has left untranslated, for the most part, those texts in the Old and Middle Kingdom examples. This is a serious flaw, as the information from these *Reden und Rufe* is extremely important for understanding the character of the senet-game in these periods. The only texts from these tombs which Pusch has translated are the names, titles, and simple scene-headings from the tombs of Mereruka (scene 8, pp. 24 f.), Idu (scene 11, p. 33), and Pepi-ʿankh (scene 12, pp. 37 ff.). He has completely shied away from the more difficult and perplexing texts which record the speeches of the players. Although these texts are far from easy, the book would have profited significantly had its author included translations and grammatical commentary.

The catalogue is notable in that it is not only a compilation of previously published scenes, but also includes many which have heretofore been unpublished (scenes no. 3, 5, 6, 10, 21, 22, 24, 25, 30). Pusch has carefully collected and categorized these scenes. Unfortunately, he has inadvertently overlooked several others: a fragmentary painted representation in the tomb of Amenemḥēb, Theban tomb no. 44 (also overlooked by *PM* I²(1), 84[6]), and a relief in the Napatan style on a sandstone block which was found at Nuri; it probably derives from the pyramid of King Aramatelqo (mid sixth century BC).[1] Pusch's inconsistency shows itself again in his treatment of the senet scenes. As part of his catalogue, he presents the scene from the coffin of Khonsu, son of Sennedjem (scene 34). However, he only notes in a footnote (p. 122, no. 3) the similar scene on Sennedjem's own coffin. This should have been included as a separate catalogue entry. As a whole, his treatment of the senet-scene among the vignettes of *Book of the Dead*, Chapter 17, is also inconsistent. While he has meticulously included those known on the walls of tombs, he catalogues and illustrates only two examples of those which are found on papyri: P. Ani (BM 10.470) and P. Hunefer (BM 9.901). As for any others, on p. 128, no. 2, he only notes the existence of the four scenes published by Naville, *Tb* 1, pl. 27. However, these also should have had their own catalogue-entries. In addition, he has omitted entirely the interesting senet-scene from the *Book of the Dead* papyrus of Ḥeriḥor and Nedjmet (BM 10.541).[2]

The bibliographies provided for the scenes are fairly complete. However, some important additions should be made. These are drawn from this reviewer's own long-standing research into the religious significance of senet:

scene no. 1, add: *PM* III²(2), 498; N. Scott, *Home Life of the Ancient Egyptians* (NY, 1944), fig. 31; G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets* (MIFAO 47) (Cairo, 1921), 262, fig. 689; J. Spiegel, *Das Werden der altägyptischen Hochkultur* (Heidelberg, 1953), pl. 53[a]; H. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World* (NY, 1966), 59, fig. 60.

scene no. 2, add: *PM* III²(2), 584[6]; B. van de Walle, *BSFE* 69, figs. on pp. 9, 12; id., *La Chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Brussels, 1978), 354, pl. 6.

scene no. 4, add: *PM* III²(2), 495[7]; W. Nash, *PSBA* 24, pl. 5 after p. 348; A. Erman, *Reden, Rufe und Lieder* (Berlin, 1919), p. 59.

scene no. 5, add: *PM* III²(2), 646.

scene no. 6, add: *PM* III²(2), 631[7]; J.-P. Lauer, *Saqqara* (London, 1976), pl. 69.

scene no. 7, add: *PM* III²(2), 628; S. Hassan, *Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Her* (Cairo, 1975), 23, 25, pl. 12 f.

scene no. 8, add: *PM* III²(2), 533[79]; Baker, *Furniture*, 58, pl. 58.

scene no. 10, add: T. Kendall, *Passing Through the Netherworld* (Boston, 1978), 12 f.

scene no. 12, add: P. Piccione, *Archaeology* 33 (July/August, 1980), 55.

scene no. 13, add: H. Junker, *Gîza*, X (Vienna, 1951), 168; H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 205 f., fig. 208; J. Leclant (ed.), *Le Temps des pyramides*, II (Paris, 1978), 153.

scene no. 14, add: Jéquier, *BIFAO* 19, 19; Kendall, *Passing*, 14, fig. 8.

N.B. All footnote abbreviations are derived from the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*.

[1] Boston, MFA, unregistered and unrecorded. It bears the label 'N.9' = N(uri)9. My gratitude to Mr T. Kendall of the MFA, who informed me of its existence and who provided me with a photo of the piece. I should also like to thank the MFA for permitting me to examine it.

[2] A. Shorter, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Religious Papyri in the British Museum* (London, 1938), 14 f.; for the game detail cf. T. Patti and E. Turner, *The Written Word on Papyrus* (London, 1974), 13 f., pl. 4.

scene no. 15, add: Wilkinson, *Popular Account*, I (London, 1874), 192, fig. 208[1] (game-scene only, exclude caption); id., *Manners and Customs*, II (London, 1878), 57, fig. 319[1].[1]

scene no. 19, add: Helck, *Verwaltung* (Leiden, 1958), 263, no. 1, 264, no. 4.

scene no. 23, add: Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, 501, fig. 267; N. Scott, *BMMA* 31(3), fig. 36; National Geographic Society, *Ancient Egypt* (Washington, DC, 1978), 130; Kendall, *Passing*, 32, fig. 24.

scene no. 26, add: F. N. David, *Games, Gods and Gambling* (NY, 1962), pl. 3.

scene no. 29, add: [Jéquier], *CdÉ* 5, 124; H. Schäfer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*, 168, fig. 155; Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 268.

scene no. 31, add: Klebs, *Reliefs*, III, 227, fig. 142; C. Nims, *Thebes of the Pharaohs* (London, 1965), 186, pl. 96; M. Malaise, *CdÉ* 50, 113; Piccione, *Archaeology* 33, 58.

scene no. 32a, add: Wilkinson, *Manners*, II, 60, fig. 322.

scene no. 32b, add: Champollion, *Monuments*, III, pl. 201[3]; Wilkinson, *Manners*, II, p. 59, fig. 321; id., *Popular Account*, I, 193, fig. 209[1]; Nash, *PSBA* 24, pl. 5[7]; M. Pieper, 'Das Brettspiel . . .', *Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zum Jahresbericht des Königstadt-Realgymnasiums* (Berlin, 1909), 5; Kendall, *Games* (May/June, 1978): 13; id. *Passing*, 31, fig. 23.

scene no. 36, add: Nash, *PSBA* 24, pl. 5[6]; Kendall, *Passing*, 31, fig. 23.

scene no. 38, add: H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I*, II (London, 1933), pl. 69.

scene no. 40, add: W. Budge, *Guide to the Egyptian Collection* (London, 1909), 6, fig. 4; Pieper, 'Brettspiel', 6; Nash, *PSBA* 24, pl. 5[4]; E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Tiergeschichte* (Darmstadt, 1968), 11, fig. 6; J. Omlin, *Der Papyrus 55001* (Turin, n.d.), pl. 20a; National Geographic, *Ancient Egypt*, 108; M. Della Monica, *La Classe ouvrière sous les pharaons* (Paris, 1975), p. 155; W. Peck, *Egyptian Drawings* (NY, 1978), 144, pl. 74–5; Kendall, *Passing*, 23, fig. 17.

scene no. 41, add: S. Birch, *ZÄS* 4, 99 f.; Wilkinson, *Popular Account*, 192, fig. 208[2] (exclude caption); A. Wiedemann, *Actes du 10e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, sect. 4 (Geneva, 1894), 53.

scene no. 42, add: D. K. Hill, *JWAG* 20, 35–41, 97 f.

scene no. 43, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 40, fig. 31.

The second section of this catalogue (pp. 155–384) is a listing of more than eighty-four gameboards and their accessories, most of which are decorated with designs on their squares or offering formulae on their surfaces. Pusch has sorted these boards into seven categories: Archaic Period (boards 1–4), Old Kingdom (boards 5–12), Middle Kingdom (boards 13–19), Seventeenth Dynasty (boards 20–3), Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties (boards 24–56), Twentieth and Twenty-first Dynasties (boards 57–77), and the Late Period (boards 78–84). Each of the entries contains the present location of the board, accessories, number, provenance, name of the ancient owner (if known), date, material, size, bibliography, and commentary concerning decoration or texts.

Unfortunately, not all of the entries cited in the text are illustrated in the plate volume. In addition, some of the boards listed and illustrated are not specifically senet game-boards in the opinion of this reviewer: board no. 1: 3 × 6 square arrangement; board no. 3: 2 × 13 square arrangement; board no. 7a: 3 × 12 square arrangement; board no. 7b: 4 × 14 square arrangement; board no. 51: 3 × 12 square arrangement; board no. 58: 3 × 4 + 8 square arrangement; board no. 64d: 3 × 12 square arrangement; board no 75: while a game-board is possible, senet specifically is not because the square decoration violates all tradition by making square A4 (Pusch's numbering) a boon instead of a hazard. Also, Daressy's opinion[2] that this piece may have had some kind of calendrical significance, listing lucky days of the month, should have been noted by Pusch. These boards should not have been included in this study because they tend to cloud the arguments and clutter the catalogue.

Pusch is to be commended for his diligence in amassing an extensive listing of senet-boards, including twenty-three which have heretofore been unpublished. It would surely be beyond the limits of human ability to have included within this catalogue every known senet-board or fragment. Boards are still frequently discovered in Egypt and elsewhere, and, given the game's great popularity in a

[1] See explanation below in text concerning the scenes of Baket III and Khety.

[2] *Ostraca*, CGC 25001–383 (Cairo, 1901), p. 35.

span of over 3,000 years, it must have existed in countless number of copies. Therefore, this reviewer would like to note the existence of sixteen additional boards. Cairo Museum no. 68.004 (JE 28.427) is a wood box-type board without decorated squares extant. It belonged to a Tuthmosis, whose mother was Ru. According to museum records, it was bought in Luxor before 1933.[1] Another board, whose final five squares are decorated with religious designs, is currently located in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.[2] Prior to 1979, Dr Geoffrey Martin discovered at Saqqâra a number of game square inlays, complete with their religious decoration.[3] Some decorated tiles, tentatively identified as senet squares, were found at El-Kurru in the Sudan.[4] A fragmentary board which dates to either the late Middle Kingdom or the early Eighteenth Dynasty was found in the settlement at Buhen.[5] In addition to Pusch's board no. 26, two other wooden boards were found in the tomb of Neferkhawt (Asasif no. 729). These were owned by Amenemḥēt and Ruyu.[6] Fragments of a wood and glass board were found in the tomb of Tuthmosis IV.[7]

In addition to Pusch's listing of 'graffiti' or other undecorated boards, the following should be noted: a limestone slab-style board with recesses for inlays (field no. K. N. A2675), recently found at North Karnak;[8] a senet-board cut into a roofing-stone over the north end of the west wall of the temple of Dendera;[9] a fallen limestone slab from the mastaba of Nekhebu (G2381) at Gîza with a board etched into it.[10] And at Hazor in Palestine a stone senet-board (field no. A1805/1) was discovered with a game of twenty squares on the verso.[11] Since this board derives from Palestine, Pusch would seem to be incorrect in his statement (p. 308) that no 3 × 10 senet-boards had found distribution in the rest of the Near East.

If he was aware of them, Pusch should have noted in his catalogue certain game-boards that can only be tentatively identified as senet-boards. One is a fragmentary alabaster game-board found in the First Dynasty tomb no. 3505 at Saqqâra.[12] Another is roughly scratched on a piece of wood which was found in a Twelfth Dynasty tomb at Thebes.[13] In the British Museum is a remarkable but broken board moulded from green faience, which is probably of Late Period date or later.[14] Finally, another board which possibly dates some time from the Late Period to the Roman Era is scored on a fragment of stone which was found by Petrie at Gerar.[15]

Pusch's bibliography for the boards is fairly complete, but as before, some significant additions should be made:

board no. 14, add: A. R. David, 'Toys and Games from Kahun in the Manchester Museum Collection', in *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1979), 13.

board no. 16, add: David, 'Toys and Games', 15, pl. 6.

board no. 20, add: Kendall, *Games* (1978), 13; id., *Passing*, 22, fig. 16.

board no. 21, add: G. Maspero, 'Enquête judiciaire à Thebes au temps de la XX^{e} Dynastie', extract from *Mem. Acad. Inscr. et Bell. Lett.* 8 (1871), 78.

[1] I should very much like to thank the Egyptian Department of Antiquities for permitting me to examine this game-board and the record of the *Journal d'Entrée*. My special thanks also to Messrs Muhammed Mohsein and Muhammed Saleh of the Cairo Museum for their kind assistance.

[2] My thanks to Professor H. te Velde for informing me of its existence.

[3] Many thanks to Dr Martin for showing me his manuscript drawing of these.

[4] D. Dunham, *El-Kurru* (RCK I) (Cambridge, 1950), pl. 24a; Kendall, *Passing*, 37.

[5] W. Emery *et al.*, *Fortress of Buhen: Archaeological Report* (London, 1980), 146, pl. 51.

[6] W. Hayes, *BMMA* 30(2), 34.

[7] H. Carter and P. Newberry, *Tomb of Thoutmosis IV* (Westminster, 1904), 34, no. 46119.

[8] My most sincere gratitude to Mr and Mrs J. Jacquet for informing me of its existence and for graciously supplying me with photos.

[9] Drawn and photographed by this reviewer.

[10] Boston, MFA 13.4350, Kendall, *Passing*, 22, fig. 15.

[11] Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, II (Jerusalem, 1960), 34, pls. 78(6), 164(13).

[12] W. Emery, *Tombs of the First Dynasty*, III (London, 1959), 14, no. 46.

[13] W. Nash, *PSBA* 24, 344.

[14] BM 34927. I should like to thank Mr T. G. H. James of the British Muesum for kindly permitting me to examine this piece.

[15] W. Petrie, *Gerar* (BSAE 43) (London, 1928), 19, pl. 42[8].

board no. 24, add: Vandier, *Antiquités égyptiennes au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1948), 63; Kendall, *Passing*, 25, fig. 19.

board no. 25, add: Vandier, *Antiquités*, 63; C. Boreux, *Antiquités égyptiennes: catalogue-guide* (Paris, 1932), 585.

board no. 26, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 25, fig. 19[j].

board no. 28, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 25, fig. 19[g].

board no. 30, add: L. Eichler, *Customs of Mankind* (NY, 1924), pl. opposite p. 700; N. Scott, *Home Life*, fig. 12; id., *BMMA* 31(3), fig. 36; Kendall, *Passing*, 25, fig. 19[d]; Piccione, *Archaeology* 33, 55.

board no. 31, add: H. R. Hall, *JEA* 14, p. 204.

board no. 32, add: E. Riefstahl, *Ancient Egyptian Glass and Glazes in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1968), 21, no. 19, 96; J. and L. Scott, *Hieroglyphs for Everyone* (NY, 1968), 19. T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn, 1974), 23, no. 278, pl. 1; Kendall, *Passing*, 24, fig. 18.

board no. 33, add: D. Dunham, *Zawiet el-Aryan* (Boston, 1978), 72 f.

board no. 34, add: Vandier, *Manuel*, IV, fig. 276; Baker, *Furniture*, 100, fig. 126; British Museum, *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (London, 1972), no. 18; *Treasures of Tutankhamun* (NY, 1976), 160 f., pl. 31; Kendall, *Games* (1978), 13; id., *Passing*, p. 21, fig. 14[c], p. 25, fig. 19[i].

board no. 35, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 21, fig. 14[6].

boards no. 36, 37, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 20, fig. 14[a].

board no. 38, add: E. Falkener, *Games Ancient and Oriental* (London, 1892), 29–31, pl. opposite p. 30.

board no. 39, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 25, fig. 19[e].

board no. 40, add: Berlin, *Ägyptische und Vorderasiatische Alterthümer aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Berlin, 1898), 14, pl. 34.

board no. 41, add: Nash, *PSBA* 24, pl. 2; Kendall, *Passing*, 25, fig. 19[f].

board no. 44, add: A. Prisse d'Avennes, *Monuments égyptiens* (Paris, 1847), 9, pl. 49[3]; Wilkinson, *Popular Account*, I, 194, fig. 212; id., *Manners*, II, 57 f., fig. 320; W. Albright, *Mizraim* 1, 134.

board no. 45, add: L. Eichler, *Customs of Mankind*, pl. opposite p. 700.

board no. 46, add: *PM* I²(2), 586, BM 21,602 (sic); Falkener, *Games*, 94; W. Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II (London, 1896), 92–4.

board no. 52, add: W. MacGregor, *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection* (London, 1922), no. 1331; Kendall, *Passing*, 26, fig. 20.

board no. 55, add: E. Schiaparelli, *Realazione*, II (Turin, 1927), 175–7; National Geographic, *Ancient Egypt*, 130.

board no. 61, add: H. Kayser, *Ägyptisches Kunsthandwerk* (Brunswick, 1969), 140, fig. 129; O. Muscarella, *Ancient Art* (Mainz, 1974), fig. 197; J. Settgast (ed.), *Von Troja bis Amarna* (Mainz, 1978), fig. 224; Kendall, *Games* (1978), 11; id., *Passing*, 26, fig. 21.

board no. 65, add: Piccione, *Archaeology* 33, 57.

board no. 66, add: Piccione, *Archaeology* 33, 56.

boards no. 67a, b, add: Kendall, *Games* (1978), 13; id., *Passing*, 32, fig. 25.

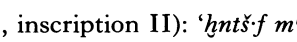
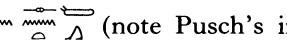
boards no. 71a, b, add: Kendall, *Passing*, 30 fig. 30.

Pusch has cross-referenced his work with the very significant discussion and catalogue which was compiled by Winifred Needler.[1] However, he seemingly makes only a haphazard attempt to integrate her discussion into his own. When he does discuss her findings, he occasionally does not *clearly* refer to her as his source: e.g., in discussing scene 16, he describes the correct physical position of the two players in relation to the game-board. The reconstruction of this position is very significant for understanding the mechanics of the game. Although Pusch includes Needler's work in his bibliography of the scene, nowhere does he state that it was she who originally reconstructed the positioning. Pusch has also cross-referenced his senet-catalogue to the less complete unpublished

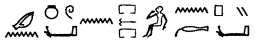
[1] W. Needler, *JEA* 39, 60–75.

catalogue of W. Refat, which was compiled by the latter as a dissertation in Brussels.[1] Since he has included one unpublished source in his discussion, it would be worth noting the existence of another such work. This is the thesis of A. Hoerth, which includes a historical discussion of senet and a catalogue of some forty-two senet boards.[2]

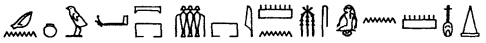
This reviewer has worked fairly extensively on the subject of senet and its religious applications, and in the process has already studied the scenes and boards listed in the catalogue. Therefore, it would be approporiate to discuss individual problems associated with a selected number of scenes and boards.

In regard to scenes no. 14 and 15, those of Baket III and his son Khety from Beni Hasan, there is considerable confusion. Wilkinson made the original drawings and publication of these. However, what has never been noted is that he has confused his game-scenes and hieroglyphic captions. In *Popular Account*, I, 192, fig. 208[1], he incorrectly superimposed the senet caption from the tomb of Baket III over the game-scene of Khety. Comparison of Wilkinson's drawings with those of Newberry[3] will confirm this. In fig. 208[2] and in *Manners and Customs*, II, 57, fig. 219[2], he superimposed the caption *ỉ·sb* from the tomb of Khety over the senet-scene from the Saite tomb of Ibi, Theban tomb no. 36! Because Pusch was not aware of this, he has consistently misidentified the senet-scene in *Popular Account*, fig. 208[1] and *Manners*, fig. 219[1] as that of Baket III, when, in reality, it is Khety. In regard to these scenes, Pusch also discusses the senet reference in Leningrad coffin 769 (pp. 55 f.). In order to prove that the hieroglyphic traces portray  , he tries to draw a parallel with the text of *T·y-nfr* (scene 33, inscription II): '*ḫntš·f m<b· prw nj sn·t* (), er erfreut sich an den dreißig Feldern des sn.t-Spieles.' This is a poor parallel, as he is trying to derive a hypothetical from  (note Pusch's incorrect transcription of for).[4] The former is awkward and does not yield a meaning similar to the latter. Also, probably is not to be read as *m<b· prw*, '30 houses', but as *m<b·yw*, which is often interchanged with  , *m<b·yt*, 'House of the Thirty', in texts related to senet.

Concerning the sizes of several of the gameboards in the catalogue, there is some discrepancy between Pusch's dimensions and those of my own. I have measured most of these gameboards, and my dimensions are verifiable by either 1 : 1 drawings or photographs with metre scales. As opposed to Pusch, my measurements are: board 6 (p. 169): 45 × 14 cm; board 10a (p. 174): 34·6 × 11 cm; board 10b (p. 174): 57 × 20 cm; board 42 (p. 268): 45 × 14 × 9·5 cm; board 43 (p. 269): 38 × 10 × 6.2 cm.[5] For certain other boards, Pusch is lacking key information. Board 15a (p. 183), CGC 57.794, is a limestone slab which was found at Tell el-Hiṣn. The slab is 55 × 24 × 4 cm, while the game-board, which is scored on it, is 50 × 19·4 cm. Board 46 (p. 279), BM 21.576, is certainly the same board which is listed in *PM*I² 586. There it is given the incorrect number BM 21.602,[6] and it is said to derive possibly from the tomb of Ḥatshepsut (VK 20). Board 69 (p. 349) is a limestone fragment with the dimensions 7·5 × 7 × 4 cm. Board 25 is the game-box belonging to Amenmose, now located in the Louvre. The owner's titles, as listed on the box (pls. 18, 50, 51), are:



and



Pusch correctly transliterated the first title as *jdnw n pr ḫnr ḫrd n k·p*, 'deputy of the harîm, child of the nursery'. However, he transliterated the latter (p. 66) as *jdnw ḫrj-pr ḫntj-pr Jmn-msj nj Mn-nfr*, '. . . Adjutant, Hausoberster, und Hausvorstand *Jmn-msj* aus Memphis'. Since *ỉdnw n pr-ḫnr* is found in

[1] W. Refat, *Le Jeu de trente cases dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Brussels, 1972).
[2] A. Hoerth, Jr., *Gameboards in the Ancient Near East* (Univ. of Chicago, 1961), 82–98.
[3] *BH* II, pls. 7, 13.
[4] K. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer* (OIP 86) (Chicago, 1959), pl. 4.
[5] These final dimensions are derived from the *Journal d'Entrée*.
[6] There is no game-board in the BM with this catalogue number.

four examples on the box, while *ỉdnw ḥry-pr ḫnr* is found only once,  is probably an error for  . However (and less likely), if we assume with Pusch that the title is not to be emended, then his transliteration is still impossible. Pusch assumes that *ḥrj-pr* is a single expression, but this is not so, in view of the variant title *idnw n pr-ḫnr*. Gardiner[1] noted long ago the vacillation in spelling between *ḫnt* and *ḫnrt*, and *Wb.* III, 297, 3, lists a variant spelling of *pr ḫnr* as  . So this reviewer might transliterate the title as *idnw ḥry pr-ḫnr ỉmn-ms n Mn-nfr*, 'deputy and chief of the harîm of Memphis, Amenmose'.

Another problem concerning this board is its assigned date. In his discussion of the game-playing scene inscribed on the game-box, Pusch dated the board to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty (scene 19, p. 64). However, in discussing the board itself (board 25, p. 208), he dated it as contemporary with Hatshepsut! Inconsistency apart, several factors prohibit a dating even to the Eighteenth Dynasty. The gaming scene (pl. 18) is depicted in a markedly post-Amarna art style; this is revealed in the style of the clothing and the slight paunch found on the figures. As for the name and title of the owner of the board, he is the same Amenmose whose stela was found at the Serapeum at Memphis bearing the similar title *imy-r pr ỉpt-nswt n pr-ḫnr m Mn-nfr*, 'steward of the royal apartments of the harîm in Memphis'.[2] Here the stela is associated with year 30 of Ramesses II. Helck discusses this same individual and mentions this very game-board.[3] He also dates Amenmose to the Ramesside period. Therefore, the board must be dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty. This is important because it places the game-square decoration into the proper chronological sequence of development.

I would also question Pusch's dating of board 31. This is the game-box of Benermeret found in the tomb of Kha (Deir el-Medina 8). Pusch placed the board between the reigns of Amenophis II and Amenophis III, presumably because these are the dates of Kha, who was overseer of works for Amenophis II and perhaps Tuthmosis IV. Inscriptions dedicated to Kha by Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV, and Amenophis III were found in the tomb. However, this Benermeret, who commissioned the game-box on which he is himself depicted, was a contemporary of Tuthmosis III. Under the latter, Benermeret served as overseer of the treasuries and overseer of all the works of the king.[4] He was also the tutor of Princess Merytamūn.[5] In year 45 of Tuthmosis III he is mentioned on a stela endowing the Mnevis bull with fields and property.[6] On the basis of his official capacity late in the reign of Tuthmosis III, I would posit that the *terminus post quem* for his board and its decoration should be pushed back to the reign of Tuthmosis III. If he were mature and old enough to serve in such high civil positions as treasurer and architect, and in such a sensitive position as tutor to the royal princess, then the *terminus ante quem* for the board would be in the reign of Tuthmosis IV in view of the newly expanded reign proposed for that king.[7] This board would then date to between the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Tuthmosis IV.

In discussing the game-board of Sennefer and its *ḥtp dỉ nswt* formulae (no. 40, pp. 261–4), Pusch did not know of the board portrayed on the north wall of Sennefer's lower tomb (Theban tomb no. 96B). Hitherto unknown, *PM* II²(1), 202 (39), misidentified it as an 'inscribed bed on stand'. It is placed beneath Sennefer, who is seated on his chair before an offering-table.[8] The white board, shown in profile, sits atop a black sledge, which in turn rests on a brown openwork stool. There is no doubt of its identification because even the bronze bolt-latch for the drawer is depicted. What makes this board interesting for comparative purposes is that it is portrayed with an inscribed *ḥtp dỉ nswt* formula. Therefore, Pusch should have included this text among his other game-board offering-formulae: *ḥtp dỉ nswt ỉmn-Rᶜ nswt nṯrw dỉ·f ᶜnḫ wḏꜣ snb spd ḥr m bꜣḥ nb tꜣwy n kꜣ n ḥꜣty-ᶜ* [*Sn-nfr*] *mꜣᶜ -ḫrw*, 'An offering which the king gives (to) Amon-Rēᶜ, King of the Gods, that he may give life, prosperity, health, and alertness before the lord of the Two Lands for the *ka* of the mayor, Sennefer, justified'. The existence of the offering formula on this board, as on many others of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, shows that senet-boards at this time were manufactured not only for the living but also strictly for the tomb.

[1] *EG*, p. 201, no. 1.
[2] Malinine, *et al.*, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, I (Paris, 1968), 10, no. 10.
[3] Helck, *Verwaltung*, 263, no. 1; 264, no. 4.
[4] Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58, 153.
[5] Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, CG 42001–250, no. 42171, pl. 35.
[6] Helck, *Verwaltung*, 401 (= *Urk.* IV, 1373).
[7] E. Wente and C. Van Siclen, *SAOC* 39, 230.
[8] Piccione, *Archaeology* 33, 57.

This board, placed upon its sledge, is very similar in style to the elaborate ebony, ivory, and gold board found in Tutʿankhamūn's tomb, also with accompanying sledge. These sledge-type boards were not uncommon in the Eighteenth Dynasty, for yet another was depicted in the tomb of Rekhmirēʿ (Theban tomb no. 100) among the furniture carried into the tomb (overlooked by Pusch). This board is shown typically in both profile and plan.[1]

Board 66 (BM 38.429) is a wooden slab-type board of Twentieth to Twenty-first Dynasty date, found buried in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Ḳenamūn. It is one of a handful of surviving boards which at one time had all thirty squares inscribed with religious designs. Unfortunately, as with these others, many of the squares and their decoration are damaged. More than half of the board's surface is charred to the point of carbonization, so that only thirteen squares survive with enough detail to allow reconstruction.[2] However, Pusch has restored fourteen squares by placing a  *ḏd* [*tit*] on his square C2 (p. 326). Now this reviewer has personally and very carefully examined all the squares on this board and has found no more than the thirteen remaining squares evident, and this conclusion has been corroborated by the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum. The board is badly damaged, and the charring has caused the wood to ripple and crack. This may account for what Pusch identified as the corner of the *ḏd* pillar. This board, like other contemporary fully decorated boards (Pusch nos. 66, 67 a–b, 70), coincides exactly with another variety of slab-type boards, which, though not fully decorated, without exception contain only religious decorations in their final five squares (Pusch nos. 59–63, 65, 68 a–b, 79–83). These boards in turn are contemporary with religious game-inscriptions which describe senet as an allegory of death and resurrection.[3]

In this genre of religious game-inscriptions, three different texts are known. Two are of the New Kingdom, and the third is Ptolemaic. The larger of the New Kingdom texts exists in three variant copies, and it is these copies which Pusch presents as the third section of his catalogue under the heading, 'Der Große Brettspieltext'. It is perplexing that this section should be limited only to the three copies of the larger text, while the other two inscriptions are excluded. It is true that the latter are from tombs (Tjanefer, scene 33 and Petosiris, scene 43). However, one of the variants of the larger text is also from a tomb (Inḥerkhau, scene 35). Indeed, Pusch presents these three tomb-inscriptions individually under their tomb-headings, and yet he also separates them from the other copies of the larger text. Since all of these inscriptions share common subject-matter, and they appear to have a similar religious meaning, it would have been preferable to group their textual discussions into one section. This would then facilitate any general religious discussion and analysis.

As for the variants of the larger text, Pusch has presented them as collated copies, clearly drawn. Unfortunately, he has provided only a transcription, and there is no transliteration and translation.[4] Also, his photo of P. Cairo 58037 (pls. 103–6) is of poor quality, hence its usefulness is limited. However, Pusch is to be commended for bringing together for the first time in print all three copies of the text in order to make possible a complete and correct translation. This collated copy does much to alleviate the orthographic difficulties found throughout the text, though there are occasional infelicities in Pusch's hand copies.[5]

These texts relate in the first person the journey of the player across the squares of the game-board, which has seemingly become *dwꜣt*, the nether world. While crossing the squares, the player describes his interaction with the nether-world dwellers therein, his rising from the nether world at dawn and his eventual deification with Rēʿ-Ḥarakhty. These gaming texts may then describe an esoteric gaming-ritual, if they are not the recitation of such a ritual itself. Since the decoration on all the fully inscribed boards coincides precisely with the square descriptions in the gaming-texts, these boards and perhaps the other slab-type boards may have been employed in such a ritual. Interestingly, while the earlier self-contained box-type boards (Dynasties XVII–XIX) contain both genres of secular and religious scenes, the later slab-type boards (Dynasties XX–XXX) show only the religious genre.

Edgar Pusch is to be commended for bringing together such a mass of evidence, much of which has previously been inaccessible. He has provided the basis of raw data on which to build further study of

[1] Davies, *Rekh-mi-re*, II, pl. 93. [2] Piccione, *Archaeology* 33, 56. [3] Ibid. 58.

[4] For that matter, there is no transliteration and translation of the other religious game-inscriptions.

[5] This observation is based upon my own copies of the texts which were collated with the originals (except P. Turin 1.775), and which are verifiable with excellent photos in my possession.

the ancient game of senet. Unfortunately, this reviewer was not satisfied with his inconsistent approach to the information and analyses of the individual entries. There is a great deal that is left unsaid about many of the individual scenes and boards. Also, a minor distraction is that Pusch has included some abbreviated references in the text for which there is no listing in his bibliography.

The study of the ancient Egyptian game of senet has been neglected until recently, probably because of the connotation of triviality often associated with a game. However, senet goes much deeper than being just a trifling game with interesting ancient rules. It has a far-reaching significance that cuts straight to the heart of Egyptian religious thought. Indeed, it is a bridge between the two worlds of life and death. The scope of Pusch's catalogue does not include the implications of the game evidence, but it would be apparent to anyone studying the game that senet originated as a recreational device and only subsequently evolved into a religious object. By the New Kingdom, two forms of senet coexisted, a secular recreational game and a religious offshoot probably performed in some cult setting.

For the meaning and purpose of such a religious device, the evidence presents us with two possibilities. At the least, it may have been a ritual prophylaxis, which when performed by the living ensured an eventual safe transit of the nether world and a verdict of innocence in the court of Osiris. Or at the most, it may have recreated the passage through the nether world for the living player, allowing him to traverse the realm of *dwꜣt*, rise with Rēʿ, and so achieve a living apotheosis with the sun-god.

Despite all the inconsistencies found throughout the work, Pusch's catalogue opens up all of these avenues of thought for those who are not already familiar with the material. It is valuable documentation for a side of Egyptian religion not widely recognized by Egyptologists.

PETER A. PICCIONE

Redating the Exodus and Conquest. By JOHN J. BIMSON. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 5. 215 × 150 mm. Pp. 351. Sheffield, 1978. ISBN 0 905774 03 5; 0 905774 10 8. Paper £4·95; cloth £7·45.

This book originated as part of a doctoral thesis for the Department of Biblical Studies at the University of Sheffield and is published as a monograph by this department. The introduction begins with the assumption that the exodus and conquest as depicted in the Bible are essentially historical events and that the literalist approach is the only possible historical approach. No serious consideration is given to those views which are dependent upon literary criticism or tradition-historical analysis, and its brief survey of past opinion is limited, therefore, to those theories according to which it is possible to date the conquest as an actual event. All literary criticism is dismissed by an appeal to W. F. Albright's dictum of 'external evidence' as the test of historicity, by which is meant the effort to make a fit between archaeological data and the biblical traditions. The object of the author is to produce a better fit than has hitherto been the case.

Chapters One and Two offer a critique of the widely held thirteenth-century date for the conquest, which is regarded by Bimson as much too late. The reference to the city of Raamses in Exod. 1: 11 is dismissed as simply the name by which an older city of the Middle Kingdom was known at a later time when the account was written. Regarding the archaeological testimony for the thirteenth and twelfth centuries in Palestine, Bimson states that it 'provides no convincing evidence for a conquest or settlement of the land by incoming Israelites during that period. To interpret what evidence there is in terms of an Israelite settlement of the land involves a large subjective element and risks becoming a circular argument' (p. 65). Bimson also disputes that N. Glueck's thesis of a gap in occupation from *c.* 1900–1300 BC in Transjordan can any longer be used in support of this late date in the light of recent archaeological work in the area.

Chapter Three deals with biblical chronology, and this is really the heart of his own argument for an earlier date. Bimson's point of departure is the statement in 1 Kgs. 6: 1 that Solomon began to build the temple 480 years after the exodus from Egypt. He admits that this number 'embodies the numbers 12 and 40, both obviously significant to the writers of the Old Testament' but insists that it 'need not be drastically different from the correct figure' (p. 86). He resists any effort to reduce this figure by

understanding it as 12 generations of 25 years (Albright) or to try to explain away the figure as a late editorial calculation based on figures given elsewhere in the biblical tradition. He tries to justify this figure as accurate by his own scrutiny of the chronological data in Judges. Here he takes the 300 years mentioned in Judg. 11: 26 as precise and accurate but rejects the periods of 40 and 80 years' rest from war: 'since none of these periods is tied to the age of individuals, there is no way to assess their reliability, and they may be completely artificial' (p. 102). But why not apply this same judgement to the 480 years of 1 Kgs. 6: 1? Bimson cannot explain where the exilic historian obtained the information for this figure, and he seems ready to admit that it is an idealization. Yet he accepts it as a reliable guide for chronology and uses it to come up with an actual figure of 510 years from the exodus to the temple. This seems to me to be as subjective as any of the schemes which Bimson criticizes.

Part Two deals with the archaeological data relevant to an early date for the conquest, *c.*1430 BC. The fundamental issue here is the dating of the end of Middle Bronze IIC, because the author wishes to correlate the final MB destruction at Jericho with the story of the conquest under Joshua. He does this by disputing that there is any firm evidence that Amosis campaigned throughout Palestine and destroyed all its MB sites. But, if one cannot accept the correlation of the end of MB IIC with such a fixed historical point at *c.*1550 BC, then Bimson sees no reason against lowering the date to 1430, his date for the conquest. However, this leaves him open to the charge of circular reasoning, since he offers no new historical evidence which would necessitate such a drastic lowering of MB IIC chronology. Its only merit is that it fits with his interpretation of the biblical chronology. But then any other date between *c.*1600 and 1400 could also be made to fit just as well according to his reasoning, so this counts for nothing. Even if one could lower the date for the end of MB IIC to 1430, that would not make the correlation with the Bible any more certain; for one can hardly doubt that there were numerous campaigns by the Egyptian Pharaohs from the time of Amosis to Thutmosis III and Amenophis II. Bimson ignores all the possible campaigns subsequent to Amosis, but, as early as the time of Thutmosis I, Palestine was firmly subdued, since this Pharaoh campaigned as far as the Euphrates early in his career (see M. S. Drower, *CAH* II^3, 431 ff.). Bimson himself is willing to attribute the two destruction levels in MB IIC at Shechem to Amenophis I and Thutmosis I or III respectively because these destructions cannot be correlated with any Israelite destruction under Joshua. If these Pharaohs could destroy cities as far away as Mitanni they could certainly have done so in the hinterland of Palestine. It still seems best to correlate the end of MB with the military activity of the Pharaohs *c.*1550–1525 BC, and this agrees well with a date for the destruction of Alalakh VII (= MB IIC) by the Hittites at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

These major defects, the subjective treatment of biblical chronology, and the arbitrary correlation of the conquest-stories of Joshua with the end of MB are enough to make the thesis of the book quite unacceptable. There are many further questions that one could raise, but in this short space I will only make a few observations:

(1) The identity of Tell er-Retabah with Pithom, and, therefore, also Heronpolis and Ero, is not possible since there are no Ptolemaic or Roman remains at the site. The only possible candidate is Tell el-Maskhuta. Recent archaeological work at the site in which I was involved indicates that Pithom as a city only began in the Saïte Period and was important through the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman times. This would confirm D. B. Redford's discussion of the epigraphic evidence (*Vetus Testamentum* 13, 407–8; *Numen* 14, 221 n. 52) that the town was not established before the sixth century and the text of Exod. 1: 11 is exilic in date. Its author took the idea of corvée labour not from Egyptian history but from Israelite practice as recorded in 1 Kgs. 9: 15 ff. which speaks of non-Israelites being forced to build 'store-cities' as slave labour.

(2) Bimson speaks of Memphis as the capital of Thutmosis III (pp. 249 ff.), but in fact it was Thebes and this is a serious difficulty for any early date for the exodus.

(3) Bimson's treatment of the archaeology of Transjordan is questionable. He has not consulted any of the archaeological reports of five seasons of digging at Tell Ḥesban (Heshbon), which indicate that there is no evidence whatever for a settlement in the MB or LB Periods.

(4) Bimson uses my strictures against the use of the term 'Hyksos' (meaning 'foreign rulers') as a quasi-ethnic term for cultural features in MB Palestine in order to deny any connection between the Asiatic culture of Palestine and that of Egypt. But any examination of the archaeological remains of

Tell el-Dabʿa (Avaris) being excavated by M. Bietak would be enough to convince anyone that the cultures are closely related. So it is not illogical to see the rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty as extending their campaigns into Palestine against its 'foreign rulers'.

(5) In his conclusions Bimson gives a 'box-score' in which the early date for the conquest seems to come out much better than the late date, but the tally is hardly honest. On the negative side for the early date one must add to Ai the following: Heshbon and the states of Moab and Edom, Shechem and Gibeon (because their destruction is a problem for the biblical tradition), Arad (because it must be relocated to make it fit), and Dan (because it can only count if one accepts Bimson's very forced argument for dating Judg. 18 close to the initial invasion (pp. 206 ff.)).

(6) I also fail to see how anyone can set together as contemporaneous the period of the Judges as presented in the Bible and the Egyptian domination of Palestine during the empire. While Judges mentions foreign oppressors it never once mentions the Egyptians. On the other hand, not until Merneptaḥ do Egyptian sources mention Israel, and they never mention the Ammonites, Edomites, Moabites, or Midianites.

The problems of the book are methodological. The appeal to 'external evidence' as a way of verifying the details of the biblical accounts of the exodus and conquest has not worked any better for the early date proposed by Bimson than it did for the advocates of the thirteenth-century date. The discussion moves almost entirely within the limitations imposed by a literalistic approach to the history of Israel and hardly addresses the rest of biblical scholarship. It does not contribute anything to the present study of Bronze Age archaeology, since the sole point of its discussion is to question the current opinion for the end of MB IIC, and this cannot be deemed successful. Nor will the book demand a rewriting of Egyptian history of the empire to leave room for a great invasion of Palestine which devastated many cities but which was unheeded and unnoticed by the Egyptian authorities in the land. It is unfortunate that so much industry as this work represents was so completely misdirected.

JOHN VAN SETERS

The Impact of Egypt on Canaan. Iconographical and Related Studies. By RAPHAEL GIVEON. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, No. 20. 235 × 165 mm. Pp. 132, figs. 73. Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz and Vandenboeck & Roprecht, Göttingen, 1978. UV ISBN 3 7278 0181 6. V & R ISBN 3 525 53322 5. No price stated.

This little volume consists of an Introduction and twenty-one short essays, seventeen of which were published elsewhere and appear here with minor modifications. Of the latter, nine have been translated from Hebrew. This is particularly welcome since Hebrew is not one of the normal languages of scholarship and Israeli research is often given little attention as a result.

Giveon deals here with the minutae of ancient cultural relations—the odd scarab found in the field of a kibbutz, a motif of the Phoenician ivory tradition, etc.—and amply proves his basic point: 'relatively simple objects can help show the significance and extent of cultural contacts between Canaan and Egypt' (p. 8). The small things of antiquity receive too little attention, and Giveon's contribution is an interesting, though variable, study of what minor objects can tell if studied in detail.

In the Introduction (pp. 9–14), Giveon sets out the background for the essays which follow, giving a short history of Egyptian–Canaanite contacts from prehistoric to post-Empire times. This general statement embodies certain assumptions which are misleading, perhaps because it is a rapid survey of a very complicated subject, e.g., Giveon's 'definite type of Hyksos-scarab' (p. 11) is based solely on certain categories of design; all three of his types began before the 'Hyksos' Period in both Egypt and Palestine. What distinguishes 'Hyksos' (that is, the Fifteenth Dynasty Period) scarabs are specific types of heads and profiles, design being largely a secondary criterion. This emphasis on a 'Hyksos' scarab style found in both Palestine and Egypt is noted as support for Giveon's assumption that the dynasty at Avaris ruled part of Palestine; for this there is as yet no concrete evidence though the idea is now being suggested by others: cf. M. Bietak in *LdÄ* III, 100 f. Another questionable assumption is that 'Canaan was lacking an autonomous artistic tradition, fit to express their religious experience' (p. 12), hence it turned to Egypt for inspiration. This view is coloured by Giveon's preoccupation with scarabs and ivories; the premiss fits here, but not with other classes of objects. Giveon further

states that in the Iron Age 'trade between Israel and Egypt ceased at this period to be a direct one' (p. 13). Again, this may hold true for scarabs and seals: those found in Palestine at this time show Egyptian motifs altered by Phoenician craftsmen. Giveon is thus correct here, but the generalization hardly holds true when one looks at other material.

Such faults, however, should not detract from the basic purpose of the book, which is to publish interesting or unique objects, each of which has its own importance, and to comment on various aspects of cultural relations between Egypt and Canaan. Two essays give a general description and survey of 'Phoenician' ivories (pp. 34–50), and Giveon's personal researches at Serabit el-Khadîm are represented by three studies. One is a general summary of the site (pp. 51–60), a second deals with 'Hathor as the Goddess of Music in Sinai' (pp. 68–72). The third (pp. 61–7) shows how Ḥaṯḥor's title 'Lady of Turquoise' originated at Serabit el-Khadîm in the early Twelfth Dynasty, and was then used as a general epithet of Ḥaṯḥor into Ptolemaic times in contexts where she had no connection with turquoise.

One essay (pp. 15–20) takes up an interesting detail of Egyptian transcriptions of Canaanite personal and place-names. The determinatives used frequently accord with the meaning of the Semitic original: *Mtr-šmʿ*, 'Mithra hears'. Semitic *šmʿ* determined with the EAR; *Bt* (HOUSE)-*ṯpr* (SCRIBE'S OUTFIT), Beth-Sepher, 'House of the Book'. Other names use determinatives by 'false analogy': Semitic *Ynḥm*, 'May (the god X) comfort', with the MAN-WITH-STICK determinative taken from Egyptian *nḥm*, 'attack'. That the determinatives more often accord with the meaning of the Semitic original is additional proof that Egyptian scribes were conversant with Canaanite tongues.

A study on 'Egyptian Temples in Canaan' primarily in Empire times (pp. 22–7) concludes that there is little evidence that they existed. There were Ḥaṯḥor-temples at Timna and Serabit el-Khadîm, and literary evidence indicates temples at Gaza, Askelon, and near Byblos. A chance find at Aphek may come from an Isis-temple at that site. Giveon rightly concludes that the main temples at Beth Shan do not show Egyptian influence, but overlooks possible evidence that there may have been a small Egyptian temple at Beth Shan in Ramesside times: cf. W. Ward in F. James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan* (1966), 163. On the whole, there appear to have been few Egyptian temples in Canaan, and one gets the impression that, where they did exist, they were more for resident Egyptians than the local inhabitants.

There is one point at which I disagree with Giveon's basic interpretation of his material. In 'An Egyptian Statuette from the Region of Ayn Hashofet' (pp. 28–30) and 'Royal Seals of the XIIth Dynasty from Western Asia' (pp. 73–80) he enlarges on an important assumption already made in his Introduction (p. 10). This is that Egypt ruled Canaan during the Middle Kingdom and established a political administration there. The statuette fragment (head and torso only) from Ayn Hashofet, near Megiddo, is brought together with the statuettes of Djeḥutyḥotpe from Megiddo and Heqaib from Gezer as proof of resident Egyptian officials governing Egyptian foreign provinces. In point of fact, none of these statuettes was found in a contemporary context, so we can only speculate as to when and why they arrived in Palestine.

The same can be said of Giveon's study on the royal seals. Practically none of this material was discovered in contexts contemporary with the kings whose names they bear. The very few which do have a contemporary context, e.g. the impressions on a jar-stopper from Gezer naming Sesostris I, may represent normal commercial relations rather than Egyptian rule. In reality, the whole question of political relations between Egypt and western Asia during the Middle Kingdom still remains a problem. I have seen nothing to change my oft-expressed view that Egypt exerted no political control over the area at this time. Helck's recent study in *Ugarit-Forschungen* 8 (1976), 101 ff., indicates that some, at least, of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom material scattered throughout western Asia may have been brought there at a later date. Giveon comes down soundly on the side of an empire. It is obvious that we do not yet have enough information to offer satisfactory solutions.

Giveon's insistence that these Middle Kingdom scarabs and seals show Egyptian sovereignty in Palestine is at odds with his approach in 'Three Royal Seals from Zaphit' (pp. 99–104), in which he publishes a scarab of Amenophis III and two of Ramesses II. Here he states that 'the discovery of a royal scarab at a site (in Palestine) merely indicates that there had, in fact, been *contact* between Egypt and the early settlement—no more than that' (p. 101). This far more cautious statement (Giveon's own italics) should be equally applied to the Middle Kingdom objects even more so as we know that both kings represented at Tell Zaphit had far-ranging political and military interests to the

north. One wonders why Middle Kingdom royal scarabs are evidence of an empire, while scarabs of the Empire period are not.

The bulk of Giveon's book is made up of a series of essays on scarabs and seals of various kinds, and his interpretation of their iconography and meaning. In 'Pharaoh Killing Oryx and Rhinoceros' (pp. 81–4), he points out that isolated hieroglyphs in the field of a scarab-design should not be passed off as meaningless, but often given clues to the meaning of the design. A Hyksos Period scarab showing a king slaying an oryx with a mace as *sḫ*, 'destroy', and *ḥ³t mḥw*, 'Foremost of the Northland', in the field; the former describes the action, the latter is a new royal epithet of the age. He ties this scene to the well-known 'ritual of the sacrifice of the oryx'. This is an interesting approach and can no doubt be followed up with profit with other design-scarabs.

In 'The Scarabs from Ginnosar' (pp. 85–7), Giveon presents six scarabs from a late MB II tomb and six others found on the site before the excavations. Well-dated tomb-groups are always welcome, but the other six scarabs are not all from the same general period as Giveon states; nos. 11–12 are somewhat earlier.

A surface find at Tell el-Fukhkhar is published in 'Ptah and Astarte on a Seal from Accho' (pp. 90–6). This adds another example to the few known scaraboids with backs in the shape of a negro head. With great probability, Giveon identifies the three figures in the design as Ptaḥ being 'adored and served' by Astarte and her consort Seth. He further suggests, on quite acceptable grounds, that the seal came from Memphis and dates to around the reign of Ramesses II. Seth appears again on 'A Cylinder-seal from Tell Zaphit' (pp. 97–8) with a human body and the head of the Seth-animal, grasping the tail of a lion and swinging a club. Certain peculiarities of the design indicate that it was made in Palestine by a local artist conversant with, but not expert in, the Egyptian artistic tradition.

In 'Two Hebrew Seals and their Iconographic Background' (pp. 110–16), one seal deserves special mention. The design is a four-winged striding figure holding bow-like objects in each hand. Four-winged figures are of Assyrian (ultimately Hurrian) inspiration, but in Canaan this motif might represent El-Kronos, said by Sanchoniathon to have had four wings. Two other seals with the same motif are also discussed.

A four-sided seal illustrating 'An Ancient Mondscheinsonate' (pp. 117–20) shows several scenes connected to the moon-cult: crescent and disc on staff attached to an altar, two men holding a lyre and a double-flute, each before an altar, two trees with a bird or winged disc, and a bird and crescent. Giveon shows how this object must be related to the wide-spread moon-cult of western Asia, bringing substantial evidence to bear on the presence of this cult in Palestine, including its prohibition in the Old Testament. However, he goes a bit too far in interpreting what this and similar objects may mean in terms of local religious beliefs. He states: 'In wide circles in Israel at the time there was quite a liberal attitude toward works of art; no real danger for monotheism was seen in these pagan objects' (p. 120). This assumes that the Hebrews were monotheists which, save for a hard core of 'fundamentalists', they were not. While throughout this book Giveon uses the Old Testament with commendable reserve, on this point he has misread the evidence. Pagan art objects were acceptable to the Hebrews precisely because they themselves accepted the existence of deities other than Yahweh. This did not lessen their allegience to Yahweh; it simply made them tolerant and this is what the Prophets were railing against.

The final essay is on 'Seals and Seal-impressions of the XXVth Dynasty in Western Asia' (pp. 121–6), a very useful collection of material from Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. His discussion includes a summary of the Egyptian evidence for contacts with western Asia at this time.

In spite of the points of disagreement noted above, this is a useful work. Giveon is here involved with that most difficult aspect of archaeology, the interpretation of art objects and their meaning within a given socio-religious context. Scholars often differ in discussing the same object, their interpretations directed by how they view that object's milieu. Thus, in 'King or God on the Sarcophagus of Ahiram' (pp. 31–3), Giveon strongly disagrees with Haran on the interpretation of the seated figure in the relief. Haran (*IEJ* 9 (1958), 15 ff.) believes this to be Môt, working from the standpoint of the Canaanite background. Giveon rightly uses the Egyptian background of Canaanite art to show that this must be a king. On the whole, Giveon presents many thought-provoking ideas and shows that small objects, many with no archaeological context, do have their place in the rediscovery of the ancient world.

W. A. WARD

Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum. Glimpses of Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman. Edited by JOHN RUFFLE, G. A. GABALLA, and KENNETH A. KITCHEN. Pp. ix+201, numerous plates. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1979. ISBN 0 85668 147 4. Price £12·50.

Die 'Festschrift' für Professor Fairman ist wirklich ein 'Spiegel' der weiten Interessen des Geehrten. Die Thematik der dreißig Beiträge reicht von grammatischen Fragen über Amarna- und Sudan-Archäologie bis zu ptolemäischen und koptischen Problemen. Einen Schwerpunkt bildet die Vorlage neuer, unveröffentlichter Quellen aus Grabungen und Museen, die den Band zu einer Fundgrube für die verschiedensten Interessen machen. So publiziert M. A. M. Asfour Material des Alten Reiches aus seiner Grabung in Deir en-Nawahid 1947 (pp. 4–11), A. R. David 'Toys and Games from Kahun in the Manchester Museum Collection' (pp. 12–15), A. Watson mehrere Objekte in Liverpool (pp. 16–19), A. P. Thomas 'Two Monuments from Abydos in Bolton Museum' (pp. 20–5), B. J. Kemp ein Goldblech mit einer eingeritzten frühen Fassung von Totenbuch Spruch 30 B, ebenfalls aus Abydos und jetzt in Liverpool (pp. 26–9), Labib Habachi bereichert die Kenntnis der späten Amarnazeit um eine ganze Reihe von 'Unknown or Little-known Monuments of Tutankhamun and of his Viziers' (pp. 32–41), G. A. Gaballa veröffentlicht drei Stelen(fragmente) der Ramessidenzeit aus dem Museum in Kairo (pp. 42–9), wobei die Stele des Huya (JE 27958) bereits von J. Vandier d'Abbadie benutzt wurde (Szene mit dem Affen und der Lotosblüte, *RdÉ* 18 (1966), 164); eine weitere Stele der neunzehnten Dynastie (Louvre C 148) wird mit ihrem Osiris-Hymnus von D. A. Lowle vorgelegt (pp. 50–4), während J. Ruffle und K. A. Kitchen die verstreuten Denkmäler der beiden Verwalter des Ramesseums, Urhiya und Yupa, zusammenstellen (pp. 55–74) und S. G. Gohary aus dem Museum in Kairo die Türumrahmung eines Priesters der zwanzigsten Dynastie aus Athribis vorlegt (pp. 75–9). Neu publiziert wird ein Ostrakon des Nicholson Museums in Sidney von C. J. Eyre (pp. 80–91); es erwähnt eine undatierte Streik-Affäre unter dem Nekropolenschreiber Amennachte. Schließlich veröffentlichen A. F. Shore einige späte Weihgaben aus Dendera (pp. 138–60) und C. C. Walters die heute verlorenen Fresken einer Kirche in Tebtunis nach alten Photographien in Oxford (pp. 190–5).

Unter den übrigen Beiträgen verdient vor allem R. O. Faulkner Beachtung, der eindeutige Belege für 'The Prospective *sḏm·f* in the Coffin Texts' zusammenstellt (pp. 1–3) und damit hilft, diese seltene und lange umstrittene Form besser in unseren Grammatiken zu verankern. J. O. Gohary bespricht 'Nefertiti at Karnak' (pp. 30–1), C. Aldred einige Probleme der 'Ramesside Tomb Robberies' (pp. 92–9), darunter die Zerstörungen im Grab Ramses' VI. Weitere sprachliche Beiträge sind 'Consonantal Patterning in Egyptian Triliteral Verbal Roots' von P. J. Watson (pp. 100–6) und '*Bꜣw* Expressions in Late Egyptian' von M. A. Green (pp. 107–15). 'More Light on the Family of Montemhat' bringt M. L. Bierbrier (pp. 116–18) auf Grund von alten Kopien, die Luigi Vassalli von Särgen der Month-Priester angefertigt hat. A. R. Millard behandelt den Skythen-Einfall nach Palästina unter Psammetich I. (pp. 119–22), P. L. Shinnie 'Urbanism in the Ancient Sudan' (pp. 123–6). Mit Qasr Ibrim beschäftigt sich der Beitrag von J. M. Plumley (pp. 127–31), mit Peripteraltempeln der Spätzeit der von A. J. Spencer (pp. 132–7).

Dem Erforscher der Edfu-Texte huldigen mehrere Beiträge im letzten Teil des Bandes. H. S. Smith bespricht ptolemäische Tempel in Memphis und andere 'Varia Ptolemaica' (pp. 161–6), B. Watterson den Gebrauch der Alliteration in den Edfu-Texten (pp. 167–9), Mohiy el-Din Ibrahim 'The God of the Great Temple of Edfu' (pp. 170–3). Texte des Edfu-Tempels wertet auch J. G. Griffiths aus, um der noch wenig erforschten Frage des ägyptischen Nationalismus nachzugehen (pp. 174–9). F. W. Walbank untersucht die Aussagen des Polybius über das ptolemäische Ägypten, und der letzte Beitrag, von K. M. Pickavance (pp. 196–201), führt uns zu einem der frühen britischen Ägyptenreisenden (1678 und 1681/2), dem Revd Robert Huntington.

Solche 'glimpses' erhellen die Wissenschaft! E. HORNUNG

Terracotta Lamps from Karanis, Egypt. By LOUISE A. SHIER. Pp. xx+219, 55 pls., 3 maps. 1978. ISBN 0 472 02702 6. *Karanis, Topography and Architecture.* By ELINOR HUSSELMAN. Pp. xii+94, 106 pls., 24 maps, 45 plans. 1979. ISBN 0 472 02713 1. *Pottery from Karanis.* By BARBARA JOHNSON. Pp. xiii+127, 80 pls. 1981. ISBN 0 472 02716 6. All 26.6×24.5 cm. All Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press.

'In the 4th and early 5th centuries her people were drifting away from the town, and no signs of occupation were found that dated after the mid 5th century' (Shier, p. 1); 'The town was no longer in existence after the middle of the fifth century' (Husselman, p. 9); 'The town was deserted around the middle of the 5th century' (Johnson, p. xiii): what I tell you three times is true. From the very first preliminary report, published in 1931, the excavators of Karanis were convinced that the site was abandoned about the time of the Emperor Marcian (AD 450–7), and they and subsequent workers on the finds have seen no need to change this view.

The town of Karanis, in the northern Fayûm, was excavated during the years 1924–35. Two preliminary reports were issued in 1931 and 1933, and the first specialist report, Donald Harden's *Roman Glass from Karanis* came out in a commendably short time, in 1936. Volumes on the papyri and the ostraca were published in 1936, 1939, 1944, 1951, and 1971, while the coins appeared in 1964. Now, more than forty years after the excavations ceased, three more monographs have been published in quick succession. There has been no reappraisal of the archaeological evidence, and the authors of these works fitted their material into the framework laid down by the excavators. An excavation undertaken about half a century ago, using archaeological techniques which, if not fully superseded in Egypt, are not those one would trust to give satisfactory results, should not be the basis for interpreting the site and its finds for present-day usage, particularly a site the heart of which had been torn out by *sebakh* diggers and archaeological looters; Harden, in his glass-volume (p. 25), points out the extreme complexity of the site. The earlier levels, B–E, are probably dated accurately enough, but the upper level, A, would seem very unlikely to have ended as early as the excavators suggested. But Shier is not prepared to date the lamps later even than the fourth century, although many groups probably extend well into the sixth, if not until the end of that century (for example, Lamps 380–7; 406–92). Johnson goes further: in her notes 15, 18, 20, and 26 about Egyptian Red Slip Wares, 49 about Abu Mena Ware, and 62–6 about African Red Slip Ware the tenor of her remarks is that the pottery in question must be dated earlier than it is dated at other sites because of its occurrence at Karanis—the possibility that the Karanis dating might be wrong is not entertained. And it is disturbing that J. W. Hayes, after noting on p. 2 of his *Late Roman Pottery* (1972) that many of the dates given by him to pottery from Karanis were later than that given by the excavators, should appear to retract that statement somewhat in his 1982 *Supplement* to *LRP*: on p. 516 he feels constrained to date some of his pottery types earlier, mainly because at Karanis they 'fit more satisfactorily the coin-sequence from that site, which is completely devoid of the issues of the late fifth-century emperors, common enough elsewhere in Egypt'; and that last phrase is questionable also. He pushes back the dates of his Forms 91, 93A, and 99, but does not mention the sixth-century Forms 103 and 104, the last being common at Karanis. (The lack at Karanis of Hayes Forms 82–5, so characteristic of late fifth-century contexts in Egypt, another of his reasons for reconsideration, may be due to the collecting policy of the excavators, who apparently concentrated mainly on complete or largely complete pots, a procedure likely to obviate representative coverage.) Neither does Hayes in his *Supplement* suggest that some of the sixth-century Egyptian Red Slip Wares from Karanis be redated. It is a pity that so useful a work as *LRP*, vital to so many excavators, appears to be affected in this way by unnecessary second thoughts about the dating of the later Karanis material.

The coin evidence for a mid-fifth-century abandonment is suspect in that it almost wholly relies on hoards, and hoards are no basis whatsoever for proof of occupation. The coin-volume mentions that unprotected coin-hoards at Karanis were more often that not severly attacked by corrosion: how much more vulnerable must single lost coins have been—the only useful coins for dating floors and occupation layers. It seems likely that later coins were there, but were too illegible to identify: the tiny coins found in fifth–seventh century levels by the British Museum expedition to Hermopolis are not one of them identifiable. Also it is very likely that at this period, in an impoverished agricultural community, bronze coins were used less than at earlier times, and fewer were available for recovery.

However, despite the above remarks, these three Karanis monographs are very welcome—there is many an excavation which does not get published at all, and the Michigan Karanis work has an excellent record, albeit spread over such a length of time that writers not connected with the excavations have had to complete the studies. It is particularly regrettable that Dr E. E. Peterson, who directed most of the excavations, was not enabled to bring out his report in full on its completion in 1973: institutions should take seriously their duty to publish excavations which they have initiated. However, Husselman has now produced the basic information encapsulated in Peterson's report

(which is available for study at the Kelsey Museum). Her publication gives a brief general survey of the entire excavated area, level by level, goes on to discuss constructional details of the structures found, and then has three further chapters on the types of buildings excavated. The maps, plans, and elevations are thorough and well drawn, although many are on a very reduced scale, mainly owing to the economic requirements of book-production; they are, however, easier to handle than their fold-out predecessors in the preliminary reports. The details of buildings shown in the many plates are well chosen and instructive, and the survival of wooden features is exciting, particularly to a non-Egyptologist. The descriptions of the houses and the elevations illustrate the processes of tell-formation very well and the task of excavating such complex structures, many of them of several storeys, must have been formidable. The worries about dating artefacts, outlined above, apply only obliquely to Husselman's publication on the topography and buildings, and her work in abstracting from Peterson's detailed report this most useful and interesting condensation deserves much gratitude.

Shier and Johnson have also put us in their debt with their workmanlike publications of the lamps and pottery. Both employ a similar layout, with discussion followed by catalogue and notes. Shier includes the Museum Accession Number, the Excavation Number, and the context-date in her catalogue entries, preferable perhaps to Johnson's method of separating the last two items from the first in a concordance. Users of the catalogues will have to remember that context-dates can be vastly different from manufacturing dates: Lamp 2, for example, was made three or four centuries before the context in which it was found. Both volumes are very well illustrated and are useful contributions to the increasing number of publications on Roman and Late Roman pottery now appearing. There is still much to be done before we have well-dated series of such pottery from Egypt, and although some strictures in respect of the dating of late material have been mentioned above (and the reviewer would be the first to admit that dating Late Roman Egyptian pottery is very difficult), these are outweighed by the well-presented mass of pots and lamps from an important site now made available for study.

DONALD M. BAILEY

The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt. By ROGER S. BAGNALL and K. A. WORP. Studia Amstelodamensia VIII. 285×215 mm. Pp. xii+150. Zutphen, Terra Publishing Co., 1978. ISBN 90 6255 206 4. No price stated.

For the editor of papyri and the historian of the period AD 284–641 this is an essential reference book. It springs out of the efforts of the authors to understand the complications of the indictional system as used in papyri which they were editing. To this subject are devoted five of the eight chapters (I–V) and two of the five appendices (A–B). The other three chapters concern the eras in use at Oxyrhynchus (VI), the era of Diocletian (VII), and consular date-clauses (VIII). The other three appendices offers a synoptic chronological chart for the period (C), a list of consulates in papyri (D), and an index of consular names and epithets (E). Between C and D is a table of days, intended to facilitate the calculation of Julian dates equivalent to dates expressed by the Egyptian and Roman calendars.

Chapter I refers to the article of J. D. Thomas in *BASP* 15 (1978), 133–45 for the system of ἐπιγραφαί which was the forerunner of the indiction system in the period AD 287–302, covering three cycles of five years each. After a hiatus in the evidence from AD 302 to 308 there begins a series of indictions which were numbered by the regnal years of Galerius, and sometimes by those of his colleagues. At last a series of indictions with their own separate numbers appears. The first was for AD 312/13, but the papyri confirm what the *Chronicon Paschale* says, that the system was introduced into Egypt towards the middle of the second indiction in AD 314.

The very short Chapter II (pp. 6–8) shows that the *indictio* or tax assessment applied at first to a tax period 1 September–31 August which nearly coincided with the Egyptian year (29 August–28 August) and that, as a result, the term 'indiction' came very soon to be a chronological term, virtually equivalent to 'year', though only in contexts where there are fiscal implications. The taxes concerned are chiefly taxes in kind and, therefore, the *indictio* is often connected with the harvest. In this early period the harvest linked with each indication was the one that occurred towards the end of it, the peak time for rents and taxes in kind being Payni and Epeiph, roughly June and July.

The indictions settled into cycles of fifteen years each, rather like the five-year cycle of the earlier ἐπιγραφαί. At the beginnings of the second and third cycles double numbers occur, one number higher than fifteen representing the continuation of the earlier cycle and one lower number which is that of the current cycle. Chapter III shows that in the second cycle the indiction changed the date of its start to early summer so that the harvest fell at the beginning of each indiction. This is a strange and awkward change, but the documents bear out the conclusions. The authors suggest that one reason for the change was to bring the grain harvest into the same indiction as the vintage and fruit harvest, which fell after the Egyptian New Year's Day in August and thus into a second indiction in the early period. A second reason may have been to bring the collection of arrears as far as possible into the same tax period.

Chapter IV is the most important. Most previous studies of the subject have envisaged a so-called 'movable' indiction year to explain all the apparent contradictions which appear in the papyri between indiction-numbers and dates of other kinds, such as era- and regnal years and consulships. The authors examine the evidence again and come to the conclusion that many of the contradictions arise from the circumstance that different administrative districts of Egypt (nomes) had different ways of referring to a unified system, which was in outline as follows. The indiction of Constantinople, beginning on 1 September and divided into three *quadrimenstrua*, was the basis of the system, and was used in high official circles in Egypt and also generally in the administrative practice of the Oxyrhynchite nome, so long as the aim was simply to supply a date. This indiction was suited to a harvest in the late summer. In Egypt the harvest began as early as May and this simple fact led to a different start to the indiction, that is, on 1 May or—by a rough equation of Roman and Egyptian months—on 1 Pachon, as revealed in Chapter III, which is equivalent to a shift of one *quadrimenstruum*. This type of indiction was in use all over Egypt when the subject at issue was the harvest or the taxes arising out of it, and it was also used for dating purposes in the Thebaid, i.e. Hermopolis and all to the south. An imperial edict of AD 436 laid it down that a preliminary schedule of tax assessment, called *praedelegatio*, was to be published in Egypt before 1 May to suppress the practice of collecting taxes according to the tax assessment, *delegatio*, of the previous year.

So far all seems clear. Unfortunately there is one text of the sixth century and from the Thebaid which says that May and June are of the 13th indiction, and that July and August of the same year are of the 13th *indictio* 'according to the Romans', i.e. Byzantines, but of the 14th ἐπινέμησις 'according to the Egyptians' (*SB* v, 8028. ii. 17–19). On p. 26 the authors see ἐπινέμησις as a special term relating to the agricultural indiction beginning in Pachon, though the Latin glossaries of *CGL* equate it with *indictio*. In any case, here the inevitable implication is that the Egyptian indiction began on 1 July. The distribution of the use of ἀρχῇ and τέλει in documents from the Arsinoite nome—τέλει chiefly in Pachon and Payni, ἀρχῇ chiefly in Epeiph and Mesore (Table, p. 20)—suggests to the authors that 1 July is indeed a significant date. They take it to be the ideal date for the arrival of the definitive tax schedule, the *delegatio*, and thus the true beginning of the indiction. Some formulae with ἀρχῇ from Oxyrhynchus are taken also to show a knowledge of an indiction beginning on 1 July (p. 26). This third starting-date for the indiction is very unwelcome, especially since the document which gives the best evidence for it comes from the Thebaid, which shows no sign of it in dating-clauses, while the Arsinoite texts give dating-formulas which seem to reflect it. However, any alternative explanations of the words of *SB* v, 8028, and of the virtual absence of τέλει in Arsinoite texts after 1 July remain to be found.

The great contribution of this chapter to the whole question is the clear focus on the variations of local administrative practices. Addenda in *BASP* 16 (1979), 239–44 clarify the practices of the Heracleopolite and Memphite nomes. The discussion of ληγούσης/λήξεως ibid., 244–5 seems to come to a perverse conclusion in saying that no uniformity can be discerned. These expressions from the Thebaid seem to parallel exactly the use of τέλει in the Arsinoite nome. There are four examples, used on 26 April, 27 April, 13 June, and 21 June, i.e. none after 1 July, as in the Arsinoite.

Chapter V examines the meaning of νέα ἰνδικτίων and concludes that in the second indictional cycle, AD 327–42, and in the early part of the third, the word νέα is used to make it clear that the indiction in question belongs to the current cycle and not to a previous one. Somewhere about AD 348 it begins to refer to future indictions, rather like our 'new year', and this is its meaning henceforth till it dies out in the fifth century.

Chapter VI, on the Oxyrhynchite eras, follows *P. Oxy.* XIV, pp. 26–30 in all essentials, but the detailed explanations and full references are very welcome.

Chapter VII, on the era of Diocletian, tells us that it came into use, perhaps in the second half of the fourth century, especially for horoscopes, where a reliable and simple chronology was needed. It was linked to the Egyptian civil year, beginning on 1 Thoth. About the same time it began to appear in inscriptions, chiefly graffiti and tombstones. In the sixth century it began to be influenced by the indictional year. It only appeared in ordinary papyrus documents in the seventh century, after the Arab conquest.

Chapter VIII discusses dates in which the consular formula contradicts some other item of information, such as the indiction or the regnal year. Most of these are errors, but in the last quarter of the fifth century several post-consular formulae extended over two or more years only distinguished by the association of the indictional year-number. This was due to unstable political conditions, which affected the appointment of consuls and the spread of information.

No less valuable than the discussions are the lists in the appendices. In particular the synoptic table (C) and the list of consuls in papyri (D) supply long-felt needs. Related works by the same authors also deserve mention here. The most important of these are *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* (*BASP* Suppl. 2 (1979)), which has addenda and corrigenda to this volume on pp. 74–9, and the series of notes on individual documents in *BASP* 15 (1978), 233–46; 16 (1979), 221–47. A more complete list is given with an article in which they themselves survey and summarize their results in this field: see *GRBS* 20 (1979), 279 n. 1. All this represents an enormous amount of hard and productive work. Bagnall and Worp have certainly earned the gratitude and respect of all future editors of Byzantine papyri.

J. R. REA

Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt. By ROGER S. BAGNALL and K. A. WORP. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, Supplement 2. Pp. x+90. Missoula, Scholars Press, 1979. ISBN 0 89130 280 8. Price $9.00.

This book carries on the good work of P. Bureth, whose *Les Titulatures impériales* contains regnal formulas on papyri of the period between the accessions of Augustus and Diocletian. Here we have a similar and much-needed compilation of titles from Diocletian's accession in AD 284 to the Arab conquest in AD 641. The material for this long period is not so copious as might be supposed, because clauses in this form gave way rapidly to consular dates in the early fourth century and were not revived until AD 537, when Justinian, presumably as a result of the decline of the consulship, issued an edict requiring a regnal date clause at the head of every notarial document. Therefore, the years AD 337–537 occupy only three pages, 42–4.

Nevertheless enormous pains needed to be taken to cover even AD 284–337 and 537–641 in the way that it has been done here. Conscious that the main value of these data lie in the chronological information that they may give, the editors have improved on Bureth's format by giving the Julian conversion for each reference that they note and have taken account of dates given by regnal years without the addition of the imperial titles. They point out in the introduction that, in spite of a few good examples, it is still not the custom to record this last type of date in the indexes to the editions of papyri, a circumstance which added greatly to the work and which needs to be changed.

Most users of this book will be papyrologists who wish to compare some titulature in a text of their own with the known examples. Some will perhaps be historians trying to discover the date of the acquisition of particular titles. Both sorts, but especially the second, will need to remember that what is recorded here is no substitute for consulting the editions and exercising judgement upon them. For example, on p. 4 we are told that in P. Oxy. XXXIV, 2712. 25 ff. Aurelius is omitted from the names of Maximian. In fact, it is the editor's—and present reviewer's!—restoration which omits it. Space is short, but if any element was omitted from the titles it is not certain which it was, and the likeliest thing is that the full titulature was written rather more compactly than usual. A similar wrong reading or restoration is overwhelmingly likely in PSI III, 162. 27, where Maximian's name is supposed to lack Valerius, see p. 3, section B (1). Likewise formula (2) on p. 10, which omits Aurelius from Diocletian's name during the first tetrarchy, is based on a restoration almost certain to be wrong in P. Lond. III, 958 descr. And yet the same wrong restoration of Diocletian's name in P. Lond. III, 957

descr. has been corrected tacitly on p. 3, formula B (1). This last looks like an oversight, and certainly it is an oversight that Valerius is omitted from Diocletian's name in formula (3) on p. 10: see P. Wisc. II, 58. 1.

From the above remarks it will be seen that using this book will not be easy. In part this was unavoidable, but in part it arises from the desire to save space, which takes the form of setting out the fullest version of the titles and making a note against the following references when any particular element is missing. This method tends to obscure the process of change in the titulature, which is likely to give historically important information, especially about the date of acquisition of additional names or victory titles. In the second edition that will one day be necessary we must hope for a much more generous use of the Greek fount and the Leiden system of punctuation.

A particularly good example of what this method obscures is the first one in the book, p. 2. It gives the fullest form of Diocletian's regnal year dating clause during his sole rule as *Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Γαΐου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλερίου Διοκλητιανοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχοῦς Σεβαστοῦ*. Seven references are given. To five of these is added the suspicious remark: (om. *Αὐρ.*). A sixth has a similar addition: (formula lost exc. end). The remaining reference is to *SB* VI, 8971 (from P. Harris 143 *via JEA* 25 (1939), 52–4). 1. This undoubtedly has both *nomina—Αὐτοκ]ράτορος Καίσαρος Γαΐου Αὐρηλίου Οὐαλ[ερίου*—but the year-number is lost. H. I. Bell, pointing out that the document was a sale and not a loan, assigned it to the sole rule of Diocletian only because he was reluctant to envisage that the document was so broad that the titles of two emperors could fit into the first line, but this must have been the case. The papyri remind us, in fact, that Diocletian's name during his sole rule was C. Valerius Diocletianus. This was observed long ago: see W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie*, 39–40, with nn. 1–2, for an account of the inscriptions as well.[1] It seems reasonably evident that at some point Maximian and Diocletian each added the other's *nomen* to his own and so both became Aurelius Valerius.

Though it is not stated in the introduction, this book, unlike Bureth's, does not take account of titles which appear in oaths by the imperial *genius*, e.g. P. Oxy. XII, 1456. 4–6; PSI III, 162. 5–8. This is a pity, because again such formulas may give information about the date of acquisition of names or titles.

A particularly interesting feature of the section of the book devoted to the later period, AD 537–641, is the tabulation of the titles according to the provenances of the papyri. It is surprising to note how much the formulas come to depend on the administrative practice of each nome. Attention to these details promises to allow papyri of uncertain provenance to be assigned with confidence to their proper locality; in this the index of imperial epithets and titles (pp. 83–5) will be helpful.

There is also a list of addenda and corrigenda (pp. 74–9) to the same authors' *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*, which might remind a carping critic that regnal formulas really belong in that book, rather than in a separate monograph. However, it would be ingratitude to stress this too much when so much that is valuable has been covered so thoroughly in the two. J. R. REA

The Future of Coptic Studies. Edited by R. McL. WILSON. Coptic Studies, I. 245 × 165 mm. Pp. xii + 253. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1978. ISBN 90 04 05807 9. Price *f* 140.

In December 1976, the First International Congress of Coptology was held in Cairo and the International Association for Coptic Studies was launched, both ventures being a result of the endeavours of the International Committee for the publication of the Nag Hammadi Codices. Indeed, it is the interest generated by the Nag Hammadi material which has contributed largely to the world-wide revival of the whole range of Coptic studies. In the meantime, the second meeting of the International Association for Coptic Studies has taken place in Rome in September 1980, and the activities of the Association and of its members continue to focus attention on a field of studies that has not always attracted the interest which it deserves.

[1] Grave suspicion, therefore, attaches to item no. 25 in G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia in 1962 and 1963: Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Γάϊον | Οὐαλέριον Διοκλητιανὸν|Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστὸν | [5] δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας | [κα]ὶ ὕπατον τὸ πρῶτον | [ἡ βου]λὴ* (vac.) *καὶ ὁ δῆμο[ς]*. I should expect δ. *ἐξουσίας | [6] [τὸ] , ὕπατον τὸ τρίτον*.

The volume under review, which is suitably dedicated to the *Altmeister* of Coptology, Professor Dr Hans Jakob Polotsky, contains twelve papers presented at the meeting in Cairo. Not all the papers read at the Congress could be accommodated in this volume, and it was decided to publish the Nag Hammadi material in the Nag Hammadi Studies monograph series (Vol. XIV), and some further material in a *Sonderband* to *Enchoria* 8 (1978).

Professor M. Krause, the first president of the International Association for Coptic Studies, introduces the volume with a paper entitled 'Die Disziplin Koptologie'. He briefly reviews the history of Coptic studies and enumerates some of the outstanding contributions that have been made to the subject, particularly by scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He then describes the place of Coptic as a branch of Egyptology and goes on to argue in favour of the establishment of Coptic as a separate subject. Interestingly, he notes that in some German universities Coptic is no longer taught by Egyptologists but by teachers specializing in the study of the Christian Orient, and that at his own university (Münster) Coptic has achieved the status of a main subject in the curriculum. The scope of Coptic studies which Professor Krause outlines certainly justifies such a high claim for the subject; for it includes the language and all aspects of the history of the Copts, of their literature, and of all other cultural activities, which extend over many centuries. Professor Krause ends his programmatic essay with a long list of tasks yet to be achieved and by pointing out the desirability of co-ordinating the efforts of research workers in this field. The International Association for Coptic Studies provides a suitable vehicle for cooperation and further progress.

Professor J. M. Robinson chose for his theme 'The Future of Papyrus Codicology'. This is a highly specialized subject, and Professor Robinson introduces the reader to it by describing the making of a papyrus roll and of a papyrus codex. He regrets the fact that papyrus codicology has not as yet developed into a science, but rather is the by-product of the conservation work carried out on papyrus codices in various museums and libraries. In this field, the pre-eminent position of Hugo Ibscher is extolled, whose restoration work at the Egyptian Museum in Berlin was outstandingly successful and who was consulted by institutions from all over Europe. Although a technician in the first place, Ibscher took progressive steps towards a science of papyrus codicology. The discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices has provided much new material, but Professor Robinson complains that the lessons learned by Ibscher over the years were not applied to the codicological analysis of this new material. Careful analysis of the new material and an analytical reconsideration of material previously published should, it is hoped, lead to the establishing of papyrus codicology as a science.

The next two contributions seek to apply the science of linguistics to the study of the Coptic language. G. Mink writes on 'Allgemeine Sprachwissenschaft und Koptologie'. In his paper he discusses aspects of grammar, dialectology, lexicology, bilingualism, comparative philology, and computational linguistics. In his summing-up, he maintains that Coptic philology will profit by adopting methodologies current in linguistics. Although he acknowledges that the multiplicity of methods does not facilitate such a dialogue, he feels that the adoption of linguistic models is bound to contribute significantly to a better description and interpretation of the Coptic language.

W.-P. Funk's subject is 'Towards a Synchronic Morphology of Coptic'. Dr Funk, too, regrets the lack of familiarity with modern linguistics shown by students of Coptic grammar. The dominant role of Egyptologists in the field of Coptic philology has tended to lay emphasis on a diachronic approach to Coptic grammar. But, according to Dr Funk, diachronic research is dependent on a fuller understanding of the synchronic data of the language. A discussion of some points 'pertaining to inflectional morphology' (p. 109) illustrates the author's concern, which is followed by a section 'on the analysis of word-formative patterns' (p. 114). He, like the author of the preceding essay, asserts that 'the adoption of theoretical devices or frames of reference hitherto unused, and their consistent application, may indeed yield results with some unexpected bearing on some of the more practical issues' (p. 122).

The following paper, 'Coptic Lexicography in the Middle Ages: The Coptic–Arabic Scalae', by A. Y. Sidarus, throws some interesting light on the early history of the study of Coptic. In the thirteenth century, when the Christians of Egypt finally became integrated into the Arabic cultural world, Coptic philological studies written in Arabic began in earnest, concentrating first on Bohairic and later moving on to Sahidic. The stimulus for these studies was provided by a keen interest in biblical studies at that time and by a desire to revive Coptic at least as a literary language. In his paper, Dr Sidarus concentrates on lexicography, the Coptic–Arabic *scalae*. He begins with the *scala*

ecclesiastica of Samannūdī (who died after AD 1257), which contains an introduction to Coptic grammar followed by a Coptic–Arabic glossary to a corpus of biblical and liturgical books. The vocabulary is not arranged alphabetically and thus the glossary's usefulness is very limited. Later *scalae* seek to make good this deficiency by adopting the alphabetical order that was current in Arabic lexicography, last letter–first letter–second letter, which is clearly far from ideal for Coptic. There were also Greek–Bohairic–Arabic vocabularies alphabetically arranged according to the first letter, and there were vocabularies in which words were grouped thematically, under various subject-headings. Dr Sidarus reviews the material, stresses its importance, and pleads for its closer study.

Professor Orlandi, in his paper on 'The Future of Studies in Coptic Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature', discusses a wide range of problems. He particularly addresses himself to the beginner in the study of Coptic literature, to whom he wishes to give guidance. After dealing briefly with some methodological questions which any student of Coptic literature has to consider, the author reviews the work done on the Coptic versions of the Bible and identifies areas which deserve further attention. This is followed by a section devoted to patristic literature in Coptic, both translated from the Greek and indigenous Coptic, and the many problems attending its study, as for instance authorship and original language. Professor Orlandi rightly says that the most urgent task yet to be achieved is the edition of Coptic texts; for much material still awaits publication. In this connection the author, whose knowledge of Coptic manuscript collections is unrivalled, provides a list of libraries which have a holding of Coptic manuscripts and indicates available catalogues. He concludes his contribution with some practical hints to editors of Coptic texts.

Professor Quecke, whose special interest is Coptic liturgiology, writes on 'Zukunftschancen bei der Erforschung der koptischen Liturgie'. Few workers are active in this highly specialized field of research and many problems are yet to be solved. The author stresses the interrelationship of the Coptic liturgy with the Greek and other Oriental rites, which is an essential concomitant of any work done in this sphere. He then examines in some detail the complex history of the Coptic liturgy of the Eucharist, drawing attention to questions still requiring an answer and suggesting possible lines of enquiry. Other subjects discussed include the canonical hours of the Coptic Church, church architecture, church music, liturgical dress, and the Coptic dialects attested in liturgical texts. Here, too, further editing has yet to be done. Professor Quecke concludes his paper with the interesting reflection that a great deal of Coptic literature had its original place in the Coptic liturgy. Liturgy, therefore, must have been influential in shaping Coptic literature and must have been a decisive factor in its tradition, and even in its survival. Thus the study of Coptic liturgy has considerable importance for the history of Coptic literature.

Professor Lüddeckens contributes a paper entitled 'Die koptischen Inschriften des koptischen Museums in Kairo'. These Coptic inscriptions on stone were transferred in 1947 from the Egyptian to the Coptic Museum. The author briefly reviews work already published on this collection of burial texts, and then discusses his own plans. Although his interest is primarily in the Coptic material, he recognizes that the Coptic and Greek inscriptions must be viewed together. He gives a survey of the formulae used and discusses their geographical provenance. Finally, he describes the kind of catalogue of the collection which he hopes to publish.

The next two contributions report on the excavations at Kellia. The first is by Professor Guillaumont and bears the title 'Les fouilles françaises des Kellia, 1964–1969', while the second is by Professor Kasser and has the title 'Fouilles suisses aux Kellia. Passé, présent et futur'. At the first expedition the Institut français d'archéologie orientale in Cairo and the University of Geneva combined to organize the excavations; subsequently they separated and worked on different sites. Professor Guillaumont describes the discoveries of the French team, while Professor Kasser gives an account of the work done by the Swiss. Although the excavated buildings are surrounded by a wall, it is clear from the remains that the monks of Kellia followed the eremitic way of life in contrast to the coenobitic organization adopted by the Pachomian monasteries in Upper Egypt. Of particular interest is the Swiss find of an inscribed potsherd which attests the name of Kellia for the site.

Professor du Bourguet, whose contributions to the study of Coptic textiles are well-known, writes on 'Avenir de l'étude des tissus coptes'. There is a wealth of material available for study, dating roughly from the second century to the twelfth. It is, however, not at all easy to arrive at a satisfactory method of dating individual pieces. The author argues that only a careful analysis of the textiles themselves promises progress. He singles out four subjects for examination: (1) the thread, whether it

be linen, wool, silk, or cotton; (2) the dyes used; (3) the weaving-techniques employed; (4) the iconography. Only a few iconographic themes are Christian, the majority are pagan. Professor du Bourguet concludes his paper with a warning of fakes, which occasionally make an appearance but are generally easy to detect.

The last paper, 'Coptic Chant: A Survey of Past Research and a Projection for the Future', is by Professor Gillespie, a musician and musicologist whose interest in Coptic music is relatively recent. Coptic chant has been handed down through the ages by oral tradition. There are no music manuscripts, and there appears to have been no developed system of musical notation, although there have survived some fragments of a primitive notation. The author reviews the published work on Coptic music from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, and comes to the conclusion that what is needed now is the recording of the Coptic musical repertoire, which is being undertaken under the auspices of the Institute of Coptic Studies, and the transcription of this material which has also begun. He then discusses the antiquity of Coptic music and its relationship to ancient Egyptian music. He finally makes a plea for further research and for an effort to make Coptic music more generally known.

This collection of stimulating papers, for all its piecemeal character, testifies to the vitality and range of Coptic studies. It draws together the reflections of some of its foremost scholars on the present state and future direction of this subject, until recently somewhat neglected. The volume is well produced and has a series of useful indexes. K. H. KUHN

Debeira West. A Mediaeval Nubian Town. By P. L. SHINNIE and MARGARET SHINNIE. University of Ghana Expedition to Nubia. 305 × 220 mm. Pp. vi + 107, pls. 53, text figs. 124. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1978. ISBN 0 85668 094 X. Price £24.

The response to the UNESCO appeal for archaeological salvage work in that area of the Sudan now flooded by the lake of the great Aswan High Dam involved the participation of some eighteen missions from countries other than the Sudan. The only African country to be involved in this huge programme was Ghana. That there was participation from that country is due in large part to the fact that P. L. Shinnie, one of the Sudan's most energetic students, was the professor of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Ghana at that time.

The University of Ghana's concession was about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles along the west bank of the Nile opposite Debeira, a large town some ten miles north of old Wadi Halfa. The field-work, of which this monograph is the final report, took three seasons and involved the excavation of eleven individually numbered sites. In addition to that on the important medieval settlement, R-8, there are reports on the investigation of six other Christian sites, including two churches (R-1, R-2, R-3, R-44, R-59, and R-60), three X-Group cemeteries (R-5, R-11, and R-12), and a C-Group cemetery (R-17). In any threatened area all the material remains must be examined, because anything left unrecorded will be lost for ever. This expedition must be congratulated both on fulfilling its obligation in this respect and for publishing the results within such a reasonable time.

The report is organized so that, after a brief introductory description of the expedition and the concession, the architecture, stratigraphy, and other features of the various loci are presented site by site. This is followed by a large section on the Christian ceramics from the concession, dominated, naturally, by the bulk of the material from R-8. Next are the small finds, arranged by material, and finally there is a short discussion on certain aspects of the architecture and on food-production.

There are one or two very minor faults in the book, most noticeably the seemingly haphazard way in which the plates have been assembled. Fifty-three of the authors' plates have been crowded on to thirty-three pages, presumably for reasons of cost. To have renumbered these I to XXXIII would have avoided potential areas of confusion and made their titling much simpler. Oversimplification also occurs, and we find, for example, that the object-numbers have been omitted from the illustrations of C-group pottery bowls on pl. XXXII and fig. 39. It is a pity that none of the recorded 5,248 green faience beads has been illustrated.

There are a variety of ways of presenting an excavation in print and many uses for the information thus preserved. It is regrettable that the authors have chosen to present their work as a series of studies of independent groups of information. Apart from the cemeteries, where individual graves

are presented, and the site R-59, which has been treated separately by John Alexander, it will be impossible for the reader to reconstruct individual loci without first making a complete index of all the material presented. It may be of great consequence that objects from sites as far apart and different in date as R-1 and R-8 include bronze *kohl* sticks, and it is also important to understand the similarities and differences between all the bronze objects found by the expedition. But, to achieve the fullest appreciation of archaeological data it is necessary to understand the entire matrix—the architecture and the debris, together with all the objects and associated matter. Often enough, the dating of one excavation will change our understanding of others. It would seem that the authors' tenet that 'publication of insignificant data seemed neither useful nor economic' (p. 59) has been carried to too great an extreme with the omission of the cross-indexing.

The importance of the main site, R-8, at Debeira West lies in its having been a well-preserved but ordinary medieval village. In dealing with a documented historical period it is the mundane rather than the monumental that usually escapes our attention, and it is in this very area that archaeology can contribute most to our understanding of human development. Work in Nubia on such sites has been extensive, and our detailed knowledge is great. It is hoped that the publication of such interesting material as that of Debeira West will provoke scholars to the investigation of some of the many sites in Egypt proper which belong to this important time-bridge between ancient and modern ways of life.

A. J. MILLS

Other books received

1. *L'Affaire Sinouhé. Tentative d'approche de la justice répressive égyptienne au début du II^e millénaire av. J.-C.* By Robert Parant. 205 × 140 mm. Pp. xii + 401. Aurillac, 1982. Price F 250.
2. *Ägypten, die 21. Dynastie.* By Heerma van Voss. Iconography of Religions XVI, 9. 260 × 185 mm. Pp. viii + 18, pls. 27. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1982. ISBN 90 04 06826 0. Price *f* 40.
3. *The Bee-hive. An Enquiry into its Origins and History.* By Dorothy Galton. 210 × 150 mm. Pp. viii + 105, figs. 102. Northern Bee Books, Scout Bottom Farm, Mytholmroyd, Hebden Bridge, W. Yorks, 1982. Price £3·50.
4. *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt. Ashmunein (1980).* By D. M. Bailey, W. V. Davies, and A. J. Spencer. Occasional Paper 37. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. vi + 55, pls. 35. London, British Museum, 1982. ISBN 0 86159 037 6. ISSN 0142 4815. Price £4·50.
5. *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt. Ashmunein (1981).* By A. J. Spencer and D. M. Bailey. Occasional Paper 41. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. v + 79, pls. 20. London, British Museum, 1982. ISBN 0 86159 0414. ISSN 0142 4815. Price £5·50.
6. *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt. Ashmunein (1982).* By A. J. Spencer, D. M. Bailey, and A. Burnett. Occasional Paper 46. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. vi + 143, pls. 10, figs. 81. London, British Museum, 1983. ISBN 0 86159 0465. ISSN 0142 4815. Price £7.
7. *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt. Excavations at El-Ashmunein*, I. *The Topography of the Site.* By A. J. Spencer, based on the survey by R. D. Andrews and D. M. Bailey. 310 × 235 mm. Large map with accompanying booklet together in folder. Pp. 10, cover picture, pls. 6. London, British Museum Publications Ltd., 1983. ISBN 0 7141 0936 3. Price £10.
8. *Cahiers de Karnak*, VII. *1978–1981.* Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. 394, numerous illustrations. Paris, 1982. ISBN 2 86538 045 9. No price stated.
9. *Le Concept de notre grande puissance (CG VI, 4). Textes, remarques philologiques, traduction et notes.* By Pierre Cherix. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 47. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1982. ISBN 3 525 53666 6. No price stated.
10. *Die Darstellung des Horus. Ein Mysterienspiel in Philae unter Ptolemäus VIII.* Von Hans Goedicke. Beihefte zur WZKM, 11. 205 × 145 mm. Pp. iv + 196, numerous illustrations. Vienna, Verband der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1982. ISBN 3 85369 516 7. Price ÖS 189.

11. *Death in Ancient Egypt*. By A. J. Spencer. 195 × 130 mm. Pp. 256, pls. 39, text-figs. 118. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1982. ISBN 0 14 02 2294 4. Price £2·95.

12. *Egyptian Historical Records of the later Eighteenth Dynasty*, Fascicle 1. Translated into English by Barbara Cumming. 235 × 170 mm. Pp. xiv + 80. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1982. ISBN 0 85668 218 7. Price £5·95.

13. *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study*. By Patricia Spencer. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. xi + 298. London, Kegan Paul International, 1984. ISBN 0 7103 0065 4. Price £25.

14. *De Geboorte van Horus*, IV. By B. H. Stricker. 265 × 195 mm. Pp. 244, several figs. Leiden, Ex Oriente Lux, 1982. Price *f* 80.

15. *Griffith's Old Nubian Lectionary*. By Gerald M. Browne. Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 8. 215 × 160 mm. Pp. 89, pls. 8. Rome/Barcelona, 1982. Price $ 21.

16. *Grundzüge der altägyptischen Religion*. By Hellmut Brunner. 195 × 125 mm. Pp. viii + 159. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1983. ISBN 3 534 08424 1. No price stated.

17. *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie: répertoire bibliographique des OGIS*. By Étienne Bernand. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, 45. 240 × 155 mm. Pp. 95. Paris, 1982. ISBN 2 25160 2720. No price stated.

18. *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie: répertoire bibliographique des IGRR*. Par Étienne Bernand. Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne, 51. Pp. 132. Paris, 1983. ISBN 22 51 60286 0. Price not stated.

19. *La Justice sociale dans le Proche-Orient ancien et le peuple de la Bible*. By Léon Epsztein. 185 × 135 mm. Pp. 274. Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1983. ISBN 2 204 01892 9. Price F 69·50.

20. *Karanis. An Egyptian Town in Roman Times. Discoveries of the University of Michigan Expedition to Egypt (1924–1935)*. Edited by Elaine K. Gazda. 215 × 280 mm. Pp. vi + 50, figs. 75. The University of Michigan, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1983. No price stated.

21. *Der Kodex Hermopolis und ausgewählte private Rechtsurkunden aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten*. Edited by Stefan Grunert. 175 × 105 mm. Pp. 171. Leipzig, Philipp Reclam jun., 1982. Price DDR 2 M.

22. *Notes on Late Egyptian Grammar. A Semitic Approach*. By A. M. Bakir. 235 × 170 mm. Pp. xxiv + 134. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1983. ISBN 0 85668 214 4. Price £10.

23. *Pharaoh Triumphant. The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt*. By K. A. Kitchen. 240 × 170 mm. Pp. viii + 272, illustrations 74, maps 4. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1982. ISBN 0 85668 215 2. Price £12·50.

24. *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt*. By Paul Ghalioungui, MD, FRCP. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Sonderschrift 10. 305 × 215 mm. Pp. xii + 115, figs. 31, tables 28. Mainz, Philipp von Zabern, 1983. ISBN 3 8053 0600 8. Price DM 98.

25. *Les Pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*. By Agnes Rammant-Peeters. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 11. 245 + 185 mm. Pp. xviii + 218, pls. 47. Leuven, Katholieke Universiteit, Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1983. ISBN 90 70192 08 1. Price B Fr. 2,400.

26. *Recherches sur l'histoire juridique, économique et sociale de l'ancienne Égypte*. By Bernadette Menu. 240 × 155. Pp. x + 349. Versailles, 1982. ISBN 2 903971 01 3. Price F 180.

27. *A Royal Statue Reattributed*. By W. V. Davies. Occasional Paper 28. 295 × 215 mm. Pp. iii + 56, pls. 22. London, British Museum, 1981. ISBN 0 86159 028 7. ISSN 0142 4815. Price £4·50.

28. *Tod und Vergänglichkeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geisteshaltung der Ägypter von Ptahhotep bis Antef*. By Gretel Wirz. Kölner Forschungen zu Kunst und Altertum, 1. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. 88. Sankt Augustin, Hans Richarz, 1982. ISBN 3 88345 400 1. Price DM 39.

INDEXES
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[1] Indexed following the order of signs in J. D. Ray, 'The Carian Inscriptions from Egypt', *JEA* 68 (1982), 181–2.

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