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NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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A. B. Lloyd, *JEA* 68 (1982), 57.

B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports*, 1 (London, 1983), 57.

Authors' initials and publication details should be provided on first citation; surname alone, and an abbreviated title or op. cit., etc., should be used subsequently. Common Latin abbreviations are not italicized, nor followed by a comma. Footnote numbers are placed above the line, after punctuation, without brackets.

Any of the accepted systems of transliteration may be used (but *q* for *k*). Any hieroglyphs used in the body of the text should be accompanied by Gardiner sign list numbers, or, in the case of signs not in Gardiner, by slightly enlarged ink versions on a separate sheet. The latter also applies to Coptic (if a Coptic golf-ball is inaccessible) and to cursive scripts. Lengthy hieroglyphic passages should also be supplied separately. Captions for all figures and photographs should be provided. Manuscripts which do not conform to these conventions will be returned.

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

It is becoming increasingly difficult for the most diligent full-time researcher in the best equipped library to keep abreast of the flood of literature published by a growing number of Egyptologists in an expanding number of periodicals. The value of the service performed by the *Annual Egyptological Bibliography* in providing researchers with a brief summary of books and articles is increasingly apparent, and the recent introduction of subject classification in the *AEB*, facilitating access to the literature, is particularly welcome. It has for some years been the policy of this *Journal* to insist that authors submit abstracts of their contributions to be passed on to the *AEB*. In future (beginning with this volume), authors' abstracts will appear at the beginning of all articles published in the *JEA*. This is standard practice in many periodicals in related fields and its value to users is well established. Guidance on manuscript style is provided in the 'Notes for Contributors' on the inside front cover of this volume.

The Society has been active at four sites during the past season:

Memphis: The 1985 season lasted from October to December, the staff being David Aston, Janine Bourriau, Dr Rita Freed and Earnestine Jenkinson (Memphis State University), Dr Howard Hecker (ARCE), David Jeffreys, and Ian Shaw. Resistivity-meter survey was carried out by Ian and Padi Mathieson, and epigraphic study by Dr Jaromir Malek and Helen McKeown, with specialist photography by David Tunnicliffe, Communications Attaché at the British Embassy, Cairo. Professor H. S. Smith, Mrs Smith, and Carol Andrews worked on the publication of the demotic stelae of the Mother of Apis from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara, and Peter French continued the study of the pottery from the Anubieion. Warm thanks go to Dr Ahmed Qadry, Head of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, and to his staff at 'Abbâsiya, to the EAO staff at Mît Rahîna, Muhammad Nagîb and Muhammad Rashid, and at Saqqâra Muhammad Ibrahîm, and to our inspector Ahmed Farghaly. During the season, a small work-room was built by the Society in a corner of the EAO magazines near the Inspectorate at Mît Rahîna.

The structures of Level II, dating to the mid to late Eighteenth Dynasty were investigated, the earliest date recovered being that of Tutankhamun. The central property was extensively rebuilt at or shortly before this time, and walls or floors of the preceding level (III) appear to be of Tuthmosid date. The Amarna period, although represented by monumental architecture at Memphis, appears to be missing from the archaeological record at Kom Rabî'. Clear evidence of terracing across the site from west to east and from north to south has been found, with a sand deposit of the Second Intermediate Period at a relatively high level in the north-west corner. The ground plan of Level III shows a slightly more spacious disposition than Level II, although the same general alignments and property boundaries are encountered. The continuity of property lines is a feature of this site, and appears to have been maintained for upwards of three hundred years. The common silo in the south-east corner of the site apparently remained in use as late as the ninth or eighth century BC, to judge from the pottery found in it.

Jeffreys and Shaw extracted core samples at various points using an auger kindly loaned by Dr Thomas von der Way of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, in order to test its feasibility on a deeply stratified valley site (it has yielded excellent results in the shallower Delta alluvium), and to assess its usefulness for the recovery of material for environmental analysis. The depth of sample varied from 12 m in the west to 6 m in the east, and revealed a remarkable 12+ m of occupation in the west. The depth at which natural sands and silts devoid of artefacts was encountered became progressively less to the east, suggesting that the recession of the river eastwards, predicted in earlier seasons, could be mapped by this method.

Malek and McKeown began a survey of the colossal statues from Memphite temples, with the aim of equating those recorded by earlier visitors with sculptures now scattered over the ruins of Memphis, or removed to museums. It is hoped to establish their original distribution and thus to obtain a better idea of the disposition of the gates and approaches to the temple precincts. The statue recorded this season was *Abū l-hôl*, the colossal limestone statue of Ramesses II. The original name in the altered cartouche on the right shoulder has been established, and sufficient traces recorded to identify the prince represented behind the left leg, and also the lost figure of the queen. The orientation and distribution of texts point to the statue having been placed to the right (east) of the south gate of the Ptah enclosure, with its back to the enclosure wall or pylon.

Saqqâra: The staff comprised G. T. Martin, K. J. Frazer, D. A. Aston, B. A. Greene, M.-J. Raven, J. Van Dijk, P.-J. Bomhof, R. S. Walker, K. Arries, R. Heglar. The Inspector of Antiquities was Mahmoud Abu el-Wafa Ahmed, and we had the valued help and support of the Director of Saqqara, Mahomed Ibrahim Aly. Work lasted from 6 January until 19 March 1986, the objectives being to open up an area due west of the tomb of the Tias, and to complete the analysis of an extensive deposit of human remains (of the reign of Ramesses II and of the early Third Intermediate Period) found in 1985 in the tomb-chambers of the steward Iurudef, within the Tia complex. This latter work was completed, and preparatory work was carried out on the human remains found in the substructures of the tombs excavated this year.

These tombs were three in number. The earliest, dating from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was of Ramose, Head of Bowmen of the Army. It is a typical mud-brick open courtyard tomb of the New Kingdom. The chapel was lined with slabs of limestone, now largely gone. A stela from the courtyard is now in E. Berlin (no. 7306). The lower part of a stela found in the forecourt gives the name and title of the owner. One of the two shafts of the substructure gave access, via an ancient robbers' breakthrough, to the underground parts of an adjoining tomb. A beautifully decorated chamber, some 70 feet below ground, gives the name and title of Maya, treasurer of Tutankhamun, and his wife Merit. Part of the superstructure of the tomb was recorded by Lepsius in 1843, but the underground complex has not been visited since the spoliation in antiquity. The other two tombs excavated this year were of Khay, Goldwasher of the Lord of the Two Lands, dating probably from late in the reign of Ramesses II, and of his son, the Head of Bowmen of the Tradesmen, Pabes, apparently temp. Merenptah. Both tomb-chapels were of new types for the Memphite necropolis.

El-'Amarna: The 1986 season lasted from 2 March to 10 April. The expedition wishes to thank the Chairman and Permanent Committee of the EAO for permission to carry out the work, and Adel Hassan and other members of the Minia inspectorate for their assistance. A particular debt of gratitude is due to our inspector, Ibrahim Mohammed el-Saidi, who also acted as site supervisor. Six excavation teams were assigned to the Workmen's Village, under

the supervision of Ann Bomann, Lisa Heidorn, Ibrahim M. El-Saidi, and Angela Tooley. The areas explored were:

- 1 The south-east corner of the Main Chapel and southern end of Building 523 lying immediately behind. Features of interest here included a courtyard with a small oven, and a tiny area of raised plant cultivation beds. The southern continuation of Building 523 was also cleared.
- 2 The group of animal pens, Building 300, in the south-east part of the site. The removal of the fill from the stone-walled court exposed two small caves cut into the rock face, which served as the pens for the two enclosures in squares R11 and R10. This discovery brings the general arrangement of walls and spaces in this area satisfyingly into line with that of the rest of the site.
- 3 A fresh part of the area lying to the east of the Walled Village, north-east of Building 250. Excavation revealed a group of rooms with the familiar characteristics of animal pens, surrounded by a series of walled spaces containing a thick deposit of black ashy soil. More small garden growing plots added to the evidence for an element of self-sufficiency in the villagers' lives.
- 4 Chapel 556, the most easterly of the group of chapels excavated in 1922. Clearance of what appears to be the front hall of the chapel on the 1922 plan brought to light the standard arrangement of benches together with the remains of the collapsed roof. The roofed area seems to have extended to a broader outer hall, also with benches, its roof supported on two square brick piers. This front hall also served the adjacent Chapel 553, the staircase entrance to which was located in the north-west corner. An annex on the east side contained an oven in the south-east corner, and a small set of garden plots. The most interesting discovery was a small brick box-oven in the north-east corner, which contained about seventy bread moulds, many of them of a new pottery type.
- 5 Work inside the Walled Village: Gate Street 9. Although much of this house had been seriously disturbed, pottery, organic material, and fragments from a glazed vessel bearing the early form of the Aten cartouches were recovered. The wall dividing the front rooms from the middle room had been given a distinct and deliberate batter, as if it were the real façade to the house, implying that part at least of the front area was open to the sky.
- 6 Work inside the Walled Village: West Street 2/3. Excavation showed that the remaining half of West Street 2 was occupied by a larger than usual house, basically normal in plan, with a narrow annex on the south side. Among the finds were fragments of a painted wall scene depicting a king. Examination of the enclosure wall at the two junctions with the internal dividing wall confirmed Peet and Woolley's statement that the western section is a later addition, and showed that the second entrance into the Village gave separate access to the open area excavated last year.

Professor Colin Renfrew and Pamela Rose conducted a sherd survey on an area of sherd scatter and stone alignments (Site X2) lying on the access route to the Village, and probably connected with the supply trains to the Village. The results echo the presence, in the city as a whole, of unusually large quantities of Canaanite amphorae. At Site X2, these form more than half the entire assemblage.

Surveying: For the Survey of the Main City, Salvatore Garfi completed the map sheets for the Great Aten Temple and the open ground to the north, as well as the North Suburb, leaving only the relatively blank area between the North Suburb and the North City.

The Ceramic Survey: Pamela Rose and Paul Nicholson began a ceramic survey of parts of the Main City which reveals striking differences in the pottery types in different areas, especially in the Central City. It also identified a second concentration of Canaanite

amphorae around the ancient well closest to the village. A long trail of sherds runs eastwards towards the Workmen's Village. Beside the well are the remains of an unexcavated building, evidently official, and it is tempting to see the whole group as belonging to the administration of the Village supplies.

Study work: In the Expedition house, Rose and Nicholson continued to catalogue the pottery; Fran Weatherhead carried out further study of the painted plaster from the Main Chapel; Andy Boyce prepared publication drawings of selected small finds; Dr Howard Hecker and Dr Jane Renfrew studied the bird and plant remains respectively, and Robert Miller initiated a promising study of New Kingdom flint working at Amarna.

Qasr Ibrîm: The lowest lake levels since 1967 allowed a considerable part of the site, including major features flooded before they were examined, to reappear from the water. The most important results are:

The North Peninsula: This emerged with most of its soil cover removed. A mortuary temple (no. 1) proved to be of X-group date and contained three deep rock-cut shafts, robbed in the eighteenth century AD. Parts of Roman, Christian, and Islamic buildings were also found. Before the building of the temple, the peninsula had been used as a cemetery and twenty-three rock-cut graves were found.

The East Gate and its environs: The great gate of the fortress emerged in ruins which enabled its many phases to be studied. It proved to have been built in the Roman period (first centuries BC and AD) and was extensively altered in later Meroitic, late Christian, and Islamic times. Roman and Meroitic buildings, probably barracks, were excavated beside it.

The South-eastern Terraces: Here a large stone and mud-brick complex was excavated, mainly used in X-group times, when it existed on at least two terraces connected by fine stairways. A large decorated lintel bore a long Meroitic inscription.

The Cathedral Plaza: North-west of the cathedral, an area which had never been flooded revealed a new temple (no. 4), of which only the upper levels were excavated. It had at least three courts and was in use in X-group times although probably built earlier. It was deliberately destroyed in early Christian times and the temple furnishings dumped in nearby pits. A very fine series of textile and painted wood hangings, offering tables, statues, and glass, faience and other ceramic equipment, was recovered.

The Extramural Survey: A preliminary survey of the concession area outside the fortress showed that within 1 kilometre there were a number of cemeteries unaffected by the water, and stone and mud-brick buildings. Pottery scatters showed much activity in the Meroitic period.

The editor has been asked to give notice of an international symposium to commemorate the centenary of the discovery of Tell el-'Amarna, to be held at the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago on 1-3 February 1987. Papers in all fields relating to Tell el-'Amarna are welcome, and further information can be had from Professor Gordon D. Young, Dept. of History, Purdue University, West Lafayette, IN 47907, USA.

Egyptology has suffered some sad losses in the last two years. In 1984, Ethel Burney, for many years a stalwart of the Topographical Bibliography, and P. H. K. Gray, whose *Catalogue of Human Remains in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities* with W. R. Dawson (1968) will be familiar to all readers, passed away. In 1985, there died James Drescher, best known as an editor and translator of Coptic texts including *Apa Mena: a Selection of Coptic Texts relating to St Menas* (1946), and *The*

Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Kingdoms I, II (Samuel I, II) (1970); Raphael Giveon, whose prolific interest in the relations between Egypt and Palestine is epitomized in his *Les Bédouins Shosu des documents égyptiens* (1971); Olga Tufnell, primarily a Palestinian archaeologist, who will be remembered by Egyptologists for her *Studies on Scarab Seals* (1984); and Charles Wilkinson, who worked as an artist with Metropolitan Museum expeditions at Thebes in the 1920s, was subsequently Curator in the Department of Near Eastern Art in that museum, and recently produced *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (1983).

Finally, the new editor would like to express the gratitude and appreciation of the Society, and Egyptologists at large, to Dr Alan Lloyd, who has seen the last seven volumes of the *Journal* through difficult times with unwavering devotion to scholarship. He has demanded high standards of contributors, but has never stinted in his exertions on their behalf. He has also made easy the way of his successor.

MEMPHIS 1984

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

The first season of excavation at Memphis identified an artisans' quarter of the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties at Kôm Rabî'. Finds included stone and metal tools and domestic utensils, pottery votive objects in the form of 'concubine' figures and cobras, bones (mainly cattle and pig), and a few inscribed objects. Further resistivity survey was carried out. The Epigraphic Survey recorded monuments from the Palace of Merneptah, now in the so-called 'Petrie' Magazine at Mît Rahîna.

THE Egypt Exploration Society's Memphis Project took a major step forward in autumn 1984 by beginning excavations at Kôm Rabî'. Three seasons of archaeological survey from 1981 to 1983¹ had recorded the main features of the central ruin field of Memphis, and enabled the Society to choose a site which would allow investigation of the living quarters of the city and of its stratigraphic history. In the event, an artisans' quarter of the Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasties has been uncovered, which for the first time illuminates the daily life of Memphis in the New Kingdom. As a depth of deposit of at least 2.5 m remains above the water table, much earlier levels may be reached in this part of the ruin field in future excavations, while to the east there is a high mound which appears to represent occupation down to the Saite Period. Meanwhile, the Epigraphic Survey has been vigorously pursued, and has resulted in the recording of the throne-dais and other important reliefs from the Palace of Merneptah at Kôm al-Qal'a. A computerized archive of archaeological information about Memphis is now being set up at University College London, with a parallel archive of epigraphic material at the Griffith Institute, Oxford, in collaboration with the Society.

The Society's work is undertaken with the co-operation of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. From its chairman, Dr Aḥmed Qadry, and his staff at 'Abbâsîya, the Society received much valuable help in facilitating the work. Special mention should be made of Dr Aḥmed Moussa, Director for the Gîza and Saqqâra area, Dr Nâṣif Ḥassan, and Mr Fûad Yaqûb. Dr Muḥammad Ibrahîm, the Director for Saqqâra, gave much practical help and advice, while Dr Muḥammad Nagîb, Chief Inspector for Memphis, gave a great deal of constructive and courteous help in organizing the excavation and epigraphic work. Mr Aḥmed Farghaly, the Inspector attached to the expedition, shared in the field-work, and was ever helpful in administrative matters. To these colleagues the Society extends its grateful thanks.

The Society's staff comprised H. S. Smith, Mrs H. F. Smith, D. G. Jeffreys, J. Malek, L. L. Giddy, J. D. Ray, J. D. Bourriau, P. G. French, H. McKeown, H. Ganiaris, Sa'if al-Islâm 'Abd al-Qâdir, N. Douek, and R. Campbell. The Society extends its thanks to the Director of the Museum of London for giving Helen

¹ See preliminary reports in *JEA* 69 (1983); 70 (1984); 71 (1985).

Ganiaris leave of absence to join the expedition as conservator. Mr and Mrs I. Mathieson again joined the expedition for two weeks in November to undertake a resistivity meter survey; the Society is especially indebted to them for their continuing voluntary contribution, and for the loan of electronic surveying equipment. Two scientific colleagues from the American Research Center in Egypt made important contributions to the work: Dr H. M. Hecker by examining the faunal material, and Dr B. N. Driskell by making a preliminary examination of the lithic assemblage. Mrs Deborah Keirle, who is now the Society's representative in Cairo, has helped the expedition in every way; to her we owe a special debt of gratitude.

The Society's field-work at Memphis gained in 1984 a most welcome source of support in the newly founded Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology at Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee. The Institute, under an agreement with the Society, made a generous financial contribution which will continue in future years, and will send staff and students to collaborate in the scientific work of the expedition. The Society is deeply grateful to Mr Jack Kyle, Mrs Jane Matthews, Mrs Honey Scheidt, Dr Carol Crown, and Dr Rita Freed for their activity in raising funds in the United States, and for their enthusiastic support of the Memphis project. Dr Freed and a graduate student joined the staff in 1985, and we look forward to a long and fruitful collaboration.

The reports which follow on the archaeological excavations and the epigraphic survey are written by the individual directors, D. G. Jeffreys and J. Malek, and include reports from other contributors. The Memphis project is a collaborative activity, to which all the staff members named above, and others at home, have made valuable contributions.

Archaeological report

An area of 500 sq. m was exposed in the north-west quadrant of Kôm Rabî', in the south-west quadrant of the ruin field (fig. 1). The site chosen, which has been given the code name R(abî')AT, lies across the projected line of a feature to the north identified by resistivity survey in 1983, where the ground level was approximately the same (100 m SD = 22.3 m ASL). The aim of excavation here will be to investigate the theory that New Kingdom and earlier strata slope sharply down to the east, perhaps due to the proximity of an early river front.² The suggested contours for the thirteenth century BC shown in fig. 2 are based on observed levels within the Ramesside monuments.

The site lies close to an excavation made by K. R. Lepsius in 1843,³ but seems itself to have escaped deep disturbance. Uppermost deposits consisted of fine light dust deriving from eroded layers *in situ* mixed with material collapsed from a mound of later stratigraphy immediately to the east. The distribution of sherds across the site shows that the greater part of this covering deposit consists of deflated architecture

² See *JEA* 69 (1983), 40-1.

³ Joseph Hekekyan MS (British Library Additional MS) 37452, 413.

Memphis 1984

Location map

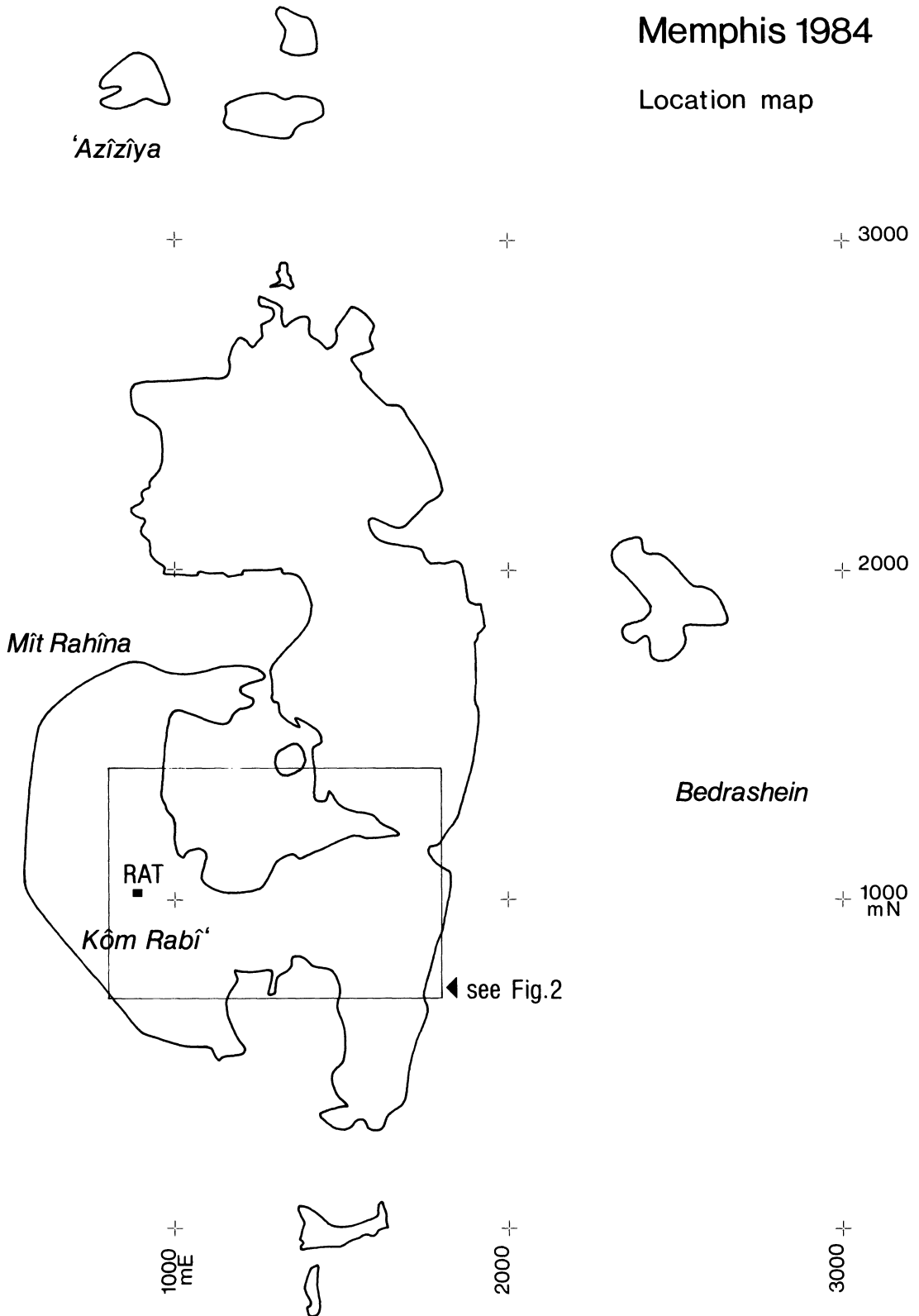


FIG. 1

MEMPHIS 1984

Location of RAT and other
Dynasty XIX sites

Contours (in m ASL) are inferred

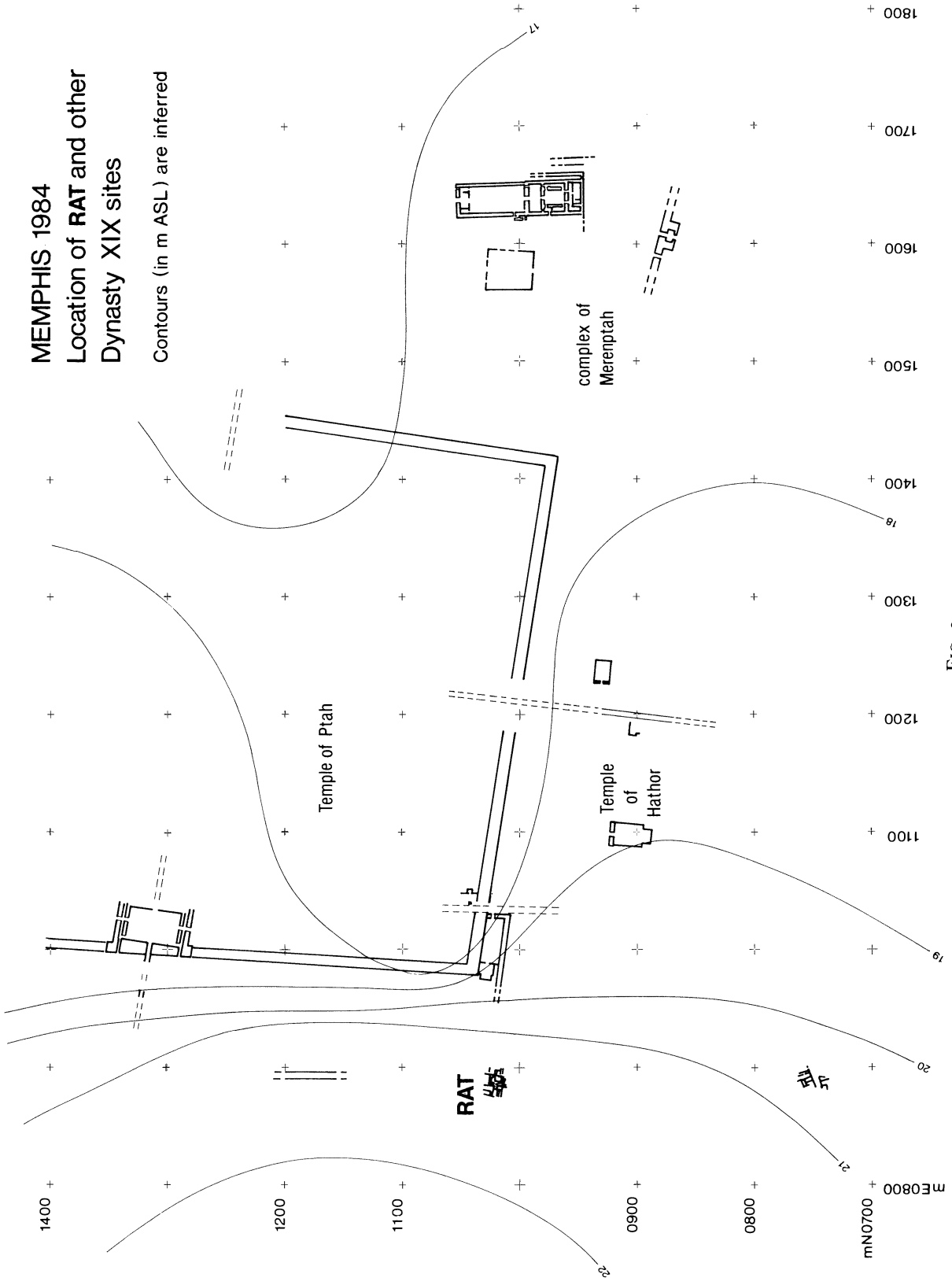


FIG. 2

of the late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasties, whereas the mound to the east, preserved to a height of 105 m SD, is at the latest of Saite date.⁴ Removal of this cover revealed a fragmented ground plan (at 99 m SD/21.3 m ASL) of houses of the Ramesside period very close to the surface, and dated by the overwhelming majority of sherds in the upper deposits and by inscribed ring bezels. What little survived of the architecture of this phase showed fairly spacious courtyards with floors of beaten earth, one of them containing a silo in the north-west corner of the site, surrounding houses of modest dimensions; the best preserved of these contained an oven in the south-west corner and several fire pits along the north wall, which may indicate industrial activity on a small scale.

This level (Level I) was sufficiently deflated to show assemblages of objects and architecture of an earlier level (Level II), which was gradually revealed over the whole site. The ground plan of Level I seems to have been closely modelled on that of II, and indeed the continuity of the general street and house pattern is remarkable—it seems likely that the same property boundaries were in use for well over a century.

The plan of Level II (fig. 3) shows houses and courtyards specifically arranged to allow common access to a large silo in the south-east corner of the site (0894–1012), which was apparently in use through at least two phases of occupation. When the silo fell into disuse in I, being blocked by a wall, it was replaced by a new one in the north-west corner. The earlier silo actually stood in the brick-paved courtyard of a small house on the east side of a fixed boundary line at Eo895. A similar property lay immediately to the north and these both differ in plan from those buildings to the west of this line. The wall terminating the south-east silo is, in fact, a southward extension of this boundary.

West of this line lie two properties, of which the more northerly has all the elements of a 'classic' New Kingdom house type as known from Amarna ('Workmen's Village')⁵ and East Karnak⁶: a small entrance chamber, long living room, and pair of small back rooms of which one led to a narrow corridor along the north side of the property, perhaps a storeroom or, more probably, a staircase. The fact that the entrance chamber appears to intrude on the building line of the more southerly property, and is offset from the axis of the building to which it belongs, might indicate that the two properties were once a single one, subdivided when it passed out of the original ownership.

This 'central' block is separated by a narrow street from a group of adjoining east-west buildings in the west of the site. This group again appears to share a common boundary wall on the west side (at Eo875). In the south-west corner is a courtyard with a domestic oven, from which the ground falls away to the west. A corresponding courtyard in the north-west corner contains a relatively small silo, the use of which is coterminous with a street entrance to the court from the east.

⁴ J. Bourriau and P. G. French, *Bulletin de Liaison* 9 (1984), 12–13.

⁵ T. E. Peet and L. Woolley, *City of Akhenaten*, 1 (London, 1923), pl. xvi.

⁶ P. Anus and R. Sa'ad, *Kémi* 21 (1971), figs. 2, 5.

MEMPHIS RAT 1984

Axonometric

Walls partially restored

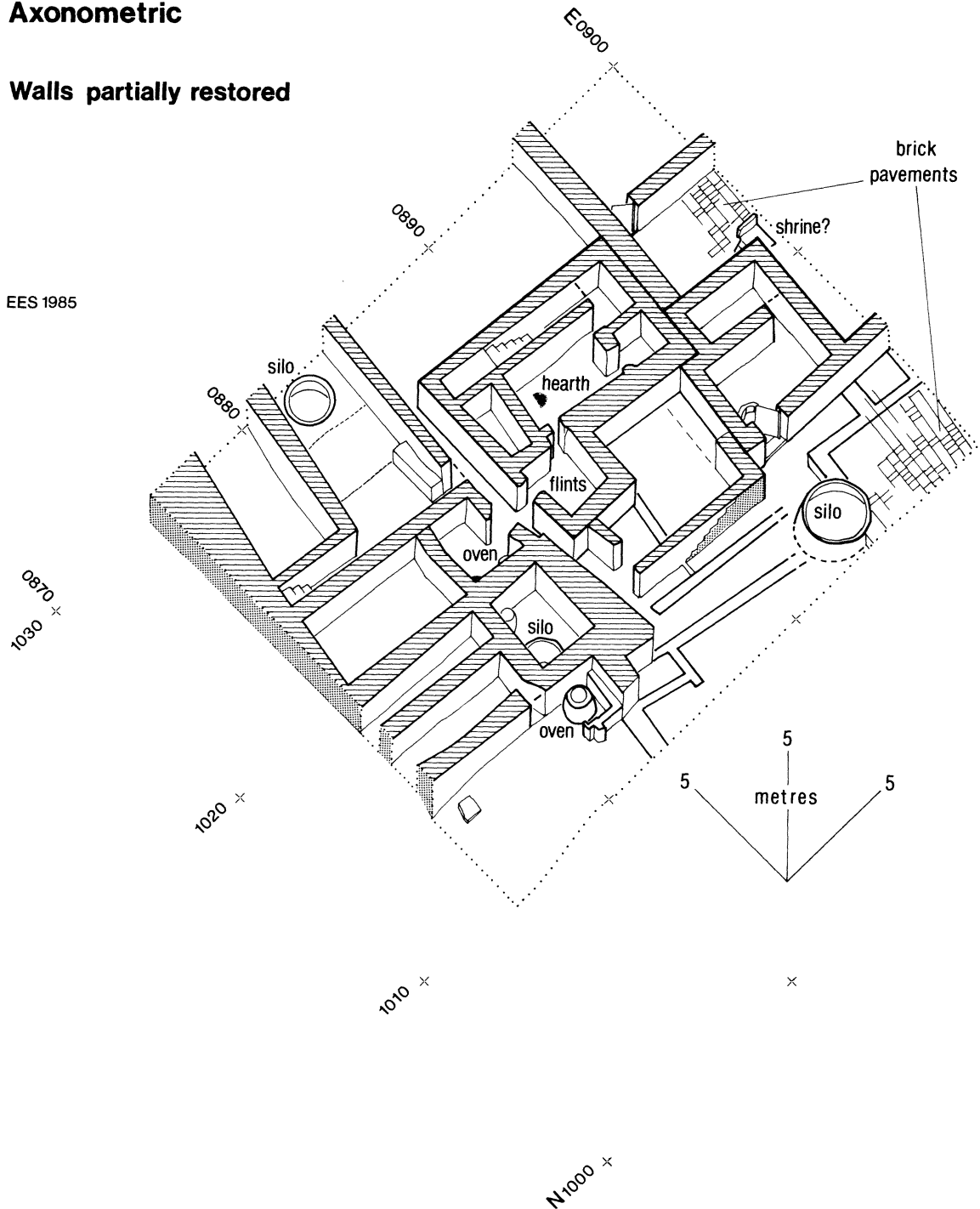


FIG. 3

Finds from the site are almost exclusively of a domestic or artisan character. Hammers of various hard stones are among the commonest artefacts, and several saddle querns, with one more elaborate tripod quern of basalt, were found, most of them in association with the back rooms of the 'central' properties. A sizeable flint assemblage included an intact floor of flakes with limited retouch, found in the first room of the more northerly 'central' property. Despite screening of the deposits associated with this floor, no debitage was found, so the area is unlikely to be the scene of flint-knapping: it is suggested that the flakes may have been for processing some soft material, such as reeds for baskets or leather. Examination using microscopic use-wear analysis techniques will be attempted in 1985.⁷

Over one hundred metal objects, almost all of copper alloy, were discovered in a surprisingly good condition. There were three categories of object: (1) small tools (chisels, points, spatulas); (2) domestic utensils (razors, rings and earrings, bodkins); (3) votive items (Ptah figurine, inscribed plaque, scaraboid amulet, *dd*-column of limestone clad with copper alloy). In addition, numerous fused lumps and twists, some of copper and iron, were found, together with pieces of slag found adhering to crucible fragments. Visual examination of these samples suggests that they derive from metal-working, probably copper-smelting, taking place on or near the site.⁸ A number of pottery fire-hobs were recovered, but few of them showed traces of scorching; and no ovens of industrial use have been found so far. A group of kilns of comparable date found 250 m to the south of RAT by Mr Muḥammad Râshid of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization may conceivably be part of the kiln area attached to this settlement, and conventionally placed on the south (downwind) side of it.

A large number of votives, mostly of terracotta, were recovered. Two types of figurine predominate: (1) the 'concubine' representation of a naked woman lying full length on a bed or pallet, but without the customary child at her side; (2) the representation of a hooded cobra on a small plinth. The latter were generally made in two pieces, head plinth and body plinth being joined before firing. In the few examples where we were able to match pieces, it was clear that the head is out of proportion to the body of the snake. These figurines are iconographically similar to the 'snake bowl' in which a cobra rears up from the middle of a hemispherical bowl; two fragments of such bowls were also found in RAT.⁹ A limestone 'anthropoid bust' associated with Level I is an addition to the small body of closely provenanced statuettes of this type.¹⁰

Inscribed material from RAT has been relatively scarce (approximately 1 per cent of all recorded finds). Apart from ring-bezels with cartouches (one of Amenophis III, one of Horemheb (?), two of Ramesses II) or hieroglyphic designs, and one Islamic signet of Muṣṭafa al-Bayûmy Hibr, two inscriptions on stone were recorded: a reused block forming the threshold of a doorway and bearing part of the title *imy-r*

⁷ Information from B. Driskell (American Research Center in Egypt).

⁸ Information from H. Ganiaris (Museum of London) and J. Bayley (HBMC Ancient Monuments Laboratory).

⁹ *City of Akhenaten*, 1, pl. xxiii, for examples of both classes of objects from Amarna.

¹⁰ J. L. Keith-Bennett, *BES* 3 (1981), 48-53.

mšr, and two fragments of a lintel of Sethnakht, lector-priest of Ptah (fig. 4), found discarded in the rubble fill of the silo in the south-east corner; this lintel may have belonged to the door of the property to the north.

The faunal collection from the site is being studied by H. M. Hecker (ARCE) who reports as follows:

To date, the Kôm al-Rabî' faunal sample (Table I) consists of over 200 bones but only 187 come from secure contexts. This sample has been further divided on stratigraphic criteria into two subsamples dating roughly to the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties respectively. While these samples are small, they do afford us an opportunity to make certain observations which may help us to understand the cultural configuration and economic role of this settlement in the area.

TABLE I. *Kom el-Rabî' faunal sample (1984 season). The total and adjusted Kom el-Rabî' sample*

Species	Total sample	Adjusted sample	Total sample	Adjusted sample
Goat (<i>Capra hircus</i>)	9	6	2	2
Sheep (<i>Ovis aries</i>)	1	1	1	1
Goat/Sheep (<i>Capra/Ovis</i>)	25	9	5	5
Pig (<i>Sus domesticus</i>)	60	43	11	7
Cattle (<i>Bos taurus</i>)	34	27	5	4
Bovidae general	—	—	1	—
Medium mammal	5	3	3	—
Large mammal	3	2	2	1
Carnivore general	1	1	—	—
Medium carnivore (Dog?)	1	1	—	—
Fish	14	14	1	1
Reptile	3	3	—	—
Total	156	83	31	21

The main observation that can be made is that we are dealing almost exclusively with domestic mammalian food species and that food from non-mammalian sources represents a very small percentage of the total diet. Meat from game animals apparently made no contribution at all. No equid remains were found in this particular sample, though some ass teeth from disturbed contexts were identified.

It would appear that cattle were the primary source of meat, with pig a close second. Goat was a distant third, followed by sheep. This seems to have been the same for both the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. While the primary importance of cattle in the diet should not surprise us, particularly in the Memphis area, the fact that pig is second in importance and even surpasses goat and sheep by a wide margin is surprising. It remains to be seen if this assessment of the relative contribution of the four species will hold up when the entire site is excavated. However, it does seem that there is a growing body of evidence

that points to pig as an important food animal in ancient Egypt, at least by New Kingdom times, if not earlier.¹¹

In addition to the animal bones noted above, we found, late in the season, two long bones in the south-west corner of the site (0877-1012) which appear to be those of an adult human; they are, however, disturbed and certainly not part of an original inhumation. Soil samples taken for microfaunal screening also revealed fish bone and scale fragments, chiefly in scrapings from the floors of the Level I silo (0877-1025) and from ephemeral hearths associated with the oven in the south-west courtyard (Level II).¹²

Following the promising results of the resistivity survey at Kôm Fakhry in 1982 and 1983, it was decided to examine the area north of RAT to check whether the north-south anomaly continued to the south. Ian Mathieson reports:

As with the previous seasons we decided to adopt the 2-m grid pattern to provide in-depth solution of the underlying strata. Several modifications of the equipment were introduced, resulting in a considerable improvement in output, with 4,000 readings being taken in six days (an increase over last year of 200 readings per day). The computed results show that there is no apparent anomaly underlying the 1984-5 area, and we can safely say that large stone or brick structures will not be found here.

In an effort to refine the results, the raw data were subjected to three-point averaging, which has been used extensively by other field-workers. The results were contoured and by superimposing the ground plan of the 1984 site, we can see the beginnings of a correlation between the resistivity readings and the excavated plan. Further work is now in hand to refine the techniques of reading and instrumentation and we hope to test this in the 1985 season.

It is of particular interest that the north-south anomaly does not continue at any depth south of the main Saqqâra-Bedrashein road. Since it was traced in 1983 to within 100 m of the north side of the road, we may assume that it turns somewhere to the north. It is even possible that the road, which is of some antiquity, may follow a pre-existing feature (such as an enclosure wall), rather like the *Sikket an-Nawa* along the north wall of the Ptah enclosure.

The excavation at Kôm Rabî' has proved of great value. In addition to filling out our picture of New Kingdom Memphis, it has been shown that the settlement lies 3-4 m above the contemporary temple floors to the east, and 1-2 m below the level of an early Middle Kingdom settlement to the north-west. This finding confirms the postulated 'slope' at approximately E0950 (fig. 2). It remains to explore the nature of the high bank on the west side, and to determine whether it was present before the end of the Old Kingdom. One fact is particularly encouraging: we calculate that the water table lies some 3 m below the New Kingdom levels reached so far. Depending on the nature of the stratigraphy, there is a good chance of being able to examine

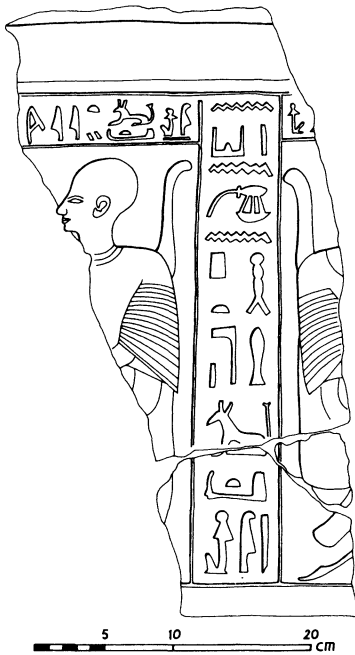
¹¹ J. Boessneck and A. von den Driech, *Studien an Subfossilen Tierknochen aus Ägypten* (Munich and Berlin, 1982); H. M. Hecker, *JARCE* 19 (1982); in *Amarna Reports*, 1 (ed. B. J. Kemp) 156-8; I. M. E. Shaw, *ibid.* 48-53.

¹² Information from H. M. Hecker (bones); from Dr Eric Robinson, Department of Geology, University College London (microfauna).

levels of relatively early date, thus filling one of the largest gaps in our information about Nile valley towns.

Epigraphic Report

In the 1984 season J. Malek and H. McKeown set as their main task the recording of the monuments in the so-called 'Petrie' Magazine of the Egyptian Antiquities



SCHISM 512

EES excavation number O-RAT-836

Kôm Rabî',

November 1984

FIG. 4

Organization at Mît Rahîna. Following the survey of the monuments still at the site, this represented the next logical step in the long-term epigraphic project of the Egypt Exploration Society at Memphis. Its aim is the preparation of an exhaustive corpus of inscribed or decorated reliefs and sculptures found in the area. The documentation (facsimile copies, photographs, descriptions, bibliography) of each monument is compiled by us or, in the case of those previously published, is checked and completed, and the object is assigned a SCHISM (Systematic Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions and Sculptures from Memphis) number for easy reference. In addition to the recording in the 'Petrie' Magazine, we copied two inscribed objects (one of them, fig. 4) found in the area of the settlement excavated by the archaeological section of the expedition. We also checked and completed recordings made in the previous epigraphic seasons, such as the granite block lying near the north-eastern corner of the Ptah enclosure (fig. 5).

The 'Petrie' Magazine forms part of the first building to the south of the path leading eastward from the Mît Rahîna Museum towards Kôm el-Qal'a.

The unsealed storeroom in which we worked is situated in the south-western corner of a small courtyard, with doors leading to other, sealed (and therefore inaccessible to us) rooms. The traditional name of the magazine gives a misleading idea of its present contents. Nearly all of the forty-four large monuments, mostly reliefs, which we found there and recorded in facsimile, proved to have come from the palace of Merneptah which had been excavated at the nearby Kôm el-Qal'a by Clarence S. Fisher and the Eckley B. Coxe, Jun. Expedition of the Pennsylvania University Museum during their work at Memphis between 1915 and 1923.¹³

Twenty-four limestone blocks are decorated in raised relief, now very much effaced and without any traces of their original colours. The representations are of prostrate, bound captives alternating with bows, set into a complex pattern of disk-

¹³ C. S. F[isher], *Penn. Univ. Mus. Journ.* VIII (1917), 211-30, with plan and views; PM III², 856-63.

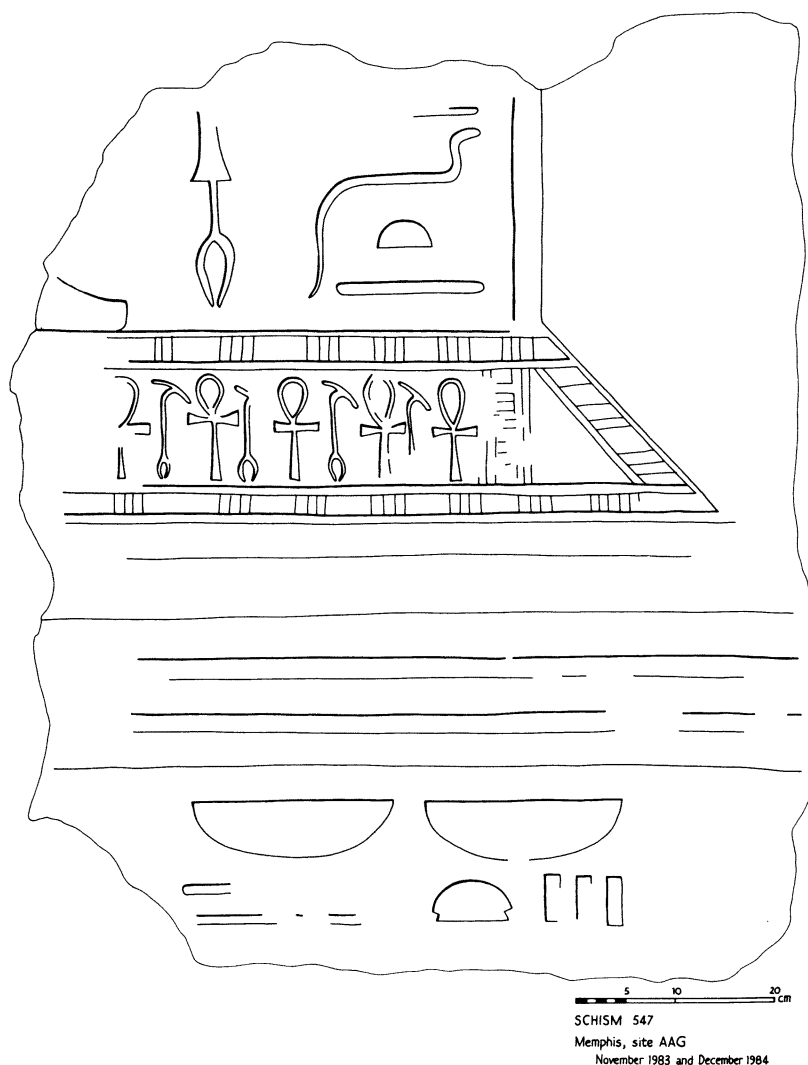
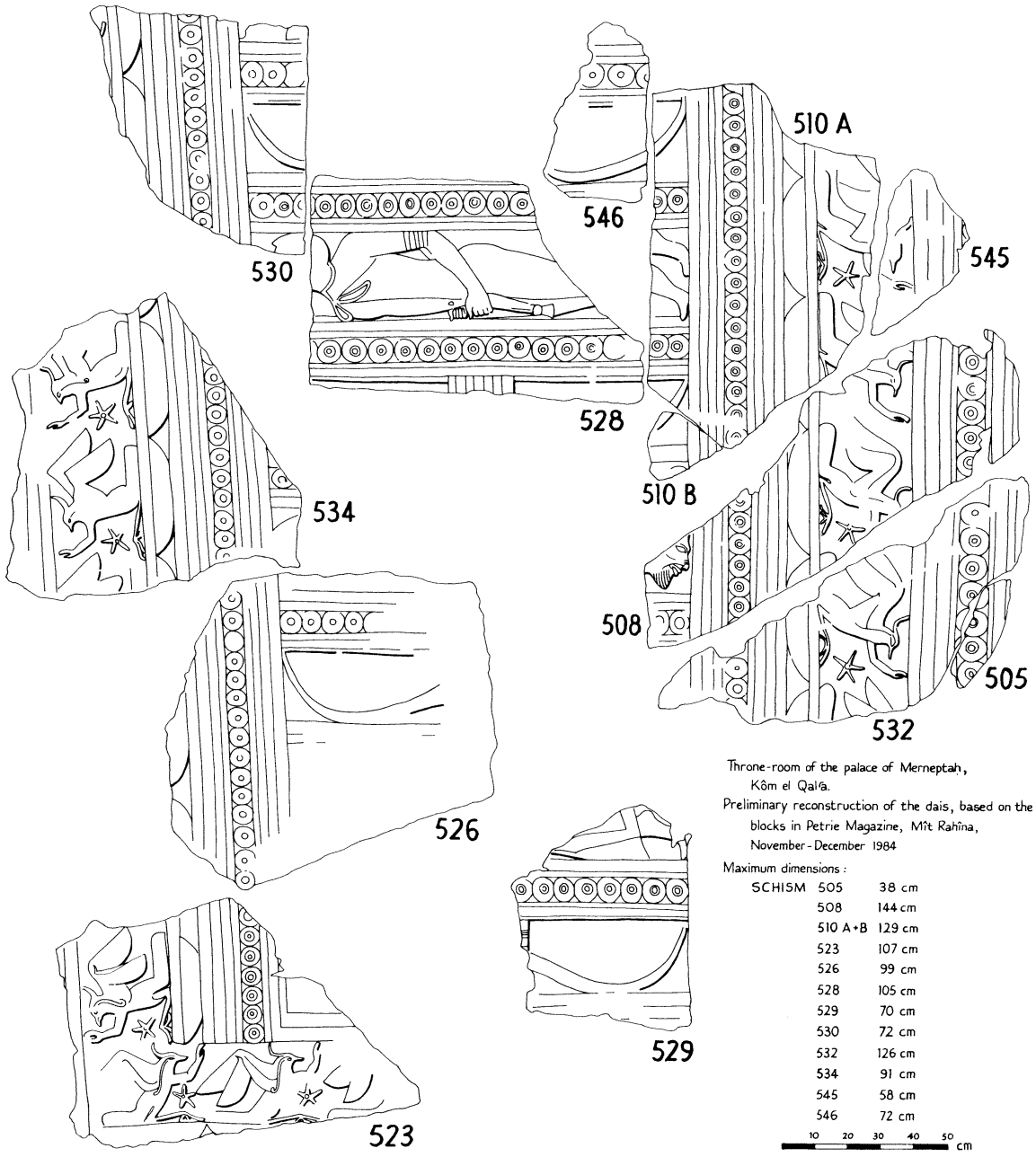


FIG. 5

or flower-framed ('daisy-pattern') panels, all surrounded by a decorative border of adoring lapwings (*rekhyt*-birds). One relief carries the remains of a column of text. Such representations are invariably connected with the ruler himself, and symbolize the subjugation of foreign lands by the king and his dominion over the world outside Egypt's boundaries. Similar scenes are usually found on the floors of royal apartments, footstools, pedestals and bases of royal statues, i.e. symbolically under the king's feet. Twelve of the reliefs copied by us come from the upper surface of the raised throne dais (platform), and the rest, including the inscribed block, from the sloping ramp approaching it in the columned throne-room of Merneptah's palace.¹⁴

¹⁴ Room 7 on Fisher's plan on fig. 79, shown on figs. 78, 80-1, 83. The throne-room is described by him in *Penn. Univ. Mus. Journ.* xii (1921), 30-4, with an imaginative reconstruction by M. Louise Baker on pl. iii; xv



Throne-room of the palace of Merneptah,
Kôm el Qal'a.

Preliminary reconstruction of the dais, based on the
blocks in Petrie Magazine, Mit Rahîna,
November-December 1984

Maximum dimensions:

SCHISM	505	38 cm
	508	144 cm
	510 A+B	129 cm
	523	107 cm
	526	99 cm
	528	105 cm
	529	70 cm
	530	72 cm
	532	126 cm
	534	91 cm
	545	58 cm
	546	72 cm

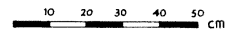


FIG. 6

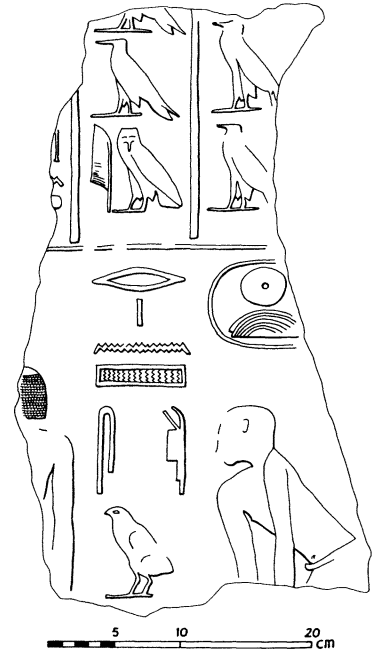
The preserved blocks represent only a part of the originally complete surface, and they seem to have deteriorated seriously since their discovery nearly seventy years ago. Nevertheless, they can be fitted together (fig. 6) and their reconstruction provides a useful, if incomplete, picture of this uniquely preserved feature of Egyptian palace architecture.

Although we have not got enough directly adjoining blocks to provide the exact dimensions of the dais, our preliminary reconstruction confirms an observation which we made during the copying and measuring of the reliefs. The panels on the upper surface of the dais did not form a rectangle, but rather an oblique parallelogram. Its front edge was, it seems, at least 25 cm narrower than the back, which abutted on the southern wall of the throne-room. This is not shown on Fisher's published plan, but it is suggested by his photograph of the dais *in situ*.

One feature, found broken in two fragments, is a small flight of steps. It is one of the two staircases which approached the dais at its sides. The steps are decorated with fairly crudely incised representations of captives and bows. We made the interesting discovery that the massive limestone block from which the staircase was cut is a reused Old Kingdom relief (fig. 7) which probably comes from the pyramid temple of Khephren at Gîza. During our previous seasons we encountered a number of similar monuments brought to Memphis for reuse from other Old Kingdom sites in the vicinity, most probably from Saqqâra.

Knowledge of the decoration of the dais of the throne-room enabled David Jeffreys to recognize the provenance of the two large round monolithic column bases behind the Mît Rahîna Museum which we had noted earlier. They show a continuation of the disk-pattern of the dais itself on their upper surfaces, and thus belong to the two columns flanking the dais.¹⁵ Their texts complement the decoration of the dais and their original position provides an explanation of the unusual way in which they are inscribed.

Eleven blocks come from the lower parts of the walls of the royal suite behind the throne-room, possibly from the stone-lined bathroom and latrine. They are decorated in sunk relief with at least two rows of the cartouches of Merneptah interspersed with a combination of *nb*, *ꜥnh*, and *wꜥs* signs. This attractive design was



SCHISM 506 A

'Petrie Magazine' at Mît Rahîna,
December 1984.

 simplified from 30  (=5 λ) ripples

FIG. 7

(1924), 93-100. The dais is shown in VIII (1917), fig. 82 on p. 221, and the same view is reproduced by K. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1977), pl. v [12]. See also J. Schwartz et al., *Expedition 26* [3] (1984), fig. 3 on p. 33.

¹⁵ S. G. Gohary, *OrAnt* (1978), 193-4; *KRI* IV, 53 (25, D).

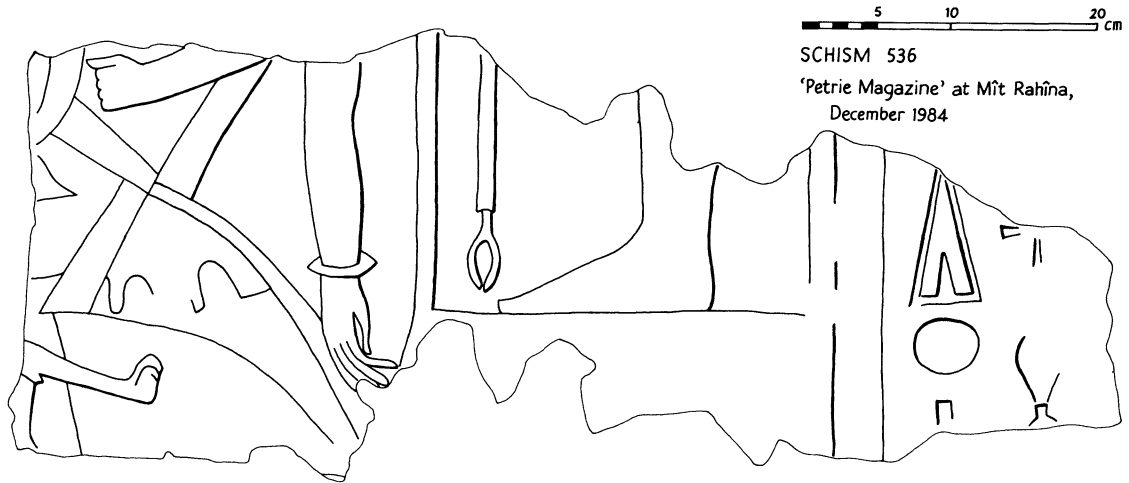


FIG. 8

employed from earliest times in the decoration of palaces and similar buildings, and used on items directly associated with the royal household. Several other pieces represent fragments of the jambs and other architectural elements of the palace inscribed with Merneptah's names. The same may be true of two column fragments decorated in raised relief (one of them, fig. 8).

THE TOMB-CHAMBERS OF IURUDEF: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SAQQÂRA EXCAVATIONS, 1985

By GEOFFREY T. MARTIN, MAARTEN J. RAVEN, *and* DAVID A. ASTON

The tomb chambers of Iurufef are on two levels, both used for burials of the owner and, doubtless, members of his family. Much skeletal material was found, together with an extensive group of funerary furnishings. Associated with the New Kingdom ceramic material were two fragments of Mycenaean stirrup jars, one dated to LH IIIA, 2-B. The chambers in the upper level were, after firing, reused for multiple burials provisionally dated to the Third Intermediate Period. Evidence of some seventy-five burials, including many children, was found and a large deposit of coffins, decorated and undecorated, was recovered, as well as papyrus coffers and reed mat burials. A few of the coffins are inscribed, mostly in pseudo-hieroglyphs and only one with a personal name. Burial gifts found in the coffins included necklaces, amulets, wooden staves, and a curious wooden sceptre. Preliminary examination of the mummies and skeletal material has yielded evidence of various diseases.

THE major objective of the joint EES–Leiden mission in 1985 was the excavation of the shaft and chambers of the tomb of Iurufef, an official in the entourage of the princess Tia and her husband Tia, in the New Kingdom necropolis south of the causeway of Unas at Saqqâra.¹ The work was achieved between 3 January and 28 February 1985, the staff comprising G. T. Martin (Field Director), Mrs R. Walker (anthropologist), M. J. Raven, D. A. Aston, P. J. Bomhof (photographer), and H. van Winkel (restorer). The planning of the subterranean parts and the detailed examination of the skeletal material will be carried out in 1986, during which season we hope to extend our excavation westwards from the tomb of the Tias. During the 1985 season we worked in close collaboration with our colleagues in the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities, and would like to acknowledge the efficient help of Mr Muḥammad Ibrahîm Aly (Director of Saqqâra), and our Inspectors (Mr Osama Fahmy el-Hamzawy and Mr Mahmoud Abu el-Wafa). Our friends in the 'Abbâsiya offices of the Organization dealt with all formalities with their usual efficiency and courtesy. We also enjoyed the help and the hospitality of Dr and Mrs R. Peters (Netherlands Institute, Cairo).

The excavations (M. J. Raven)

The shaft of the tomb-chapel of Iurufef is situated in the south-west corner of the first court of the funerary monument of the Tias, its aperture partly sealed by the remains of a small cult edifice comprising a door-jamb inscribed for the Scribe of

¹ Martin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 10–11.

the Treasury Iuruf. This official is represented on various walls of Tia's tomb, as well as on a stela in Durham.² A first attempt to empty this New Kingdom shaft in 1983 showed that it had been usurped at a later date to accommodate an extensive multiple burial. This circumstance made us postpone a full clearance until the present season, in view of the painstaking recording and specialist equipment needed for such a task. Because of the complex problems involved, it may be interesting to describe the method followed in some detail.

To begin with, the remains of Iuruf's chapel were temporarily dismantled and the roofing slabs of the shaft removed, in order to reveal the shaft's maximum aperture. The first eight coffins, standing on end against the south wall of the shaft at a depth of 2–3 m, had had to be removed in 1983 when the limestone lining of the shaft was consolidated. The lower strata in the shaft proper consisted of burials in a more or less horizontal position. These were photographed and planned (scale 1 : 10), then lifted by means of a wooden litter to expose the next stratum. Work was continued in this way down to the floor level of the tomb-chambers—one on the north side (A) and another (B) with two annexes at the rear (C–D) on the south side—about 4.75 m deep. Because of the jumble of coffins and mummies (pl. II, 1), these chambers could not be entered immediately. Instead, the burials had to be recorded individually, then removed in order to extend the record to the material below and behind. Only when the chambers were empty was it possible to integrate all individual measurements in a final plan and section (scale 1 : 10).

Finally, the continuation of the shaft was cleared, which proved to contain nothing but clean sand and rubble. At the bottom (c.8.0 m deep) it gave access to three more chambers. Two of these (E–F) were aligned on the south side, whereas the third (G) opened from a pit (depth 1.60 m) within chamber E. Like the chambers of the upper level these were found partly filled with sand and rubble from the shaft, on top of which lay the disturbed remains of about ten New Kingdom burials (pl. II, 2). These finds were planned and recorded using the method described above.

History of the tomb

Though certain details are far from clear, the general history of Iuruf's tomb may be reconstructed as follows. The complex was constructed as an integral part of the tomb structure of Iuruf's master, the Overseer of the Treasury Tia, brother-in-law of Ramesses II, during the first half of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Originally the subterranean chambers were used for the interment of Iuruf and several other people, presumably members of his family. These burials occupied at least chambers C and D of the upper level, where traces of limestone blocking may be seen in the doorways, and F (pl. II, 3) and G of the lower level. The pit giving access to the latter chamber once had slabs of limestone laid across its aperture. On the evidence of inscribed funerary items found there, we may surmise that chamber D was intended for the tomb-owner himself and for a lady Akhes, possibly his wife (pl. II, 2).

² PM III², 740.

At some later period, all the New Kingdom burials were robbed. The presence of numerous objects at the entrances to chambers A, B, and E shows that the robbers examined their spoils in the dim daylight on the spot, and left everything behind which had no value to them. These latter were gradually covered up under the rubble and sand percolating in from the open shaft. Later, the upper half of the shaft was cleared again and a great fire generated in the upper chambers. This destroyed much of the funerary equipment left behind from the earlier burials, though some objects miraculously escaped due to lack of oxygen and to the protective cover of rubble. Walls and ceilings became sooted over, a phenomenon extending upwards to the rim of the shaft.

Perhaps this fire was intended to cleanse ritually a place defiled by earlier interments, and coincided with the inauguration of the shaft as a cachette for late burials. At any rate, Iurudef's complex was reused for the burial of about seventy-five persons, probably a repeated process rather than one operation. Another possibility is that the coffins and other burials were collected from other locations and brought to Iurudef's tomb to be cached, either at one time or in a series of operations. The first coffins to be lowered down had plenty of space to manœuvre and were placed in chambers C and D, later on along the walls of A and B, on top of the stratum of rubble and ashes left on the floors. Subsequently, the situation became more complicated, and new coffins brought in could only be stacked, one on top of the other, with the feet inwards just as they came down the only partly opened shaft.

This procedure may have caused some damage to, and disturbance of, the earlier intrusive burials. Yet it was probably again the arrival of robbers that created the utter chaos in which the present expedition found the cachette (pl. II, 1). Several coffins had been pulled out into the shaft, where they were stacked against the wall in order to provide access to the chambers. Other coffins were opened, lids and cases dispersed, and their mummies thrown out on the floor. Yet the robbers did not reach the rear end of the chambers, and considering the poor character of the burials, they cannot have taken many valuables. Whenever this event happened, in antiquity or just possibly in the last century, the intruders must have left rather disappointed, thus leaving the main bulk of this material for us.

The coffins

The burials as found (approximately seventy-five individuals) represent a number of different types. Only about half possessed a proper wooden coffin, the majority of these being mummiform (a total of twenty-seven specimens, and a few fragments of some others, were recorded). The mummiform outline was produced by joining the long side boards to angular shoulder-pieces by means of a recess and a line of dowels. Head and foot ends were fixed between these walls, the bottom, often consisting of narrow transverse boards, being dowelled on to the resulting frame. In the construction of the lids, two different types may be distinguished. Only five specimens had vaulted lids, comprising a protruding lath all around the perimeter of the

otherwise flat body, and secured to the cases by means of rectangular sockets and tenons with transverse bolts. All other lids were perfectly flat, held in position by six long, slanting pegs. Mask, wig, and fists were carved from separate pieces of wood, then applied to the lids in the manner of the foot-boards. With a single exception, such mummiform coffins were made only for adults.

Besides mummiform coffins, ten rectangular or trapezoidal ones have been recorded. These vary in length from 46.0 cm to 1.47 m, and were used for babies and children. Both adults and children were occasionally buried wrapped in a mat of palm-sticks bound with palm-fibre rope instead of a coffin. Eight such mats were recorded. For children only, rectangular coffers of papyrus were used in five instances, constructed from long flat strips of papyrus rind folded over a frame of palm-sticks and held together with palm-rope. Finally, some twenty loose mummies were found. These perhaps had never been confined, but their condition could also be due to the activity of robbers. Detailed scale drawings (1:10) and a comprehensive physical description were made of all the coffins, and facsimile copies of the texts.

Whereas plain coffins for children and palm-stick mats³ for poor burials may occur in any period, the polychrome decoration of the mummiform coffins gives precious dating evidence for the cache. Yet the situation is complicated by the confusing coexistence of different types, and by the lack of published parallels. Similar caches were not uncommon in the Memphite area, but previous workers in the field have by and large not shown much interest in such late material.

The most common type represented in the present cache consists of black coffins (pl. III, 2). Usually the lower half of the lid is likewise black, with a white central column intended for inscriptions but often left blank. As a rule, these coffins have a polychrome collar of many concentric bands, and the depiction of a winged goddess on the chest. Mask and fists may be red, yellow, or white. No beard is present, and the black wig has straight lappets with occasionally a floral fillet on the front.

Other coffins are white, yellow, or pink; the decoration of the lid may be much more extensive, comprising panels with standing deities. In some specimens, such framed panels occur also on the sides of the case. It is interesting to note that those having a varying construction because of their vaulted lids also show a different decoration, though they do not represent a uniform type. Here we may mention elements like rounded lappets of the wig, or striated wigs, while one specimen has a unique polychromy comprising numerous detailed figures and mock- or pseudo-inscriptions (pl. III, 1). The regular group of coffins yielded one mock text (pl. III, 4) and two offering formulae, one of which contains a name, *Imy-ptah* (pl. III, 3).

It is hard to suggest a precise date for this material, but these imitation hieroglyphs in combination with the awkward character of the decorations (squat proportions of the figures, errors, and ill-understood postures and attributes), certainly betray a post-Ramesside date. On the other hand, many details, such as

³ Cf. Lauer, *BSFE* 62 (1971), 44; Leclant, *Orientalia*, 24, 304 n. 2, with ref. and pl. 24.

wigs, collars, hands, and the composition of the lower body, are reminiscent of those found on Ramesside and Twenty-first Dynasty coffins from Thebes. The lack of close parallels may be due to geographical factors, since Memphite material dating to this period is almost non-existent. Thus, we would provisionally suggest a Third Intermediate Period date for the Iurudef cache, pending more detailed study. The vaulted coffins may be slightly earlier, which would be in accordance with their position in the cache and with the more carefully wrapped mummies enclosed.⁴

The objects

The small objects found during this season can be divided into two groups: those left over from the New Kingdom interments and those belonging to the Third Intermediate Period burials. The New Kingdom objects were found in the deposit, 20–50 cm high, covering the floors of the upper chambers (A–D) and in the rubble which partly filled the lower chambers (E–F, nothing being found in G). Never before has the present expedition recovered so much of an original burial ensemble *in situ*, a circumstance due here to the protective cover provided by the later cache. Several objects were inscribed for the scribe Iurudef. In the first place, we should mention the remains of a mummy decoration of a rare type, composed of a framework holding numerous figurines of deities and amulets of gessoed wood (pl. IV, 1).⁵ Five of Iurudef's shabtis were recovered, three in faience and two in black serpentine, one of which is a masterpiece representing the deceased in the dress of the living and with a *ba*-bird on the chest (pl. IV, 2). Other inscribed shabtis give the names of the Scribe Ba-anti, the Songstress of Amūn-Rē' Bakwerel,⁶ the lady Akhes,⁷ the lady Hener,⁸ and the Scribe of the Treasury Tia.⁹ Other New Kingdom finds comprise two coffin masks with inlaid eyes (pl. IV, 3), reed and faience koḥl-tubes, stone and faience vessels, wooden combs, a scribe's palette, a scarab with the name of Ramesses II,¹⁰ and a faience pectoral (pl. V, 1).

The Third Intermediate Period finds were discovered mainly inside the coffins or on the mummies from the upper chambers and the shaft. Some additional objects were found dispersed over the floors or in the fill in these locations, no doubt due, at least in part, to robbers' activities. These objects are few in number, and hardly contribute to the establishment of a date for the cache as a whole. Probably their restricted number is a characteristic of the poverty of these burials rather than the result of plundering; as far as we can tell, the intruders had not opened many coffins and cannot have taken many valuables.

It should be noted that these burial gifts were especially associated with mummies of children. For the most part they consist of strings of beads (faience, stone, or

⁴ Valuable comments on the date of the coffins were made by Dr J. H. Taylor (University of Birmingham), Lorelei Corcoran Schwabe (Oriental Institute, Chicago), and D. A. Aston.

⁵ For a parallel, see Leiden inv. AH 110: Leemans, *Description raisonnée* (1840), no. O 21–35.

⁶ *PN* 1, 90, 16.

⁷ *PN* 1, 3, 9.

⁸ *PN* 1, 245, 7.

⁹ *PN* 1, 389, 22, probably a namesake of Iurudef's master rather than the brother-in-law of Ramesses II himself. He could be a son of Iurudef.

¹⁰ A variant of Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, 1 (1913), nos. 2187–9.

glass) found around the neck or wrist, girdles of cowrie shells discovered in position around the pelvis, and some amulets. Isolated instances have been recorded of a wooden comb on the skull, a pair of palm-leaf sandals beside the lower part of the legs, and a strange wooden sceptre in the shape of a forearm surmounted by a monkey. This object was found under the mummy of a child, and is perhaps a reused New Kingdom piece (pl. V, 2).¹¹

In the case of the adult burials funerary gifts were very rare. Two burials possessed wooden staves, the owners being elderly males. One individual had a faience amulet, while the mummy of an old man was found with a group of at least seven bead necklaces heaped on the pelvis (pl. IV, 4). Even more puzzling was the presence of two spherical rattles of wood, filled with flints, likewise associated with adult burials. Finally, we should mention the occurrence of some date stones, dôm-palm nuts and persea seeds, which may have been intrusive.

The skeletal material and mummies have been recorded and provisionally examined by Mrs Walker. Much work remains to be done next season in the field, but already we have evidence of anaemia, calcification of glands and arteries, arthritis (especially of the spine), fractures, dental diseases, and severe tooth wear.

The pottery (D. A. Aston)

Like the objects, the pottery can be divided into two groups, that belonging with the original occupants of the tomb of Iurufef, and that which is probably associated with the Third Intermediate Period burials found in chambers A–D. The best preserved Nineteenth Dynasty pottery was recovered from chamber F, which was little disturbed by later activity. Among this material, particular mention may be made of a group of marl clay amphorae of a type well known at, for example, Gurob,¹² Riqqeh,¹³ and Deir el-Medineh,¹⁴ an Egyptian imitation of a Canaanite jar of a type common to the thirteenth century BC,¹⁵ and a small number of Nile silt plates with red washed rims. Somewhat unusually, one of the marl clay amphorae contained a collection of sherds, all of which originally derived from a large red washed Nile silt plate (diam. 48 cm). As it is unlikely that a tomb robber would meticulously collect every sherd from a broken plate and then place each in an amphora, this was probably the work of the original burial party.

The sherds found in chamber E were of a similar character to those found in F, but many of the former joined pieces from chambers A and B, which is further proof that some disturbance had taken place before the upper chambers were reused for the

¹¹ Cf. the Tell el-Yahudiyeh vessel found inside another child's coffin (see the Pottery section of this report).

¹² Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (1890), pls. xx, 32, xxi, 54; id. *Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* (1891), pl. xix (top), 2.

¹³ Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis*, vi (1915), pl. xxxvii, 46h–j.

¹⁴ Nagel, *La Céramique du Nouvel Empire à Deir el Médineh* (1938), 26, nos. 39–40; 27, no. 43.

¹⁵ For Canaanite jars, see Grace, in Weinberg (ed.), *The Aegean and the Near East* (1956), 80–109; Parr, in Strong (ed.), *Archaeological Theory and Practice* (1973), 173–83. For a parallel with the Saqqâra material, see Petrie, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara* (1890), pl. xx, 13.

individuals discovered by the present mission. This material is all of Ramesside date. Perhaps the most interesting pot recovered in chamber E was the upper half of a Mycenaean stirrup jar, FS 178, 179, or 182, decorated with a circle design FM 41.12, datable to Late Helladic IIIA. 2-B¹⁶ (c.1370-1190 BC).¹⁷

The Nineteenth Dynasty material from chambers A and B was badly broken and burnt as a result of the great fire generated in these upper chambers. Among the finds, however, were the remains of another Mycenaean stirrup jar, of which only the handle had survived, more of the marl clay amphorae similar to those found in chamber F, one of which had contained a bituminous material and had been sealed with a mud stopper, a few marl clay flasks, and, in Nile silt fabrics, 'beer jars' and small plates with red washed rims.

The pottery associated with the later reuse of the tomb is much rarer. A large Nile silt storage vessel, sealed with a mud stopper and containing a white powder (flour?), was found lying between the two coffins placed in chamber C. A globular Tell el-Yahudiyeh juglet¹⁸ was placed inside the coffin with one of the children found in A. This vessel, which must date between the Thirteenth and Eighteenth Dynasties,¹⁹ is obviously a reused piece or a treasured heirloom. In the shaft, at the entrance to chamber A, and also within chamber B, were a small number of post-Nineteenth Dynasty pots, and these are presumably to be associated with the secondary burials. These comprise a deep bowl and two globular jars, all fashioned from Nile silt fabrics, which are probably of the Twentieth to Twenty-first Dynasties or of Third Intermediate Period date.

Conclusion

Finally, it may be remarked that early Egyptologists were interested in funerary objects of all kinds, but coffins and like material have been somewhat neglected in the present century until recently. Our museums are full of such objects difficult to date with certainty. Now scholars in a number of countries are studying the typology, iconography, technology, and dating of coffins, and we trust that our large deposit, extremely unusual for the Memphite necropolis, will fill a gap in the literature. The skeletal material too provides a valuable opportunity to study groups of actual inhabitants of Memphis in the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods.

Concurrently with the excavations a programme of work was being carried through in the adjacent tomb of Horemheb, involving the putting in place of a number of casts of original reliefs from that monument, doubtless found by chance in or near the tomb in the last century. The work, financed by the generosity of the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, was successfully brought to fruition by the restorers and masons of the Antiquities Organization Inspectorate at Saqqâra. The casts themselves were prepared in Leiden by Mr van Winkel, and were a gift

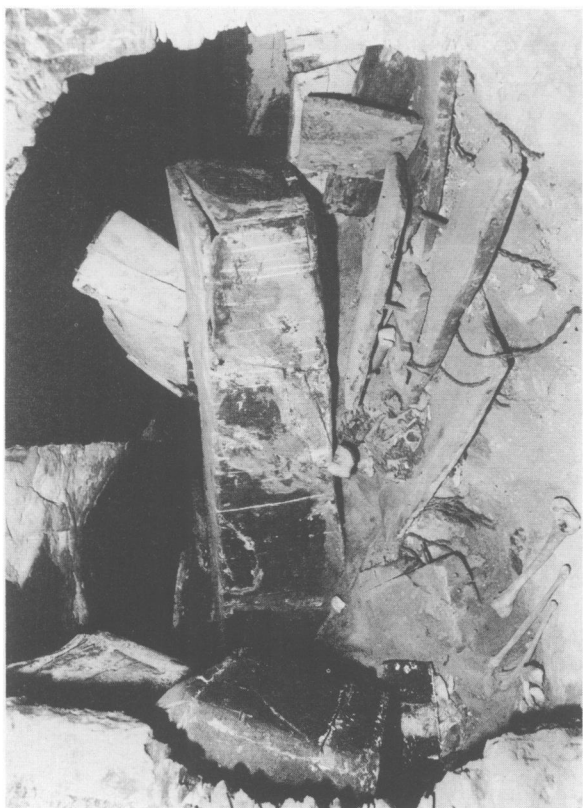
¹⁶ Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery* (1941), 44, figs. 12.342; 37.

¹⁷ Hankey and Warren, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 21 (1974), 152.

¹⁸ Kaplan, *The Origin and Distribution of Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware* (1980), 18-19.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 70.

from the National Museum to the Organization of Egyptian Antiquities. The expedition would like to thank the authorities of the British Museum, the Louvre, and the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (DDR) for providing the 'blanks' from which the casts were made. The other reliefs involved are in the Leiden Collection, and in addition a copy was made of the Vienna block from an existing cast in Leiden.



1. View into chamber B as found

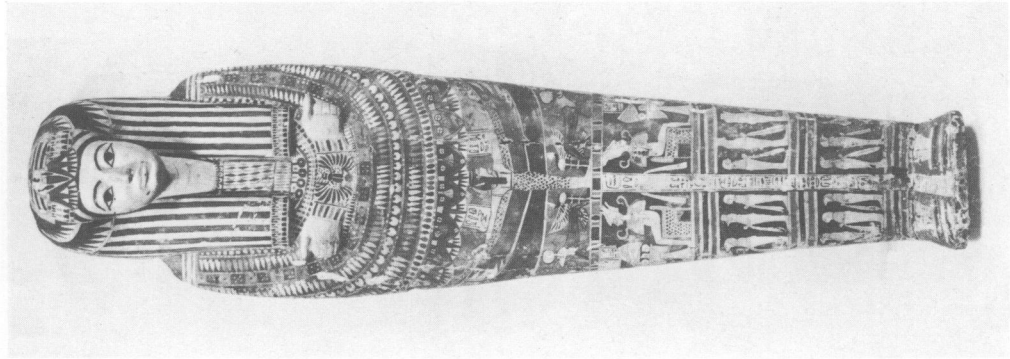


2. View into chamber D, with New Kingdom objects exposed on floor

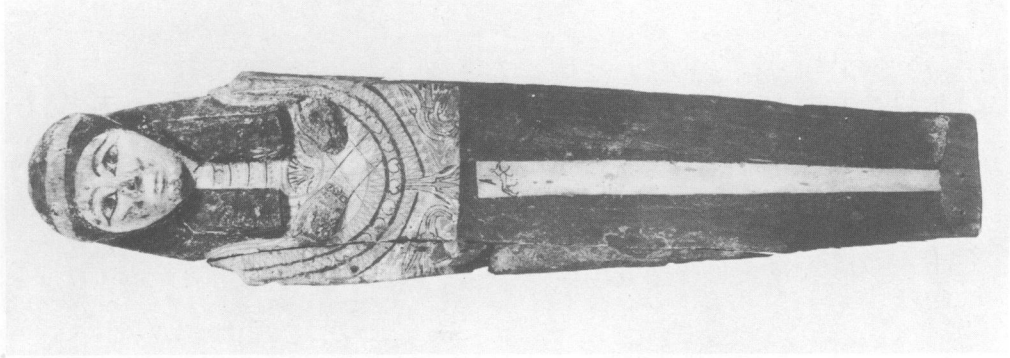


3. View into chamber F as found

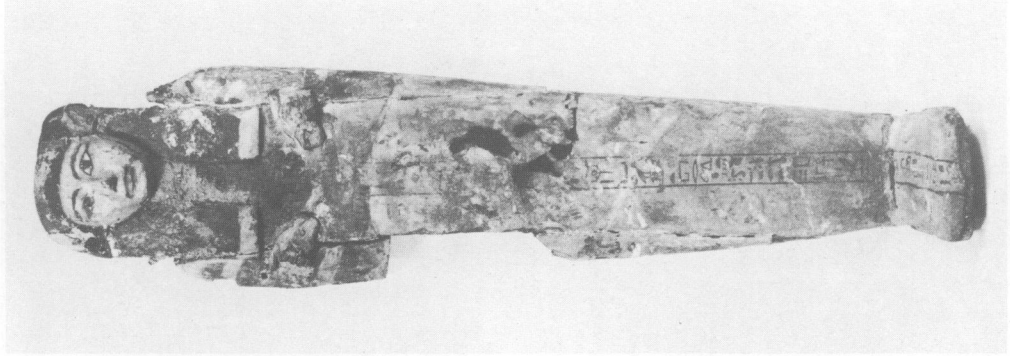
THE TOMB-CHAMBERS OF IURUDEF



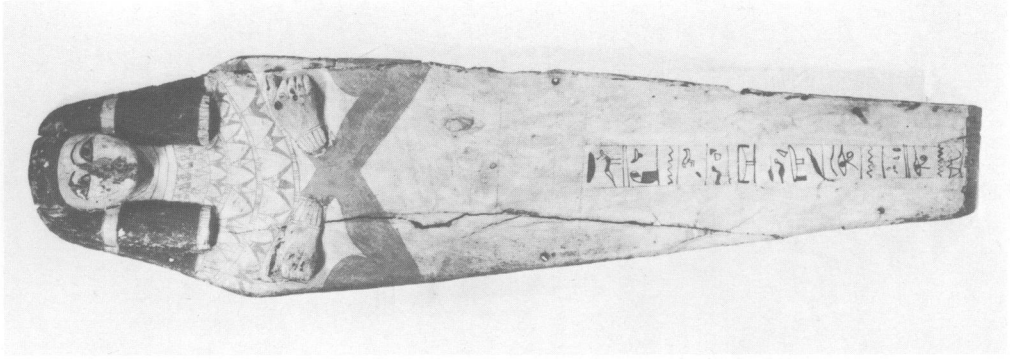
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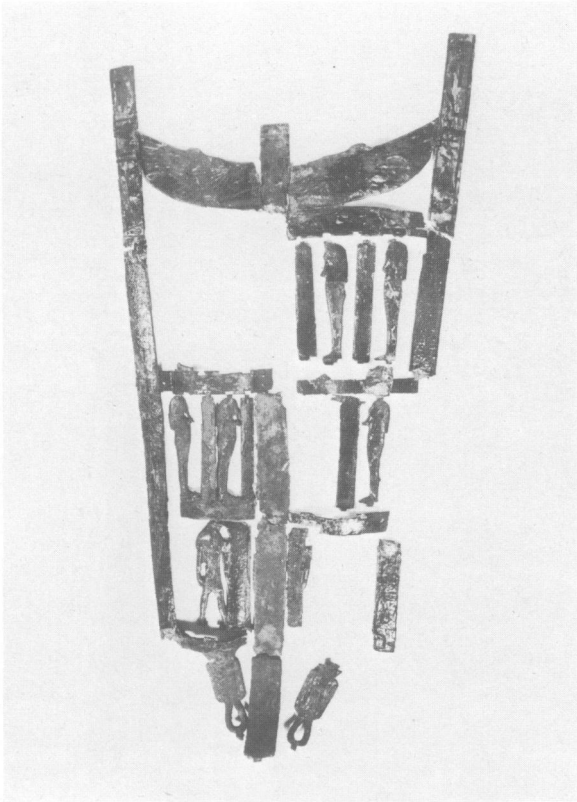


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4.

Different types of coffins from the cache
THE TOMBS-CHAMBER OF IURUDEF



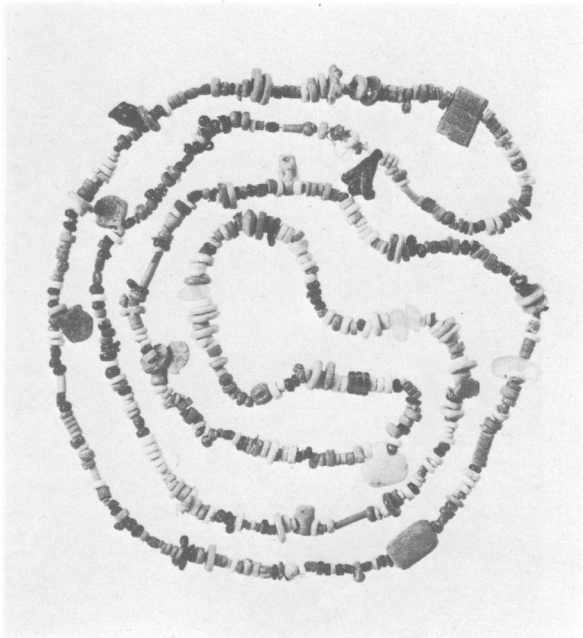
1. Mummy decoration of Iurufef



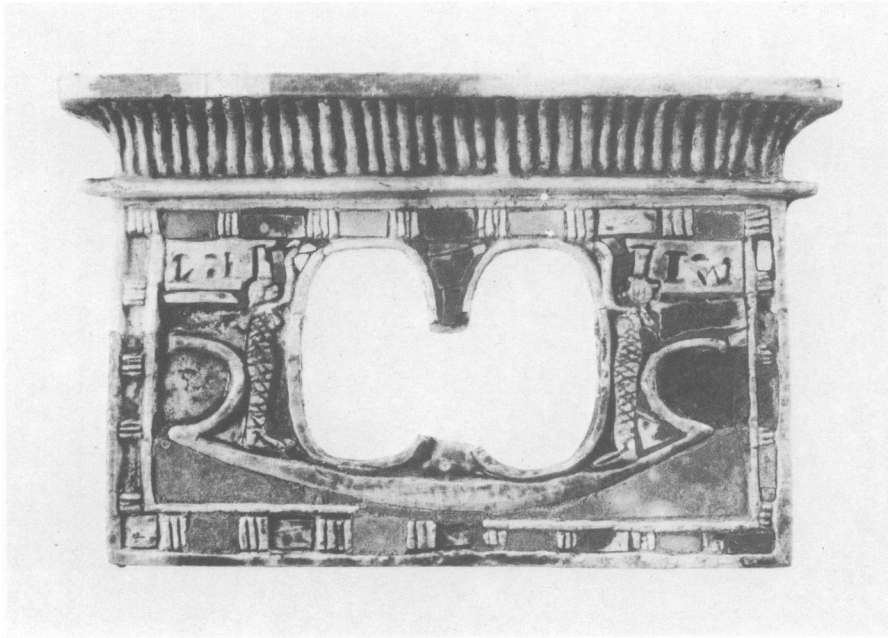
2. Serpentine ushabti of Iurufef



3. Wooden mask with inlaid eyes



4. String of beads and amulets

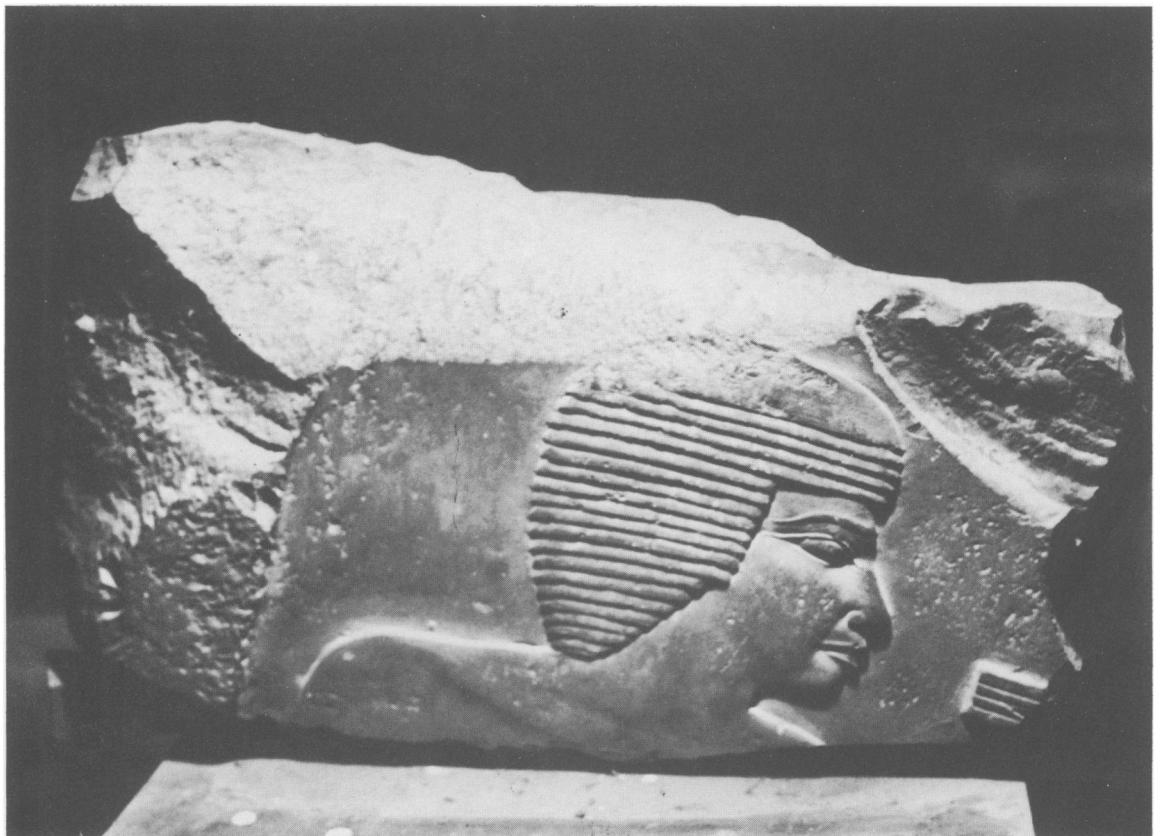


1. Faience pectoral with
glass inlays



2. Wooden sceptre

THE TOMB-CHAMBERS OF IURUDEF



3. Cairo T.5.11.24.15

THE RELIEFS OF *R-ḤTP* AND *NFRT*

THE IDENTITY AND POSITIONS OF RELIEF FRAGMENTS IN MUSEUMS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS¹

THE RELIEFS OF *Rc-ḥtp* AND *Nfrt* FROM MEYDUM

By YVONNE HARPUR

The tomb of *Rc-ḥtp* and *Nfrt* was cleared by Mariette in the 1870s but its reliefs were not recorded systematically until 1892, as a result of Petrie's work at Meydum. After both expeditions the chapels of *Rc-ḥtp* and *Nfrt* were badly vandalized, and although Petrie managed to save some of the reliefs by distributing them to various museums, many others were broken, or sold on the black market as unidentified fragments. This paper is an attempt to reconstruct the reliefs from both chapels by superimposing the outlines of fragments so far identified over the line-drawings made by Petrie. It is hoped that this will reveal the content of the missing sections, and simplify the task of identifying additional fragments removed from this important Old Kingdom tomb.

It is a sad fact that vandalism and robbery in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has caused the ruin of many ancient Egyptian monuments, amongst them the Fourth Dynasty tomb of *Rc-ḥtp* and *Nfrt* at Meydum. This had remained intact for well over 4,000 years, yet within a decade of its discovery last century the painted reliefs in its two chapels were defaced, and by the turn of the century large sections of the decoration had been stolen or smashed, so that not a single wall was fully preserved. My intention here is to give a brief outline of the significance and history of the tomb of *Rc-ḥtp* and *Nfrt*, then to discuss the chapels separately in an attempt to reconstruct the decoration from identified and unidentified reliefs in museums and private collections.

The tomb of *Rc-ḥtp* and *Nfrt* has a special place in the history of Egyptian art. Together with the neighbouring tomb of *Nfr-mꜣꜣt* and *Ḳtt*, it contains some of the earliest known examples of daily life scenes in the artistic repertory, as well as the first attested examples of many figure types and hieroglyphs.² It is generally

¹ I should like to thank the following institutions and individual scholars for their help during the writing of this paper: Members of the Board of Management of the Gerald Avery Wainwright Near Eastern Archaeological Fund (Oxford University); Dr Mohamed Saleh (Director) and Staff of the Cairo Museum; Mr Mustapha Maksut (Head Photographer, Cairo Museum); Miss Elizabeth Bettles (British International School, Cairo); Staff of the Petrie Collection (University College, London); Miss Janine Bourriau (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge); Dr Helen Whitehouse (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford); Dr Sylvia Schoske (Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich); Dr Luc Limme (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels); Mr John Larsen (Oriental Institute, Chicago); Dr Karl-Heinz Priese (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin); Dr Colin Walters (Griffith Institute, Oxford). I should also like to thank the staff of many other museums for giving me details about the antiquities from Meydum that were presented to their collections by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt in 1910 or shortly afterwards.

² Decorated Memphite tombs of earlier, contemporary or slightly later date than *Rc-ḥtp* (Tomb No. 6) and *Nfr-mꜣꜣt* (Tomb No. 16) are: *Hꜣꜣꜣ-Rc* (PM III², 437-9); *Hꜣc-bꜣw-skr* (ibid. 449-50); *ḥtj-ḥtp* (ibid. 453); *Šꜣꜣꜣ* (ibid.

accepted that *Nfr-mꜣꜣt* dates slightly earlier than *Rꜥ-ḥtp*,³ but the significance of the latter's tomb lies in the execution of its decoration. While the scenes belonging to *Nfr-mꜣꜣt* and *Ḳtt* were either painted, or incised then filled with coloured pastes,⁴ those belonging to *Rꜥ-ḥtp* and *Nfꜣrt* were carved in raised relief, which became the most popular medium of chapel decoration during the Old Kingdom. Of the two tombs, that of *Rꜥ-ḥtp* and *Nfꜣrt* shows the more developed pattern of scene orientation. Its decoration very much resembles the decoration in modified cruciform chapels of the mid-Fifth Dynasty onwards, except that the compositions in these rooms tend to be more complex in content and far less boldly carved.⁵

Both Meydum tombs were excavated by Mariette in the early 1870s.⁶ Two decades were to elapse, however, before the site was re-examined by Petrie, who, in 1892, published the first and only detailed account of the decoration in the tomb of *Rꜥ-ḥtp* and *Nfꜣrt*.⁷ Petrie noted that the reliefs were damaged between the date of the tomb's discovery and his own excavation. Most of his criticism was directed against the vandals who had found the chapels before he arrived, but Mariette was not spared at least some of the blame:

It is shameful that they [i.e. the Meydum tombs] were not exhaustively published at first; one of them is now considerably destroyed, and most of its colouring demolished. As these are probably the oldest tombs known in Egypt they are among the most important, and yet they have been wholly neglected for twenty years.

In the many sad instances of disfigurement since Mariette's copies were made, . . . it might at first seem pedantic not to fill in the parts now lost where those copies shew them. But it will soon be seen on comparing those former copies with the present [i.e. Petrie's], that no scientific value can be allowed to their details. The frequent misplacement of signs, omissions, and additions, even extending to inserting a figure and action which does not exist, . . . and the inattention to the real forms of the figures and signs, would make any additions drawn from such a source a serious detriment to these present copies . . .

Within this chamber [i.e. *Rꜥ-ḥtp*'s] stood the statues of Rahotep and Nefert, now in the Ghizeh Museum; and the doorway was entirely blocked with masonry cemented into place when Mariette's workmen found it, the chamber being intact. After cutting out the blocking, and removing the statues, and apparently taking wet squeezes from the coloured walls—thus ruining them—the doorway was earthed over by the discoverers. Never being inspected, some traveller chose to unearth it, soon before 1887, which date is written in the

490); *Mṯn* (ibid. 493-4); *ḥtj-ꜣꜣ* (ibid. 500); *Ph-r-nfr* (ibid. 502-3); *Ttj* (ibid. 503); *Ḳj-nfr* (ibid. 894). Cf. also early tomb stelae: Z. Y. Saad, *The Excavations of Helwan* (Oklahoma, 1969). Certain early chapels may have contained painted decoration, now destroyed, and the hieroglyphs, figure types, and scenes first attested at Meydum may not be the earliest examples produced by Memphite craftsmen.

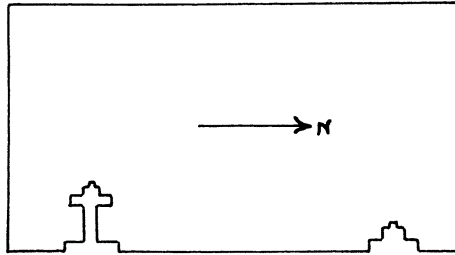
³ G. A. Reisner and W. S. Smith, *The Development of the Egyptian Tomb down to the Accession of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), 280, 284; PM IV, 90 (6), 92 (16).

⁴ W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), 24-5, 27-9; H. Schäfer (tr. J. R. Baines), *Principles of Egyptian Art* (Oxford, 1974), 76-7; W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (London, 1946), 156; id., *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (Harmondsworth, 1965), 46.

⁵ e.g. *ḥtj-ḥtp* (Louvre), PM III², 634-7 and Plan LXV.

⁶ A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire* (Paris, 1889), 478-84, 487; id., *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1872), pls. 16, 18-20; M. Daninos, *RT* 8 (1886), 69-73.

⁷ Petrie, *Medum*, 14-24, 28-34, 37-8 and pls. i, v, vii (maps and plans), ix-xv (reliefs). Petrie's unpublished journals, notebooks, and distribution lists are held at the Petrie Museum, University College London.

FIG. 1. Mastaba of *R^c-ḥtp* and *Nfrt*

tomb; and it has stood open since then, with the result that every face within reach is mutilated, most of the figures spoiled, and all the edges of the stone broken away. I completely reburied it.⁸

Some time in the early twentieth century the chapels of *R^c-ḥtp* and *Nfrt* were again uncovered by vandals, intent upon theft as well as destruction. Subsequently, Petrie was authorized to remove the remaining reliefs, for it was clear that this was the only way to protect them from further damage.⁹ Most of the blocks were taken to the Cairo Museum, where they were displayed near scenes from the chapels of *Nfr-mꜣꜣt* and *Ḳtt*. A few, however, were placed in store, and in time their true position was lost and their provenance forgotten. A number of blocks were taken to the United Kingdom for distribution to various museums, while the fate of others is, at present, unknown. It is hoped that this attempt to identify the reliefs and place them in their correct positions according to Petrie's line-drawings, may assist Egyptologists to rediscover some of the pieces still missing, for, although certain blocks are no doubt destroyed, others were probably stolen from the tomb and sold illicitly as unidentified reliefs.

The chapel of *Nfrt*

The mastaba of *R^c-ḥtp* and *Nfrt* contains two chapels, the smaller of which is a decorated recess belonging to *Nfrt* (fig. 1).¹⁰ On the west wall, there was once a stela, below which was a niche flanked by two vertical panels with two side-pieces on the adjacent north and south walls (fig. 2). On each side-piece two registers of male and female estates were depicted, oriented towards the niche, and above these were lists and representations of oils and other funerary equipment (fig. 3). A lintel once spanned the entrance to the chapel but this was broken sometime before Petrie's excavation, and was omitted from the illustrations in his publication of the mastaba (p. 30).¹¹

⁸ The three extracts are taken from the following sources: Petrie, *Journal* 1, 6 Nov. to 13 June 1891, 9–10 (unpublished, cf. n. 7); Petrie, *Medum*, 22, 15.

⁹ Authorization was given by G. Maspero, then (1910) Director-General of the Antiquities Service. It was agreed that the remaining sculptures should be shared between Petrie (representing the British School of Archaeology in Egypt) and the Cairo Museum. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 3rd edn. (Cairo, 1914), 51; W. M. F. Petrie, E. Mackay, and G. A. Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, BSAE and ERA 16th year, 1910 (London, 1910), 5.

¹⁰ Petrie, *Medum*, 16–17, 24, pls. v, vii; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 16d, f.

¹¹ Petrie, *Medum*, 24.

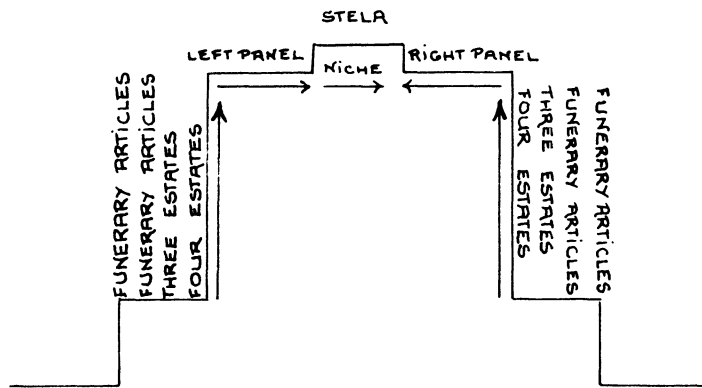


FIG. 2. Plan of the recess of *Nfrt*

The stela on the west wall of the recess can be identified as Cairo Museum JE 54845. According to the *Journal d'entrée*, this piece was acquired by William Hayes of the Metropolitan Museum from a dealer in Luxor, and it was evidently taken to the Cairo Museum sometime afterwards.¹² To judge by a small photograph of the block, most of the table scene is still intact, but the bottom of the scene, including part of the chair legs and feet of *Rc-htp* and *Nfrt*, is now broken away. The large hole in the middle of the stela is not recent. It was there when Petrie copied the relief and was presumably made by someone who found the chapel between 1887 and 1891.

Three fragments of the left panel below the stela were presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, in 1910. These are numbered E22a.1910, E22b.1910 and E22c.1910 respectively.¹³ The first fragment shows the legs and part of the name of the upper female figure, 'King's acquaintance *Mrrt*'; the second shows the figure, title, and name of a man depicted just below her, 'King's acquaintance *Nfr-kw*'; the third shows part of the torso and arm of another female figure whose name and title were destroyed before Petrie published the reliefs.

Four fragments of the right panel, including part of the crossbar above it, are in the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich. On two of these fragments are depicted the first title on the crossbar and parts of the body, title, and name of the upper male figure, 'King's acquaintance *Ddj*'. The third fragment shows the upper body, title, and part of the name of a female figure, 'King's acquaintance *Nd*. . .'; and the fourth shows part of the body of a male figure whose inscription is destroyed. These blocks were presented to the museum by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, and they subsequently received a collective museum number, Gl. 102.¹⁴

¹² Dimensions (JE): 77.0 × 64.5 cm.

¹³ The same figures are depicted on the panels below the stela of *Rc-htp*, but in a different order (fig. 12). On the basis of these reliefs, the title and name of the lowest female figure on the left panel of the recess of *Nfrt* is 'King's acquaintance *Stt*'.

¹⁴ On the basis of the reliefs below the stela of *Rc-htp* (fig. 12), the titles and names of the lower two figures are 'King's acquaintance *Nd-jb*' and 'King's acquaintance *Jtw*'.

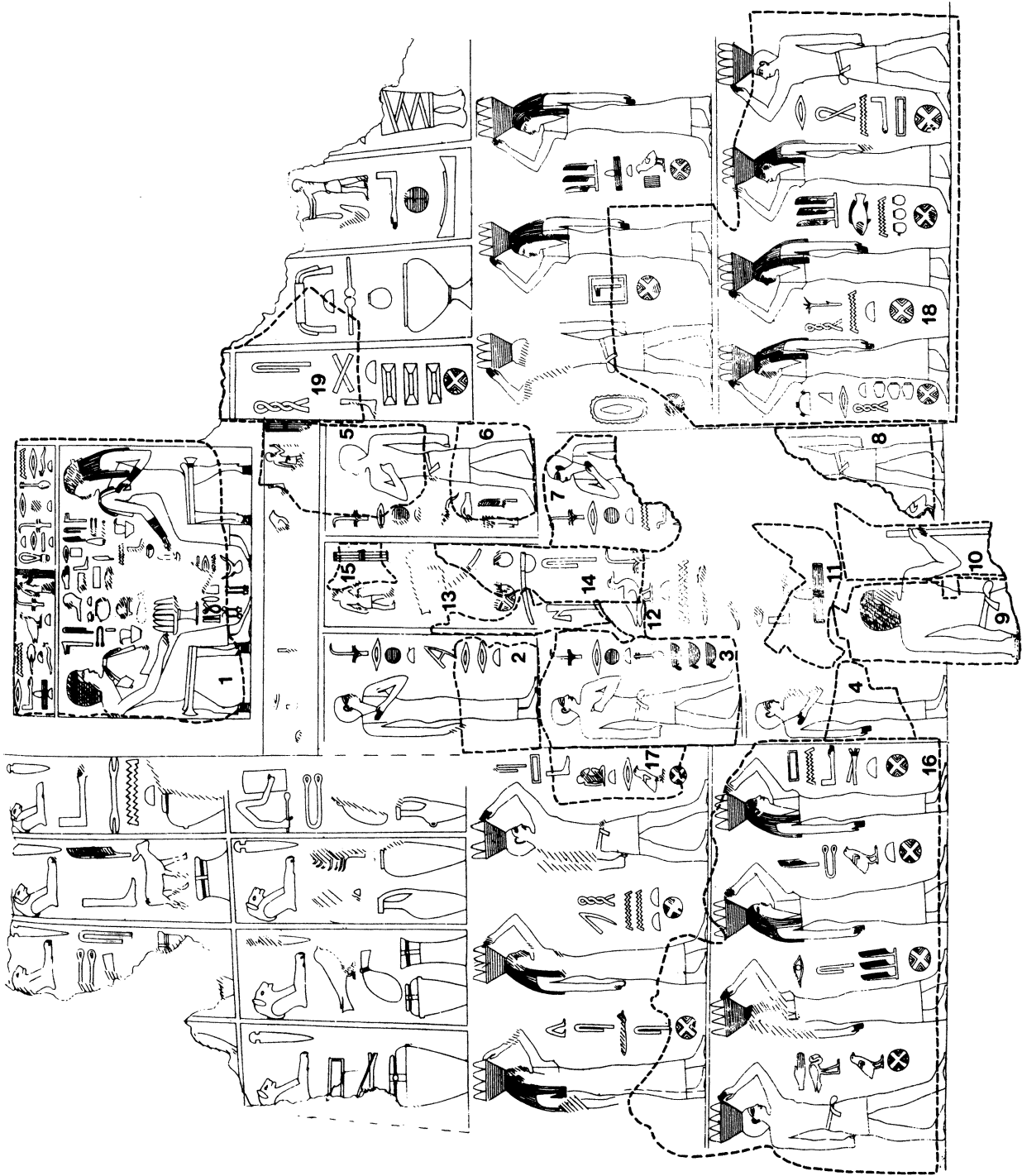


FIG. 3. Chapel of *Nfert* (from Petrie, *Meydum*, pl. xv)

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. Cairo Museum JE 54845 | 9. Ashmolean Museum 1910.665a | 15. Ashmolean Museum 1910.665i |
| 2. Fitzwilliam Museum E22a.1910 | 10. Ashmolean Museum 1910.665b | 16. Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek AEIN 1132 |
| 3. Fitzwilliam Museum E22b.1910 | 11. Ashmolean Museum 1910.665c | 17. Ashmolean Museum 1910.665h |
| 4. Fitzwilliam Museum E22c.1910 | 12. Ashmolean Museum 1910.665c | 18. Brussels, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, |

Between the panels there was once a niche containing a right-facing figure of *Rc-htp* below a vertical line of text recording his titles and name. Petrie drew this figure from the hips upwards, so we may assume that the lowest third was badly damaged, or broken away, prior to 1891. The niche is now preserved as twenty unpublished fragments in the storeroom of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. At least fourteen of these pieces are glued together to reconstruct the figure and part of the name of *Rc-htp* in three blocks, numbered 1910.665a (left side of figure), 1910.665b (right side of figure), and 1910.665c (name). The remaining fragments, still loose, represent all that is left of the titles in the upper part of the niche (1910.665e–g, i).¹⁵

A published relief in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen (AEIN 1132) is the lowest section of the left (south) side-piece of the recess of *Nfrt*.¹⁶ All four right-facing estates in the lowest register are preserved from the ankles upwards, as well as the feet and hemlines of two female estates in the upper register. In front of these two women is the figure of a male estate with an inscription further right. This figure is still missing, but part of the inscription can be identified as an unpublished fragment in the Ashmolean Museum (1910.665h).

The lowest register and part of the upper register of estates on the right (north) side-piece can be identified as an unpublished relief in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels (E 4950). Its place in the recess reconstruction is directly opposite AEIN 1132, at right angles to the panels, so that all of the estate figures are oriented towards the niche (fig. 2).¹⁷

When he revisited the mastaba in 1910, Petrie discovered that the upper side walls of the chapel of *Nfrt* were destroyed, yet to judge by Petrie's distribution list, at least one fragment from the right upper wall was brought back to the United Kingdom and later allocated to a museum in Chicago. This fragment shows the remains of seven hieroglyphs which form part of the text at right angles to the crossbar and the uppermost Munich fragment. Small though it is, the fragment has the distinction of being the only identified part of the funerary items once inscribed in sixteen partitions on either side of the stela.¹⁸

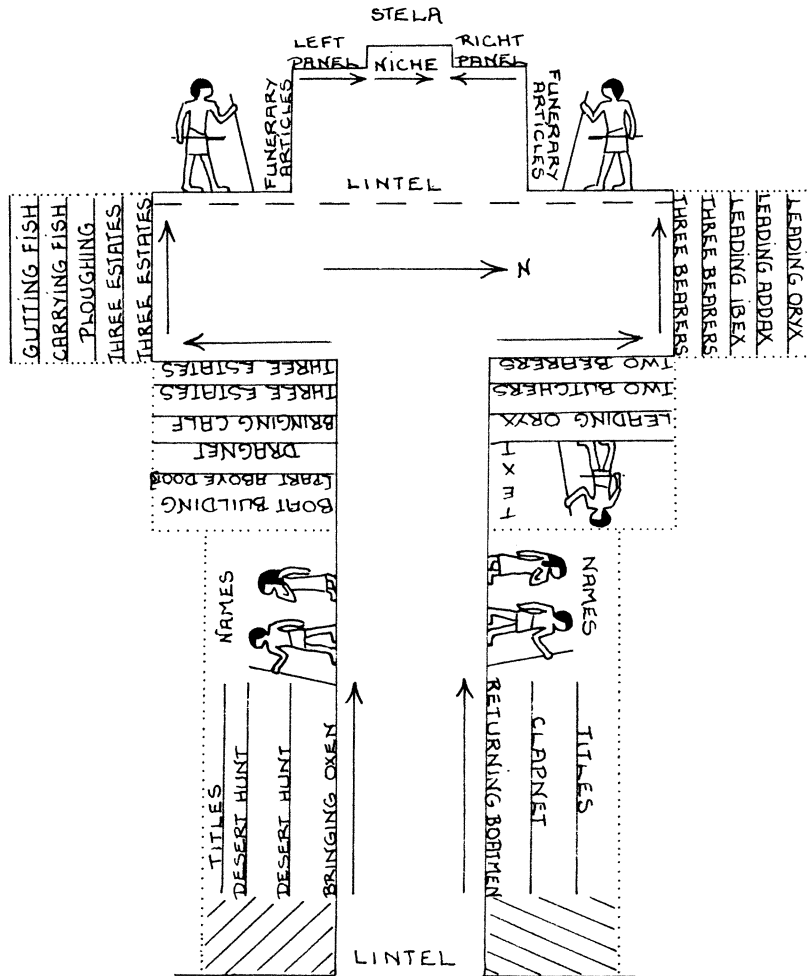
The appearance of the reliefs still missing from the chapel of *Nfrt* is made clear in fig. 3. Virtually all of the hieroglyphs in partitions have yet to be located, as well as

¹⁵ The titles of *Rc-htp* are enclosed within two wide vertical bands, and a narrower horizontal band below the deceased's name. Petrie omitted this frame and overlooked the Δ sign at the end of the inscription.

¹⁶ O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiennes* (Copenhagen, 1956), 15 [4], pl. xii, cf. p. 68; M. Mogensen, *La Collection égyptienne de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen, 1930), 87 A 655, pl. xcl A 655; V. Poulsen, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek. A Guide to the Collections*, 16th edn. (Copenhagen, 1973), figure on p. 12.

¹⁷ Evidently the estates were in pieces when they were presented to the museum, and had to be glued together. Petrie, Mackay, and Wainwright, *Meydum and Memphis (III)*, 5.

¹⁸ *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities found by Prof. Flinders Petrie and Students at Memphis and Meydum 1910*, BSAE (London, 1910), 5; Petrie's distribution lists (unpublished, cf. n. 7). This fragment was sent to the Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago (now the Oriental Institute Museum Collection) as a gift from the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, in 1910. It received an accession number, Acc. 92 (1910), and later an object registration number, Oriental Institute 9349. The dimensions of the fragment are approximately 40 × 31 × 11 cm.

FIG. 4. A plan of the chapel of *R^c-htp*

most of the bodies of three right-facing and three left-facing male and female estates and the inscriptions beside them. The high relief in the chapel may be a significant factor in identifying these fragments, but there is a second point worth noting. Most of the estates suffered some sort of mutilation of the face or body prior to 1891, so particular disfigurements could be a means of distinguishing these figures from similar estate figures in contemporary or near-contemporary reliefs.

The chapel of *R^c-htp*

The chapel of *R^c-htp* is a larger construction than that of *Nfrt*. It is a cruciform chamber consisting of a corridor which leads into a hall with a recess in the middle of the west wall, directly opposite the corridor opening (fig. 4).¹⁹ Originally the entrance was decorated with a lintel executed in raised relief and bearing the various

¹⁹ Petrie, *Medum*, 15-17, 23-4, pls. v, vii; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 16d, e.

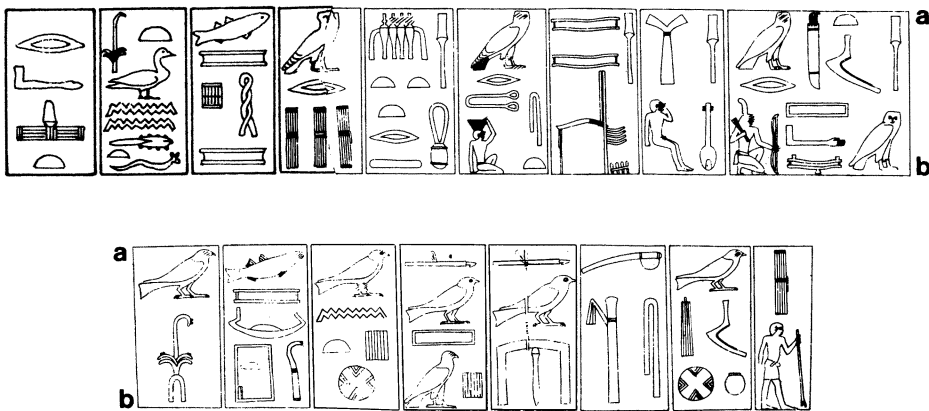




FIG. 5. Lintel of *R'-htp* (from Petrie, *Medum*, pls. ix, upper, x, upper)

titles of *R'-htp* in short, vertical columns reading from right to left. Many of the columns were intact when Petrie copied the lintel in 1891, but the full inscription was recorded by Mariette, years earlier.²⁰ His copy shows that the titles were arranged in sixteen columns of equal width, divided in the centre by a wider column of inscription which was probably above the centre of the chapel entrance. Figure 5 is an illustration of the lintel, with Petrie's line-drawings on the right and the last columns of hieroglyphs added from Mariette's copy on the left. Some of these latter hieroglyphs are a repetition of those carved in vertical columns above the figure of *R'-htp* on the south-west wall (fig. 11, left), while others are repeated elsewhere in the decoration. It is not known what became of the lintel after 1891. If any fragments still exist, however, they may not be immediately recognized as belonging to this tomb, because the low relief of the lintel text was evidently quite different from the bold execution of the reliefs within the chapel.²¹

On the south wall of the corridor there were two large figures of *R'-htp* and *Nfrt* facing left (outwards) towards a desert hunt scene and a figure of a herdsman leading an ox (fig. 6). The left side of this composition was destroyed prior to 1891, but most probably a second ox and herdsman were depicted in the lower register, while the upper register contained further details of the desert hunt: a hound dragging down a gazelle, other small animals filling the space above this motif, and perhaps more hounds in the upper sub-register. The missing titles above the composition may be reconstructed as  since they occur in this order (though shortened) on the south-west wall of the chapel (fig. 11, left), and the hieroglyph  is still visible at the broken end of the inscription.²²

The south wall of the corridor of *R'-htp* is now on display in the Cairo Museum,

²⁰ Petrie, *Medum*, 23; Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 18b.

²¹ The text on the lintel of *Nfrt* may have been executed in similar style, though Petrie does not state as much.

²² The titles are inscribed on the lintel of *R'-htp* (fig. 5, both titles), on the south-west wall (fig. 11, left, both titles heading the 'string' but the second title shortened), and to the right of the panel scene in the recess (fig. 12, second title only).

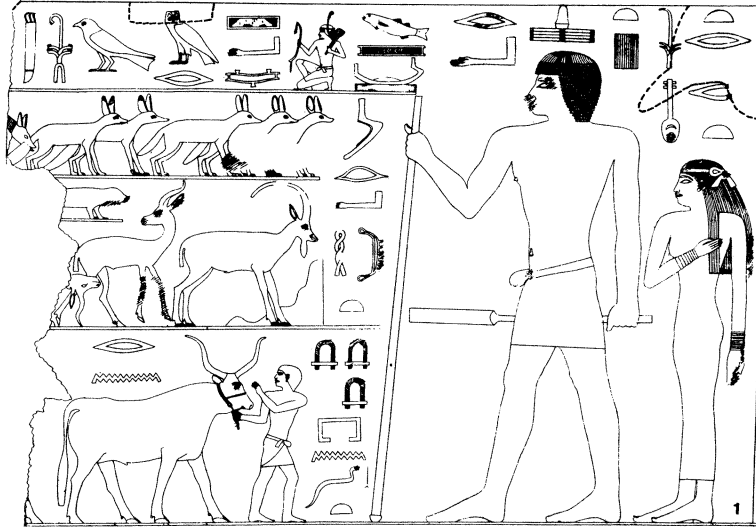


FIG. 6. South wall of the corridor (from Petrie, *Medum*, pl. ix, lower)
1. Cairo Museum T.19.11.24.3G

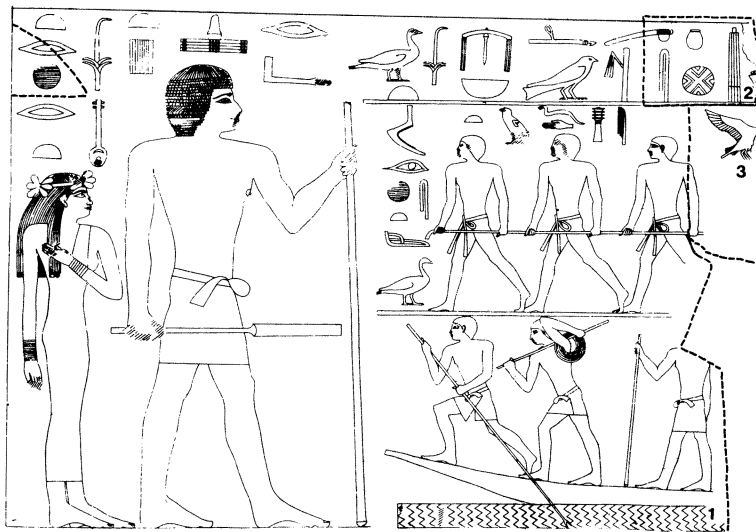
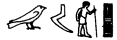


FIG. 7. North wall of the corridor (from Petrie, *Medum*, pl. x, lower)
1. Cairo Museum T.19.11.24.3F
2. Cairo Museum T.18.4.17.5
3. Cairo Museum T.6.12.24.11

numbered T.19.11.24.3G. It is easily the best-preserved wall of the chapel, for, apart from two breaks in the hieroglyphs, the reliefs hardly differ in content from the line-drawings made by Petrie almost a century ago.

On the north wall of the corridor were two more figures of *R^c-htp* and *Nfret*, directly opposite their representations on the south wall, but facing right towards a clapnet scene, and a lower register of boatmen returning from the marsh (fig. 7). As

on the south wall, the area nearest the chapel entrance was destroyed before Petrie recorded the reliefs, but enough remains in his line-drawing to permit a tentative reconstruction. In the upper register there was undoubtedly a clapnet with birds inside and fluttering above, while in the lower register the hull of the boat curved upwards to the stern. One or two figures and/or marsh products were probably depicted on board, thus creating a balance with the figures standing on the bow. If the titles above these registers are compared with those inscribed on the north-west wall of the chapel (fig. 11, *right*), it is possible to reconstruct the missing hieroglyphs on the north corridor as . Their inclusion gives some indication as to the length of the clapnet, and the boat in the lowest register.²³

The north wall of the corridor of *Rc-htp* is now on display in the Cairo Museum (T.19.11.24.3F). When it is compared with Petrie's line-drawing, however, a gap can be seen above and to the right of the last figure in the clapnet scene where the shoulder and arm of this hauler and the text above him should be. Neither of these sections was difficult to identify because the composition is particularly large, and its high relief is unlike the sculpture in later Old Kingdom tombs. The first fragment, which fits into the area marked '2' in fig. 7, is recorded as T.18.4.17.5 from Meydum, while in the museum's Special Register it is assigned to the tomb of *Rc-htp* (pl. VI, 1).²⁴ The second fragment, T.6.12.24.11, is described as a limestone relief from Saqqâra.²⁵ Far from coming from a Saqqâra tomb, this relief joins T.19.11.24.3F, completing the upper scene on the north corridor wall of the chapel of *Rc-htp* as it was published by Petrie (pl. VI, 4; fig. 7, marked '3').

The east (corridor entrance) wall of the hall once bore a large figure of *Rc-htp* facing right towards a wooden boat-building scene (fig. 8). Below were three registers showing a man bringing an oryx, two butchers cutting up an ox, then two bearers. All of the figures in walking postures were oriented away from the door, as if to indicate that they were moving inwards, towards the recess on the west wall (fig. 4). On the right side of the doorway below the boat builders there were four registers in which were depicted a dragnet scene, two men bringing a bird and a calf, and two rows of male and female estates similar to those on the adjoining south wall of the hall (fig. 9).

The east wall suffered considerable damage after it was copied by Petrie. All three registers on the left side are intact, but the major figure is broken away from the midriff upwards, and only the lowest third of his staff with the last four hieroglyphs in front of him are preserved. This relief can be identified as T.19.11.24.3B. The head of *Rc-htp*, with the corner of the *htp* hieroglyph of his name still visible in front of the face, is preserved as an unpublished fragment in the Cairo Museum,

²³ The titles are also inscribed on the lintel of *Rc-htp* (fig. 5, both titles), on the north-west wall (fig. 11, *right*, both titles heading the 'string'), and four times on various elements of the recess (fig. 12). In addition, they are inscribed above the panel scene (first title only), on the crossbar (much damaged) and in the niche of the recess of *Nfrt* (fig. 3).

²⁴ Special Register no. 15728. The dimensions given in the Temporary and Special Registers are respectively 53 cm and 53 × 43 cm.

²⁵ Special Register no. 14946. The height given by the Temporary Register is 1.11 m.

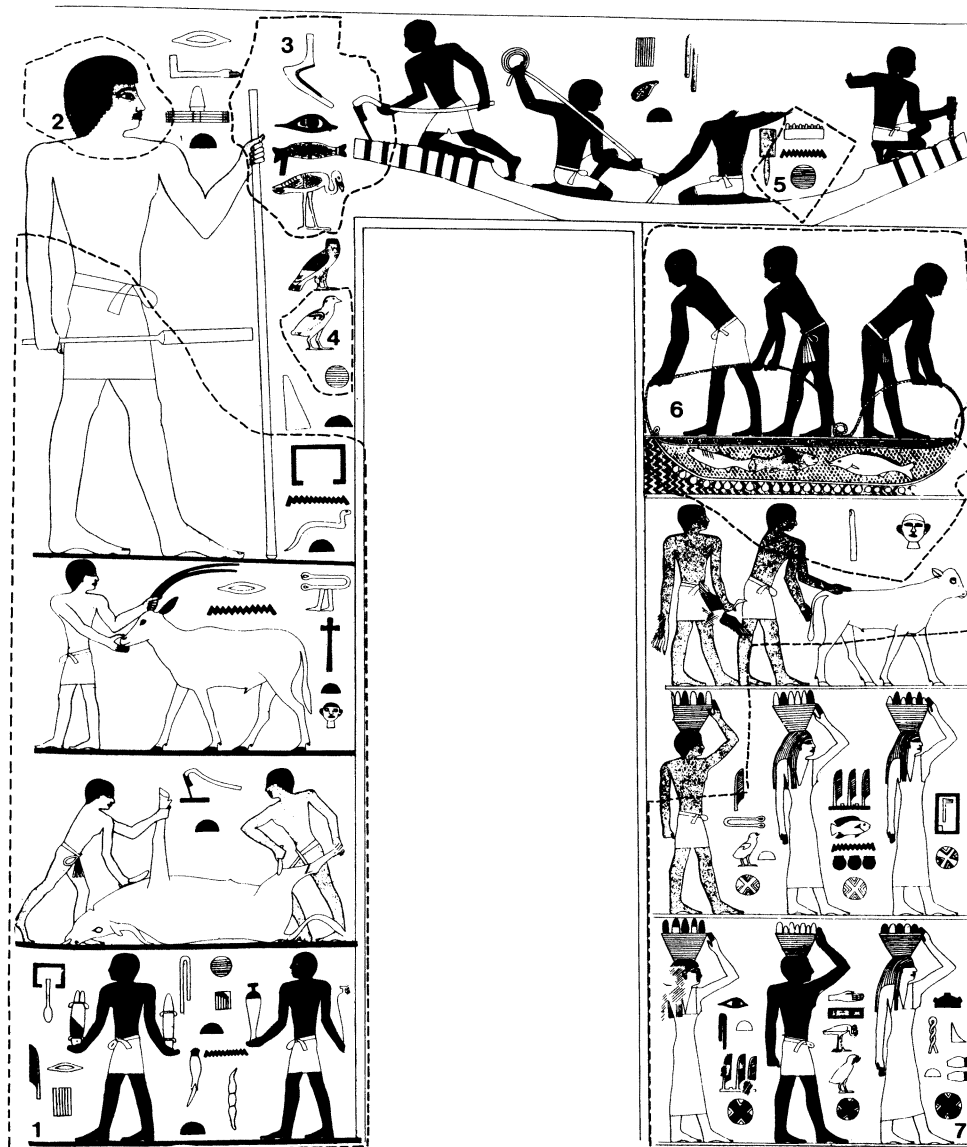


FIG. 8. East wall of the hall of *R'-ḤTP* (from Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xi)

1. Cairo Museum T.19.11.24.3B
2. Cairo Museum T.5.11.24.15
- 3-6. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin no. 15756
7. Cairo Museum T.19.11.24.3A

T.5.11.24.15. In the brief descriptions in the Temporary and Special Registers, the piece is only tentatively assigned to the tomb of *R'-ḤTP*, perhaps because of slight differences between the actual relief and Petrie's line-drawing (pl. V, 3).²⁶ A section of the deceased's staff, with four hieroglyphs and the end of the boat-building scene

²⁶ Dimensions (Temporary Register): 0.70 × 0.40 m. Special Register no. 15307.

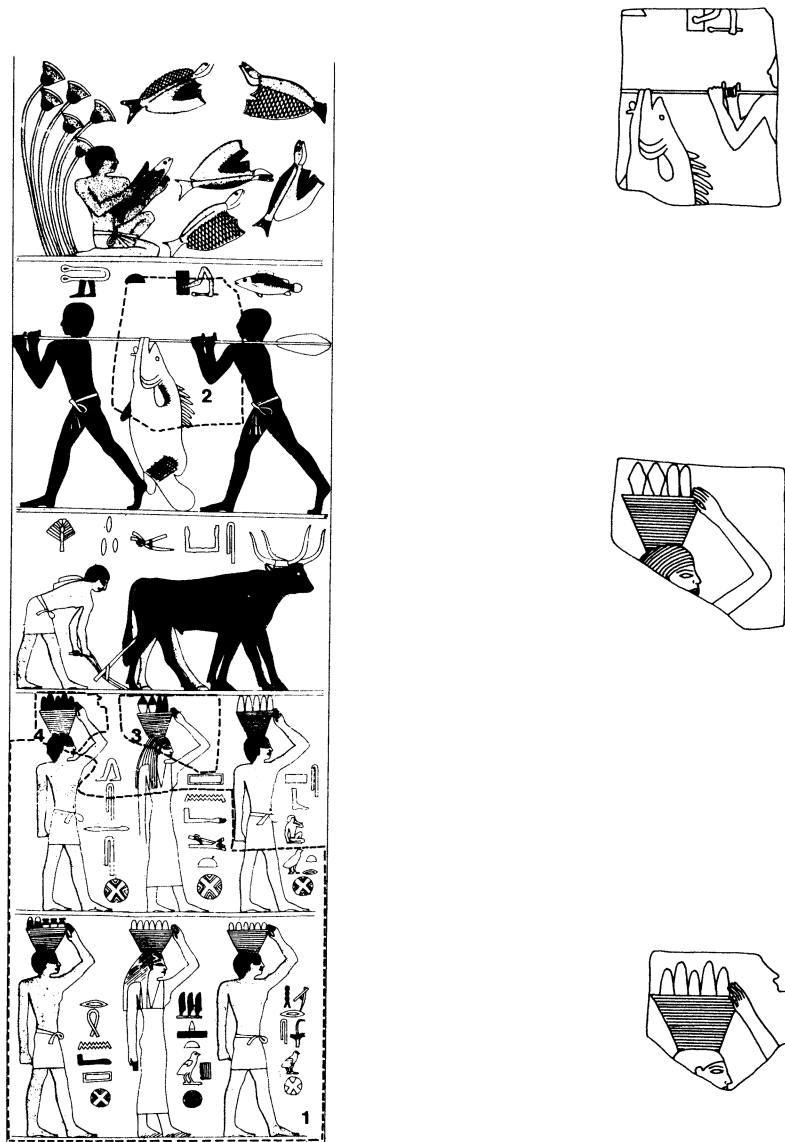


FIG. 9. South wall of the hall of *R'-hṭp* (from Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xiii, left)

1. Cairo Museum T.19.11.24.3D
2. Cairo Museum T.11.12.45.3
3. Cairo Museum T.11.12.45.4
4. Cairo Museum T.11.12.45.5

further left, are all preserved as a single fragment which is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. This, and a smaller relief showing a lower portion of the same inscription, are jointly numbered East Berlin 15756. They are part of a group of three fragments evidently purchased by Borchardt 'from Ali' in 1901-2 or thereabouts. Apart from the larger fragment just described, only one other section of the boat-building scene is located—namely, the inscription behind the right-hand figure

squatting amidships, and a small part of the curved hull. This fragment is also numbered East Berlin 15756, but it was purchased by Borchardt 'from Nahman', presumably at the turn of the century. The third fragment in the similarly numbered group purchased 'from Ali' is the well-known fish-netting scene which is depicted in the second register to the right of the doorway. Also included in this relief are the head of a man leading a calf, and two hieroglyphs, from the register below; the rest of this register has yet to be found.²⁷ Further down, the two rows of male and female estates can be identified as Cairo T.19.11.24.3A, a large relief on the left-hand side of the doorway leading into Room 42 of the Cairo Museum. Here, however, we have an incorrect reconstruction. The lower half of a figure of *R^c-htp* has been joined to the top of T.19.11.24.3A, but this is really the lower half of the major figure on the north end of the west wall, outside the recess (cf. figs. 4, 8, and 11, *right*).²⁸ Five of the six estates are intact, while the sixth (the male estate in the upper register) is preserved only from the midriff downwards.

The south wall of the hall of *R^c-htp* was divided into five registers, all but one of which showed figures oriented towards the west wall (figs. 4, 9). Small scenes of everyday activities were depicted in the upper three registers, while further down there were two registers of male and female estate figures with baskets of loaves on their heads. These two registers now form part of a second incorrect reconstruction in Room 42, numbered T.19.11.24.3D. They are joined to the lowest two registers of bearers from the north wall so that the opposing groups of figures face each other instead of the major figures of *R^c-htp* on adjacent sides of the west wall (pl. VII cf. figs. 4, 9, 10). The rough stone edge jutting out from the top centre of the reconstruction is probably the south corner of the west wall, so the painted bands directly below this edge did not exist in ancient times.

Three fragments from the south wall can be identified from entries and small photographs in the Temporary Register, where they are described as limestone reliefs of unknown provenance, found in the Sale Room of the Museum in 1946. The first of these, T.11.12.45.3, belongs to the second register on the south wall, where it forms part of the earliest known representation of fish bearers in Egyptian art (fig. 9 (2)).²⁹ The other fragments, T.11.12.45.4 and

²⁷ Evidently the Berlin reliefs were taken from the tomb sometime between 1892 and 1902, and ended up in the hands of Arab dealers whom Borchardt was fortunate enough to meet. Only the two larger blocks in the group are published. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture* . . . 153, pl. 34 (6); H. Fehheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter* (Berlin, 1914), pl. 104.

²⁸ The façade and thicknesses of the doorway of Room 42 in the Cairo Museum are covered with various early reliefs which are arranged to show the orientation of figures in this part of an Old Kingdom tomb—namely, major and minor figures on the façade facing the entrance, major figures on the thicknesses facing outwards, and minor figures on the thicknesses facing inwards. The *R^c-htp* relief on the right thickness conformed to this pattern, but in order to balance this with a similar orientation on the left thickness, a pair of left-facing legs of *R^c-htp* had to be joined to registers of right (i.e. inward) facing bearers. Those responsible for the reconstruction were probably aware that they were joining different surfaces of the chapel together, but to judge by the Special Register description, later scholars assumed that the bearers and legs of *R^c-htp* were originally part of one composition. Special Register no. 15837. *Description*: relief of Raḥotep. Four registers: three estates, three estates, antelope, man standing. Maspero, *Guide*, 136A, Fourth Dynasty. *Material*: painted limestone. *Dimensions*: 105 × 150 cm. *Provenance*: Medum. (The organization of the information is my own.)

²⁹ Dimensions (Temporary Register): 0.375 × 0.445 cm.

T.11.12.45.5,³⁰ are the heads of two right-facing estates, each balancing a basket of loaves on his/her head. In view of the number and shape of the loaves and the general appearance of these fragments, there is only one place where they can fit: they are parts of the second and third figures in the upper register of estates on the south wall (fig. 9 (3), (4)).

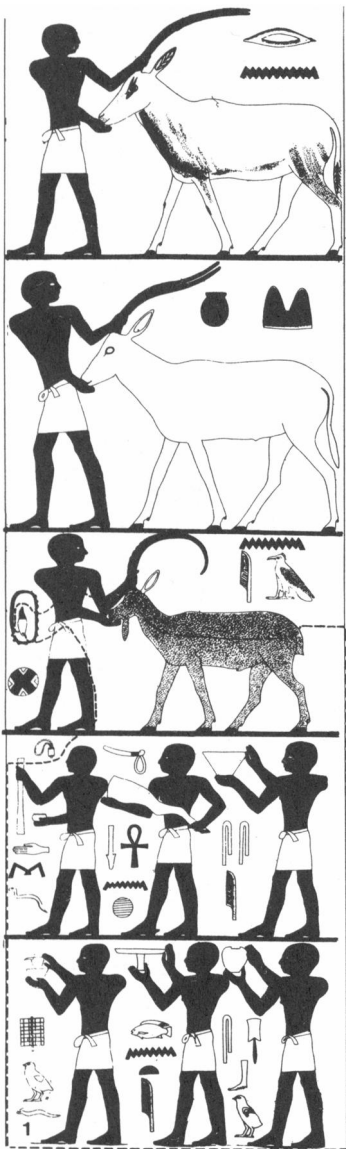


FIG. 10. North wall of the hall of *Rꜥ-ḥtp* (from Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xiv, right)

1. Cairo Museum
T.19.11.24.3D

The top register on this wall is lost and may be destroyed. This is particularly unfortunate because it contained the first known representation of fish gutting, which became such a popular motif in private tombs of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Earlier (though badly preserved) parallels of the ploughing scene in the third register were discovered in the nearby chapels of *Nfr-mꜣt* and *Ḳtt*,³¹ but the scene in fig. 9 has the significance of being the first known relief of this pursuit. Once again the register is lost, and, should the ploughing scene still exist, it is unlikely to be in one piece.

On the north wall of the hall there were five registers, three showing men leading animals and two with named bearers carrying objects towards the recess (fig. 10). The upper half of this wall is still missing, but most of the lower half is included on a block numbered T.19.11.24.3D. As previously mentioned, these registers have been joined to the lowest two registers from the south wall, when they should really be oriented towards the north end of the west wall (pl. VII; figs. 4, 9, 10).

By far the most complex area within the chapel of *Rꜥ-ḥtp* was the west wall, which was originally divided in the middle by an elaborately decorated recess containing the stela (fig. 4). On either side of this recess, the short west wall spaces were filled with large, inward-facing representations of *Rꜥ-ḥtp*, each with three vertical columns of titles written above and the name '*Rꜥ-ḥtp*' inscribed horizontally between these columns and the head of the deceased (fig. 11, left, right). In posture, both figures were identical, but in dress, they differed. On the left side *Rꜥ-ḥtp* was

shown in an animal skin robe over a short kilt, whereas on the right side he wore only a short kilt. The upper two-thirds of the robed figure can be identified as the

³⁰ The dimensions given by the Temporary Register are respectively 0.24 × 0.23 m and 0.205 × 0.200 m.

³¹ Petrie, *Medum*, 25, pl. xviii (coloured paste); Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture . . .* 153-4, fig. 61 (painting).

located, but a few hieroglyphs in the right-hand column are now part of a right-angled block that includes a section of the left (south) side-piece recess decoration on its other surface. This published block is BM 1277, one of several west wall reliefs from the tomb that were acquired for the British Museum collection.³⁴

All that remains of the north-west side of the west wall are the legs of the major figure. As mentioned above, these legs are included in a large reconstruction which is now on the left-hand side of the doorway leading into Room 42 of the Cairo Museum; they are joined to reliefs from the lower half of the east wall to the right of the doorway of the chapel of *Rc-htp* (cf. figs. 4, 8, and 11, *right*).

The recess in the west wall was clearly intended to be the focal point of the chapel, for, when fully preserved, it consisted of two finely carved side-pieces set at right angles to a stela, crossbar, drum, panels, and niche on the inner west wall (fig. 12). A lintel over the entrance to the recess extended the full length of the outer west wall so that the flanking figures of *Rc-htp* were included in the artistic scheme (fig. 4). Thus, both short walls were treated as the equivalent of decorated jambs, which commonly frame the right and left sides of Old Kingdom false door niches, and are generally carved with vertical columns of inscription above an inward facing figure of the deceased.³⁵

Large sections of both the recess and lintel are joined together as a single slab of relief numbered JE 38549. Included on the slab is a small part of the south side-piece, which, together with BM 1277 mentioned above is all that remains of this surface. A slightly larger part of the north side-piece is preserved on JE 38549, but apart from two additional reliefs, the rest of this side-piece is lost. The first of these fragments, T.18.4.17.6, is recorded in the Temporary and Special Registers, but only in the latter is there a direct reference to its identity.³⁶ The vertical hieroglyphs and column divisions depicted on the block match those from the north recess wall, immediately above the reliefs displayed in the Cairo Museum (pl. VI, 2; fig. 12). The second relief, T.11.12.45.2, was recognized from a small photograph in the Temporary Register,³⁷ where it is described as a fragment of unknown provenance, found in the Sale Room of the Cairo Museum. In reality, it is a horizontal section of the north side-piece, level with the base of the stela on the adjacent inner west wall (fig. 12 (4)).

The west wall of the recess was damaged after Petrie copied it in 1891. With the exception of 'King's acquaintance *ftw*', the panel figures still remain, but all of the faces are smashed and the bodies badly chipped. Only the stela, BM 1242, was spared this mutilation. Evidently this relief and others from the tomb were purchased for the British Museum in 1898, so Petrie might have removed

³⁴ T. G. H. James (ed.), *British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae . . .* (London, 1961), I², 2 (3), pl. ii (3), no. 1277.

³⁵ There are literally hundreds of examples, especially in better preserved tombs of the mid-Fifth to Sixth Dynasties, e.g. *LD* 11, pls. 65, 75, 81, 88, 94d.

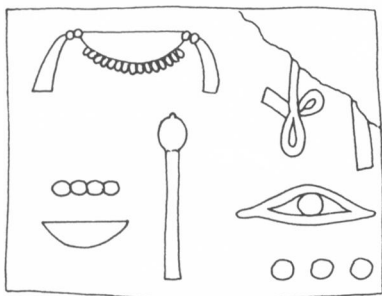
³⁶ The length given by the Special Register (no. 15374) is 45 cm.

³⁷ Dimensions (Temporary Register): 0.33 × 0.25 m.



FIG. 12. West wall of the hall of *R'-h'p*: the recess (from Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xiii)

1. Cairo Museum JE 38549
2. British Museum 1277
3. Cairo Museum T.18.4.17.6
4. Cairo Museum T.11.12.45.2
5. British Museum 1242



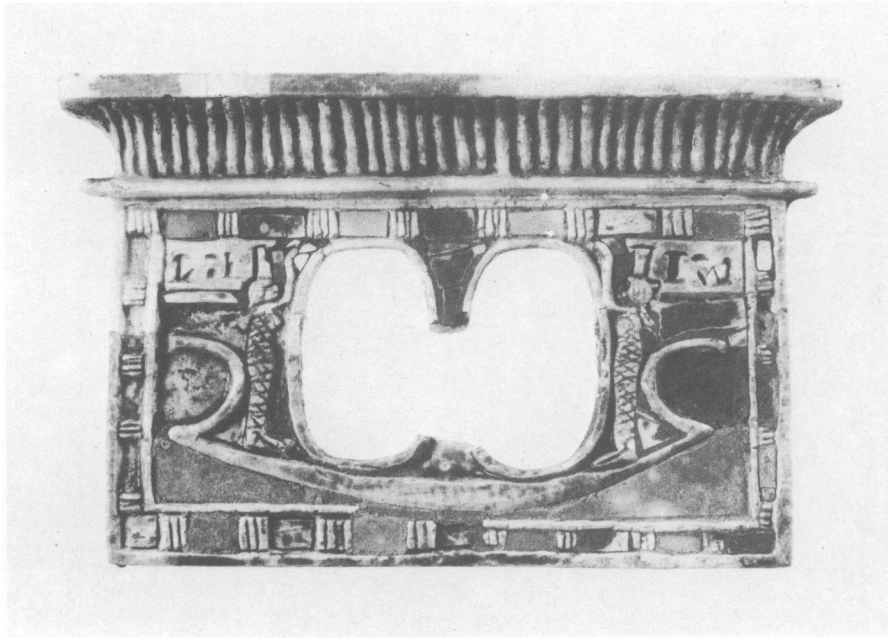
them shortly after his excavation but before the last attacks of vandalism at Meydum.³⁸

The crossbar, drum, panels, and niche are all preserved on JE 38549. Damage aside, the hieroglyphs and figures are much as Petrie copied them last century, except that the figure of *Rc-htp* at the end of the niche inscription is virtually complete in the Cairo relief, whereas no more than the head and shoulders are shown in Petrie's drawing. This omission was obviously intentional. Petrie wanted to publish a large line-drawing of the inscriptions and minor figures on the wall, but because of the low position of the niche figure, this particular relief had to be omitted.

Figures 3 and 5-12 are reproductions of Petrie's line-drawings of the decoration in the tomb of *Rc-htp* and *Nfrt*. All of the fragments so far located have been superimposed as outlines on the drawings so that the missing sections on each wall are now well-defined. It is hoped that the identification of reliefs from the tomb will be simplified by means of these figures, so that in time to come, more fragments will be added to the reconstructions of both chapels.³⁹

³⁸ James (ed.), *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 1² 1 (2), pl. i (2), no. 1242.

³⁹ In the Temporary Register, T.18.4.17.7, there is an entry which reads as follows: *Description*: fragments of bas-reliefs. Useless fragments might be got rid of. *Remarks*: Broken to pieces 6.11.24. No provenance is given, but the entry follows T.18.4.17.4 to 18.4.17.6, all of which are either known or suggested to belong to the chapel of *Rc-htp*. Is it possible that T.18.4.17.7 is a collective number for a group of fragments from the tomb that could not be matched to the larger blocks rescued in 1910? Their position in the Cairo Museum is not noted.

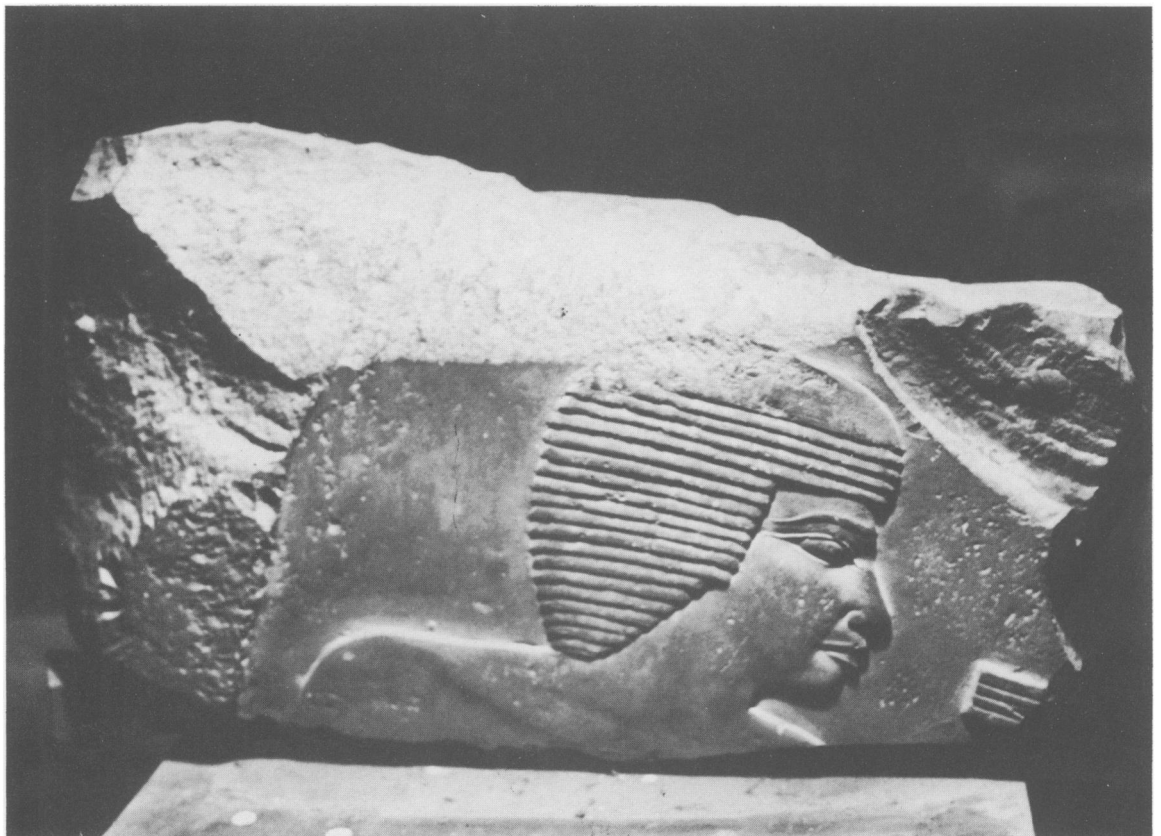


1. Faience pectoral with glass inlays



2. Wooden sceptre

THE TOMB-CHAMBERS OF IURUDEF

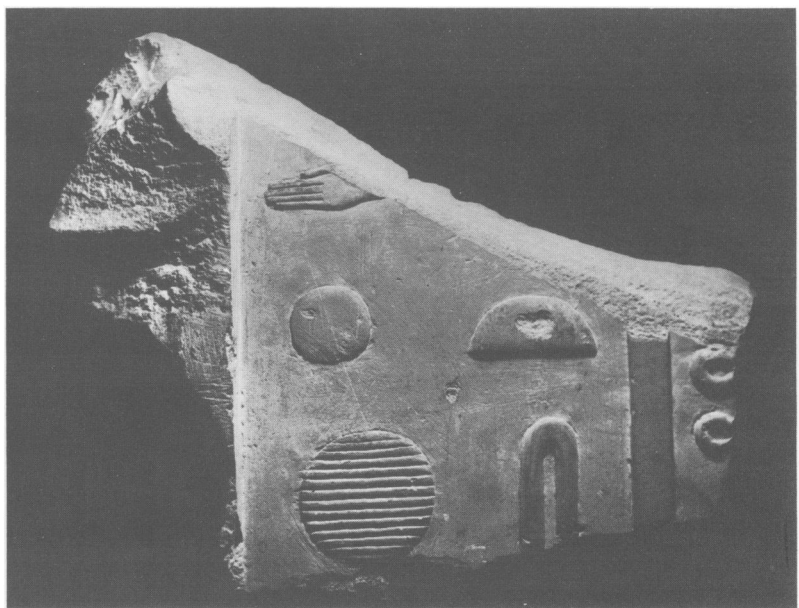


3. Cairo T.5.11.24.15

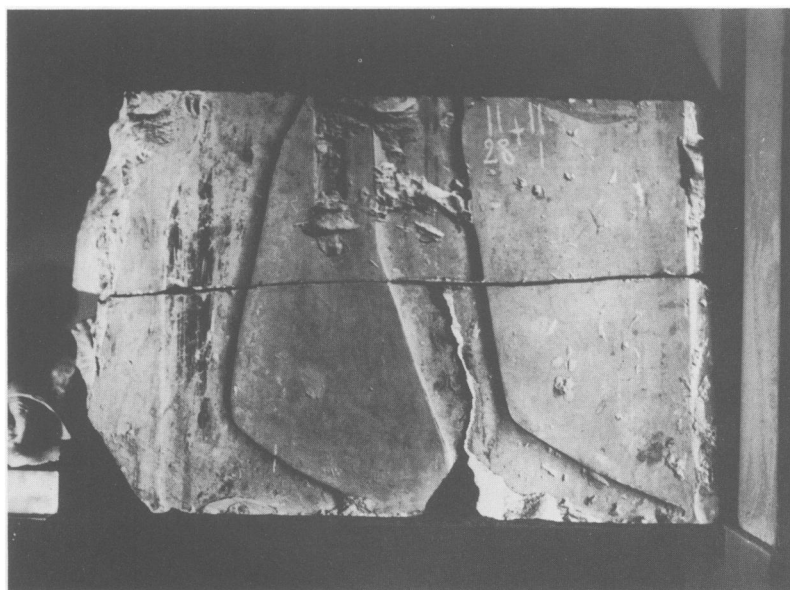
THE RELIEFS OF R-*H*TP AND NFR^T



1. Cairo T.18.4.17.5



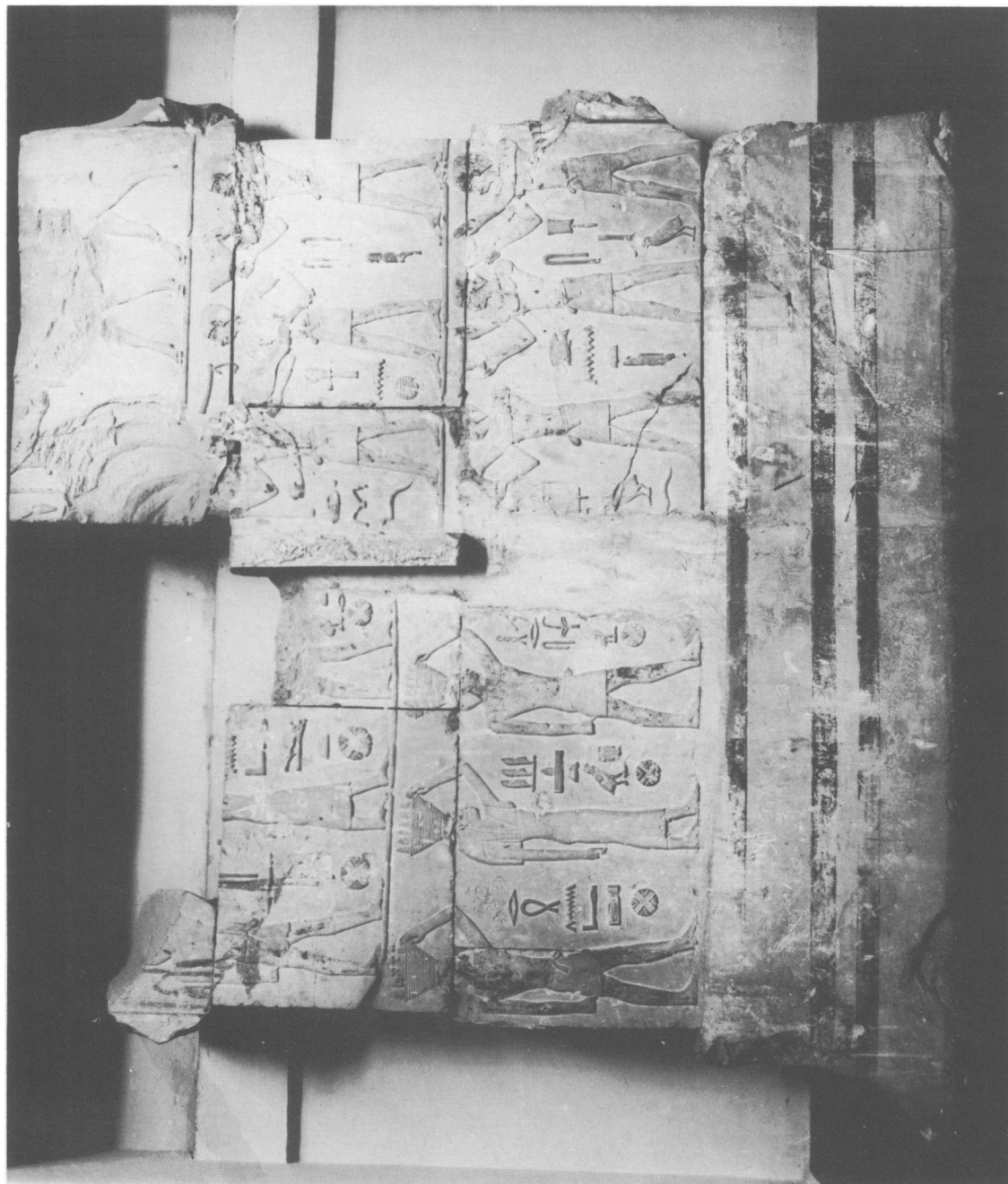
2. Cairo T.18.4.17.6



3. Cairo T.11.11.28.1



4. Cairo T.6.12.24.11



Cairo T.19.11.24.3D

THE RELIEFS OF R-ḤTP AND NFRṬ

THE STELA OF EMHAB: INNOVATION, TRADITION, HIERARCHY¹

By JOHN BAINES

The Seventeenth Dynasty stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu (Cairo JE 49566) narrates the owner's victory in a drumming contest and role as drummer, probably in Kamose's army. Such competitions are almost absent from Egyptian texts. Emhab's assertion that he 'kept alive' while his lord 'killed' relates to a hierarchy visible in early Eighteenth Dynasty biographies, in which kings claim to kill and the highest achievement of other combatants is to bring back captives. The gift of a female slave to Emhab is probably a reward for procuring male captives, who would themselves be retained for other purposes. The titles of Emhab and his mother suggest that he was nomarch of Edfu. The relief scene is modelled after Middle Kingdom emblematic groups of king and god; the figure of Emhab derives from that of a god and the god from a royal Horus name.

THIS stela from Tell Edfu (pl. VIII),² which had been discussed without being edited by Drioton³ and Vikentiev,⁴ was published in 1969 by Černý with a photograph, hand copy, translation, and commentary, establishing the basic meaning of the text and its position at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.⁵ His dating to the reign of Kamose is plausible, although the events could possibly belong to the reign of Seqenenre 'Ta'o' II. Černý's study forms the point of departure for this article. In 1981 Störk published a note on some aspects of the text;⁶ I do not make continual reference to this because it is easily available. The wide variety of views put forward illustrates how the stela encourages analysis while providing too little evidence for certain conclusions. The reader will judge the present interpretation with that in mind.

¹ I am most grateful to Heike Guksch for discussing the draft of this article and providing numerous references, and to Anthony Leahy for valuable suggestions. I have benefited from a study of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period stelae from Edfu by Diana Magee. Pascal Vernus discussed this corpus in a valuable seminar paper at the British Museum in 1980. Here I analyse a single, aberrant example and do not give a general study. The text was written during a Humboldt-Stiftung fellowship at the University of Heidelberg in 1982.

² My plate reproduces the same photograph as Černý's (Černý MSS, courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Oxford; perhaps a little foreshortened). A facsimile from the photograph would not be adequate, so I give no hieroglyphic copy; for published copies see below, n. 5. Small variations from Černý's hand copy are noted in the commentary.

³ *Le Théâtre égyptien* (Éditions de la Revue du Caire, 1942), 15–16.

⁴ 'A propos d'un extrait de la stèle d'Emheb', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fouad I University* 9.1 (1947), 113–29; 'Les Titres d'Emheb (Stèle d'Edfou)', *ibid.* 10.1 (1948), 81–8; 'Le Nom et les titres d'Emheb et de sa mère', *ibid.* 13.1 (1952), 11–32; 'A propos de la stèle d'Emheb et de son interprétation par M. Etienne Drioton', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University* 16.1 (1954), 63–8.



⁵ 'Stela of Emhab from Tell Edfu', *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 87–92 with pl. 13; because this is short, it is cited below as 'Černý' without closer reference. Results adopted here, such as the identification of 'year 3', are mostly incorporated without comment. The text is republished by W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (KAT, 1975), 97–8, no. 120. The stela is Cairo Museum, JE 49566.

⁶ "'Er ist ein Gott, während ich ein Herrscher bin'". Die Anfechtung der Hykossuzeränität unter Kamose', *GM* 43 (1981), 63–5; cited below as 'Störk' without closer reference.


Like Černý, I have not seen the original, and cannot give a proper description or measurements. I offer an annotated translation of the text, a commentary on more general issues (roughly in the order of the text) and a discussion of the relief.

The text reads:

- § A ¹A boon which the king gives (to) Osiris^a lord of Busiris, great god, lord of Abydos, that he may give ²invocation-offerings, bread, beer, oxen and fowl for the *k* of the *jrj-prt* and *h:tj-cj*,^b lovable one, ³Emhab, who is called *tmrrw*,^c repeating life.^d
- § B He says: I was ⁴one who served his lord on his journeys, who was not cowardly^e over any command he (= his lord) gave.^f ⁵And then^g I filled (my) two hands with all agile strength.^h ⁶And then one^j said 'come' to *htnt*,^k 'I (Emhab) shall ⁷compete^l with him (*htnt*) in measures'.^m And then I defeated him with (my) fingers ⁸7000 measures, and spentⁿ year 3 striking ⁹the drum^o every day.
- § C I emulated^p ¹⁰my lord in every affair of his. ¹¹He is a god^q while I am a ruler; ¹²when he kills I keep alive.^r I reached *mjw*,^s ¹³not to speak of (lit. count) every (other) foreign land,^t following^u him ¹⁴night and day,^v and I reached Avaris.^w
- § D And then ¹⁵my lord acquired *gmj-šnr* ¹⁶for northern barley [Y sacks?] and [] vessels full of best oil.^x And then [y

^a Černý read , but the sign is very indistinct and could be .

^b For the rarity of *jrj-prt h:tj-cj* in the Edfu stelae known in 1922, see R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 22 (1922), 125-6.

^c  is probably a writing of *t*; see also the name *htnt* below. Černý's identification with *tmrrj* is very plausible; see also *tmrw*, Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara* (Berkeley, etc., 1978), 149, fig. 41 top R, 45 bottom mid, pl. 54-5, 58.

^d For this epithet see H. G. Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 24 n. 37, with references.

^e *tm hzt*, with infinitive for negative complement. Comparable phrases are relatively common in Eighteenth Dynasty biographical texts, a particularly close example being *jmw-ndh*, *Urk.* IV, 944, 4-5: 'I followed the ruler on his journeys; I did nothing cowardly (*hzj*) in all his affairs.' For earlier times only one example is cited by J. M. A. Janssen, *De traditioneele egyptische autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk*, 1 (Leiden, 1946) 167, K1 = *BIFAO* 21 (1922-3), 110 r. 12. Significantly, this is on a roughly contemporary Edfu stela (rendering uncertain). A broad parallel is the late Twelfth Dynasty stela of Khusobek, who states that in battle he had weapons captured 'without my stopping fighting, (but) confronting (the enemy); I did not turn my back on the Asiatic'. This assertion immediately precedes an oath reaffirming the veracity of the narrative (K. Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*² (Leipzig, 1928), 83, 12-13). See my 'The Stela of Khusobek: Private and Royal Military Narrative and Values' in 'Fecht Festschrift' (in press).

^f Lit. 'my utterance (or: affair) which he spoke'.

^g The stereotyped rendering of *chrn* here and below is deliberate. The form appears to introduce a significant event or development, being thus used in part as a paragraphing device rather than a narrowly grammatical form. In the mixed language of this text it may be a linguistic fossil, but its use is comparable to that found in other Middle Egyptian texts. See M. Green, 'Studies on the Late Egyptian Narrative System' (Ph.D. diss., Liverpool, 1979), §§ 12-13.

^h Černý 'suppleness'; *Wb.* v, 60, 7-8; Faulkner, *CD* 280; used of bending and stretching. Here the continuation shows that this is probably related to practice for drumming. The word order suggests that *qrf* is an adjective; otherwise one would expect **rvdw qrf nb*.

^j Störk assumes that ‘one’ is the king, which is possible, but there is no clear pointer to it in the text.

^k Reading $\bar{\text{d}}$ as $\bar{\text{t}}$ (see above n. c).

^l *wdj r:f*; *Wb.* I, 387, 13: ‘Feindliches antun’, references cited Graeco-Roman. From the context the verb, literally ‘put (it) against’, must mean something like ‘compete’, with an implication of winning.

^m *ꜣw*, Černý ‘endurance’. The context suggests a technical term in music, and the second occurrence should be grammatically 7,000 of these *ꜣw*, not Černý’s ‘in endurance’ (he inserts $\langle m \rangle$, n. 1). Here *ꜣw* would most suitably be a drumming figure, but the general meaning is likely to be broader, a unit of ‘length’ in music. The translation seeks to accommodate this to the general meaning ‘length’. The form of such a drumming contest, measured in *ꜣw*, is of course unknown.

ⁿ *ꜣrj:j* is taken as a continuative, on the assumption that the result of Emhab’s success is that he drums in the army. It could then be a Late Egyptianism for *ꜣrj:n:j*, which one would expect in normal Middle Egyptian, or a rarer use of *sḏm:f*. If one reads as Late Egyptian, it is also possible to start a new sentence here: ‘I spent year 3. . . .’ Such a form could correspond to ME *ꜣw ꜣrj:n:j*. . . ‘I spent year 3 striking the drum’, or *ꜣrj:n:j*. . . ‘Striking the drum was how I spent year 3’.

^o *qmqm*, cf. H. Hickmann, *BIE* 36 (1953–4 (1955)), 594–5, citing this passage; L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (MÄS 34, 1975), 6–9; C. Ziegler, *Catalogue des instruments de musique égyptiens* (Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes 1979), 71–7.

^p *stwt:j r*, another *sḏm:f* of uncertain grammatical status with past meaning, Černý: ‘gave satisfaction to’. Such a reading would require a direct object. The verb normally means to ‘cause to resemble’ (*Wb.* IV, 335, 1–10); this meaning occurs without object (335, 7–9). My rendering relates to the alternative meaning of the adjective *twt* from which the verb derives, ‘perfect’; ‘perfect’ and ‘resemble’ are probably not fully distinct. Note the parallel past use of the *sḏm:f* in a contemporary text from Edfu: B. Gunn, *ASAE* 29 (1929), 7–9 with comments. B. Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Diss. Tübingen, 1970), 98–100, does not discuss these or similar examples.

^q For this use of *ntr* and *hq:* see below. For Černý’s $\bar{\text{N}}$ read $\bar{\text{N}}$ or $\bar{\text{N}}$; indistinct (see above, n. a).

^r Černý ‘I let live’. *snḥ* could also mean ‘feed’ or ‘cure’ (the latter suggested by Vernus, n. 1 above; see H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte* (Grundriss der Medizin 7, 2, 1962), 720); see also below. The grammatical interpretation of this sentence is again uncertain; see above, nn. n, p.

^s For the location of *mꜣw* see K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (TAVO, Beiheft B1, 1972), 118–20 (this text is her IV D b 50). A northerly location, not far south of the Second Cataract, is possible, because Kamose, and *a fortiori* his predecessors, are not known to have campaigned south of Buhen, and the Kerma state does not seem to have been destroyed until later (cf., e.g., J. Leclant, *Orientalia*, 49 (1980), 406–7; 51 (1982), 105–6, with refs.). B. J. Kemp, in P. D. H. Garnsey and C. R. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1978), 290 n. 68, and, following him, D. O’Connor, in *Cambridge History of Africa*, I, 940, suggest on the basis of Eighteenth Dynasty evidence that *mꜣw* may have lain in the Berber–Shendi reach of the Nile. If so, Kamose would have made a raid throughout the Kushite state, just as his northern campaign reached Avaris without overthrowing the Hyksos.

Kamose was in Buhen by his year 3: H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen, the Inscriptions* (Excavations at Buhen 2, MEES 48, 1976), 8–9, no. 488; cf. also W. Helck, *BiOr* 34 (1977), 50,

who suggests that Buhen may have been recaptured from the south after Kamose took it. Helck believes that he must have taken Buhen before year 3.

For a contemporary Edfu inscription from the same period which mentions six years spent in Kush, see B. Gunn, *ASAE* 29 (1929), 5-14.

^t This probably means the regions outside Egypt traversed on Kamose's raids (see last note), as well as the areas of Middle and Lower Egypt that were not part of the territory of the Theban kings.

^u Read *jw·j <hr> šms(t)·f*. The omission of *hr* is known from earlier texts and is unremarkable here.

^v *grh mj hrww* is the normal order in Egyptian, cf. W. Schenkel, *Memphis. Herakleopolis. Theben* (ÄGAbh 12, 1965), 48 n. i.

^w For writings of Avaris see S. Hodjache and O. Berlev, *CdE* 52 (1977), 25-7; this is their no. 5. I render *ph·n·j* as a continuative *sdm·n·f*; cf. above, n. n.

^x For this episode see Černý.

^y As Černý noted, the continuation of the text, which begins with *rh·n*, plausibly read by him at the end of line 16 but not translated, must have recorded the gift of the slave girl *gmj-šn^c* to Emhab as a reward. The description of this would require only a couple of lines—the text is very concisely formulated throughout. Biographies often end very abruptly, and there is no need to assume any further continuation, especially since the stone must have been quite narrow at this point. If the whole stela had been much taller, it would have been very unbalanced.

Short though the text is, it can be divided into a number of sections. A division is suggested by the paragraphing of the translation above, but some breaks could be placed at different points. § A is the normal offering formula, of which only one word requires comment. Apart from two short passages, the content of the narrative part after 'he said' (§§ B-D) is entirely 'factual'; in view of the general economy of expression these must carry special weight, and are explored first. In § A, before the narrative, comes one epithet, 'lovable one', which is the only part that could relate to home or kinship. Such a theme, which had been so prominent in Old and Middle Kingdom biographies and was partly reciprocal in meaning, is on the point of disappearing. The epithet could relate instead hierarchically to Emhab's lord (who must be the king, see below): he possesses the lovability that has emanated from his superior and through Emhab is disseminated to those below him. On the other hand, § A is sufficiently detached to preserve a fossil from earlier conventions. In the narrative Emhab's status is certainly grounded in success against his peer and with the king. However this may be, the general emphasis on wordly success and king is an aspect of the military orientation of the values expressed.

In the first generalizing statement Emhab says that he served his lord throughout and was not cowardly (§ B). 'His journeys' means here more specifically his campaigns; although the text does not say so explicitly, it implies that Emhab went on all his lord's campaigns (which may have been few in number). There follows an account of a drumming contest which is, however, probably the preliminary to the campaigns rather than their consequence. One reason for this order is that the general assertion supplies a context for the entire narrative, not just its first episode, and establishes a sequence: general-particular-general-particular. It is significant

for the text's values that lack of cowardice is given such a prominent position. This prominence is even greater in Khusobek's narrative of battle (above, n. e). The second general passage is in § C, between the author's drumming (discussed below) and the statement of the extent of his travels. Emhab emulated his lord, so far as hierarchy allowed, 'in all his affairs', which probably means still more broadly 'in all respects'. In the abstract his lord is a 'god' and Emhab is a *hqʿ*, 'ruler', while in real events—i.e. in battle—his lord kills and he keeps alive. Below, I consider further Emhab's statement that he is a *hqʿ*. Here I examine the statement about keeping alive, which I suggest is our first example of some military values whose expression forms a short-lived tradition in biographies. Before analysing the Emhab passage, I sketch the later contexts.

In reality the king may be the last person to kill in a battle, but he has the prerogative to take life, as is stated in the Instruction for Merikare^c,⁷ and in the tomb robbery papyri, where condemned criminals are to be sentenced by him; sometimes he may delegate this right.⁸ In iconography the timeless symbol of the destruction of enemies makes the same claim, as does its transformation in Ramessid battle reliefs.⁹ The most valuable service a subordinate can perform is to take captives, contributing both to the victory and to the human booty. In the el-Kab biographies of Ahmose son of Ebana and Ahmose Pennekhbet, the authors state that they brought so many captives and so many 'hands', tokens of those they had killed, in that order.¹⁰ The texts do not state explicitly that the men themselves had killed, and I suggest that this is because, when a royal authority is acknowledged, such claims can be made only by kings, whose inscriptions commonly assert that they killed thousands of enemies—which they did through the medium of their armies, if at all. In the Sixth Dynasty, Pepinakhte claimed to have killed many on an expedition he led,¹¹ but this too was presumably done by his troops. Here, there may be a difference between the expedition leader, who was the king in later texts, and those under them, whatever their status (and Pepinakhte was acting in the name of the king). The conventions could also have changed over this very long period.

Further details of this hierarchy of claimed deeds can be seen in the inscription of Ahmose Pennekhbet. The capture (*kfr*) of a prisoner in battle is highly prestigious, whereas 'bringing back' prisoners of war is almost a side-issue: 'I captured two living prisoners in Kush, apart from the prisoners I brought back from Kush, whom I could not count.'¹² The uncountable prisoners were presumably taken by the

⁷ A. Volten, *Zwei altägyptische Politische Schriften* (AnAe 4, 1945), 22, ll. 48, 50; translation, e.g., M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1, 100.

⁸ See, in general, E. Bedell, *Criminal Law in the Egyptian Ramesside Period* (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis, 1973), 20-9; chap. iv.

⁹ Forthcoming monograph by S. Schoske in OBO.

¹⁰ Texts: *Urk.* IV, 1, 1-11, 14; translation: Lichtheim, *op. cit.* II, 12-15; study of part: C. Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIII^e dynastie* (MRE 1, 1971), 17-87; Ahmose Pennekhbet: *Urk.* IV, 32, 1-39, 8; study of part: Vandersleyen, *ibid.* 89-102. Only a few passages mention both captives and hands: *Urk.* IV, 4, 17; 5, 9; 35, 17. A few decades later Amenemhab mentions captives several times but brings back a hand only once: *Urk.* IV, 890, 5; 892, 3 (hand).

¹¹ *Urk.* I, 133, 12.

¹² *Urk.* IV, 36, 6-8; see also 10-14.

common soldiers who could not aspire to special rewards or to inscriptions of their own; Ahmose then took credit for organizing their passage to Egypt. The numbers of captives the Ahmoses claimed to have taken themselves are notably small, not more than two in any battle, four in the plunder of Avaris, and probably rather more as Nubian plunder.¹³ This gives realism to their accounts and probably means that only the captives of the battle itself are meant, not the general surrender of a defeated foreign army. However this may be, the small numbers are suggestive of the scale of conflict and of the size of the elite group round the king. Military records are seldom noted for minimizing the extent of conquest or size of the booty taken.

In our text the small scale of operations is still more striking. Emhab's lord does not distribute a prisoner to Emhab after his campaigns, but buys one for him. We do not know where the lady was bought. If it was outside the Seventeenth Dynasty king's territory, the campaign cannot have led to great disruptions in the Hyksos or Kerma rulers' states; if it was within his own lands, the king did not exercise requisitioning power over his own administrative departments. The sale stela of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretari¹⁴ shows the king in the next generation working through economic institutions rather than bypassing them, so that the second suggestion is quite possible. (For the purchase episode see also below.)

Below captives come other sorts of booty. Ahmose Pennekhbet says that in Naharin he captured twenty-one hands, a horse (or pair of horses?), and a chariot.¹⁵ In terms of value, the horse and chariot must greatly outweigh the hands,¹⁶ as is probably implicit in the number of hands, but the latter are placed first. Live human beings take precedence, then come dead ones discreetly mentioned, and then anything else. Despite the air of trustworthiness in the figures, the number of hands could be inflated here.

To return to Emhab and his lord, the best interpretation of the statement about killing and letting live is thus that the king takes credit for slaughter in battle and his subordinates for capturing prisoners. I propose that by 'keeping alive' Emhab means bringing back living captives, the highest achievement in battle that could be ascribed to him. More precisely, *sꜥnh* could mean 'making an *ꜥnh* = prisoner', because *ꜥnh* is attested with this meaning in the el-Kab texts that give us the detail of the ethos.¹⁷ The extreme compression and apparent obscurity of the formulation that I assume might not have seemed so wilful at the time, and is in keeping with the terseness of the whole text, as well as perhaps providing a passage of suitable generality for its formal position in the narrative. The reason why a female is bought for Emhab is probably that only males were taken or available, and were retained for

¹³ *Urk.* IV, 4, 12; 7, 17-8, 1.

¹⁴ Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 100-3, no. 122; legal interpretation much disputed, cf. B. Menu, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 89-100 with refs.; M. Gitton, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 327-31.

¹⁵ *Urk.* IV, 36, 10-11.

¹⁶ See also the citation of a horse as a *sqr-ꜥnh*, as if it were a human captive, *Urk.* IV, 8, 1.

¹⁷ *Urk.* IV, 35, 17; 36, 2; cf. also 5, 9: 'living men (*ꜥnh*): 2; hands: 3'.

the army, whereas a female was more valued at home.¹⁸ There is no need to deduce from the lack of an explicit claim by Emhab that he had not taken any captives.

It is appropriate to say that Emhab's master is a god only if the master is a king.¹⁹ Since designations of the king as *ntr* increase in the Second Intermediate Period,²⁰ its occurrence here is not surprising, but the application of *hqꜣ* to Emhab is unexpected, especially in view of its use for the Hyksos king in the Kamose stela,²¹ and for Kamose himself there and elsewhere.²² Störk interprets *hqꜣ* as an assertion by Emhab that his rank is above that of Apophis, but this probably involves connecting different inscriptions too closely. It may be better to see here a ranking system in process of formation. Whereas the attitudes to killing and capture can be compared to those in later texts, the use of *hqꜣ* cannot. Emhab, whose mother was also an *jrjt-pꜣt* (see below), is probably using the titles of nomarch of Edfu, among which *hqꜣ* would have been typical of the First Intermediate Period and perhaps taken up in the next decentralized period.²³ Since he acknowledges an overlord, the usage remains surprising, and perhaps affected by the parallelism with *ntr*. In the Eighteenth Dynasty provincial notables rapidly lose significance, and such a usage would not therefore survive. *hqꜣ* is then chiefly used of the king, but may also apply to foreign rulers.²⁴ (For other evidence of Emhab's exceptional status see discussion of scene.)

The novelty and transitoriness of Emhab's assertions of status can be seen in the linguistic forms. The language is comparable with that of the Kamose stela and contains many Late Egyptianisms, especially in the generalizing statements about rank. Here the inscriptions of the reign of Ahmose already mark a step back towards classical linguistic formulation and social order, in which the king is the centre and specifically named. Emhab's non-naming of the king could have several reasons. The king could be dead and mention omitted out of respect for his successor. It is, however, common for kings and other masters not to be named in texts from the intermediate periods,²⁵ one obvious reason for this being the rapid successions which could soon render a royal name a liability on a monument; a large proportion of the inscriptions with royal names are in fact royal inscriptions or royal texts on small

¹⁸ In *Urk.* IV, 5, 9-11, two female captives are given as a reward after two men have been captured. In total Ahmose son of Ebana received marginally more women than men (*Urk.* IV, 11, 4-14). Other texts do not support this suggestion directly, but higher values for female slaves than for male are known elsewhere, cf. 'Khusobek' (above, p. 42 n. e), n. 15. See also *Urk.* IV, 893, 13, where the female of a pair of servants given to Amenemhab is listed before the male.

¹⁹ So also Černý and Störk.

²⁰ Cf. E. Blumenthal, *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches*, 1: *Die Phraseologie* (ASAW 56, 1, 1970), 24, A 1.14; 56 n. A 11.

²¹ See Störk.

²² See A. Leahy, *GM* 44 (1981), 24-5 n. d; see also stela of Ahmose from Buhen: Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 99, no. 121; discussion, Vandersleyen, *Les Guerres d'Amosis*, 62-4.

²³ e.g. J. Vandier, *Moralla* (IFAO BÉ 18, 1950), 206 (II, θ, 3); 220 (IV, 20); 239 (v, γ, 1); Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, Register* (PÄ 3A, 1975), 26, 31 ('Ortsvorsteher').

²⁴ See D. Lorton, *The Juridical Terminology of International Relations in Egyptian Texts through Dyn. XVIII* (Baltimore and London, 1974), 21-32.

²⁵ 'Ankhtify has a royal name in a caption referring to the inundation (Vandier, *Moralla*, 263, no. 18), but not in his biographical texts. Haremkauef of Hierakonpolis (W. C. Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947), 3-11) did not record the name of the king whose capital he visited in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

objects.²⁶ In addition, the degree of independence of local potentates from royal control was evidently such that they mostly did not relate their achievements to a weak central power. Emhab was therefore following the usage of the time in omitting the king's name, and may have had a present reason of convenience for doing so. In his transitional position he did the king his due by calling him *ntr*, 'god', but, without reinforcing epithets or phraseology, this is a distinction only in comparison with *hqꜣ*; it simply states that the king belongs to a category which is not that of normal mankind, acknowledging the special status of the kingship.²⁷

The stela contains the only known account of what seems to be a drumming contest. After his success in this, Emhab goes on campaigns, presumably drumming in the army. There may have been very few drummers, who had a role in organizing the troops that went beyond their drumming; they could alternatively have had symbolic prestige. In the New Kingdom the *qmꜣm* drum is shown a number of times but not given prominence.²⁸ Perhaps the significance of drummers had disappeared by the time conventions for depicting the army in relief were formulated. The *htnt* whom Emhab defeated appears thus to be a contestant for the position of drummer. If so, aspiring members of the elite might compete for prestigious posts. During the Seventeenth Dynasty the number of people from whom such a choice was made would have been small. As Helck has suggested,²⁹ the organization of the state may have been heavily military, so that the position as drummer could have been important in the ideologically predominant context and idiom, but it does not have special titles. Emhab's titles appear to be devoid of functional reference. The 'chief steward' of the scene (see below) may well imply proximity to the king and perhaps administrative duties, but it can hardly refer specifically to drumming.

Apart from the probable rarity of drummers, the best explanation for the absence of parallel texts about drumming or similar contests is in the definition of the repertory of normal texts and subjects. A subject that is not in the repertory is not recorded even if it is as valid as another that is often mentioned. Here, however, there is an additional reason. Contests of any sort appear almost unknown, probably because they allow more scope for individual ability than is easily compatible with the dominant position of the king. Where something that might be competitive is recounted, as in the sphinx stela of Amenhotep II,³⁰ all direct comparison between

²⁶ Cf. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*; J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (ÄgFo 24, 1965), 225–99.

²⁷ For *ntr* in general, see E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca and London, 1982/3 = *Der Eine und die Vielen* (Darmstadt, 1971)), chap. ii; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster and Chicago, 1985), 23–5, 30–6.

²⁸ See Manniche, above, n. o to translation.

²⁹ *OrAnt*, 8 (1969), 283–5.

³⁰ *Urk.* iv, 1276, 1–1283, 14; translations: Lichtheim, op. cit. ii, 39–43; W. Decker, *Quellentexte zu Sport und Körperkultur im alten Ägypten* (Sankt Augustin, 1975), 53–61; bibliography: id., *Annotierte Bibliographie zum Sport im alten Ägypten* (Sankt Augustin, 1978), nos. 136–47. There were competitions in Egyptian society (see, e.g., B. van de Walle, 'Schaukämpfe', *LÄ* v, 543–5; W. Decker, 'Sport', *LÄ* v, 1161–9), but they do not seem normally to have been part of selection for an official role, as in Emhab's case. A wrestling match presented as an entertainment for wealthy spectators is a very different matter from a situation where those spectators might wrestle for the right to watch.

the king and others is abrogated. The more or less even competition in our text, on the other hand, can be compared with the Kamose stelae, as Störk notes. Here, as in other inscriptions from the freer intermediate periods,³¹ something is expressed which would offend the discipline and order of a state in which the only stochastic principles known are those of the oracle. The other Egyptian competitions are in literature and myth: Sinuhe's with the strong man of Retjenu, probably a motif in Palestinian style,³² and the repeated confrontations in the various versions of the Horus and Seth story.³³

Thus this text has almost contradictory tendencies, implying the first formulation of a military ethos for the reunification of Egypt. In the drumming contest and drumming for the army we see any otherwise unknown activity which may not have taken place in later periods. In other features of language and in the values expressed, conventions of the early Eighteenth Dynasty—some relatively short-lived—are in process of formation. Struggles between the Seventeenth Dynasty, the Kerma rulers, and the Hyksos may have been in progress for some time before the text was written; whether this is so or not, ideals of conquest and expansion are clearly visible, as by implication is the military elite around the king. The ideal of service on which kings based their patronage was probably not so far forgotten that it could not be quickly recalled into being. By the time of composition of the inscriptions of the Ahmoses in the reigns of Thutmose II–III, much of the individuality of Emhab had been replaced by properly centripetal forms, and this development was to continue much further. The most striking feature of the early New Kingdom biographical tradition is the lack of reference to kinship, which was earlier prominent in texts and often the focus of pictorial decoration on stelae. Here Emhab is a true forerunner.

The terseness of the text is not inartistic. If anything, the compression of content and implication into a small compass shows unusual skill. The more extensive inscriptions of the Ahmoses, however, share with Emhab the neglect of civil life, career, and promotion, suggesting that this is a matter of evaluation rather than space. In periods of peace and centralization, the short enumeration of outstanding events gives way to more general statement and moralizing. As well as providing evidence of prosperity, this reflects the lesser freedom of action and expression of the later elite. The abrupt character of private inscriptions centred on narrative is, however, also shared with stories. In neither genre is consistency of tone, or of information presented, a major goal. Instead, blocks of narrative simply succeed one another; everything that is not relevant to the matter at hand is omitted. Texts from

³¹ Among private inscriptions, those of 'Ankhtify are a prime example: Vandier, *Moralla*; translation of part, with bibliography: Lichtheim, op. cit. I, 85–7; see also the inscription of an artist, W. Barta, *Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C14)* (MÄS 22, 1970); for an unconventional royal inscription see *AcOr*, 36 (1974), 39–54; 37 (1976), 11–20, with refs.

³² Cf. *JEA* 68 (1982), 36 with n. 27.

³³ Pyramid Texts: J. Leclant, *CRAIBL* 1977, 278; Middle Kingdom: F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (The Petrie Papyri, London, 1898), 4, pl. 3; New Kingdom: A. H. Gardiner, *LES*, 37–60, translation, e.g., Lichtheim, op. cit. II, 214–23; fourth century and later: papyrus from Saqqara, information about which I owe to John Tait; Berlin papyrus: K.-T. Zauzich, in H.-J. Thissen and K.-T. Zauzich (eds.), *Grammata demotika: Festschrift für Erich Lüdeckens zum 15. Juni 1983* (Würzburg, 1984), 275–81.

Weni and Harkhuf³⁴ through P Westcar³⁵ to the biographies of Ahmose son of Ebana and Amenemhab do not conclude; they simply end.³⁶ Some of these characteristics are visible even in Sinuhe, the most highly wrought of literary narratives, which is not ordered as a smooth progression, but in other ways.³⁷ The alternative narrative form, in which topics are suitably introduced and properly concluded, belongs in Egypt to the strand of folklore or rather pseudo-folklore, of which the earliest exemplar is the Shipwrecked Sailor.³⁸

A final feature of the text that needs to be discussed is the specific and detailed mention of the purchase of the slave woman *gmj-šn*. The purpose of this is probably rather different from that of the rest. It is paralleled in the more extensive context of Ahmose son of Ebana, where the acquisition of servants is mentioned in the running text and the people are then listed with their names at the end.³⁹ This may show that the texts have documentary value. Unless branded, such valuable captives or their offspring could be hard to recover and prove rights to if they absconded, and the inscriptions would provide a public ratification to which appeal could be made, additional to papyrus documents deposited in archives, and comparable with the stela recording the sale of the mayorship of el-Kab from Karnak.⁴⁰ If this is at least part of the meaning, the record of the price, which otherwise looks incongruous, becomes comprehensible; a price expressed in grain and oil is not likely to have been exceptionally high and prestigious (the missing numbers were probably not very large). This passage may then be a monumental imitation of a sale document, in which the statement of the price would be a necessary part. But although there might thus be special reasons for detailing human rewards from the king, the element of prestige remains vital. Servants or captives are given in proportion to success in battle as evidenced by the presentation of people or of hands, so that they would mark a particular category of successful warriors. The symbolism of such slavery would be the more potent if few in the wider society held slaves, as is likely to have been the case.

The scene in the round top of the stela is crude in style and eccentric in execution. Various features in it are worth comment. First, I give a description which, it must be

³⁴ *Urk.* I, 98, 1-110, 2; 120, 1-131, 7; translation Lichtheim, op. cit. I, 18-27; A. Roccati, *La Littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Lit. Anc. Pr. Or., Paris, 1982), 187-97, 200-7.

³⁵ e.g. Lichtheim, op. cit. I, 215-22.

³⁶ Ahmose son of Ebana justifies his selection of material by saying 'the reputation of a brave man (consists) in what he did (which) will not be destroyed in this land for ever' (*Urk.* IV, 2, 5-6). At the end he breaks off with 'I became weaker (*tnj*) when I had reached old age, my favour being as it had been before (read *tpt-s-ʿj?*). [Love of me?][] [so that I might rest?] in the tomb which I had made for myself' (*Urk.* IV, 10, 5-9). Once the deeds of battle and rewards are over, there is almost nothing left to say; the remaining lines are therefore the 'credit balance' from his career (see below). Amenemhab: *Urk.* IV, 889, 12-897, 17; translation: A. Burkhardt *et al.*, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Übersetzung zu den Heften 5-16* (Berlin, 1984), 310-13.

³⁷ See Baines, *JEA* 68 (1982), 31-44.

³⁸ e.g. Lichtheim, op. cit. I, 211-15. This understanding of the text requires detailed support, which cannot be given here.

³⁹ Above, nn. 10, 18, 36.

⁴⁰ P. Lacau, *Une Stèle juridique de Karnak* (CASAE 13, 1949); Helck, *Historisch-biographische Inschriften*, 65-9; see, e.g., A. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 3rd series, 21 (1974), 31-74.

remembered, is from the photograph, together with a translation of the captions. On the left is a right-facing figure of Emhab standing on a separate low base. He wears a close wig, necklace, and long kilt with projecting forward part. In his forward hand he holds a staff that flares at the top, resembling the *wꜣd*-sceptre of a goddess.⁴¹ Such objects are not held by gods, still less by kings and human beings, so that the nature of the staff remains uncertain; despite appearances, it could be the simple straight object normally held by high-ranking Egyptians. His backward hand, which hangs by his side, holds a cross shape which almost certainly represents an *ꜥnh*-sign.⁴² The caption to Emhab is in one column in front of his figure and one behind it, and reads 'The chief steward Emhab (repeating life),⁴³ whom the *jrjt-pꜣt bjm* bore'.⁴⁴

In the middle is a left-facing figure of Horus standing on a base with vertical stripes that probably allude to a *srh*. He is hawk-headed, wears a normal tripartite wig, and has on his head a sun-disk with uraeus.⁴⁵ He wears a shirt and a rather formless kilt. In his forward hand he holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre and in his backward hand an *ꜥnh*-sign. The *wꜣs*-sceptre curves backwards and an *ꜥnh*-sign prolongs its line towards his beak (see below). Between the god and his forward arm is a small offering table with a pair of conical leaves beneath. On the table Υ looks like an inverted sign for 'clothing' *mnht*, which is very common in groups of offerings but would be unusual on a table. Clothing is more usually part of the equipment of a human being than shown among offerings to a god. The caption to the god is in a vertical column facing him, and reads 'Horus of Behdet, great god of his town'.⁴⁶

Behind Horus is a left-facing figure of Hathor, who stands with her hands empty by her sides. Her feet are at roughly the same level as those of Emhab but not on any base or base line. She wears a tripartite wig, horns-and-disk crown, and a uraeus (or vulture head-dress). Her dress is the normal garment of goddesses.⁴⁷ In a curious detail which may derive from a right-facing archetype, a line marking the division between her legs appears to overlap the forward leg in such a way as to make the

⁴¹ Cf. K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 64 (1929), 6–9.

⁴² Not cited by H. G. Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 16–28.

⁴³ The words in brackets are at the bottom of the column of text in front of Horus, where Černý suggested they had been put for reasons of space. Because of the complex derivation of the composition, discussed below, other explanations are possible.

⁴⁴ *jrjt-pꜣt* is a rare title for women, and probably relates to Emhab's position as nomarch(?). Almost all examples with non-royal women of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period belong to wives of nomarchs and people of similar status. (I am most grateful to Gay Robins for a list of cases, too lengthy to give here.)

⁴⁵ Figures of Re-*Harakhte* with disk and uraeus occur already in the Old Kingdom: G. Jéquier, *Le Monument funéraire de Pépi II*, 111 (SAE, Fouilles à Saqqarah, Cairo, 1940), 23–4, pl. 45 (no name preserved), and again in the Middle Kingdom: P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostris I^{er} à Karnak* (SAE, Cairo, 1956–69), pl. 16. A local stela closer in date to Emhab has an example of Horus *nb bj* with disk, uraeus, and feathers: H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches*, 11 (CGC, Berlin, 1908), 329 (CG 20703); 1v (1902), pl. 53. For a case of the scene type from which I suggest below that our scene is derived, with sun disk above the hawk on the *srh*, see D. Randall Maciver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos 1899–1901* (MEEF 23, 1902), pl. 29. I can find no precisely comparable earlier figure of Horus of Behdet.

⁴⁶ *njw* 'town' presumably has the same pregnant meaning here for Edfu as in the Theban area it does for Thebes. For an inscription at Buhen in which Horus of Behdet may be *nb njw*, see *GM* 67 (1983), 24–6. Anthony Leahy suggests that this usage could reflect on the divine level the fragmented political situation of the period.

⁴⁷ The dress ends higher on the leg than is normal for goddesses.

backward one 'nearer' to the viewer. Her caption is in a right-facing vertical column behind her, and reads 'Hathor mistress of Dendara'. This is the earliest example of Hathor of Dendara that I can find at Edfu.⁴⁸ It shows that the association of the two deities in the Graeco-Roman period had a long prehistory.

The fact that all the captions in the scene face right suggests that it was inexpertly worked up from a draft in hieratic by a sculptor who was unused to the variable direction of hieroglyphs. In some ways this is surprising, because the sign forms on the stela are not particularly inept. As Černý remarked, it is unusual for the figure of a god to face left. This may relate to the composition of the scene (see below), but it could also have been influenced by the context in which the stela was set up.⁴⁹

The entire scene is surrounded on three sides by a deeply incised winged disk, which has joints in the wings so that the outer parts hang down beside the figures.⁵⁰ The decorative treatment of the wing joints and the fringe-like feathers projecting from the edges irresistably, but misleadingly, evoke a curtain. The disk itself has an incised uraeus, whose form is defined by the relief surrounding it, on either side. Beneath it is an interrupted horizontal line which delimits the bottom both of the disk and of the uraei, but has a rather curious effect because it stops at the pendant feathers without following the snake bodies round. Although there are a number of winged disks on private stelae of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, none is closely comparable with this one.⁵¹ In almost all other cases, a private individual is not shown directly beneath the disk, whereas royal and divine figures are commoner in the position. Even in the succeeding Eighteenth Dynasty, when figures of deities become much more frequent on private stelae, human figures have a *wḏ:t*-eye and not a wing above them. I can find no parallel for this form of the winged disk. Outside it, a line running round the whole scene defines a torus moulding which is not, however, worked in relief.

Thus several features of the scene are exceptional: the figure of Emhab on a pedestal with *wḏ*-sceptre(?) and *ḥ*-sign, who does not present offerings; the full figure of the god on an abbreviated *srh*; and the winged disk. Emhab is probably shown as a statue and Horus as a mixture of a normal figure and an emblematic one. The schema is then a reversal of a relatively common emblematic group on Middle Kingdom stelae, where a god is shown as a cult image, giving life to the royal Horus

⁴⁸ Isis is shown, with sun-disk and uraeus, facing Horus on an Edfu(?) stela of the same period: British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* . . . , VI (London, 1922), pl. 28. This may be indirect evidence for an association of Horus, Hathor, and Isis as in the Graeco-Roman period, but other explanations are possible. The Buhen inscription cited in n. 46 also pairs Horus and Isis, and the pairing could derive from Edfu, as is suggested by the identification of Horus there as 'of Behdet'.

⁴⁹ Examples parallel to this one are not treated by H. G. Fischer, *The orientation of Hieroglyphs*, 1: *Reversals* (Egyptian Studies 2, New York, 1977).

⁵⁰ The inner area of the wings is defined by a relief line that goes beyond the edge of the right wing, and is prominent on both sides. It may derive in part from the common thick upper edge of the wing, as, e.g., on Cairo CG 20539 (Lange and Schäfer (above, n. 45), 4, pl. 41; Fischer (previous note), 22, fig. 21). Surprisingly, Drioton did not comment on the striking but fortuitous resemblance between the scene and a stage.

⁵¹ e.g. Cairo CG 20538-9 (previous note); W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos* (Publ. Penn.-Yale Exped. to Egypt 5, New Haven and Philadelphia, 1974), pl. 1, ANOC 1.1. A contemporary, much damaged Edfu example is conventional in form: Ramadan el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 167-207 with pl. 47.

name.⁵² In such a grouping the right-facing figure is a god and the left-facing hawk and *srh* represent the king. Here the figure of Emhab appears to derive from that of the god. If such an origin is posited, it is possible to account for the *ꜥnh*-sign in Emhab's hand, the fact that Horus faces left, and the direction of the *wꜥs*-sceptre with *ꜥnh*-sign which he holds.⁵³ The latter may be transferred from the sceptre held by Emhab without changing its direction, as would be required in terms of meaning, perhaps in part because an *ꜥnh* and *wꜥs* from god to Emhab would be a little presumptuous even for Emhab.

The adaptation that I assume brings a figure of the dedicator into the stela field, which would have been contrary to rules of decorum in the central Middle Kingdom. The contradictions in the design must be due in part to artistic inexperience, but the effect of raising the owner's status very greatly was probably intentional—although the result should not be read as identifying Emhab as a god. Rather, as the nomarch of the time he searched for an iconographic form to express his prestige in the presence of the gods; this may parallel the designation *hqꜥ* in the text. In relation to the gods, he had textual forerunners in the intermediate periods⁵⁴ as well as more general models in which royal motifs were used.⁵⁵ The iconography, like the text, also looks forward to the New Kingdom, which at first developed in a conservative direction in decoration as it did in the biographical motifs discussed above. Thus, both text and relief are manifestations of the freedom of action of the provincial elite, and give glimpses of activities and aspirations normally excluded from the monuments by convention and decorum.⁵⁶ But although there is provincial freedom, there is no provincializing tendency; the provincial seeks to make himself central.⁵⁷ As is found elsewhere, artistic standards slipped further than textual, but in neither area did author and designer—whether the same person or not, and whether Emhab himself or not—fail to vary existing conventions to the glory of Emhab.⁵⁸ In this and in its anticipation of later developments lies the special interest of the stela.

⁵² See previous note; for emblematic scenes in general, see Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 277–305; for emblematic personifications 41–63. For the occurrence of deities on Middle Kingdom stelae, see M. Malaise, 'Inventaire des stèles égyptiennes du Moyen Empire porteuses de représentations divines', *SAK* 9 (1981), 259–83; id., 'Les Représentations de divinités sur les stèles du Moyen Empire', in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Hommages et Opera Minora 9, Leiden, 1984) 393–420. Malaise's material is slightly earlier than Emhab, but there do not seem to be great developments in design in the Second Intermediate Period.

⁵³ An alternative, not necessarily conflicting, explanation is that a right-facing figure has been imperfectly converted into a left-facing one. This does not account for the whole context as well as the suggestion in the text.

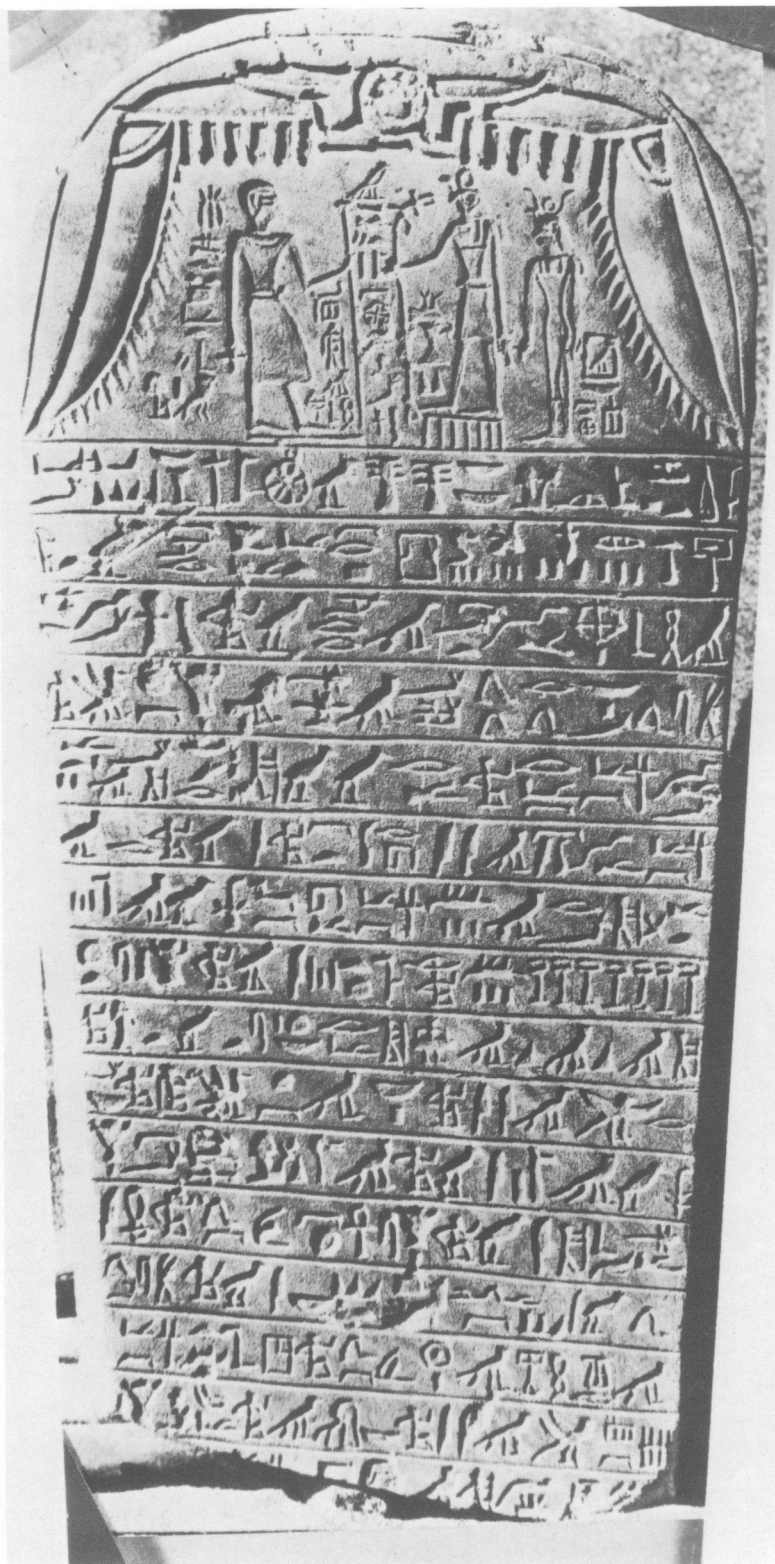
⁵⁴ Vandier, *Mocalla*, 163 (I, a, 2); Hayes, *JEA* 33 (1947), 4 with pl. 2, l. 6; see also *JEA* 68 (1982), 40 n. 39.

⁵⁵ The use of regnal years by Middle Kingdom nomarchs is the classic example, see, e.g., R. Anthes, *Die Felsinschriften von Hatnub* (UGÄA 9, 1928), nos. 10–32 *passim*; *Urk.* VII, 14, 5; in general, see also A. M. Blackman, *Meir* VI (ASE 29, 1953), 14, with refs.

⁵⁶ For the concept of decorum, see Baines (above, n. 52).

⁵⁷ A point made in detail by Vernus (above, n. 1).

⁵⁸ Cf. the subtlety of text and iconography of the stela of Sebekhotpe VIII (above, n. 31).



Cairo JE 49566

STELA OF EMHAB FROM TELL EDFU

THE TOMB OF NAKHT, THE GARDENER, AT THEBES (NO. 161) AS COPIED BY ROBERT HAY¹

By LISE MANNICHE

This article publishes, with translation, the drawings and copies of texts made by Robert Hay in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Nakht at Thebes, which are of prime interest since much of the decoration has deteriorated since.

FROM the point of view of publication, the tomb of Nakht has been subject to a strange fate. Soon after its discovery² it was recorded by Robert Hay, then travelling in Egypt. Good drawings by *camera lucida* were made in pencil, and all scenes were rendered in water-colour at a small scale;³ tracings were made directly from the walls,⁴ and the texts were meticulously copied by a draughtsman who could have had little or no knowledge of the language.⁵ These precious documents were neglected for almost a century until in 1924–8 M. Baud was commissioned to use them as a basis for a model of the tomb for the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, where it is still exhibited.⁶ A booklet on the model was also published.⁷ Another little book, reproducing some of Hay's original drawings and water-colours along with photographs taken in the tomb in its present state has been prepared by me.⁸ Various parts of the text and pictures have been published by a number of scholars whose contributions are all listed in the *Topographical Bibliography* of Porter and Moss,⁹ but a complete publication is lacking.

While working on the Hay manuscripts I had the opportunity of studying his

¹ I am indebted to the British Library for allowing me to consult the Hay manuscripts, and to the Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, for entrusting me with the microfilms of the manuscripts originally intended for the Revd Selwyn Tillet for his study of Hay, *Egypt Itself* (London, 1984). I also owe a debt of gratitude to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, in particular Chief Inspector Mr Mohammed es-Sughayir and Mr Mohammed Nasr, Inspector of Gurna, for allowing me access to the tomb of Nakht in Jan. 1984. To Mr J. D. Ray I owe a number of comments on the texts.

² MS 29848, 63: 'Tomb opened by me twice—1826. 1832—Previously by Piccinini.' MS 29824, 45: '... opened a second time by Mr. Hay.' Piccinini was an art merchant and archaeologist who was active at Thebes in the 1820s. His house was next door to the tomb of Nakht.

³ Hay MS 29822, 92–105.

⁴ Hay MSS 29851, 1–88; 29853, 140–1, 143–4, 149–51, 156–7, 175–9, 200–1, 204–5. Some of these tracings are duplicates. In MS 29824, 51 and verso there is a key plan of the walls indicating which parts were traced.

⁵ Hay MSS 29822, 106–12; 29848, 44, 63.

⁶ Cf. *CdE* 3 (1927), 6; *CdE* 4 (1928), 10–11 and 36–8.

⁷ M. Werbrouck and B. van de Walle, *La Tombe de Nakht. Notice sommaire* (Brussels, 1929).

⁸ In preparation.

⁹ To PM (3) may now be added M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes* (Cairo, 1966), pl. 29 (part of I and II), and L. Manniche, *Ancient Egyptian Musical Instruments* (MÄS 34) (Munich, 1976), fig. 14.

copies of the inscriptions from this tomb. Although these latter are by no means unique, the original copies deserve to be made available to those who may not have access to the manuscripts, now kept in the British Library in London. Many of the texts have now vanished from the walls of the tomb, either through wear and tear, or because portions of the walls have been forcibly removed.¹⁰ Most of the texts were also copied by Lepsius but never published. The Lepsius manuscript, on temporary loan to the Griffith Institute, Oxford, has been consulted for the present purpose.¹¹

Hay's tracings of the walls are quite outstanding for their time. As they are unfortunately incomplete and cannot form the basis for a full publication of the tomb, it was thought appropriate to include them here for reference purposes, and to present a little-known aspect of Hay's painstaking work in the necropolis.¹² The hieratic graffiti in the tomb, also copied by Hay, have been studied by Mr Stephen Quirke (see below, pp. 79–90).

The Texts

Above a representation of Nakht and his wife, on the right side of the entrance door. PM (4), fig. 1. 1.

1. *Entering, after going out, [to] dwell in his tomb on coming back from following Amūn in his beautiful feast during his appearance on the great barge on his voyage of the New Year, by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified, (and) his beloved wife, the mistress of the house, (T)ahemt.*

In Hay MS 29822, 92 (water-colour) all the columns of the text are level at the bottom, except for the last one, which is longer. In actual fact, neither this arrangement nor the one in the hand-copy is absolutely correct. The exact disposition can be seen in the tracings, Hay MS 29851, 50 and 52–4, cf. fig. 8. Some of the missing signs are supplied by a similar text in TT 64, elsewhere taken to refer to the Feast of the Valley.¹³ The *t* in the name of the wife appears to have been left out by the ancient scribe, as Lepsius quotes the *aleph* alone, adding *sic*.

A few comments on the Feast of the New Year in the Theban tombs are appropriate here, as this aspect does not appear to have been thoroughly studied. The feast is referred to in a number of tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and in isolated cases before and after. The tomb scenes naturally reflect only those aspects relevant to the dead. In the temples a special statue of the chief divinity was exposed to the rays of the sun to be rejuvenated¹⁴—after all, it was the birthday of Rē̄-Harakhte.¹⁵ As far as the blessed dead were concerned, it was a day when, after similar rites on the preceding five epagomenal days, torches were lit in the

¹⁰ Three fragments are now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen, having been acquired on the art market in Cairo in 1910. A fourth fragment is in the Musée Rodin, Paris. Reference to them will be made ad loc.

¹¹ I am grateful to the Griffith Institute for making this manuscript available to me.

¹² Although a number of artists worked with Hay during his stays in Egypt, there is no direct evidence of anyone else being responsible for the work carried out in the tomb of Nakht. According to MS 31054, 134, Hay was occupied in the tomb on 21 and 22 June 1826. Bonomi is known to have been with him during that season, and he was probably responsible for one of the hand-copies of the texts. The existence of duplicate tracings also suggests that Hay was not working alone. Hay returned to the tomb in 1832.

¹³ MMA Photos T 2826–7, cf. S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale* (Wiesbaden, 1953), 109 (Inscr. 70).

¹⁴ On the temple festivities, cf. Dumas in *LÄ* IV, 466–72.

¹⁵ As stated by the 'Diary of the Theban Necropolis'; cf. Gardiner in *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 139.

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FIG. 1

5. *His beloved son, gardener of the divine offerings of [Amūn], Ḥuynufer.*

The name of Amūn was either omitted or, more likely, erased, as there is room for it and the genitival particle was written.

6. *His beloved son, bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Parehny.*²²
 7. *His beloved son, gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, User.*
 8. *His [beloved] son, [Amun]erneheh.*²³

The name is complete in inscription 29.

9. *Her beloved favourite daughter, Ḥmōsi.*
 10. *Her beloved daughter, Neḥemtyaḥ, justified for Osiris.*²⁴
 11. *Her beloved daughter, Nofretwacti.*²⁵
 12. *Her beloved daughter, Ḥthotpef.*

In inscriptions 24 and 33 the name is Ḥthotpes.²⁶

Column of text separating the Feast of the Valley from the funerary banquet.

13. *Everything which comes forth on the offering table of Amūn and the god's wife Ḥmōsi Nofretere to the ka of the one revered with Osiris, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified, (and) his beloved favourite wife, the mistress of the house (Tahemt).*

There is no representation to accompany this inscription, but Ḥmōsi Nofretere is depicted on the opposite wall, cf. below.²⁷

Above Nakht and his wife being offered flowers.²⁸ PM (3) 1, right.

14. *Coming with the bouquets of Amūn when he rests in his temple. May he praise you and love you. To the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, the guardian of Amūn, Nakht, justified for Osiris, begotten by the lord, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Gurer, born to Kay. All that comes forth in front of the lord of . . . the primeval god of the Two Lands (and) Mut, mistress of Asheru, to the ka of the mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified.*

There are several parallels to this text.²⁹ Gurer must be a foreign name.³⁰

Above the sons and a daughter presenting the offerings. PM (3) 1, left.

15. *By his beloved son, the gardener of the divine offerings [of Amūn], Ḥuynufer.*
 16. *To your ka the bouquets of Amūn and Mut, mistress of Asheru. By his beloved daughter, Ḥmōsi.*
 17. *His daughter, Neḥemtyaḥ.*
 18. *His beloved son, Kha.*
 19. *[His beloved] son, [Ḥuynufer].*
 20. *His beloved son, Parehny.*
 21. *His beloved son, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, User.*

²² The name is absent from H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935–53), but the name Rehny is found once in the New Kingdom, *PN* 1, 225, 15.

²³ *PN* II, 264, 1, with reference to this tomb only.

²⁴ *PN* II, 300, 12, with reference to this tomb only. Cf. a similar man's name, *PN* 1, 424, 18.

²⁵ *PN* II, 299, 10, with reference to this tomb only.

²⁶ Not in Ranke, but cf. the male version of the name, *PN* 1, 57, 29.

²⁷ This text was partly translated in W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschafts geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 87.

²⁸ For this subject, see Schott, *Das schöne Fest*, 48 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 117 (Inscr. 95).

³⁰ Cf. Ranke, *PN* II, 323, 16, with reference to this tomb only. Perhaps Semitic Gurel is meant?

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Above the couple being offered to by their daughter at the festival banquet.³¹ PM (3) II [right], fig. 10.

22. *The gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified; his beloved wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified. 'To your ka! Spend a happy day, you praised by Amūn. May he cause you to come and go to his temple to behold the beauty of his face, and to receive cakes from what his ka gives on the occasion of every feast in heaven and on earth.'* (Said) by his beloved daughter, 'Aḥmosi.

Next to children by chairs.

23. *His daughter, Nofretwarti.*

24. *Her daughter, 'Athotpes.*

The daughters are here shown as children, whereas in the previous scene (inscriptions 11–12) they were adult women.

Above the sons and daughters in the lower register of the banquet.

25. *His son, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Khaḥ.*

26. *His son Huynufer.*

27. *His beloved son, Parehny.*

28. *His beloved son, User.*

29. *His beloved son, Amūnerneheḥ.*

30. *His beloved daughter, 'Aḥmosi.*

31. *His beloved daughter, Neḥemtyaḥ, justified.*

32. *His beloved daughter, Nofretwarti.*

33. *His beloved daughter, 'Athotpes.*

Inscriptions in the gardening scene, reading from left to right. PM (3) III [lower left].

34. *The gardener [of] the divine [offerings of] A[mūn], Nakht.*

35. As 34, but complete.

36. As 35.

37. *Strolling . . . Amūn, Nakht.*

Above the Nine Friends on the right wall. PM (5) IV [right].

38. *The funeral procession, the trustworthy dignitaries (and) all the people he loves in Thebes.*

At the Opening of the Mouth. PM (5) IV [left].

39. *Opening the mouth and the eyes of Osiris Nakht.*

40. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem priest. Taking the instrument.*³²

Above the *sem* priest presenting an offering list to the couple. PM (5) [right], fig. 11 [upper].

41. *Making an offering which the king gives twice pure to Osiris and to his divine Ennead that they may give an invocation offering of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, linen, incense, unguent and all good and pure things to the ka of Nakht, justified (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

³¹ Cf. Schott, *Das schöne Fest*, 64 ff., and for a translation of the text, p. 123 (Inscr. 119).

³² Cf. E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 80 ff. (scene 26).

The tracing (fig. 11 [upper]) has 𓆎 for 𓆏. The hand-copy has ① for ②. The offering list includes the following items:

Water, ḥt3-bread, psn-bread, dpti-bread, meat, roast, wine, beer, špnty-bowl of water, jug of honey, bowl of water, northern wine, roast, meat, meat, cake, 'halved' cake, bowl of water, libation and censuring.

𓆎 𓆏 in the top right corner of the list is an instruction to the person reciting.³³

The couple is identified as *the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht. The mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

Above the rites performed in front of the mummy and the statue, reading from left to right. PM (5), fig. 11 [middle].

42. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Bringing to enter the haunch set aside in front of Osiris, the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified.*³⁴

43. *Recitation by the lector priest, The sem-priest. Walking round behind four times with the four nmst-jars of water for Osiris Nakht.*

Although the hand-copy gives *three jars* the tracing correctly has 'four jars'.³⁵

44. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Taking the instrument of Anubis. Opening the mouth and eyes of Osiris Nakht, justified.*³⁶

45. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Walking round behind four times with the four dšrt-jars of water (for) Osiris Nakht.*³⁷

46. *Recitation by the lector priest. The sem-priest. Taking the 'great magic'. Opening the mouth and eyes of Osiris Nakht.*³⁸

Inscriptions accompanying the voyage to Abydos, reading from left to right. PM (5) 11, fig. 11 [lower]-12 [upper].

47. *Sailing in peace for Abydos to follow Wennufer in W-Pkr among the dignitaries . . .*

Part of the inscriptions in this register, and an entire boat, were destroyed when Hay visited the tomb (cf. MS 29822, 94). The missing portions were restored by Baud for the model in Brussels. The remaining boat was reversed to fill the gap, and the end of this text was completed as '*to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht*', also including the name of the wife.

48. *Coming home in peace from Abydos . . .*

Above one of the boats, next to the shrine of Anubis. PM (5) 11 [right].

49. *Coming home in peace to Anubis to see his beautiful chapel on the occasion of his feast of the Wag Feast. May he cause us to be among the praised ones with the followers of Wennufer as a daily thing every day to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified, (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

The *Wag Feast* took place on the seventeenth and eighteenth days of the first month of the inundation season³⁹ and celebrated the voyage to Abydos.⁴⁰

³³ Cf. W. Barta, *Die altägyptische Opferliste* (Berlin, 1963), 111, where this term is mentioned.

³⁴ For a slightly different text to the same scene cf. J. Settgast, *Untersuchungen zu altägyptischen Bestattungsdarstellungen* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1963), 103-4.

³⁵ Cf. Otto, op. cit. 37 ff. (scene 2).

³⁶ Ibid. 80 ff. (scene 26).

³⁷ Ibid. 42 ff. (scene 3).

³⁸ Ibid. 84 ff. (scene 27), and 179 (50) with a reference to this tomb.

³⁹ Schott, *Festdaten*, 20, 44-5, 81-2.

⁴⁰ Ibid. 68. For an additional reference cf. my forthcoming article in *Melanges Dr Gamal Moukhtar*, 'The beginning of the festival calendar in the tomb of Neferhotep (No. 50) at Thebes'.

In front of Anubis.

50. *Anubis, lord of the bright land.*

Above Osiris. PM (5) I [left].

51. *Osiris, who is in Abydos.*

Above Nakht and his wife adoring Osiris.

52. *Giving praise to Osiris. Kissing the ground for Wennufer by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified. He says, 'Hail to thee, ruler of eternity, Osiris, the first of the Westerners. May you cause me to come and go in the necropolis like all your praised ones.' His wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

The upper part of the figure of Nakht with the surrounding texts is now in Copenhagen.⁴¹

Above Anubis. PM (5) II, left.

53. *Anubis, lord of the sacred land.*

Above the couple offering to Anubis (spreading over one of the boats in the Abydos scene) fig. 11 [lower].

54. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, Anubis, in your house, by the bearer of floral offerings to [Amūn], Nakht, justified. He says, 'I have come unto thee, lord of the sacred land, Anubis, who is in front of his chapel. May thou cause to come and go in the necropolis at the sound of offerings being established, and my corpse to be firm without stumbling⁴² and my ba to be happy in its place every day, and (cause to be) an akh in the sky with Rēc, and strong on earth with Geb, and justified with Osiris—to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to [Amūn], Nakht, justified, (and) his beloved wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt.'*

In the word *sound*, Hay copied \dagger for \downarrow (also in the tracing). Lepsius omitted the sign. The name of Amūn appears to have been erased twice.

Above the Western goddess. PM (5) III [left], fig. 12 [middle].

55. *The beautiful West.*

Above the couple adoring the goddess. Ibid.

56. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, beautiful West, by the gardener [Nakht, justified], (and) his wife, the mistress of the house, Tahemt, [justified].*

The words in square brackets were omitted by Hay in the hand-copy, but they are extant in the tracing.

Inscriptions pertaining to the priest presenting an offering list. PM (6) II.

57. *Making an offering which the king gives twice pure to Osiris (and) to his divine Ennead, that they may give [an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, cattle, fowl] and all good and pure herbs as a daily offering every day to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt. (By) his beloved son, Huy[nufer].*

In the name of the son Hay copied $\overline{\text{Huy}}$ for $\overline{\text{Huy}}$.

⁴¹ Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek ÆIN 1074: O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures égyptiens* (Copenhagen, 1956), no. 67, cf. van de Walle, *CdE* 40 (1965), 40 and fig. 6.

⁴² For this word cf. *Wb.* 111, 32, and for the very same expression in a text from TT 110, cf. *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), pl. 40, l. 8.

The offering list is identical to that of inscription no. 41, except that in the lower row *ibd* and *mww dšrt* have been entered in reverse order, and that in the upper row the amounts of *ḥꜥt* and *mww* have not been added. The list concludes: *The total of all good and pure things.*

Above the couple.

The gar[dener of the divine offerings of Amūn, bearer of offerings to Amūn], N[akht, justified with the great god.] His beloved favourite wife, praised by Hathor, mistress of the house, Taḥemt, justified.

The missing signs, here in square brackets, were restored by Baud, probably correctly. It is the only place where both titles occur together. Taḥemt may have been a 'Hathor musician', instead of just being 'praised' by the goddess. But the title occurs nowhere else in the tomb.

Above a couple behind the priest.

58. *His father, the gardener of the divine offerings of [Amūn], Gurer, justified. His beloved favourite wife, mistress of the house, Kay, justified.*

Above a couple below.⁴³

59. *Her father, the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Ro[y, justified. His wife] Bak . . .*

Baud restored the name of the wife as Baky and added 'justified'. The name may, however, have been Bakt. (The third 'column' in the hand-copy is the space where the person's head protrudes.) It is often difficult to ascertain to which person in a scene the suffix pertains, whether it is the largest person in the scene, or the nearest. Roy and Baky may be either the parents of Taḥemt, or, just conceivably, the parents of Kay. In any case, the gardening occupation ran in the family.

Above two of the divinities adored by the couple.⁴⁴ PM (6) I, fig. 13.

60. *Osiris, the foremost of the Westerners, great god who resides in Abydos. The god's wife, 'Aḥmosi Nofretere.*

Lepsius copied the *r* in the name of the queen.⁴⁵

Above the couple.⁴⁶ Ibid.

61. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, ruler of eternity, by the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified. He says, 'May thou cause me to come and go in the necropolis like all of your praised ones.' His beloved wife, mistress of the house, Taḥemt.*

Lepsius added the missing *t* in *nbt* and *wc̄bt*. In column 2 Hay copied \cup for \cup .

⁴³ Porter and Moss take this couple to be Nakht's parents.

⁴⁴ The tracings by Hay suggest the name of Hathor for the third divinity, cf. fig. 13.

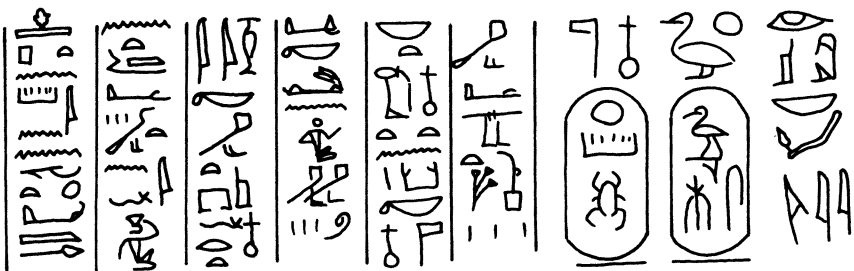
⁴⁵ For the subject of 'Aḥmosi Nofretere as represented in the Theban tombs cf. Manniche in *Acta Orientalia* 40 (1979), 11–19. The bibliographical reference to TT 161 was mistakenly omitted in footnote 4. For the complexion of the queen in this tomb cf. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes* (New York, 1925), 33 n. 1.

⁴⁶ The head of the wife with the surrounding text is now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 1076, cf. Koefoed-Petersen, op. cit., no. 68; van de Walle, op. cit. 37–40, fig. 4.

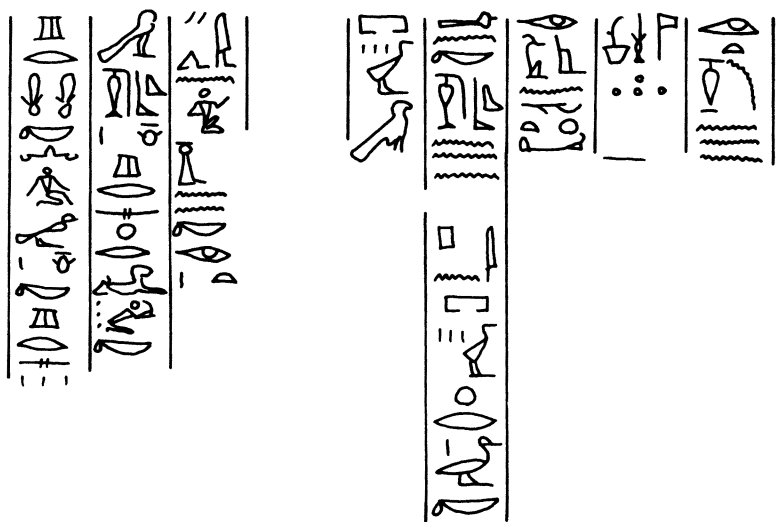
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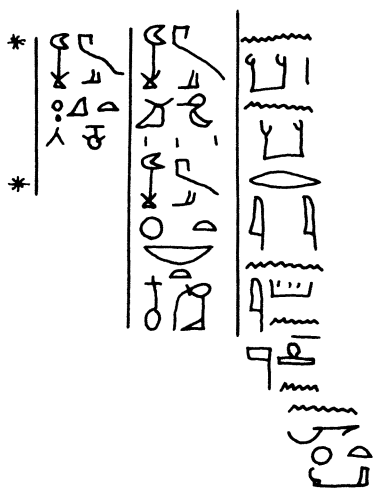
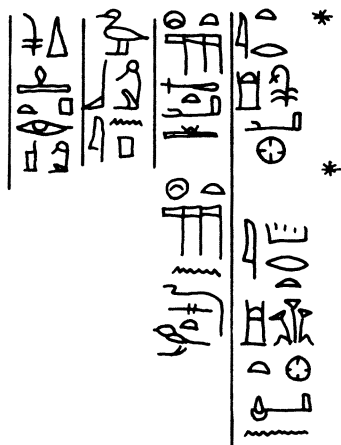
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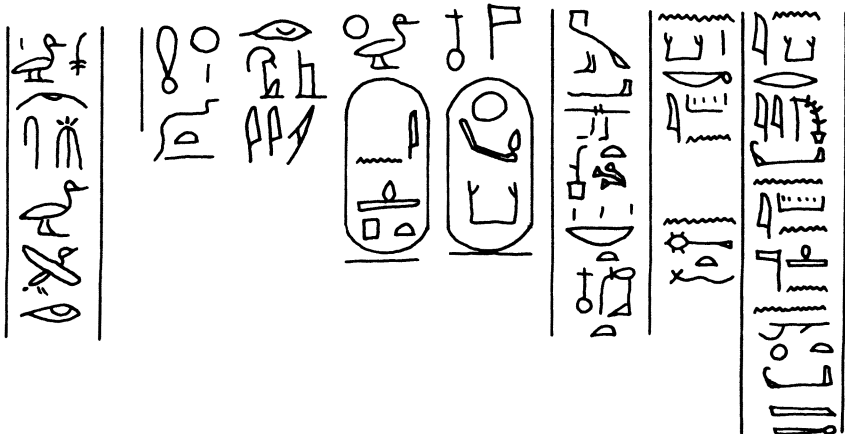
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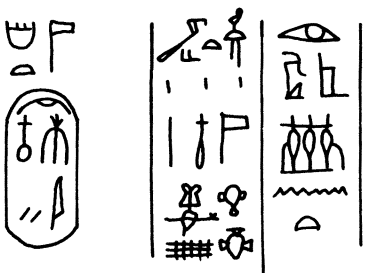


FIG. 6

Above Nakht offering to Tuthmosis III.⁴⁷ PM (7), left [upper].

62. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, good god. May you cause me to be with them,⁴⁸ those whom you praise in the beautiful place of the righteous. (Said) by the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified.*

Above the king.

The good god, Menkheperre, son of Rē, Tuthmosis, beloved of Osiris, the sacred lord.

Above a priest offering. PM (7) [left, lower].

63. *Making libation and censuring . . . to Osiris Nakht. Take for thyself this libation which comes forth from thy son, Horus, which came forth from Horus. I have come to bring to thee the eye of Horus that thy heart may be purified with it. May thy foes be under thy sandals. Mayst thou never be weary of them.*

Above Nakht offering to Amenophis I and Sapair.⁴⁹ PM (7) [right, upper], fig. 8 [right].

64. *Bringing all good and pure herbs to your ka, son of Amūn of his body. (Said) by the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified. The good god, Djoserkarē, son of Rē, Amenhotep, beloved by Osiris like Rē for ever. The king's son, Ḥḥmosi Sapair.*

In the name of the prince Lepsius added a stroke after *s*. Hay traced a *t*, but then apparently erased it.

Above a priest offering. PM (7) [right, lower].

65. *An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, Geb, Anubis, the great Ennead and the little Ennead, the Enclave of the south and the Enclave of the north that they may give 1000 mugs of beer, 1000 oxen and birds, 1000 of all good and pure things to the ka of the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht.*

Texts on the false door. PM (7) [right, middle].

66. *An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris who resides in Abydos that he may give [an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen fowl,] incense, all kinds of offerings, libations, wine, milk, and all good and pure things to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht.*

An [offering] which the king [gives] (to) Wennufer, lord of the sacred land, that he may cause to be a spirit in the sky, strong on earth, justified in the necropolis to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, (and) the mistress of the house, Tahemt.

An [offering] which the king gives (to) Anubis, lord of Rosetau, that he may cause to come and go in the necropolis at the sound of offerings being established as a daily offering every day to the ka of the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified.

[An offering which the king gives (to) Anubis] who is in the embalming chamber that he may give a firm corpse which does not stumble, a ba which is happy in all its places to the ka of Nakht, justified.

Revered with Imseti, Osiris Nakht, justified; (do. with Duamutef, Ḥapy and Qebehsenuf).

All that comes forth on the offering tables of Amūn of Karnak to the ka of Nakht.

⁴⁷ The figure of Nakht now joins the other two fragments in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, ÆIN 1075, cf. Koefoed-Petersen, op. cit., no. 66; van de Walle, op. cit. 35-7, fig. 2. The entire scene has now disappeared.

⁴⁸ Although the use of *-w* is rare before the Armana Period (cf. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, § 34) it occurs elsewhere, e.g. in TT 81 (*Urk.* IV, 54, 10).

⁴⁹ For this prince cf. Vandersleyen in *L'Äv.*, 385-6. Part of this scene is now in the Musée Rodin, Paris, cf. id. in *SAK* 10 (1983), pl. xvii [lower].

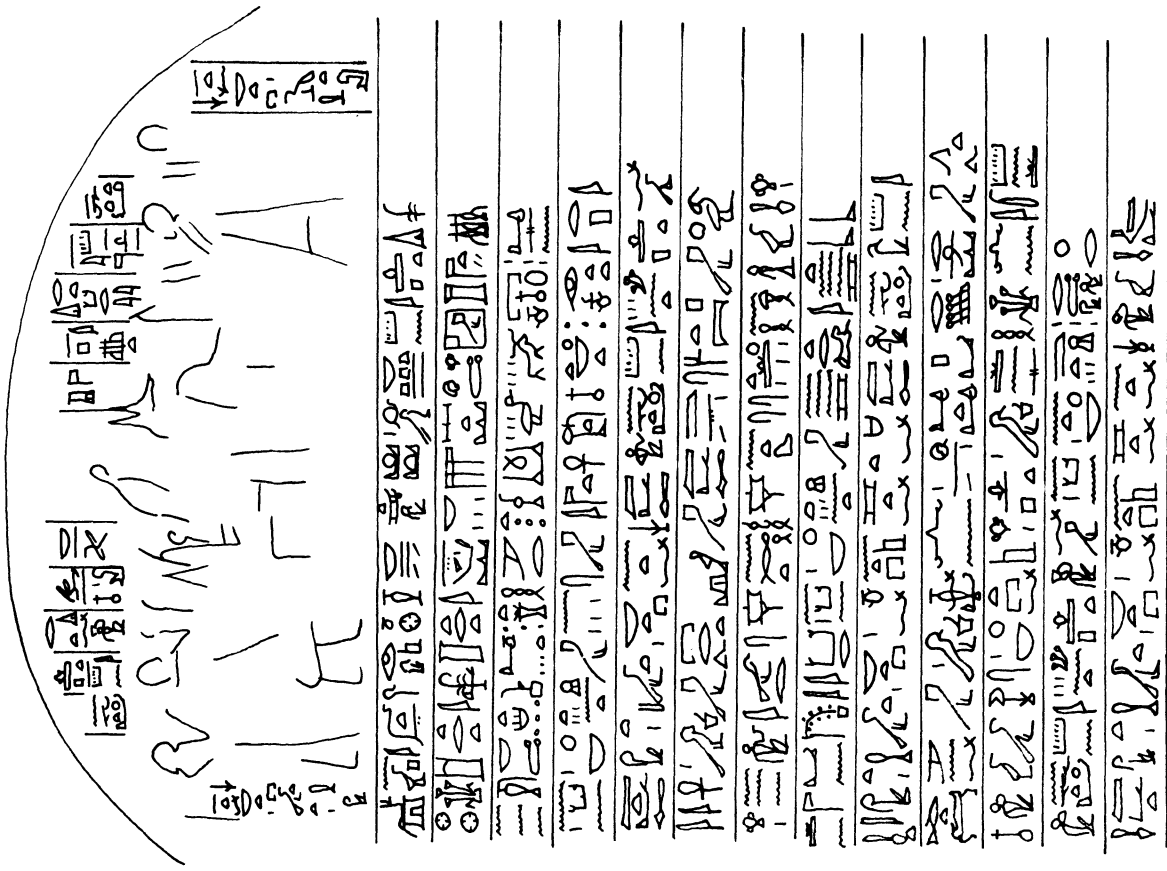
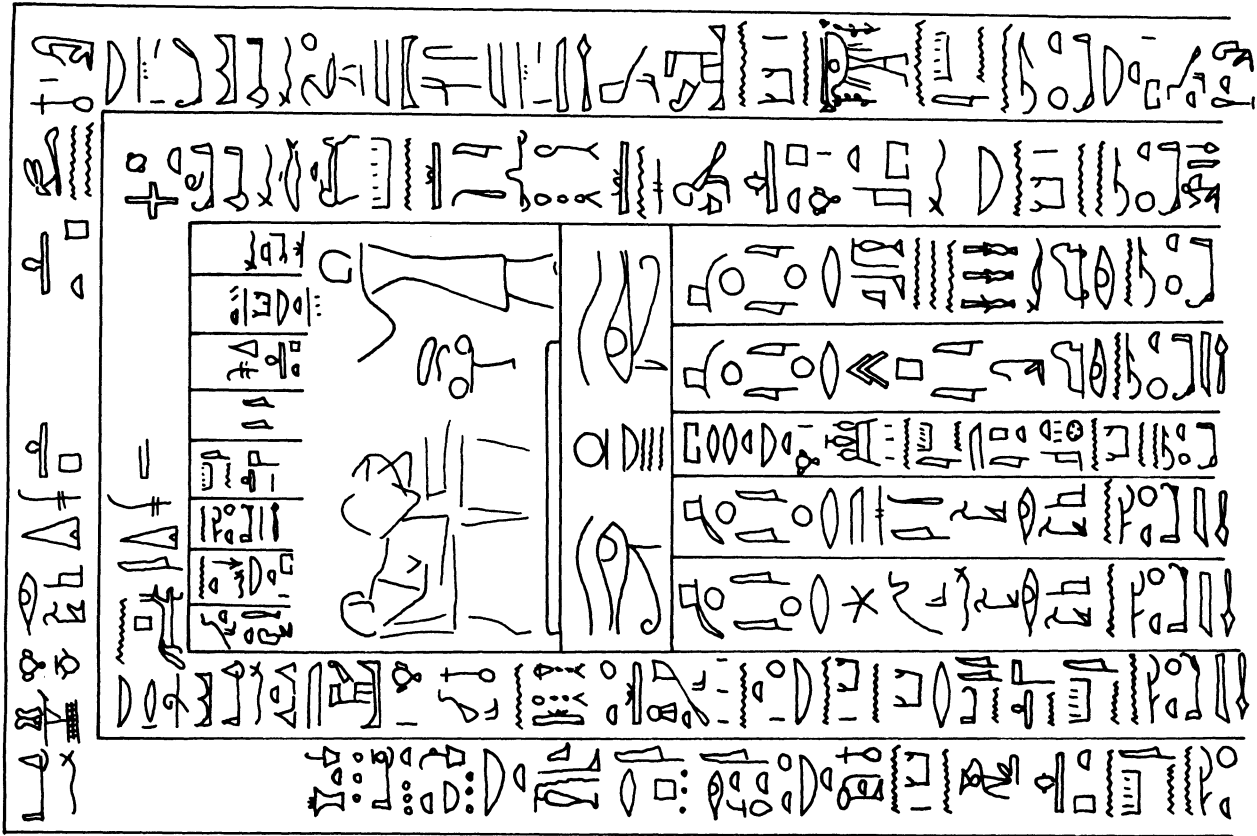


FIG. 7

Above the representation of the couple.

[*Making*] an offering which the king gives . . .

The signs before the name of the son Kha^c are obscure.

The gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified. His wife, mistress of the house Tahemt.

Texts on the stela.⁵⁰ PM (7) [*left, middle*].

Accompanying the representation of the couple adoring Osiris.

67. *Wennufer, lord of the sacred*⁵¹ *land. Giving (praise by) the bearer of floral offerings to Amūn, Nakht (and) his wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt.*

Above the couple adoring Anubis.

Anubis who is in front of (his) chapel. Giving (praise by) the gardener of the divine offerings of Amūn, Nakht (and) his wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt.

Main text of the stela.

An offering which the king gives (to) Amūn, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands; Rēc-Harakhty; Atum, lord of the Two Lands (in) Heliopolis; Osiris, ruler of eternity; Anubis who is in front of his chapel; Hathor who resides in the desert; all the gods of the sacred land; the Southern Enclave; the Northern Enclave; that they may give an invocation offering consisting of bread, beer, oxen, fowl,⁵² alabaster, linen, incense, unguent, all offerings and herbs, a libation of wine and milk and all good and pure things on which a god lives as a daily offering every day to the ka of the bearer of offerings to Amūn, Nakht, justified (and) his wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt. Being a spirit in the sky, strong on earth, being justified in the necropolis, going out as a living ba at the sound⁵³ of offerings being established, smelling the sweet breeze from the north, drinking water from the eddy(?) of the river as a daily offering every day to the ka of the gardener of the divine offerings⁵⁴ of Amūn, Nakht, justified (and) his beloved favourite wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified. Coming and going in Rosetau in order to receive what is given on earth, the ba not being prevented in what it wants, a firm corpse which does not stumble, a ba which is happy in its place every day, (and) a good memory among people as a daily offering every day to the ka of the bearer of floral offerings of Amūn, Nakht, justified (and) his beloved favourite wife, mistress of the house, Tahemt, justified.

These collected inscriptions from the tomb of Nakht may not throw new light on the funerary beliefs of the Egyptians of the New Kingdom. They do emphasize beyond doubt the various guises life in the Hereafter had to offer and the need to attract the attention of the divinities instrumental in the transformations of the dead.

⁵⁰ This text, with present lacunae restored from the publication by Duemichen, was published by A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie* (Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1940), 37. In the Hay manuscripts there are two hand-copies of the stela, one by Hay reproduced here (MS 29822, 107), and another (MS 29824, 45, with a sketch of the whole wall on 46) in a different hand, presumably that of Bonomi (in the same manuscript (p. 11) there is a reference to copies by Bonomi being included). Apart from the fact that the latter copy reversed two lines of text there is little difference in the readings of the individual signs. The copies in the Hay manuscripts are preferable to any subsequent ones. ⁵¹ MS 29824, 45 has correctly *nb tꜣ dsr*.

⁵² *ꜣpdw* was omitted in Hermann's publication.

⁵³ *ꜣ* instead of Hermann's *ꜣ*.

⁵⁴  instead of Hermann's suggestion.

Note to the Illustrations

Hay's drawings and tracings are in pencil and not suitable for reproduction as they are. His original hand-copies of the texts have been traced off from prints of the microfilms of the manuscripts. The same technique was employed to produce the plates of line-drawings. Hay used the method of outlining thick lines, resulting in thin double lines where these occur. The space between them has been filled in by me and, adapting the drawing technique of N. de G. Davies, eyebrows and cosmetic lines have also been marked in black. This also applies to certain details in patterns, etc.

The sources for the individual illustrations are as follows:

- Fig. 8 [left] Hay MSS 29851, 45-54.
- Fig. 8 [right] Hay MSS 29853, 175-9.
- Fig. 9 [left] Hay MSS 29851, 75-80.
- Fig. 9 [right] Hay MSS 29851, 35-44.
- Fig. 10 Hay MSS 29851, 55-66.
- Fig. 11 [upper] Hay MSS 29851, 86-8.
- Fig. 11 [middle, left] Hay MSS 29853, 200.
- Fig. 11 [middle, right] Hay MSS 29853, 204-5.
- Fig. 11 [lower] Hay MSS 29851, 27-9.
- Fig. 12 [upper] Hay MSS 29851, 81-5.
- Fig. 12 [middle] Hay MSS 29851, 30-4.
- Fig. 12 [lower] Hay MSS 29851, 67-9.
- Fig. 13 Hay MSS 29851, 6-26.

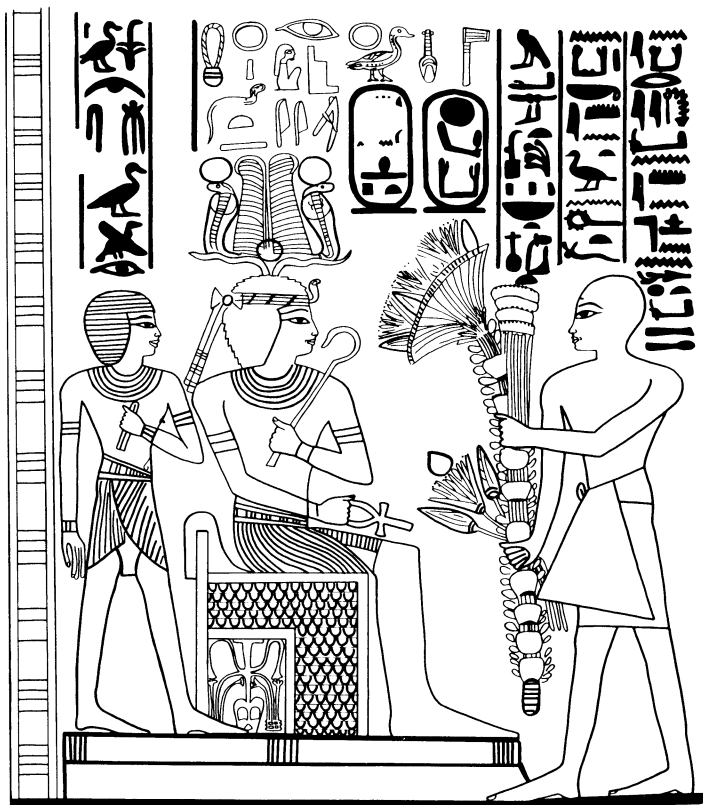
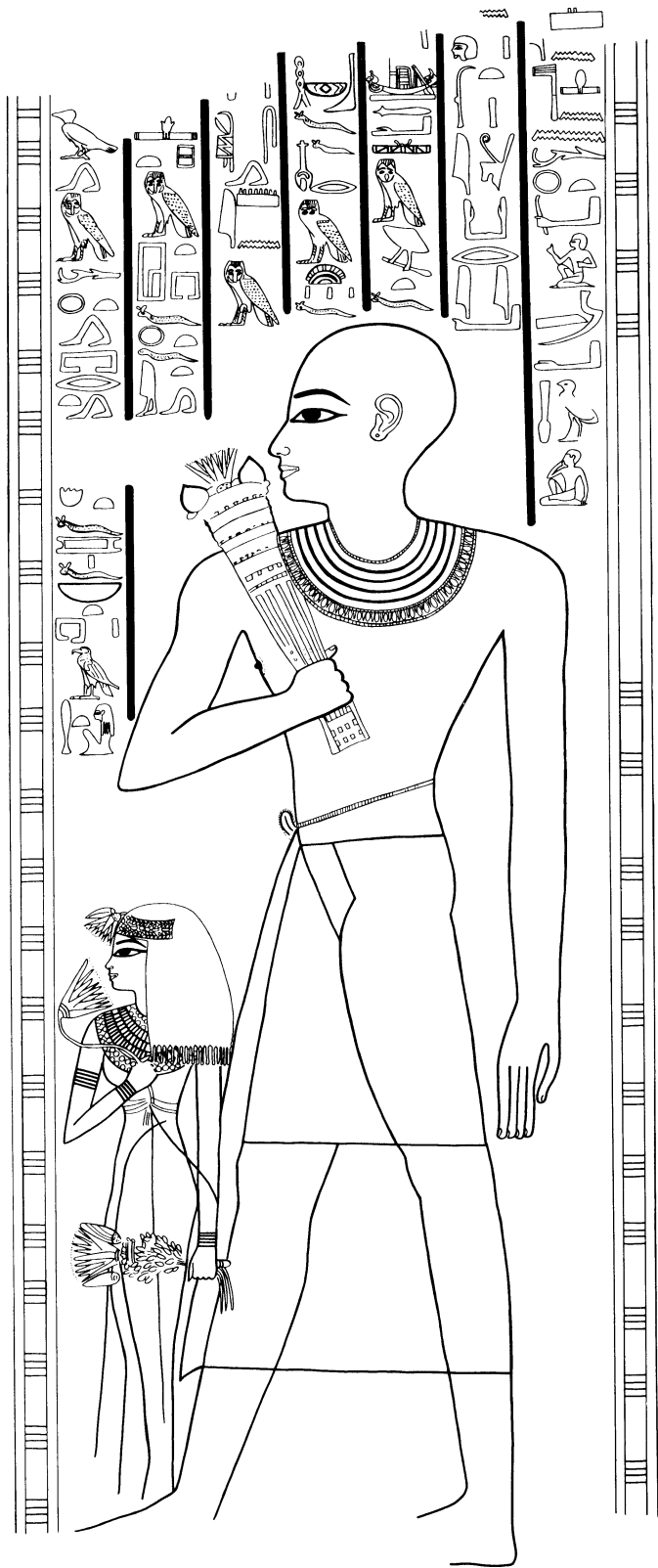


FIG. 8

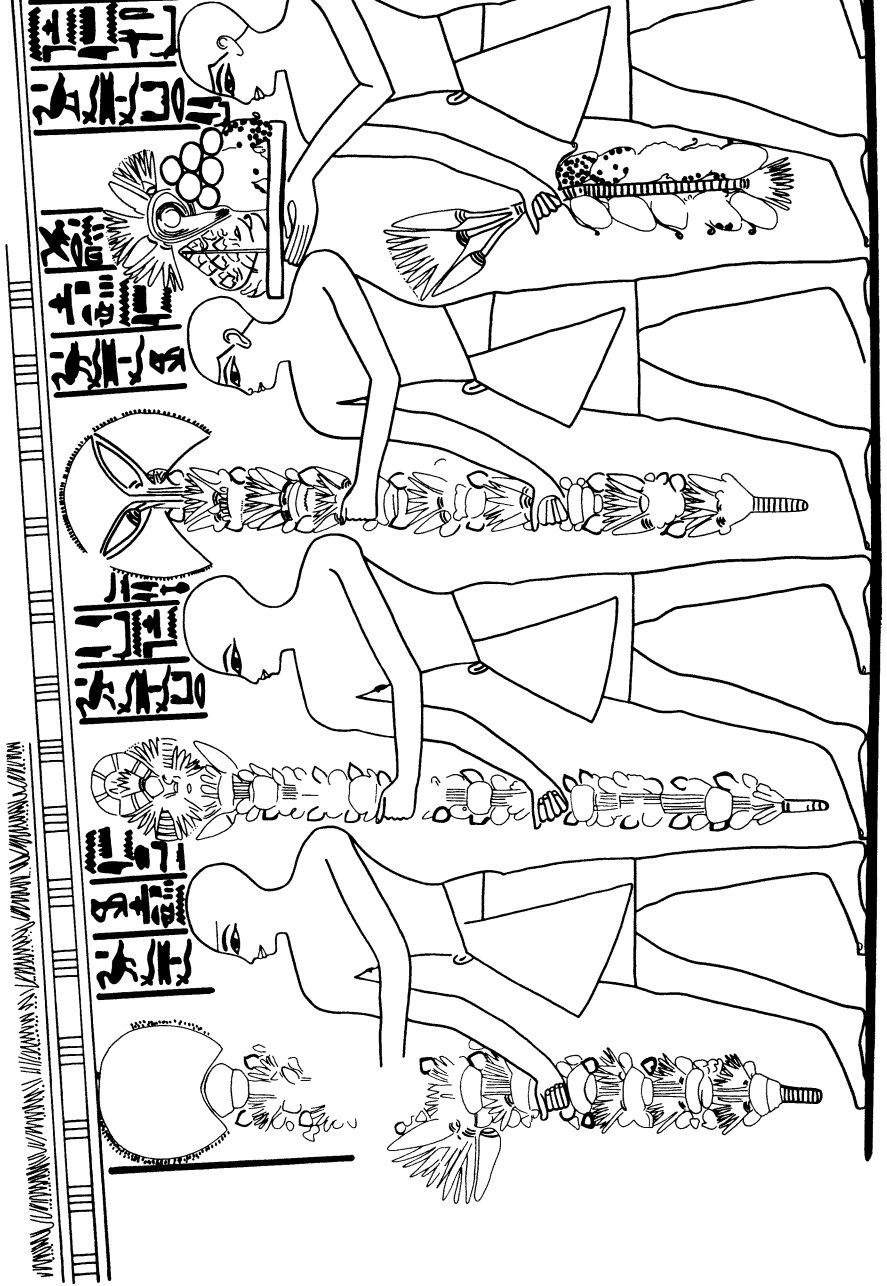
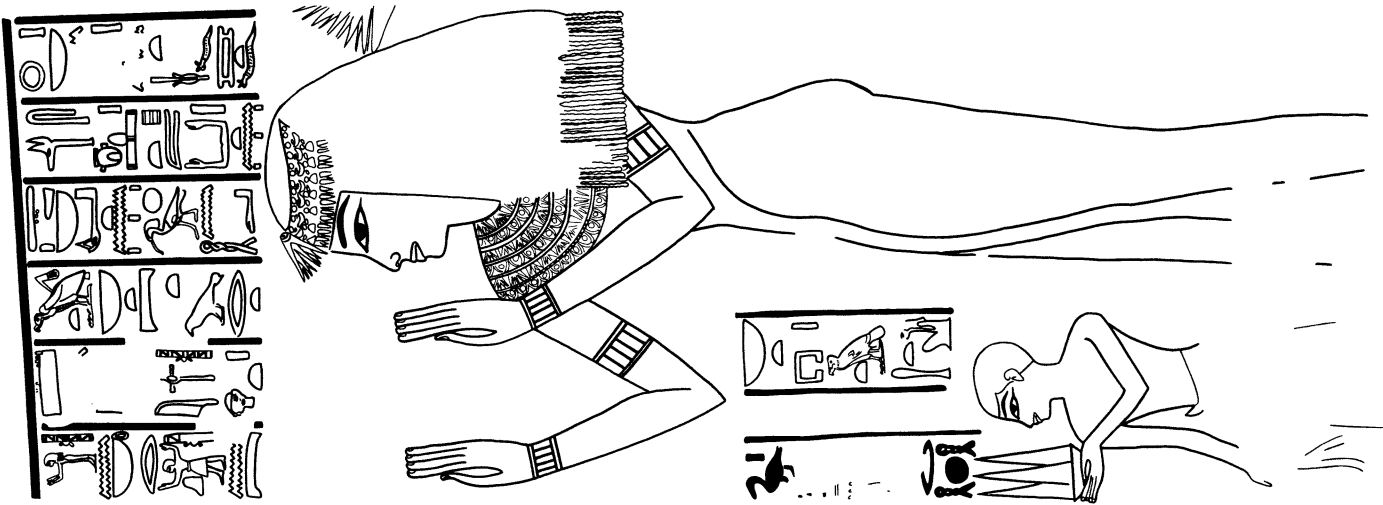


FIG. 9



FIG. 10

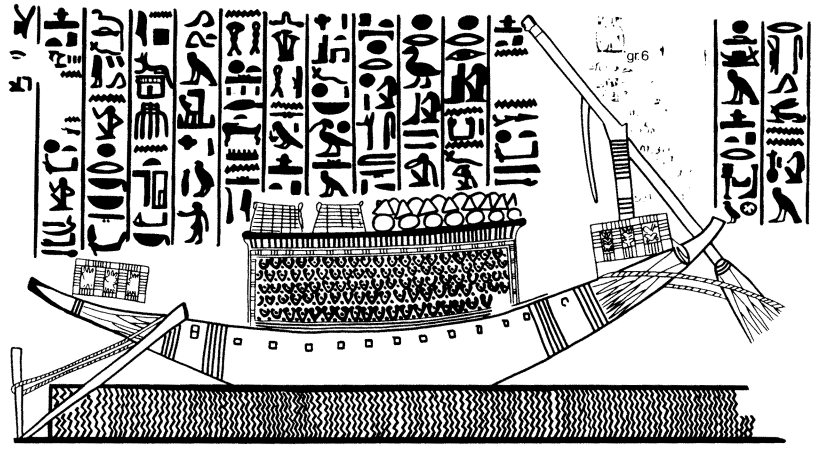
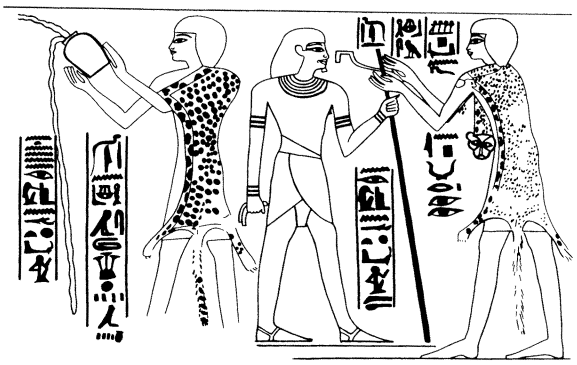
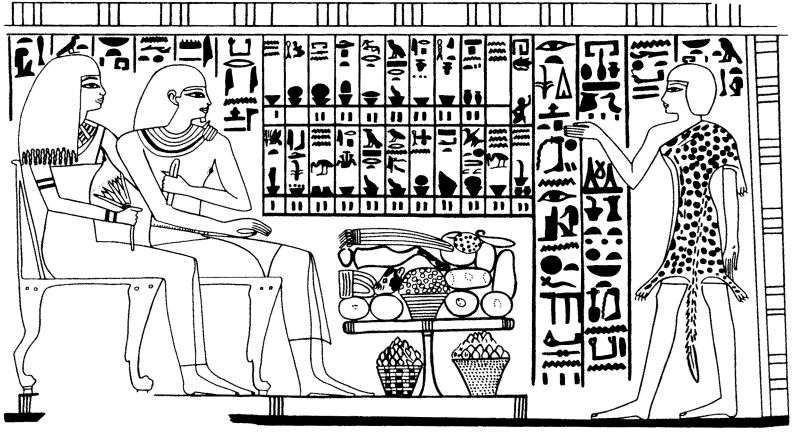


FIG. 11

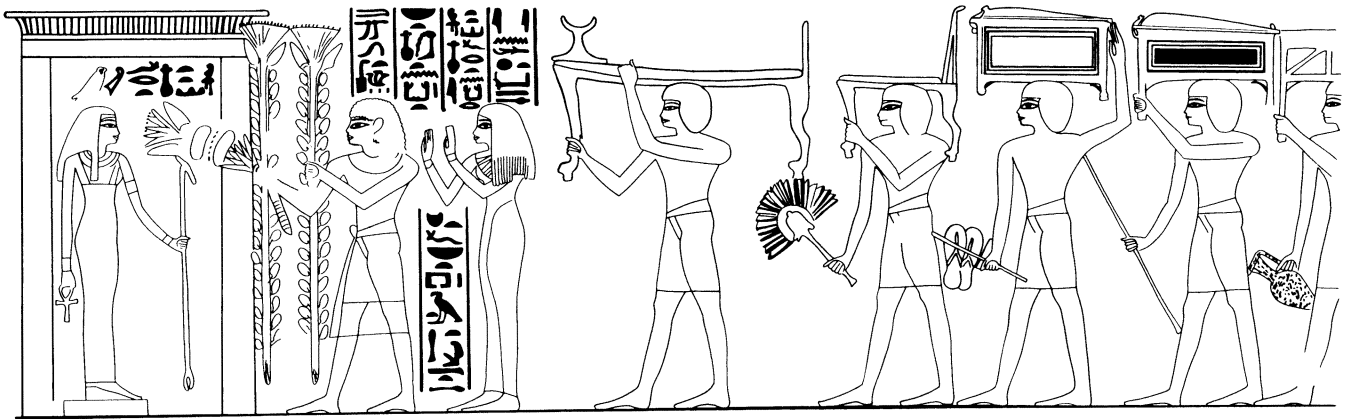
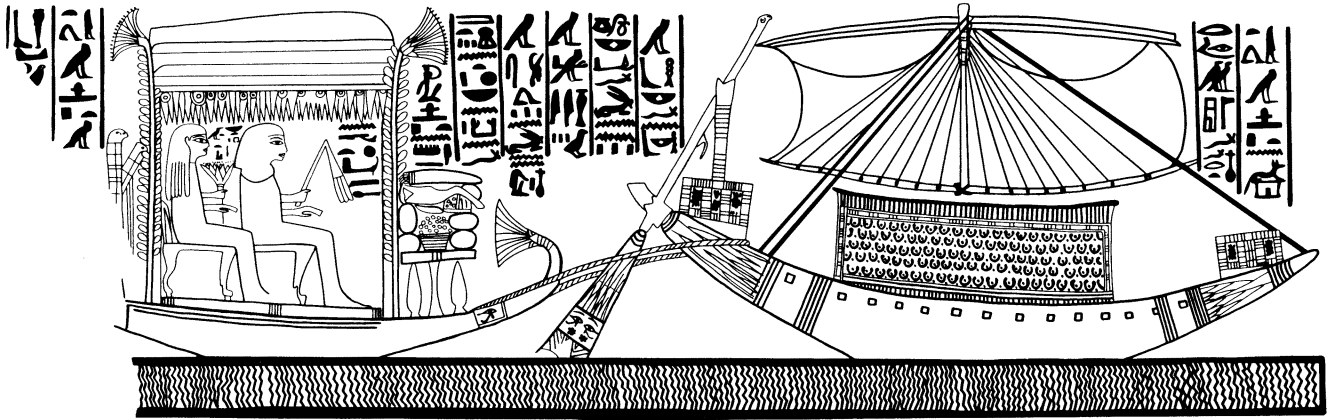


FIG. 12

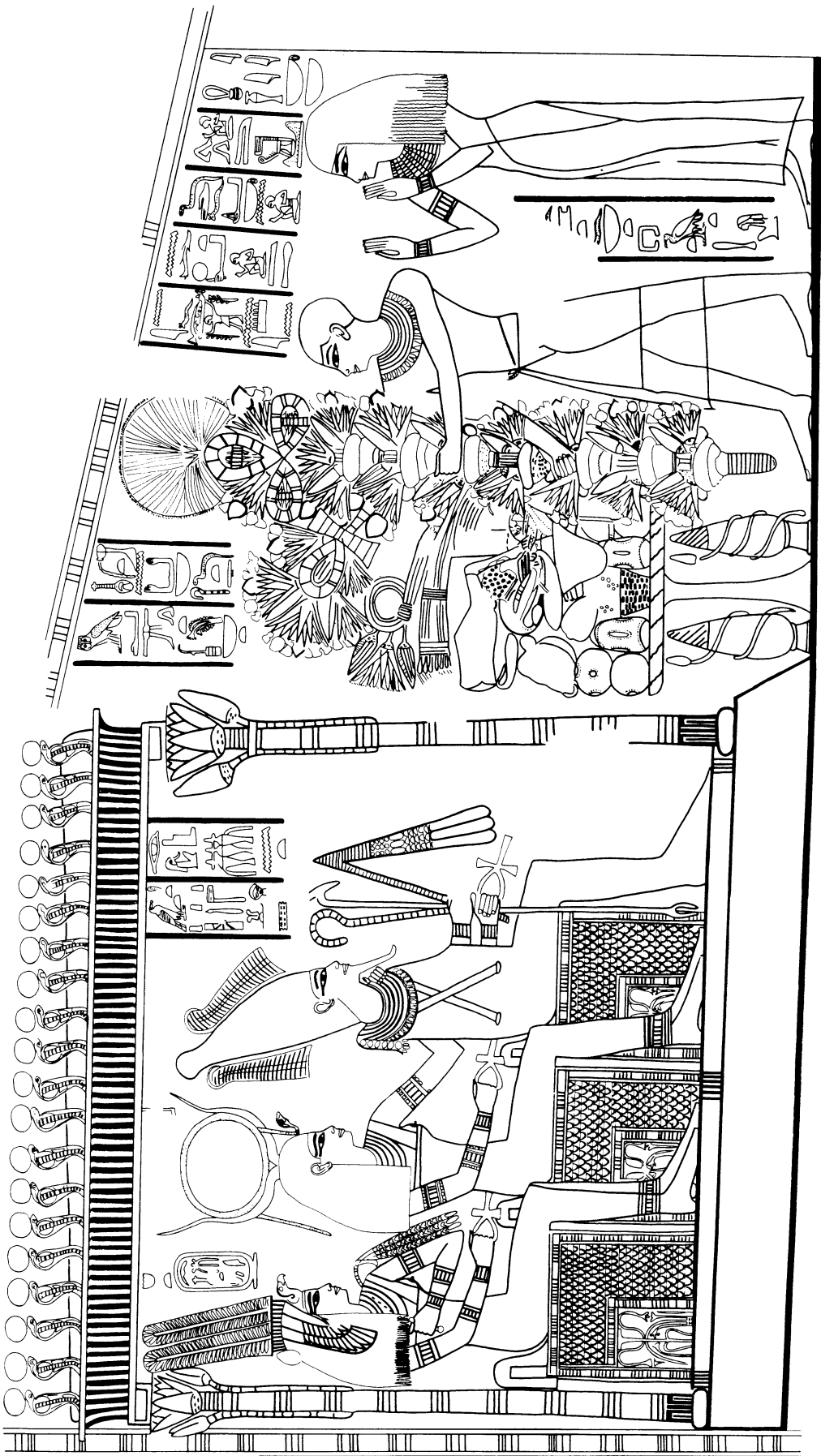


FIG. 13

THE HIERATIC TEXTS IN THE TOMB OF NAKHT THE GARDENER, AT THEBES (NO. 161) AS COPIED BY ROBERT HAY

By STEPHEN QUIRKE

Publication, with translation and commentary, of Hay's copies of the six groups of hieratic graffiti which he recorded in the tomb of Nakht.

AMONG the texts copied by Robert Hay in the tomb of Nakht are a number of hieratic graffiti. Since Lise Manniche is now publishing the hieroglyphic texts, this seems a good opportunity to present a preliminary study of the graffiti. It should be borne in mind that Hay made these copies in the early part of the last century and under difficult field conditions. These circumstances impose certain limitations on present-day studies of his copies, but they also bear witness to the remarkable talent of this early epigraphist.¹

Graffito 1 (figs. 1-2)

This is recorded in Hay MS 29822, 107. Under the text, Hay has added the note 'over the garden'. This sets the graffito in the lowest register on the left wall. The hieroglyphic inscriptions in the gardening scenes are nos. 34-7 in Lise Manniche's article.

Transliteration

1. *kꜣry Sꜣ-ꜥmn fꜣy ḥtpw n ꜥmn sꜣ*
Hwy . . .
2. *sꜣf Nn-nswt sꜣm n pr-ḥꜣ n*
Hnkt-ꜣnh(?) . . wnn

Translation

1. The gardener Siamon, offering-bearer of Amun, son of . . . Huy . . .
2. His son Nen-nesut, servant of the treasury of Henketꜣankh(?)

Commentary

kꜣry. This title points to affinity with the tomb owner, and this encourages me to read *fꜣy ḥtpw* after the name. The graffito shows that the gardener was not merely a manual labourer; he could be literate enough to write this text, just as he could be in the position of owning his own tomb.

Sꜣ-ꜥmn. The reading is uncertain. Perhaps  should be read in place of *sꜣ*. This would give 'gardener of Amun', but it would increase the difficulties at the end of the line.

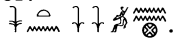
fꜣy ḥtpw. I had first considered the initial group separate, reading the following signs *Nfr-ḥtpw*. However, the writings for *fꜣy* and *ḥtpw*, in Graffito 3, line 2 and Graffito 4, line 1 respectively, support the transliteration given above.

Hwy. The name is unclear; the preceding signs would give the father's title, if his name comes at the end. Perhaps the last group should be read *nfr*; the name *Hwy-nfr* was borne by


¹ I am indebted to Lise Manniche for making available to me the Cambridge microfilms of the Hay manuscripts. The present article was written on her initiative, and the credit for bringing these texts to the attention of scholars is properly hers. I should like also to thank John Ray for his help and suggestions.

one of Nakht's sons. If this were the same man, the preceding title might be *hry-hbt*, but these readings are too uncertain to allow any firm conclusions.²

s:f. This appears to record the visit of a father and son; similar visits are attested in graffiti elsewhere.³ The terms 'father' and 'son' might refer to 'tutor' and 'pupil';⁴ at the Step Pyramid there are two graffiti which mention school staff.⁵ However, the Nakht graffito probably records the visit of a true father and son, since the first line contains indications that they are related to the tomb owner.

Nn-nswt. Possibly to be transcribed . *Nn-nswt* is the classical Heracleopolis Magna, principal town of the Twentieth Upper Egyptian nome. There seems no reason to connect this town with the title of a Theban, whereas its importance in mythology might explain its place in a personal name.⁶ Either way, it is most unexpected in the context of a Theban tomb.

sdm. This could be the end of the name, which would then read 'He of (?) Nen-nesut is the one who hears (me)'. Such a name would be similar to *Rc-sdm*.⁷ Nevertheless, until the groups preceding *Nn-nswt* can be explained, it seems safer to follow the structure of the first line: *title-name-secondary title*.

Hnkt-ꜥnh. This is a very tentative suggestion; from Möller, *Pal.* II, 104, a fuller form of  *hnk* would be expected here. However, *Hnkt-ꜥnh* was the name of Tuthmosis III's mortuary temple on the West Bank at Thebes, and the tomb of Nakht contains a scene of the deceased offering to that king.⁸ Ricke cites a late Eighteenth Dynasty title which indicates an active cult in *Hnkt-ꜥnh* at that time.⁹ It is possible that both Nakht and the visitors to his tomb were involved in the supply of floral offerings to the cult of Tuthmosis III.

Graffito 2 (figs. 1-2)

The copy is in Hay MS 29822, 110. There is no note as to its position in the tomb, but it may be placed provisionally on the right wall.

Transliteration

1. *r n sntr n Rc Hr-ꜥhty hft wbn f*
2. *m ꜥht ꜥbtt nt pt i nd hr k wbn Rc*
3. *psd k m Hpri ꜥsp k n Hr-ꜥhty*
4. *Spdt hnc k*

Translation

1. Text of incense for Ra-Horakhty when he rises
2. in the Eastern horizon of heaven. Hail at rising, O Ra!
3. You shine as Khepri, you dawn as Horakhty.
4. Sothis is with you.

² In inscription no. 57 of Lise Manniche's article, Huynefer presents the offering to his father Nakht, and in inscription 15 he leads the line of Nakht's children. This seems to put him in the position of eldest son and, therefore, chief lector-priest in his father's funerary cult. However, in inscriptions 5 and 25 he follows Khaꜥ, so he may not be the principal figure in the funerary cult.

³ In the mastaba of Ptahshepses at Abusir (Spiegelberg, *RT* 26 (1904), 152) and at the temple of Khons, Karnak (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, II, 240-3, no. 8, ll. 3-4).

⁴ Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), 101-2.

⁵ Firth and Quibell, *Step Pyramid*, I, 78 text A; 80 text F.

⁶ For the religious importance of Heracleopolis Magna, see Kees, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 66-73; Gomaà, in *LÄ* II, 1124-7; Mokhtar, *Ihnasya el-Medina*, 184-95. For *Nn-nswt* in personal names, cf. *Pꜥ-ꜥ-m-Nn-nswt* (Ranke, *PN* II, 278, 15); *Nbt-Nn-nswt* (I, 188, 21); *Nn-nswt* (not certain, II, 299, 31); *Nn-nswt-m-hb* (I, 206, 6).

⁷ *Ibid.* I, 220, 5.

⁸ The accompanying text is no. 62 in Lise Manniche's article.

⁹ Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III*, 39-40, no. 22; *imy-r kꜥwt imy-r hmꜥwt hrp ꜥꜥwt nb n Imn*. However, see the note on p. 38.

Commentary

r. This introduces a passage to be recited; in the ritual for the Valley Festival, *r* is the heading for one unit or 'chapter' of text, and is followed by *ḏḏ-mdw* 'recitation' or *ḏḏ-n hry-ḥbt hry-tp* 'recited by the chief lector-priest'.¹⁰

Rc Hr-ḥty. The Greenfield Papyrus contains a parallel for 'a text of incense for Ra-Horakhty'.¹¹ Elsewhere in the same papyrus, the offering of incense to Ra-Horakhty comes under the heading *ky dwḥ Wsir Wn-nfr m rnwḥ nbw* 'another adoration of Osiris Wennefer in all his names'.¹² From this it is clear that worship of the sun-god at dawn was appropriate to the cult of the dead.

šsp·k n Hr-ḥty. This phrase probably echoes the preceding *psd·k m Ḥpri*. The change from the original *m* of predication to *n* presumably mirrors the spoken language. It is curious to find both forms in the same short line, but it gives better sense than a strictly literal translation 'you dawn for Horakhty'.

Spdt. Sothis, goddess of the star Sirius, accompanied the reborn sun just as Isis accompanied Osiris; at one point in the ritual for the Valley Festival, Isis identifies herself with Sothis, and Osiris with Orion.¹³ By her presence, the goddess guaranteed the well-being of Ra and Osiris, and through them the deceased.

ḥnc·k. The vertical stroke could stand for the determinative for divinity, in which case the last group might read *n·k* 'to you' or perhaps in this sentence '(is) yours'.

Graffito 2 (right)

r n sntr n 'a text of incense for'.

There is no more space to the left, so the text has to finish here. This may have been a false start in the writing of the main text to the left; alternatively, it may have been an initial practising effort. It does not seem likely that we have here the beginning of a new and separate text.

Graffito 3

Besides the hand-copy of this text in Hay MS 29822, 110, there is a slightly different version in the tracing made directly from the wall, in Hay MS 29851, 67. The graffito is located immediately to the left of the group of mourning women, in the lowest register on the right wall.

Transliteration

1. *di r ḥb n Imn*
2. *fḥy Imn-nḥt(?) sḥ(?)*
3. *wr . . .*
4. *sḥf*

Translation

1. Given at the feast of Amun
2. Bearing Amennakht
son of
3. Wer
4. His son

Commentary

di r ḥb. After the signs for *ḥb*, there is a small stroke above the *n*. This stroke could be a simple straight line, as determinative for *ḥb*, but it puts the reading in doubt.

¹⁰ P. BM 10209, 2, l. 10 and 1, l. 2, respectively. The papyrus is published by Fayza Haikal, *Two Hieratic Funerary Papyri of Nesmin* (= Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XIV-XV).

¹¹ Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus*, pl. lxxix, l. 4. This funerary papyrus belongs to Nestanebisheru, of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

¹² Ibid. pl. lxxxiii, ll. 7-8.

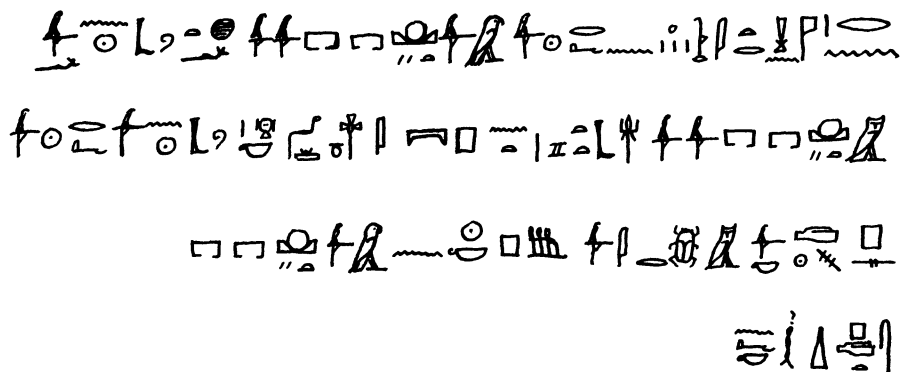
¹³ P. BM 10209, 3, l. 5.

Transcriptions of the Hieratic Texts

Graffito 1



Graffito 2



Graffito 2 (right)



Graffito 3

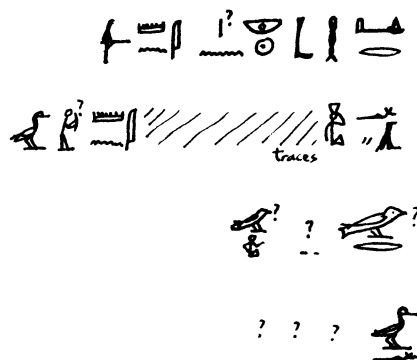


FIG. 2

Transliteration

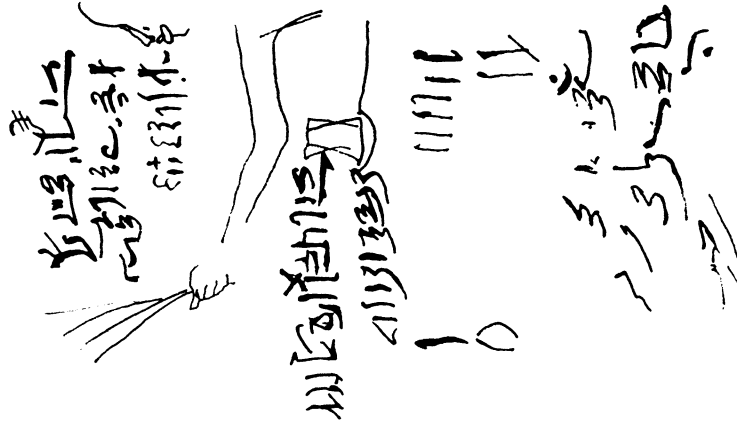
- (a) 1. *r n wsh htpw*
- 2. *irtt(?)*, *hstt*, *stp(?)*
- 3. *nh(?)*
- (b) 4. *r n swrb wdhw*

Translation

- (a) 1. Text of laying offerings
- 2. milk, finest oil, choicest meat
- 3.
- (b) 4. Text of purifying the offering-table

Of the following five lines, I can only make out *wrb* at the start of line 9. The traces on the

Graffito 4

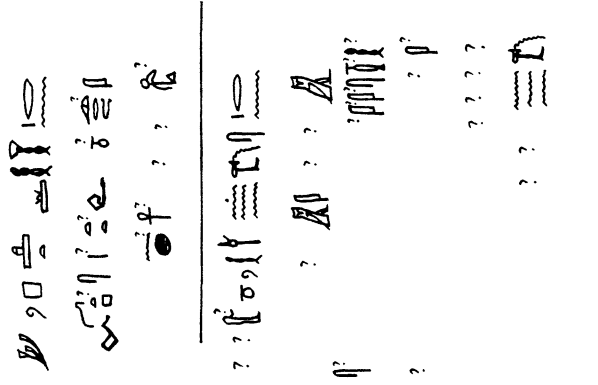


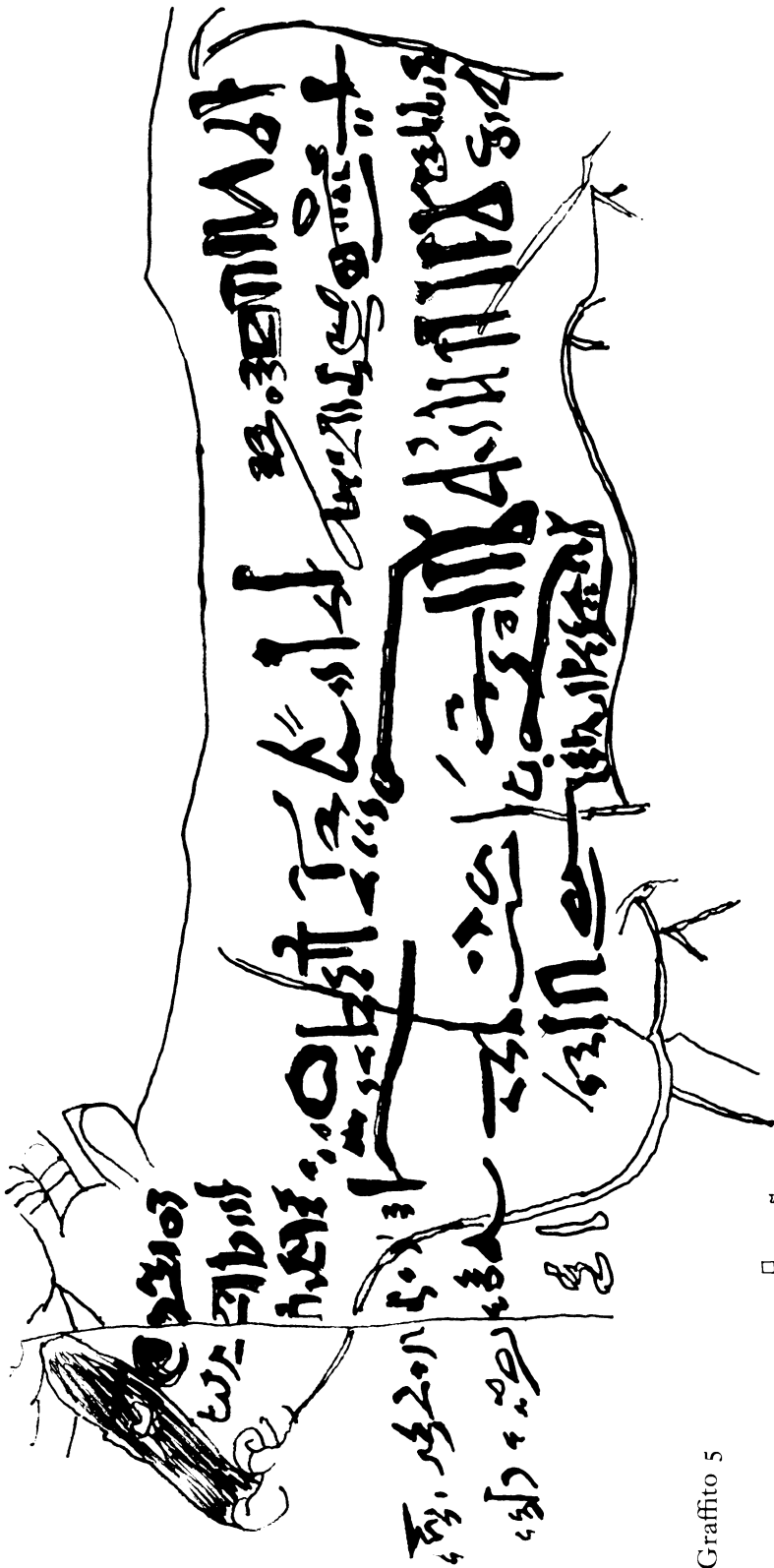
Hay MS 29822, 112



Hay MS 29851, 68

FIG. 3





Graffito 5

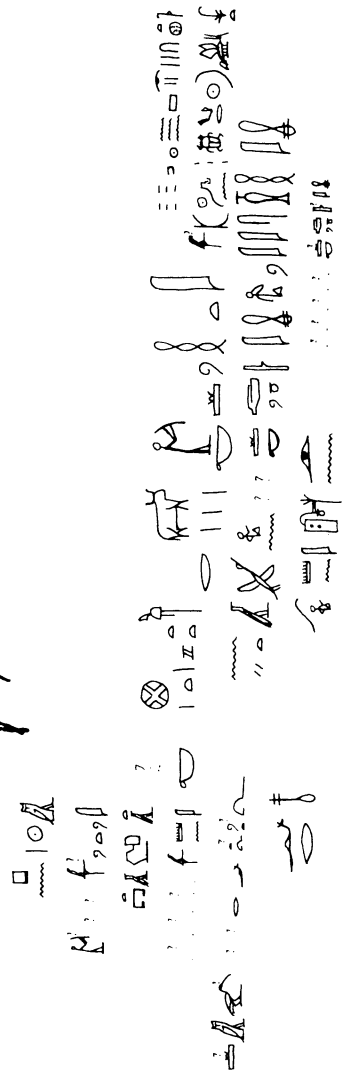


FIG. 4

šbd 2 šmw sw 16. The Sothic cycle came full circle in 1314 or 1313 BC, so that the civil calendar will not have been far removed from the religious calendar during the reign of Horemheb. This sets the present graffito in the context of the Valley Festival, which began at the new moon in the second month of summer. Funerary banquets were held in the tomb-chapels of the Theban necropolis while Amun visited the mortuary temples on the West Bank. The scribe who wrote this graffito would presumably have been in the tomb in order to participate in festivities with the deceased, as portrayed on the walls of the tomb.¹⁹

Lines 3–4. Perhaps these are epithets of the king, as found in other graffiti following royal cartouches. Possibly line 4 is to be read *ꜥꜣ pḥty* ‘great of might’, though this cannot be certain until line 3 can be read.

(b) Central text

<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1. <i>ith·k ihw r imntt niwt . . k</i>	1. May you drive cattle to the West of Thebes, may you . . .
2. <i>mi ḥsy mi qd·k . . n ꜥꜣ nty</i>	2. like one who is praised like yourself . . . for(?) the one who
3. <i>mi qd·k ir·n sš ꜥmn-ms</i>	3. (is?) like yourself written by the scribe Amenmose

Commentary

. . *k*. Possibly *ḥtp·k* ‘may you rest’.

mi ḥsy mi qd·k. This phrase also occurs in a graffito in the South Chapel of the Step Pyramid; there, the scribe asks the necropolis gods for long life, a good burial and ‘to (be able to) see the West of Memphis like a great praised one like yourself’ *r mꜣꜣ imntt Mn-nfr mi ḥsy mi qd·k*.²⁰ In that graffito there is no obvious antecedent for the suffix *k* after *qd*; accordingly, the phrase may be a standard form of address to the tomb owner.²¹

mi qd·k. This reading of the signs at the start of line 3 suits the traces, but it leaves the following groups unexplained.

(c) Left-hand text

<i>Transliteration</i>	<i>Translation</i>
1. <i>m hrw ꜥn</i>	1. On this day
2. <i>iw·tw . . .</i>	2. one was . . .
3. <i>tꜣ ḥꜣt(?)</i>	3. the battleground(?)
4. <i>ꜥmn</i>	4. Amun
5. <i>iwꜣ·f r . . . gm(?)</i>	5. He comes to . . . finding(?)
6. <i>nfr</i>	6. (it?) beautiful

Commentary

iw·tw. If the vertical sign after *tw* represents the determinative for divinity, this is a reference to the reigning king.

ḥꜣt. The signs seem clear, but the word itself is suspect; *Wörterbuch* cites only a passage in the Book of the Dead, and says this is a later variant of ‘warship’ (*Wb.* I, 217). It might be

¹⁹ The relevant scenes are found with hieroglyphic texts nos. 2–12 (the family offering on the feast-day) and nos. 13–33 (the banquet and associated offering-scenes). For the Sothic dating, see Parker in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, 177–89.

²⁰ Firth and Quibell, op. cit. I, 82–3 text S (= vol. II, pl. 83, 2), l. 3.

²¹ Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I, 68, n. 4, suggests that the term refers to Djoser. For *ḥsy* as an epithet of the noble dead, see *ibid.* 71, n. 2, and Quaegebeur, *OLP* 8 (1977), 138–41.

better to read *hr-tp n hwt* 'upon the temple'; this phrase is found in many of the visitors' graffiti discussed in the commentary on Graffito 6, line 1.

iwt-f r. Possibly *dy* follows, in which case the sentence would read 'he comes here, finding(?) it(?) beautiful'. Otherwise, this might be the formula *iwt pw*, discussed below in the commentary on Graffito 6, line 1.

Graffito 6 (fig. 5)

There is a hand-copy of this graffito in Hay MS 29822, 111; the text is also given in the tracing Hay MS 29851, 27. These copies place the graffito between the pilgrimage boat and the hieroglyphic text *hd m htp r 3bdw* 'sailing in peace for Abydos' (text 47 in Lise Manniche's article). The scene comes in the second register from the top on the right wall of the tomb.

Transliteration

1. *iwt pw ir·n sš . . .*
2. *n pꜣ htpw-ntr(?) Imn r*
3. *mꜣꜣ imntt niwt dr-s(?)*
4. *hnꜥ(?) pꜣ ꜥnh wꜣꜣ snb (?) n(?)*
5. *pꜣ(?) iwt(?)*
6. *Imn m*
7. *n imntiw(?)*
8. *gm·f*
9. *nfr sy*
10. *r hwt(?) nb n dmi nb*

Translation

1. There came the scribe . . .
2. of the divine offerings(?) of Amun to
3. see the West of Thebes in its entirety(?)
4. with(?) the life, prosperity, health (?) of
5. the while(?)
6. Amun was in
7. of(?) the western
8. He found
9. it was more beautiful
10. than any temple(?) of any town.

Commentary

iwt pw ir·n. This phrase introduces many of the visitors' graffiti of the New Kingdom. The most common elements of these texts have been studied, but many variants exist.²² The present graffito adds to the material for comparison; it does not follow the 'standard version' of Helck and Yoyotte.²³ Helck took these texts as evidence for a purely 'antiquarian' interest in the monuments of the past.²⁴ Against this, Wildung has argued that the use of stock formulae demonstrates the religious character of the texts, since the graffiti of 'tourists' would not display such consistency over such widely scattered sites.²⁵ In support of Wildung, it should be noted that the formula *iwt pw* is often associated with prayer formulae.²⁶ Perhaps it is anachronistic to demand too rigorous a separation of the religious from the secular, since the texts indicate that, for the Egyptians, piety was not incompatible with pleasure.²⁷

²² See Wildung, *LÄ* 1, 766-7; Megally, *CdE* 56 (1981), 218-40.

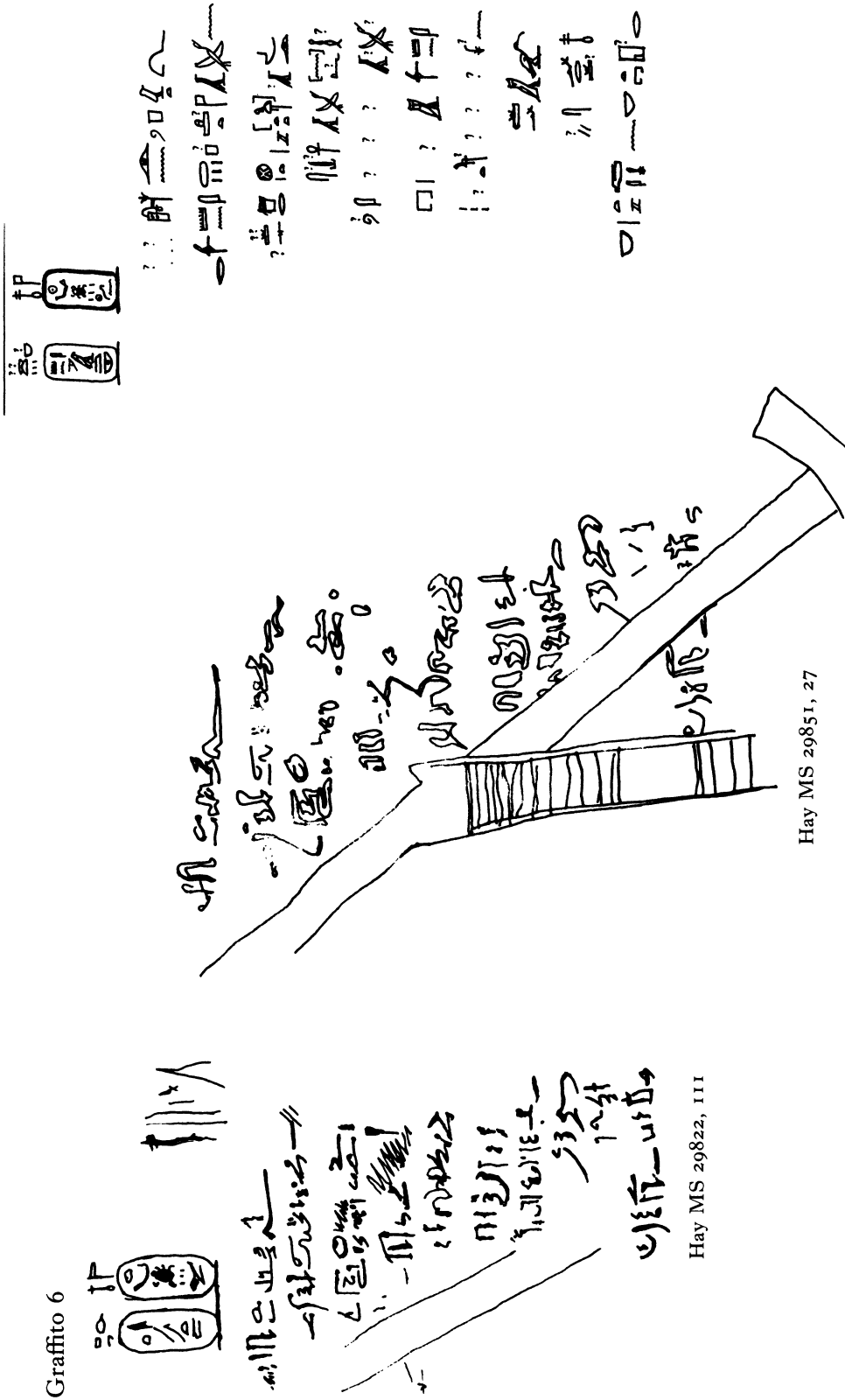
²³ Helck, *ZDMG* 102 (1952), 40; Yoyotte in *Les Pèlerinages* (= *Sources Orientales* 3), 53.

²⁴ Helck, op. cit. 39-46, especially 43-5. An 'antiquarian' interest can hardly be the motive behind the visit to the tomb of Ramesses VI in year 9 of Ramesses IX (Champollion, op. cit. II, 635).

²⁵ Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige*, 1, 70.

²⁶ With *ir nfr ir nfr* in the mastaba of Ptahshepes (Spiegelberg, *RT* 26 (1904), 152) and at the pyramid of Khendjer (Jéquier, *Deux pyramides du Moyen Empire*, fig. 12); with an 'appeal to the living' at Medum (Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xxxiii, ll. 10 ff.) and Saqqâra (Firth and Quibell, op. cit. 80 text F, l. 5); with the offering formula 'a thousand of bread, beer, etc.' at Beni Hasan (Champollion, op. cit. II, 424, graffito 2, l. 4) and Dahshur (De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, I, fig. 190, l. 4; fig. 191, l. 4). The more general expression *dwt-ntr* follows the *iwt pw* formula in Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Antefoker*, pl. xxxvii, nos. 29 and 31.

²⁷ This is particularly clear in the Saqqâra graffito cited above, n. 20; there, as well as addressing a prayer to the necropolis deities, the scribe says he has come 'to walk about for leisure' *swtwt sdꜣ-hr*. Twice at least, quarrying seems to be the reason for the visit (Jéquier, op. cit., fig. 12, with *iwt pw* and prayer; Firth and Quibell, op. cit. 85, text in South Mastaba, without any formulae). Yet this still provides no evidence for a 'secularizing' trend, since the monuments of former kings had always been liable to such treatment.



Graffito 6

Hay MS 29851, 27

Fig. 5

Hay MS 29822, III

sš . . . The final group should give the name of the visitor; *Wšd* is a possibility, but the signs are not at all clear.

r mšš imntt niwt. A similar expression is found in two of the Step Pyramid graffiti, in which the scribe prays that he may 'see the West of Memphis' in the afterlife.²⁸

dr.s. The suffix is uncertain; if *hnc* in line 4 is incorrect, *dr* might here introduce a subordinate clause.

hnc pš cnḥ wdš snb. The first group is largely lost, but *hnc* suits the traces; the following groups are difficult to explain. In place of *cnḥ wdš snb*, a title could be read, with qualifying phrase and name in the next line.

Imn m . . . Perhaps not a place but an attitude, such as *ndm-ib* 'pleasing of heart', 'gracious', or even *hṯp* 'at peace'. However, the house determinative seems certain at the end of the line.

n *imntiw*. The first group after *n* looks like *nswt*, but this is difficult to reconcile with the signs following. Perhaps the line refers to the 'western kings', those whose mortuary temples stood on the West Bank at Thebes.²⁹

gm:f nfr sy. Other visitors' graffiti have the declaration that the monument is the most beautiful temple;³⁰ I have found no parallel for the qualification *n dmi nb* in line 10.

hwt. The hand-copy would allow this reading, though it is scarcely supported by the tracing. If correct, *hwt* probably refers to *hwt-ntr*, on the basis of the two texts cited in n. 30. However, it might also refer to *hwt-kš*; in demotic texts, *hwt* regularly has the meaning 'tomb-chapel'.

dmi. Originally the word was masculine and had no *t*; the spelling with *t* reflects the final vowel, which resembled the regular feminine ending (by this stage the final *t* of feminine words was no longer pronounced). The spelling *dmit* is found in other New Kingdom texts where the word is clearly masculine, e.g. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 55, lines 6-7.

Above this graffito are the cartouches of Horemheb; they may have attracted the scribe to write in this space. Whether or not they are contemporary with this text, the cartouches are further evidence of activity in the tomb of Nakht at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. They may help to establish whether or not these hieratic texts are witness to a restoration of the tomb after the Amarna period.

²⁸ Firth and Quibell, op. cit. 78 text B; 82-3 text S.

²⁹ Cf. ibid. 81 text I 'the kings of the district of Memphis'.

³⁰ De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 1, fig. 191, ll. 3-4; Champollion, op. cit. II, 424, graffito 2, l. 3.

UN 'COLLARE' IN FAÏENCE NEL MUSEO ARCHEOLOGICO DI NAPOLI¹

By PIETRO TESTA

Publication of a faience 'necklace' composed of twenty-four plaques, inscribed on both sides with a magico-religious text in black hieroglyphs. Internal evidence suggests a Memphite provenance for the object, which can be dated by personal names to the Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty. A cult or funerary purpose is suggested.

IN occasione della mostra 'Civiltà dell'antico Egitto in Campania' inauguratasi il 24 giugno 1983 nel Museo Archeologico di Napoli è stato esposto numeroso materiale egiziano, di cui una gran parte era sconosciuta al pubblico,² ed una grande messe di 'aegyptiaca' campani.³ Fra i vari reperti in faïence si nota la presenza di un 'collare' composto di ventiquattro pezzi rettangolari (pl. IX).

L'oggetto appartiene alla ex-collezione Picchianti, nata nel 1827 come raccolta delle 'antichità rinvenute in Egitto dalla contessa Angelica Droso'.⁴ Di tale collezione furono scelti numerosi pezzi da destinarsi al Museo Archeologico di Napoli,⁵ sempre nello stesso anno. Il reperto in questione stava in una 'vetrina' ed è descritto come 'contratto di matrimonio egiziano, cioè n° 24 pezzi di smalto con geroglifici, ognuno on. 1½ lungo per on. 1, p. 50'.⁶

Abbiamo ulteriori notizie del 'collare' nell' 'Inventario della Collezione dei Monumenti Egizii del Real Museo Borbonico' dell'anno 1849, ove sono descritti

¹ L'autore della presente comunicazione ringrazia la Soprintendenza Archeologica delle Province di Napoli e Caserta ed, in particolare, il Soprintendente Reggente dott. Enrica Pozzi Paolini per aver dato il benestare allo studio ed alla pubblicazione del 'collare'. Ringrazia anche il Direttore Responsabile del Museo, dott. Renata Cantilena, e la Direttrice della Sezione Didattica del Museo, dott. Rosaria Stazio Pulinas, per la gentile cooperazione, e il dott. Fulvio De Salvia per le fotografie.

L'autore, inoltre, esprime un particolare ringraziamento alla prof. Luisa Bongrani Fanfoni dell'Istituto di Egittologia dell'Università di Roma per l'assiduo interesse e l'attiva collaborazione alla realizzazione di questa comunicazione.

² Vedere il catalogo: *Civiltà dell' Antico Egitto in Campania: Per un riordinamento della Collezione Egiziana del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli* (Napoli, 1983).

³ Fra i vari studi sulla presenza di questi reperti in Campania, notevoli sono i contributi del dott. Fulvio De Salvia. Vedere, ad esempio: 'Un ruolo apotropaico dello scarabeo egizio nel contesto culturale greco-arcaico di Pithekoussai (Ischia)', *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, III (Leiden, 1978); 'Un aspetto di Mischkultur ellenico-semitica a Pithekoussai (Ischia): i pendagli metallici del tipo a falce', *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici*, I (Roma, 1983); 'La problematica della reazione culturale egea all'influenza della civiltà egizia durante l'età arcaica', *Or* 52 (1983); 'La presenza culturale egizia preelenistica: considerazioni su una recente pubblicazione', *OrAnt* 22 (1983); 'Testimonianze di cultura egizia: indagine bibliografica sugli Aegyptiaca della Coll. Spinelli', *Tempo Nuovo* 23 (Napoli, 1983); 'L'influenza culturale dell'Egitto Faraonico nella Campania Preromana (secoli VIII-IV a.C.)', *Civiltà dell' Antico Egitto in Campania* (Napoli, 1983).

⁴ *Documenti Inediti per servire alla Storia dei Musei d'Italia* (Firenze, 1879), II, cap. xvii, pag. 351.

⁵ In quell'epoca era chiamato Real Museo Borbonico.

⁶ *Ibid.* II, cap. xvii, pag. 355. Purtroppo per i reperti della Collezione Picchianti non è riportato il luogo di ritrovamento nè la provenienza.

degli 'oggetti riposti in una cornice. Numero ventiquattro pezzi di argilla smaltata color turchino con geroglifici incisi, e dipinti a colore nero da entrambe le facce. Ciascuno di tali pezzi è di figura rettangolare. I lati maggiori di tali rettangoli sono a forma di cilindri traforati per mezzo de'quali trafori passando un laccetto di seta vengono congiunti, formandosene un sol piano. Ciascuno di tali pezzi è lungo oncia una ed un quinto. Essi formano tutti compresi, una superficie di once sei e mezza, per once sei'.⁷

Infine nell'inventario del Museo Nazionale di Napoli del 1875 il 'collare' è descritto come costituito da 'numero ventiquattro pezzi di argilla smaltata turchinetta con geroglifici incisi, e dipinti a colore nero da entrambe le facce, ciascuno di tali pezzi è di figura rettangolare, i lati maggiori sono a forma di cilindri traforati. Ciascuno di tali pezzi è mill. 32 di lunghezza per mill. 22 di altezza. Numero 641 dell'antico Inventario Egizi.'⁸

Questo è quanto si sa in relazione all'acquisizione del 'collare' da parte del Museo di Napoli. Il pezzo consiste effettivamente in 24 piastrine rettangolari in 'faïence' azzurro-verdastra. Ogni placchetta presenta sui lati maggiori un tubicino cavo il cui foro ha un diametro variante da mm 2 a mm 2,5: in esso, evidentemente, passava una cordicella vegetale che serviva a tener uniti gli elementi. Le dimensioni di ogni placchetta sono, in media, mm 25 × mm 35 e lo spessore, in media, di mm 3-4.

Le piastrine presentano su entrambe le facce iscrizioni verticali a carattere geroglifico corsivo di colore nero e ad andamento sinistrorso. Sugli spessori dei lati brevi delle placchette sono presenti dei numeri egiziani o dei geroglifici (di cui alcuni poco chiari) che servivano ad assemblare gli elementi. Infine lo stato di conservazione del reperto è generalmente buono e la superficie smaltata è ancora brillante, tranne che per una o due piastrine.

La presenza dei segni di assemblaggio ha notevolmente contribuito alla sicurezza della composizione di dieci elementi del 'collare' con tre integrazioni di elementi mancanti. Queste integrazioni sono state fornite dall'analogia con i testi elencati più avanti.

Il testo dei dieci elementi riassembleti è il seguente:



⁷ Inventario n° 40 compilato dal 4 luglio al 10 luglio 1849.

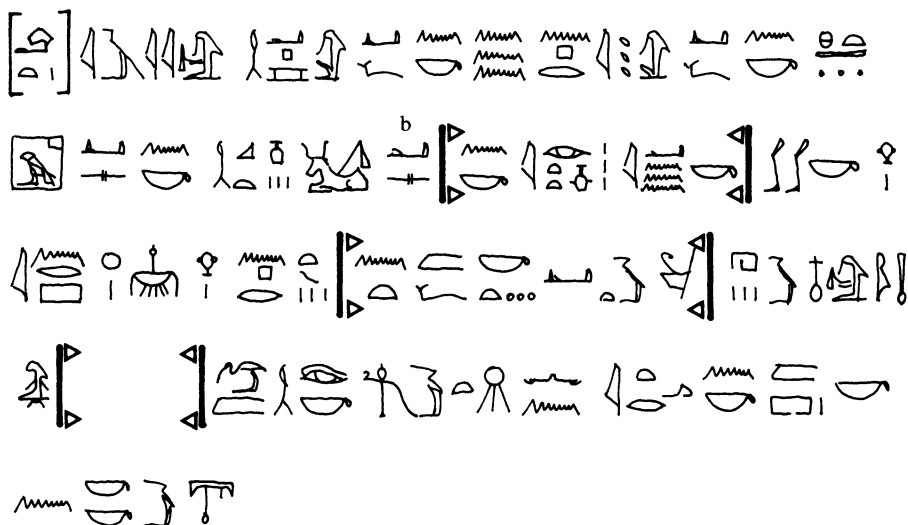
⁸ I numeri d'inventario relativi sono 2352-75.

*Traduzione*

(Osiride scriba incisore) ^aHaty-iy giusto di voce! Possa aprirsi a te il cielo, possa aprirsi a te la terra, possano aprirsi a te le strade della Necropoli, possa tu uscire ed entrare al seguito di Rē^c e possa tu procedere liberamente come i Signori dell'Eternità! Possa tu prendere i pani dell'offerta che Ptah ti concede ed i pani puri sull'altare di Horus! Possa vivere il tuo ba, siano i tuoi legamenti in buone condizioni e possa (tu) vedere nelle strade dell'oscurità!

^a Dalle piastrene A₁ e N₁₋₂.

^b Manca il segno del plurale.

*Traduzione*

(Osiride scriba incisore Hat)^a -iy, giusto di voce! Il Nilo ti dia l'acqua, Nepri ti dia il pane, Hathor ti dia la birra, Hesat ti dia il latte! Tu laverai i tuoi piedi in un bacile d'argento su una base di turchese. Si conceda a Heru-nefer, giusto di voce, figlio di . . . Possa tu vedere lo splendore solare e non sia tu trattenuto nella tua dimora delle tenebre!

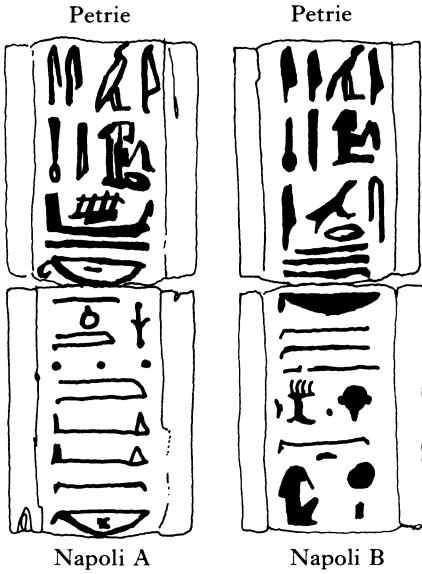
^a Dalle piastrene A₁ e N₁₋₂.

^b Invece di 𓂏.

La madre di Heru-nefer rimane sconosciuta, a meno che non sia la *nbt-pr* Iuy, il cui nome appare nella placchetta B₂.

È stato, inoltre, possibile unire un'altra piastrina del reperto di Napoli (C₁₋₂) con una placchetta documentata fotograficamente dal Petrie.⁹ Il segno 𓂏, presente sullo spessore dei lati brevi dei due elementi, permette il giusto montaggio.

⁹ W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, tav. xxxviii, UC 12575.

*Traduzione Faccia A*

(Hat)-iay giusto di voce. Tu hai ricevuto l'incenso che ti dà . . .

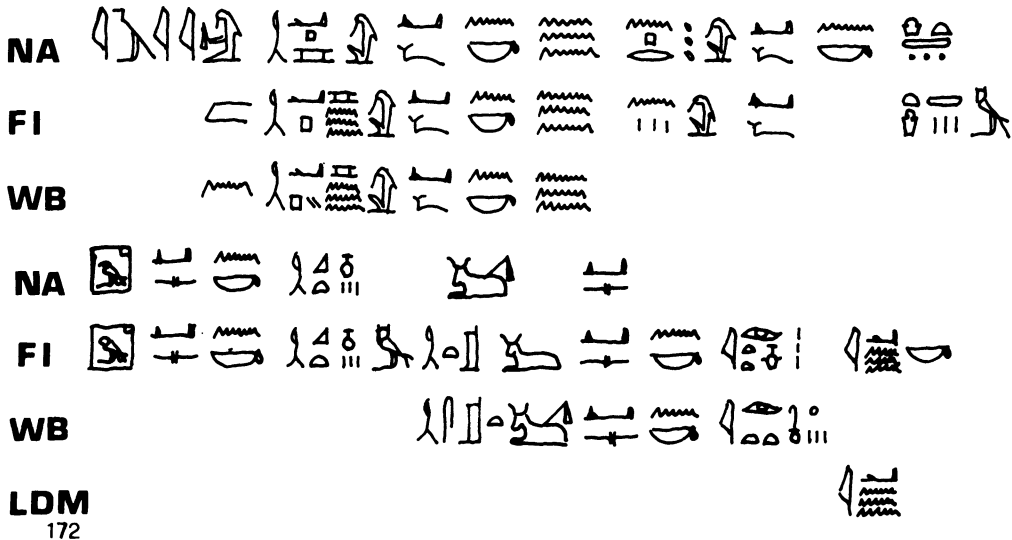
Traduzione Faccia B

(Hat)-iay giusto di voce. Possa tu bere l'acqua sull'altare di Rē' . . .

A quanto mi risulta, esistono vari paralleli dei testi delle 10 piastrelle riassemblate del reperto di Napoli. Essi sono:

- (a) Testo di una stele del tempo di Amenofi III, conservata presso il Museo Archeologico di Firenze;¹⁰
- (b) iscrizione di un gruppo statuario di Sen-nefer;¹¹
- (c) i capitoli: 169 e 172 del Libro dei Morti;¹²
- (d) i Belegstellen del Wörterbuch.¹³

Forniamo, qui di seguito, lo schema di tali paralleli:






¹⁰ S. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane presso il Museo Archeologico di Firenze* (Firenze, 1965), 38-9 tav. 32. Il reperto proviene da Saqqâra.


¹¹ *Urk.* IV, 1436.

¹² E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1898), 438-9, 450.

¹³ *Wb.* Belegstellen I, tav. 30 al quale corrisponde *Wb.* I, 281, 21.

NA  

FI 

LDM 
172



NA  

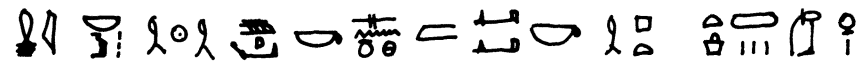
NA  

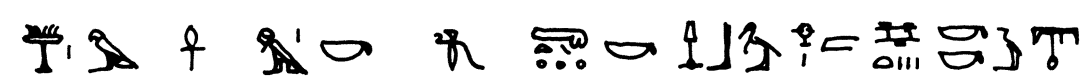
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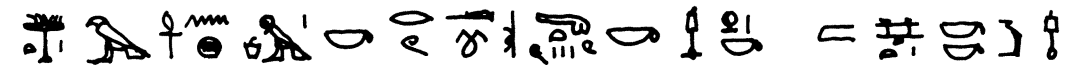
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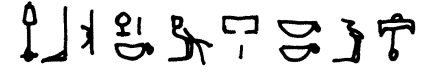
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NA 

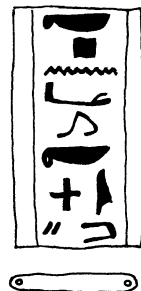
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URK 

LDM 
169

La collocazione delle altre quattordici piastrine appare alquanto problematica per mancanza di parallelismi con altri testi o reperti simili, ed anche per l'evidente assenza di molti altri elementi del 'collare'. È ben vero, comunque, che alcuni 'brani' delle placchette sembrano riecheggiare passi del Libro dei Morti o altri testi a sfondo magico-religioso: ad esempio, la frase della piastrina D₁ *wnm-k šns* ricorre nel capitolo 172,34 del Libro dei Morti, così come nella linea 10 della stele di Paḥery ad El-Kab.¹⁴

Dalle ricerche svolte epistolarmente presso i maggiori centri di egittologia e, di persona, al Museo Archeologico del Cairo,¹⁵ solo un parallelo tipologico è risultato. Il Museo del Louvre possiede una piastrina molto stretta e lunga, in 'faïence' bleu-verdastra decorata con geroglifici neri su una faccia sola. Il testo potrebbe tradursi: 'tu rovesci colui che è in'.¹⁶



Come è stato detto sopra, si ignora il luogo di provenienza del 'collare' di Napoli. Tuttavia, nella piastrina E₁, si nota la menzione di *nh-twy*: tale toponimo si riferisce alla zona di Menfi¹⁷ da cui potrebbe provenire il reperto.

Questa ipotesi verrebbe apparentemente avvalorata anche dalla presenza del nome del dio *Tj-tmn*, divinità della zona di Menfi, che appare nell'elemento G₁.


Sulle placchette appaiono tre nomi: *Hjty-isy* (m.); *Hrw-nfr* (m.); *Iwy* (f.). Dai paralleli onomastici¹⁸ si può stabilire che il reperto di Napoli è attribuibile al Nuovo Regno e lo si può collocare, quindi, in un arco di tempo che va dalla XVIII dinastia alla XIX dinastia.¹⁹ Resta, comunque, dubbia la parentela fra i tre personaggi.

Infine, sulla piastrina L₂ si nota la misura di 'sette cubiti nel campo in'. La brevità del testo non permette di dire se si tratti di un piccolo cenotafio o una piccola costruzione da situarsi nella succitata zona di Menfi. Da ciò si potrebbe ipotizzare che il 'collare' abbia avuto carattere funerario con due possibili destinazioni: o indosso alla mummia del proprietario o come dono di fondazione.

¹⁴ *Urk.* IV, 115, 17.

¹⁵ L'autore ringrazia i proff. Corteggiani, Geoffrey, James, Hölbl, Guidotti, Leclant, Mme Posener, e Saleh, il Museo Civico di Bologna ed il Metropolitan Museum di New York per avere cortesemente risposto alle sue richieste di informazioni.

¹⁶ Il numero di inventario è E 22689 e non se ne conosce la provenienza. Comunicazione epistolare del 10 giugno 1983.

¹⁷ Il det.  starebbe ad indicare la necropoli di Menfi (H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, I (Le Caire, 1925), 149) cioè il tavoliere di Abu Sir-Saqqâra. Per il *Wb.* I, 203, 13 si tratta di un luogo presso Menfi (vicino al Serapeum di Saqqâra) e così anche per D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* (Paris, 1977-9), 77.0675; 78.0739; 79.0496.

¹⁸ Ranke, *PN* I, 232, 2; 231, 4; 16, 16.

¹⁹ Entro tale ambito sembra più probabile una datazione bassa per la frequenza maggiore dei nomi durante la XIX dinastia.

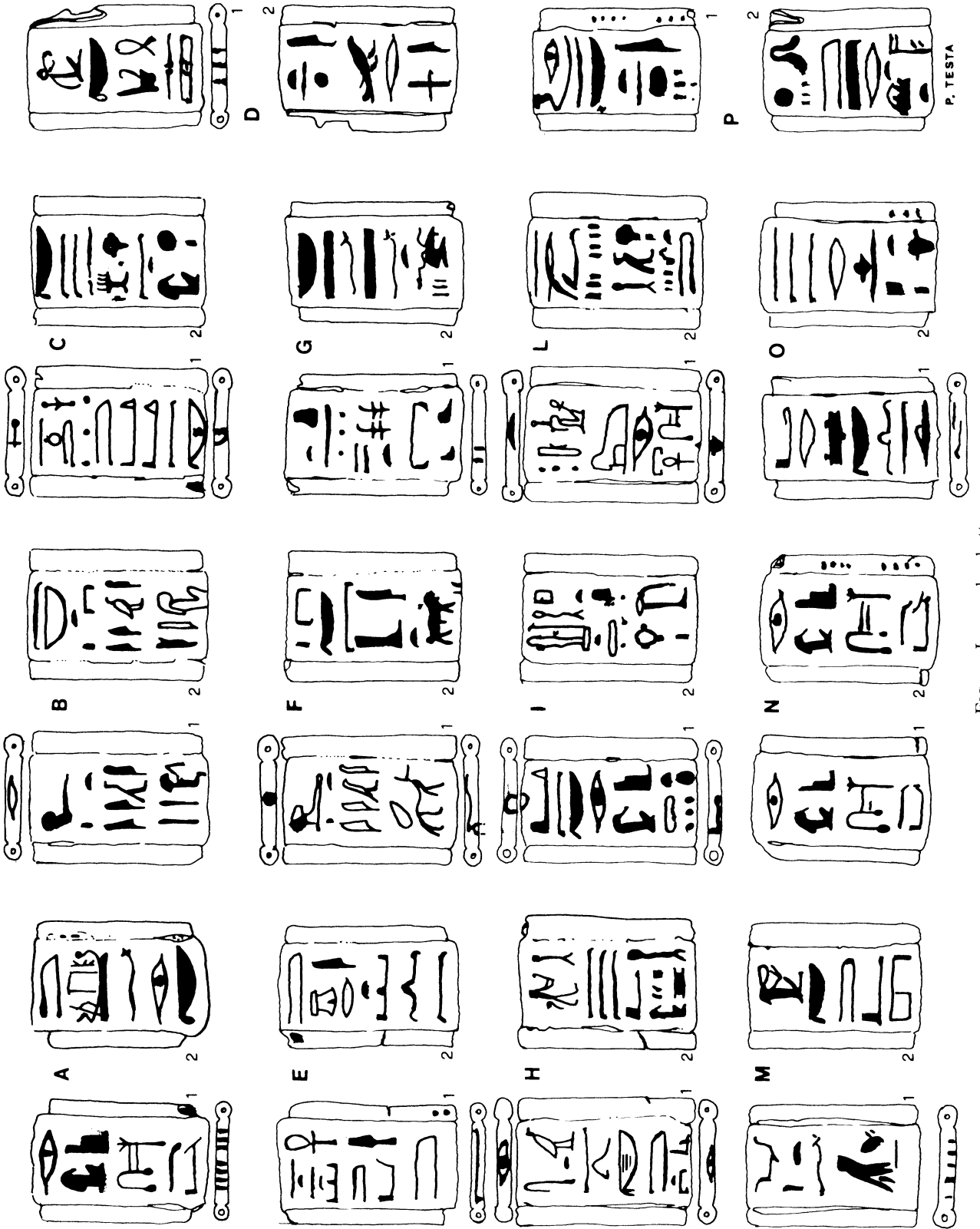


FIG. 1. Le 14 placchette.

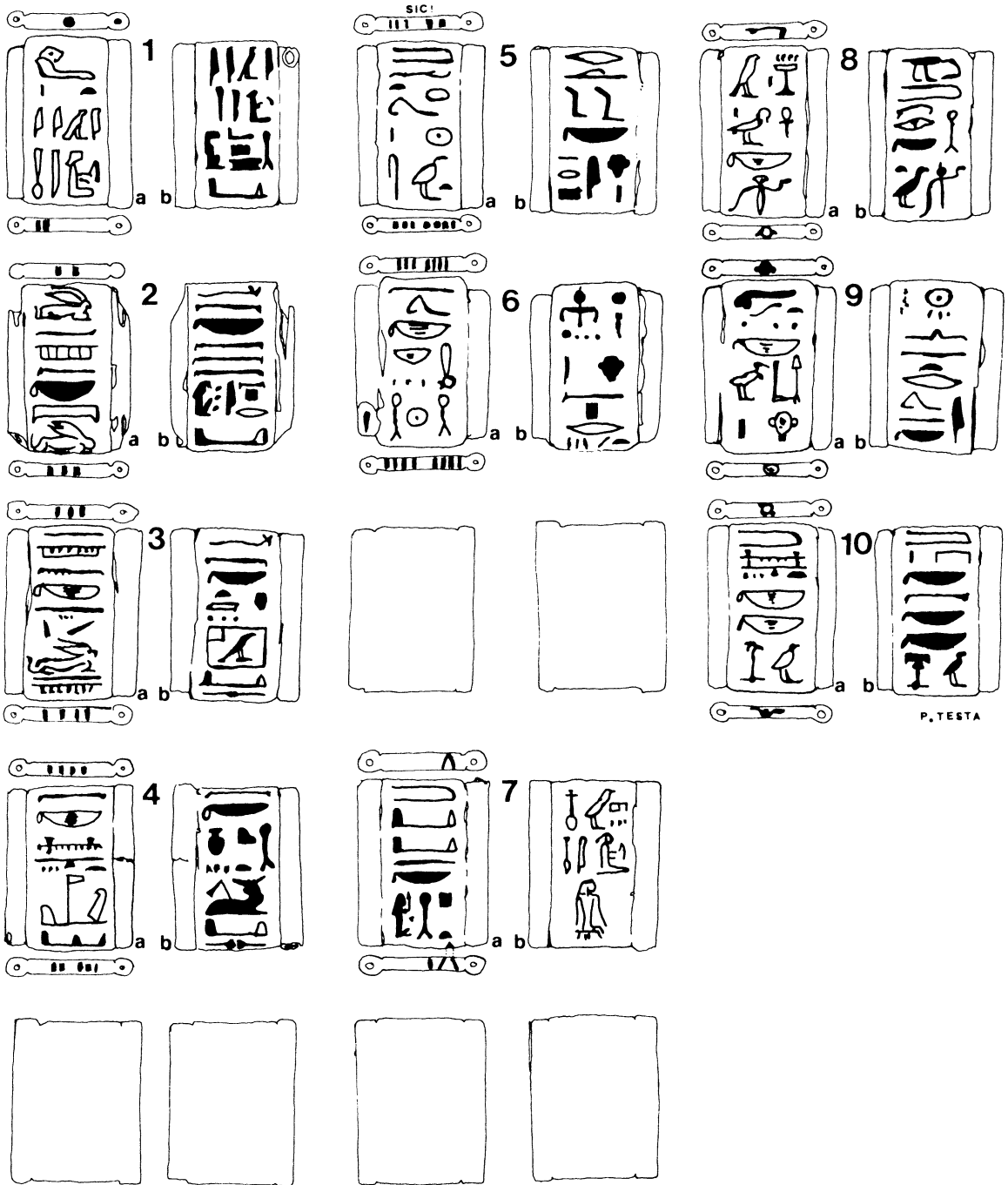


FIG. 2. Le 10 placchette secondo l'ordine di assemblaggio.

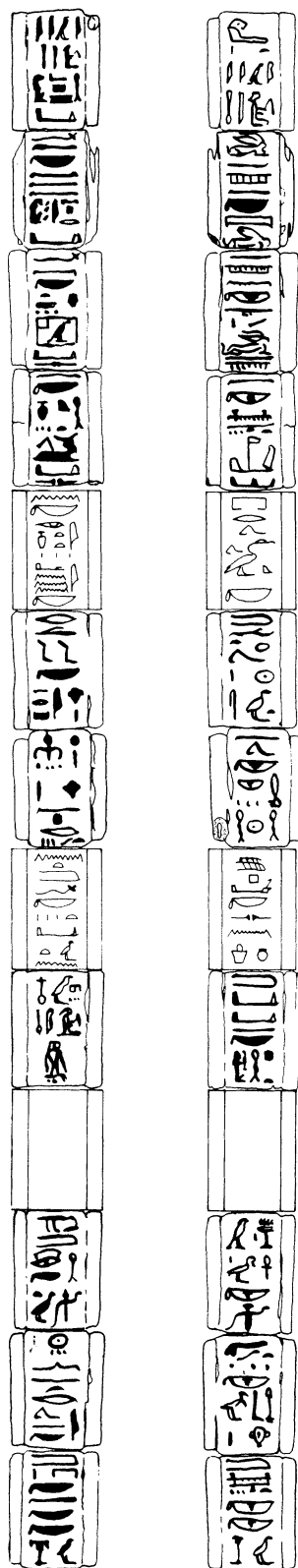
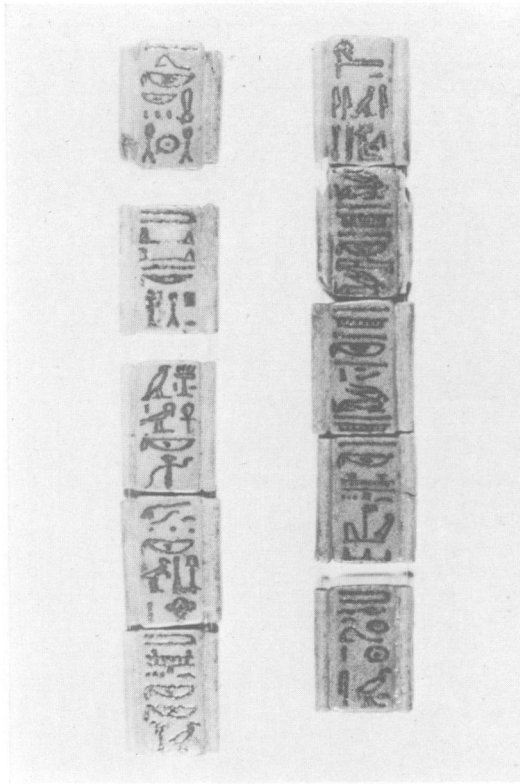
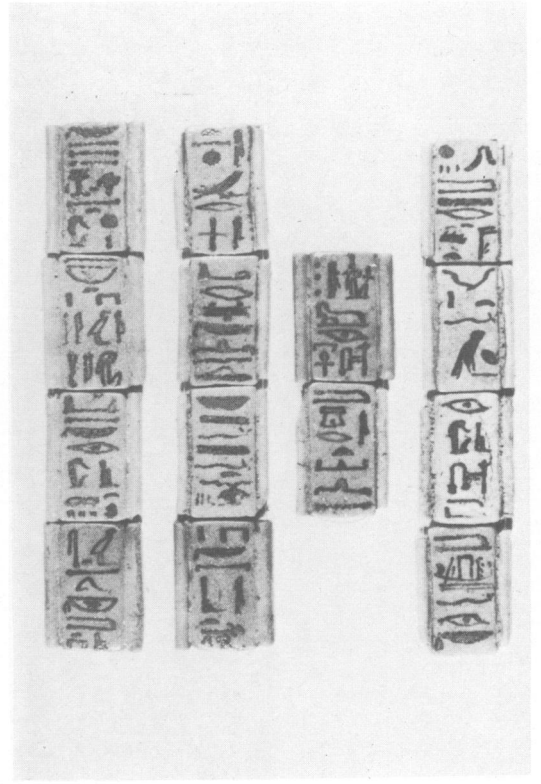


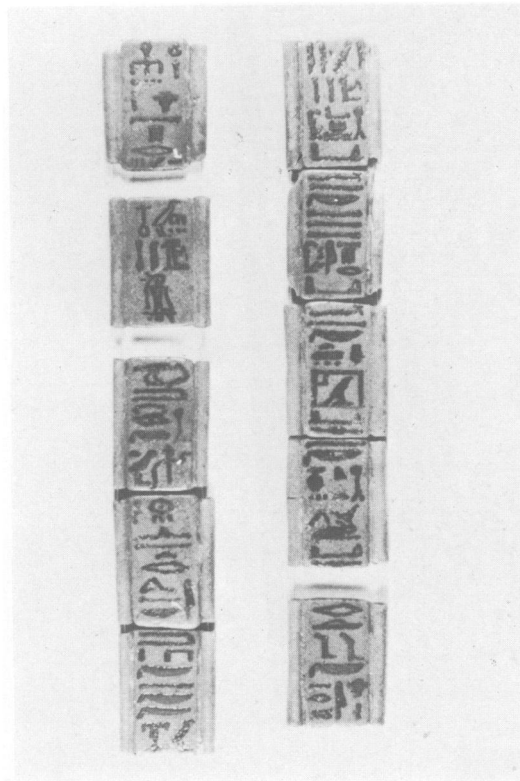
FIG. 3. Le 10 placchette montate con integrazione delle parti mancanti.



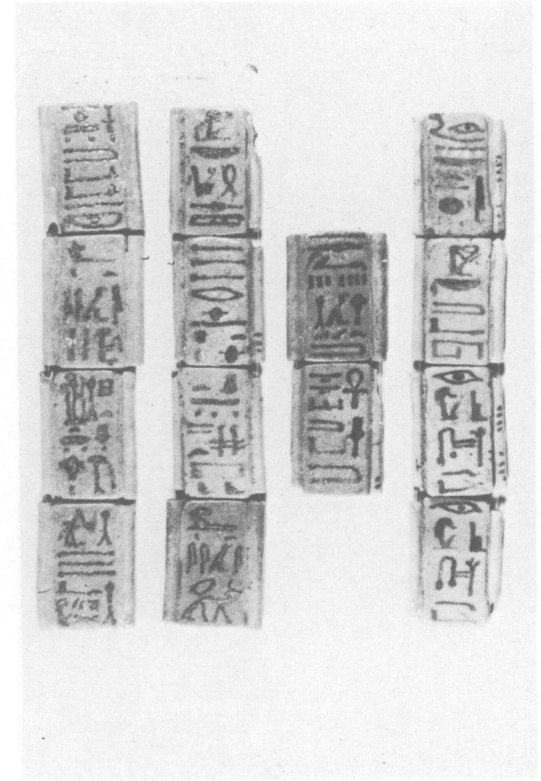
1



2



3



4

THE MONUMENTS RECORDED BY
ALICE LIEDER IN THE 'TEMPLE OF VULCAN'
AT MEMPHIS IN MAY 1853¹

By JAROMIR MALEK

Alice Lieder, the wife of the Revd J. R. T. Lieder, visited Memphis, and made squeezes of the inscriptions on thirteen statues lying there, in May 1853. Most of the sculptures had been found by Hekekyan in 1852. They included a fragment of a statue of Ramesses III, and one of a colossus of Ramesses VI, a statue of the vizier Paser, a statue of Khaemwese, and a standard-bearing statue of Ramesses II. The previous identifications of the last as Ramesses VI or VII are disputed. The discovery of several statues dated to the reign of Psammetichus I near the Abû'l-Hôl colossus suggests the presence of an early Saite gateway in the area of the Ramessid southern entrance to the temple of Ptah, and thus corresponds to the accounts of building activities of Psammetichus I by Herodotus and Diodorus.

AN old recording made at a site with ancient Egyptian monuments is always worth examining for evidence which may since have disappeared. This is especially true of ancient Memphis, the early stages of exploration of which are very little known, and, with one notable exception, very poorly documented. Since 1981, the area and the monuments discovered there have been systematically surveyed and studied by the expeditions of the Egypt Exploration Society.²

Alice and Johann Rudolph Theophilus Lieder

One episode in the history of nineteenth-century interest in Memphis is almost unknown, yet it has its contribution to make to our knowledge of the sculptures found there. In May 1853, the site was visited and paper squeezes of the inscriptions on some of the statues, mostly those lying in the vicinity of the Abû'l-Hôl limestone colossus of Ramesses II, were made and briefly annotated by Alice Lieder. She was the English-born (née Holliday) wife of Johann Rudolph Theophilus (Gottlieb) Lieder (1798–1865),³ a German protestant clergyman and member of a five-man

¹ I have greatly benefited from discussing various points of this communication with my colleagues David G. Jeffreys, Morris L. Bierbrier, and Colin C. Walters. The information concerning the inscription on the statue of Harwodj in Vienna I owe to Helmut Satzinger. I am also grateful to him and to John Ruffe for the photographs of Vienna Inv. 5768 and Durham N 511 respectively, and permission to reproduce them. The final version of my tracings made from the Lieder squeezes was prepared by Mrs. M. E. Cox.

² H. S. Smith, D. G. Jeffreys, and J. Malek, *JEA* 69 (1983), 30–42; 70 (1984), 23–32; id. *ASAE* 69 (1983), 87–94; D. G. Jeffreys and H. S. Smith, *JEA* 71 (1985), 5–11; H. S. Smith, *The Egyptian Bulletin* 4 (March 1983), 20–3; id. *Cairo Today* (March 1984), 22–5.

³ W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd edn. (London, 1972), 179 (in contemporary publications the name is sometimes rendered in a distorted fashion, e.g. Leider, Leeder, or Lieders). Lieder was, in fact, born in 1798 (information M. L. Bierbrier) and his first name was Johann. For a general outline of Lieder's work in Egypt, see E. Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society. Its Environment, its Men and its Work*, 1 (London, 1899), 351.

deputation from the Basle Seminary commissioned by the Church of England Missionary Society⁴ to work in Egypt and Abyssinia late in 1825. The Revd Lieder probably arrived in Alexandria in May 1826,⁵ and married Alice Holliday sometime in 1838 or 1839.⁶

From the start, the Lieders devoted much of their energy to educational work among Egyptian children and young people in schools founded by the missionaries in Cairo.⁷ The Revd W. Kruse and J. R. T. Lieder were involved in the running of the boarding school, or 'Seminary' as it was called, founded in 1833.⁸ In 1842 it was turned into 'Coptic Institution' and in effect became a training college for educating young men who, it was hoped, would later become priests of the Coptic Church.⁹ It was complemented by day-schools for boys and girls of all religions, Christians and Jews, as well as Moslems. Mrs Lieder was in charge of the girls' school, opened in 1835. Ten years later, in 1845, there were twenty-five pupils in the 'Coptic Institution', 120 in the boys' day-school, and 125 in the girls' school.¹⁰

On the whole, however, the deputation sent to Egypt was not a great success. The odds against which the missionaries heroically struggled in Egypt were enormous, and their work was not without some physical danger. Mrs Lieder was, on at least one occasion, injured by a stone thrown at her.¹¹ The boarding school was closed in 1848¹² and the day-school for boys was wound up for financial reasons in 1851. Mrs Lieder succeeded in keeping the school for girls open, and there were still some thirty girls attending it in 1856.¹³ She is even said to have taught the wife and two daughters of Ibrahim Pasha in his harem.¹⁴ Judging by the accounts of travellers who visited Cairo in the 1840s and 1850s and met her there, Mrs Lieder was a very enlightened and exceptionally determined woman who occasionally proved much too independent for her male contemporaries.¹⁵

The couple remained in Egypt for the rest of their lives: the Revd Lieder died of

⁴ Revd J. L. Aikman, *Cyclopaedia of Christian Missions: their Rise, Progress, and Present Position* (London and Glasgow, 1860), 144-5.

⁵ *Samuel Gobat, Bishop of Jerusalem. His Life and Work. A Biographical Sketch, Drawn Chiefly from his Own Journals* (London, 1884), 69. E. L. Butcher, *The Story of the Church of Egypt*, 11 (London, 1897), 396, and Revd Montague Fowler, *Christian Egypt, Past, Present, and Future* (London, 1901), 130, mistakenly state that Lieder did not arrive in Egypt until 1830. Cf., however, also C. R. Watson, *In the Valley of the Nile. A Survey of the Missionary Movement in Egypt* (New York, etc., 1908), 121.

⁶ *Samuel Gobat . . . 66; Journal of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, . . . containing an account of his missionary labours from the years 1827 to 1831; and from the years 1835 to 1838* (London, 1839), 304.

⁷ For the missionaries' educational work, see in particular J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London, 1938), 278-80. Cf. also Revd. S. Olin, *Travels in Egypt, Arabia Petraea, and the Holy Land*, 1 (New York, 1843), 118-20.

⁸ Thus Aikman, *op. cit.* 144, with convincing details. Butcher's statement, *op. cit.* 396, that this did not happen until after the visit of the Revd T. Grimshawe in 1839-40, is incorrect.

⁹ Watson, *op. cit.* 124-5.

¹⁰ [S. Poole], *The Englishwoman in Egypt: Letters from Cairo, written during a residence there in 1845-46 . . .*, 2nd series (London, 1846), 41.

¹¹ Watson, *op. cit.* 123.

¹² Butcher, *op. cit.* 396; Fowler, *op. cit.* 130.

¹³ Anon., *Sketches of a Tour in Egypt and Palestine during the Spring of 1856* (London, 1857), 27-8.

¹⁴ Watson, *op. cit.* 122.

¹⁵ Heyworth-Dunne, *op. cit.* 280 n. 2, quoting the opinion of the somewhat scandalized Hekekyan Bey.

cholera in 1865, and Alice Lieder three years later, in 1868. The mission had formally been closed three years before the Revd Lieder's death.¹⁶

The Lieders at Memphis

We must presume that her husband accompanied Mrs Lieder during her visit to the site of the 'temple of Vulcan' (i.e. Hephaestus, identified with the Egyptian god Ptah)¹⁷ in 1853, although we have no direct evidence for it. Lieder was keenly interested in Egyptian antiquities. Squeezes of monuments made by the couple at Gîza, Saqqâra, Heliopolis, Bahbît el-Ḥagar, and Thebes, show that various ancient sites were visited by them, presumably on the Revd Lieder's frequent visits to Coptic communities outside Cairo. Lieder even tried his luck as an excavator, and in 1850 he undertook a partial clearance of the Senedjemib tomb-complex at Gîza.¹⁸ His collection¹⁹ of nearly 200 pieces was bought by Mr W. A. Tyssen Amherst (later Lord Amherst) in 1861.²⁰ The Reverend also played some part in the lively archaeological politics of the period; he seems to have been no great friend of Auguste Mariette, but the picture presented by Maspero in Mariette's biography²¹ is less than charitable and no doubt rather biased.²²

Two of the squeezes which record the cartouches from the belt of the Abû'l-Ḥôl colossus are marked 'cast by M.D. 1853'. This person was a Miss Daniell, mentioned in the letters of J. R. T. Lieder in 1853 and 1854,²³ and of A. Lieder in 1861.²⁴ I have not been able to establish her exact relationship to the Lieder family.

With the exception of the previously discovered Abû'l-Ḥôl limestone colossus (no. 13 below) and the standard-bearing granite statue of Ramesses II (no. 12 below), all the monuments recorded by Alice Lieder seem to have been found during the excavations and borings made at Mît Rahîna by Hekekyan Bey in the summer

¹⁶ *The Church Missionary Gleaner*, ix (105) (Sept. 1882), 103.

¹⁷ The description of the main temple at Memphis as being dedicated to Hephaestus is found in, e.g., Herodotus, II, 99 ff., and Diodorus, I, 22 and 57, and it is called Hephaisteion by Strabo, *Geography*, xvii, i, 31. The rendering of the name of the god as Vulcan was preferred by early translators.

¹⁸ Malek, *GM* 13 (1974), 21-4. Lieder's clearance is mentioned by A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Antien Empire* (Paris, 1889), 496. Cf. also E. Brovarski in *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes prioritaires de recherches*, II (Paris, 1982), 115.

¹⁹ A concise list of objects which used to be in the Lieder collection is kept in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum, but only a limited number of monuments can be identified with certainty. M. L. M. Carey, *Four Months in a Dahabëh; or, Narrative of a Winter's Cruise on the Nile* (London, 1863), 61, writes about Mrs Lieder: 'her drawing-room <is> quite a museum of Egypt. What interested me most in our short survey was the head of one of the sacred bulls, and of a calf, taken out of the Apis Cemetery near Memphis.'

²⁰ One of his monuments, the stela of Ptahemhet Ty and his son Say, of the reign of Tutankhamun or Ay, was recorded on a Lieder squeeze, Malek, *GM* 22 (1976), 43-6.

²¹ In *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, 18 (Paris, 1904), xxxvii.

²² In a letter addressed by the Revd Lieder to E. W. Lane, dated Cairo, 30 March 1853, he is very appreciative of the historical importance of Mariette's work in the Serapeum: '... here are the undoubted means of a complete chronology of this part of Egyptian history, and however positive the different authors have been, they have built their fabric on sand and their arrangement will be entirely overthrown by the results of Mr Marriot's [*sic*, note J. M.] researches' (Lane correspondence at the Griffith Institute, no. 59).

²³ Both to E. W. Lane, dated Cairo, 1 March 1853, and 9 March 1854 (Griffith Institute, Lane correspondence, nos. 58, 62). In the latter the name is spelt as Daniel.

²⁴ To Mr W. A. Tyssen Amherst, dated Cairo, 25 August 1861 (Department of Egyptian Antiquities, British Museum). I am grateful to the Keeper, Mr T. G. H. James, for permission to quote it.

and early autumn of 1852. In the notes which she made on the squeezes this is usually expressly conveyed by 'recently excavated by Hekekyan Bey' or words to the same effect, such as 'recently excavated'. The only two cases (apart from the two royal sculptures already mentioned) where Mrs Lieder's description simply says 'from the temple of Vulcan 1853' (nos. 6 and 7 below) hardly represent a conscious differentiation. That the Lieders were familiar with Hekekyan's work is also shown by a letter²⁵ which the Revd Lieder addressed in his rather stilted English to E. W. Lane on 19 October 1852:

Hikekyan [*sic*, note J. M.] Bey is since five months engaged at Saccara making excavations especially near and about the statue of Ramses II, and wherever he opens the ground remnants of antiquity are found as statues of all sizes, of all kinds, of the most chosen materials, as also obelisks and porticos, but all broken up and in ruin. I went there to meet there Mr. & Miss Harris²⁶ and found much less than I expected from reports. All the remnants I saw had either the cartouch(e) of Ramses II, or that of his son or Psametik. A real merit has Hikekyan in having cleared entirely the statue of Ramses II and I am glad to be able to add that the part, especially the right side, which was covered by the mud of the Nile is the best preserved so that even its polish is uninjured.

In his letter, the Revd Lieder showed poor appreciation of the 'real merit' of Hekekyan's excavations. When he wrote it, the work at Mît Rahîna had already been suspended for that season. Leonard Horner,²⁷ the Scottish President of the Geological Society and the instigator of the project which was financed by the Egyptian Government, states that it began on 10 May 1852, and lasted until the 3 October when 'in spite of every effort to close the breaches in the embankments around the district in which the works were carried on, the Nile inundated all the pits, and compelled the party to take refuge on the neighbouring mounds'.²⁸ The overall aim of the project was 'to investigate the formation of the alluvial land in the valley of the Nile . . . by having shafts and borings made in the alluvial deposits to the greatest practicable depth . . . around monuments of a known age'.²⁹ Further work at Mît Rahîna was undertaken in the summer of 1854.

Joseph Hekekyan,³⁰ born of Armenian parents in Constantinople in 1807, was in his youth one of the protégés of Mohammed Ali. He was a remarkable person by any standards, and even his non-Egyptian contemporaries condescendingly acknowledged him as 'a man of whom any nation might be justly proud'.³¹ A full evaluation of his important work at Memphis and its contribution to our knowledge of the site, based on Hekekyan's unpublished notes, is the subject of research presently being carried out by David G. Jeffreys.

By a curious coincidence, two months after Alice Lieder 'cast' the squeezes, in July 1853, Mît Rahîna was visited by Heinrich Brugsch who left a description of

²⁵ Correspondence of E. W. Lane at the Griffith Institute, no. 56.

²⁶ Dawson and Uphill, *op. cit.* 133.

²⁸ *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, 148 (1858), 56.

²⁹ L. Horner in *ibid.* 145 (1855), 108-9.

³¹ E. de Leon, *Egypt under its Khedives: or, The Old House of Bondage under its New Masters* (London, 1882), 113.

²⁷ *DNB* IX, 1265-6.

³⁰ Dawson and Uphill, *op. cit.* 138-9.

the sculptures which he saw there in his *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten*.³² The two recordings complement each other rather well. The Lieder squeezes are now kept in the archives of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.³³

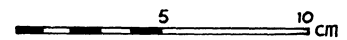
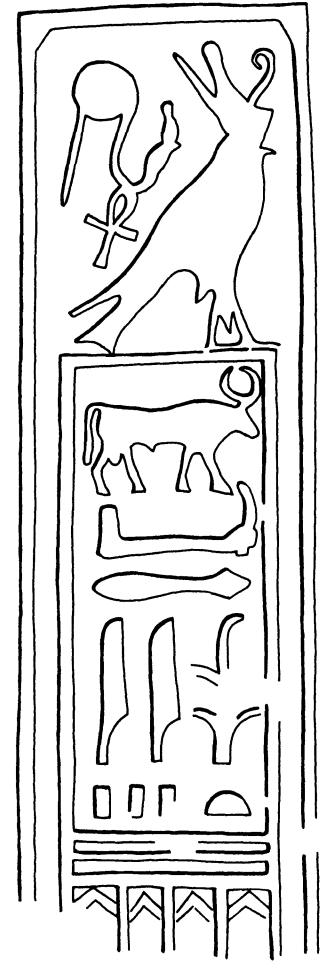
The sculptures recorded by Alice Lieder at Memphis

1. Fragment of a statue of Ramesses III.³⁴ Figure 1. Lieder squeezes 16.9A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 67; PM III², 837.

This monument now seems to be lost, or at least cannot be identified with any known sculpture. Brugsch described it as a 'fragment' in his *Reiseberichte*, while A. Lieder in her pencil notes on the squeezes states that the recorded Horus-name was 'on the back of the King' and that the piece was 'recently excavated—1852' (on squeeze 16.9A 'recently excavated—1853'). This fragment is almost certainly the same as that in Brugsch, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* (Leipzig, 1862), pl. iv (4), where it is more vaguely described as 'une espèce de pilier en pierre'. The separately quoted references in PM III², 837 and 873, can thus be joined.

The form of the Horus-name on the squeezes differs slightly from that given in Brugsch's publication, and several other minor discrepancies can be pointed out. If the published copy were entirely reliable, it would suggest that there were two different monuments. The descriptions, however, indicate that the Lieders and Brugsch recorded the same statue. It seems likely that the latter made only a quick copy which was inaccurately 'improved' for publication. Only the rediscovery of the object can resolve the matter beyond any doubt.

A memorial temple *t: hwt Rc-mss-hq: fwnw enḥ wd: snb m pr Pth*, built in the Ptah temple at Memphis and endowed by Ramesses III, is described in detail in Papyrus Harris I, 45, 3 to 46, 4, as well as several other establishments and various other benefactions bestowed by him on the existing temples. The surviving monumental evidence, however, is very scarce, and nothing which would attest to building activities on the scale described in the Papyrus has been found. In the main feature of Ramessid Memphis as we know it, the temple of Ptah built by Ramesses II to the east of Kôm el-Fakhry, the names of Ramesses III occur, together with those of Merneptah, at the bottom of the thicknesses of the pylon gate.³⁵ Fragments of small columns bearing his names were found in the south-western part of the



SCHISM 1053
From squeezes Gr. Inst.
16, 9A, B made by
A. & J.R.T. Lieder
at Memphis, May 1853

FIG. 1

³² Leipzig, 1855.

³³ For their history, see Malek, *GM* 13 (1974), 24 n. 1. Ashby's conjecture as to how the squeezes got to Italy, which I accepted there, cannot be right.

³⁴ In the *Systematic Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions and Sculptures from Memphis* (SCHISM), which is being compiled by me and Helen McKeown, this sculpture bears no. 1053.

³⁵ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Memphis*, 1 (London, 1909), pl. xxii (top), p. 9; H. G. Fischer, *Artibus Asiae*, 24 (1) (1961), fig. 3 on p. 50; G. Daressy, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 26-7.

Ptah enclosure.³⁶ Brugsch recorded the text of a statue-base of Ramesses III, with the name of Ramesses VI (perhaps over that of Ramesses IV) 'beloved of Ptah Nefer-hor' added.³⁷ This is the large rectangular granite block which he saw north of the Abû'l-Ĥôl colossus³⁸

(rather than the altar-pedestals as suggested by PM III², 839), and Hekekyan in his unpublished notes states that it was found in the 'N.W. angle of Caviglia's excavations'.³⁹ It remains uncertain whether this statue-base was originally associated with the fragment of the seated statue recorded by A. Lieder and, with a rather misleading description, by Brugsch.

A door-jamb, a lintel, and another inscribed element of Ramesses III⁴⁰ were found in the temple and palace complex of Merneptah at Kôm el-Qal'a. Two stelae, one of which records the presentation and endowment of a statue of the king in his twenty-fourth year, are also known.⁴¹

The name of Ramesses III was, together with those of Ramesses II, VII, and IX, perhaps posthumously inscribed on two granite pedestals of altars.⁴²



SCHISM 1057
From squeezes Gr. Inst.
16.13A, D made by
A. & J.R.T. Lieder
at Memphis, May 1853

FIG. 2

2. Colossal statue of Ramesses VI.⁴³ Figure 2. Lieder squeezes 16.13A-D; PM III², 837.

The squeezes show the cartouches with the prenomen of Ramesses VI, *Nb-mꜣt-Rꜣ mrj-ḫmn*. On squeeze 16.13A, Mrs Lieder describes the monument in the following way: 'This cartouche is one of a series of cartouches that form a bracelet round the wrist of a colossal statue recently excavated by Hekekyan Bey at the eastern entrance of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis in 1852. The statue [*sic*, note J. M.] of this colossus measures round the wrist 4 feet 9 inches. It is of the hard red sandstone of Gebel Harmes [*sic?*—note J. M.] near Cairo.' On the note accompanying squeeze 16.13B the

statue is said to be 'adorned with a number of cartouches fastened or united by beautiful Asps the symbols of royalty. The cartouches are all so defaced as to be useless save one.'

The sculpture is probably identical with the 'lost colossus'⁴⁴ of Ramesses VI, the fist of which was recorded at Memphis by Sir J. G. Wilkinson in 1855-6,⁴⁵ and is also shown, among other monuments from the 'South End of Horner's Excavation', on a sketch in

³⁶ Petrie, *op. cit.* pl. xxv (middle left), p. 10; II, pl. xxiii (middle left, bottom left), pp. 14, 19.

³⁷ *Recueil de monuments égyptiens* . . . (Leipzig, 1862), pl. iv (2); *KRI* VI, 281 (6, C).

³⁸ *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1855), 67.

³⁹ MSS 37453, 53 recto.

⁴⁰ Cairo JE 45570, G. A. Gaballa, *JEA* 59 (1973), 113 with pl. 37 (2), fig. 3; Philadelphia E 13570, unpublished; Philadelphia excavation no. 4372, PM III², 861.

⁴¹ Philadelphia excavation no. 2882, A. R. Schulman, *JNES* 22 (1963), 177-84 with pl. 7; W. Helck, *JNES* 25 (1966), 32-41. Cairo JE 45548, Schulman, *BES* 2 (1980), pl. 2 on p. 109; M. Baud, *Le Caractère du dessin en Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1978), pl. 52. A granite bust with the cartouche of Ramesses III on the shoulder, found at Kôm el-Qal'a and as yet unpublished, presumably belonged to a private statue.

⁴² PM III², 839-40, but there is no certainty about assigning it to the Abû'l-Ĥôl area. One of these monuments used to be in the Fernandez collection (now Marseilles 205) and was copied by Sir J. G. Wilkinson (MSS XIII, 64 lower right and 68 lower, see also *KRI* VI, 451 (3, B)), according to whom it was found at Badrashein. For both, J. von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 97 (1971), 9-10.

⁴³ SCHISM 1057.

⁴⁴ L.-A. Christophe, *BIE* 37 (1) (1954-5), 26 (3).

⁴⁵ MSS XIII, 31 (right), reproduced by Christophe, *op. cit.* pl. vii; *KRI* VI, 281 (6, B).

Hekekyan's papers.⁴⁶ In PM, the fact that Wilkinson copied a torso of Ramesses IV on the same page as the fist with the cartouche was misinterpreted as indicating that the two fragments belong to the same sculpture. From Hekekyan's unpublished papers we know that the torso of Ramesses IV was found in the 'southern scarp of Ex(cavation of) Cav(iglia)'.⁴⁷ The present location of the fragment of the colossus of Ramesses VI is not known, and as yet it has not been possible to equate it with any of the several colossal statues at Memphis.

The presence of Ramesses VI at Memphis is further attested by a similarly unpublished fragmentary colossal statue (probably usurped from Ramesses II),⁴⁸ another statue⁴⁹ in Berlin/DDR 7701, the addition of his name to the already mentioned statue-pedestal of Ramesses III,⁵⁰ and a cornice found by Petrie, which is now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, AE.I.N. 1148.⁵¹

The two colossal statues of Ramesses VI present something of a problem. Neither of them can now be re-examined because their location is not known. We cannot be sure that the statue recorded by Mrs Lieder was originally made for Ramesses VI, whose cartouches may have only been superscribed over those of an earlier king, the obvious candidate being Ramesses II.⁵² The squeezes, unfortunately, do not allow such alterations to be recognized. It is even possible that the two recordings refer to parts of the same sculpture.

3. Granite statue of the vizier Paser kneeling with a figure of Ptah.⁵³ Plate X. Lieder squeezes 16.1A, B; PM III², 838.

The statue is now in Durham, University Oriental Museum, N 511, where it came with the collection of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle. The notes on the Lieder squeezes are the only known source of information on the provenance of the sculpture: 'One of the Votive Statues recently found by Hekekyan Bey. Memphis.' The statue is not mentioned by Hekekyan in his papers and, surprisingly, was not recorded by Brugsch, so it may have been removed from the site by the time of his visit.

The vizier Paser, the owner of Theban tomb 106, is dated to Sethos I and the early part of the reign of Ramesses II.⁵⁴ The squeezes do not add to what can be gleaned from the monument itself.

4. Fragment of a granite block-statue of Pedepop.⁵⁵ Lieder squeezes 16.11A, B; L. Borchartdt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten (Catalogue général Caire)*, II, 81.

This statue is in Cairo Museum CG 525, and also in this case the annotated Lieder squeezes represent the only source of information on its provenance: 'a small sitting figure, in grey granite; recently found in the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis'.

⁴⁶ MSS 37452, 261 recto.

⁴⁷ MSS 37453, 53 verso.

⁴⁸ Gunn MSS R4 1-9.

⁴⁹ Illustrated in *Egiptul antic (Muzeul de artă, Bucharest, 1975)*, no. 71 with figure on p. 38. Text, G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* (Leipzig, 1924), 85; *KRI* VI, 329 (23). Indication of provenance, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis . . .* (Berlin, 1899), 120.

⁵⁰ See above, n. 37.

⁵¹ From north-east of the Abû'l-Hôl colossus, Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis (III)* (London, 1910), 39-40 with pl. xxxi (lower middle right); *KRI* VI, 281 (6, A).

⁵² As in the case of the red granite colossus which is now set up in the Central Railway Station (Rameses) Square in Cairo, PM III², 840.

⁵³ SCHISM 1065. Here, and elsewhere below, I do not list all the publications of the sculptures, which can be easily found in PM III².

⁵⁴ For the numerous monuments of Paser, see, e.g., W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden and Köln, 1958), 447-51 (24). Still attested in year 21 of Ramesses II, E. Edel, *SAK* I (1974), 131-2.

⁵⁵ SCHISM 1054.

Pedepap is known from at least one other monument and is probably dated to the reign of Psammetichus I.⁵⁶ The squeezes do not show the inscription in a better condition than in Borchardt's copy. This statue is not mentioned by Brugsch, so it was either overlooked by him or was no longer at Mît Rahîna when he was there.

5. Lower part of a granite seated statue of Minnakht.⁵⁷ Lieder squeezes 16.4A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 71 (VII); PM III², 837.

The statue is now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 5802. It was, no doubt, one of the monuments housed in the museum in the Cairo Citadel which Said Pasha presented⁵⁸ *en bloc* to the Austrian Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian (later Emperor Maximilian of Mexico) during his visit to Egypt in 1855. Sculptures from Mît Rahîna seem to have been well represented in this group.

Minnakht, the owner of Theban tomb 87, is dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III or Amenophis II.⁵⁹

6. Granite kneeling statue of Khaemwese.⁶⁰ Plate XI, 1. Lieder squeezes 16.2A-C; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 67; PM III², 838.

The statue is now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 5768.

The High Priest of Memphis Khaemwese was the eldest son of Ramesses II,⁶¹ and the statue was dedicated by his son Ramose. The squeezes record the three columns of text on the back of the statue, and there is no doubt that the sculpture is identical with Vienna Inv. 5768. According to Hekekyan,⁶² the statue was found in the 'south scarp of Exc(avation of) Cav(iglia)'.⁶³

7. Sandstone block-statue of Nedjem.⁶³ Lieder squeezes 16.6A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 71 (VI); PM III², 838.

This statue used to be in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 29.730, and is now in the collection of Memphis State University, Memphis (Tennessee),⁶⁴ as no. 1981.1.20. Dows Dunham, in his publication of the statue, states⁶⁵ that the figure was brought from Alexandria by an American ship's captain between 1861 and 1865.

Nedjem is with some probability dated to the reign of Ramesses II. The squeezes only record the text on the back pillar of the statue.

8. Fragmentary sandstone naophorous statue of Roma.⁶⁶ Lieder squeezes 16.5A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 69-70 (III); PM III², 838.

This Ramessid sculpture is now in Berlin/DDR, Staatliche Museen, 2085, and was acquired from von Penz in 1855.

⁵⁶ The lower part of an unpublished granite squatting statue, in Aberdeen, Anthropological Museum 1405, where he is given the title of 'High Priest of Memphis' (*wr hrpw hmww*). The provenance of the sculpture is not recorded, but the title and the type suggest the Memphite area, so both pieces probably originally came from the same locality. The type of the sculpture effectively dates it, B. V. Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 BC to AD 100* (The Brooklyn Museum, 1960), xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁵⁷ SCHISM 1060.

⁵⁸ S. Reinisch, *Die aegyptischen Denkmäler in Miramar* (Vienna, 1865), viii-ix; A. Dedekind, *Geschichte der kaiserlichen Sammlung altägyptischer Objekte in Wien* (Vienna, 1907), 31-2. The history of the Cairo collection is briefly outlined by H. Attiatallah, *GM* 74 (1984), 22-5.

⁵⁹ e.g. Helck, *op. cit.* 497-9 (4).

⁶⁰ SCHISM 1063.

⁶¹ F. Gomaâ, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II. und Hoherpriester von Memphis* (Wiesbaden, 1973).

⁶² MSS 37453, 4 recto.

⁶³ SCHISM 1064.

⁶⁴ C. Crown, *Ancient Egypt. A Guidebook (A Divine Tour of Ancient Egypt, Oct. 6, 1983-Dec. 8, 1983, The University Gallery, Memphis State University, Memphis, Tennessee)*, figure on 22nd page.

⁶⁵ *JEA* 21 (1935), 150.

⁶⁶ SCHISM 1068.

9. Lower part of a granite scribe-stature of Harwodj.⁶⁷ Lieder squeezes 16.12A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 70 (IV); PM III², 838.

The statue is now in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 5750, similarly to nos. 5 and 6 above.

The sculpture has never been fully published, and the bibliography of its texts contains only very early references and no facsimile copy.⁶⁸ Because of the name of his mother, Nekhtubasterau, which occurs on the base of the statue, Harwodj can be identified with the son of Harwa, known from a number of other monuments.⁶⁹

The type of the sculpture⁷⁰ suggests that Harwodj should probably be dated to the reign of Psammetichus I.

10. Lower part of a sandstone scribe-stature of Harsemtuemhet.⁷¹ Lieder squeezes 16.7A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 70-1 (V); PM III², 839.

The statue is in Cairo Museum CG 888, and dates to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, perhaps again to the reign of Psammetichus I. A. Lieder states that it was 'recently excavated by Hekekyan Bey (1852) near the southern entrance of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis'. Like Pedepep (no. 4 above),⁷² Harsemtuemhet may have dedicated more than one statue at Memphis.⁷³

11. Headless sandstone block-stature of Iry.⁷⁴ Lieder squeezes 16.3A, B; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 71 (VIII); PM III², 839.

This Late Period sculpture is in Cairo Museum CG 1106.

12. Standard-bearing granite statue of Ramesses II.⁷⁵ Figure 3. Lieder squeezes 16.8A-F; PM III², 837.

This statue was found by G. B. Caviglia at the same time as the Abû'l-Hôl colossus,⁷⁶ and is now displayed in the garden behind the Museum of the Colossus at Mît Rahîna. It was seen by J.-F. Champollion⁷⁷ in 1828, copied by J. Burton⁷⁸ in the 1820s or 1830s, by K. R.

⁶⁷ SCHISM 1069.

⁶⁸ Reinisch, op. cit. 228-9 (2) with pl. 28; E. Ritter von Bergmann, *Hieroglyphische Inschriften . . .* (Vienna, 1879), pl. 3 (upper) (text); G. Legrain, *RT* 30 (1908), 20-1 (names and titles); J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques, Suppl.* (Leipzig, 1892), no. 2380 (names and titles).

⁶⁹ All of them statues: Cairo JE 37172, 37403, 45710; Athens L 106; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum E.SU 169, E 31.1973; Louvre A 111; Philadelphia E 1390; Vatican 15. For lists of Harwodj's monuments, see M. I. Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes . . .* (Berlin, 1972), 141-2 (86); B. Schmitz in *LÄ*, 11, 1253 (30).

⁷⁰ Bothmer, op. cit. xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁷¹ SCHISM 1071.

⁷² See above, n. 56.

⁷³ Another statue which probably originally came from here is in Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, 2014, recently discussed at length by J. Padró i Parcerisa, *Egyptian-Type Documents from the Mediterranean Littoral of the Iberian Peninsula before the Roman Conquest*, 1 (Leiden, 1980), 1-18. For other monuments of this man, which reinforce the dating to Psammetichus I, see A. Roccati, *OrAnt* 21 (1982), 217-19 and L. Montagnò Leahy, *GM* 65 (1983), 51-6.

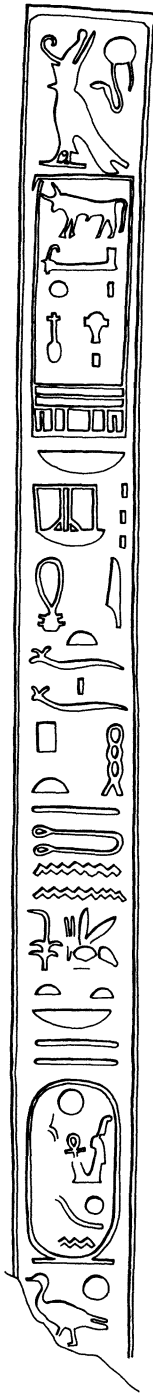
⁷⁴ SCHISM 1073.

⁷⁵ SCHISM 46.

⁷⁶ G. B. Brocchi, *Giornale delle osservazioni fatte ne' viaggi in Egitto, nella Siria e nella Nubia*, IV (Bassano, 1843), 73, mentions two smaller granite colossi found by Caviglia, as does J.-F. Champollion, *Lettres et journaux*, II (ed. H. Hartleben), in *Bibl. Ég.* 31 (Paris, 1909), 101. The colossus recorded by J. Bonomi, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom*, 2nd series, II (1847), 303, had already been known to the savants of Napoleon's Commission (*Description de l'Égypte*, V (Paris, 1829), 540-1, and pls. 3, 4 (1)), and its fist is in the British Museum (no. 9).

⁷⁷ Op. cit. 101-2, 104.

⁷⁸ MSS 25618, 90.



SCHISM 46
From squeezes Gr. Inst.
16. 8 A-F made by
A. & J.R.T. Lieder
at Memphis, May 1855

FIG. 3

Lepsius⁷⁹ in 1843, and probably on two occasions by Wilkinson⁸⁰ (the second time perhaps in 1855-6). In 1981 I made a facsimile copy of the inscription for the Egypt Exploration Society.

Mrs Lieder describes the sculpture as 'from the South Avenue of the Temple of Vulcan at Memphis . . . Supposed to be one of the four statues erected to the sons of Ramesses the Great', referring to the statement made by Herodotus, II. 110. According to J. Bonomi, the statue was half buried 132 yds (i.e. some 120 m) south-south-west of the Abû'l-Hôl colossus in 1845.⁸¹

The royal names incised on the standard of the statue have aroused interest ever since the earliest copies were made some 150 years ago. Lepsius's copy has been used by all those commenting on their identification. The Horus-name *Nfr-hr-Rc* is unique but, according to K. A. Kitchen,⁸² the name in the first cartouche reads *Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rc stp-n-Rc mrj-ḫmn*, and is the prenomen of Ramesses VII. L.-A. Christophe had previously suggested that it was the name of Ramesses VI (*Nb-mꜣꜥt-Rc mrj-ḫmn*), perhaps superscribed on that of Ramesses II (*Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rc stp-n-Rc*).⁸³

The Lieder squeezes do not agree with the copy of Lepsius, but rather suggest a cartouche of Ramesses II. In particular, there is not enough room for the supposed *mr* sign. Earlier, J. Burton saw the cartouche as a straightforward, if damaged, prenomen of Ramesses II, and the copy made by Sir J. G. Wilkinson shows a simple *Wsr-mꜣꜥt-Rc stp-n-Rc*. I came to the same conclusion during my examination of the statue⁸⁴ in 1981. It is, of course, necessary to bear in mind that the text has been progressively deteriorating: Burton, Lepsius, and Wilkinson during his first visit, still recorded *nb ḫꜣw* and the outlines of the second cartouche, but the Lieder squeezes no longer show any text following *sꜣ Rc*. Nowadays even the *sꜣ* sign is less completely preserved. Only Lepsius's copy thus differs substantially, but it was this which was adopted by both Christophe and Kitchen without collation of the text. It is hard to contradict a copy made at such an early date and by such skilled copyists as the draughtsmen on Lepsius's team. One explanation is that they were still able to see an inscription recut on to a plaster overlay. This, however, seems unlikely: no traces of it are now visible and no note to that effect accompanies the published copy.

The statue thus belongs to Ramesses II, and the unique Horus-name *Nfr-hr-Rc* is to be added to the many used by this king during his long reign.

⁷⁹ *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, Text*, I (Leipzig, 1897), 204.

⁸⁰ MSS V, 37 (middle right); XXXVII, 54, cf. 55.

⁸¹ *Op. cit.* 303-4 and plan facing p. 304.

⁸² *KRI* VI, 385 (3, A).

⁸³ *Op. cit.* 26-7.

⁸⁴ Smith, Jeffreys, and Malek, *JEA* 69 (1983), 39.

13. The Abû'l-Hôl limestone colossus of Ramesses II.⁸⁵ Lieder squeezes 16.10A-E; Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 64-6; PM III², 836-7.

Now in the Museum at Mît Rahîna, this colossal statue of Ramesses II is the best-known monument from Memphis. It was found in 1820 by G. B. Caviglia who was working on behalf of C. Sloane.

The squeezes show the cartouche on the belt of the statue.

Psammetichus I and the temple of Ptah at Memphis

The private statues recorded on Alice Lieder's squeezes represent an interesting chronological mixture. One of them dates to the reign of Tuthmosis III, four are Ramessid (all perhaps of the reign of Ramesses II), and four are of the Late Period. At least three of these are dated, albeit on stylistic grounds, to the reign of Psammetichus I. The *Topographical Bibliography* lists all these monuments under the heading 'Found near <the> South Gate', i.e. near the Abû'l-Hôl colossus. According to Brugsch the sculptures seen by him were close to the colossus: 'Ganz in seiner Nähe, nördlich und südlich von ihm, befinden sich Grundmauern, Säulenfüsse und Fragmente von Statuen, die sich ziemlich in einer geraden Linie verfolgen lassen.'⁸⁶ Hekekyan's effort was, indeed, mainly concentrated on the area in the immediate vicinity of the Abû'l-Hôl colossus, although he also made excavations and borings at various other points. It is even conceivable that when the Lieders and Brugsch were at Mît Rahîna the monuments had already been removed from their original positions. Nevertheless, for at least one monument, the lower part of a scribe-statue of Harsemtuemhet of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (sculpture no. 10), Alice Lieder explicitly gives 'the southern entrance of the Temple of Vulcan' as its location, and the same area is indicated as the provenance of the statue of Khaemwese (sculpture no. 6) by Hekekyan himself.

Herodotus says that it was Psammetichus I who 'made the southern outer court of Hephaestus' temple at Memphis, and built over against this a court for Apis, where Apis is kept and fed whenever he appears'.⁸⁷ Diodorus differs: according to him Psammetichus I 'built for the god in Memphis the east propylon and the enclosure about the temple, supporting it with colossi twelve cubits high in place of pillars'.⁸⁸ For neither of these statements is there, as yet, clearly dated archaeological evidence,⁸⁹ but a structure associated with the Apis-bull or his cult has been located

⁸⁵ SCHISM 51.

⁸⁶ *Reiseberichte aus Aegypten*, 64.

⁸⁷ II, 153, quoted from A. D. Godley, *Herodotus*, 1 (London and New York, 1926).

⁸⁸ I, 67, quoted from C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily*, 1, (London and New York, 1933).

⁸⁹ A fragmentary life-size statue of Psammetichus I, found at Mît Rahîna, is mentioned by Brugsch, *Reiseberichte*, 81, and by the same author in *Bericht über die zur Bekanntmachung geeigneten Verhandlungen der Königl. Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1853), 731, but he does not indicate the precise area where it was found and its present location is not known. It may be the same monument as the granite statue found at Kôm el-Nawa in 1981, A. M. Moussa, *ASAE* 69 (1983), 210 with pl. ii; J. Leclant, *Orientalia* 53 (1984), 361. For Psammetichus I and the temple of Ptah at Memphis, see H. De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie (II, 147-III, 15)* (Leuven, 1951), 44-6. The preserved southern enclosure wall of the Ptah precinct seems to be later, R. Anthes, *Mit Rahineh 1956* (Philadelphia, 1965), 31-2.

near the south-western corner of the Ptah enclosure.⁹⁰ It seems, however, that it is considerably later than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and thus not connected with Psammetichus I. Absence of material evidence is not uncharacteristic of Mît Rahîna where spoliation and lack of systematic exploration were such that they have even prompted a suggestion, almost certainly incorrect, that the temple of Ptah was not of the orthodox Egyptian type.⁹¹

It was mainly the outer parts of Egyptian temples and the areas near their pylons, gates, and approaches which were used as depositories of private sculptures because they were publicly accessible. While the archaeological evidence for the presumed southern gate of the Ramesside temple enclosure of Ptah in the area of the Abû'l-Hôl colossus is mounting,⁹² the same cannot be said about the situation during the Saite Period. Alone, Alice Lieder's record of the provenance of the early Saite statues is not adequate support for the theory that the southern entrance was still sufficiently well preserved and functioning, or rebuilt in approximately the same area, at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Its significance, however, greatly increases when combined with information derived from Classical sources. The probable presence of statues dated to the reign of Psammetichus I suggests that the statement by Herodotus concerning the contribution of this king to the architecture of the southern part of the Ptah enclosure at Memphis will eventually be shown to be essentially correct.

⁹⁰ M. El Amir, *JEA* 34 (1948), 51-6 with pls. xv-xvii, with further bibliography in *PM* III², 841-2. The structure has recently been the subject of several seasons' investigation, still in progress, by M. Jones and A. Milward.

⁹¹ G. Goossens, *CdE* 20 (1945), 49-53.

⁹² Jeffreys, Malek, and Smith, *JEA* 70 (1984), 25 (3).



Statue of the Vizier Paser, Durham N.511

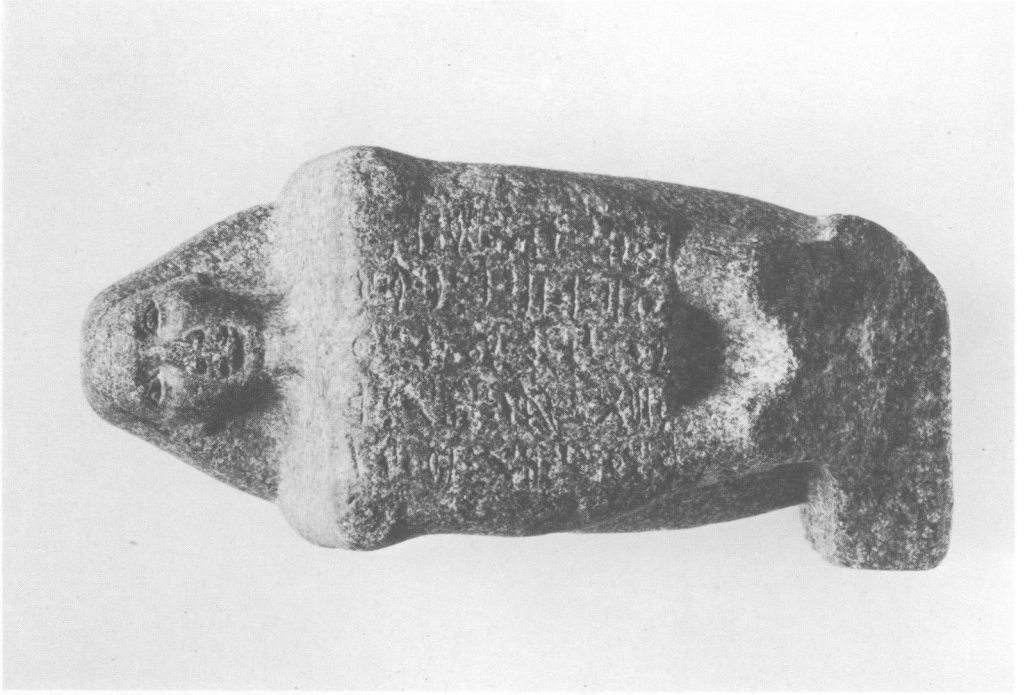
Courtesy The Oriental Museum, University of Durham

THE MONUMENTS RECORDED BY ALICE LIEDER



1. Statue of Khaemwese, Vienna Inv. 5768

*Courtesy Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung,
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*



2. Statue of Patjenfy, W. Berlin 10076

Courtesy Ägyptisches Museum SMPK

DAS SOGENANNTTE NARRATIV/KONTINUATIVE

JW=F HR (TM) SDM

By FRIEDRICH JUNGE

Reconsideration of the 'non-initial main clause' in Late Egyptian. Its main features (specific negation, being marked for temporal/narrative sequence, and being the 'sentence' part of closed sentential complexes) may be explained synchronically, as particular uses of the 'circumstantial first present', and/or as the result of diachronic interference. It is argued that the different modes of clause negation are syntactically of no, and semantically of little, significance on the sentence level. The sequential/continuative usage can be subsumed to 'co-ordination' as part of the functional pattern of circumstantials. The uses of the form in closed complexes following temporal *wnn=f hr sdm*, and after adverbials and *jr*-constructions, are mere survivals of Middle Egyptian patterns. There is a short discussion of the position of Late Egyptian in the language's history, and of problems of 'contrastive' (translational) correspondences.

Die 'non-initial main clause'

DIE Form, die hier Gegenstand sein soll, hat in der neuägyptischen Grammatik vor allem durch Černý einige Prominenz erlangt,¹ einiges Profil insbesondere durch Sarah Groll² und Paul Frandsen,³ von denen sie als 'non-initial main clause' (Groll) bzw. 'non-initial main sentence' (Frandsen) klassifiziert wird; zuletzt haben sie Helmut Satzinger⁴ unter der Bezeichnung 'Narrativ' ausführlich und Antonio Loprieno als 'sequential form' in einer Studie zur Vergleichenden Syntax⁵ behandelt.

Ihrer Funktion nach dient diese Form — und das versuchen die meisten ihrer Benennungen zum Ausdruck zu bringen — der 'Fortsetzung' einer einleitenden Phrase oder 'Satzkonjugation' in berichtenden Kontexten, und sie ist der Häufigkeit ihres Gebrauches nach eine sehr wichtige Form — der 'Reisebericht des Wenamun' beispielsweise wird fast ausschließlich in dieser Form gegeben.

Morphosyntaktisch hat die affirmative 'non-initial main clause' eine gewisse äußere Ähnlichkeit mit 'Umstandssatz des Präsens' und Futur III; im Unterschied zum Umstandssatz — dem 'circumstantial' — soll nur (*hr* plus) Infinitiv als

¹ Literatur bei Kroeber, *Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Tübingen, 1970), 127 (3.12.32) ff. — mit kurzem status quaestionis — und Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974), § 49 mit n. 1 und § 55; bei einigem guten Willen kann man sie schon hinter Ermans 'Präsens II' (*Neuägyptische Grammatik*² (Leipzig, 1933), §§ 186 ff.) verborgen sehen, sofern man den 'begleitenden Gebrauch', die Fälle von Futur III und schließlich den Namen wegstreicht, der eine irrtümliche Linie zum 2. Tempus des koptischen Präsens zieht.

² *JEA* 55 (1969), 89 ff.; Černý/Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rom, 1975), 420 ff.

³ A. a. O., §§ 49–55.

⁴ *Neuägyptische Studien*, Beihefte zur Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 6 (Wien, 1976); zusammenfassend: S. 233 ff.

⁵ *The Sequential Form in Late Egyptian and Biblical Hebrew . . .*, Afro-Asiatic Linguistics 7, 1980, 143 ff.

Bedeutungsträger auftreten,⁶ im Unterschied zu Futur III ist sie eben 'non-initial'.⁷ Gelegentlich wird zur Scheidung von 'circumstantial' und 'non-initial main clause' eine Verteilung von dort PsP und Adverbialen und hier Infinitiv mit der demotisch/koptischen Opposition von 'Dauerzeit' und 'Nicht-Dauerzeit' verbunden⁸ — fälschlicherweise, weil diese Opposition für das Neuägyptische noch nicht gilt;⁹ Hauptkriterien fast aller Autoren sind jedoch die anscheinend unterschiedlichen Negationsmuster, nämlich das adverbelle negierte Präsens I *jw bn sw hr sdm* einerseits, *jw=f hr tm sdm* für die 'non-initial main clause' andererseits.

So weit, so gut: die 'non-initial main clause' scheint eine nach Form und Funktion wohlumrissene Größe zu sein, das Problem ist nur, daß sie

(1) sprachgeschichtlich offenbar keine Vorläufer und kaum Nachfahren hat¹⁰ — allenfalls den 'Konditionalis' des Demotischen¹¹ oder Resten in spätsa'idischen Texten¹² — und das sie

(2) systematisch fast nicht zu greifen ist, was schon die Grollische Kennzeichnung als 'non-initial main clause' signalisiert: nach Ausweis der Negation mit *tm* ist sie zwar eine 'clause conjugation' im Sinne des Polotskyschen Ordnungssystems,¹³ aber funktionell eben nicht eine 'clause', d.h. abhängig, sondern 'main', 'selbständig', jedoch wiederum ohne das Hauptkriterium der 'main sentence' — nämlich 'initiality' — zu erfüllen.

Die 'non-initial main clause' als Umstandssatz

Die Elemente struktureller Zuordnung

Ich will nun zu zeigen versuchen, daß die Form nichts anderes ist als eine Form der durch den 'circumstantial converter' *jw* bestimmten Klasse von Umstandssätzen des Neuägyptischen, und daß ihre Verwendungsweisen sich den Verwendungsweisen der Umstandssätze zuordnen, wenn man die neuäg. Umstandssätze im Rahmen der Sprache selbst sieht, d.h. 'Übersetzung' als das nimmt, was sie ist, nämlich nur eine mehr oder minder genaue Paraphrase der Inhalte von Aussagen, nicht aber ein irgendwie geeignetes Mittel struktureller Beschreibung. Hinweise auf die Struktur will ich aber andererseits dem Mittelägyptischen entnehmen — einer dem Neuägyptischen sicherlich eng verwandten Sprache: man mag dies einen Versuch nennen, sprachgeschichtliche Argumente für die dennoch synchrone Beschreibung einer Sprache nutzbar zu machen.

⁶ Woraus manche Autoren zudem eine komplementäre Verteilung für den 'Umstandssatz des Präsens' — nur PsP, adverbelle Bestimmungen und *m* + Infinitiv bei Verben der Bewegung — ableiten wollen, s. Groll, *JEA* 55, 91 § 4; Logan, *Sarapis* 2 (1970), 29 ff., und Johnson, *The Demotic Verbal System*, SAOC 38 (Chicago, 1976), 75 f. mit n. 93; 253 n. 74; zu Gegenbeispielen s. jedoch Johnson, a.a.O., 76 n. 93.

⁷ Kann nicht nach den 'direct' und 'indirect indicators of initiality' auftreten, s. Černý/Groll, *Grammar*, 420 ff. (37.1–37.3).

⁸ Groll, *JEA* 55, 91; Frandsen, a.a.O., 85 (3); Johnson, a.a.O., 253.

⁹ Determiniertes direktes Objekt auch im Umstandssatz des Präsens, s. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 104 Exx. 17; 25; 30 und das schöne Beispiel O. DM 328 rto 4–5, zitiert bei Johnson, a.a.O., 76 f. n. 93.

¹⁰ Etwa nach Černý/Groll, a.a.O., 423 (38.1) nach der 21. Dyn. zurückgehend, nach Johnson, a.a.O., 254 vor der Ptolemäerzeit verloren gegangen.

¹¹ Johnson, a.a.O., 233 ff.

¹² A. Shisha-Halevy, *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 455 ff.

¹³ 'The Coptic Conjugation System', *Or* 29 (1960), 392 ff.

Meine Darlegung soll in drei Gruppen erfolgen, die sich an die hauptsächlichsten Bestimmungsmerkmale anlehnen, und zwar

- (1) die Eigenheiten der Negation
- (2) der eigentlich sequentiell/kontinuative Gebrauch
- (3) der Gebrauch nach vorangestellten temporalen Adverbialen und als unverzichtbares Satzelement.

Die Formen der 'Gliedsatznegation'

Die Art, in der die 'non-initial main clause' negiert wird, nämlich durch *tm*, gilt als Hauptkriterium einer Unterscheidung vom 'Umstandssatz des Präsens' und dessen Negierung *jw bn sw hr sdm*. Nun wird zunächst einmal in *jw=f hr tm sdm* genauso der Infinitiv nach *hr* negiert, wie der Infinitiv auch sonst durch *tm* negiert wird, sei es im nominalen Gebrauch,¹⁴ sei es als Bedeutungsträger verschiedener Konjunktionalsyntaxen,¹⁵ d.h., *tm* plus Bedeutungsträger sind ein negatives Satzelement, das in einer affirmativen Satzstruktur eine Nominalposition einnimmt — gewissermaßen ein 'Negativnomen' — ohne Struktur und Affirmation zu beeinflussen; *bn* hingegen ist ein zusätzliches Satzelement, das etwa wie ein Satzadverb die Satzstruktur verändert — gewissermaßen eine 'nihilistische Umstandsangabe', die die gesamte Aussage für falsch erklärt.¹⁶ Dann aber haben Negation durch *tm* und Negation anderer Art im Prinzip gar nichts miteinander zu tun, sie ergänzen sich nicht und können sich nicht gegenseitig ausschließen — was man sich durch Analogien seiner eigenen Sprache klarmachen kann: so wird man im Deutschen einen Satz wie 'Ich verbrachte den Tag mit Nichtstun' kaum als Negation eines Satzes 'Ich verbrachte den Tag mit "Tun"' auffassen, auch wenn der negierte Satz 'Ich verbrachte den Tag nicht mit "Tun"' seiner Aussage nach dem ersten im Effekt ziemlich ähnlich sein dürfte.

Demnach ist es zwar berechtigt, im Neuägyptischen *tm* als Negation einer 'clause conjugation' anzusehen wie im Koptischen,¹⁷ die Umkehrung aber ist nicht richtig, nämlich die Negation durch *tm* als Merkmal einer 'clause', eines 'Gliedsatzes' zu nehmen: im Rahmen des übergeordneten Satzes bleibt es gleichgültig, ob ein negatives Satzglied dadurch eingebracht wird, daß die Konverter *jw* oder *ntj* eine negierte 'Satzkonjugation' unterordnen, oder ob dies durch die expliziten Unterordnungsfunktion der synthetischen 'Gliedsatzkonjugationen' mit ihren spezifischen Negationsweisen geschieht, seien es Temporalis, Konjunktiv oder Konjunktiv des Futurs ('Finalis'); mit anderen Worten: ob etwa der temporale Umstandssatz durch *jw* plus negiertes Präsens I eingebracht wird oder durch den Temporalis mit *m-dr*

¹⁴ Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.* § 795.

¹⁵ Die 'Prepositional Initial Subordinate Clauses' nach Černý/Groll, *Grammar*, zu denen ich im übrigen nach seiner Herkunft auch den 'Konjunktiv' rechnen würde.

¹⁶ Groll, *Negative Verbal System of Late Egyptian* (London/New York, 1970), 150 ff. spricht von der Negation der "is" relationship bei *bn . . . jwn* (also vom 'Satzadverb'), was im Falle des Präsens I sicher auch für *bn* gelten dürfte nach Ausweis des koptischen Negationssystems, s. Polotsky, *Or* 29, 406, ebenso die negierten Satzkonjugationen.

¹⁷ S. Polotsky, *Or* 29, 404 (27).

plus von *tm* negiertem prospektivem *s_dm=f* ist auf der Satzebene gleichgültig; *jw* und *m-dr* bringen gleicherweise einen negativen Inhalt in die affirmative Struktur des übergeordneten Satzes ein, wenn diese negativen Inhalte auch unterschiedliche grammatische Form haben. Diese theoretischen Ausführungen lassen sich gut am 2. Tempus verifizieren, etwa für den affirmativen Satz am Grollschen Paradigma:¹⁸

- (1)
$$j:jr=f\ stp \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} jw\ bn\ sw\ hr\ stp \\ jw\ bwpw=f\ stp \\ n\ p:j=f\ tm\ stp; \end{array} \right.$$

oder für den negierten Satz beispielhaft zusammengezogen:

- (2) RAD 56, 2—3

bn j:jr=j tm jy jw mn nkt r jnj:t=f

(‘Mein ‘Nichtkommen’ war nicht, weil es nichts zu bringen gab’ →) ‘Nicht, weil es nichts zu bringen gab, bin ich nicht gekommen’ —

der durch *bn* negierte Satz hat seinerseits das negative verbale Subjekt *tm jy* und das durch *jw* adverbial eingebrachte negative Prädikat *mn nkt*.

Für die ‘non-initial main clause’ heißt dies nun zunächst nicht mehr — aber auch nicht weniger — als daß die Negation mit *tm* keine Folgerung zuläßt auf die Beziehung zum vorgeordneten Satz: *tm* ist syntaktisch neutral, die Wahl der Negation im nachgeordneten Satz muß von anderen Gesichtspunkten bestimmt sein als von syntaktischen.

Der sequentielle Gebrauch: Eine ‘kontrastive’ Analyse

Die Funktion der ‘Nebenordnung’

Das Kriterium der Negationsweisen war jedoch nur eines, es war eher bedeutsam, daß die scheinbar spezifische Negation auch mit ganz bestimmten Gebrauchsweisen zusammenzugehen schien. Die häufigste ist zweifellos der eigentlich ‘sequentielle’ Gebrauch, für den Beispiel (3) stehen kann:¹⁹

- (3) Adopt. Pap. rto 16–19 (JEA 26)

jnj=n hm:t NN r swnt

jw=s msj p:j 3 hrd:w . . .

jw=j jt:t=w

jw=j s:cnh:w

jw=j dj:t jry=w p: s:s

jw=j ph p: hrw jrm=w

jw=w tm jr:t bjn hr:j

jw=w jr:t n=j nfr

‘Wir erwarben die Sklavin NN

und sie gebar diese 3 Kinder . . . ,

und ich nahm sie auf,

ernährte sie,

ließ sie aufwachsen

und erreichte den heutigen Tag mit ihnen,

und sie haben mir nicht Böses angetan,

sondern sie haben mir Gutes getan’

Einer einleitenden präteritalen Form — hier *s_dm=f* — folgen eine Reihe von ‘non-initial main clauses’, die üblicherweise durch ‘und’, ‘aber’, ‘sondern’ oder andere nebenordnende Konjunktionen der Übersetzungssprache — auch ‘Komma’ — wiedergegeben werden. Nun ist es jedoch so, daß nicht nur die Formgleichheit von ‘non-initial main clause’ und ‘Umstandssatz des Präsens’ manche grammatische

¹⁸ *Negative Verbal System*, 153.

¹⁹ Für weitere Beispiele s. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 51.

Auffassung sehr interpretationsabhängig macht — beispielweise könnte *jw=s msj* in Beispiel (3) als 'virtueller Relativsatz'²⁰ verstanden werden, also: '. . . Sklavin NN, welche diese 3 Kinder gebar . . .', oder aber die letzten drei Zeilen als 'und ich erreichte den heutigen Tag mit ihnen, indem sie Böses gegen mich nicht taten aber Gutes für mich taten'; es ist auch so, daß Umstandssätze mit eben jener charakteristischen Funktion der 'non-initial main clause' benutzt werden, berichtete Handlungen einen Schritt oder mehrere weiterzuführen:

(4) pSall. I 7, 4-7, 5

sw jt' r t' jwcy't
jw p' wcyw m t'zjt r H'rw
jw bn hfw
bn t'btj
jw bw-rh=f r jwd r mwt cyh . . .

'Er wird zur Garnison gebracht
 und der Soldat steigt hinauf nach Syrien,
 ohne Stab
 und Sandalen,
 und er weiß Tod von Leben nicht zu unter-
 scheiden . . .'

(5) LRL 20, 3-6

hr mdw=j m-dj NN hr p' shn n p'j=k hrj
jmm mdw=f m-dj=k gr mnt=f
jw=tn h'p tw.f²¹
jw m-jr mdw m-b'h ky
jw j'jr=k rš n p'j=k tm mdw jrm wcy
j'jr-t(=j) jy
mtw=k ptr p' sk't n NN
mtw=k rtm=f²² . . .

'Nun, ich habe mit NN gesprochen wegen des
 Auftrags Deines Vorgesetzten.
 Veranlasse ihn selbst, mit Dir zu sprechen
 aber²³ verbergt es vor mir
 und sprich nicht in Gegenwart eines anderen,
 denn wenn Du nicht mit jemandem sprichst,
 bevor ich zurückkomme, kannst Du froh sein;
 des weiteren sieh nach dem Eselsfohlen der NN
 und pflege es . . .'

In der Übersetzung werden hier die ägyptischen Umstandssätze wie die 'non-initial main clause' am besten durch nebenordnende Konjunktionen wie 'aber', 'und', 'denn' wiedergegeben; 'untergeordnete Imperative' bzw. 'Zweite Tempora' wie in Beispiel (5) lassen sich auch kaum anders als so übersetzen. Satzinger²⁴ ordnet daher diese Syntagmen mit der Form von Umstandssätzen und der Funktion des 'Narrativs' einer eigenen Klasse zu, der 'jw-Parthese'. Somit muß die Formenklasse der 'non-initial main clause' offenbar erweitert werden zu Formenklasse (6):

(6)
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} jw + (\text{neg.}) \text{ Satzkonjugation} \\ jw=f hr (tm) sdm \end{array} \right]$$

Welche Funktion erfüllen denn nun aber eigentlich diese Übersetzungsmittel 'und', 'aber', 'Komma' usf. innerhalb der Struktur der Übersetzungssprache? Das heißt, welche Leistungen der eigenen Sprache werden für intuitiv angemessen gehalten, Strukturen des Ägyptischen analog abzubilden? Es werden mit ihrer Hilfe mehrere als gleichwertig angesehene Aussagen so miteinander verknüpft, daß zwar kein direktes logischen Verhältnis zwischen den Aussagen hergestellt aber doch eine gewisse Zusammengehörigkeit formuliert wird. Was 'Narrativ' und 'jw-Parthese'

²⁰ Frandsen, a.a.O., § 100 ff. Funktion B.

²¹ Nach Černý/Groll, *Grammar*, Chap. 2. 5; sonst vgl. Wenté, *LRL*, 41 n. ac.

²² S. Wenté, *LRL*, 41 n. ag.

²³ S. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 108 Ex. 1.

²⁴ *Neuäg. Studien*, 227 ff. (2.6.2); bezüglich des untergeordneten Imperativs ähnlich auch Černý/Groll, a.a.O., 352 (24.9).

Die grammatischen Mittel der 'Nebenordnung'

Wenn dies so sein sollte, ist damit allerdings noch nicht beantwortet, wie — d.h. mit welchen grammatischen Mitteln — das Ägyptische Koordination bewerkstelligt, also ob die Formenklasse (6) eine eigene Klasse darstellt oder — wie es den Anschein erweckt — mit der Klasse der Umstandssätze identisch ist. Betrachten wir daher nunmehr, welche grammatischen Mittel denn die verwandte Sprache 'Mittelägyptisch' für diesen Zweck verwendet:²⁸

(13) Ebers 872 (108, 4-5)

	(Wenn Du eine Gefäßgeschwulst beurteilst)	
<i>gmm=k sj hnbꜣbꜣ·tj</i>		'und Du sie kugelförmig,
<i>rwꜥ·tj hr ḏbrꜣw=k hr šm·t</i>		hart unter Deinen Fingern bei "Bewegung",
<i>jw=s jwꜥ·tj r ḥꜣw=f . . .</i>		und getrennt von seinem Fleisch . . . findest'.

Mit dem *jw*-Satz in Beispiel (13) wird offenbar schon ein dem neuägyptischen formal und funktionell vergleichbarer Satz gebraucht,²⁹ wenn auch *jw* hier noch das Merkmal der Unabhängigkeit ist — Unabhängigkeit vom direkt vorausgehenden, aber schon 'Nebenordnung' zu den PsP *rwꜥ·tj* und *hnbꜣbꜣ·tj*,³⁰ wie Ursula Kaplony-Heckel³¹ gezeigt hat. Die beiden parallelen PsP von Beispiel (13) lassen aber erkennen, daß die 'asyndetische Nebenordnung' gleicher Formen, oder, vom Gesichtspunkt des Satzbaues aus: die mehrfache Besetzung einer Satzposition, das eigentliche Verfahren des Mittelägyptischen ist. Diese Methode ist aber auch sonst zu beobachten, mit Infinitiv:

(14) Lebensmüder 11-13

<i>mꜣn bꜣj hr thjꜣ·tꜣj . . .</i>	'Seht, mein Ba schädigt mich . . .
<i>hr stꜣj r mwt . . .</i>	und zerrt mich zum Tode . . .
<i>hr ḥꜣꜣ(=j) hr ḥt . . .</i>	und wirft mich aufs Feuer . . .',

mit *sdm·n=f* und *sdm=f*:³²

(15) pMill. 1, 6-1, 7

<i>jw ḏj·n=j n šwꜣ·w</i>	'Ich beschenkte den Armen,
<i>s·ḥꜣꜣr·n=j nmḥ</i>	zog die Waise auf
<i>ḏj·n=j ꜣḥ jw·tj·n=f mj ntj·wn</i>	und ließ vorankommen, wem nichts zu eigen, wie wer "von Status" war'.

²⁸ Dies ist nun bereits von J. Johnson, *Sarapis* 5 (1982), 69 ff. ausführlich dargestellt worden; ich behalte trotzdem meine Darstellung hier aus Demonstrationsgründen bei. Janet Johnson hat mir freundlicherweise in ihrer Asterisk-Anmerkung a.a.O., S. 69, anregende Wirkung zugeschrieben — es ist mir allerdings unklar, was an ihrer Darstellung so 'very different' von meiner ist: m.E. stellt sie eben das ausführlich dar, was von mir in der von ihr zitierten Arbeit bereits angesprochen wurde — s. dazu auch hier Anm. 33 —, wenn ich auch gerne zugestehe, daß mir die Reichweite dieser Gebrauchsweisen damals nicht so deutlich war.

²⁹ Zur Uminterpretation von *jw* zum Konverter durch 'Gliederungsverschiebung' s. Junge, *SAK* 9 (1981), 207 f., mit (von mir nicht verschuldeten) Korrekturen in *GM* 60 (1982), 93-6.

³⁰ Hierher gehören im übrigen auch die Beispiele von Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§ 117; 323 Ende, dort jedoch als 'strong contrast' bezeichnet.

³¹ *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 22 f.; dort auch weitere Beispiele, ebenso Westendorf, *Grammatik der Medizinischen Texte* (Berlin, 1962), § 412aa1b mit n. 3.

³² Weitere Beispiele etwa Gardiner, *Grammar*, §§ 212 ff.; 505 ff.; zu Beispiel (15) funktional parallel darf man etwa auch Sin R 8-11 und *Nfr·tj* 63-5 ansehen.

(16) Urk. IV 895, 14— . . . —896, 1
js̄t njsw·t km·n=f ḥrw=f . . .
s·hrj=f r p·t . . .

‘Der König hatte seine Lebenszeit vollendet . . .
 und fuhr zum Himmel auf . . .’

Wie *s̄dm·n=f*-Formen in Fällen, die Beispiel (15) entsprechen, als ‘kontinuatives *s̄dm·n=f*’ bezeichnet worden sind, ließe sich ein *s̄dm=f* wie *s·hrj=f* in Beispiel (16) als ‘kontinuatives *s̄dm=f*’ bezeichnen.

Also entweder sind es Adverbiale wie PsP und *hr* plus Infinitiv oder aber es sind adverbelle Formen wie ‘circumstantial *s̄dm=f/s̄dm·n=f*’, die hier in Reihen hintereinandergestellt sind und sich auf ein Bezugselement (*jw/ḥr·n*; Nomen; usf.) beziehen wie etwa in Beispiel (8) — die Koordination von Sätzen und Gliedsätzen im Mittelägyptischen wird durch Mehrfachbesetzung adverbeller Positionen erreicht;³³ Eric Doret³⁴ hat dies jüngst dadurch expliziert, daß er das sog. ‘kontinuative’ *s̄dm·n=f* als ‘circumstantial’ erkannte.

Den Adverbialphrasen des Mittelägyptischen aber entsprechen die Umstandssätze des Neuägyptischen: an Beispiel (17) läßt sich die Entwicklung kurz demonstrieren.

(17) pWestc. 12, 19 ff.
gmj·n=f NN ḥms·tj
tp=s ḥr mʾs·t
jb=s ḏwj

‘Er fand NN sitzend,
 ihren Kopf auf dem Knie
 und traurigen Herzens’.

Dies ist einmal ein gutes Beispiel für die koordinierende Nebenordnung von ‘eingebetteten Adverbialsätzen’ — besser ‘Objektsnomen plus Adverbialattribut’ — des Mittelägyptischen; in das Neuägyptische geht ein solches Satzmuster auf zwei Wegen über: einmal wird die ‘verbale’ Adverbiale des Mittelägyptischen zum ‘Umstandssatz’ des Neuägyptischen³⁵ —

Umformung I: **[gmj·n=f Nomen] + [ḥms·tj]_{ADVERBIALPHRASE}*
 → **[gmj·n=f Nomen] + jw[=s ḥms·tj]_{SATZ}*—

für die etwa als Beispiel stehen kann

(18) BM 10052, 15, 17 (Eid):
mtw·tw gmj·t=j jw=j zn·kw ḥr nʾ jḏ·w . . .

‘Fände man mich, indem ich mit den Dieben
 Kontakt habe . . .’

Zum anderen wird durch ‘Gliederungsverschiebung’ aus dem Syntagma ‘Objekts-

³³ Im Prinzip ist diese Funktion von mir — Junge, *Syntax*, 128 (5) — schon angesprochen worden, an einzelnen Stellen etwa a.a.O., S. 34 (Schiffbr. 41-2); S. 40 (Schiffbr. 99-100; Sin B 21-3); S. 118 f. (Sin B 188-90); häufig S. 119 ff.; meine — wie ich annehme: gewachsene — Einsicht in die Satzzusammenhänge würde mir nunmehr allerdings geraten erscheinen lassen, etwa ein Beispiel wie Schiffbr. 113-14 (a.a.O., S 38 und 40) im Sinne der Koordination aufzufassen: ‘Gott hat Dich leben lassen und zu dieser Insel gebracht’.

³⁴ *BSEG* 2 (1979), 13 ff.

³⁵ Umformungen solcher Art kann man auch auf der Stufe des Neuägyptischen beobachten, etwa bei dem, was Hintze, *Neuäg. Erzählungen*, S. 96 ff. ‘Verbalkombinationen’ nennt: sofern es sich um ‘Verb + *hr* + Inf.’ handelt, sind diese Kombinationen in nichtliterarischen Texten — vor allem dann im Demotischen und Koptischen — in ‘Koordinationsketten’ aufgelöst worden, vgl. Hintze, a.a.O., mit Frandsen, a.a.O., S. 197; 209 f.; Satzinger, a.a.O., S. 237; Johnson, a.a.O., S. 241 ff. u.a.; für die koptischen Formen s. Till, *Koptische Grammatik*, §§ 330; 332.

nomen von gmj plus Adverbialattribut' eine Gebrauchsweise des Umstandssatzes als 'Objektsatz' —

Umformung II: * $[gmj:n=f \text{ Nomen}] + [hms:tj]_{\text{ADVERBIALPHRASE}}$
 → * $[gmj:n=f] + [\text{Nomen} + \text{Adv. Phr.}]_{\text{SATZ}}$
 → * $[gmj:n=f] + jw$ [Satz] —

etwa in Beispiel

(19) LRL 7, 11-12 . . .

$j:jr=j gmj jw dj=f jwj wr tsm$. . .

'Ich stellte fest, daß er mir ein Boot geschickt hatte . . .'

Ein Fall wie Beispiel (17) würde demnach im Neuägyptischen etwa so aussehen:

*'pWestc. 12, 19ff. neuägyptisch': ** $j:jr=f gmj NN jw=s hms:tj jw tp=s hr m:s:t jw jb=s dwj$
 oder entsprechend Umformung II.

Ich denke, die Folgerungen sind eindeutig: Klasse (6) ist mit der Klasse der Umstandssätze identisch. Das narrative oder kontinuitive $jw=f hr (tm) sdm$ ist keine eigene Form, keine 'non-initial main clause', sondern der 'Umstandssatz des Präsens', und die Umstandssätze leisten auch die Funktion der Koordination: Die in unseren Sprachen nebenordnende Koordination ist im Ägyptischen eine Leistung der adverbialen Unterordnung.

Mit zwei Überlegungen zur Sprachgeschichte will ich diesen Abschnitt beenden: es macht im Prinzip wenig Schwierigkeiten, in den Formen der Klasse 'Umstandssatz' des Neuägyptischen die Formen der Klasse 'Adverbialphrase' des Mittelägyptischen wiederzufinden — mit einer Ausnahme: das der Häufigkeit seines Gebrauchs nach wichtige 'circumstantial $sdm=f$ '. Als Form ist es offenbar in diesen Gebrauchsweisen im Neuägyptischen geschwunden; wenn man aber — mit Gardiner (etwa Grammar, §§ 212; 213) — seine Funktion als Angabe 'relativer Gleichzeitigkeit' beschreibt, ist es wahrscheinlich, daß die Funktion des 'circumstantial $sdm=f$ ' von der Form $jw=f hr sdm$ des Neuägyptischen mitübernommen worden ist (zumal auch im Mittelägyptischen schon die Adverbiale $hr + \text{Inf.}$ mit dem 'circumstantial $sdm=f$ ' funktional konkurrierte); neben Gebrauchsweisen wie dem 'kontinuativen' $s:hrj=f$ von Beispiel (16) ist auch die vergleichbare Häufigkeit des Gebrauchs als Indiz dafür zu werten.

Zum anderen erlaubt die Zuordnung der 'non-initial main clause' zu den Umstandssätzen schließlich auch weitere Linien sprachgeschichtlicher Kontinuität zu ziehen: in ähnlichen wie den geschilderten Syntagmen findet sich der Umstandssatz mit der Funktion der Koordination auch noch im Koptischen, wenn auch — nach der Struktur des Koptischen — nur in Verbindung mit $\lambda\gamma\omega$; etwa in Reihe mit der Relativform³⁶

(20) Lukas 23, 27 (S)

$\text{N}\epsilon\text{P}\epsilon\text{OYMH}\text{H}\text{O}\text{E}\text{A}\epsilon\text{M}\text{P}\text{L}\text{A}\text{O}\text{C}\text{OYH}\text{2}$ 'Eine Menge von Leuten folgten ihm mit den
 $\text{N}\text{C}\text{O}\text{P}\text{E}\text{M}\text{N}\text{N}\epsilon\text{2}\text{IOM}\epsilon\text{N}\text{A}\text{I}\epsilon\text{N}\epsilon\text{Y}\text{N}\epsilon\text{2}\text{P}\epsilon$ Frauen, die trauerten und ihn beklagten'.
 $\text{N}\epsilon\lambda\gamma\omega\epsilon\text{Y}\text{T}\text{O}\epsilon\text{I}\text{T}\epsilon\text{P}\text{O}\text{C}$

³⁶ Weitere und andere Beispiele, Till, *Kopt. Gr.*, §§ 331; 486.

Die sprachgeschichtliche Komponente

Die 'nicht-sequentiellen' Gebrauchsweisen

Nun bleiben allerdings eine Reihe von Gebrauchsweisen der 'non-initial main clause' — wenn man mir gestatte, diese Kennzeichnung vorläufig weiterzuverwenden —, die sich der vorgebrachten Funktionsbeschreibung nicht fügen wollen: der Gebrauch nach vorangestellten Zeitadverbien und als unverzichtbare Satzglieder. Diese Gebrauchsweisen will ich nun im folgenden näher betrachten.

Der neuägyptische 'Wechselsatz'

Bestimmte Konstruktionen wirken in der Übersetzung wie Sätze — d.h. wie die Form selbständiger und abgeschlossener Äußerungen — ohne dem Inventar akzeptierter neuägyptischer Satzformen zugeordnet werden zu können. Dazu gehören etwa diejenigen syntaktischen Komplexe, die durch *wnn* bzw. *hr wnn*³⁷ eingeleitet werden:³⁸

(21) LRL 34, 12-13

wnn t:j=j šc·t spr r=k jw=k crcr jpw·t nb šhn 'Wenn mein Brief Dich erreicht, sollst Du alle
nb jnk . . . Aufträge und Angelegenheiten von mir ausführen . . .'

Nicht nur entspricht das gesamte Syntagma keinem etablierten Satztyp, es können auch weder der erste Teil — der in der Übersetzung als temporaler Nebensatz wiedergegeben wird — noch der zweite Teil — der 'Hauptsatz' der Übersetzung — im Neuägyptischen eigenständig auftreten. Verständlich wird das Syntagma in seiner Struktur erst auf dem Hintergrund seines diachronen Aspekts, eben den mittelägyptischen Konstruktionen, die Gardiner 'pseudo-verbal constructions with *wnn*' nennt, die aber nun als solche mit 'emphatischem *wnn*' zu bezeichnen wären:³⁹

(22) Lebensmüder 142-3

wnn ms ntj_{jm} m ntr cnh hr hsf jw n jrr sw 'Wer dort als lebender Gott ist, verwehrt das
 Übel dem, der es tut'.

Wenn in Beispiel (22) die prädikative Adverbiale *hr hsf* in ihre neuägyptische Form gebracht wird, nämlich *jw=f hr hsf*, liegt die Struktur von Beispiel (21) schon vor. An Beispiel

(23) Bauer B1, 83 (Sorge auch für den Lebensunterhalt dieses Bauern selbst)

[*wnn=k hr rdj·t dj·tw n=f q·w*] [*nn rdj·t rh=f ntt* 'Wenn Du ihm Einkünfte zukommen läßt, dann
ntk rdj n=f st (jedoch) ohne ihn merken zu lassen, daß Du es warst, der es ihm gegeben hat',

läßt sich im übrigen recht schön der diachrone Hintergrund der Negationsweise *jw=f hr tm sdm* demonstrieren: sie ist der neuägyptische Nachfahr des adverbialen

³⁷ Zu *hr* in dieser Konstruktion vgl. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 98, 3 (3) und Satzinger, a.a.O., 84 ff. (1.4.1.1.1).

³⁸ Zu Form und morphosyntaktischen Merkmalen s. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 98.

³⁹ Bei Gardiner, *Grammar*, § 326, sind die 'prädikativen' Teile der Belege nicht aufgeführt; zur grammatische Analyse s. Junge, *Syntax*, 110 ff. (8.2.2).

nm + Infinitiv genauso wie jw bn sw hr sdm der neuägyptische Nachfahr des adverbialen n - js $sdm=f$ ist.⁴⁰

Im späten Mittelägyptischen der 18. Dyn. kann die 'satzwertige' Adverbiale dieser Konstruktion schon in Form des (durch js) untergeordneten — 'adverbialen' — Satzes beobachtet werden:

(24) Urk. IV 66, 17-67, 1

wnn $hrw=j$ $m3c$ m $wsh:t$ jnk js $m3c$ - hrw tp $t3$

'Wenn meine Stimme gerechtfertigt sein wird in der Gerichtshalle, dann, weil ich ein Gerechtfertigter war auf Erden'.

Von hier aus wird aber dann auch erkennbar, daß die Struktur des Übersetzungssatzes bei der wnn -Konstruktion aus Temporalsatz plus Hauptsatz erst dann entsteht, wenn — wie in der neuägyptischen Umformung — die prädikative Adverbiale ein eigenes Subjekt erhält — sei es nun mit dem voranstehenden referenzidentisch oder nicht. Dies Problem hat man nun aber auch im Mittelägyptischen dann, wenn die prädikative Adverbiale nach der satzwertigen Subjektphrase der 'emphatischen' Konstruktion als 'circumstantial' $sdm=f$ oder $sdm=n=f$ realisiert wird — verfährt man nach Polotskys Vorschlag⁴¹ und transportiert die emphatische Form in einen Umstandssatz, die adverbialle Form $sdm=f/sdm=n=f$ aber in einen Hauptsatz, hat man genau den Typus von Übersetzungssatz, den Beispiel (21) verwendet: ein erfreuliches Indiz für die gelegentliche Konvergenz von Übersetzerintuition und Übersetzungsregeln. Mit wenigen Worten: Die neuägyptischen Konstruktionen mit 'temporalem' wnn sind ihrem syntaktischen Aufbau nach strukturelle Relikte der mittelägyptischen Syntax, und zwar einer Form der 'emphatischen' Konstruktion — neuägyptisch aber in der Realisierung: Subjektphrase mit wnn , prädikative Adverbiale $jw=f$ hr sdm .

Eine solche Beschreibung erlaubt aber weiterreichende Folgerungen: Da in der Klasse der Umstandssätze des Neuägyptischen aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach die Funktion des mittelägyptischen 'circumstantial $sdm=f$ ' weitgehend auf den 'Umstandssatz des Präsens' übergegangen sein dürfte, ersetzt ein Syntagma wie die wnn -Konstruktion auch das, was ich einen ' $sdm=f$ -Wechselsatz' genannt habe:⁴²

(25) (emphat.) $sdm=f$ + $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{(emphat.) } sdm=f \\ \text{(circumst.) } sdm=f \end{array} \right. \rightarrow [wnn=f + \text{Adverbialphrase}] + jw=f$ hr sdm .

Aber auf der Ebene des Neuägyptischen sind alle Unterschiede der Herkunft in der einen Konstruktion neutralisiert: die Auffassung als 'Temporalsatz' kann nur durch die Art der aufeinanderstoßenden Teilsyntagmen bestimmt sein, während alle wnn -Konstruktionen des Neuägyptischen auch inhaltlich als 'Wechselsätze' zu fassen sind,⁴³ etwa Beispiel (21): 'Erreicht mein Brief Dich, so sollst Du alle meine

⁴⁰ Vgl. Gilula, *JEA* 56 (1970), 210(A) für die Zusammenhänge zwischen nm + Infinitiv und n - js $sdm=f/sdm=n=f$; das Neuägyptische muß jedoch — im Unterschied zum Mittelägyptischen — im Rahmen seiner Struktur den 'Handlungsträger' neuerlich anführen.

⁴¹ *Egyptian Tenses*, § 18.

⁴² Junge, *Syntax*, 117 ff. (8.3.2.2).

⁴³ Eine Lösung, die allem Anschein nach der entspricht, die Polotsky mündlich A. Shisha-Halevy vorgeschlagen haben soll: *Le Muséon* 86, 464.

Aufträge . . . ausführen.' Damit wird die Zusammengehörigkeit mit jenen Satzformen unmittelbar deutlich, die als zweites Glied die restlichen Formen des 'Umstandssatzes des Präsens' führen, und die Satzinger⁴⁴ 'Adversativsätze' nennt, Beispiel (26b):

(26) pSall. I 7, 1

- a) *prj p' rmt m h:t n mw:t=f jw=f m pd n* 'Kommt der Mensch aus dem Leib seiner Mutter, flüchtet er zum Vorgesetzten (= begibt er sich in die Arme seines Lehrers)'
hrj=f
- b) *wnn p' šrj m šmsw n w'w jw p' mnḥ r mg'* 'Dient der Junge einem Soldaten, wird der Jüngling Krieger'.

Die inhaltliche Parallelität dieses Satzes mit dem unmittelbar vorausgehenden (26a) läßt dann aber kaum eine andere Folgerung zu als die, daß in Konstruktionen, die als solche noch Relikte der mittelägyptischen Syntax sind, auch noch mittelägyptische Formen wie das einleitende *sḏm=f* (hier *prj*) des '*sḏm=f*-Wechselsatzes' in Gebrauch sein können.⁴⁵

In aller Deutlichkeit tritt hier nun der transitorische Charakter der neuägyptischen Syntax zwischen mittelägyptischer und demotisch/koptischer zu Tage. Wie der Gebrauch der Formen nach *wnn* in Tabelle (27) widerspiegelt

(27) *sḏm=f*: [wnn=f][hr sḏm] →
 Analyse: [wnn][=f hr sḏm] ≈ [wnn][jw=f hr sḏm] →
 'Konverter': [wnn][sw hr sḏm]

schreitet die 'Neuägyptisierung' der Struktur durch 'Gliederungsverschiebung' von *wnn* als *sḏm=f* über Lockerung der Unterordnungsbeziehung in *wnn jw=f hr sḏm* zum Konverter *wnn* fort: die Entwicklung endet vorläufig in Form des Beispiels⁴⁶

(28) RAD 77, 11

- wnn j'jr=f dj't n' jh:w m msb jw j'jr=f dj't* 'Wie er die Rinder in ein *msb* gab, so gab er
 [. . .] *p' hrj m bms m r-c* auch [das und das] des Vorgesetzten in ein
bms'.

zwei gegeneinandergestellte Zweite Tempora, im 1. Glied durch *wnn*, im 2. Glied durch *jw* eingeleitet — der alte 'Wechselsatz' in der Fassung des 'Konvertersystems'.⁴⁷

Der jr-Satz und seine Entwicklungsprodukte

Ähnliche Probleme wie die *wnn*-Konstruktion werfen andere satzartige Syntagmen auf, bei denen temporale Adverbien, Präpositional- und Konjunktionalsyntagmen, abweichend von ihrer üblichen Stellung am Ende eines Satzes durch

⁴⁴ A.a.O., 96 (I.4.I.I.8).

⁴⁵ Ähnlich pAnast. III 5, 11-6, 1 = pAnast. IV 9, 10-9, 11; die Parallele pAnast. II 7, 3-4 zu pSall. I 7, 1 zeigt darüberhinaus, daß auch noch die Basis des 'Wechselsatzes', nämlich der Nominalsatz, bekannt ist, s. Junge, *Syntax*, 113 ff. (8.3).

⁴⁶ Vgl. Satzinger, a.a.O., 97.

⁴⁷ Der dann im weiteren wieder die 'Originalform' annehmen kann: zu neuägyptischen wie demotischen Beispielen der Konstruktion *j'jr=f sḏm . . . j'jr=f sḏm* s. Johnson, a.a.O., 248 f. mit n. 57. Mit den Übergangsformen zwischen Bezugnahme von Phrasen ('emphatisch/circumstantial') aufeinander und Bezugnahme eigentlich unabhängiger Sätze ('Wechselsatz') erklären sich die von P. Vernus, *GM* 43 (1981), 79 ff. aufgeführten Fälle — und zwar innerhalb des Rahmens einer 'Polotsky-Grammatik', ohne daß neue Erklärungsmodelle nötig sind.

(*hr jr*) eingeleitet vorangestellt und von der 'non-initial main clause' aufgegriffen werden:⁴⁸

(29) HO 46, 2 rto 4-5

hr jr hr-s3 hrww qnw jw NN hr jy . . . 'Nach vielen Tagen kam NN . . .'

Auch hier kein etablierter Satztyp, auch hier aufeinander bezogene Elemente, von denen keines eigenständig auftreten kann, auch hier die Übersetzung in vorangestellten Temporalsatz plus Hauptsatz. Zwar kommt auch eine Konstruktion von *jr* plus Präsens I plus 'non-initial main clause' vor,⁴⁹ aber die theoretisch möglich Auflösung in Partikel *jr* + Satzkonjugation + koordinierendes *jw=f hr sdm* brächte nur eine Scheinlösung, weil sie den Zusammenhang mit den übrigen 'Temporalsätzen' dieses Typs zerstörte. Nun ist allerdings für all diese vorangestellten Adverbialen charakteristisch, daß sie durch *jr* eingeleitet werden, und es erhebt sich die Frage, ob die inhaltliche Klassifizierung als 'Temporalsätze' ausreichend ist, diese *jr*-Konstruktionen von den Sätzen mit 'hervorhebendem *jr*' und den Konditionalsätzen mit *jr* zu trennen — zumal in der Literatur immer wieder darauf hingewiesen wird, daß die Grenzen zwischen konditionaler und temporaler Aussage fließend sind.⁵⁰

Ich will daher die syntaktische Struktur der *jr*-Sätze in Tabelle (30) einmal synoptisch darstellen:⁵¹

(30)

	Erstes Glied: 'Protasis'		Zweites Glied: 'Apodosis'
Hervorhebung	(<i>hr jr</i>)	Nomen	<i>sdm=f</i> Präsens I Futur III
Temporalsatz ⁵²	(<i>hr jr</i>)	<i>hr-s3/hr/m</i> + Nomen (<i>m-ht</i> + Nomen + PsP) <i>m-dr</i> + <i>sdm=f</i> Nomen + Inf./PsP/Adverb (Präs. I)	<i>jw=f hr (tm) sdm</i> (<i>jw</i> + Präsens I)
Konditionalsatz	(<i>hr jr</i>)	<i>sdm=f</i> <i>jw=f hr sdm</i> <i>jw</i> + Präsens I	Futur III Imperativ prosp. <i>sdm=f</i> (<i>jw</i> +) Präsens I 2. Tempus/Cleft Sentence/ <i>bw-sdm=f</i> /u.a.

⁴⁸ Belege etwa bei Frandsen, a.a.O., §§ 52; 53(d) und Satzinger, a.a.O., 29 ff. (1.2.2).

⁴⁹ Frandsen, a.a.O., § 53c; Satzinger, a.a.O., 36 ff. (1.3.1).

⁵⁰ Für diese Meinung können stehen: Parker, *JNES* 20 (1961), 184; Baer, *JEA* 51 (1965), 138; Frandsen, a.a.O., 198; Satzinger, a.a.O., 96; Johnson, a.a.O., 244 ff.

⁵¹ S. dazu Satzinger, a.a.O., 7; 13; 35; 46 ff.; 72; 73 ff.; 83; vgl. Frandsen, a.a.O., §§ 54; 115; 116.

⁵² Eingeklammerte Ausdrücke kommen nur in den neuägyptischen Erzählungen vor, s. Satzinger, a.a.O., 24 ff. und 35.

Sieht man die Formen paradigmatisch zusammen, treten im zweiten Glied — der sog. Apodosis — die zunächst beim Temporalsatz vermißten Muster des selbständigen Satzes auf, dazu allerdings eben auch ‘non-initial main clause’ und ‘Umstandssatz des Präsens’ — in der Nachbarschaft der selbständigen Sätze nunmehr jedoch etwas verwirrend.

Die Besetzung des ersten Gliedes — der sog. ‘Protasis’ — ließe sich etwas abstrakter formuliert so wie in Tabelle (31) wiedergeben:

$$(31) \quad jr + \begin{cases} \text{Nomen (+ Adverbialphrase)} \\ \emptyset \quad + \text{Adverbialphrase} \end{cases}$$

— wobei die ‘Adverbialphrase’ durch Präpositionalsyntagmen und gelegentlich durch den Umstandssatz des Präsens realisiert wird und ‘Nomen + Adverbialphrase’ äußerlich dem Präsens I gleicht.

Tabelle (31) bietet nun allerdings auch eine Struktur, wie man sie genauso für die mittelägyptische *jr*-Phrase ansetzen muß,⁵³ bei der die Besetzung ‘ \emptyset + Adverbialphrase’ genau diejenige ist, die den Gebrauch des ‘circumstantial *sdm=f*’ nach *jr* erklärt und die den Übergang von der ‘Hervorhebung’ zum Konditionalsatz begründet. Wie dort, im Mittelägyptischen, die Besetzung der ‘Protasis’ des *jr*-Satzes durch die Klasse der ‘Adverbialphrasen’ charakteristisch war, so auch hier, im Neuägyptischen; während dort aber das ‘circumstantial *sdm=f*’ ein bestimmendes und strukturgerechtes Glied der Klasse der Adverbialphrasen war, kann das hier auftretende *sdm=f* — s. Tabelle (30) — nicht als strukturgerecht angesehen werden: weder präteritales noch prospektives *sdm=f* — dies allenfalls im Finalsatz — ist als Mitglied der neuägyptischen Klasse der Adverbialphrasen ausgewiesen. Es kann daher auch das *sdm=f* in der ‘Protasis’ des neuägyptischen *jr*-Satzes wiederum nur ein Relikt sein, ein Relikt des mittelägyptischen ‘circumstantial *sdm=f*’.⁵⁴ Nicht nur die *jr*-Phrase selbst ist demnach eine überkommene Struktur, in dieser überkommenen Struktur haben sich auch alte Formen erhalten:

(32) LRL 1, 11

jr jrj=j ḥḥ n btj bw-jr wr nfr dj-t smḥ=ww

‘Wenn ich Millionen Verbrechen begangen hätte, würde nicht eine Wohltat sie vergessen machen?’

Wenn aber die ‘Protasis’ ein syntaktisches Relikt des Mittelägyptischen ist, läßt sich vielleicht auch das, was die Formen der ‘Apodosis’ im Rahmen der Struktur der neuägyptischen Syntax an ‘strukturellen Ungereimtheiten’ zu bieten scheinen, dadurch erklären, daß man — genauso wie die *wnn*-Konstruktion — die gesamte Konstruktion der *jr*-Sätze (‘Protasis’ + ‘Apodosis’) als ein Relikt der mittel-

⁵³ Junge, *Syntax*, 66 ff. (6).

⁵⁴ S. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 116 (2) und vgl. Satzinger, a.a.O., 40 ff.; es ist hier aber festzuhalten, daß dies nicht nur den Konditionalsatz betrifft, was Satzinger, a.a.O., 46 ff. (1.3.2.1), für denkbar hält, sondern ebenso den Temporalsatz, s. a.a.O., 40 (1.3.1.1.2): es erscheint mir nachgerade als analytische Kapriole, wenn der ‘Narrativ’ von Satzinger als eine in temporaler Hinsicht ‘fortschreitende’ Aussage angesehen wird — dies sogar quasi semantisch/theoretisch begründend, a.a.O., 251 f. —, dann aber doch bei Bedarf als temporaler ‘Nullpunkt’ erhalten kann, demgegenüber die ‘initiale’ Form ‘relative Vorzeitigkeit’ wiedergeben soll!

ägyptischen Syntax ansieht; dann aber wäre es wahrscheinlich, daß sich auch hinter den anscheinend neuägyptischen Formen der 'Apodosis' — wie sie Tabelle (30) zeigt — die Hauptsatzartarten der 'Apodosis' der mittelägyptischen Konstruktion⁵⁵ verbergen — und somit hinter Futur III und dem 'Umstandssatz des Präsens' der alte *jw*-Satz.⁵⁶ Das aber hieße wiederum, daß der Gebrauch von *jw=f hr sdm* in der *jr*-Konstruktion gar nichts mit den Gebrauchsweisen der 'non-initial main clause' zu tun hat.

Es dürfte nun außer Zweifel stehen, daß diese Konstruktion mindestens bis zum Ende der Ramessidenzeit in lebendigem Gebrauch bleibt, es ist aber auch klar erkennbar, daß die ihr hier gegebene Form nur die Abstraktion eines Augenblicks in einem großen Veränderungsprozeß sein kann. Die 'Bruchstellen' der Konstruktion sind schon unverkennbar angelegt: in der 'Protasis' die Uminterpretation der Phrase 'Nomen + Adverbialphrase' durch 'Gliederungsverschiebung' zu Präsens I — erkennbar an der pronominalen Form⁵⁷ —, in der 'Apodosis' die unvermeidliche Zuordnung der Formen des alten *jw*-Satzes zu den neuägyptischen Klassen 'Futur III' und 'Umstandssatz des Präsens'. Aus der demotischen wie koptischen Syntax schließlich ist *jr* gänzlich verschwunden⁵⁸ und der selbständige *jw*-Satz des Mittelägyptischen hat offenbar keine Spuren hinterlassen. Also hat sich — wie nicht anders zu erwarten — dieses ganze alte Syntagma unter dem Druck des neuägyptisch/demotischen Syntaxsystems — dem es sich nicht einfügen konnte — aufgelöst, die Linien aber, entlang welcher es zerbricht, lassen sich noch verfolgen:

Durch die Uminterpretation der Formen der 'Apodosis' entstehen zwei Gruppen. Die eine Gruppe bestimmt sich durch die Formen, die sich den neuägyptischen selbständigen 'Satzkonjugationen' zuordnen, die andere Gruppe durch die Formen des 'Umstandssatzes des Präsens'; zusammen mit den Formen der 'Protasis' bildet dann die erste Gruppe den Hintergrund neuägyptisch/demotisch/koptischer 'Hervorhebungssyntagmen', die zweite Gruppe einen 'closed complex', der mit dem neuägyptischen 'Wechselsatz' vom Typus der *wnn*-Konstruktion Ähnlichkeit hat.

Die 'Hervorhebung'

In der Gruppe, die durch die Klasse 'Satz' in der 'Apodosis' gekennzeichnet ist, macht die Gliederungsverschiebung in der 'Protasis' erst *jr* zur Partikel, die dann als Hervorhebungspartikel schwindet:

- (33) [*jr* + Nomen] + [(Adverbiale)], Satz → *jr* + [Nomen + (Adverbiale)], Satz
 → *jr* +

Nomen
Präsens I

, Satz → Nomen, Satz

⁵⁵ Vgl. etwa Westendorf, *Grammatik der Med. Texte*, §§ 421 ff.

⁵⁶ Entsprechendes gilt auch für die Gebrauchsweisen von *jw=f/jr N + Adverbiale* als satzeinleitend/selbständige Formen, die Frandsen, a.a.O., 231 (e) behandelt und als Varianten des Futur III ansehen möchte: auch dies ist der 'alte' *jw*-Satz.

⁵⁷ Nominal etwa in BM 10052, 3, 9-10; Frandsen, a.a.O., § 53 Ex. 7.

⁵⁸ In der 22.-24. Dyn. ist *jr* noch belegt, etwa in den sog. 'Stiftungsstelen', vgl. Spiegelberg, *Rec Trav* 25 (1903), 190 ff.; möglicherweise ist es in Resten im Demotischen noch greifbar, s. Spiegelberg, *Demotische Grammatik*, § 469.

bzw.

[*jr* + \emptyset] + [Adverbiale], Satz → *jr* + [\emptyset + Adverbiale], Satz
 → *jr* + [Adverbiale], Satz → Adverbiale, Satz.

Übrig bleiben einerseits jene 'Hervorhebungssyntagmen', in denen ein Nomen vor den selbständigen Satz gestellt wird: diese Syntagmen sind schon im Neuägyptischen gebräuchlich,⁵⁹ sie sehen zwar aus wie die 'emphasis by anticipation' des mittelägyptischen Satzes, haben aber nicht das geringste mehr mit ihr zu tun.⁶⁰

Andererseits entstehen jene Satzbaumuster, die durch vorangestellte temporale Adverbiale gekennzeichnet sind: Voranstellung von Zeitadverbien ist seit dem Demotischen die übliche Satzstellung,⁶¹ der 'Temporalis' gehört dazu und schließlich auch der 'Konditionalis', für den sich nunmehr — wie ich meine: schlüssig — seine Herkunft aus dem 'Umstandssatz des Präsens' erweist:⁶²

(34) pChB I vso C 5, 2

ḳw=j ḥpt=s s-ḥrj=s ḏw·t ḥr=j

'Wenn ich sie umarme, vertreibt sie das Böse von mir'.⁶³

Der 'adverbielle Wechselsatz'

In der Gruppe, die durch die Klasse 'Umstandssatz' in der 'Apodosis' gekennzeichnet ist, zeigen Gliederungsverschiebung in der 'Protasis' und Verschwinden von *jr* folgende Wirkungen:

(1) 'Protatisches' Präsens I und nachfolgender Umstandssatz in der 'Apodosis' wird von der Satzkonjugation 'Präsens I' plus Umstandssatz ununterscheidbar.

(2) 'Protatisches' Nomen — sofern ein Zeitausdruck — mit nachfolgendem Umstandssatz ist neuägyptisch noch als Übergangsform belegbar:⁶⁴

(35) O. Cairo 25515 vso 3, 5-7

sw 22 ḳw=zw m ḳḥj ||| ḳw tḥ ḳz·t ḥr ḳw·t r Sh·t

'Tag 22 trauerten sie und die Mannschaft ging zum "Gräbertal"'.⁶⁵

(3) Schließlich ist auch die Folge 'protatische Adverbiale' plus 'apodotische Adverbiale' — also eine neue Form von 'Wechselsatz' — als Indiz der Weiterentwicklung noch im Neuägyptischen greifbar:

(36) pAnast. V 7, 5

ḳw zšn prš . . . ḳw·tw ḥr ḳḥḥ pḥ mšḥ r tḥ
sh·t . . .

'Haben sich die Lotusblüten geöffnet . . ., wird das Heer entlassen . . .'

— eine Konstruktion, die von Shisha-Halevy⁶⁵ für das Neuägyptische herausgestellt worden ist, und die sich als sprachliche Unterströmung noch bis in spätsäidische Texte erhalten hat:⁶⁶

⁵⁹ Erman, *Neuäg. Gr.*, §§ 703; 704.

⁶⁰ S. Junge, *Syntax*, 38 ff. zur Struktur der mittelägyptischen 'Voranstellung'.

⁶¹ Vgl. Spiegelberg, a.a.O., § 462.

⁶² Gerüttelt an der Vorstellung, daß es sich um die 'non-initial main clause' handele, hat schon Shisha-Halevy, *Or.* 43, 375 ff.; vgl. aber auch Frandsen, a.a.O., § 54 — zur dort angeschnittenen Frage von 'Dauer-' und 'Nicht-Dauerzeiten' s. oben.

⁶³ S. Satzinger, a.a.O., 102 ff.

⁶⁴ Vgl. auch Frandsen, a.a.O., § 52.

⁶⁵ *OLP* 9 (1978), 51 ff.; ebenso gehören hierher die Beispiele von Vernus, *GM* 43, 82 ff.

⁶⁶ *Le Muséon* 86, 455 ff.: Ein 2. Tempus kann es deswegen nicht sein, weil es in paradigmatischer Beziehung zu Konditionalis, Temporalis und vorangestellten Adverbialen steht, s. Shisha-Halevy, a.a.O.

(37) Winlock/Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes* (1926) 381, 5

(Sieh, das Buch habe ich Dir geschickt) 'Hast Du die Gebete gelernt, schickst Du es mir
 εκχωρ ἴπρωκευχη εκχοουϥ ναι (zurück)'.

Zur Logik der Umstandssätze

Sofern diese Darstellung hier ihr Ziel erreicht haben sollte, sind den Umgebungen, die die Gebrauchsweisen der (neu-)ägyptischen Umstandssätze bestimmt haben, neue hinzugefügt worden; haben bislang diese Gebrauchsweisen in etwa dem entsprochen, was im weitesten Sinne dem Bereich der adverbialen Subordination — 'Unterordnung' — der Übersetzungssprachen zugehört, so ist nach meiner hier dargelegten Ansicht ihnen nunmehr auch der Bereich zuzuordnen, dem in den Übersetzungssprachen die Koordination — 'Nebenordnung' — der Sätze und Gliedsätze entspricht. Anders gesagt: die durch den Konverter *jw* bestimmte Klasse von Formen des Neuägyptischen hat ein 'Funktionsfeld',⁶⁷ das Funktionen zusammenfaßt, die in den Übersetzungssprachen im allgemeinen auf zwei 'Funktionsfelder' verteilt sind, nämlich dem der Formen der (adverbialen) 'Unterordnung' und dem der Formen der 'Nebenordnung' — in gewisser Hinsicht sogar auf drei, wenn man das der 'relativischen Unterordnung' hinzunimmt.⁶⁸ Im Unterschied zum ägyptischen 'Funktionsfeld' aber sind die 'Funktionsfelder' der Übersetzungssprachen durch Konjunktionen gegliedert, die — mehr oder weniger explizit — bei ihrer Wahl eine Entscheidung fordern hinsichtlich der logischen Beziehung zum vor- oder nachgeordneten Satz; bei der Übersetzung der einzelnen Funktionen des ägyptische 'Funktionsfeldes' in die Funktionen der Übersetzungssprachen muß daher diese Entscheidung immer wieder getroffen werden.

Zwar hat auch der ägyptische Sprecher die Möglichkeit, bestimmte logische Bezüge explizit zu formulieren — durch jene Syntagmen, die Černý/Groll 'Prepositional Initial Subordinate Clauses' nennen,⁶⁹ und zu denen ich ebenfalls den 'Konjunktiv' rechnen würde;⁷⁰ während jedoch das 'Sprachsystem' diese Formulierungsmöglichkeit zuläßt, bevorzugt die 'Sprachnorm' eindeutig den Gebrauch der *jw*-Unterordnung. Dennoch befreit diese angelegte Möglichkeit nicht davon, daß die Gegenüberstellung des 'Funktionsfeldes' der *jw*-Unterordnung und des 'Funktionsfeldes' der entsprechenden übersetzungssprachlichen Formen eben zu jener Frage führt, der Hintze⁷¹ ehemals nachgegangen war, nämlich 'wie weit wir berechtigt sind, nach bloßen logischen Gesichtspunkten grammatische Erscheinungen zu klassifizieren und zu scheiden, die keinerlei formale Unterscheidungsmerkmale aufweisen'⁷² — eben jene Formenklasse betrachtend, die hier Gegenstand ist.

⁶⁷ Diesen Begriff verwende ich in bewußter Analogie zum Begriff des 'Bedeutungsfeldes'/'Semantischen Feldes' von Wörtern.

⁶⁸ Für das, was ägyptologisch — methodologisch zum Ver zweifeln — immer noch 'virtueller Relativsatz' (!) genannt wird.

⁶⁹ A.a.O., 409 ff.

⁷⁰ Der 'Konjunktiv' ist seiner Herkunft nach ein Präpositionalsyntagma mit *hn* und seiner Funktion nach eine Form expliziter Koordination — eine Funktion, die diachron gesehen der Präposition *hn* ebenfalls zukam.

⁷¹ *Neuägyptische Erzählungen*, 38 ff.

⁷² A.a.O., 40 f.

Was damit jedoch für Funktionen zum Problem gemacht wird, ist im analogen Fall von Wortbedeutungen bereits als geklärt anzusehen; dies sei kurz an einem bekannten englisch-deutschen Paradigma demonstriert:

Deutsch	Englisch
	tall
	big
groß	large
	great
	vast
	u.a.

Bei der Übersetzung von 'groß' ins Englische muß eines aus der Gruppe englischer Wörter gewählt werden entsprechend den jeweiligen Anwendungsbedingungen, die zwar im Deutschen auch explizit formuliert werden können, diese explizite Formulierung aber nicht fordern — also etwa:

'groß hinsichtlich Höhe' = 'tall'
 'groß an Ansehen' = 'great'

usf. Nicht anders die Funktionen der durch *jw* bestimmten Klasse des Ägyptischen bezüglich etwa des Deutschen — das hier für die 'SAE-Sprachen'⁷³ stehen soll, denen die Übersetzungssprachen in der Regel angehören:

Ägyptisch		Deutsch	
implizierend	explizierend	explizierend	implizierend
<i>jw</i> + Satz		Unterordnung	(Partizip)
<i>m-dr sdm=f</i>		temporal, gleichzeitig: 'als; seitdem';	
<i>r-tnw sdm=f</i>		'sooft'	
<i>m-ht sdm=f</i>		vorzeitig: 'nachdem'	
(šꜣr-) <i>jꜣr-t=f sdm</i>		nachzeitig: 'bis'	
		kausal: 'da; weil'	Partizip
		konditional: 'wenn; falls'	Partizip
		konzessiv: 'obgleich; trotzdem'	Partizip
		modal: 'indem; soweit; wie'	Partizip/'zu' + Inf.
prosp. <i>sdm=f/r</i> + Inf.		final: 'damit; daß'	'zu' + Inf.
(Konjunktiv) ⁷⁴		konsekutiv: 'so daß'	'zu' + Inf.
		Nebenordnung	
Konjunktiv		kopulativ	
			'und; auch'
		temporal: 'und dann'	
		kausal: 'und daher'	
		konzessiv: 'und doch'	
		modal: 'und zudem'	
		final: 'und dazu'	
		konsekutiv: 'und so'	
		disjunktiv: 'oder'	
		restriktiv/adversativ: 'aber, sondern'	
		kausativ: 'denn'	

⁷³ 'Standard Average European' nach B. L. Whorf.

⁷⁴ S. Frandsen, a.a.O., § 82.

Formal entsprechen der ägyptischen *jw*-Klasse am ehesten die 'satzwertigen Partizipien/Infinitive' des Deutschen, insofern sie als Unterordnungssyntaxmen fungieren, die die logischen Bezüge implizit lassen;⁷⁵ die 'Sprachnorm' bevorzugt im Deutschen aber bei weitem die Formulierung durch Konjunktionalsyntaxmen. Für das Nebeneinander von 'Unterordnung' und 'Nebenordnung' in einer Funktion — oder auch: der Überlagerung der Funktionsfelder — sei an die sogenannten 'weiterführenden Teilsätze' des Deutschen erinnert, durch die 'unabhängige Sachverhalte' in Unterordnungssyntaxmen — Relativsätze, indirekte Fragesätze, Konjunktionsätze — transportiert werden.⁷⁶

Was also als Problem angesehen wurde — und zudem zu mancherlei typologisch/glottogonischen Spekulationen Anlaß gegeben hat — ist etwas, was für die Abbildbarkeit von Sprachen aufeinander charakteristisch ist: es 'kann zwar eine Sprache B "dasselbe" wie eine Sprache A sagen, sie muß es aber nicht, und auch dieses Können unterliegt . . . einer sehr wichtigen Einschränkung: Sie kann es nämlich, wenn ihre Inhalte allgemeiner als die der Sprache A sind, nicht aber, wenn ihre Inhalte weniger allgemein, spezieller, als die der Sprache A sind. So kann man z.B. dem allgemeinen Inhalt von deutsch "schwarz" die zusätzlichen Bestimmungen "mit Glanz", "ohne Glanz" hinzufügen, und somit die Inhalte von lat. "niger" bzw. "ater" ausdrücken, nicht aber umgekehrt: Im Lateinischen ist es nicht möglich, einfach "schwarz" ohne Bezug auf das Licht zu sagen. Wenn man also in einer Sprache eine spezielle Unterscheidung machen muß, so kann man nicht auf sie verzichten; wenn hingegen eine Sprache diese spezielle Unterscheidung nicht macht, so kann man sie unter Umständen auch mit dieser Sprache zum Ausdruck bringen. Was aber gar nicht bedeutet, daß man sie auch wirklich jeweils ausdrückt, . . . denn dies hängt von der jeweiligen Entscheidung des Sprechers ab.'⁷⁷ Dies beschreibt die Lage exakt: der Übersetzer muß bei der Übersetzung ägyptischer 'Umstandssätze' — einmal abgesehen davon, ob dieser Terminus noch als zutreffend angesehen werden kann — entsprechend der Struktur seiner Sprache ein Konjunktionalsyntaxma wählen, das den logischen Bezug zum Ausdruck bringt, den das Ägyptische auch enthalten kann, aber ohne ihn explizit zu formulieren; damit, einer anderen Sprache klassifikatorische Gewalt anzutun, hat es nichts

⁷⁵ In verstärktem Maße gilt dies etwa für die englische oder italienische Gerundialkonstruktion — ebenso die lateinische, oder auch die Partizipialkonstruktion des Griechischen —, denen gegenüber die deutschen Konstruktionen stärkeren Einschränkungen der 'Sprachnorm' unterliegen — es entspricht etwa 'he sat in the library reading a book'/'sedeva nella biblioteca leggendo un libro' im Deutschen eher ein 'er saß in der Bibliothek und las ein Buch', wenn auch 'ein Buch lesend saß er in der Bibliothek' möglich, aber doch weniger üblich ist; s. Coseriu (Anm. 77).

⁷⁶ Beispiele dafür wären etwa: 'Mein Wirt bereitete mir ein höchst wohlschmeckendes Gastmahl, das mir aber sehr übel bekam'; 'Mutter mußte immer wieder Märchen erzählen, was sie auch gerne tat'; 'Es war im August, als ich mit meinen Freunden in Italien wanderte'; usf. (s. *Duden Grammatik* (Mannheim, 1959), §§ 1095–8; zur Umkehrung, nämlich: inhaltliche 'Unterordnung' — formale Nebenordnung, s. *Duden. Das große Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* 6, s.v. 'und' 2a)/2b), mit Beispielen wie 'Sei so gut und tue das und das'; 'Du mußt es tun, und fällt es Dir noch so schwer'.

⁷⁷ E. Coseriu, 'Über Leistung und Grenzen der kontrastiven Grammatik' (1.3.3), in: *Probleme der kontrastiven Grammatik. Sprache der Gegenwart*, Jahrbuch 1969 (Düsseldorf, 1970), 9 ff.; es liegt nicht in meiner Absicht, durch dieses Zitat mehr zu wollen als einen Hinweis zu geben auf den Diskussionsstand andernorts.

zu tun. Wo schließlich die implizierende Unterordnungssyntax des Ägyptischen der explizierenden des Deutschen (oder anderer SAE-Sprachen) gegenübersteht, differenzieren demgegenüber die 'Aussageformen' der ägyptischen Sätze (Adverbialsatz, Nominalsatz, Futur III, präteritales *s_{dm}=f*, Neg. Aorist u.s.f.) intern weitaus expliziter als dies etwa bei den Formen des deutschen Satzes möglich ist.

So läßt sich denn endlich abschließend bemerken, daß — wie nicht anders zu erwarten — auch im Ägyptischen wie in anderen Sprachen die Wahl der Ausdrucksweise den Absichten des Sprechers nachgeordnet ist: wo er Aussagen im Sinne seiner Sprache 'unterordnet', wo er sie durch Wiederholung gleichartiger Formen als unabhängig voneinander charakterisiert oder aber beide Verfahren abwechslungsreich kombiniert — es ist immer seine Entscheidung; es tritt hier eine stilistische Komponente hinzu, die zu formulieren erlaubt: am gleichmäßigen Fluß der 'non-initial main clause' im Reisebericht des Wenamun hätte Hemingway seine Freude haben können.

Zusammenfassung

Nach allem, was sich in dieser Darstellung ergeben hat, stellt sich nunmehr der Gebrauch des 'narrativ/kontinuativen *jw=f hr (tm) s_{dm}'*, der 'non-initial main clause' im System des Neuägyptischen so dar:

(1) Die 'non-initial main clause' ist keine eigene Form, sondern eine Form des 'Umstandssatzes des Präsens'.

(2) Die Funktionen ägyptischer 'Umstandssätze' entsprechen nicht nur dem, was in den Übersetzungssprachen als 'Subordination/Unterordnung' klassifiziert wird, sondern auch ihrer 'Koordination/Nebenordnung'.

(3) Ihr Gebrauch in der *wmn*-Konstruktion ist eine sprachgeschichtliche Fortentwicklung des Gebrauches der mittelägyptischen Umstandssätze in der 'emphatischen' Konstruktion des Mittelägyptischen; die *wmn*-Konstruktion ist als neuägyptischer 'Wechselsatz' zu charakterisieren.

(4) Seiner sprachgeschichtlichen Verankerung nach ist der Gebrauch von *jw=f hr s_{dm}* in der Apodosis von *jr*-Konstruktionen (Hervorhebung, 'Temporalsatz', 'Konditionalsatz') als Nachfolger des mittelägyptischen *jw*-Satzes vom Gebrauch als 'Umstandssatz' zu trennen; *jr*-Konstruktionen des Neuägyptischen sind im Rahmen des neuägyptischen Systems als 'systemfremd' anzusehen und daher sprachgeschichtlich instabil.

(5) Das Neuägyptische erweist sich in ungeahntem Maße als strukturell uneinheitlich — auch die Sprache der nichtliterarischen Texte zeigt einen ausgedehnten Gebrauch syntaktischer Relikte des Mittelägyptischen. Die für den Erkenntniszuwachs unzweifelhaft notwendige Scheidung von 'literarischem' und 'nicht-literarischem' Neuägyptisch ist typologisch unrichtig: das nichtliterarische Neuägyptisch trägt nicht minder als die Sprache der neuägyptischen Erzählungen die Zeichen der sprachlichen Vergangenheit.

THE GENEALOGY OF A PRIESTLY FAMILY FROM HELIOPOLIS

By LISA MONTAGNO LEAHY *and* ANTHONY LEAHY

New edition of a very unusual lintel from Heliopolis, previously published by Griffith. It depicts a priest, Patjenfy, offering to thirteen generations of his ancestors. The text is translated with prosopographic commentary and discussion of the representation of ancestors. The lintel can be dated to the late seventh century BC.

NEARLY one hundred years ago, in February 1888, F. Ll. Griffith recorded a lintel newly discovered by the sebbakhin at Heliopolis and published a provisional copy made hurriedly and in difficult conditions.¹ The lintel was subsequently (1889) acquired for the Cairo Museum, where it bears the number JE 38824. A photograph (pl. XII) and very brief description were published by Maspero² who states, presumably wrongly, that it had been sent from Benha, and who seems to have been unaware of Griffith's publication.³ The latter's copy of the inscription has occasionally been utilized for the prosopographic information contained in the long genealogy,⁴ but its accuracy has always been assumed and it has never been properly

¹ F. Ll. Griffith, *The Antiquities of Tell el-Yahudiyeh*, 67-8, pl. xxii.

² G. Maspero, *Le Musée égyptien—Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte*, II, 80, 84, pl. xxxix top.

³ Maspero's entire account of the tomb of Patjenfy is confusing and occasionally simply wrong. He claims that the companion piece, Cairo JE 36194 (op. cit. 80-1, pls. xxxv below, xxxvii), was found by Griffith at Heliopolis in 1891, while Griffith (op. cit. 68) mentions seeing and immediately purchasing what is presumably JE 36194 in 1887-8; the *Journal d'Entrée* specifies that it came from Matarieh (Heliopolis) in 1889. JE 38824 was purchased by Griffith's agent somewhat later (Griffith, op. cit. 68) but according to Maspero (op. cit. 84), entered the museum in 1889, the same year as its fellow Patjenfy block (the *JE* preserves no entry date). He asserted that it was sent from Benha (Athribis), although he recognized its original provenance as Heliopolis; the *JE* unhelpfully cites its origin as 'Benha (ou Heliopolis)'. While it is conceivable that JE 38824 travelled to Cairo by a roundabout route through Benha, it seems more likely that Maspero confused it with JE 37913 (op. cit. 86, pl. xlii), which he says was seized at Benha by an Antiquities Service inspector and is of unknown provenance (neither he nor the *JE* says when this was, but JE 37913 was registered in the museum in 1905). Perhaps because of the Benha mix up and the close correspondence of JE 37913 to Griffith's vague description of the scene on the piece he purchased as having 'a figure of Pathenef catching birds, &c., in the marshes' (op. cit. 68; this is inaccurate for JE 36194, to which it probably refers, since this shows Patjenfy pulling papyrus in a marsh), Maspero (op. cit. 80) attributed JE 37913 with JE 38824 and JE 36194 to the tomb of Patjenfy at Heliopolis. His repeated assertions that it is from this tomb (e.g. *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, 3rd edn. (1914), 205, no. 877; 4th edn. (1915), 212, no. 877; *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, trans. Quibell, 5th edn. (1910), 208, no. 672t) have led others to include JE 37913 with the certain Patjenfy pieces (e.g. G. Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 26; *PM* IV, 59 tentatively; L. Keimer's attribution of it in *ASAE* 52 (1954), 64, to Zagazig may be based on the erroneous museum display label), although the connection has not been universally accepted (cf. F. von Bissing, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Sculptur—Text*, text to pl. 101). On balance, it seems best to reject any connection of the unscribed JE 37913 with Patjenfy and Heliopolis; its stylistic affinities with such pieces as Cambridge, Fitzwilliam EGA 74.1949, East Berlin 15001, Louvre E 14712, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson 7774, and perhaps New York, MMA 12.181.196 suggest that it dates to the late Twenty-sixth or early Twenty-seventh Dynasty, rather than to the period of Patjenfy.

⁴ e.g. J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 89 n. 2, 96 n. 4; J. Vandier, *RdE* 17 (1965), 99-100; H. De Meulenaere,

published. Although Vernus has recently improved a few readings at the beginning of the text, apparently on the basis of Maspero's photograph,⁵ the remainder is still uncorrected. One reason for this may be the location of the lintel in the Cairo Museum, where it is mounted high on a wall above two large, substantially projecting stelae which prevent easy access. Inspection shows, however, that Griffith's version is erroneous in numerous respects, some of which are crucial to a correct understanding of the monument. It has not been possible to make a facsimile, but a new hand-copy, based on prolonged scrutiny of the original, is presented here.⁶ Although the condition of the surface is poor, the damage seems already to have been done in Griffith's day,⁷ and comparison with Maspero's photograph shows little deterioration since then.

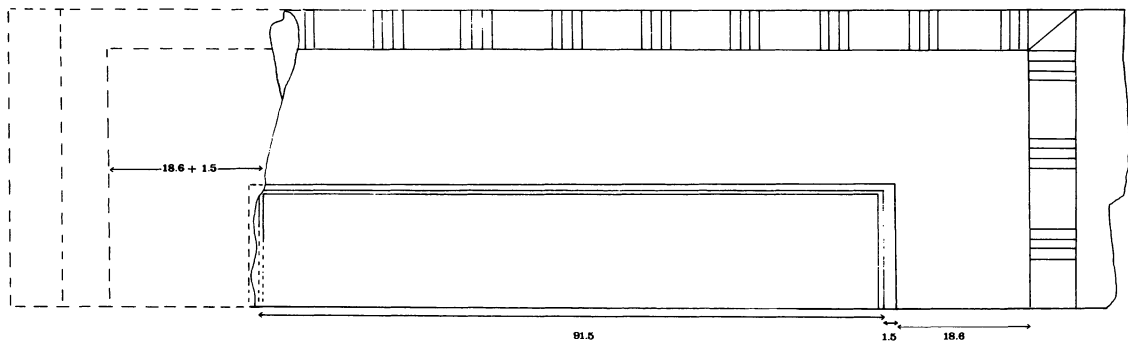


FIG. 1

The lintel's current dimensions are 117.5×43.0 cm (Maspero's length of 127 cm is wrong), and it must originally have been in the order of 1.4 m long, with torus moulding along the top and down the edges. Within this frame, there are two registers, of which the lower is recessed. The preserved dimensions, with projected reconstruction, are shown in fig. 1. The lower/inner register is virtually intact, and it will be apparent that the amount required by symmetry to complete the outer register at the left end is $18.6 + 1.5 = 20.1$ cm. This corresponds exactly to what is required by a further two seated figures in the top row, separated by two full columns of text, given that the width of the preserved figures and columns of inscription are standard at 8.5 and 3.0 cm respectively ($8.5 \times 2 + 3.0 \times 2 = 23.0$ cm), and that 3 cm of the feet of one figure are visible at the extreme left edge (Griffith's drawing is misleading). Two 'lost' generations, not just one, as Griffith assumed, must therefore be allowed in the genealogy.

MMJ 8 (1973), 27–32; R. el-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith de Sais*, II, 449–50, doc. 596; A. Forgeau, *BIFAO* 84 (1984), 181, no. 42.

⁵ *Athribis*, 76–8.

⁶ Our thanks are due to Dr Mohammed Saleh and his staff for access to the lintel and permission to study it.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 68.

As it was impossible to take a facsimile of the block in Cairo, fig. 2 was drawn by Mr Harry Buglass from an enlargement of Maspero's photograph. Consequently, only features visible on the photograph could be included, except that the framing bands above the two registers, obscured by shadows on the photograph, have been added. A verbal description of those details visible on Maspero's plate or on close examination of the block, but omitted from fig. 2 because of their minute size, will prove useful in clarifying the present condition of the relief. The upper torus decoration is unusual in that the direction of its ribbon binding changes at what must once have been the half-way point. A conventional block-border strip edged by relief lines runs across the top of the upper scene and down the right-hand (and presumably once on the lost left-hand) side and down the left edge of the column of large hieroglyphs, while on the bottom right of the lower level, the preserved tops of the edging bands which probably bordered a similar vertical text also show traces of a block pattern. Although the stone has suffered badly from differential wear, it is clear that all the mummiform ancestors were identically depicted. The first figure on the right in the lower level is the best preserved, despite the impression given by the photograph. All seem to wear plain, round-bottomed bag-wigs reaching to the shoulder; on the second figure in the lower level the ear is clearly visible. The faces were all too worn to yield any stylistic detail, and the authors were not agreed as to whether traces of short false beards remained.⁸ A deep collar with drop-shaped pendants along the lower edge and at least two internal bead rows marked adorns the shoulders. A large fist rests in the lap, holding a flail with three round-tipped sections to its head; traces of the handle binding are occasionally visible above the fist. The ancestors are seated on low-backed rectangular *hwt*-thrones set directly on the baseline. The main body of the throne is covered with a placoid feather pattern, the midrib with diagonal markings on either side being meticulously indicated; that of the first figure in the upper row is best preserved. The isolated square in the lower left-hand corner contains a large *sm*-sign with a rectangular pattern on the shaft. It is edged by a tiny block-border strip on three sides; the third chair in the upper row shows this border pattern on the throne front, top and back as well.

The two figures of the owner appear virtually identical, although that on the upper level is more worn, particularly on the head and shoulders. It is slightly too large for the allocated space, so that the head had to be squeezed in, nearly touching the upper framing line. In both cases the right hand is badly weathered and its details uncertain. It seems to be raised to approximately shoulder level and opened flat, with the thumb and little finger clearly articulated but the divisions between the other digits unclear. The left arm hanging by the side has massive forearm muscles and a powerful fist, which grasps a *hrp*-baton held horizontally across the front of the body. The blunt baton end emerges behind the fist and its head seems to have been

⁸ Although beards do occur on Lower Egyptian reliefs during the Late Period—e.g. London UCL 14294 (H. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings*, III, pl. 23); *Ns-dhwtj* tomb fragments (J. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)*, pls. lxiii, 5 and lxiii, 4); *Try*, ex. Brooklyn 34.1220 (now Bogota, no. unknown) (R. Fazzini, *Miscellanea Wilbouriana*, I, fig. 33), a highly archaizing piece—they are less common than in the Theban tombs.

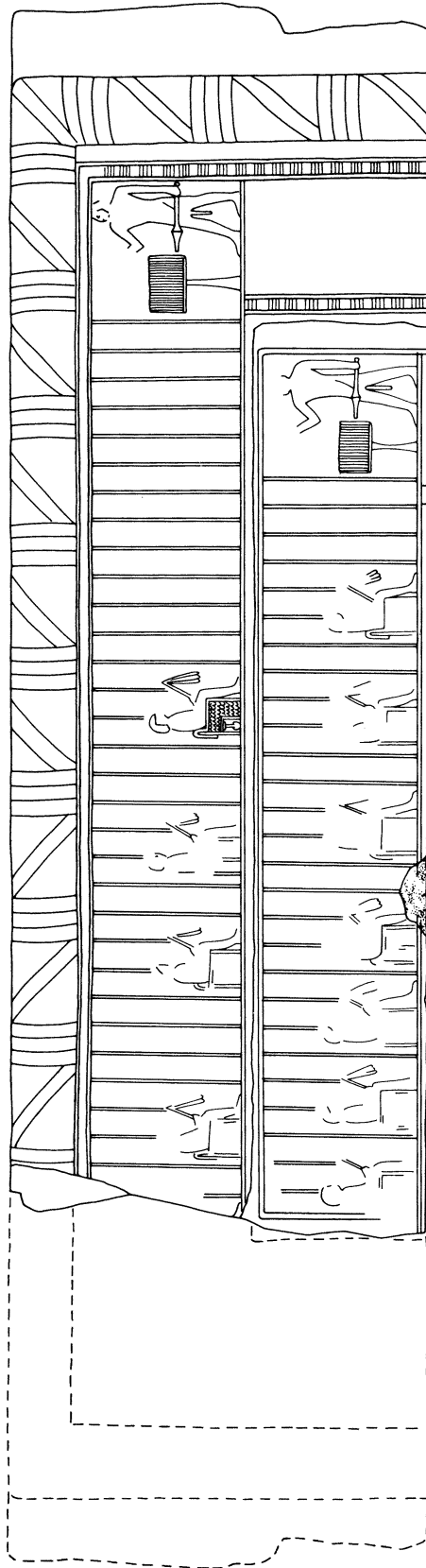


FIG. 2

scored by at least two horizontal incisions. Patjenfy's torso tapers sharply from below the arms to the elongated waist and flattened abdomen; his calves, particularly the advanced right, have heavy musculature. He sports a shoulder-length bag-wig revealing the ear and scored with vertical striations emanating from the crown. The tip of each strand is individually rounded, producing a scalloped effect along the lower edge. His only ornament is a broad collar, apparently with three internal rows of beading. His kilt has a straight hem above the knees and a slightly protuberant belt knot at the abdomen. Over this he wears a leopard skin, in both cases much weathered but originally depicted in great detail. Traces of the spots remain, shown as incised circles with a dot in the centre,⁹ arranged closely and regularly to give a highly decorative effect. A relief line down the skin centre, marking the back stripe, is visible on the lower portion, and the plain (?) tail dangles between the man's legs. Three worn strips indicating a sash cross his chest diagonally from below his left arm to his right shoulder. A strand brought forward over the right shoulder from the knotted ornament there is clear, but it is uncertain whether the looped knot usually connected with it was visible on the shoulder outline or whether an apparent bulge on the upper right arm was a paw or an optical illusion.¹⁰ Both figures were definitely beardless. The offering table has a slightly flaring base with a rolled edge and supports twenty-two (above) and eighteen carefully depicted upright loaves. It is clear from the foregoing that this was once a very detailed piece and of better quality than Maspero's (*Le Musée égyptien*, 84) 'Il n'offre aucun mérite artistique . . .' would suggest.

Text (fig. 3)

The general purport of the scene is clearly defined by the identical legend above the two offering figures of Patjenfy: *irt ḥtp-di-nsw itw mꜣwꜣt*, 'Making an invocation-offering for male and female ancestors'. Beneath the offering table in each scene is the conventional label *dbḥt ḥtpw*. On the far right is the beginning of a column of text in large hieroglyphs with the titulary of Patjenfy, *r-pꜣt ḥꜣty-c* . . ., which will have continued down on to a door-jamb below and been echoed symmetrically on the now-lost left side.

The main text is written in a combination of full columns, at the beginning and between the ancestor figures, and shorter ones above them. Griffith completely

⁹ Cf., for instance, the highly ornamental treatment of the spots on representations of Montuemhat—B. Bothmer, *ESLP*, No. 13, pls. 12–13, figs. 29–31 (= Chicago FM 31723 and Brooklyn 16.580.186) and No. 14, pl. 13, fig. 32 (= Kansas City 48-28/2). Bothmer claims (op. cit. 16) that the leopard skin is not encountered in 'sculptures' after the reign of Psammetichus I until the Ptolemaic period. While instances do occur in the interim at Thebes—e.g. on a stela from the reign of Amasis (P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen*, Abb. 23); in a tomb dating to Apries (M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-hor*, II, pl. 33)—the examples known from Lower Egyptian private tombs—Brooklyn 61.165 (Fazzini, op. cit. fig. 31); Cairo JE 36194; Cairo JE 88126 (L. M. Leahy, *GM* 65 (1983), 51–6); the tomb of Bakenrenef (*LD* III, pls. 259d, 261, 267a)—do all seem to belong to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, probably or certainly to the reign of Psammetichus I. This may, however, reflect a subsequent reduction in the repertoire of tomb decoration.

¹⁰ The companion piece, Cairo JE 36194, has the paw, the knotted ornament on the left shoulder, and the tripartite strap division. Cf. similar examples from the tomb of Bakenrenef Chicago FM 31735 and New York MMA 11.150.50 B. For a general discussion of the knotted decoration, see R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 29 (1929), 33–9.

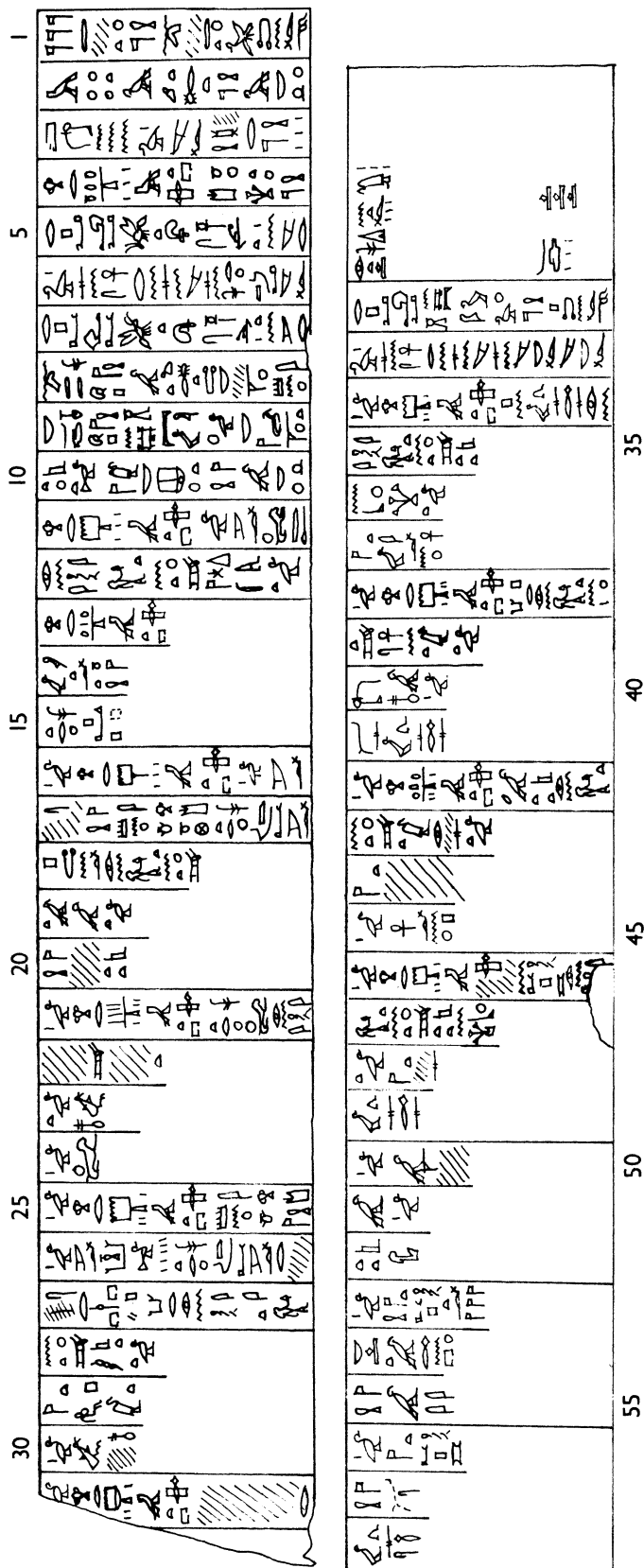



































FIG. 3

omitted three short columns (19, 29, 30 here) and misrepresented another (22) as full, thereby disturbing the equitable distribution of space. The number of short columns in a group is always three, since this corresponds to the uniform width of the figures represented, while the number of full columns generally decreases further back in the genealogy. The female relatives of the last three ancestors are also omitted. This may be due to lack of information on more distant generations, or, as the distortion of symmetry might suggest, to a belated realization that space was insufficient for the intended design.

Textual notes

(G = Griffith; V = Vernus)

- Col. 1—G's  (followed by V) is wrong.  is clear, although what follows is not. G omits  at the bottom.
- Col. 3—The top sign seems to be . There is also room for a sign behind  which is placed in the middle of the column; the traces suggest .
- Col. 4—G omits plural strokes below the offering table, as noted by V.
- Col. 9—G omits  in *Bhdt*.
- Col. 10—G and V omit  before the name of Horus.
- Col. 12—V mistakenly has .
- Col. 13—G's  is an error for , as noted by V.
- Col. 15—G has only .
- Col. 17— is clear;  is not, but suits the space and is required by the context.
- Col. 18—G has .
- Col. 19—This column is entirely omitted by G and from this point onwards our numbering system diverges from his.
- Col. 20—G has only .
- Col. 21—G omits  after .
- Col. 22—This short column is wrongly represented by G as a full column of text.
- Col. 23—G shows this as entirely illegible.
- Col. 26—G missplices and omits an uncertain group at the bottom.
- Col. 27—G again missplices and  is clear at the bottom.
- Col. 28—G has only .
- Cols. 29-30. Both of these are completely omitted by G.
- Col. 33—G has  wrongly and intrudes a  between the second  and .
- Col. 38—G omits .
- Col. 43—G has , again wrongly, for .
- Col. 44—This is shown as totally illegible by G.
- Col. 46—G once more missplices, leaving much too long a gap between *hwt-ct* and .
- Col. 47—G omits the whole of the title.
- Col. 53—G omits  before , and inserts a non-existent  after *hcpy*.
- Col. 55—The head of the bird is clearly rounded as in the falcon and not flat, as in the vulture.
- Col. 57— is clear and part of  is also visible.

Translation

(6) Their son who causes their names to live, whom they love, the true royal acquaintance whom he loves,^a (5) the count and prince, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, the sole beloved companion, (4) controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst* of Northern Heliopolis,^b prophet (3) of Sia,^c *wꜥb*-priest, *sꜣ mrꜥf*,^d servant of Neith,^e overseer^f of prophets (2) in the cities, prophet of Horus Khenty-khety,^g prophet of Horus lord of Shen,^h (1) prophet of the gods of Lower Egypt (?),ⁱ prophet of Heryshef . . . (?)^j Patjenfy.^k

(7) Count and prince, treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt, sole beloved companion, (8) chief prophet of Heryshef king of the Two Lands,^l chief prophet of Horus Khenty-khety lord of Athribis, (8–9) chief prophet of Amun-Re lord of Diospolis Parva,^m chief prophet of Onuris-Shu son of Re, lord of Sebennytos,ⁿ (10) prophet of Isis the great, mother of the god, lady of Hebyt,^o prophet of Horus lord of Shen, (11) controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst*, *sꜣ mrꜥf*, Kher,^p justified, (12) born to the musician of Re-Atum Sopdetiyti,^q daughter of (13) the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst*, (14) prophet of Shu-Tefnut,^r (15) royal acquaintance Padipep.^s (16) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst*, *sꜣ mrꜥf*, (17) inspector (?),^t prophet of Amun-Re residing in Heliopolis,^u the true royal acquaintance whom he loves (18) Patjenfy, born to the musician of Re-Atum (19) Tahor (?),^v daughter of (20) the prophet . . . -*ḥst*.^w (21) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst*, royal acquaintance Kher, born to the musician (22) of [Re-]Atum . . . (23) daughter of Tjanefer,^x (24) son of Kher. (25) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst*, prophet of Amun-Re residing in Heliopolis, (26) *sꜣ mrꜥf ḥskꜣ wr-diw*,^z the true royal acquaintance whom he loves . . . (27) . . . inspector,^{aa} overseer of the treasury Pyker,^{bb} born to the musician (28) of Re-Atum Istnedjem (?),^{cc} daughter of (29) the god's father Pasherienmut,^{dd} (30) son of Tjanefer. (31) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst* . . . [Probably 8 columns missing] . . .

(33) Their son who causes their names to live, whom they love, whom his lord has loved and whom his lord will love (?),^{ee} (32) the count and prince, prophet of Onuris-Shu son of Re, Patjenfy.

(34) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst* Paeniusaas,^{ff} born to (35) the musician of Re-Atum Ist- (36) enkheb,^{gg} daughter of (37) the god's father Iufankh. (38) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst* Pyker, born to the musician of Re- (39) Atum Ankhesenmut, daughter of (40) the *wꜥb*-priest Hornefer,^{hh} son of (41) Nesiusaas.ⁱⁱ (42) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst* Harsiese, born to the musician (43) of Re-Atum Mutirdis, daughter of (44) the god's father . . . , (45) son of Ankhefenpare. (46) Son of the controller of offering tables in the *ḥwt-ḥst* . . . -*n-Ḥꜥpy*,^{jj} born to the musician (47) of Re-Atum Istenkheb, (48) daughter of the god's father Nes- (49) iusaas. (50) Son of . . . (51–2) Harsiese. (53) Son of the god's father and prophet of Hapy father of the gods, (54) prophet of Nubhotep great one of the house of Re (?)^{kk} (55) Hory.^{ll} (56) Son of the god's father and prophet of Hapy, (57) Nes- (58) iusaas.^{mm}

Notes to translation

^a *rḥ nsꜣ mrꜥf* is a title borne by a number of important dignitaries in the seventh century BC. Cf. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais*, 81 (q).

^b *ḥry wdḥw (m ḥwt-ḥst)* is the title of the cult priest of Re-Atum at Heliopolis. See J.-P. Corteggiani, *Hommages à Serge Sauneron*, 1, 123; H. Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 201; O. Koefoed-Petersen, *Catalogue des bas-reliefs et peintures*, pl. 41. For the *ḥwt-ḥst*, see el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 198 n. 1, and A. Leahy, *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 88 (k).

^c *ḥm ntr Siꜣ* is perhaps a variant of *ḥm Siꜣ*, a title discussed by De Meulenaere, *CdE* 29 (1954), 229 n. 1, which has links with Sebennytos.

^d *sꜣ mr-f* is the characteristic title of the priest of Heryshef, in this case probably at Herakleopolis Parva in the eastern Delta, as suggested by Vernus, *Athribis*, 77 (c) and 78 (g) (see below, n. l). Its occurrence on the other known block from the tomb of Patjenfy, Cairo JE 36194, above the cattle drover scene, was not noticed by Maspero, *Musée égyptien*, II, 81.

^e For *hm Nt*, see el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais*, 87 (g) and *Bulletin du centenaire*, 320 n. 7; L. M. Leahy, *JEA* 71 (1985), 122.

^f For the writing of *imy-r* as \ominus (here and in col. 27), cf. C. Kuentz, *BIFAO* 34 (1934), 154-7, who lists examples from the Twenty-second Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period.

^g For Horus Khenty-khety, the principal deity of Athribis, see Vernus, *Athribis*, 367-416.

^h Horus, lord of Shen, is otherwise unknown to us. Hathor (De Meulenaere, *CdE* 40 (1965), 249) and Khnum (BM 538, an unpublished block from the tomb of Wahibreemakhet—*Guide Sculpture* (1909), 237) of Shen are also attested. In each case, a location in the eastern Delta, not far from Heliopolis, seems likely, and it may be that all references are to the same site, with these three deities as the local triad.

ⁱ This reading follows the restoration suggested by Vernus, *Athribis*, 77 (e). The *mḥ*-sign is not legible but suits the space admirably.

^j What follows the ram's head is unclear—restore *Hry-šꜣf nsw-tꜣwy*, as in col. 8?

^k For the name *Pꜣ-tꜣfy*, see *PN* I, 121, 12, 14, and xxii; II, 284, 3; E. Lüddeckens *et al.*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I, 345; G. Vittmann, *Orientalia* 47 (1978), 7 n. 22; J. Quaegebeur, in *Studia Paulo Naster oblata*, II, 201-2 and *Grammata Demotika* (Festschrift Lüddeckens), 157-70. The name is best documented in Upper Egypt, but is also well-attested in the eastern Delta: N. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Pi(ꜣankh)y*, 156 n. 468; Yoyotte, *Mélanges Maspero*, I⁴, 126, no. 21; W. M. F. Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. xii, 18 (= BM 1047); PM III², 798.

^l Since the other priesthoods to which Patjenfy's father was attached were in the Delta, the cult in question here is likely to have been at Herakleopolis Parva, in the eastern Delta, for which see F. Gomaà, *LÄ* III, 1127-8 (cf. the High Priest of Heryshef with benefices at Behbeit el-Hagar, De Meulenaere, *CdE* 31 (1956), 251-3), although Heliopolis is approximately equidistant from the two towns called Herakleopolis (cf. above, n. d).

^m For *Sms-bḥdt*, probably Tell el-Balamun, and the cult of Amun-Re there, see J. Malek, *LÄ* VI, 319-21; idem, *RdE* 36 (1985), 181-5.

ⁿ For the cult of Onuris-Shu at Sebennytyos, see el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 55 (b).

^o For the cult of Isis at Behbeit el-Hagar, see De Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 233-4.

^p This name is attested mainly in the eastern Delta, as pointed out by De Meulenaere, *CdE* 40 (1965), 251 (a); cf. Vernus, *Athribis*, 78 (i).

^q To the examples of *Spdt-iy-ti* cited by *PN* I, 306, 23, add, e.g., J. Cledat, *RT* 36 (1914), 110, vii; PM III², 799, 803.

^r The unspecified locality to which this cult of Shu-Tefnut was attached could have been Heliopolis itself (cf. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 95) rather than Sebennytyos.

^s For the name *Pꜣ-di-Pp*, and the association of names compounded on *-Pp-* with Heliopolis, see De Meulenaere, *MMJ* 8 (1973), 29 (e), nn. 20-1, adding F. von Känel, *Les Prêtres-ouâb de Sekhmet*, 220-1, doc. 39; cf. De Meulenaere and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 119 n. 1.

^t The space would suit *shḏ*, or perhaps *smr wꜣty*.

^u For the cult of Amun-Re at Heliopolis, see De Meulenaere, *MMJ* 8 (1973), 28-9.

^v The traces are very indistinct but *Tꜣ-(nt-)Hr* (*PN* I, 362, 10) seems the likeliest reading.

^w There are two flat signs immediately before *-šst*, but what precedes them is unclear.

^x See Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 111, iv and 112, on the name *Tꜣ-nfr* at Heliopolis.

^y The title *hsk* is usually found only in Upper Egypt—see M. Carmela Betro, *EVO* 4 (1981), 114 (b); el-Sayed, *La Déesse Neith*, II, 521 n. 1.

^z *wr-diw* is the title of the High Priest at Hermopolis—see D. Kessler, *LÄ* II, 1254–6; De Meulenaere, *JEA* 68 (1982), 143. It is likely that Hermopolis Parva/Baqia is meant here (cf. above, n. l).

^{aa} The bottom of col. 26 is unclear. At the top of col. 27 read *shd*.

^{bb} The interpretation of the name *Pykr* is uncertain. $\overline{\text{p}}$ can represent either the definite or the possessive article, but it is possible that *-kr*, or even the whole name, is foreign. It is not listed by Ranke in this form, but cf. what may be the same name in *PN* I, 120, 9; II, 283, 23–4; (without article) I, 346, 17, 27–9; Yoyotte, *GLECS* 8 (1957–60), 24; cf. also demotic *P₃-gil* (Lüddeckens *et al.*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, I, 279).

^{cc} The reading is not certain. *3st-ndm* does not seem to occur elsewhere, although the pattern is exemplified by *Mwt-ndm* (*PN* I, 148, 8; cf. 215, 5 and 216, 2).

^{dd} *P₃-šri-n-Mwt*, together with *ḥnh-s-n-Mwt* and *Mwt-ir-di-st* (cols. 39 and 43) from different generations and families, suggests a local Heliopolitan cult of Mut, which would complement that of Amun-Re (above, n. u); cf. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 96.

^{ee} The distinction is unclear (cf. J. Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie*, II, 91–9), but the repetition of *mr nb-f* is not dittography, *contra* K. Kuhlmann and W. Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi*, I, 40 n. 69, 47 n. 106.

^{ff} For *P₃-n-Iw-s-ḥs*, see Vandier, *RdE* 16 (1964), 122 nn. 11–12 and 17 (1965), 101, xciii n. 8; E. Drioton, *BIE* 20 (1937–8), 239 and fig. 1.

^{gg} An *3st-m-ḥb*, mother of a *hry wdhw m hwt-ḥt* whose name is lost, is mentioned on a statue fragment found at Heliopolis—Griffith, *op. cit.* 65, pl. xxi, 2.

^{hh} For *Hr-nfr*, see *PN* I, 249, 9 and Vernus, *Athribis*, 202.

ⁱⁱ *Ns-Iw-s-ḥs*, which recurs in cols. 48–9 and 57–8, is not in *PN* and does not seem to be known beyond this lintel. Cf. Vandier, *RdE* 17 (1965), 100. Apart from *P₃-n-Iw-s-ḥs* (above, n. ff), the only other theophorous name pattern attested for this deity is (*P₃-*)*šp-n-Iw-s-ḥs*, for which see De Meulenaere, *RdE* 11 (1957), 80; PM III², 752, 812; M. Bierbrier, *JSSSEA* 12 (1982), 153, no. 5, pl. xxi.

^{jj} The restitution *Ir-f-ḥ-n-Hḥpy*, proposed by M. Thirion, *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 112, which seems possible from Griffith's copy, must be rejected because there is room in reality for only one flattish sign above $\overline{\text{m}}$. *Ir-f-ḥ-n-X* is also, as Thirion notes, a Saite name pattern, yet the man in question must have lived in the early ninth century BC. The likeliest solution is *P₃-n-Hḥpy*, for which see Thirion, *loc. cit.* The cult of Hapy in this family is attested also by the titles 'prophet of Hapy' (col. 53) and 'god's father of Hapy' (col. 56). For the Heliopolitan cult of Hapy, see Thirion, *art. cit.* 111–12. To her list of theophorous names based on *Hḥpy* may be added, for instance, *Di-Hḥpy-irt* (De Meulenaere, *OLP* 12 (1981), 130, no. 86).

^{kk} For *t₃ ḥt n pr Rc*, see Vandier, *RdE* 17 (1965), 143, lxxx and Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 96 n. 4.

^{ll} The name *Hry* is well-attested at Heliopolis—Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 111, iii. *Pace* Yoyotte, *ibid.* 84 n. 4, it, and not *3y*, is the name found on Cleveland 20.1977. For a possible example of *3y*, see De Meulenaere, *OLP* 12 (1981), 130 n. 8.

^{mm} Vandier's suggested reading 'prophet of Iusaas' (*RdE* 17 (1965), 100, lxxxii) is excluded.

at the end of the New Kingdom was of right 'Greatest of Concubines of Amun-*ra-sonther*'.¹⁴ If so, it was not theirs exclusively, since not all the bearers on other monuments seem to be married to a *hry wdhw*.¹⁵ A less likely alternative is persistent intermarriage within a small group of families which constituted the local middle class, and in which the title was hereditary.

The titles with which individual members of the family are credited suggest that the family's prosperity increased dramatically in the lifetimes of Patjenfy and his father, with the acquisition of benefices in quite widely separated Delta towns, but this impression needs qualification. The most fundamental problem in the interpretation of long genealogies is uncertainty as to accuracy of memory or record and fullness of description for more remote generations.¹⁶ In the present instance, there is reason to believe that on Cairo JE 38824 the record is not complete, even for Patjenfy's grandfather (see below). A definitive resolution of this is impossible without independent contemporary evidence for each generation, but a degree of confidence is engendered by the absence of *mi nn*, a form of shorthand particularly liable to mislead. The variety of titles attributed, and the fact that the principal one of *hry wdhw* is remembered as entering the family at a specific point, rather than being given indiscriminately to all, give additional grounds for regarding what is there as reliable, even if it is not the whole story.

Some of the changes observable have an authentic air. The priesthood of Hapy is held only by the two most remote generations, and the single personal name compounded on that of the god is also early. Several titles (*hsk wr-diw imy-r pr-hd*) held by the owner's great-great-grandfather, Pyker, are not claimed for subsequent generations, and may well have passed to a collateral branch of the family. The same may be true of the office of prophet of Amun-Re of Heliopolis, which is held by Patjenfy's great-great-grandfather and grandfather¹⁷ but not by the owner or his father. On the other hand, Patjenfy's father, whose titles are broadly the same as his son's, acquired priesthoods in Herakleopolis, Athribis, Tell el-Balamun, Sebennytos, Behbeit el-Hagar, and Shen, a goodly number of the most important religious centres in the eastern and central Delta.

If genealogies are common at this date, the actual depiction of ancestors is not, and such examples as survive are quite diverse in form.¹⁸ Rows of standing figures dressed in kilts are found on both the Memphite genealogy (male only)¹⁹ and a Theban stela (male and female).²⁰ More interesting still is a stela from Abydos which symmetrically confronts ascendants of both sexes through the male and female

¹⁴ K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*, § 397. Cf. Kessler, *LÄ* 11, 1255, for standard titles attributed to the wives of the *wr-diw* at Hermopolis.

¹⁵ e.g. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 88.

¹⁶ Cf. Redford, *op. cit.* 5-7; G. Posener, *La Première Domination perse en Égypte*, 98.

¹⁷ Patjenfy's great-grandfather is given neither this title nor that of *s: mr:f*, which is held by two generations on either side of him. His single column entry is oddly short and may be defective.

¹⁸ Cf. Redford, *op. cit.* 9, for general discussion and possible derivation from New Kingdom scenes in which kings received offerings.

¹⁹ Borchardt, *op. cit.*, pl. 2.

²⁰ Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter, *Five Years' Exploration at Thebes*, pl. xli.

lines,²¹ in a kneeling pose which is evidently adopted archaizingly from a Middle Kingdom prototype. A closer parallel is provided by a row of four mummiform, bearded figures seated on chairs (but without flails, hands, or necklaces) on a sarcophagus (?) fragment from Horbeit.²² The closest formally, however, is a block in Copenhagen, AeIN 1040, which was also originally part of a lintel.²³ This can be dated on stylistic grounds to the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and, to judge from the partly preserved name and titles of the owner (*it ntr wdpw 'Iwnw Mry-'Itm*), also came from Heliopolis. The preserved surface is divided into two registers, of which the upper is largely lost. In the lower, three identical men are depicted seated on chairs, wearing kilts and collars and holding staves. The remains of three presumably similar figures are clear above. The larger-scale owner, who once spanned both registers, is lost except for a forearm which is extended towards the seated figures, but is accompanied by the text *ir·n (·i ?) htp-di-nsw n itw(·i ?)*.²⁴ The word *itw*, like *itw* and *mwwt* on Cairo JE 38824, is clearly used in an extended sense to designate forefathers in general.²⁵ The overall disposition and nature of the scene are thus very similar to Patjenfy's lintel. One puzzling difference is that each of the three figures in the lower register on the Copenhagen piece is labelled *s:f*. Because the wider context is lost, the reference point of the pronoun (owner or another) is uncertain, but it would be surprising if the owner's sons were represented as recipients of offerings, both because it is normally they who offer to their parent(s),²⁶ and because the text implies that the figures are *itw*. A thrice-repeated error seems inconceivable, and an alternative explanation, which would make the scene more orthodox, is desirable. The expression of filiation could be inspired by the Middle Kingdom pattern A *s: B* where the father is named first.²⁷ The sequence would then begin with the most remote ancestor, each successive generation being quite properly labelled *s:f* with reference to the previous figure, his father. The style of the figures is archaizing, so the appearance of such an ancient idiom would not be entirely out of place.²⁸

On both the Copenhagen and Patjenfy lintels, it is likely that the ancestral figures are intended to be statues,²⁹ and that the tomb owner is conceived as offering to his

²¹ Munro, *op. cit.*, fig. 96.

²² E. Naville, *ASAE* 10 (1910), pl. i before p. 194 (JE 28798).

²³ Koefoed-Petersen, *op. cit.*, pl. 41, no. 53.

²⁴ An 'emphatic' *sdm·n:f*, focusing attention on *n itw(·i?)*?

²⁵ See Redford, *loc. cit.*; G. Robins, *CdE* 54 (1979), 199–200; Bierbrier, *JEA* 66 (1980), 100–1.

²⁶ To go no further than the Saite period, examples occur in the Theban tombs of Patjenfy (W. Schenkel, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), pls. 48–50), Ibi (Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.* 1, pls. 43–4), probably in those of Basa (J. Assmann, *Das Grab des Basa*, pl. 9), and Ankhhor (Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *op. cit.*, pl. 33). A similar scene occurs on a tomb relief from Abydos, partially reproduced in D. O'Connor, *Expedition* 10, no. 1 (Autumn 1967), 16. The owner's eldest son, on the right, is followed by two rows of sons and daughters on another (unillustrated) block.

²⁷ A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, §85.

²⁸ For another archaizing monument, of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, with a genealogy difficult to interpret, see Vernus, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 3–15, especially 12–13.

²⁹ This is the view of Redford, *loc. cit.* His further suggestion, that the genealogical information on monuments of this type was extracted from actual statues in the temples, need not be universally valid. The figures on the lintel can be statues only in an abstract sense, since their Osirid costume has no parallels in contemporary sculpture in the round.

forefathers in the local temple. This interpretation is supported by the costumes and seats shown on the Patjenfy block. The former (mummiform, wig, collar, flail) is identical to that worn in the Voyage to Abydos in contemporary Theban tombs which may, at least in the Late Period, represent a statue cult.³⁰ The seats are noteworthy both for their general form and for their decoration. The representation of private figures on *hwt*-thrones is rare but does have precedents.³¹ These occur notably in the depiction of statues, and have been explained as the appropriation of a motif from royal iconography.³² The presence here of the explicitly royal *smꜣ-tꜣwy* device,³³ for which no precedents in a private context are known to us, confirms this origin and reinforces the idea that statues are intended. The rarity of three-dimensional representations of women, other than members of the royal family, in the first millennium³⁴ might then offer an explanation for the fact that Patjenfy's female ancestors in the male line, though named, are not depicted.³⁵

The date of the lintel can be determined within fairly precise limits. Griffith's ascription of it to the Thirtieth Dynasty was based on an entirely false premiss (that the 'Sebennyte priesthood' could only be held during the Sebennyte dynasty), and is certainly much too late. It has, however, been influential: von Bissing based the whole chronology of his study of Late Period Lower Egyptian tomb reliefs on it, and because he regarded the lintel (rightly) as one of the earliest, was obliged to date the entire 'corpus' to the fourth century and Ptolemaic period.³⁶

The lintel itself has, as already noted, no exact parallels, and its poor condition makes stylistic dating difficult. The other fragment from Patjenfy's tomb (Cairo JE 36194) is better preserved, and its style suggests a date in the seventh century BC,³⁷ a view recently propounded by Vernus.³⁸ This is confirmed by a statue, West Berlin 10076 (pl. XI, 2),³⁹ which was dedicated by the *hm-ntr Wsir-Sp hꜣry wdꜣꜣw m hwt-ꜣt sꜣ mr-f shꜣ* Patjenfy, son of the *hꜣry wdꜣꜣw m hwt-ꜣt it ntr hm-ntr* Kher, son of a man whose name is lost but whose (only partly preserved) titles are *hꜣry wdꜣꜣw m*

³⁰ For the Late Period examples, see Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.* 194, nn. 1125, 1127, adding Pabasa (PM 1², 357). Kuhlmann and Schenkel's advocacy of the statue interpretation is based on the fact that the throne beneath the figure in the tomb of Ibi rests on a sled. The traditional view is maintained by M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representation of Statues in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, 203 n. 993. See, in general, H. Altenmüller, *LÄ* 1, 42-7.

³¹ Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten*, 60 n. 1; cf. Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *op. cit.* 194 n. 1127.

³² Eaton-Krauss, *op. cit.* 19. Cf. the adoption of the royal baldachin with uraeus frieze in the tomb of Ankhhor, Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *op. cit.* II, 232-3.

³³ Kuhlmann, *op. cit.* 57; J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, 330 ff.

³⁴ B. Bothmer, *ESLP*, xxxvii.

³⁵ Shortage of space or formal status differentiation are, of course, alternative explanations, but women *are* depicted on the Theban and Abydene stelae cited in nn. 20 and 21 above.

³⁶ *Loc. cit.* Von Bissing is explicitly followed by D. Hill, *JWAG* 19-20 (1956-7), 41. His influence can also be detected in modified form in, e.g., Bénédite, *Mon. Piot* 25 (1921-2), 27; J. Leclant, *L'Égypte du crépuscule*, 83; Drioton, *BIE* 20 (1937-8), 244.

³⁷ Cf. features such as the small head (Bothmer, *ESLP*, 10) and the inverted cones beneath the chair (*ibid.* 7).

³⁸ *Op. cit.* 78.

³⁹ Heartfelt thanks are due to Dr R. Krauss, who not only gave permission for the reproduction of the piece, but also provided a copy of the very worn inscription on it.

ḥwt-ꜣꜣt sꜣ mr-f šḥḏ ḥsk. The statue itself is of the 'realistic' type current in the latter part of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Its wig, which follows the contours of the top of the skull, is cut unusually high across the brow and flares out at ear level, has good parallels in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty,⁴⁰ but the fleshiness of the face, the fullness of the mouth, and the rounded contours of the body are all reminiscent of the Kushites, rather than the sparer Saite features which followed. The statue can thus be dated to c.680–670 BC.

If the owner of the lintel and the statue are the same, then the former will also date to the later Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but the issue is complicated by the recognition of a second Patjenfy. The omission of the title *ḥm-ntr Wsir-Sp*⁴¹ from the lintel would be strange if it belonged to the younger Patjenfy, but explicable in terms of brevity if it belonged to his grandfather. Furthermore, the only person on the lintel credited with the title *ḥsk* is *Pykr*, grandfather of Patjenfy the elder. On balance, therefore, the statue was probably dedicated by Patjenfy the elder, in which case the lintel would date to c.630–620 BC. More roundly, it belongs in the latter half of the reign of Psammetichus I, and is therefore approximately contemporary with the tomb of Ibi at Thebes. If this is correct, it is tempting to view the improvement in the family's fortunes in the time of Patjenfy's father as the result of opportunism in the turmoil of the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty, or of farsighted adherence to the cause of Psammetichus I, but this is entirely speculative.

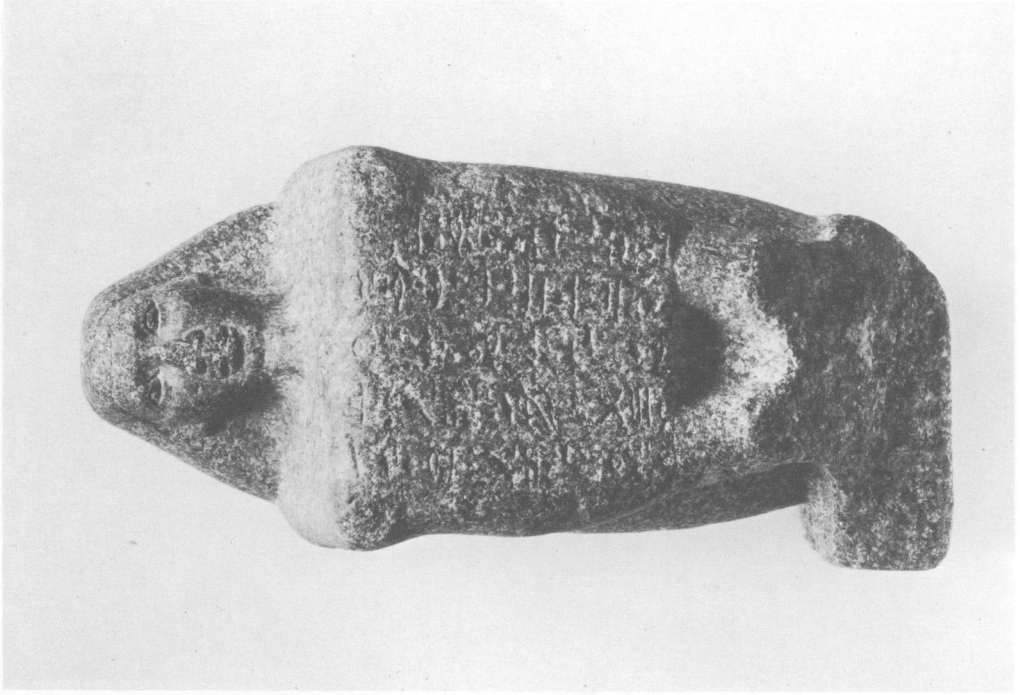
⁴⁰ Bothmer, *ESLP*, nos. 19–20, 23, 29; id. *Kémi* 20 (1970), pl. ix, no. iii.

⁴¹ el-Sayed, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 194 b) with references.



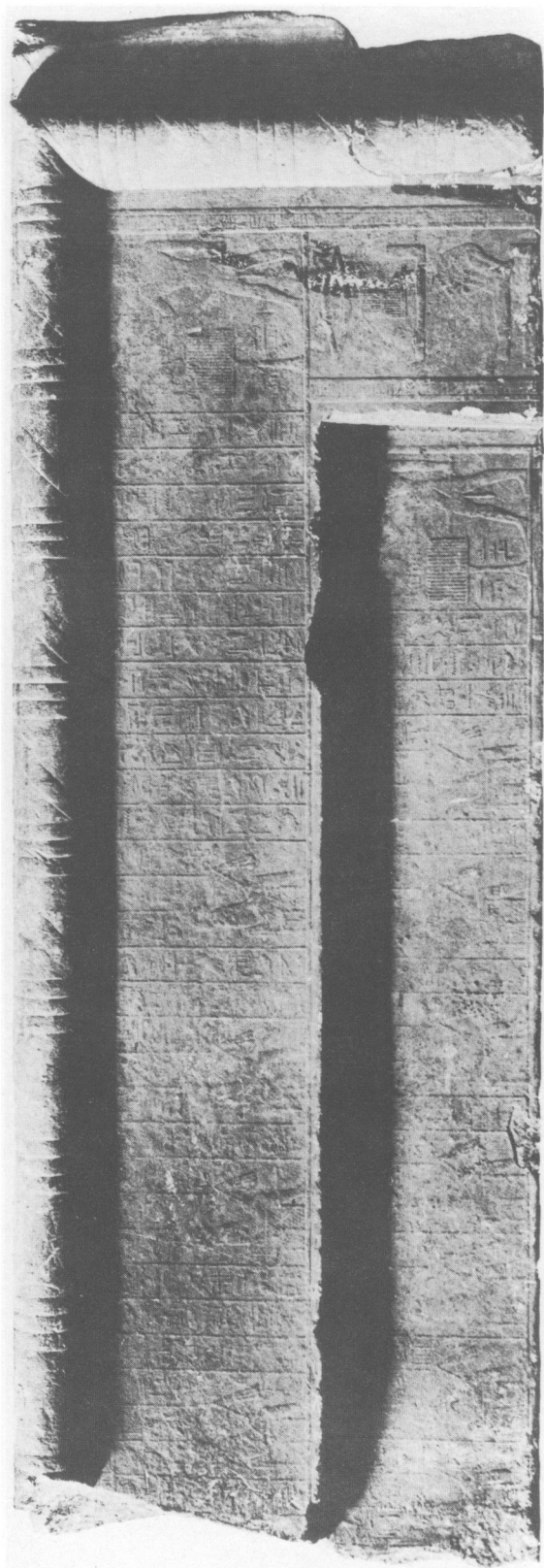
1. Statue of Khaemwese, Vienna Inv. 5768

*Courtesy Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung,
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*



2. Statue of Patjenfy, W. Berlin 10076

Courtesy Ägyptisches Museum SMPK



The Lintel of Patjenfy, Cairo JE 38824
THE GENEALOGY OF A PRIESTLY FAMILY

PSAMMUTHIS AND HAKORIS

By J. D. RAY

The evidence for the whole of dynasty XXIX is confusing, and one of the principal issues has been the relative order of the kings. In the case of Psammuthis and Hakoris there is the well-known discrepancy between the versions of Manetho on the one hand and the Demotic Chronicle on the other. In this paper the author analyses the surviving demotic contracts from the reign of Hakoris, and concludes that the short reign of Psammuthis fits best into the break between the former's second and third years; he also offers an analysis of the epithet *wḥm-ḥr* used by Hakoris in his protocols, and suggests a new interpretation of the period as a whole.

THE Twenty-ninth Dynasty is not one of the better studied periods of Egyptian history. The evidence is fragmentary and confused, and the historian is forced to rely on Greek sources which are themselves contradictory and unhelpful. Even those historians who take an interest in fourth-century Egypt tend to concentrate their attention on the following dynasty, whose achievements are clearer and where the sources are far more informative. Nevertheless, there have been some attempts to make sense of the period, most notably those of Kienitz in his Late Period history, and Traunecker (*BIFAO* 79 (1979), 395-436). More recently, Devauchelle has produced a useful re-edition of the graffiti from Tûra and Ma'sara, and the year-dates which they contain (*ASAE* 69 (1983), 169-82). Thanks to these studies, and with the benefit of recent work on the Achaemenid period in Egypt,¹ it is becoming possible to see the Twenty-ninth Dynasty as a continuation of the conditions which prevailed in Egypt during the last period of Achaemenid rule and in the years immediately following, the period of Amyrtaeus and his so-called dynasty, the Twenty-eighth. This is essentially an episode lasting some sixty years (c.440-380), when effective power in Egypt is centred upon families of competing war-lords, most of whom are in the Delta. In the first forty years of this period, the Achaemenids are in nominal control of the country, and the war-lords are effectively quasi-independent. In the latter period (c.400-380), the Achaemenids are absent, although doubtless still laying claim to their rebellious province, and some of the war-lords assume overt Pharaonic titles. But the threat of the Achaemenids is still present, and the period of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty is largely one of near anarchy, with rival factions competing for power, some in all probability drawing their financial support from the Great King or his agents. The Thirtieth Dynasty, on the other hand, looks more like a military junta, dividing power among its supporters and relatives in a deliberate attempt to avoid this confusion.²

¹ See most recently Bianchi in *L'Ä* IV, 943-51, Bresciani in *Cambridge History of Judaism*, I (1984) chap. 13c and *Cambridge History of Iran* 2 (1985) chap. 9; also Ray, *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV. 1 chap. 4 (g), forthcoming.

² See, e.g., Ray, 'Egypt: Dependence and Independence, 425-343 BC' in *Proceedings of Achaemenid Workshop*, Groningen, forthcoming.

If this analysis is even remotely correct, it will be clear that the history of the Twenty-ninth 'dynasty' will be difficult to reconstruct: chaos and confusion do not leave convenient accounts. It is in this light that the old debate about the reign of Hakoris and the place of the rival Psammuthis needs to be seen. The known facts are few, and can be conveniently summarized: Hakoris, according to Manetho, reigned for thirteen years, and is universally seen as the 'star' of the dynasty. The surviving demotic and hieroglyphic sources, though few in number compared with those of either of the Nectanebos, are nevertheless fairly impressive, and the reign has several minor artistic masterpieces to its credit.³ It is generally agreed that Hakoris acceded to the throne in 393 or 392 after, but not necessarily immediately after, the death of the first ruler in the dynasty, Nepherites I. The entire dynasty is said by Manetho (or, more accurately, by Africanus and Eusebius) to be Mendesian, and certainly links between Mendes and Nepherites can be deduced from the monuments.⁴ But the name *Hgr* is clearly non-Egyptian, and has often, and probably rightly, been linked with the North Arabian tribe הַגְּרִי , the *Ἀγραῖοι* of Greek sources (so most recently Posener, *RdE* 21 (1969), 148–50). This explains the occasional demotic writing with a 'foreigner' determinative. The same word also appears in hieroglyphic on the Darius statue from Susa as a name for the satrapy of Arabia.⁵ Sethe's idea (*Göttingen Nachr.* 1916. 1, 118–24) that the word signifies a Persian dispatch-rider (Greek *ἄγγελος*) is less likely. The word *Hgr* therefore probably refers to an Arab, possibly a *bedu* of the eastern desert, but this is no proof that Hakoris was anything but Egyptian. Nevertheless, it is interesting that he does not disguise such a foreign-sounding name. *Hgr* also occurs as a name for private individuals at this period, in at least two cases in a feminine form.⁶ Hakoris, then, was probably an Egyptian, and a native of Mendes.

Psammuthis is more difficult. Only one year is attested for him in the sole surviving demotic source, and Manetho agrees with this figure. Nevertheless, his list of monuments, which now includes a Mother of Apis stele, is impressive.⁷ With the exception of this stele and a block from Akhmim, his surviving records are Theban. The name *Pꜣ-šr-Mwt* may reflect a link with Thebes, but this is by no means certain. It is tempting to try some dialectology on him, on the lines of Leahy's excellent study of the name *Pꜣ-sn-Hr* in *GM* 62 (1983), 37–48. But *Ψαμ-* for *pꜣ-šr-n-* is very unusual, and there is no Coptic dialect where the word for 'son' shows an *a*-vowel. Greek evidence for *ψαν-* = *pꜣ-šr-n* is dubious to say the least,⁸ and it is more likely that *Ψαμμούθης*, like *Ψαμμήτιχος*, is a Greek form influenced unconsciously by *ψάμμος*

³ The lists in Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens*, 194–8 and Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 411–19 are not negligible. Artistic quality is exemplified by the chapel in the small temple of Medinet Habu (Champollion, *Monuments*, II, pl. 194, 2, 4; cf. *PM*² II, 472), the basalt sphinx dedicated to *Wsir-Skr nb štyt* found in Rome by Napoleon and now in the Louvre (A27), and the architrave, probably from the Serapeum, found in the monastery of Apa Jeremias (Quibell, *Jeremias*, pl. 85). Demotic hands from the period are also rather elegant.

⁴ Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79, 431–3. On links with Mendes see *ibid.* 427 n. 2.

⁵ M. D. Roaf, *Cahiers de la DAF en Iran* 4 (1974), 135–6.

⁶ Ranke, *PN* 1, 231, 11, as *Hgrt*.

⁷ Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79, 410–11.

⁸ Leahy, *GM* 62, 37–8.

‘sand’. Such ‘soundalikes’ are fairly common when names pass quickly from one language to another. Psammuthis, then, has no firm place of origin, which is at least appropriate to what else we know about him.

Psammuthis’ place in the dynasty has long been disputed, and a conclusive answer is probably impossible. All three versions of Manetho place him immediately after Hakoris, and Manetho may well have been right, since he came from Sebennytos and probably had access to records from Mendes, as presumably he did with his so-called Fourteenth Dynasty, which he could well have compiled from the archives of Xoïs. The problem, however, is that the Demotic Chronicle clearly places Psammuthis before Hakoris, and most Egyptologists, if asked to choose between Manetho and the Demotic Chronicle as the reliable source, would probably choose the Chronicle. This preference is supported by the evidence from the Hakoris chapel at Karnak, which has now been excellently published by Traunecker and his collaborators.⁹

The evidence of both these sources, however, is worth reconsidering. The Demotic Chronicle must now be read in the light of Johnson’s article in *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 1–17, and it is worth emphasizing that, while the text is undoubtedly valuable as a historical commentary, nevertheless, in the form in which we have it, the whole is probably early Ptolemaic, and scarcely earlier in date than Manetho. It is also necessary to point out that the text is an oracle, or series of oracles, with interpretations, and is not a historical work in the sense that this is normally understood. Columns III–IV are relevant here, with the oracular parts omitted:

III, 20–1. *pꜣ hry mh-2 i-ir hꜣpr m-sꜣ nꜣ Mdyw dd Pr-cꜣ Nꜣy:f-cw-rd n-drt ir:f nꜣy (i)ir:f n crꜣ di-w šsp n:f pꜣy:f šr m-sꜣ:f ssw sbq nꜣy (i)di-w n:f hꜣf r-dbꜣ nbt iw-s cšꜣ ir-w -st n pꜣy:f hꜣ*

‘the second ruler who came after the Medes was Pharaoh Nepherites (I). Inasmuch as he did the things that he did responsibly, his son was allowed to succeed him. (But) a short time was vouchsafed to him in turn (i.e. the son), because of a great sin which was committed in his time.’¹⁰

IV, 6. *pꜣ hry mh-3 i-ir hꜣpr hn nꜣ Mdyw di-w n:f dd n-drt hꜣc:f pꜣ hp di-w šsp n:f iw:f cnh*

‘the third ruler who came after (?)¹¹ the Medes was requited: this means that, because he abandoned the law, he was succeeded in his own lifetime.’

IV, 7–8. *pꜣ hry mh-4 i-ir hꜣpr m-sꜣ nꜣ Mdyw dd Pꜣ-šr-Mwt bn-pw:f hꜣpr dd bn-pw:f hꜣpr hr tꜣ mit pꜣ ntr bn-pw-w dit ꜣsq:f iw:f n hry*

‘the fourth ruler who came after the Medes means Psammuthis. “He did not exist” means that he did not remain on the path of the god, and he was not permitted to prolong his days as ruler.’

⁹ Cf. Traunecker, F. Le Saout, and O. Masson, *La Chapelle d’Achoris à Karnak*, 2 vols. éds. ADFP (Paris, 1981).

¹⁰ If we read the last section as *ssw sbq [m-sꜣ] nꜣy*, as Spiegelberg seems to do in his translation, the meaning would be ‘a short while later, he was deposed in turn’.

¹¹ The text clearly reads *hn* ‘within, among’, but this makes little sense. The third king ‘among’ the Medes was Darius I, who was not deposed. The parallel texts have *m-sꜣ* ‘after’, which has been followed here. Spiegelberg translates ‘unter den Medern’.

IV, 9-10. *pꜣ hꜣry mh-5 iꜣir iy m-sꜣ nꜣ Mdyw dd Hqr whm-hꜣ r di-w mh nꜣyꜣf ssw n ir hꜣry dd n-drt mnhꜣf n nꜣ irꜣy lk-w-s dd hꜣꜣf pꜣ hp r tm sn r-dꜣ nꜣyꜣf snw*

‘the fifth ruler who came after the Medes means Hakoris, *whm-hꜣ*. “Whom they caused to complete his days as ruler” means because he was pious towards the temples. “They put an end to him” means because he abandoned the law and failed to care for his brethren.’

IV, 11-12. *pꜣ hꜣry mh-6 iꜣir hꜣr m-sꜣ nꜣ Mdyw dd Nꜣyꜣf-ꜣw-rd bn-pwꜣf hꜣr dd bn-pwꜣw hn-s [r] dit hꜣrꜣf hꜣr hꜣꜣw pꜣ hp iꜣir-hꜣ pꜣyꜣf it di-w ph btw n pꜣyꜣf šr m-sꜣf*

‘the sixth ruler who came after the Medes means Nepherites (II). “He did not exist” means that it was not ordained that he should exist. It happened that the law was abandoned in the time of his father, and disgrace befell his son after him.’

This is probably better summarized. Nepherites I was succeeded by his son, who reigned only for a short time. A ruler is then mentioned who was deposed (this is the meaning of the words which the context demands). Since this ruler is next in number after Nepherites, he is probably the same as the son of Nepherites who reigned for a short time. This mysterious ruler is often said to be the otherwise unknown Muthis, who appears in Manetho’s lists later in the dynasty; but this is *ignotum per ignotius*, and ‘Muthis’ may even be a copyist’s error.¹² This feeble episode was followed by Psammuthis, who is represented as impious; this conclusion is probably extrapolated from the short length of his reign, and need not be taken seriously. It is true that Psammuthis did not (on present evidence) have a later statue-cult, unlike Nepherites, Hakoris, and the two Nectanebos, but this too is probably because of his insignificant time upon the throne.¹³ He is followed by Hakoris, who is pious (presumably because of the length of his reign), until a final lurch into depravity puts an end to his stewardship. The next ruler is named as Nepherites (II), who was destined to an early demise because of the sins committed by his father, who is presumably Hakoris. This fact, if fact it is, makes it difficult for us to accept that Psammuthis was Hakoris’ immediate successor, but the true situation may have been extremely complicated. The Chronicle clearly places Psammuthis before Hakoris, and the evidence of the Karnak chapel also supports this conclusion. In this building, the cartouches of Hakoris are regularly written in red ink over the nomen of Psammuthis and a prenomen, *Wsr-Rꜣ stꜣn Pth*, which is presumably the latter’s. A Horus name, *ꜣꜣ-phtꜣ mꜣr-spw*, is left intact; this is apparently not Hakoris’, and may similarly be ascribed to Psammuthis.¹⁴ Is Manetho simply wrong, as he or his copyists may be about Muthis, or is there something which we do not understand and which is the cause of the confusion? Part of the answer may lie in the strange epithet which follows the name of Hakoris in the Demotic Chronicle, *whm-hꜣ*.

Hakoris is unique among Late Period Pharaohs in that, in demotic documents, his name is regularly followed by an epithet, sometimes even inside the cartouche (see table at the end of this article). This applies even in mundane contracts or

¹² Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79, 406 and 424, allows him a shadowy existence, but he is not attested outside Manetho, and even there he is ignored in one of the surviving three summaries. It is also difficult to see what Muthis’ name would be in Egyptian.

¹³ On such cults see De Meulenaere, *CdE* 35 (1960), 92-107.

¹⁴ So Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79, 404, 425.

administrative texts, and presumably has a purpose. The correct reading was first spotted by Revillout,¹⁵ but Spiegelberg, in his edition of the Demotic Chronicle (*Die sogenannte Demotische Chronik*), understandably read the group as *nb ḥꜣw* ‘lord of diadems’. Later, in the Cairo catalogue, he reverted to *wḥm ḥꜣw*, but it was left to Malinine (*RdE* 7 (1950), 114–16) to put the matter on a firmer footing. Malinine, and more recently Traunecker, assume that this epithet has something to do with the political situation of the time, and Traunecker contributed a useful discussion on the meaning of the phrase, quoting in particular an inscription of Ptolemy X from Edfu, which, referring to the events of 88 BC, describes the king’s refuge in foreign parts (said to be Punt, although according to classical sources the king was killed on the way to Cyprus), whereupon his brother, Soter II, *wḥm·n·f ḥꜣ m nsw*, i.e. reigned again over Egypt.¹⁶ It looks therefore as if *wḥm-ḥꜣ* ought to refer to a king who has been restored to power, and this resemblance becomes stronger if we read the second element in the demotic epithet as a singular. All commentators since Revillout have taken the group $\left[\frac{1}{5} \right]$ as plural, influenced perhaps by the hieroglyphic title *nb ḥꜣw* which Hakoris, in common with many others, uses before his second cartouche, but this is surely conventional. *ḥꜣw* in demotic would probably be written * $\frac{1}{5}$, or at least * $\left| \frac{1}{5} \right|$; the word is therefore singular, and this increases the chance that it has a specific meaning.

Devauchelle, in his interesting study, has recently looked at the surviving demotic texts from the reign of Hakoris, with the intention of solving the two mysteries of the sources: why are there no year-dates of Hakoris after year 6, when Manetho gives the king a healthy thirteen years of rule, and why does the epithet *wḥm-ḥꜣ* appear in most texts, but not all? Devauchelle’s suggested answer (*ASAE* 69 (1983), 178–9) is a neat one: he assumes that Hakoris reigned for five to seven years, then, after a disruption, resumed power for a further six to eight years with the epithet *wḥm-ḥꜣ{w}*. This would give the required total of thirteen years, although he admits with candour, ‘cette hypothèse est fragile’. The principal difficulty in this otherwise tempting solution is that we would expect to find the second period of Hakoris’ rule starting with year 1 *wḥm-ḥꜣ* and year 2 *wḥm-ḥꜣ*; but, as the table shows, it is precisely these years which are missing. This could be a coincidence, especially in such a shadowy period, but it would also be unusual, if not unparalleled, for a king to repeat the numbering of the years in his reign. If Hakoris were deposed in his year 5, his first year when he resumed power would probably be year 6, or whatever was necessitated by the intervening gap; but certainly not year 1, and probably not year 1 **wḥm-ḥꜣ*. The table in fact suggests strongly that the ‘break’ in Hakoris’ reign falls after his first two years, since the *wḥm-ḥꜣ* epithet begins in his year 3. There is admittedly still a mystery concerning years seven to thirteen, but at the moment it seems best to admit that these are simply not attested, or may even never have

¹⁵ *RE* 6 (1891), 137 n. 1, read *nem xa*. Particularly interesting is the Serapeum text, mentioned on the same page, which according to Revillout refers to a festival (*ḥꜣ*) of Hakoris in the month of Phamenoth. This might have chronological implications, but it is impossible to be sure until the text is published. [See postscript.]

¹⁶ Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79, 430; Devauchelle, *ASAE* 69 (1983), 178 n. 3.

existed, and to leave it at that. The number and range of Hakoris' surviving monuments does argue for a reign of some length, and it may be that the lack of demotic documents after year 6 is coincidental, or that the king's rule became unsteady during this period, while temple-building was able to continue but economic activity was slack. This is not an entirely convincing explanation, but it seems more plausible than Devauchelle's admittedly brave attempt.

The pattern suggested by the surviving documents is that Hakoris ruled for his first two years, and in his third year adopted the constant epithet *whm-hꜥ*. The one exception to this scheme is the Saqqâra protocol H5-124 (see table below), which seems to have *hꜥt-sp 2t (Hgr) ꜥws whm-hꜥ*. This is a strange phrase, and it occurs in the body of the text; *Pr-ꜥ* is also unaccountably missing. An entry in the second column of the papyrus begins with *hꜥt-sp 5* followed by a month and day; it looks as if this is the correct date of the whole text, and that the 'year 2' reference is retrospective. This seems the likeliest explanation, but we should also bear in mind the possibility that Hakoris adopted the epithet *whm-hꜥ* at some point in his second year, and that the scribe of the Saqqâra protocol was justified in using this way of dating.

If there is a break between Hakoris' second and third years, what has happened? We could assume that the shadowy Muthis is responsible for the upheaval; the beauty of this idea is that it cannot be checked. But if we ignore this possibility, Psammuthis becomes a serious candidate for the intruder. If this is the case, it is worth re-examining Traunecker's arguments for automatically placing Psammuthis before Hakoris.¹⁷ The Demotic Chronicle and the Karnak chapel have already been considered, but Traunecker is also interested in the three (unpublished) Mother of Apis stelae from Saqqâra.¹⁸ He relates the work performed in the vaults in year 1, fourth month of *pꜣrt* of Psammuthis with that done in year 2 of Hakoris, which he takes to cover a period of three years. Not only is this a rather long period for a single activity, but it is also clear that the Psammuthis stele says that a vault was finished on the date in question, not that work began. The two principal Hakoris stelae, H5-2646 and H5-2874, both of year 2, first month of *pꜣrt*, are merely lists of workmen. A third fragmentary stele, H5-6, refers to dragging the sarcophagus of Taamun, Mother of Apis, on a date which is unfortunately lost. The names of the Hakoris workmen are completely different from those of the Psammuthis ones, but this proves nothing chronologically, since different gangs were probably used for different activities. On balance, it is more likely that year 2 of Hakoris and year 1 of Psammuthis are the same, and that Psammuthis seized power at some point after the first month of *pꜣrt* in that year, this being the date still ascribed to Hakoris on two of the Mother of Apis stelae. Psammuthis then reigned for all, or nearly all, of the Egyptian year. Hakoris resumed power in his third year, or possibly at the end of his second, if the Saqqâra protocol is to be believed, and adopted the triumphant epithet *whm-hꜥ*. The advantage of this scheme is that Manetho and the

¹⁷ *BIFAO* 79, 403-5.

¹⁸ See list by H. Smith, *RdE* 24 (1972), 176-87, and especially table 2, p. 181.

Demotic Chronicle are both correct: Psammuthis comes within the reign of Hakoris, *after* him chronologically (Manetho), but *before* the period of Hakoris *whm-hr*. A parallel with this can be seen with the ephemeral Ptolemy VII, who appears in some lists before Ptolemy VI, in others after him, and in others is ignored altogether. The reason for this is that his reign occurs almost entirely within that of his 'predecessor' in the conventional system of numbering.

Let us return to the Demotic Chronicle. In describing the earlier part of the Twenty-ninth Dynasty the text referred to a son of Nepherites I who succeeded him, but lasted only a short while and was deposed 'while still alive'.¹⁹ This could be a transitory ruler who has left no record, but it is also possible that the allusion is to Hakoris himself. There are strong propaganda links between Hakoris and Nepherites I, which are listed in Traunecker's article.²⁰ To these can be added the likelihood, according to Demotic Chronicle IV, 11-12, that Nepherites II was the son of Hakoris, who may well have named this son and heir after his own father. In addition, it is certainly remarkable that, in a period when one source tells us that a king was deposed, we find a Pharaoh using a title, *whm-hr*, which, in the one other case in Egyptian history when it is also used, can be shown to refer to a king who was dethroned and later restored. The deposed king in the Demotic Chronicle was the son of Nepherites I; and there are serious reasons to believe that Hakoris was a son of the same king. In such a case, the history of the 'dynasty' would essentially be a struggle between a main family from Mendes (Nepherites-Hakoris-Nepherites) and a usurper or usurpers, one of whom was Psammuthis.

It is also worth considering the Hakoris chapel at Karnak. This is normally taken to be a chapel constructed, or at least substantially constructed, by Psammuthis, which Hakoris usurped and completed. But in his excellent publication Traunecker notes that the figure of the king, which originally was accompanied by the cartouches of Psammuthis, bears a marked resemblance to the known portraits of Hakoris. Did Hakoris begin the decoration before Psammuthis added his name, and did the original Pharaoh return to power and erase the usurper's cartouches? This is tempting, but it is honest to add that we know so little about the iconography of this period that conclusions based on it can have little or no independent value. Conversely, it is also worth noting that several examples exist of cartouches of Hakoris which have been erased.²¹ This is normally ascribed to Nectanebo I, who seems to have had a low opinion of the previous dynasty, even if he was related to it,²² but it is quite possible that some of these erasures were the work of Psammuthis when he seized power.²³

It remains to be explained why Hakoris, if he was the deposed ruler mentioned in

¹⁹ Col. IV, 6. *di-w šsp n f iw:f rnh*.

²⁰ *BIFAO* 79, 431.

²¹ *BIFAO* 79, 434-5.

²² De Meulenaere, *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 90-3.

²³ Traunecker, *BIFAO* 79, 425, ascribes similar erasures of the cartouche of Nepherites I to the usurper Psammuthis. In such circumstances Hakoris would be an obvious target for this treatment, if monuments of the latter existed when Psammuthis seized power.

Demotic Chronicle IV, 6, is not named, since the later entry specifically refers to him. It is possible that the phrase *di-w šsp n-f iw-f ʿnh*, 'he was succeeded while still alive', implies that he went on living into the following paragraphs; the phrase *Hqr wḥm-ḥr* used in the appropriate place in IV, 9 may refer back to this, and it is worth noting that the phrase used for the deposed ruler is quite different from the entries for other Pharaohs when their reigns come to a permanent end. It is also possible, and perhaps more likely, in view of what is known about the function of the Demotic Chronicle, that the deposed king, if he was Hakoris, is not named because this did not fit the author's presuppositions about destiny and the will of the gods; history in this case was more complex than theology would have liked it to be.²⁴

The reconstruction suggested here is not proved, but it is plausible, and does less violence to the surviving evidence than any proposed so far. The only cause for regret is that, if correct, it forces us to devalue, or at least re-examine, the purpose and value of the Demotic Chronicle. But this may be a salutary thing, and an additional advantage of this study of a comparatively insignificant period is that it reminds us that Egyptian history, normally seen as a tranquil procession of dynasties, was almost certainly messier and more strife-ridden than we prefer to think, not merely in the obscurity of the fourth century, but in periods which usually pass for glorious and well ordered.

Postscript

Since the above article was written, more information has come to light. Mme C. Ziegler of the Louvre has written to say that the Serapeum stela no. 114 mentioned in footnote 15 is in fact the same as 'Inscription No 4' published in a hand-copy by Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, v, 973-6. This stela was set up by one *Hr-n-py* in year 18 of Ptolemy III, but it includes genealogies and other information going back to year 11 of Darius. Some of his ancestors were active in year 4 of Hakoris (line 15 of the stela; the beginning of line 16 is lost, and it is impossible to be certain whether *wḥm-ḥr* appeared in the lacuna). Line 18 runs in part: *nty ḥn ;bd-3 šmw Ḥr-f s; 'Iḥ-wbn (Iḡ) ir nbt pr 3st-iyt ḥnr Ḥp-mnh(?) p;y:f šr*, 'active in the month of Epeiph: *Ḥr-f* son of *'Iḥ-wbn* by the lady *3st-iy-ti*, and *Ḥp-mnh(?)* his son'. The supposed 'festival of Hakoris in the month of Phamenoth' is therefore an illusion; we are dealing only with a proper name, *Ḥr-f*, and the season is *šmw*, not *pṛt*. No historical conclusions follow, except that work was being done in the Serapeum in the month of Epeiph in the fourth year of Hakoris.

Cl. Traunecker has also written, confirming that he had noticed the marked resemblance between the portrait of the king in the Karnak chapel, who bears the name of Psammuthis

²⁴ Absolute dates are not easy to establish for this period, but an approximate scheme could run as follows:

end 393	death of Nephertites I and accession of Hakoris;
393/2	year 1 of Hakoris;
392/1	year 2 of Hakoris. Psammuthis seizes power during this year, after the month of Tybi, and rules probably until the end of the Egyptian year;
391/0	year 3 of Hakoris <i>wḥm-ḥr</i> ;
389(?)	alliance of Hakoris, now secure but in need of support against his enemies inside Egypt and abroad, with Evagoras of Salamis;
381/0	'year 13' of Hakoris, and death of the same;
380	ephemeral reign of Nephertites II and usurpation at end of year by Nectanebo I.

usurped by Hakoris, and the figure of the king from Tôd, who bears the name of Hakoris (on the latter, see now A. Grimm, *BSEG* 9–10 (1984–5), 109–12). If the interpretation I have given above is correct, the Karnak Pharaoh would have been Hakoris anyway, and Psammuthis would simply have put his name next to the figures of his deposed predecessor. This adds some weight to the suggestion, but it is impossible to be certain from iconography alone, particularly in such a confused period.

HAKORIS—DEMOTIC YEAR DATES

- Year 1 Tûra graffito no. 4: *h̄st-sp 1t n Pr-c̄ Hgr cws* (*ASAE* 6 (1905), 219–33; this may be the text referred to in *ASAE* 11 (1911), 267).
- Year 2 Mother of Apis stelae H5-2646 and 2874: *h̄st-sp 2t tpy prt n Pr-c̄ Hgr cws dt* (*RdE* 24 (1972), 176–9).
 Ma'sara graffito: *h̄st-sp 2t n Pr-c̄ Hgr cws* (Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 11, 489).
 P. Saqqâra H5-DP 124 Ro: *h̄st-sp 2t Hgr cws wh̄m-h̄c* (may be retrospective; see Year 5 below. Unpublished).
- Year 3 P. Cairo 50096: *h̄st-sp 3t tpy prt n Pr-c̄ Hgr* [
 P. Cairo 50099: *h̄st-sp 3 tpy prt [Pr-c̄ Hgr] wh̄m-h̄c*
 P. Cairo 50097a: probably the same.
 P. Seymour de Ricci: *h̄st-sp 3 sbd-3 prt* (considered lost—cf. Spiegelberg *Chronik*, 30 and Roberts *et al. HTR* 29, 85 n. 162, but relocated, cf. Muszynski, *Enchoria* 6 (1976), 24, 25 n. 37 and Thissen, *Enchoria* 10 (1980), 118).
 Salt graffito at Tûra: *h̄st-sp 3t sbd-3 prt cl̄ky n Pr-c̄ Hgr cws wh̄m-h̄c* (*GM* 64 (1983), 46–7).
 P. Michaelides: *h̄st-sp 3t sbd-3 prt n Pr-c̄ Hgr [wh̄]m-h̄c* (*Enchoria* 3 (1973), 5–20).
- Year 4 Ma'sara graffito: *h̄st-sp 4t sbd-2 sh̄t (?) sw 2I n Pr-c̄ [Hgr . . . ?]* (Champollion, *ND* 11, 489).
 P. Cairo 50098: *h̄st-sp 4 tpy prt n [Pr-c̄ Hgr (?)]*
 Tûra graffito no. 14: *h̄st-sp 4 sbd-3 [] Pr-c̄ [] wh̄m-h̄c* (*ASAE* 6 (1905), 219–33).
Do. no. 21: of uncertain king *cn̄h dt*, Spiegelberg preferring Nectanebo I.
 Serapeum stela 114 (retrospective, of Ptolemy III: *ZÄS* 22 (1884), 119; *RE* 6 (1891), 136–9).
- Year 5 Tûra graffiti nos. 33 and 34: *m-bsh̄ M̄sy-h̄s̄ c̄ ph̄ty Pr-c̄ Hgr* and (34) *m-bsh̄ M̄sy-h̄s̄ h̄st-sp 5t sbd-4 sh̄t Pr-c̄ [] dt*.
 P. Saqqâra H5-DP 124 Ro: *h̄st-sp 5 sbd-3 (?) šmw sw 25 iw Pr-c̄ n pr-Pr-c̄* (see Year 2 above. Unpublished).
- Year 6 Tûra graffito no. 15: *h̄st-sp 6 sbd-3/4 prt|šmw Pr-c̄* [
Do. no. 19: (falcon) *h̄st-sp 6 sbd-4 prt n Pr-c̄ Hgr wh̄m-h̄c cn̄h dt*
 P. Cairo 30902: *h̄st-sp 6 sbd-4 prt sw 6 Pr-c̄ Hgr cws wh̄m-h̄c*

- Uncertain: P. Cairo 50105: *Pr-ꜥꜣ [H]gr wḥm-[ḥꜥ*
 P. Cairo 50107: *H]gr wḥm-ḥꜥ) ꜥws*
 P. Lille 26: *Pr-ꜥꜣ Hgr] ꜥnh dt wḥm-ḥꜥ (RdE 7 (1952), 114-16).*
 Tûra graffito no. 5: *Hgr . . . ꜣbd-3/4 šmw (?) sw 9 (?)* (all in cartouche; no. 6 is similar).
 Do. no. 28:] *Hgr wḥm-ḥꜥ [*
 P. Saqqâra H5-DP 453: *H]gr [ꜥws] wḥm (?) -ḥꜥ) ꜥws* (unpublished).

On the graffiti of Tûra and Ma'sara see Devauchelle, *ASAE* 69 (1983), 169-82.

PSAMMUTHIS—DATED DOCUMENT

Mother of Apis stela H5-34: *ḥꜣt-sp It ꜣbd-4 prt n Pr-ꜥꜣ Pꜣ-šꜣ-Mwt ꜥws (RdE 24, 181).*

(Traunecker's ascription of ostraca from Saqqâra to the reigns of Psammuthis and Hakoris rests on a misunderstanding of *JEA* 55 (1969), 35.)

MANETHO'S CHRONOLOGY

<i>Africanus</i>	<i>Eusebius</i>	<i>Armenian Eusebius</i>
Nepherites, 6 years	Nepherites, 6 years	Nepherites, 6 years
Achoris, 13 years	Achoris, 13 years	Achoris, 13 years
Psammuthis, 1 year	Psammuthis, 1 year	Psamuthes, 1 year
Nepherites (II), 4 months	Nepherites (II), 4 months	Muthis, 1 year
	Muthis, 1 year	Nepherites (II), 4 months
TOTAL 20 years 4 months	TOTAL 21 years 4 months	TOTAL 21 years 4 months

A DEMOTIC LAND LEASE FROM PHILADELPHIA: P. BM 10560

By CARY J. MARTIN

Publication of P. BM 10560, a land lease from Philadelphia, dated to 190 BC. The commentary examines a number of issues relating to demotic instruments of lease, as well as providing a survey of the demotic papyri from Philadelphia. The text is unique among demotic leases in that it contains declarations by both parties and then a joint statement. This raises the question of who would have kept the text, and the author's conclusions point to the *rbt*, the Greek *συγγραφοφύλαξ*, whose presence in native sources is confined to Philadelphia and Akoris.

THE purpose of this article is to provide a preliminary publication of a most intriguing demotic land lease. A number of features of this text place it apart from the majority of demotic instruments of lease, and have led the writer to hope that a first transliteration, translation, and interpretation might serve as a basis for future discussion.¹ The papyrus was acquired by the Trustees of the British Museum in 1922 from Sir Herbert Thompson, who reports that it was found at Darb el-Gerza (Philadelphia). Although the papyrus has been consulted by a number of scholars, as the following bibliography shows, no overall study has yet been published.

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- W. Clarysse and G. Van der Veken, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt* (= *PL Bat.* 24) (Leiden, 1983), 20-1, no. 100.

Description of the Papyrus (pls. XIII-XIV)

The papyrus is light brown in colour and well preserved; it consists of one sheet with a maximum length of 29.8 cm and width of 19.3 cm. It has been torn at both top and bottom, but no lines have been lost, and it has suffered slight damage, mostly in the upper half, from a seal. There are thirty-one full lines of text on the front (horizontal fibres), and a final short one. The margin on the right is 2.5-3.0 cm, but is uneven on the left, some lines reaching the extreme edge, which suggests that the papyrus was cut from a roll after the text had been written. The script begins about 1 cm below the upper edge of the sheet, as preserved, and there is a gap of approximately 5.5 cm unscribed at the bottom. The back bears a witness list of twelve names on its right-hand side and a one-line notation on its left. This was written lengthwise on the sheet, and must have been added after the papyrus was rolled, tied, and sealed.

The hand bears a number of similarities to those of other demotic papyri from Philadelphia (for which see n. 5 to translation), but the scribe was not a careful notary and errors do occur. Particular attention should be paid to two unusual features of the script. The first is in line 26, where, as Hughes noted (*Leases*, 25), the scribe drew a short horizontal line, 'as though consciously concluding one part of the document' and continued with a statement by the second party; the significance of this will be discussed in the Commentary. The second, in the same vein as the first, is best observed in line 19, where, on either side of *mtw=k tꜣyꜣtꜣ=zw*, there is a small stroke which appears to isolate the phrase in a manner remarkably similar to the modern use of commas. In fact, such 'punctuation marks' occur at numerous other points in the text (e.g. line 13 after *pr ꜣꜣt*, line 20 after *nty hꜣry*, and line 25 after *iwt=n* and *iwtꜣ mn*), and nearly always at the end of a clause. Although there are places where points appear without significance (line 17 after *n pꜣ ibd*, line 21 after *pꜣ tꜣ*, and lines 14 and 18 between the number and *ꜣn*), there are more cases where they conform to the suggested scheme. It is going too far to start talking of 'demotic punctuation', particularly as usage is not consistent, but the marks may indicate a subconscious attempt by the scribe to break up the text.

The use of marks and lines in demotic texts has been analysed by Nur el-Din, *Enchoria*, IX (1979), 49-62. Although he does not make reference to the type of 'punctuation marks' that are present here, the use of the short line concluding one part of the text and introducing the statement of the second party could be incorporated into Nur el-Din's category of horizontal partition lines (section IIb1).

Transliteration

Front

1. $h_3\cdot t\text{-}sp$ I 5 $ibd\text{-}4$ [$\dot{s}mw$] n Pr- c_3 P[\dot{t}]wlmys[s] s; P[\dot{t}]wlmys irm 3r< s >yn s^2
2. n s ntr-w mr-it- \dot{t} =w p; wcb 3lgs[ntrs] irm n s ntr-w sn-w n s ntr-w mn \dot{h} (-w) n s ntr-w
3. mr-it- \dot{t} =w n s ntr-w nty pr 3ntyptr[s] s; T[y] s kwnsys Btr s^3
4. s s ·t n Hy[p]ls n t s fy $\dot{s}p$ -qny m-b s h 4 Brnyg s t s mn \dot{h} (-t) 3tnwtr s
5. [n t s] fy [tn]-nb m-b s h 4 3rsyn s [t s] mr-sn Hyrn s] 5 n t s wcb[·t n] 3rsyn s t s mr-it
6. $\dot{d}d$ wlt [n] p; i[s]w 6 [n] dmy-Sbk n [N s -nh-w] hnc dmy-Sbk n Pr-h s t
7. wcb n 'Imn-[ip]y n p; i[rpy] n 'Imn-ipy n [N s -nh-w] 7 nty hry P s -di-Sbk s; Hry=w nty iw=w $\dot{d}d$ n=f
8. [. . .] 8 mw·t=f [Hr·] \dot{t} - c nh n wy c Hrklty 9 s; Qlystrtw s mw·t=f Qlwd
9. $\dot{s}hn$ =y n=k (st s) 3 (n) $\dot{s}h$ t[s y=w p \dot{s} ·t] (st s) I·t $\frac{1}{2}$ (n) $\dot{s}h$ r (st s) 3 (n) $\dot{s}h$ 10 [c n n p; htp]-ntr [n] p; isw n p; dmy nty hry n t s $\dot{s}h$ ·t 11
10. n [T s - c ny] 12 nty iw n s y=w hyn-w [rsy] t s my·t n [Pr- c_3 mh \dot{t}] p; htp-ntr n 'Inp is \dot{b} \dot{t} [t s hny] 13 imn \dot{t}
11. p; htp-ntr n Hr-mtn dmd n s hyn-w n n s $\dot{s}h$ ·w nty hry c n mtw=k mh=w n ih grg mtw=k 14 ir=w wp(·t) nb(·t)
12. hwt n p; s y=k grg n rmt nmh 15 p; [.] 16 t s y h s ·t-sp I 5 $ibd\text{-}4$ $\dot{s}mw$ \dot{s} · c h s ·t-sp I 6 $ibd\text{-}3$ 17 $\dot{s}mw$
13. [r rnp(·t) di·t pr I·t] 18 mtw=k di·t <r-dr>· \dot{t} =y p; $\dot{s}mw$ 19 n n s $\dot{s}h$ ·w nty hry tn rtb (n) sw I $\frac{1}{3}$ r (st s) I (n) $\dot{s}h$ r mh rtb (n) sw 4
14. t s y=w p \dot{s} ·t 2 r (rtb n) sw 4 c n p; $\dot{s}mw$ (n) t s (st s) 3 (n) $\dot{s}h$ nty hry n t s rnp(·t) I·t n pr(·w) dr-w iw=w wcb-w iw \dot{t} sn-nw (—)
15. iw=w h y ·w n p; qs (n) $\dot{s}p$ (n) Pr- c_3 irm [p; s y=f gst] 20 nty wd s iw=w fy·w iw=w sw \dot{t} r-dr- \dot{t} =y
16. r p; s y(=y) c ·wy nty (n) [N s -nh-w] [n] h s ·t-sp I 6 $ibd\text{-}1$ $\dot{s}mw$ $ibd\text{-}2$ $\dot{s}mw$ n htr iw \dot{t} mn r n s pr-w n·im=w (—)
17. nty iw bn iw=y di·t-st (n) p; s y=w [ss n] di·t 21 nty hry iw=y r di·t-st irm p; s y=w I r I $\frac{1}{2}$ n p; ibd nty m-s s p; ibd rn=f
18. (n) htr iw \dot{t} mn di=k n=y rtb n sw s 22 2 t s y=w p \dot{s} ·t I r rtb n sw s 2 c n r r c -wh s (—)
19. $\dot{s}sp$ =y-st (n-)dr- \dot{t} =k r h s ·t- \dot{t} =y mtry n·im=w iw=w mh iw \dot{t} sp nb mtw=k t s y· \dot{t} =w mtw=y
20. $\dot{s}sp$ =w n=k n ip·t hn n s hrw nty hry n t s rnp(·t) I·t nty hry iw=y nhm n s $\dot{s}h$ ·w nty hry hr-ir=k
21. i·ir rmt nb n p; t s hwy· \dot{t} =k r-bnr 23 hn=w iw=y di·t wy=w r-ir=k iw=y tm di·t wy=w r-ir=k
22. iw=y di·t n=k hd 100 t s y=w p \dot{s} ·t r hd 50 r [hd 100] c n n w c hrw hn hrw 5 n tm di·t wy=w r-ir=k
23. nty iw=y ir=f n htr iw \dot{t} mn iw=k m-s s =y r [di·t] wy=w r-ir=k c n n t s rnp(·t) I·t nty hry nty nb nty mtw=y
24. hnc n s nty iw=y di·t hpr=w (n) t s iw·t n p; hp n p; $\dot{s}hn$ nty hry bn iw=y rh \dot{t} $\dot{d}d$ ir=y r-h md nb nty hry
25. r p; $\dot{s}hn$ c h c 24 iw \dot{t} =n iw=y m-s s =k r-ir=w r-h md nb nty hry n htr iw \dot{t} mn mtw=y di·t wy md
26. Pr- c_3 nb iw=w [r hpr m-s s =k] n·im=w 25 (n) rn n n s [$\dot{s}h$ ·w] (n) n s ss-w nty hry ---- Hrklty nty hry $\dot{d}d$
27. n P s -di-Sbk s; Hry=w nty hry $\dot{s}hn$ =k n=y t s (st s) 3 (n) $\dot{s}h$ (n) p; htp-ntr n 'Imn nty hry mtw=y di·t 26 p; s y=w $\dot{s}mw$ r-h
28. p; nty $\dot{s}h$ {nty} hry 27 iw=y h s · c n s $\dot{s}h$ ·w nty hry r [tm ir]=w wp(·t) n n s ss-w nty hry iw=y mh 28 n=k p; s y=w $\dot{s}mw$
29. <r-h> 29 p; nty $\dot{s}h$ {nty} hry (n) htr iw \dot{t} mn iw=w $\dot{d}d$ p; s 2 [nty hry] n w c r c nty nb nkt nb nty mtw=n hnc n s nty iw=n di·t

30. *hpr=w* (n) *t* *iw·t* n *p* *hp* n *p* *shn* [nty *hry*] *bn iw=n rh* *dd shn p* *y wtb=f rnp(·t)* (—)
 31. *bn iw=n rh* *dd ir=n r-h md nb nty hry r p* *shn nty hry* *ch iw=t=n rmt m-s* *p* *y=f iry n·im=n*
 32. *r ir r-h md nb nty hry n htr iw* *t mn sh P* *-[di-B* *st·t]*³⁰ *s* *'Imn-iw*

Back

Notation

[*w*] *shn r-ir P* *-di-Sbk s* *Hry=w n Hrkly r (st)* 3 (n) *h* (n) *p* *htp-ntr* (n) *'Imn* (seal) *r p* *rt* (n) *h* *t-sp* 16

Witnesses³¹

1. [*P* *-di-B* *st·t*] *s* [*.....*]
2. [*ch-p* *y=f-hry*] [*s*] [*Hr*]
3. [*.....*] *s* [*.....*]
4. [*.....*] *s* [*.....*]
5. *P* *-di-[Hr-p* *-R]* *s* [*T* *š-nfr*]
6. [*ch-.....*] *s* *Hr-[wd]*
7. *P* *-di-B* *st·t* *s* [*P* *-di-B* *st·t*]
8. [*Ns-i* *h*] *s* *Hr-iw*
9. *Sbk-H* *py* *s* *P* *-di-[.....]*
10. *P* *-di-W* *sr* *s* [*ch-p* *-hrd*]
11. [*Ta-Old*] *s* [*.....*]
12. [*.....*] *s* *D* *hwt* *y-sdm*

Notes to Transliteration

1. On the basis of the photograph, either *šmw* or *pr·t* could be read, but inspection of the original shows traces which are clearly more suited to the elaborate writings of *šmw* in the text (cf. line 12). The restoration is also supported by the context (cf. n. 1 to translation).

2. The omission of *s* in Arsinoe is a scribal error, cf. the two clear writings with the *s* in line 5. In the two writings of Ptolemy earlier in the line, it appears from the traces that *t* should be read rather than *t*. In the second writing of *P* *tlwmys*, there is no reason to think that *r* should be read for *l*. The loss of the distinguishing mark between the two letters is due to wear on the papyrus.


3. So, most recently, Clarysse, *PL Bat.* 24 (1983), 20, no. 100. *Btr* seems certain despite Clarysse's uncertainty about the first letter. The editors of the *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1, 149, also read *Btr* without hesitation.

4. *m-b* *h*: the small stroke before *m-b* *h* could be another example of the *n* written before *m*, reflecting the pronunciation (MNAZ-), or simply a superfluous stroke. On *n-m-b* *h* cf. Pestman, *L'Archivio di Amenotes figlio di Horos* (Milano, 1981), 24 n. 5; G. Vittmann, *Enchoria* 11 (1982), 80 n. Z2.

5. Close inspection of the original suggests that *Hyrn* rather than *Hyry* was written. Both are found as demotic writings of *Eipónn* (cf. Clarysse, *PL Bat.* 24 (1983), index p. 113, and his comments on final vowels, p. 150, where the omission of *h* is seen to be more frequent in the Thebaid).

6. *isw*: reading assured by line 9.

7. The reading *N* *-nh* *w* is not certain, and *T* *-nh* (*t*) has been suggested. The stroke before the place-name determinative is read as the plural *w*, as in P. Loeb 40 and 53 (cf. K.-Th. Zauzich, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 151 fn. 7). In P. BM 10750 (where H. S. Smith, *JEA* 44 (1958), 94 n. m preferred *T* *-nh* *t*) there is no possible plural stroke before the place determinative, but what appears to be the divine determinative following the place

determinative, , could also be read as the plural indicator *w* (cf. the writings of the plural indicator in *nṣ* *wy·w nṣ Wynn·w* in line 5 of the text). The plural *w* also appears to be written in P. BM 10789 (although A. F. Shore, *Serapis* 6 (1980) (= *Studies in Honor of Charles F. Nims*), 121-4 read *Tṣ-nht*), but it is not present in the unpublished P. Berlin 23814, x+5 and 23811, 8 (photographs of these were kindly supplied by Professor Zauzich).




8. The decipherment of Herius' second name poses problems. Thompson, in his manuscript catalogue of the British Museum demotic papyri, suggested 'Mate', presumably for *Mtr*, but this is not certain. There is a trace of ink on the right edge of the lacuna, which could be Thompson's *m*. The reading of Herius' mother's name as [*Hr*·]*ṭ-cnh* is due to Mark Smith.



9. Here and on the annotation on the back, *Hrklty* is written, but at line 26 the name appears as *Hrklṭy*. The last letter appears to be *y* rather than *s*, but note the comments of Clarysse in *PL Bat.* 24 (1983), 159, §38b.

10. The papyrus has been badly torn but the text can be reconstructed. The number of arouras of land is based on the notation on the back. *tṣy=w pṣ·t* is confirmed by context (cf. the writing in line 14).

11. *sh·t*: the tail of *mw·t=f* in the preceding line has cut across the determinative of *sh·t*, giving it the appearance of *rsy*, 'southern'.

12. *Tṣ-cny* appears to be what is written, although *Tṣ-cṭy* could be suggested (cf. the common formations of toponyms with *Tṣ-cṭ*, for which see J. Yoyotte, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 415 n. 2). The location is discussed in n. 7 to translation.


13. *tṣ hny* is not completely certain; one would expect  rather than  and the water determinative  (W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 311). The reading, however, has much to recommend it, not least the identical opinion of Spiegelberg in his *MS* dictionary (reference via Nims, *JEA* 33 (1947), 92).


14. The writing of *mtw=k* is peculiar; cf. the earlier example in the same line. The scribe may have originally written , perhaps thinking of the first person singular, and then changed this into the conventional ligature of the second person .

15. The traces and context assure the reading *rmt nmḥ* (cf. E. Bresciani and P. W. Pestman, *P. Mil. Vogl.* III (1965), 174).

16. The damage to the papyrus here makes the interpretation of the traces very doubtful. The group immediately before *tṣy* can hardly be anything but the number 15 in view of the later writing in the same line (in both cases the scribe has too much ink on his pen, which has created a rather blotchy 5, cf. the writing in line 1), and *hṣ·t-sp* is a possibility for the traces in front of this. The sign after *nmḥ* looks like *pṣ* (*hr* is a less likely alternative), but no satisfactory reading suggests itself for what follows (the first sign could be *s* 'person', but it would be difficult to make sense of this). There do not seem to be any parallels in other leases to help in its elucidation.

17. The scribe has clearly written 3 and not 4. Either this is an eleven-month lease ending in Epeiph, which is unusual, but not impossible, or it is an error for *ibd-4*.

18. Here hesitation is in order. The second word is read *rnp(·t)* on the basis of its form in line 20 (but note the writing in line 14); *di·t* seems certain, but *pr* does not. It is suggested by both traces and context, but in line 14 it has a different appearance, particularly the determinative.  is taken to be a writing of *I·t* with the top of the vertical stroke having been lost in the small lacuna; cf. the ligature in line 9 and the very similar expression *r rnp·t n di·t* (?) *pr 2·t* in P. Cairo 50102, 3.

19. After *mtw=k di·t* one would expect *n=y*, but the traces do not support the normal middle demotic writings of *n=y*. The writing of *dr·ṭ=y* at the end of line 15 suggests that  is the *ṭ=y* of *dr·ṭ=y* and that part of the word has been overlooked by the scribe. *dr·ṭ=y*

suits the context perfectly. *pꜣ šmw* is restored from context, and agrees with what is still visible.

20. The restoration follows Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 53, §44.

21. The traces and context support the restoration of *ss n*. The *di·t* seems assured, despite the stray stroke at the top.







22. *sw* in line 13, but *swꜣ* appears to be written here, unless **ꜣ** is taken as a determinative (cf. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 412, which has one writing as *swꜣ*).

23. *r-bnr*: at first it appeared that the scribe in error wrote *bnr=k* here, but comparison with the writing of the determinative of *wy* in line 22 shows that this is not the case. Compare also the writing in the same phrase in P. Cairo 30604, 11 (cf. H. J. Thissen, *Grammata Demotika* (= *Fs Lüddeckens*) (Leipzig, 1984), 235-44).

24. *ꜥꜥ*: the reading is certain.

25. The restoration was suggested by Hughes, *Leases*, 38. The *hꜣr m-sꜣ=k* is not certain, but the traces certainly do not preclude it.

26. There is some doubt whether *mꜥ* or *di·t* should be read here. Compare the following examples of *mꜥ* and *di·t*:

	<i>mꜥ</i>		<i>di·t</i>
line 11		line 17	
line 13		line 21	
line 28		line 25	

Close scrutiny of the traces suggests **ꜣ**, which is in agreement with the certain *di·t* of line 17. Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 51, §41, has already drawn attention to the fact that both words were used for describing the act of paying the rent.

27. The second *nty* should be deleted here and in line 29.

28. The thick stroke beneath *mꜥ* is presumably part of *n=k*; cf. the less extravagant writing in *iw=y m-sꜣ=k* in line 25.

29. In his haste to complete the document, the scribe has omitted *r-h* in passing from one line to the next.

30. *Pꜣ-di-Bꜣst·t* is a possible reading. The *di* has been reduced to **ꜣ** and ligatured with *Bꜣst·t* (cf. *Pꜣ-di-Sbk*, line 7). For a similar writing of *Bꜣst·t* cf. *Pꜣ-šr-Bꜣst·t* in P. Ox. Griffith 31, 1 (= Bresciani, *L'archivio demotico del tempio di Soknopaiu Nesos* (Milano, 1975)).

31. The list of witnesses is very faded and most of the readings very uncertain. On line 5 *Pꜣ-di-Hꜣr-pꜣ-hꜣrd* might be preferred palaeographically to *Pꜣ-di-Hꜣr-pꜣ-Rꜣ*. In addition, the name *Pꜣ-di-Hꜣr-pꜣ-Rꜣ* is rare outside Thebes in the Ptolemaic period although R. El Sayed, *GM* 35 (1979), 51-8, does have one example from the Fayyum (no. 73), which is from P. dem. Lille 44, front, line 8, and which he inexplicably describes as of uncertain provenance, presumably overlooking de Cenival's comments on page 10 of her publication of the papyrus (*Cautionnements démotiques du début de l'époque ptolémaïque* (Paris, 1973)).

Translation

Front

1. Year 15, [Mesore],¹ of Pharaoh P[to]lemy son of P[to]lemy and Ar(s)inoe,
2. the gods Philopatores; the priest (of) Alex[ander] and the gods Adelphoi, the gods Euergetai, the gods
3. Philopatores (and) the gods Epiphaneis (being) Antipatros son of D[io]nysios, *Btrꜣ*²
4. daughter of Hi[p]alos being Athlophoros before Berenike Euergetis, Athenodora
5. [being Kane]phoros before Arsinoe Philadelphos (and) Eirene being the priestess [of] Arsinoe Philopator.

6. Said (the) [Guardian]³ [of] the R[a]m⁴ [of] (the) Sobek town of Philadelphia⁵ and (the) Sobek town of *Pr-hꜣt*,⁶
7. priest of Amenem[ope] of the te[mple] of Amenemope at the aforementioned Philadelphia, Petesukhos, son of Herius, otherwise called
8. [. . .] his mother being [*Hr*]t-*cnh* to (the) farmer Herakleides, son of Kallistratos, his mother being Kolluthes.
9. I have leased to you 3 (arouras of) land [their half] $1\frac{1}{2}$ (arouras of) land, making 3 (arouras of) land [again in the temple]-domain [of] the Ram of the aforementioned town, in *tꜣ shꜣt*
10. of [*Tꜣ-cny*],⁷ the boundaries of which are: [south], the way of [Pharaoh; north], the temple-domain of Anubis; east [the canal]; west,
11. the temple-domain of Harmotnis.⁸ Completion of the boundaries of the aforementioned lands again. You are to stock them with cattle (and) equipment⁹ and you are to carry out all the tasks
12. (of the) farmer with your equipment of (the) free man¹⁰ [.] from year 15, Mesore, until year 16, Epeiph¹¹
13. [making one year of sowing]. You are to pay <to> me the rent of the aforementioned lands at the rate of $1\frac{1}{3}$ artabas (of) wheat to 1 (aroura of) land, which amounts to 4 artabas (of) wheat,
14. their half 2, making 4 (artabas of) wheat again. The rent (of) the aforementioned 3 (arouras of) land for the one year (is to be) all in seed-grain which is pure, unadulterated
15. (and) measured by the receiving-measure of Pharaoh and [its *gst*] which is sound (and) transported (and) delivered to me
16. at my house which is (in) Philadelphia [in] year 16, Pakhons (or) Payni,¹² compulsorily and without delay. As for the seed-grain thereof
17. which [you]¹³ fail to deliver (in) its aforementioned [time of] delivery, [you] shall deliver it increased by one half in the month after the stipulated month,
18. compulsorily and without delay. You have given to me 2 artabas of wheat,¹⁴ their half 1, making 2 artabas of wheat again, subject to claim.¹⁵
19. I have received them from you, my heart being satisfied with them (and) they being complete without any remainder. [I am] to take them, and I am
20. to credit them to your account within the aforementioned days of the aforementioned one year. If I hold back the aforementioned lands from you¹⁶
21. (or) if any man in the world casts you out from them, I will cause them to be far from you. If I do not cause them to be far from you,
22. I shall give to you 100 silver (deben), their half making 50 silver (deben), making [100 silver (deben)] again, in one day in five days of not causing them to be far from you,
23. which I shall do compulsorily and without delay. You still have a claim on me [to cause] them to be far from you in the one aforementioned year. Everything which is mine
24. and that which I shall acquire (is) the security of the right of the aforementioned lease. I shall not be able to say: 'I have acted in accordance with everything aforementioned',
25. while the lease stands between us.¹⁷ You have a claim on me to perform them in accordance with everything aforementioned compulsorily and without delay.¹⁸ I am to remove every
26. matter (of) Pharaoh [concerning which one will have a claim on you] (in the) name of the [fields] (in) the aforementioned time. ---- The aforementioned Herakleides says

27. to the aforementioned Petesukhos, son of Herieus. You have leased to me the 3 (arouras of) land (in) the aforementioned temple-domain of Amun. I am to pay their rent in accordance with
28. that which is written above. If I abandon the aforementioned lands by [not work]ing them in the aforementioned time, I shall pay to you their rent,
29. <in accordance with> that which is written above, compulsorily and without delay. They, the two [aforementioned] people, say with one accord: 'All and everything which is ours together with that which we shall
30. acquire (is) the security of the right of the [aforementioned] lease.' We shall not be able to say: 'This is a lease which has changed (as to) year.'
31. We shall not be able to say: 'We have acted in accordance with everything aforementioned', while the aforementioned lease stands between us. One has a claim upon the other amongst us
32. to act in accordance with everything aforementioned, compulsorily and without delay. Written by Pe[tebastis], son of Amenneus.

Back

Notation

[A] lease which Petesukhos, son of Herieus made for Herakleides for 3 (arouras of) land (in) the temple-domain (of) Amun (seal) for the growth (of) year 16.

There follow the names of twelve witnesses, for which see the transliteration to the text.

Notes to Translation

1. The reading of the season as *šmw* is palaeographically more likely than *pr·t*, but *pr·t* cannot be excluded (see n. 1 to transliteration). The reading *h·t-sp 15 ibd-4 šmw* would mean that the lease was drawn up between 5 September and 4 October 190 BC.

Supporting, but not conclusive, arguments for *šmw* are offered by the 'duration clause' in line 12 *t·y h·t-sp 15 ibd-4 šmw š·c h·t-sp 16 ibd-3 šmw*, 'from year 15, Mesore, until year 16, Epeiph'. If *pr·t* is read in the dating protocol of line 1, then the instrument of lease would have been drawn up four months before it was due to come into operation. Although examples of such a procedure do exist (for example, P. Cairo 30613, where the lessee stipulates not to farm the land until the following year, although taxes are to be paid from the outset), it is more usual for the instrument to be drawn up roughly at the time that the period of leasing itself commences (roughly, because the period of leasing is linked to the inundation, and indicated not by a definite day or month in most cases, but by *n p·mw n h·t-sp X*), or afterwards (if it was recording an already existing state of affairs). The exception cited above appears to have been drawn up to note a loan rather than the leasing itself and, although it could be argued that the prepayment of rental acknowledged in the text studied here could have taken place well in advance of the period of leasing (i.e. in *ibd-4 pr·t*), this could just as easily have taken place in *ibd-4 šmw*. Prepayment of rental is typical of Fayyumic leasing transactions, as Hughes has shown, *JNES* 32 (1973), 152.

2. The Greek name which the demotic scribe transcribed as *Btr·* has only recently come to light, but is unfortunately not complete. It is to be found in PUG inv. DR 49, and is published by Pintaudi, *ZPE* 49 (1982), 67-8. Pintaudi (lines 8-9) reads Ποδ[τῆς Ἰππά]λου for the athlophoros of Berenike Euergetis, and notes that Pestman confirmed in a letter the reading *Btr·* in P. BM 10560, but was uncertain about the *B* (as was Clarysse in *PL Bat.* 24, but this doubt seems unnecessary; cf. n. 3 to transliteration). The transcription of π by *b* is rare in demotic names, but not unattested, and Clarysse, op. cit. 137, lists one instance

among the eponymous priests, the name Ἀρταπάτης being rendered in demotic once by *ʒrtʒbtw* and once by *ʒltbs*.

3. The bearer of the title *wlt* of the sacred ram of Amun is also a *wʿb n ʾImn-ipy*. The title occurs elsewhere on a stele in the University of Michigan Museum (Spiegelberg, *Neue Urkunden zum ägyptisches Tierkultus*, (SBAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1928/3), 11). This was erected by *wlt-w* from Naucratis, who were connected with the cult of Amun-Re, cf. Yoyotte, *RdE* 34 (1982-3), 133-5.

The translation is not known. De Cenival's 'Guardian' (*Enchoria* 7 (1977), 26 n. 23) is a logical equivalent, and certainly preferable to Spiegelberg's tentative but not acceptable arguments for 'Wollscherer'.

4. The ram, as Hughes, *Leases*, 92 n. 89, noted, is identified with Amun. In line 9 the leased land is described as [*n pʾ htp*]-*ntr* [*n*] *pʾ isw* and line 27 as (*n*) *pʾ htp-ntr n ʾImn*. The cult and temple of Amun at Philadelphia are also attested in Greek sources (cf. C. Roberts, T. C. Skeat, and A. D. Nock, *Harvard Theological Review* 29 (1936), 70-2; W. J. R. RübSam, *Götter und Kulte in Faijūm während der griechisch-römisch-byzantinischen Zeit* (Bonn, 1974), 140-1).

5. For the reading of *Nʾ-nh-w* see n. 7 to the transliteration. The identification of *Nʾ-nh-w* with Philadelphia is based upon P. BM 10750 line 4, *tmy-Sbk pʾ ʿwy (n) tʾ mr-sn nty iw-w dd n=f Nʾ-nh-w*, 'the Sobek town Philadelphia which is called *Nʾ-nh-w*' (published by H. S. Smith, *JEA* 44 (1958), 86-96). The toponym is also mentioned in P. BM 10789 (Shore, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 123 n. 8); in two unpublished papyri in Berlin (see n. 7 to transliteration); P. Michigan Inv. No. 4526 C1, 5 and C2, 5 (Nims, 'University of Michigan Demotic Papyri. Papyri from Philadelphia', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Division of Humanities, Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures, University of Chicago, 1937, 45-6 and *JEA* 33 (1947), 92); and in P. Loeb 40 and 53 (Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb* (München, 1931); Zauzich, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 151 fn. 7; following Zauzich's reconstruction, *Nʾ-nh-w* probably also stood in the missing part of P. Loeb 66). Although Zauzich is hesitant in equating the *Nʾ-nh-w* of the Loeb Papyri with Smith's *Tʾ-nh(t)* of P. BM 10750, the almost certain Philadelphian provenance of other Loeb papyri and the preferred reading of *Tʾ-nh(t)* as *Nʾ-nh-w* in other papyri makes the identification highly probable.



The most common demotic equivalent of Philadelphia (at least in published texts) is *pʾ ʿwy n tʾ mr-sn* (cf. Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs* (Leipzig, 1929; reprinted, Milano, 1977), 6 n. 7; Spiegelberg, *AfP* 10 (1932), 17; Pestman, *PL Bat.* 21 (1981) B, 501). In fact, there are a considerable number of demotic papyri from Philadelphia. Apart from the texts cited above and the texts from the Zenon archive, there are P. Michigan 4526 A1 and A2 (Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden, 1960), Urk. 4D and Z); P. Michigan 4526 B1, B2, 4200 and 4207 (all edited by Nims in his unpublished dissertation); P. Loeb 62 and P. Berlin 15558 (Zauzich in *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1974), 335-40); P. Loeb 34+67 (Zauzich, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 149-50); P. BM 10607 (Lüddeckens, op. cit. Urk. 30); P. BM 10616 (Glanville in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), 152-60; Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition* (Wiesbaden, 1968), Urk. 93 and 153); P. BM 10774A and B (unpublished, cf. H. S. Smith, *JEA* 44 (1958), 86 and Skeat, *JEA* 45 (1959), 75); and P. BM 10787, 10788, 10790, and 10791 (all unpublished, cf. Shore, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 122). Although as yet none of the contracting parties or the scribe of P. BM 10560 are known from the other Philadelphia papyri, chronological (the papyri all belong to the late third and early second centuries) and topographical considerations do suggest that there could be links, and that P. BM 10560 may have come from the same archive as some of the other Philadelphia papyri. On the notaries from Philadelphia cf. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition*, 215.

6. *Pr-ḥꜣt* appears to be a town or village reasonably close to Philadelphia, given that the same individual is the *wlt* of the Ram at both locations. Identification with the *Pꜣ-ḥꜣt-rsy* of P. dem. Lille 51 (cf. de Cenival, *Cautionnements démotiques*, 50-3; *Livre du Centenaire* (Le Caire, 1980), 196 n. 3) is not possible, for *Pꜣ-ḥꜣt-rsy* is in the Meris of Themistos and *Pr-ḥꜣt*, because of its proximity to Philadelphia, is in the Meris of Herakleidos. On place-names formed with the words *Pꜣ-ḥꜣt*, see Pestman, *PL Bat.* 19 (1978), 204.

7. *tꜣ shꜣt n Tꜣ-ꜥny* is also known from two of the demotic papyri in the Zenon archive (P. dem. Zenon 9, 6-7 and 10, x+3-4, Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Urkunden des Zenon-Archivs* (Leipzig, 1929; reprinted, Milano, 1977), 20 n. 6), where he describes it as 'eine Ortschaft im Faijum . . . die mir aber sonst nicht begegnet ist', evidently overlooking the instance in P. BM 10560 to which he had referred in his article on *Tierkultus* cited above, where he read (page 11) *tꜣ shꜣt n Tꜣ-ꜥt*. It is noticeable that in all these instances *Tꜣ-ꜥny* is preceded by *tꜣ shꜣt*, a term which is often found in toponyms in hieroglyphic texts (cf. D. Meeks, *Le Grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou* (Le Caire, 1972), 147 and index, 182), but does not appear to be as common in demotic texts. Meeks translates it by 'campagne', and says of it, 'celle-ci avait, semble-t-il, pour centre un village et ses champs'.

Pestman, from the evidence of the Zenon texts, suggests the equivalance of *Tꜣ-ꜥny* with the Greek village of Tanis (*PL Bat.* 21 (1981) B, 499). Tanis, like Philadelphia, is located in the Meris of Herakleidos, and the implication of the identification would be that the temple-domain of Amun at Philadelphia owned land to the south of Philadelphia in the *shꜣt* of Tanis (roughly 10 km to the south-west).

8. On the cult of Harmotnis at Philadelphia, cf. the inscription published by Spiegelberg (*Demotica* II (SBAW, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1928/2), 32-3), and on the popularity of names compounded with *Hr-mtn*, cf. Nims, 'University of Michigan Demotic Papyri', unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, 20-1; Thissen, *Aegyptus* 51 (1973); Clarysse in Crawford, Quaegebeur, and Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis* (= *Studia Hellenistica* 24) (Lovanii, 1980), 118-19, and most recently Yoyotte, *RdE* 34 (1982-3), 144-5. A study on the deity has been announced by Quaegebeur to appear in *CdE* (cf. *Enchoria* 4 (1974), 29 n. 59). A noticeable feature of P. BM 10560 is the extent of temple ownership of the land, with the northern and western boundaries of the plot being in the estates of Anubis and Harmotnis respectively.

9. The use of the word *grg* in leases has been the subject of a detailed investigation by Bresciani and Pestman (*P. Mil. Vogl.* III (1965), 174-5), who compare it with the Coptic Ⲅⲱⲣⲉ, and suggest that it may have the same meaning as *stbh* (ⲪⲧⲈⲬⲈⲓⲒ), a word commonly found in this context. *stbh* is usually translated by 'equipment', 'implement' or the like, and is encountered in the phrase *mtw=k mh=w n ih pr rmt stbh nb n wyc*, 'you are to fill them with cattle, seed-corn, men and every implement of farmer' (cf. K. Sethe and J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte* (Leipzig, 1920), 170, §41). In the three examples quoted by Bresciani and Pestman, all, incidentally, from the Fayyum, *grg* is employed in exactly the same position where other texts would have *mh=w n ih*, which suggests a similarity of meaning between the two phrases. It should be noted that they are never found together. The choice of determinatives of the word gives some further indications as to its meaning; that of an animal in P. Tebt. Botti I, 9, an object in P. Cairo 30631, 11, and money in P. Mil. Vogl. III dem. I, 7. This was also noted by the editors of the last text, who analysed the phrase *grg (n) rmt nmh* by 'fornire delle cose, degli animali o del denaro "da uomo libero"'. P. BM 10560 adds further weight to the discussion, for *grg*, occurring twice in adjacent lines, exhibits a different determinative on each occasion,  in line 11 and  in line 12. Context alone makes the possibility that these are two separate words unlikely, but there may be a slight change of nuance in the two usages. In line 11, where the word for cattle precedes *grg*, the determinative is that which is commonly used to

denote objects or things, but in line 12, where it stands alone, the determinative is that of an animal (cf. that of *ih* in line 11). Could it be that by changing the determinative the scribe was attempting to indicate that the cattle were part of the *grg*? He may have thought that because he had specifically referred to cattle in the previous line he ought to make it clear that they were still being considered. A change in determinative was perhaps more suitable than the repetition of the word. Such orthographic habits are certainly not unparalleled in demotic texts (cf. Pestman, *RdE* 25 (1973), 21–34), but whether such emphasis is intended in the three other examples is not possible to say; they may be better explained as the result of individual preferences, possibly influenced by the extensive encompassment of the word.

10. On this phrase, compare the remarks of Bresciani and Pestman, *op. cit.* 174–5, and the previous note. The significance of the emphasis on the agricultural items belonging to a *rmt nmh* was clearly discerned by E. Seidl, *Bodennutzung und Bodenpacht nach den demotischen Texten der Ptolemäerzeit* (Wien, 1973), 17, who points out that ‘ein Sklave, der das Feld zu bearbeiten hat, bekommt alles Ackergeräthe vom Herrn. Der Freie dagegen bringt es selber mit.’

11. For the reading of the ‘duration clause’, see n. 16 to transliteration. Other leases of land have either *n p; mw (n) h;·t-sp X š;·r (or r) h;·t-sp X + 1*, ‘from the inundation of year X until (that of) year X + 1’, if they come from Upper Egypt, or *n p; rt (n) h;·t-sp X + 1*, ‘for the crop of year X + 1’, if they come from the Fayyum (cf. Hughes, *Leases*, 81 n. 19, and Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsrechte*, 165–6, § 31). None of these, however, fixes the duration of the lease as firmly as line 12 does here, with the actual months being recorded. In O Ashmolean 31 (U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden der Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung* (Heidelberg, 1964), 30–1), there is a similar ‘duration clause’, but this is a three-month lease beginning around April, and which is obviously exceptional. Likewise a ‘Pachtzinsquittung’ from Gebelen, referred to by Sethe-Partsch, *Bürgschaftsrechte* 166, § 31, contains a clause reading *n p; mw n h;·t-sp 8·t r h;·t-sp 10·t ibd-2 šmw (?) crqy r rnp·t 2·t*, ‘from the water of year 8 until year 10, Payni (?), day 30, makes two years’. Sethe says that it was presented to him by Gardiner, but gives no further details. The fact that it is quoted as a ‘Pachtzinsquittung’ and not a lease suggests that it is not really pertinent to the discussion here.

A lease of land was based upon the agricultural year. Work began after the inundation subsided, and came to an end when the harvest was gathered and the rent and taxes paid. There was no need to specify the exact calendrical month that the lease would finish—the Nile would do this, and so an early or late inundation could easily be accommodated. Indeed, the vagueness of the lease is accounted for by the use of the term *mw*, ‘inundation’. In leases of liturgical days and houses, there is strict indication of the duration, with the day and month being recorded (e.g. P. Tor. Botti no. 36, 14–15), but this is what one would expect. The peculiarity of the text studied here in this respect is indicated by another of the Turin collection, P. Tor. Botti no. 25. This single papyrus bears three texts all concerned with the same people, of the same date, and by the same scribe. The first two (A and B) are leases of liturgical days and a house respectively, and contain a ‘duration clause’ which specifies year, month, and day. Part C, however, which records a lease of land, reads simply *n p; mw n h;·t-sp 9·t r h;·t-sp 10·t*.

One text that does deserve attention here is P. Turin 2133 (= P. Tor. Amenotes 17, cf. Pestman, *L'archivio di Amenotes figlio di Horos* (Milano, 1981)). Here the duration clause reads *ty h;·t-sp 53 ibd-1 h;·t r ibd-1 šmw [sw] [crqy r] [ibd] 9*. The papyrus bears all the characteristics of standard instruments of lease, but the anomaly in the ‘duration clause’ may be related in some way to the fact that it concerns land which was irrigated artificially (cf. line 11 [*mtw*]=*y di·t mw r·r=f*), while some of the land about it was *ty-mw* ‘inundated’ (cf. Pestman, *Amenotes*, 146 n. 11 and references therein). Although the land in question is on

q:y land, *q:y* is a term that frequently appears in other demotic instruments of lease with straightforward 'duration clauses' (cf., for example, P. Tor. Botti no. 43); also relevant here is P. BM 10230, line 4, which reads *shn=k n=y t:y=k dni:t (n) ḥ q:y n p; mw*, 'you have leased to me your share of *q:y* land in the water' (N. J. Reich, *Papyri juristischen Inhalts in hieratischer und demotischer Schrift aus dem British Museum* (Wien, 1914), 77-82; this text, despite Reich's pioneering efforts, is in need of re-editing, particularly in the light of the comments of Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos, *Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues*, I-III (Leiden, 1977) especially vol. II, 73-80 on the archive of Amenothēs ~ *Sylws*).

12. It is unusual that the term for delivery should consist of two months, although an identical expression is to be found in P. Turin 2133, line 18 (Pestman, *Amenothēs*, Text 17). The strict definition of the period of payment (other texts have *r-hn* or *š:rc*, 'up to' or 'until', followed by year, month, and often day) may have been inserted to avoid the danger of an unexpected delivery of perishable goods (cf. the discussion in Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 55, §46).

13. Both instances of *iw=y* are in error for *iw=k*, and have been translated accordingly. If the clause were not emended, it would mean that the lessor would have to pay a penalty to himself if the lessee was late with the rent.

14. Lines 18-20 present a notable crux in the interpretation of the text. Hughes gave a translation in *Leases*, 32, but was clearly, at the time, uncertain about the significance of the two artabas of wheat. He noted 'that the only connection between this paragraph and the rest of the lease' was 'in the phrase, "the one year above", that is the duration of the lease'. Hughes's translation of *mtw=y šsp=w n=k n ip:t* should be emended to read, 'I am to credit them to your account' (following Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 45; Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos, *Recueil*, vol. II, 47 n. q; G. Mattha in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (Vatican, 1941), 134 n. lines 5-6).

With this revised translation, Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 49 n. 8, suggested that the text recorded either a partial payment of rent in advance (a prodomatic lease) or the payment of earnest-money. Prepayment of rental is, as Hughes has observed (*Leases*, 31-4, and particularly *JNES* 32 (1973), 152), typical of Fayyumic leases, and it seems very probable that this is also the case here, although the usual phrase for prepayment of rental, *hd (n) ḥ:t p; hrw* (as, for example, in P. Cairo 30613, 13) is missing.

Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 95-6, observed that the formula *di=k n=y mn*, as is found here, appears to be used to acknowledge partial prepayment of rental, while *mḥ=k t=y* was used when the rent was advanced in full. Further examples of *di=k n=y mn* are needed to test the validity of this theory, but at the moment it certainly helps to make sense of a somewhat obscure section of the text.

15. There has been considerable discussion of late of *rc-wh;* (cf. Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 44-50; B. Menu, *CRIPÉL*, 4 (1976), 133-7; Pestman, Quaegebeur, and Vos, *Recueil*, vol. II, 39-41, 46-47; Pierce, *JEA* 69 (1983), 198-9; to the examples they have collected should now be added P. BM 10789 (Shore, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 121-4).

The basic meaning of the phrase focuses on the element of reclaiming, and Pierce translates it by 'claim' and Pestman by 'créance'. So, for example, in a contract dealing with a loan, the phrase reflects the acknowledgement of indebtedness and restoration, and in the 'Letters of Agreement' (*š:rt hn*) it reflects the fact that the *sh-db;-hd* and *sh-n-wy* are guarantee documents that only become the property of the creditor if the loan is not repaid.

This is not the place for a detailed discussion of the various ways of interpreting *rc-wh;*, but its implications in the context of P. BM 10560 do need examining. While the underlying concept of *rc-wh;* appears to be reclamation, this seems out of place in the context of prepayment of rental to the lessor (as Pierce, *Three Demotic Papyri*, 49 observed: 'the creditor may never have been paid back what he handed over'). The most satisfactory

solution appears to be to see *rc-whj* as an indicator of the prepayment of rental and, consequently, the provisory nature of it (although this would be purely hypothetical if the transaction went according to the terms of the contract). If the terms of the contract were not fulfilled, then *rc-whj* was presumably a safeguard for the lessee which ensured the return of his two artabas of wheat.

A further difficulty is presented in lines 19–20, where is written *mtw=k t'y·t=w mtw=y šsp=w n=k n ip·t*, 'you are to take them and I am to credit them to your account'. Having just acknowledged the receipt of the two artabas of wheat, the lessor is now saying that the lessee is to take them back, and that the lessor will credit them to the lessee's account. Perhaps *mtw=k t'y·t=w* should be emended to *mtw=y t'y·t=w*, which would yield much better sense, 'I am to take them and credit them to your account'.

16. On *nhm*, 'to hold back land', see Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut* (Oxford, 1934), 76 n. 15, who refers to P. Cairo 30613, 21, 30615, 22, and unpublished papyri in the British Museum (one of which is presumably P. BM 10560). To these can be added P. Cairo 31079, 20 and P. Michigan 4244 6C, line 5 (unpublished). Also cf. Mattha and Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West* (Cairo, 1975), column II, line 5. On *hwy r-bnr*, 'to cast out', cf. column I, lines 24 and 26, and Hughes's note on p. 69.

17. The statement *r p' šhn hc iw-t=n*, 'while the lease stands between us', implies that the document was not to be kept by either party. The significance of this will be discussed in the Commentary.

18. As it stands, the text has the lessor stating that he has a claim on the lessee to ensure that he acts in accordance with what has been stated. But what is it that has to be done? The suffix pronoun *-w* of *ir=w* must refer to the obligations specified in lines 11–18, the cultivation of the land and the payment of the rent and possible fine. Since that point, however, the text has been concerned with the duties of the lessor, and one would surely expect to find the 'statement of claim' on the lessee before this, doubtlessly at the end of the section concerned with his obligations. A possible solution to this problem is to emend *iw=y m-s'k* to *iw=k m-s'y*, the scribe having confused again the first and second persons (cf. nn. 13 and 15 to translation). The resultant clause would then refer to the obligations upon the lessor if the lessee was denied usufruct of the land.

Commentary

Of the many land leases in existence, the present example is undoubtedly one of the most impressive and unusual. It comes from Darb el Gerza (Philadelphia) and is concerned with the leasing of three arouras of land in the temple-domain of Amun in years 15–16 of Ptolemy V Epiphanes. The lessor is the addressor, and the lease, as is the custom in the Fayyum, is prodomatic (cf. n. 14 to translation). In lines 18–20 the prepayment of half the rental is acknowledged. The lease is to run for one year, and the lessee is to provide all the necessary farming equipment. He is to pay the rent at the rate of $1\frac{1}{3}$ artabas of wheat per aroura of land, which amounts to four artabas, and this is to be delivered in pure seed-corn to the lessor by the last day of Payni. If he is late with any of this, a *ῆμιολία* is to be charged. The lessor guarantees an impressive financial penalty if anyone tries to deprive the lessee of the land, and promises the security of his property if he does not act in accordance with the stipulations of the lease. Responsibility for the royal taxes is to be in the hands of the lessor.

Following this a short line is drawn, and the text continues with 'B afore-

mentioned says to A aforementioned'. There is a brief description of the land and a statement by the lessee that he will pay the rental, even if he leaves the land. The scribe then records a joint declaration of 'security of property', and an undertaking that the lease will be valid only for the one year of the 'duration clause'. Neither of the two contractors can deny the obligations of the contract 'while the aforementioned lease stands between them', and they have a claim on one another 'to act in accordance with everything aforementioned'. The papyrus is duly signed and witnessed, rolled, tied, and sealed (the seal was still attached), and a one-line notation is added lengthwise on the back containing a short description of the contents.

The bilaterality of a leasing transaction compared with the unilaterality of a demotic lease document was recognized and discussed by E. Revillout, *Rev. Eg.* 3 (1883), 128 ff., and in particular by Hughes, *Leases*, 23-7. The latter drew attention to the fact that an instrument of lease contains personal obligations on the part of the inactive party, and posed the question of how the lessee could prove his right to the use of the land. The problem arises because it seems clear that the document itself was kept by the lessor; the papyri frequently contain a statement by the lessee that he would not be able to say that he had paid the rental (or a similar declaration) 'while the aforementioned lease is in your (the lessor's) hand' (cf., for example, P. BM 10597, 13; P. BM 10230, 8). Furthermore, in P. BM 10496 (unpublished; Professor A. F. Shore kindly supplied me with notes on this text, which he intends to publish) the lessor actually says (lines 9-10) *mtw=tn hꜣꜣ pꜣ [ꜣh] r-hꜣꜣ mtw=y di't n=tn pꜣꜣy=tn shꜣn*, 'you are to leave the [field] and I am to give to you your lease'.

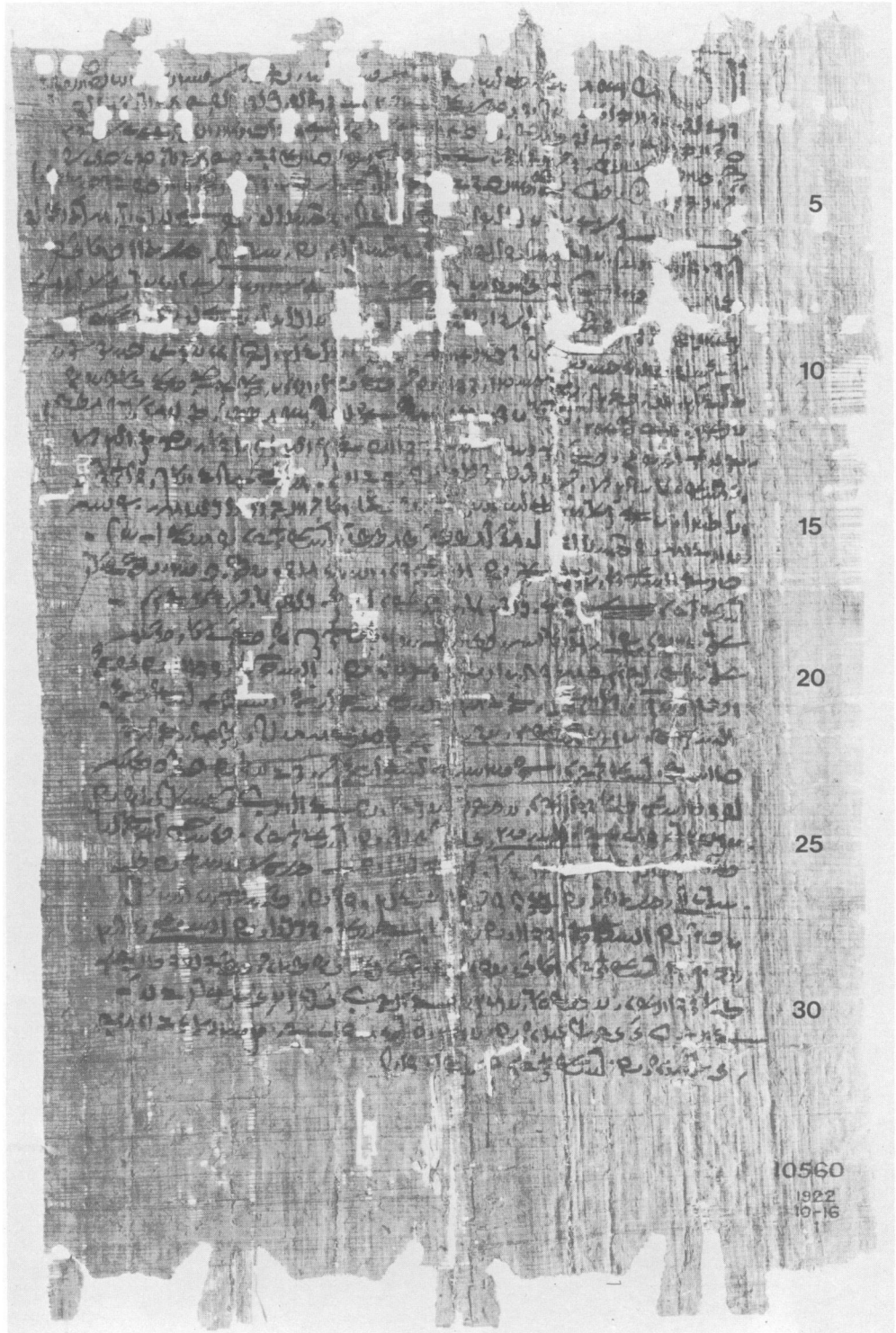
P. BM 10560, however, is certainly bilateral, containing statements, separated by a short line, by both lessor and lessee, and then a joint declaration. There is only one similar text, P. dem. Reinach 5, which was drawn up by the lessee, witnessed and registered, and then subscribed and accepted in Greek by the lessor. The problems which arise from P. BM 10560 were discussed by Hughes, *Leases*, 25-6, who noted that the document was bilateral, and that the seal and notation meant that it was not to be opened except in the case of dispute. Since it contained the declarations of both parties, it could hardly have been kept by only one of them, a fact aptly conveyed by the clause, 'we shall not be able to say, "we have acted in accordance with everything aforementioned"', while the aforementioned lease stands between us' (line 31).

This leads to the conclusion that the document must have been temporarily entrusted to a third party. Although there is no specific mention of an *ꜣrbꜣ* (the Greek *συγγραφοφύλαξ*), it seems highly likely that it was an *ꜣrbꜣ* who took care of the document until the expiration of the term of the transaction. The only texts known to the present writer in which an *ꜣrbꜣ* is mentioned have, like P. BM 10560, Philadelphia as their origin (P. Loeb 62/P. Berlin 15558, P. BM 10789, and P. Michigan 4200 and 4526 B1; cf. Nims, *AcOr* 25 (1960), 274; Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (Glückstadt, 1962), 58; Zauzich, *Festschrift Berlin*, 338 n. e). Pestman suggested that P. dem. Reinach 5 was also entrusted to an *ꜣrbꜣ*, although the term does not appear in the text. Since the papyrus comes from Akoris in the

Hermopolite nome, this would be an example in demotic outside Philadelphia. The reasons for presuming an *rbꜥ* have been convincingly put forward by Pestman (*PL Bat.* 22 (1982), 113–14 nn. t and u), who describes P. dem. Reinach 5 as both an instrument of lease and a receipt, as it acknowledges prepayment of part of the rental (and for one of the four years). That there are a number of features in common here between P. dem. Reinach 5 and P. BM 10560 is in line with other similarities between the leases from Akoris and the Fayyum (as Hughes, *Leases*, 81 n. 19, observed).

Addendum

The reading of the name of the scribe's father as *'Imn-izw* follows a suggestion from Clarysse, who intends to publish an article on the writings of this name in demotic texts.



P BM 10560

A DEMOTIC LAND LEASE



P BM 10560

A DEMOTIC LAND LEASE

FRANK FILCE LEEK

By D. M. DIXON

THE death of Mr Frank Filce Leek occurred on 26 January 1985, eleven days short of his eighty-second birthday. Born in London in 1903, he entered King's College Hospital Dental School in 1926 and qualified in 1930. Thereafter he had a brilliant career for many years as a dental surgeon in Lincoln and Hemel Hempstead. He was made an Honorary Member of the Dental Association of South Africa and the Sociedad Peruana de Ortodoncia.

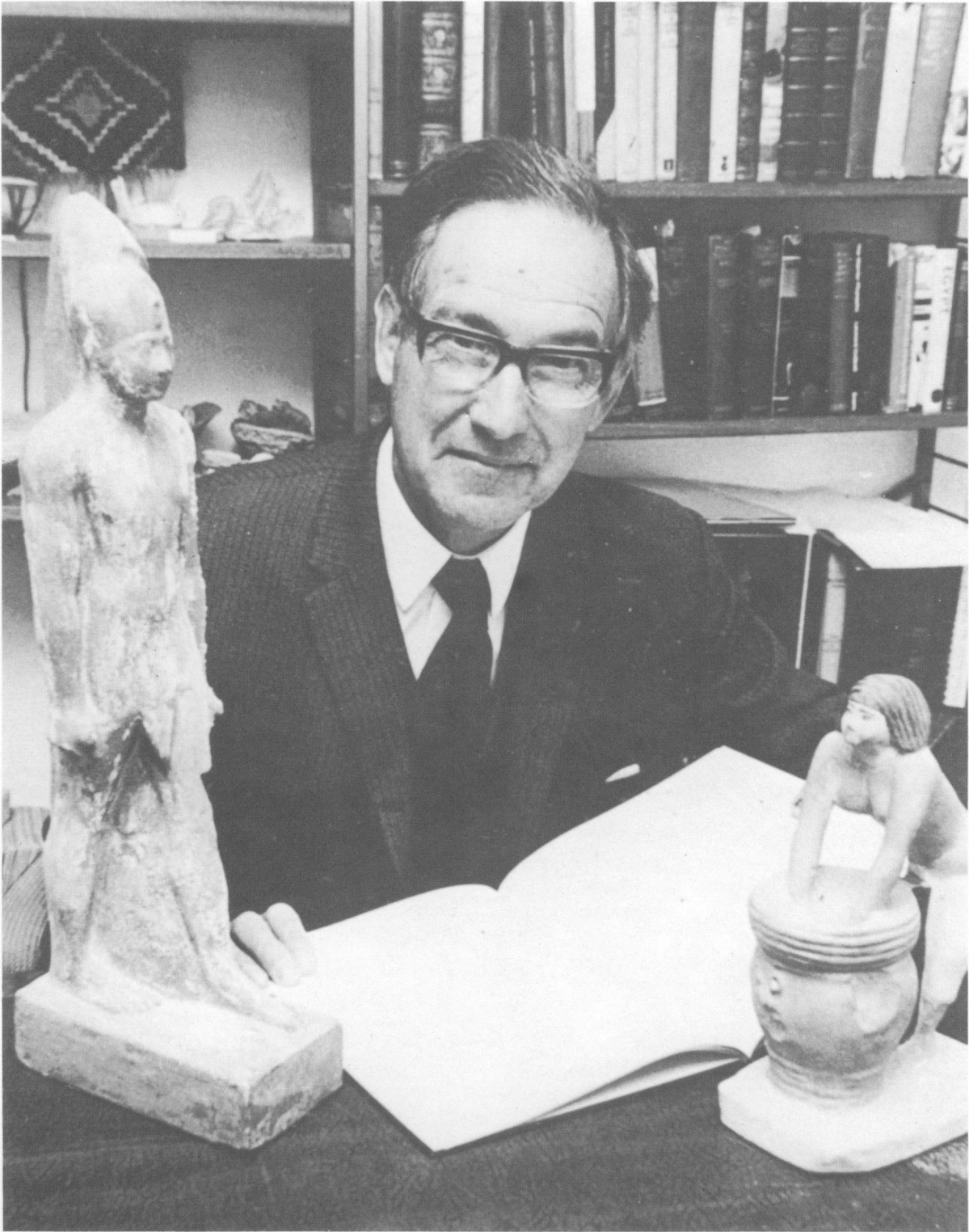
Frank Leek was a man of broad interests: travel, music, ornithology, horticulture, and the archaeology of Roman Britain. His Egyptological studies were concentrated on the dental history of the ancient Egyptians and related questions of diet and environment. In 1968 he assisted Professor R. G. Harrison of Liverpool University in the re-examination of the mummy of Tutankhamūn, a task which was undertaken in the tomb under somewhat trying circumstances.

From 1975 to the time of his death, Frank Leek was a member of the team based at Manchester University which is engaged in a detailed investigation of environment and disease in ancient Egypt based upon the examination of mummified human and animal remains. He also participated in a similar project undertaken at the Bristol City Museum.

For nearly twenty years, Frank Leek's spritely figure was well known at international conferences on palaeopathology, where his papers were invariably thought-provoking and sometimes controversial. Many of his foreign colleagues will gratefully recall the prompt help which he frequently and ungrudgingly gave in supplying information, and in reading and correcting drafts of books and papers—often at the expense of delaying his own work. He was much in demand in medical and Egyptological circles as a lecturer, and in the course of this work he travelled thousands of miles both in Britain and abroad.

Between 1963 and 1983, he and his wife visited Egypt many times. A man of great drive and enthusiasm, Frank Leek's energy would have put many a younger colleague to shame, for most of his Egyptological research was undertaken after his formal retirement from dental practice. From 1966 onwards he produced a steady stream of papers, many of which appeared in the *JEA*.

He became a member of the Egypt Exploration Society in 1963, and was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1966. An honour which gave him particular pleasure was his election in 1980 as an Honorary Member of the Swedish Academy of Medical Science.



FRANK FILCE LEEK
1903-1985

Bibliography of Frank Filce Leek**1966**

1. 'Observations on the Dental Pathology seen in Ancient Egyptian Skulls', *JEA* 52, 59-64, with plates 10-12.

1967

2. 'Reputed Early Egyptian Dental Operation. An Appraisal', in D. Brothwell and A. T. Sandison (eds.), *Diseases in Antiquity*, 702-5. Springfield, Illinois.
3. 'The Practice of Dentistry in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 53, 51-8, with plates 8-10.

1969

4. 'Did a Dental Profession Exist in Ancient Egypt?', *The Dental Delineator* (London), 20, no. 1, 18-21, with 4 illustrations.
5. 'The Problem of Brain Removal during Embalming by the Ancient Egyptians', *JEA* 55, 112-16, with plates 24-7.
6. 'A Technique for the Oral Examination of a Mummy', *X-Ray Focus* 9 (3), 5-9, reprinted in *JEA* 57 (1971), 105-9, with plates 28-30.

1972

7. *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn*. Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series 5, Oxford.
8. 'Bite, Attrition and Associated Oral Conditions as seen in Ancient Egyptian Skulls', *Journal of Human Evolution* 1, 289-95, with one table, reprinted in D. R. Brothwell and B. A. Chiarelli (eds.), *Population Biology of the Ancient Egyptians* (London and New York, 1973).
9. 'Further Specimens of Stored Product Insects found in Ancient Egyptian Tombs', (with P. R. Chadwick), *Journal of Stored Products Research* 8, 83-6.
10. 'Did a Dental Profession Exist in Ancient Egypt during the Third Millennium BC?', *Medical History* 16 (4), 404-6.
11. 'Teeth and Bread in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 58, 126-32, with plates 28-32.

1973

12. 'Further Studies Concerning Ancient Egyptian Bread', *JEA* 59, 199-204.

1976

13. 'An Ancient Egyptian Mummified Fish', *JEA* 62, 131-3, with plates 20-2.
14. 'Some Evidence of Bees and Honey in Ancient Egypt', *Bee World* 56, 141-8, 163.

1977

15. 'How Old was Tut'ankhamūn?', *JEA* 63, 112-15, with plate 19.

1978

16. 'Dental Health and Disease', in A. R. David (ed.), *Mysteries of the Mummies* (London), 148-59.
17. '*Eutropius Niloticus*', *JEA* 64, 121-2 with plates 19-21.

1979

18. 'The Dental History of the Manchester Mummies', in A. R. David (ed.), *The Manchester Museum Mummy Project. Multidisciplinary Research on Ancient Egyptian Mummified Remains* (Manchester), 65-77.

1980

19. 'A Third Millennium Dental Profession in Egypt: Fact or Fiction?', *Papers on Paleopathology Presented at the Third European Members Meeting of the Paleopathology Association (26-28 September)*, Caen, C12 (Abstract).
20. 'Observations on a Collection of Crania from the Mastabas of the Reign of Cheops at Giza', *JEA* 66, 36-45, with plates 4-5.

1981

21. 'Palaeodontology of the Nile Valley', *Paleopathology Newsletter*, no. 33, 9-12.
22. 'A Third Millennium Dental Profession in Egypt: Fact or Fiction?' in J. Dastugue (ed.), *Paleopathology Association, Third European Meeting—3^e Congrès Européen* (Ch. Corlet), Condé-sur-Noireau, 1981 (3rd European Meeting: Caen, 1980).

1982

23. 'The Palaeopathology of Skeletal Remains of some Relatives and Courtiers of the Pharaoh Cheops, c.2650 BC', *Papers on Paleopathology presented at the Fourth European Members Meeting (16-19 September 1982)*, Middleburg-Antwerpen. Paleopathology Association, Detroit, 7-8 (Abstract).

1983

24. (With P.-F. Puech and C. Serratrice), 'Tooth Wear as Observed in Ancient Egyptian Skulls', *Journal of Human Evolution* 12, 617-29.

1984

25. 'Case Histories of Egyptian Mummies unwrapped for study in England', *Papers on Paleopathology Presented at the Fifth European Members Meeting (3-4 September 1984)* (Siena). Paleopathology Association Detroit, 9 (Abstract).
26. 'Reisner's Collection of Human Remains from the Mastaba Tombs at Giza', *ZÄS* 111, 11-18.
27. 'Dental Problems during the Old Kingdom—Facts and Legends', in A. R. David and E. Tapp (eds.), *Evidence Embalmed. Modern Medicine and the Mummies of Ancient Egypt* (Manchester), 104-31, 164-5. (The scientific report on this work will appear in 1986.)

1985

28. Review of E. Strouhal and L. Vyhnánek, *Egyptian Mummies in Czechoslovak Collections* (Sborník Národního Muzea v Praze. Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, vol. xxxv B (1979), Prague, 1979), in Reviews Supplement to *JEA* 71, 11-12.
29. 'The Paleopathology of skeletal remains of some relatives and courtiers of the Pharaoh Cheops circa 2650 BC', in G. T. Haneveld and W. R. K. Perizonius (eds.), *Proceedings of the Paleopathology Association, 4th European Meeting* (B. V. Elinkwijk), Utrecht (4th European Meeting, Middleburg, 1982), 160-8.
30. 'The Dentition of St. Bees' Man', in *ibid.* 183-7.

1986

31. Review of E. Strouhal and J. Jungwirth, *Die anthropologische untersuchung der C-Gruppen und Pan-gräber Skelete aus Sayala, Agyptische-Nubien* (Vienna, 1984), *JEA* 72, 229.

At the time of his death Frank Leek was preparing a volume on the food and plant remains from the tomb of Tut^cankhamūn for the Griffith Institute's Tut^cankhamūn's Tomb Series. His material is now in the Griffith Institute. He also prepared a report on skulls from tombs at Giza, to appear in *ASAE*. An appreciation of Leek, by E. Tapp, appeared in the *Paleopathology Newsletter*, no. 50 (June, 1985), 4.

Addendum

Science in Egyptology, ed. A. R. David (Manchester, 1986), which is dedicated to the memory of F. Filce Leek, contains two papers given by him in 1979 and 1984 respectively: 'Dental Health and Disease in Ancient Egypt with Special Reference to the Manchester Mummies' (pp. 35-42).
'Cheops' Courtiers: Their Skeletal Remains' (pp. 183-99).

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1984
EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1984 BY
MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Edited by JANINE BOURRIAU

THE list includes 1981-2 acquisitions by the Merseyside County Museum of items given by the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

Predynastic

1-2. Black-topped pottery bowl and vase, University College 36277-8. From Hemamieh grave 2074. G. Brunton and G. Caton Thompson, *The Badarian Civilisation*, pl. xxxv, B18g2, B21b4.

3. Black-topped pottery jar, University College 36286. From Hemamieh Area 2000. Naqada I (?). Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xxxvi, B83b3.

4. Painted pottery jar, University College 36271. From Badari grave 3742. Naqada III. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xxxix, D26d.

5-6. Black-topped pottery jars, University College 36279, 36284. From Badari Area 3000/3. Cf. *ibid.*, pl. xxxvi, B62a5, B57a3.

7. Rough straw-tempered pottery jar, University College 36312. From Hierakonpolis grave 547. B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis Supplement*, 102.

8. Grey fish-tailed flint, University College 31469. From Diospolis Parva, grave U 318.

9. Copper pin with loop head, University College 31468. From Diospolis Parva.

Early Dynastic

10-11. Copper needle and fragment of slate dish, University College 36168-73. From Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, graves 329,500.

12-13. Copper needle and small ivory vase, University College 36175-6. From Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, grave 121.

14-17. Copper needle, bone rods, and tool, University College 36177, 36181-3. From Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, grave 135.

18-19. Flint blade and three lumps of red ochre, University College 36194-5. From Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, grave 506.

20-1. Copper needles, University College 36200-1. From Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, grave 760.

22. Copper needle, University College 36202. From Abydos, Tombs of the Courtiers, grave unknown.

23. Copper pin, University College 36174. From Abydos, Osireion.

24-8. Greywacke and slate vessel fragments, University College 38009-13. From Abydos, Royal Tombs.

Old Kingdom

29. Statuette of a sphinx, schist, inscribed with the name and titles of Merenre, National Museums of Scotland 1984.405 (pl. XV, 1, 4). Sixth Dynasty. Ex-Brownlow Collection. G. Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus II* (1875), 263 n. 1; *Christie's Sale Catalogue*, 11 July 1984, lot 176.

30. Wooden mallet head, University College 38024. From Deshasheh, tomb 86. Fifth Dynasty. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, 32.

31. Buff chert scraper, University College 35516. From Wadi Maghara mines in Sinai. Old Kingdom or earlier. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 161, cf. fig. 60 bottom row.

First Intermediate Period

32-3. String of shell beads and child's copper bracelet, University College 31471, 31466. From Diospolis Parva, graves W38 and Y248.

34. Ivory spatula, University College 31470. From Diospolis Parva.

Middle Kingdom

35. String of beads, University College 36205. From Harageh, tomb 92. Twelfth Dynasty.

36-7. Strings of beads, University College 31456, 31459. From Riqqeh, tombs B52 and A146. Twelfth Dynasty.

38-41. Green faience ring, string of beads and shells, University College 31457-8, 31450-1. From Riqqeh. Twelfth Dynasty.

42-3. Strings of carnelian and faience beads, University College 31472, 31478. From Diospolis Parva, graves Y189 and Y424. Twelfth Dynasty.

44-7. Strings of beads and a hedgehog amulet, University College 31473-4, 31477, 31479. From Diospolis Parva, Cemetery Y. Twelfth Dynasty.

48-50. Alabaster Kohl pots, University College 38015, 38018-19. From Abydos, tomb 18. Garstang excavations. Ex-Macgregor Collection, *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 1923, lot 996-7. Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

51-2. Diorite and basalt cosmetic palettes, University College 38022-3. From Abydos, tomb 416. Garstang Excavations. Ex-Macgregor Collection, *ibid.* lot 1549. Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.

53-4. Fragments of inscribed sandstone and greywacke, University College 35500-1. From Sinai, Temple. Twelfth Dynasty. Cf. Gardiner, *Inscriptions of Sinai* (1955), part ii, 15-16.

55-6. Fragments of faience cylinder beads, University College 35518-19. From Sinai, Wadi Maghara 'Fort' Hill, houses. Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 38-40.

57. Statuette of a dwarf, faience, Fitzwilliam Museum E 60.1984 (pl. XVI, 1). Twelfth Dynasty.

58. Limestone funerary stele of R(en)ef-Sonb. British Museum EA 69534 (pl. XVII, 1). Thirteenth Dynasty.

Second Intermediate Period

59. Lower half of a black granite dyad inscribed for Sobekemsaf (I or II) and the goddess Mut, British Museum EA 69536. Seventeenth Dynasty.

60-1. Green glazed steatite scarabs, University College 35447-8. From Sinai, Temple.

New Kingdom

62. Terracotta head of a camel (?), painted red, blue, and black, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.9. From Amarna.

63. Mould for an amulet showing a lute player, terracotta, Oriental Museum, Durham, 1984-16. From Amarna (?).
- 64-5. Bronze needles, University College, 36159-60. From Amarna, houses T.35.18, T.35.59. Frankfort and Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II, 82, 87, nos. 30/131, 30/220.
- 66-7. Bronze needles, University College 36161-2. From Amarna, North Suburb.
68. Copper needle, University College 36204. From Amarna, Petrie excavations 1891/2.
69. Terracotta mould for bezel with prenomen of Horemheb, University College 38029. From Memphis or Amarna.
- 70-4. Alabaster and anyhydrite Kohl pots, University College 38014, 38016-17, 38020-1. From Abydos tombs 399, 186, 516, 501, 499. Garstang excavations. Ex-Macgregor collection, *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue*, 1923, lots 997, 1000-1, 994. Gift of the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine.
75. String of bone and green faience barrel beads, University College 31463. From Riqqeh, C604. Engelbach, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, pl. xiv.
- 76-7. String of jasper and carnelian beads, and string of faience amulets, University College 31460-1. From Riqqeh, Cemetery C. *Ibid.*, pl. i, 10.
78. String of faience beads, University College 31462. From Riqqeh, Cemetery unknown.
79. Calcite rim sherd of small cup, University College 31465. From Diospolis Parva, Y152.
- 80-2. Fragments of faience ring bezels with the name of Amenophis III, University College 35457-9. From Sinai, Temple.
- 83-7. Fragments of scarabs and ring bezels with names of Seti I and Ramesses II, University College 35450, 35460, 35464, 35468-9. From Sinai, Temple.
88. Fragment of sandstone with cartouche of Ramesses II, University College 35499. From Sinai, Temple.
89. Faience plaque, probably naming Sethnakht, University College 35442. From Sinai, Temple.
- 90-6. Faience cartouche plaques of Seti I, Ramesses II, Merneptah, Tewosret, and Queen Nefertari, University College 35435-41. From Sinai, Temple. Cf. Petrie, *Researches*, fig. 155, 5.
- 97-141. Faience amulets, pendants, and beads, University College 35365-91, 35415-16, 35418-30, 35432. From Sinai, Temple. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 152-3.
- 142-59. Fragments of faience inlays, vases, ring bezels, and ear-plugs, University College 35362-4, 35431, 35455-6, 35461-3, 35465-75. From Sinai, Temple.
- 160-8. Plaques, scarabs and scaraboids, faience, and steatite, University College 35443-6, 35449, 35451-4. From Sinai, Temple.
- 169-76. Fragments of glass beads, vases, rods, University College 35476-82, 35486. From Sinai, Temple.
- 177-81. Fragments of inlay, and vases of obsidian, rock crystal, red jasper, calcite, and haematite, University College 35483-5, 35487, 35489. From Sinai, Temple.
- 182-6. Limestone plaque and fragments of pottery, University College 35488, 35495-8. From Sinai, Temple.
- 187-97. Flint blades, University College 35505-15. From Sinai, Wadi Maghara Mines. New Kingdom or earlier. Cf. Petrie, *Researches*, 160-1, fig. 60, top row.

198-201. Fragments of turquoise, malachite, and copper slag, University College 35520-3. From Sinai, Wadi Maghara Mines. New Kingdom or earlier. Cf. *ibid.* 51, 61.

202. Fragment of wooden knob inscribed for the Songstress of Amun, Adjetet-ꜣt, Ashmolean Museum 1984.44. From Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga' tomb 293. Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses IV.

203. Fragment of head of a royal shabti calcite. Possibly Amenophis II, Oriental Museum, Durham, 1983-13.

204-5. Faience shabtis of *Ns-t(i)-nb-tꜣwy* and *Dḥwty-m-ḥb*, Birmingham A.4-1984, A.1-1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.

206. Pottery jar, Egyptian imitation of Mycenaean stirrup jar, Fitzwilliam Museum E.5.1984. Eighteenth Dynasty. Cf. Bourriau, *Umm el Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley*, cat. no. 269.

207. Marble plaque, probably part of a statue base, depicting a prostrate Libyan prisoner, National Museums of Scotland 1984.404. Eighteenth Dynasty.

208-9. Faience ring bezels, with *ꜣnh-ḥprw-Rꜥ* and *mwt nsw Tiy*, Oriental Museum, Durham, 1983-31-2. Eighteenth Dynasty.

210. Scarab inscribed *Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ*, Birmingham A.56-1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.

211-14. Scarabs, Ashmolean Museum 1984.931-4. Second Intermediate Period-New Kingdom. Gift of Mrs M. E. Verrier.

215. Carnelian amulet in form of an axe, Merseyside County Museum 1982.320.18.

Third Intermediate Period

216. Painted linen shroud, University College 36209. Found in the Museum in association with cartonnage from Hawara. Twenty-first to Twenty-second Dynasty.

217. Wooden lid from an anthropoid coffin, University College 36213 (pl. XV, 3). Twenty-second Dynasty (?).

218. String of amulets, University College 38008. From Kafr Ammar.

219. Leopard's head pendant of blue frit incised with the prenomen of Piye, *Mn-ḥpr-Rꜥ* flanked by kneeling figures, Ashmolean Museum 1983.168 (pl. XV, 2, 5). Ex-Wellcome and Bethell Collections.

Late Period

220. Bronze needle, University College 36208. From Memphis.

221-3. Bronze fragments from tools or weapons, University College 31453-5. From Riqqeh. Later Period or earlier.

224. Lower part of a limestone statuette of Harpocrates seated on a throne, flanked by two lions, with traces of gilding, British Museum EA 69535 (pl. XVII, 2).

225. Miniature stela of Horus on the crocodiles, inscribed with a magic spell on the reverse, sides, and base, Ashmolean Museum 1983.184. Ex-Wellcome Collection.

226. Five fragments of papyrus inscribed in hieratic and containing part of the embalming ritual, Oriental Museum, Durham, 1983.11.

227-38. Faience and terracotta shabtis, Merseyside County Museum 1984.176.57-68. Transferred from Whitehaven Museum.

239. Fragment of faience shabti of Psamtek, Oriental Museum, Durham, 1984.21.

240-1. Faience Shabtis of *Iḥ-ms-nfr-šḥmt* and a *ḥm-nṯr Pth*, Birmingham Museum A.2-1984, A.5-1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.

- 242-3. Faience shabtis, Birmingham Museum A.3-1984, A.6-1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.
244. Faience rim fragment from a round pyxis with applied head of Bes, and three bands of decoration: stylized lotus, marguerites, and guilloche, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1984. Persian Period.
245. Faience rim sherd from hemispherical bowl, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.3.1984. Cf. H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art* (1898), fig. 173.
246. Statuette of the Apis bull, bronze, Fitzwilliam Museum, E.51-1984. From Saqqara, Sacred Animal Necropolis. Excavation No. H5-362.1034. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Society.
247. Upper part of bronze Isis and Horus figurine, Birmingham Museum A.7-1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.
248. Faience amulet of Mahes, Fitzwilliam Museum E.59-1984. Gift of Mrs Joan Dakin.
- 249-93. Faience and glass beads and amulets, including Horus, T3-weret, and double falcon amulets, Birmingham Museum A.8-51.1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.
- 294-6. Faience amulets (Isis suckling Horus, Shu and wedjat eye), Ashmolean Museum 1984.935-7. Gift of Mrs M. E. Verrier.
297. Faience wing from an amulet, University College 31449. From Riqqeh (?).
298. Bronze ear-ring with three glass beads, Birmingham Museum A.52-1984, Labelled 'found at Ekmeen' and 'Ex Myers Collection'. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.
- 299-301. Faience conical gaming pieces and bone dice, Birmingham Museum A.53-5.1984. Gift of Miss J. Pritty.

Ptolemaic Period

302. Fragment of demotic papyrus, British Museum EA 69530.
- 303-4. Fragments of demotic papyri with literary texts, British Museum EA 69531-2. Third century BC.
- 305-8. Demotic ostraca, Ashmolean Museum 1984.105-8. Gift of Manchester College.
309. Bronze bell with divine heads and symbols, British Museum EA 69537 (pl. XVII, 3). c.200 BC.
310. Small bronze situla, Fitzwilliam Museum E.52.1984. From Saqqara, Sacred Animal Necropolis. Excavation no. H5-470 1159. Gift of Egypt Exploration Society.
311. Faience rim sherd from hemispherical bowl, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1984. Cf. H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art* (1898), fig. 178.

Roman Period

- 312-13. Two fragments of sandstone relief, one with Meroitic inscription, Fitzwilliam Museum E.54-5.1984. From Qasr Ibrim, reused in Bosnian period, excavation no. 63/15 and 63/7. Gift of Egypt Exploration Society.
314. Basalt head of a man wearing a fillet, from a herm, Ashmolean Museum 1984.1141 (pl. XVI, 3). Late Ptolemaic-Roman period.
315. Wax encaustic portrait of a girl, University College 36215 (pl. XVI, 2). From Hawara, mummy no. 33. From group burial with nos. 34, 35. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis IV*, p. 8.
316. Fragment of breast of cartonnage, University College 36212. Possibly from Hawara.
317. Fragment of faience alabastron, decorated with a winged cupid, Fitzwilliam Museum E.4.1984.

318-19. Faience wasters and clay stilts, Ashmolean Museum 1984.1-2. Probably from the Memphis kilns. Gift of the executors of Mrs J. W. Crowfoot.

320-1. Terracotta statuettes of Harpocrates, and goddess with bird, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.109, 1981.2111.49.

322-5. Ivory relief plaques, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.31-4.

326-7. Strings of beads, faience, shell, carnelian, amber, and mother-of-pearl, University College 38007, 31452. From Kafr Ammar and Riqqeh.

Coptic Period

328-83. A Collection of hieratic, demotic, Greek, and Coptic papyri, including groups from Dimai, Medinet Ghurab, Meidum, Qurneh, and Saqqara, Ashmolean Museum 1984.49-104. Transferred from Griffith Institute. Late Period-Coptic Period.

384-5. Miniature coarse-ware pots and fragment of an inscribed Menas flask, Ashmolean Museum 1984.3-4. Gift of the executors of Mrs J. W. Crowfoot.

386-91. Pottery St Menas flasks, amphorae, and bowl, Merseyside County Museum 1981.1112.55, 1981.2111.28, 1981.1112.83-4, 89, 1981.2111.29. Fifth to seventh century AD.

392. Terracotta statuette of a bird-faced goddess, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.6. Sixth to seventh century AD.

393. Bone altar ornament, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.22.

Date Uncertain

394-8. Pieces of banded fossil wood, rock fragments, coral, charcoal, and bone, University College 35490-4. From Sinai, Temple.

399. Flint flake fragment, University College 35517. From Sinai, Wade Maghara, below inscription of Semerkhet.

400-6. Pottery amphorae, flask, and bowl. Merseyside County Museum 1981.1112.123-5, 179, 130, 1981.2111.7-8.

407-8. Anthropomorphic spouted jugs, Merseyside County Museum, 1981.2111.89-90.

409. Small pottery flask from near Alexandria, Merseyside County Museum, 1981.2111.30.

410-11. Terracotta birth figure and lamp, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.14, 24.

412-13. Gilt bronze foot covers, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.51-2.

414-17. Copper axe, bronze disc, stamp seal, silver and lead (?) seal ring, Merseyside County Museum 1981.2111.3, 5, 92, 94.

418-31. Carnelian, agate, and rock crystal amulets, Merseyside County Museum 1982.320.1-12, 14, 1981.2111.80.

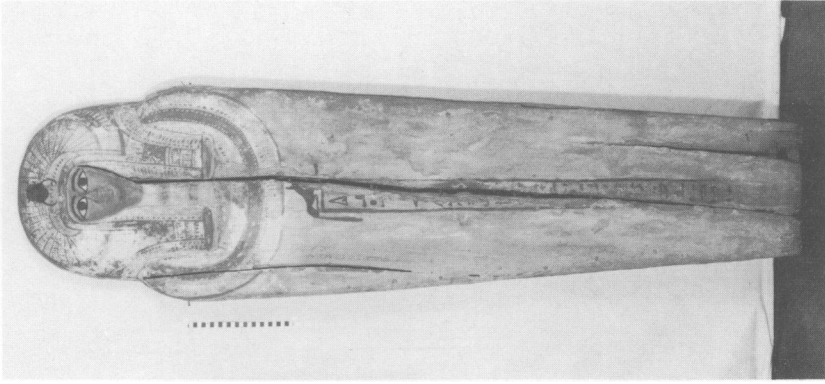
432. Agate amulet, Merseyside County Museum 1982.320.13.

433. Aragonite alabastron, Merseyside County Museum 1981.1112.120.

434-7. Bone and nummulites 'from the pyramids', 1984.176.69-70.



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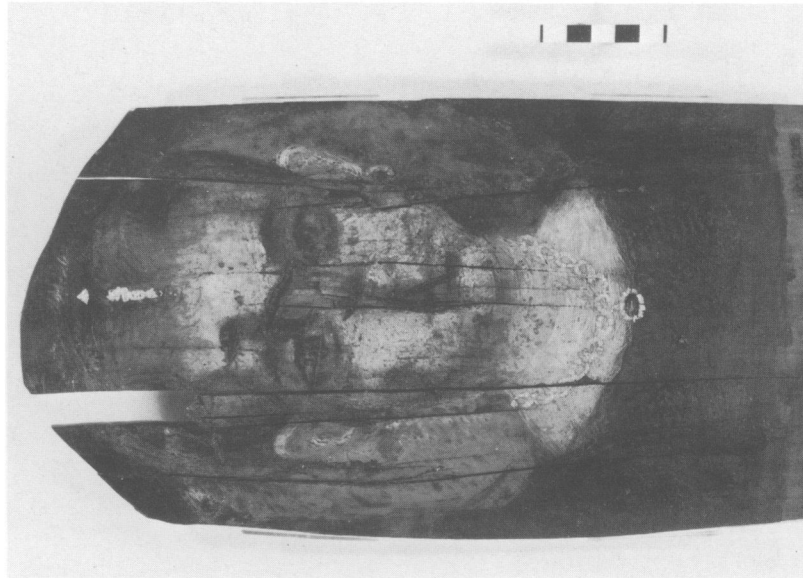
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MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS 1984

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

The phrase *šd dšr*, *šd m dšr* in boat-building scenes

It is suggested that the meaning of the phrase *šd (m) dšr* is 'hollowing out with an adze'.

THE phrase *šd dšr*, *šd m dšr* occurs on the Palermo stone¹ and in several Old Kingdom scenes² depicting the construction of wooden boats, but, owing to the damaged or obscure nature of the inscriptions, its exact meaning has remained unresolved.

The *Wörterbuch* (IV, 562, 15; V, 490, 15–18) simply states that the phrase is used 'als Ausdruck beim Schiffbau'. Schäfer,³ Naville,⁴ and Montet⁵ add little more than that the phrase describes 'l'ensemble des travaux' involved in the construction of a boat. Boreux⁶ and later Sethe⁷ thought that it was used specifically to describe the operation of caulking the seams of a boat, believing that *dšr* referred to the red clay employed in the process. Moussa and Altenmüller⁸ proposed the translation 'Herstellen eines *dšr*-bootes', regarding *dšr* as a type of boat, while more recently Darnell⁹ has translated 'to remove the red (from a vessel)', that is, the guide-lines made on a boat by stretching and then plucking a string impregnated with red ochre. These suggestions, however, remain inconclusive. First, even in Herodotus' day, caulking was done with papyrus¹⁰ while the evidence of the Khufu boat, from the same period as the phrase under consideration, demonstrates that on larger vessels caulking was rendered unnecessary by the use of long thin battens lashed over the seams between the planking.¹¹ Secondly, there is no evidence for a type of vessel known as a *dšr*-boat and it is obvious from the context that the legend is merely a contracted form of the fuller *šd m dšr š:bt*.¹² Lastly, one would naturally expect the activity, given such specific labelling in the accompanying legend, to be depicted in the relief. Yet nowhere in the scenes is either 'caulking' or 'removing the red' depicted; rather, groups of workmen are shown working with various tools on the completion of the boat.

The *Wörterbuch* (IV, 560 ff.) cites several meanings for the verb *šdi*, but the majority of these can be eliminated as inappropriate to the context of boat-building. One (IV, 563, 1), however, would appear to be suitable. This is *šdi* with the meaning 'to dig', often used in place of *š:d*, 'to dig, excavate, hollow-out', a sense wholly appropriate to a wood-working activity which one scene informs us was performed in the *whrt*, a carpenter's shop or

¹ H. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altaegyptischer Annalen* (Berlin, 1902), 15, no. 4; 27, no. 6; 30, nos. 2 and 3.

² W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London, 1892), p. xi (*mš: šd-dšrt m whrt*); pl. xxv (*šd m dšr*); G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 119 (*šdt m dšr*); *LD* II, pl. 63 (*mš: h'w'w hdt m dšr*); A. Moussa and H. Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977), 74 and Abb. 8 (*šdt m dšr š:bt*).

³ Op. cit. 30, n. 1.

⁴ *RT* 25 (1903), 75–6.

⁵ *Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, 333.

⁶ *Études de nautiques égyptienne* (Cairo, 1924–5), 75 n. 4 and 242–3.

⁷ *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* (Leipzig, 1928), (UGAA 10), 144 (38c); cf. L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'ashu-re'*, II (Leipzig, 1913), 78.

⁸ Op. cit. 74–5 and n. 277.

⁹ *GM* 83 (1984), 17–26.

¹⁰ C. Hude, *Historiae Herodoti*, I (Oxford, 1967), book II, para. 96, 8–9.

¹¹ N. Jenkins, *The Boat beneath the Pyramid* (London, 1980), 100, fig. 80, 3 and 103. Cf. also L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanhip in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), 15 and n. 27; 209 and nos. 38, 39.

¹² Cf. also Darnell, op. cit. 26 n. 39.

dockyard.¹ *Šd* with a wood determinative, perhaps describing the way in which the timber had been worked (that is, excavated or hollowed-out), is also used to describe two *šbt*-boats in the tomb of Mereruka.² If this meaning is accepted, then it would be logical to view the following *m* in the phrase as an *m* of instrument³ describing the agent with which the action was performed and the first part of the phrase could be translated 'cutting or hollowing-out with the/a *dšr*'. *Dšr* is written with the hieroglyphic sign which depicts a flamingo (*Phoenicopterus roseus*)⁴ and it was the customary association of this word with the colour red which led Boreux⁵ and others (erroneously I believe) to the conclusion that *dšr* must refer 'à l'ocre rouge, ou, en tant cas, à une substance minerale avec laquelle s'accomplissait l'opération appelée šdit ou ĥdit . . .' or to some other interpretation which explained this connection. If, however, we accept that *šdi* describes an act of cutting or hollowing-out, then the need to explain such a corollary disappears, and it would be reasonable to infer that *dšr* probably describes some kind of metallic, edged implement used in a wood-working context such as a carpentry shop or dockyard. What implement, then, could the word *dšr* describe? Among the customary range of tools (axe, chisel, saw, borer, drill, etc.)⁶ depicted in boat-building scenes, the most prominently displayed is the adze. Ancient Egyptian carpenters used two types: a small hand-held adze with short curved haft for finer work and a larger adze with a long straight haft wielded with two hands for heavier work.⁷ Hitherto, both have been described by the word *ꜥnt*.⁸ I would suggest, however, that, although the more general word *ꜥnt* could be applied to both, the latter could also be described by the word *dšr* or perhaps *dšr(t)*, if we accept the one example written with the feminine ending *-t*.⁹ The occurrence of the rare word *msht(yw)*¹⁰ to describe the long-hafted adze in a list of tools dating to the reign of Khafre^c proves, in itself, the existence of an alternative, perhaps more specific, name.¹¹ Also, it cannot be coincidental that this implement often figures prominently in boat-building scenes in close proximity to the phrase under consideration. Until the invention of the jack-plane the large adze was the implement *par excellence* of boat-building and was the principal tool used in the planing and smoothing of the large number of timbers required for such a task. It could, thus, easily have become the tool most characteristically associated in the Egyptian mind with the process, and consequently the

¹ For *šdi* with the meaning 'to hew out', see, e.g., A. De Buck, *CT* II, 403e; VII, 259b, and E. Naville, *Das Aegyptische Tottenbuch*, I, pl. 148, 2 (ch. 136 A); II, 348 (Aa). On *whrt* see, e.g., *Wb.* I, 355, 10, 11; W. K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II* (Boston, 1965), 17 ff.; D. Meeks, *Année lexicographique* 2 (1978), 105: 78. 1077.

² P. Duell, *The Mastaba of Mereruka* II (Chicago, 1938), pls. 149, 150; *Wb.* IV, 566, 10.

³ Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³ (Oxford, 1957), § 162, 7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 470, G. 27.

⁵ *Op. cit.* 75 n. 4.

⁶ On tools see H. Junker, *Giza* IV, 72 ff. and pl. ix; Simpson, *op. cit.* 26, 36; G. Jéquier, *Les Frises d'objets* (Cairo, 1921), 273–5; R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im alten Aegypten* (Wiesbaden, 1976).

⁷ Jéquier, *op. cit.* 274; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, v (Paris, 1969), 667 and n. 7; Drenkhahn, *op. cit.* 117 ff.

⁸ *Wb.* I, 187, 17; Jéquier, *op. cit.* 274–5. Drenkhahn (*op. cit.* 118) states that the usual word for adze was *ꜥnt*, more rarely *msht(yw)*.

⁹ Schäfer, *op. cit.* 27, no. 6.

¹⁰ Cf. W. S. Smith, *JEA* 19 (1933), pl. 24, p. 153 where *msht(yw)* is differentiated from *ꜥnt*. Cf. also *ASAE* 38 (1938), pl. 96, which clearly shows that the adze called *msht(yw)* had a long haft (= Drenkhahn, *op. cit.* 118, 1.8.3.3, II AR no. 17), while in an identical scene at Meir the short-hafted adze is clearly labelled *ꜥnt* (A. M. Blackman, *Meir*, IV, pl. xviii). For the use of the word *msht(yw)* in a religious context ('the Opening of the Mouth Ceremony'), see Drenkhahn, *op. cit.* 58 n. 7. Cf. also the adze-shaped implements used in the above ceremony: *nwt* and *nwꜥ*, *Wb.* II, 216, 1 and 222, 1.

¹¹ Petrie, *Medum*, pl. xi, pl. xxv. In the tombs of Ti and Ni-anh-Khnum (see above) the phrase *šdt m dšr* occurs as a general heading for the process of boat-building as a whole, although the long-hafted adze is depicted in both. The same implement is evident in the remaining scenes but there is no accompanying inscription, *LD* II, pl. 108 (*Hw-ns*); W. S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (OUP, 1946), pl. 49 (*Hwn-Rc*); S. Hassan, *Giza*, IV, 100, fig. 57 (*Šhm-kꜣ-Rc*).

one which came to be used in headings to describe the operation as a whole. It is also not without significance that the physical shape of the blade and haft of the large adze exactly correspond in their contours to the beak, head, and neck of the flamingo.¹ Such a visual similarity could hardly have gone unnoticed by so keenly observant a people as the ancient Egyptians. The word *ꜥnt* itself is clearly associated with its basic meaning of ‘claw, beak, talon’, while *msht(yw)* probably reflects the close similarity between its physical shape and the constellation of the Great Bear or Plough (similarly named) or vice versa. Such punning is common. For example, crane-headed sticks (or weapons) depicted in a relief in the tomb of *Ken-Amūn* are named after the bird they resemble.²

The absence of later examples of the word *dšr(t)* meaning long-hafted adze is easily explained. *msht(yw)* itself does not occur later, and it is probable that in the subsequent period both the short- and long-hafted adze came to be described by the single word *ꜥnt*. Moreover, boat-building scenes are only rarely included in the repertoire of tomb reliefs after the Old Kingdom and consequently the specialized phrase containing the word simultaneously disappears from view. To conclude, therefore, I believe, that the phrase should be read ‘digging or hollowing-out with the long-hafted (or *dšr(t)*) adze’ and the contracted form as ‘seeing the *dšr(t)*-adze hollowing (of a vessel) in the *whrt*’, and perhaps, on the Palermo stone, ‘the festival of the *dšr(t)*-adze hollowing of the boat’—a sense which is entirely consistent with the context and one which accords well with what is known about the brief descriptive nature of Egyptian legends accompanying tomb reliefs.


D. JONES

An inscribed mirror in Athens

Publication of an Old Kingdom mirror, which bears both the name and title of the priestess of Hathor for whom it was originally inscribed and a modern copy of an ancient Greek inscription.

IN The Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens, there is a previously unpublished inscribed mirror of unknown provenance (museum inventory no. 68) forming part of the Kanellopoulos collection of ancient Near Eastern and Greek art.³ Such inscribed Egyptian mirrors belong to a relatively small class, but what makes this example particularly interesting is that it bears texts in both Egyptian and Greek.

In form it is roughly circular with a short integral tang at its lower edge for insertion into a handle of some sort (see pl. XVIII, 1), having a maximum width of 0.173 m and a height (including tang) of 0.192 m. Although the mirror is slightly pitted and striated in places, it is in a good state of preservation, thus allowing the inscription to be read with little difficulty. At the base, above the tang, is a short hieroglyphic inscription reading from right to left, formed from roughly incised characters, as is usual with this category of object. A much longer inscription in Greek is inscribed around the upper part, being formed from a series of punch marks and terminating in a carefully executed scroll design.

The Egyptian inscription reads as follows:  *rht-nsw hm(t)-ntr Hwt-Hr Šhty* ‘King’s acquaintance, priestess of Hathor, Sekhty’, and thus lists the names and titles of the original owner. The name Sekhty does not seem to be attested elsewhere,

¹ Boreux (op. cit. 75 n. 4), although commenting upon the flamingo’s habit of sifting and digging with its beak while feeding, failed to make the connection between the bird’s profile when so engaged and the shape of the implement.

² N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes* (New York, 1930), pl. xviii; cf. *Wb.* v, 516, 5.

³ Thanks are due to Dr M. Brouskari, Director of the Kanellopoulos Museum, and Mr O. Picard, Director of L’École Française D’Athènes for permission to publish this mirror, and also to Professor A. F. Shore for his assistance and advice on several points.

but the series of titles found before it appears at Giza in the Sixth Dynasty,¹ and so the mirror may be dated to the late Old Kingdom or early First Intermediate Period. The titles *rḥt-nsw* and *ḥmt-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr* would seem to be the most standard ones found with female names on inscribed mirrors of this date. The known number of mirrors thus inscribed is now ten.²

The second inscription, in Greek, is most unusual on an Egyptian mirror and I am indebted to Mr P. M. Fraser for the following comments concerning it:

'The Greek inscription is a modern copy of the dedication *Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίων Διὶ Νάοι Καὶ Διώναι* which occurs on two bronze askoi from Dodona in the Carapanos Collection in the National Museum in Athens (cf. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses Ruines*, 2 vols., Paris, 1878). There is a confusion between the text and the plates in this publication (as Carapanos was aware), which needs to be explained to understand the origin of the modern forgery.

Carapanos, *op. cit.* p. 45, no. 16, carries on the inner rim of the vase the inscription as given above, but with *Νάον* in place of *Νάοι* and *Διώναι* instead of *Διώναι*. These errors are correctly reproduced on the facsimile in vol. ii, pl. xxv, no. 2. Carapanos no. 17 is a vase "tout à fait pareil au précédent", of which pl. xxv, no. 2, *ter*, shows only the inscribed rim, with the text *Ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέτα Μαχάτα Παρθαίων Διὶ Νάον Καὶ Διώναι*. However, Carapanos adds: "L'inscription de ce vase est correct aussi pour les mots *Νάοι* et *Διώναι*, dans lesquels l'inscription de l'autre contient une erreur du graveur antique. Le graveur moderne de la planche a reproduit ici par erreur la faute de vase précédent en gravant *Νάον* au lieu de *Νάοι*". (The version of the inscription in *SGDI*, 1371, is that of Carapanos no. 16).

The modern copy combines the error of vase no. 16, *Νάον*, with the correct *Διώναι* of no. 17. This can only indicate that, although the forger, the date of whose handiwork cannot be determined, may have seen one or other of the vases in the National Museum in Athens, he in any case copied the text from the erroneous reproduction on pl. xxv, *ter*. The lettering is a not unfaithful reproduction of the original, as reproduced on Carapanos' plate, with the punch mark forms, characteristic of Dodona, and the rather unexpected letter forms such as the theta horizontal stroke and pi with curved stroke. The scroll after the inscription is an embellishment by the forger.'

Hence, it may be seen that this late Old Kingdom mirror has been enhanced in modern times by the addition of the Greek inscription, probably to make it more attractive to the collector on the antiquities market. The Egyptian inscription is still noteworthy, however, due to the limited quantity of such inscribed mirrors from Egypt. The existence of a number of these mirrors bearing similar titles suggests they all had a related use of some sort in addition to, or apart from, their obvious cosmetic function. Exactly what this was can only be postulated due to the paucity of surviving information.

Although the provenances of most mirrors are unknown, their most likely sources are burials. Several have been found in both Upper and Lower Egyptian cemeteries³ where they form part of the tomb equipment of the deceased. The position of the mirror in burials varies, but it is frequently found near the face, beneath the head or in the hands of the

¹ Junker, *Giza IV*, fig. 11, 42.

² Cf. Adrienne Watson in *Orbis Aegyptiorum Speculum—Glimpses of Ancient Egypt; Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman*, 16; P. Kaplony, *Beschriftete Kleinfunde in der Sammlung Georges Michailidis Ergebnisse einer Bestandsaufnahme im Sommer 1968*, 25, pl. 14/25; Caroline Ellis, *JEA* 70 (1984), 139, and, for a detailed survey of mirrors, Christine Lilyquist's *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors from the Earliest Times through the Middle Kingdom*. For an analysis of the hereditary status and possible social benefits of these titles, see also Marianne Galvin, *JEA* 70 (1984), 42.

³ Constance Husson, *L'Offrande du miroir dans les temples Égyptiens de l'époque Gréco-Romaine*, 25 n. 12.



1. Kanellopoulous Mus. Athens, no. 68

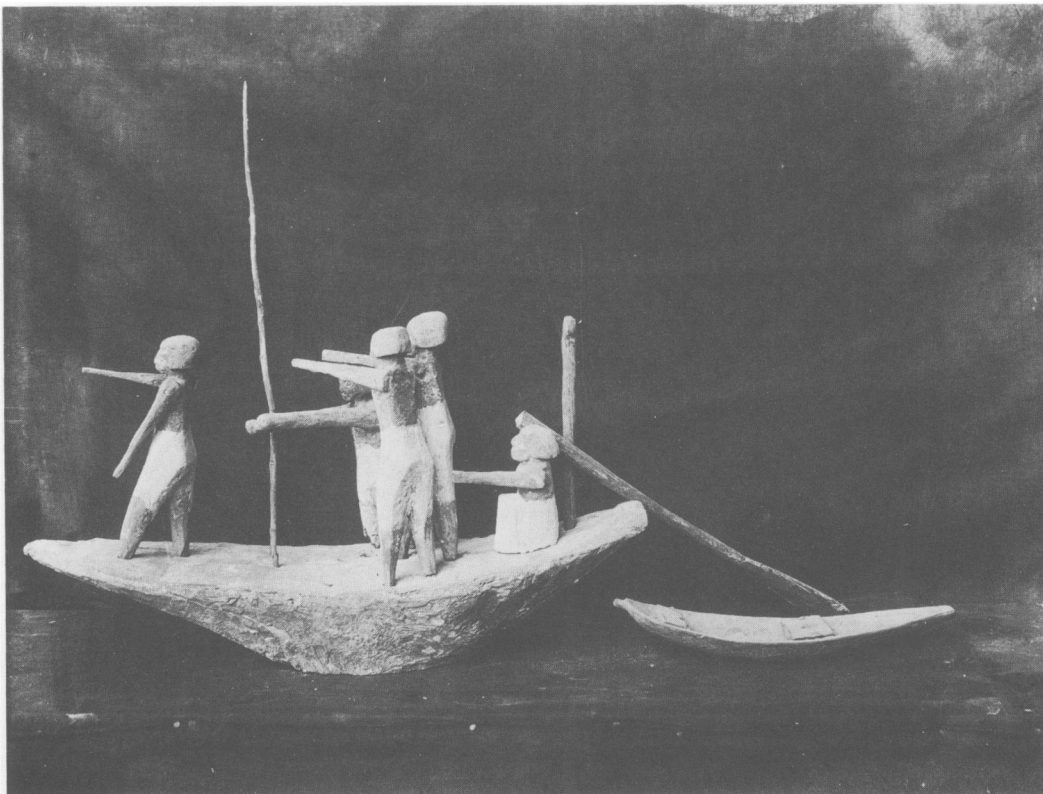
AN INSCRIBED MIRROR



2.

Courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey, The Oriental Institute, Luxor

AHMES SATAMON ONCE AGAIN



3. Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool, 55.82.17

AN UNUSUAL TYPE OF MODEL BOAT

deceased.¹ Its function in the tomb, other than its cosmetic value, could be of a symbolic nature in this funerary context. The Egyptian name for a mirror, *ꜥnh*, also meaning 'life', may thus have a double meaning in this context, conferring the state of 'existence' to the deceased. The ability to reflect an image also has associations of vitality, generation, and regeneration.

The recurrent title *hmt-ntr Hwt-Hr* suggests a common cultic use as well. Mirrors were presented to various divinities from the Old Kingdom onwards, as is shown by a scene on the walls of the chamber of Sesechet, priestess of Hathor, in the mastaba of Mererouka, where young girls raise up a mirror in honour of the goddess. This offering of mirrors to deities, especially Hathor, is also depicted in numerous Ptolemaic and Roman temple reliefs.² A Late Period text refers to a procession in honour of Isis where a similar act seems to occur, where women are said to carry mirrors which reflect the image of a statue of Isis placed at the rear of the procession.³ This supports the suggestion that the act of reflecting an image imbued it with some sort of vitality. Perhaps then these mirrors had this specific cultic function rather than a cosmetic one, and were suitably inscribed with the name and titles of their owners who may have been involved in associated rituals.

JULIAN G. BIRD

An unusual type of model boat

A new category of model boat is proposed, based on the Merseyside County Museum model Liv. 55.82.17 and a comparison with similar models and reliefs depicting small, working boats. Five distinctive features distinguish this class from other model boats, as realistic representations of small, shallow water craft for fishing and cargo conveyance.

THE rarity of purely utilitarian model boats, that is, those not primarily concerned with the transport of the mummy or the deceased owner to and from Abydos and Busiris, makes them particularly conspicuous when they come to light. One such model is no. 55.82.17 in the Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool (fig. 1).⁴ Accompanying it is a card from the Institute of Archaeology⁵ written in the hand of John Garstang, from whose 1902-4 Beni Hasan excavations the model originates. The card reads: 'Model pinnacle towed behind a large sailing ship now in the Rankin collection. Tomb 203.' The tomb inventory for 203⁶ numbers amongst its contents figures of men from a rowing boat and a sailing boat, and a model of a sailing boat which was allocated to the John Rankin collection. The photographic record,⁷ made when the tombs were cleared, includes two large model sailing boats, not located, one of which is accompanied by the Liverpool model (pl. XVIII, 3). Both these larger models are of a typical Middle Kingdom solid hull type, with crew, oars, and masts, commonly placed in tombs of the Twelfth Dynasty for a funerary or religious purpose.

The Liverpool model has five distinct features: it is small scale;⁸ it has a squared bow and a shallow, spoon-shaped hull; the interior is hollowed out; the stern has a forked rudder support. The internal furnishings of the model include an after thwart with a squared notch for the rudder stanchion and a forward thwart with a hole for the mast. Both stanchion and mast are missing. The interior and exterior of the model are painted a dark red.

Similar in type is the Ninth/Tenth Dynasty vessel from tomb 1729 at Sedment described by Petrie as 'A rare variety of boat model . . . (is) the skiff for fishing, very shallow, to work the

¹ Op. cit. 41 (n. 284).

² Op. cit. 61.

³ Constance Husson, *BIE* 37, fasc. i, 151.

⁴ I would like to thank Dr P. Bienkowski and Mr E. Southworth for permission to publish this model.

⁵ Now the School of Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool.

⁶ J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, 219.

⁷ Held in the School of Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool. Figure 2 appears by kind permission of Professor A. F. Shore.

⁸ L. 26.6 × w. 8.1 cm.

shoals . . .'.¹ The Sedment model, although larger than the Liverpool one, is still small scale,² has a shallow hull, and is hollowed out. On the other hand, the bow is not significantly squared, nor does the stern have the forked rudder support. The interior furnishings include six thwarts and a squared rudder stanchion notch, complete with stanchion and rudder. Petrie identified this craft as a fishing skiff on the basis of the nets and boom found within the model, along with ropes and a mast. This designation as a fishing skiff for working shallow waters would seem to be corroborated by an Old Kingdom scene from the tomb of Pepi-ankh at Meir,³ where a small, shallow draught vessel of a non-papyriform type is being used by two men to catch fish with hand-held nets and lines. The form of the vessel is not unlike the Sedment model, although it does not appear to have a mast.

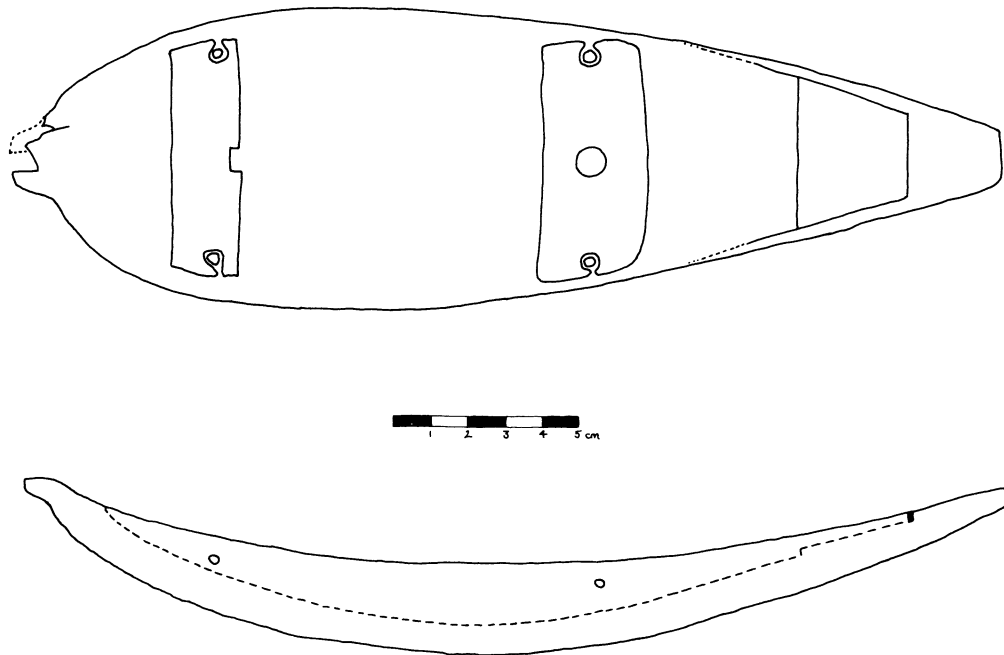


FIG. 1

Slightly smaller⁴ than the Sedment example, but fitting into the present category, is an unbaked clay model from Rizaqat (Cairo CG 4817).⁵ The hull is somewhat deeper than that of the Liverpool model and flattened in order to balance, but is still spoon-shaped. The interior of the hull is hollowed out, the bow is semi-squared. It has facilities for a mast in its forward thwart and a squared notch or hole for the rudder stanchion. This model, like that in Liverpool, is painted red. No details of its exact provenance or of the objects found with it are available, nor can it be accurately dated.

¹ Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment I*, 7, pl. xxvi, 10. B. Landström, *Ships of the Pharaohs*, 70, fig. 204. Where he states that it 'does not differ significantly from the round-bottomed craft of the Sixth Dynasty . . . , and only the rudder stanchion in the middle of the after thwart suggests a later date'.

² L. 47.5 cm.

³ Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Égyptienne V. I*, fig. 229, 2-3. A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir V*, pls. xxiv and xxviii.

⁴ L. 45.5 × w. 14 cm.

⁵ G. Reisner, *Models of ships and boats*, 21, pl. vi.

Possibly also belonging to this group of model boats is the damaged Eighteenth Dynasty vessel from Amarna (BM 55071),¹ found in the living area of type B house 12, along with other wooden objects. It is small,² shallow, and hollowed out, it has a squared bow, a blunted stern, and facilities for a mast, a rudder stanchion, and a single bladed rudder. A similar shaped craft, but of papyrus, is depicted in line fishing in the Old Kingdom tomb of Ti.³

The features which distinguish these model boats can also be seen in the larger, more conventional models of a funerary nature, such as the Meir model (Cairo CG 4888)⁴ and a vessel of unknown provenance (BM 35291).⁵ The former is of the hollowed-out type whilst the latter is solid hulled. Both are similar in appearance to the present category, but to neither can any purpose other than the conveyance of the mummy or the deceased owner safely be ascribed.

The type of boat represented by the Liverpool model has three possible uses. First, the First Intermediate Period tomb of Serfka(?)⁶ depicts a small, shallow draught vessel with squared bow and stern used to ferry the owner to his large sailing boat, much in the manner of a dinghy. A similar use is illustrated in the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Khnum-hetep at Beni Hasan,⁷ where cattle are being herded through shallow water. The dinghy motif is found again in the Twelfth Dynasty tomb of Sarenput I at Aswan,⁸ where a shallow two-man vessel is at the bow of a large rowing boat.

A scene from the tomb of Ipuy at Thebes⁹ depicts two square-bowed vessels with forked rudder supports, each containing five men engaged in net fishing. Both are made of wood planking, and have exaggerated upturned bows and sterns, probably due to artistic convention. The scene is, nevertheless, a unique depiction of fishing from wooden boats during the New Kingdom. As the Liverpool model does not contain any fishing tackle, this explanation is unlikely.

None of these illustrate the exact type of craft represented by the Liverpool model, although all are shallow water vessels. A scene from the Hatshepsut mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri¹⁰ would seem to provide a third, more plausible explanation of the purpose of our model. This shows several large cargo vessels loading up with the produce of Punt. One loading method uses planking to span the gap between the moored ships and the bank. The other employs a small, shallow-hulled craft with a squared bow and forked rudder support. The rudder is secured to the stanchion by a twisted rope. In the bows are two men with punting poles, whilst two others unload jars into the stern of the vessel, to which it is moored, stern to stern. Plate XVIII, 3 indicates that the Liverpool model was moored in the same way to its larger companion. If the photograph indicates the original relationship between the models, then the Liverpool model was not 'towed' as suggested by Garstang, nor does it have a funerary purpose.

Landström¹¹ states that cargo boats are not depicted in the Middle Kingdom, our evidence necessarily coming from the Old and New Kingdom. The types of vessels depicted closely resemble the Liverpool model, both on a large and small scale. The shape and design of the hull facilitates the easy navigation of shallow water. The squared bow,

¹ S. R. K. Glanville, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the BM*. II, *Wooden model boats*, 60, fig. 62, pl. xia. Peet and Woolley, *The City of Akhenaten I*, 74. ² L. 34.3 × w. 10.2 cm.

³ Vandier, op. cit., fig. 228, 3. H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*. II, *La Chapelle I*, pl. lxxxva.

⁴ Reisner, op. cit. 58-9, pl. xv.

⁵ Glanville, op. cit. 46, pl. ixa.

⁶ Vandier, op. cit., fig. 246. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said*, pl. v.

⁷ P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. xxix.

⁸ H. W. Müller, *Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches*, Abb. 12, b.

⁹ Landström, op. cit. 115, fig. 356. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes*, pl. xxx.

¹⁰ Landström, op. cit., fig. 372. E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari III*, pl. lxxii. Middle colonnade, south wall.

¹¹ Op. cit. 134.



1. Kanellopoulous Mus. Athens, no. 68

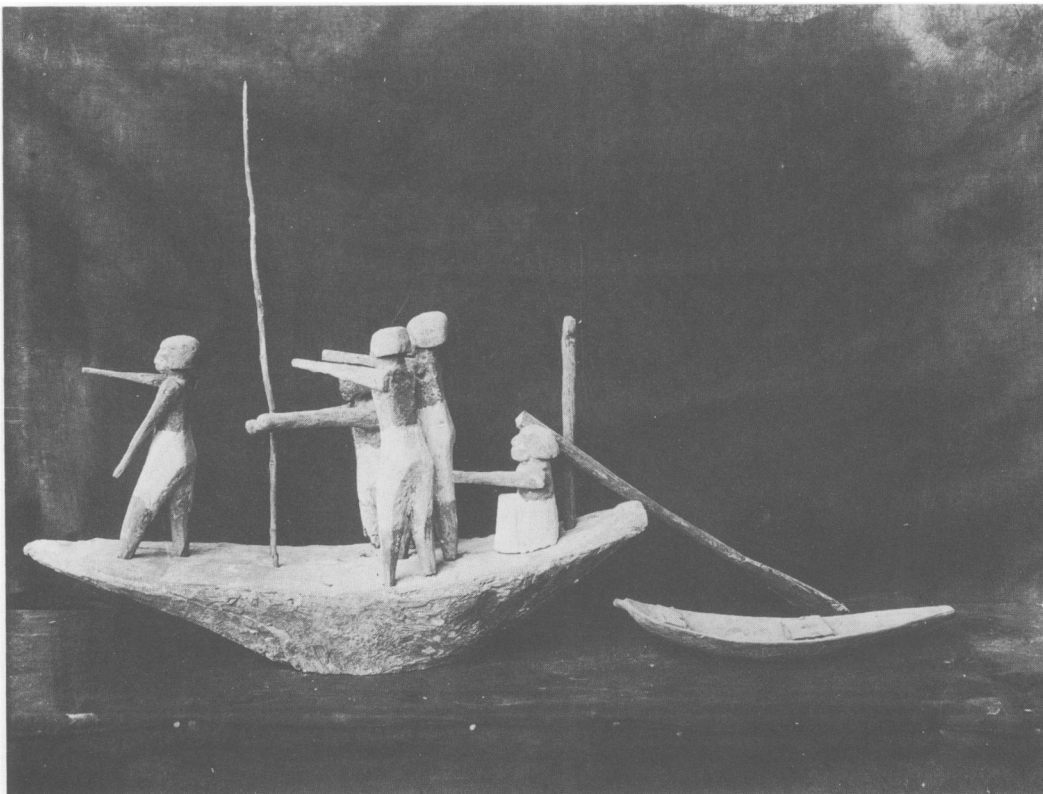
AN INSCRIBED MIRROR



2.

Courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey, The Oriental Institute, Luxor

AHMES SATAMON ONCE AGAIN



3. Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool, 55.82.17

AN UNUSUAL TYPE OF MODEL BOAT

being well above the water line, unlike modern day punts, may have served to make beaching easier, allowing a crew member to stand forward on the bow and so load from the banks,¹ whilst larger craft moored in deeper water required the planking method of loading. Proper quay facilities do not seem to have been in wide use before the New Kingdom.²

This category of model boat would seem to present a more realistic reflection of the type of working boats found on the Nile, than the corpus of model funerary boats. These working vessels can be traced in models and scenes from the Sixth to Eighteenth Dynasties. Such craft are subject to less schematization than their funerary counterparts, though no doubt serving their purpose for the deceased owner.

A. M. J. TOOLEY

Ahmes Satamon once again³

The statue of a New Kingdom princess at Karnak bears the names 'God's Wife Satamon, beloved of Amon' and 'Princess Ahmes Satamon'. The author wonders whether these are two different princesses.

A PHOTOGRAPH was recently published of the statue of a princess at the side of the colossus of Amenhotep I, on the south side of the eighth pylon at Karnak.⁴ To this photograph, made from a duplicate negative by the Oriental Institute, Chicago, was added a hand-copy of the inscription by Dr Lanny Bell and Dr W. J. Murnane.⁵ It is a pleasure now to be able to publish an enlarged photograph made from the original negative at Chicago House, Luxor (pl. XVIII, 2).

R. Tefnin found and published the upper part of this statue in the British Museum.⁶ The sign of the *s* bird became visible in the cartouche in the text on the side of the right leg 'sous lumière frissante'.⁷ This proves beyond any doubt that the name of the princess in this cartouche is Satamon—'Wife of the god, Satamon, beloved of Amon . . .'—and consequently a princess still alive, whereas the Oriental Institute photograph makes it clear that in the text on the side of the left leg the name is Ahmes Satamon, justified. Although this name is not found elsewhere, it may be that the epithet 'justified' indicates that this princess was a different person from the princess Satamon, beloved of Amon.

M. Gitton proclaims the princess of this statue to be beyond doubt Ahmes Merytamon,⁸ but the photographs of Tefnin and the Oriental Institute make it clear that the cartouches are those of Satamon and Ahmes Satamon.⁹ As there could have been two queens, Ahmes

¹ Thanks are due to Mr J. Eames for his helpful suggestions on this matter.

² Kemp and O'Connor, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 3 (1974), 101-36.

³ I should like to express my grateful thanks to the Oriental Institute, Chicago, for allowing me to publish the enlargement of the photograph, and in particular to the Staff Photographer of the Epigraphic Survey, Susan Lezon. My very special thanks are due to Mr Ara Boyadjian, who was kind enough to take over the task of publication. I am very grateful to Mrs M. van Alphen-Walsh for correcting my English.

⁴ C. Blankenberg-van Delden, *GM* 68 (1983), 37-42, fig. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fig. 2.

⁶ *JEA* 69 (1983), 96-107 (cf. in particular p. 104), pls. viii-x.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. x, 2.

⁸ M. Gitton, *Les Divines épouses de la 18e dynastie* (1984), 51, 4.

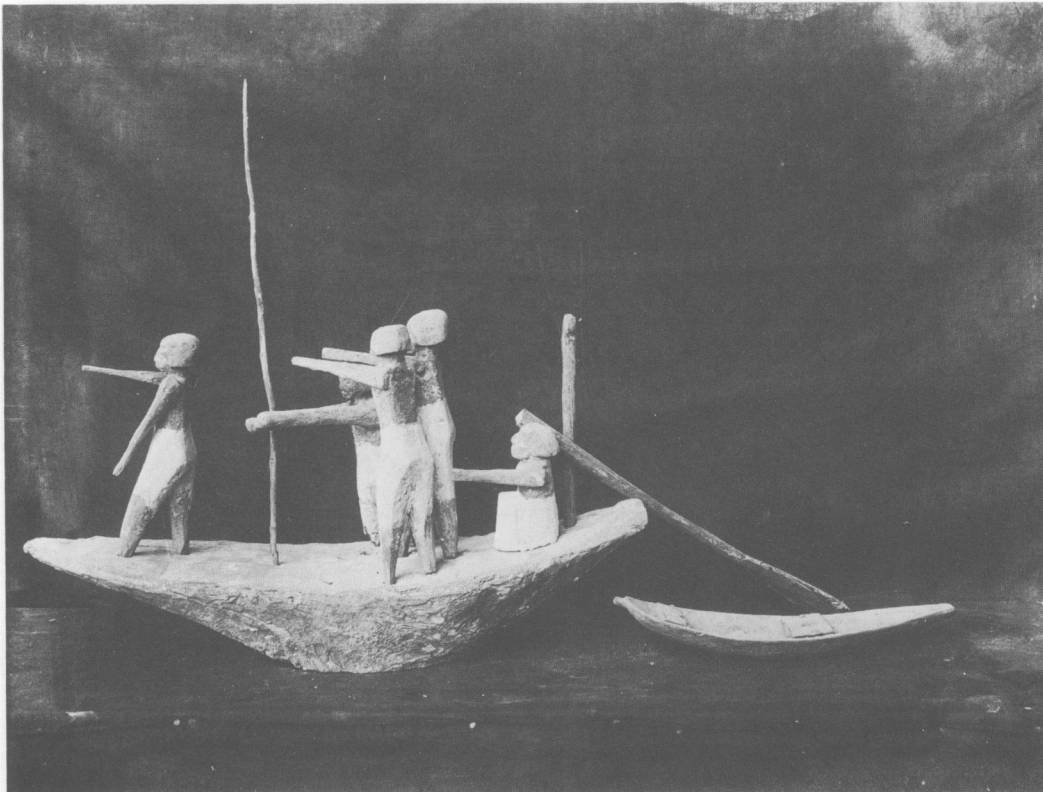
⁹ Blankenberg-van Delden, *op. cit.* 37-41. Gitton erroneously states on page 51 that my reference to the *s*-bird is to the cartouche of his text 'B', i.e. the text on the side of the right leg, while in fact I referred to the cartouche in his text 'A' (the left leg). Tefnin's article was not then known to me, as this volume appeared somewhat later than *GM* 68. Therefore, I came to the conclusion that the name in the other cartouche could only be Satamon or Merytamon.



1. Kanellopoulous Mus. Athens, no. 68
AN INSCRIBED MIRROR



2.
Courtesy of the Epigraphic Survey, The Oriental Institute, Luxor
AHMES SATAMON ONCE AGAIN



3. Merseyside County Museum, Liverpool, 55.82.17
AN UNUSUAL TYPE OF MODEL BOAT

Merytamon ((a) Wilkinson's manuscript text;¹ (b) the Florence fragment²) and Merytamon (Deir el-Bahari tomb no. 358),³ why could there not be two princesses, Ahmes Satamon and Satamon?

C. BLANKENBERG-VAN DELDEN

The site of the wild bull-hunt of Amenophis III

The toponym *Štp*, found on the wild bull-hunt scarabs, is identified with the well-attested name of the metropolis of the Wadi el-Natron, *Štp.t*. Implications for the court residence are also discussed.

IN his second regnal year, King Amenophis III issued a well-known series of scarabs to record his personal capture of ninety-six wild bulls on the desert (*ḥꜣs.t*) of the district (*w*) of *Štp* (𓂏𓂏𓂏 var. 𓂏𓂏𓂏). Long a source of dispute, Newberry's original reading of the site as *Štp* has recently found confirmation in the very thorough study by C. Blankenberg-van Delden of the commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III.⁴

Although the reading may now be considered established, no secure identification for *Štp* has been forthcoming, and older suggestions (Wadi Qena, the Fayum, the Delta) are simply guesses based on geographic likelihood and the presumed point of departure of the expedition.⁵ It is possible, however, to pinpoint the site with far greater accuracy, for the writing *Štp* found on the scarabs is but a variant of the well-attested name of the metropolis of the Wadi el-Natron, *Štp.t* 𓂏𓂏𓂏 (> LE *Šrp.t* 𓂏𓂏𓂏).⁶ The absence of the final, silent *-t* is unremarkable, and the determinatives of water and desert correspond perfectly to a desert wadi, as does the designation of the area as a district containing desert land.⁷ Since it is known that the climatic conditions of the western desert were far more hospitable to wildlife in antiquity than at present, it is not at all unlikely that the territory about the wadi could have supported the herd of 170 wild bulls recorded on the scarab.⁸

The localization of *Štp* in the Wadi el-Natron has implications for the site of the court residence as well. Since the king was able to reach the district of *Štp* in a single day's outing, an evening sail downstream (*ḥd*) followed by an excursion by horse, the court must have been in residence not far to the south. Thebes would thus be obviously excluded, and a western Delta or Memphite location likely. The expedition could have sailed down the Rosetta branch of the Nile to a disembarkation point between Terenuthis and Merimde Beni

¹ Blankenberg-van Delden, *GM* 47 (1981), 15 n. 1 (photograph of Wilkinson's hitherto unpublished inscription of Queen Ahmes Merytamon in his manuscript); *GM* 54 (1982), 31-2, 45, fig. 1 (the same); *PM* 1², 834; Gitton, op. cit. 51 n. 37 bis. In my articles I pointed out that the titles of Ahmes Merytamon were preceded by *ḏd mdw n* only in Wilkinson's manuscript text on a coffin and nowhere else, not even in Wilkinson's *Materia Hieroglyphica* II (1831), pl. v, 1, or in books referring to Wilkinson. It goes without saying that Gitton is correct that this inscription could as well be on a canopic box, but this does not alter my argument.

² Blankenberg-van Delden, *GM* 61 (1983), 13-16 and fig. 1.

³ Id., *GM* 54 (1982), 33-4.

⁴ See P. Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs* (London, 1905), 173-5 and pl. xxxi, 1, and C. Blankenberg-van Delden, *The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III* (Leiden, 1969), 13-14, 17, 57-61, 189 and pl. x. Only four exemplars of the text are known. For the reading *Štp*, see the comments by T. G. H. James on scarab BM 55585 in Blankenberg-van Delden, *ibid.* 13.

⁵ For the uncertain location of *Štp*, see Blankenberg-van Delden, *ibid.* 13, and the remarks of G. T. Martin in his review of this volume in *JEA* 58 (1972), 317. Previous suggestions for the site of the bull-hunt are discussed in Blankenberg-van Delden, *ibid.* 13-14.

⁶ See *Wb.* IV, 550 15 *Št-pt*; Gauthier, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, v, 117 *Št-p.t* and 143 *Šrp.t*; Gardiner, *AEO* II, 112* *Šrp.t*; *PM* VII, 317 *Šrp*.

⁷ For the *gebel* 'hill country, desert' of the Wadi el-Natron, see H. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'N Natrûn* (New York, 1932), 21.

⁸ Cf. the remarks of Newberry, op. cit. 175, and the mention of leopard skins and wolf hides among the produce of the Wadi el-Natron in 'The Eloquent Peasant', 14-15.

Salama, from which a short overland journey would have brought the party to the outlying *gebel* of the district of the Wadi el-Natrun.¹

ROBERT K. RITNER

L'Administration locale à la lumière du décret du roi Horemheb

The local *qnbt* councils, as reorganized in the decree of Horemheb, are argued to have had administrative as well as judicial responsibilities.

Le décret du roi Horemheb comporte entre autres un passage relatif à l'organisation de l'appareil administratif du pays. C'est d'ailleurs la partie la mieux conservée du texte (*Urk.* IV, 2155, 9–2157, 19). Selon la *communis opinio* cependant (voir en dernier lieu Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb*, 148 svv.) il s'agirait d'une disposition royale en matière judiciaire (concernant les tribunaux locaux, constitués par ecclésiastiques et laïques). Apparemment cette opinion se fondait surtout sur l'emploi fréquent du vocable *qnbt* à travers la proclamation royale. Mais cette façon de voir serait à réviser.

En regardant de près le passage en question, nous constatons qu'il est nettement axé sur deux préoccupations principales du roi. La première transparaît dans son discours, quand le souverain dit qu'il recherchait dans son entourage les fonctionnaires de son appareil administratif et qu'à cet effet il a choisi des gens compétents. Nous apprenons par la suite que le souverain a installé ces gens dans les deux métropoles de Haute et Basse Égypte 'pour administrer les deux pays' (*r wḏr t:wy*) (*Urk.* IV, 2156, 1) et qu'à cette fin il 'les a chargés des directives et des lois consignées par écrit' (ibid. 6).

Quant à la deuxième préoccupation, elle porte sur les conseils locaux (*qnbt*). Il y est question, d'abord, de la suppression d'un paiement concernant ces conseils. Après quoi, le roi menace de la peine capitale 'quiconque bourgmestre ou prêtre dont on entendrait dire qu'afin d'exécuter une mission (*irt wp*) il siège au sein d'un conseil désigné pour décider (des affaires), (mais) en y commettant une injustice contraire à l'équité' (ibid. 2157, 1–5). Ceci dit, le monarque reconnaît finalement que prêtres et bourgmestres 'formeront tout conseil, comme ils voudront, pour administrer (*wḏr*) tous les habitants' (ibid. 12–13).²

Dans son étude relative à la justice, Lurje (*Studien zum altägyptischen Recht*, 61) fut amené par plusieurs textes à la conclusion que l'institution appelée *qnbt* ne représentait point un organe exclusivement judiciaire. Il s'agissait plutôt d'un conseil administratif, dont les membres se recrutaient parmi les personnages haut placés dans la société de leur localité (par exemple les fonctionnaires locaux). Ce conseil avait avant toute chose à assurer la marche des affaires courantes dans sa localité (par exemple le système de l'irrigation); il avait également à juger les litiges entre les habitants. (Pour le cas exceptionnel à Deir-el-Médineh voir Allam, *Das Verfahrensrecht* . . ., 26.) Et comme les notables constituaient un conseil (*qnbt*) dans leur localité, le personnel d'un temple était autorisé à faire de même sur son territoire, y compris la juridiction pour les habitants attachés à sa communauté (voir *LÄ* II, 548, sv. et *ZÄS* 101 (1974), 1 svv.).³ La compétence d'un conseil (*qnbt*) englobait donc administration et juridiction. Cette observation judicieuse nous paraît confirmée par le fait que la séparation des pouvoirs pour qu'un tribunal ait fonctionné indépendamment, n'existait certainement pas à cette époque. Par conséquent, la juridiction faisait forcément partie du ressort administratif.⁴

Somme toute, la prescription du roi Horemheb viserait un champ beaucoup plus étendu

¹ An alternate medieval caravan route left the Nile from Fustat, see Evelyn White, op. cit., pl. 1.

² Van Den Boorn, *JNES* 44 (1985), 9 svv. prend *wḏr* au sens de 'rendre la justice', ce qui me paraît incompatible avec le contexte.

³ Cf. Ray, *The Archive of Hor*, 144.

⁴ Cf. Edgerton, *JNES* 6 (1974), 155 svv. et Hayes, *Late Middle Kingdom Papyrus*, 69.

qu'on ne le concevait jusqu'à présent. Il ne s'agirait pas seulement de la justice, ni de la constitution de tribunaux, mais de l'administration locale en particulier: à part des fonctionnaires choisis par le souverain et installés dans les métropoles, prêtres et notables sont autorisés à constituer des conseils à travers le pays.

S. ALLAM

An ancient toponym for el-Shaghâmba?

The author discusses the text on an alabaster vase bought at el-Shaghâmba in the Eastern Delta. A facsimile copy and photograph accompany a discussion of possible alternatives for the interpretation of a toponym found in the inscription, which is probably to be read *P3-rsbi*.

DURING the winter of 1984-5 the Liverpool University Delta Survey carried out its second season of field-work in the eastern Nile Delta.¹ One of the sites investigated was el-Shaghâmba (also known as Tell Miniet Habib) which is situated six kilometres to the north-west of Bilbeis. The Egyptian Research Account had carried out some soundings there in 1906, the excavations there being directed for Petrie by J. Garrow Duncan.² El-Shaghâmba seems to have been a fortified settlement which was provided with large grain-stores; Garrow Duncan records that the site was also known locally as 'The Pits of Joseph'.³

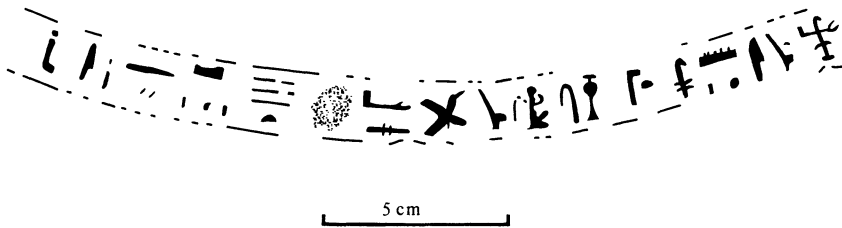


FIG. 1

The earliest evidence from the site is of the New Kingdom, in the form of an inscribed alabaster jar which Garrow Duncan bought from a villager, and which was said to have come from the ruins at el-Shaghâmba (pl. XX, 3, 4). The jar was dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty, but this vessel shape is difficult to date with any certainty;⁴ alabaster examples occur in both the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, after the reign of Amenhotep I.⁵ Garrow Duncan's translation of the text on this vessel read, 'The Singer of Amen Ra, King of the Gods, the Praiser of (the temple in) the Fountain of Horus, Taitha'.⁶ However, the published illustration of this piece⁷ does not readily lend itself to a reading of the text. Since the vessel is now in the collection of the Petrie Museum (UC 16046), a facsimile copy was made of the inscription (fig. 1).⁸ The hieroglyphs are lightly incised, with a filling of turquoise pigment. Both the pigment and incised characters have suffered damage, especially in the left-hand portion.

¹ S. R. Snape, *Six Archaeological Sites in Sharqiyeh Province* (in preparation).

² J. Garrow Duncan, 'Shaghanbeh' in W. M. F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London, 1906), 52-4.

³ *Ibid.* 52.

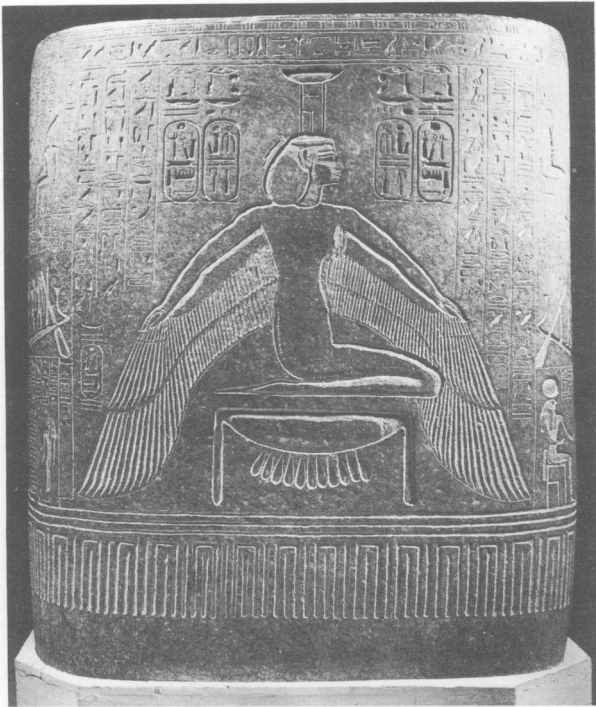
⁴ Cf. the examples in J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens* (Paris, 1972), 83.

⁵ J. Bourriau in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Egypt's Golden Age* (Boston, 1982), 81.

⁶ Garrow Duncan, *op. cit.* 54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix. L, 17. For a photograph of the vessel see A. Nibbi, *Ancient Byblos Reconsidered* (Oxford, 1985), pl. x.

⁸ Permission to publish this piece is by courtesy of the Petrie Museum, University College London. I am also grateful to Dr K. A. Kitchen and Dr M. A. Leahy for their helpful comments on matters arising from the text.



1. Coffin of Ramesses III, head
Courtesy Musée du Louvre



2. Coffin of Ramesses III, foot
Courtesy Musée du Louvre

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF RAMESSES III

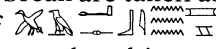


3. University College 16046





4. University College 16046

AN ANCIENT TOPONYM

The first part of the inscription is clear enough, 'The Chanter of Amen-Re, King of the God(s), Singer of *Pj-ꜥs* . . .', after which it becomes problematic. This is due, in part, to the damage to the vessel at this point and the worn nature of the remaining hieroglyphs. '*Pj-ꜥs* . . .' is, presumably, a toponym. If the signs following the break are taken as part of the same word, then one might suggest that this is a writing of , *Pj-ꜥsbi*, a place-name which occurs in the Wilbour Papyrus.¹ Helck² suggests that this name is a West Semitic loan-word, the Hebrew *ꜥsb*, 'Herbage'.³

The location of *Pj-ꜥsbi* is not clear, although Gardiner would put the northern boundary of Wilbour Text B (in which *Pj-ꜥsbi* occurs) further north than that of Wilbour Text A, which seems to be immediately to the east of the Faiyum, near el-Wasta.⁴ Thus, although it would seem possible for *Pj-ꜥsbi* to be situated in the south-eastern Delta, if not at el-Shaghâmba itself, the vessel may well have travelled around in antiquity, or in modern times, before arriving there. However, it may be that el-Shaghâmba was known as *Pj-ꜥsbi* but had no connection with the place mentioned in the Wilbour Papyrus, as toponyms referring to specific geographical features may be found in different parts of Egypt, as they are today.

This suggested explanation of the toponym seems more likely to me than a possible alternative: that  is a phonetic writing of ,⁵ with *ꜥs* as the first part of a short writing of the name 'Astarte' and the signs following the break as an epithet of the goddess. This would give the reading, 'Singer of the House of Astarte, the . . . (?)'.

A more satisfactory reading of the personal name which ends this text might be *Ry*, rather than 'Taitha'. The former can be masculine or feminine,⁶ and one might compare a Nineteenth Dynasty Chantress of Amen-Re called *Ry* from Gurob,⁷ a site which is itself situated near the northern limit of Wilbour Text A.

S. R. SNAPE

Was the sarcophagus of Ramesses III begun for Sethos II?⁸

The decoration of the sarcophagus of Ramesses III makes it unlikely that it was designed in his reign. Comparison with other sarcophagi of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties suggests that it was begun for Sethos II.



FROM the reign of Merenptah onwards, two basic schemes of decoration are to be found on the sides of the coffers of royal outer sarcophagi: One comprises extracts from the Books of the Sun-God's Nocturnal Voyage (Gates and Am-Duat) and is found on the two outer monuments of Merenptah⁹ as well as that of Ramesses III (pl. XIX; XX, 1, 2).¹⁰ The second

¹ For example, section B.10, 12-14, see A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus I (Plates)* (Oxford, 1941), pl. 57.

² W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden, 1962), 556, 39.

³ F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1952), 793.

⁴ Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II (Commentary)* (Oxford, 1948), 178 and Map II.

⁵ For a similar writing (referring to Pi-Ramesse) on a scarab in Aberdeen, see Gardiner, 'The Delta Residence of the Ramessides', *JEA* 5 (1918), 138. More common is the writing  for , see J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1978), 45 and n. 18.

⁶ H. Ranke, *PN* 1, 216, 29.

⁷ L. Loat, *Gurob* (London, 1904), pl. 17, 1.

⁸ I would like to thank Professor A. F. Shore and Dr K. A. Kitchen for their kindness in reading, and commenting upon, the first draft of the manuscript.

⁹ Carter, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 116-18, pl. ii; Maystre and Piankoff, *Le Livre des Portes*, 1 (Cairo, 1939), 1-6, 20, 22, 24 ff., fig. 2.

¹⁰ Coffin, Louvre D1 = N337: Boreux, *Musée du Louvre . . . guide-catalogue sommaire*, 1 (Paris, 1932), 109 f. Lid, Fitzwilliam E.1.1823: Birch, *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, III (1876), 371-4. The Voyage (Gates) is also found on the alabaster *coffins* of Sethos I, Merenptah, and Siptah. It is possible that the latter two are one and the

scheme is shown in fig. 1, and is quite distinct; it is found on the coffers of Siptah,¹ Sethnakhte (usurped from Tawosret?)² and Ramesses IV.³

While the decoration of the sides remains essentially the same within this latter group, a clear evolution is seen in the decoration of the ends. Siptah's coffer has a figure of Nephthys at the head, and a corresponding figure of Isis at the foot; Sethnakhte's retains the former, but almost certainly omits the latter;⁴ that of Ramesses IV omits both goddesses, a column of text giving his name and titles standing at the head, while at the foot lies a scene containing two upraised hands, sun-disks and mummiform figures. A similar scene may have occupied the same position on Sethnakhte's coffer.

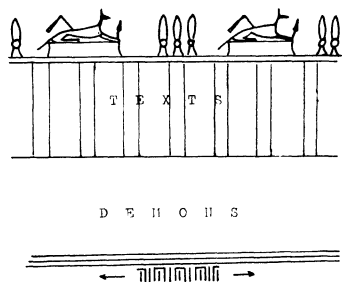


FIG. 1

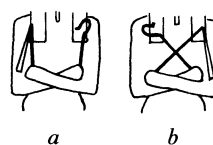


FIG. 2

With this clear evolutionary line spanning the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Dynasties, the utterly different scheme found on Ramesses III's coffer requires explanation. The discontinuity is also to be seen on the latter's sarcophagus lid. While in basic form and decoration it follows the other lids of the period, the placement of the crook and flail held by the king's recumbent figure differs fundamentally. On the monuments of Siptah, Sethnakhte, and Ramesses IV they are crossed (fig. 2b), but on Ramesses III's they lie parallel to one another (fig. 2a). This arrangement is otherwise found on the inner⁵ and second outer lids of Merenptah and that of Sethos II.⁶ When it is borne in mind that the only other known sarcophagi with a Voyage-based decoration belong to Merenptah, it would appear that Ramesses III's sarcophagus has more in common with those of Merenptah and his son than with those of his own two predecessors and successor. Now, the lid of Sethos II's monument (the coffer being now lost) is clearly that of an inner sarcophagus, its dimensions, $c.225 \times 105$ cm, being the smallest of any example of the period. No trace of the inferred same: The only king's name recovered from the alabaster fragments found in KV 47 is that of Merenptah (reburial, in view of the lack of visible usurpation?), and the provenance of the fragment BM 49739 is uncertain. Cf. Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 109, 118.

¹ Burton, *BMMA* xi (1916), 14-17, figs. 2-6; Altenmüller, *SAK* 10 (1983), 47, Abb. 2.

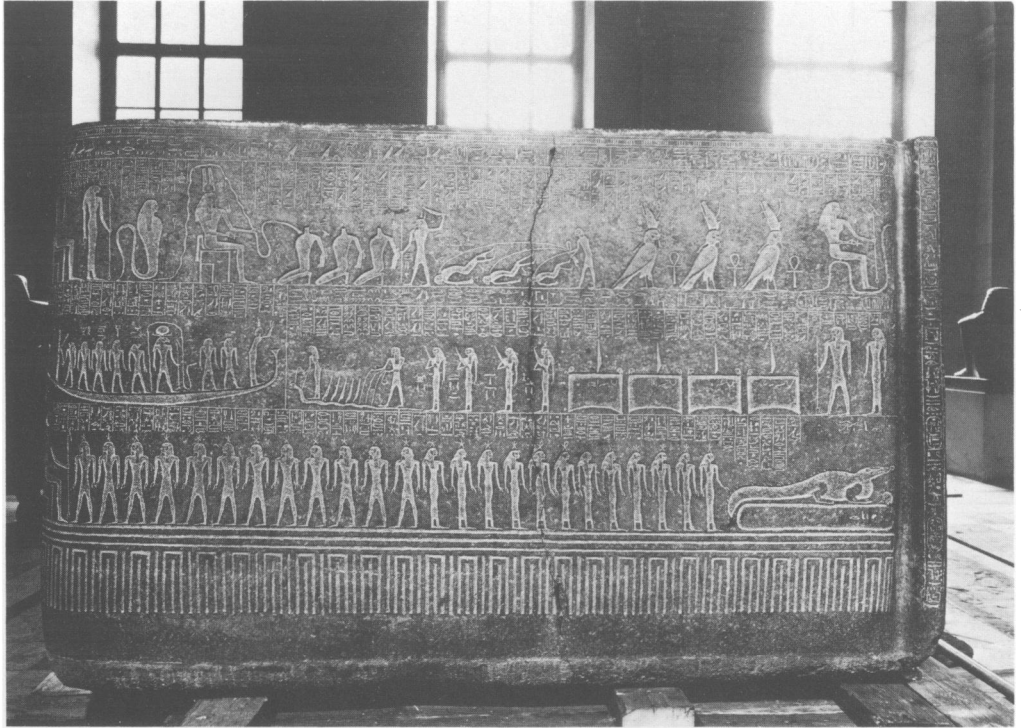
² Samviel and Audrain, *The Glory of Egypt* (London, 1955), pls. 65-6; Altenmüller, loc. cit. I see no reason why Sethnakhte should not have usurped Tawosret's sarcophagus along with her tomb. Altenmüller's evidence of the introduction of two sarcophagi might equally be interpreted as the sarcophagus' removal for placement in KV 11, and subsequent reintroduction after KV 14's usurpation.

³ Lefébure, *Les Hypogées royaux de Thebes*, 1 (Paris, 1885), pls. xxviii-xxxii. Also on the interior of Ramesses III's coffer, Dodson, *DE* 5 (1988).

⁴ The coffer has now been restored from fragments, but a considerable amount is still missing, including most of the foot. However, the visible inscriptions' arrangement does not support the presence of a goddess. Rather, it suggests an arrangement similar to the foot of Ramesses IV's coffer.

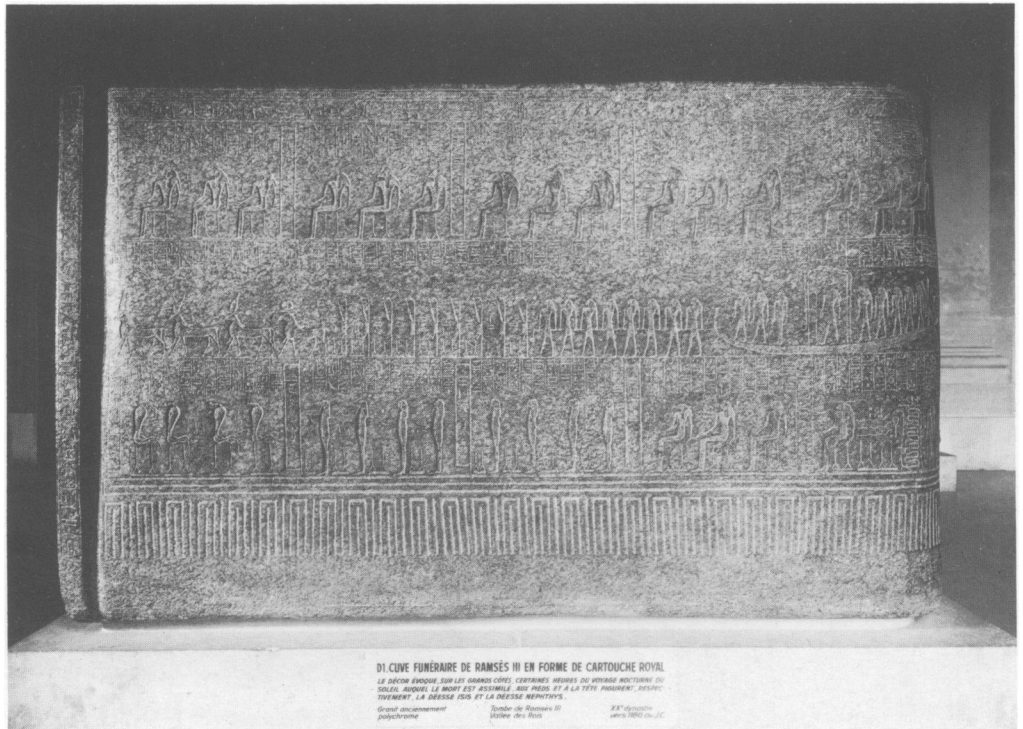
⁵ The lid (at least) was later usurped by Psusennes I and found in his tomb. Montet, *Les Constructions et le tombeau de Psousennes à Tanis* (Paris, 1951), 111-26, pls. lxxv-xciv.

⁶ The coffer is now missing, and the lid broken. The head from the latter is now in the Louvre, E 6205. Altenmüller, loc. cit.



1. Coffin of Ramesses III, left side

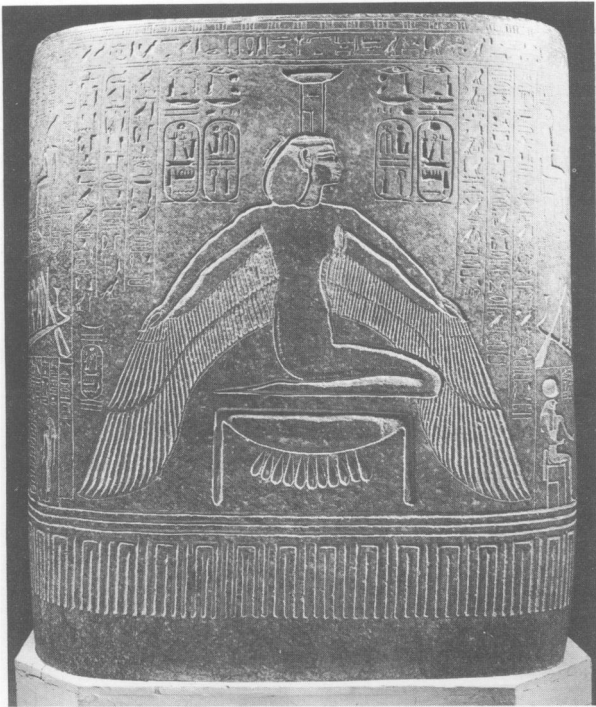
Courtesy Musée du Louvre



2. Coffin of Ramesses III, right side

Courtesy Musée du Louvre

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF RAMESSES III



1. Coffin of Ramesses III, head
Courtesy Musée du Louvre



2. Coffin of Ramesses III, foot
Courtesy Musée du Louvre

THE SARCOPHAGUS OF RAMESSES III



3. University College 16046



4. University College 16046

AN ANCIENT TOPONYM

outer sarcophagus has ever come to light, and it is likely that it was, like the king's tomb, KV 15, unfinished at his death, and never installed.¹ In view of the similarities noted above, it may be suggested that the sarcophagus used for the burial of Ramesses III had been begun as the outer monument of Sethos II. Ramesses' cartouches do not appear to be secondary, but, given the times, it is not impossible that they were left blank by the artisans until they were certain of the occupant of the monument, both Sethos II and Amenmesse possibly having ordered work on it within a short period.

Why the sarcophagus remained unused in the decade which separated the death of Sethos from the accession of Ramesses III is uncertain, but parallels exist. The Lateran obelisk was quarried for Tuthmosis III, but was only erected thirty-five years later by Tuthmosis IV,² while one of the Prudhoe Lions was quarried by Amenophis III, finished and inscribed by Tutankhamun, and finally transported to its site by Ay.³

AIDAN DODSON

Notes on Late Libyan Egypt

This article first publishes a small bronze shrine with inscriptions of the obscure king Thotemhat, British Museum EA 11015. The reading of the Horus-name of this ruler is corrected to *Hc-m-Wn(t)*. The article then considers the evidence for a Delta centre for the Twenty-Third Dynasty, and suggests that there is, as yet, no good reason to assume that this Dynasty ruled from Leontopolis as has been suggested. It is also proposed that the linking of Iuput II, mentioned on the stela of Piankhy, to this Dynasty may be erroneous.

1. *King Thotemhat*

THE existence of a ruler named Nefer-kheperu-Re-Kha-kha(w), Son of Re, Thotemhat is attested as yet by only two monuments. His cartouches appear on the fragmentary block-stature of Tjaenhesret, purchased in Luxor in 1909 for the Cairo Museum,⁴ and on the bronze shrine, British Museum EA 11015 (pl. XXI, 1).⁵ The shrine is 10.6 cm high, 5.1 cm wide, and 5.6 cm deep. Inside there is a seated figure of Amun, which fits into a channel in the floor of the shrine, and which can be removed. The object served as an elaborate stamp-seal, the underside bearing the hieroglyphs for 'the Estate of Amun' in high relief, for impressing upon clay seals (fig. 1).⁶ On the exterior of the shrine there is relief decoration in the metal,

¹ The condition of the king's tomb is, in the writer's view, a key piece of evidence in favour of the reign being interrupted by Amenmesse's interregnum, from Year 2 to 5 (cf. Krauss, *SAK* 4 (1976), 161 ff.; 5 (1978), 131 ff.; *KRI* IV, 211 ff.). In spite of a nominally longer reign, the completed length, and the proportion containing planned and completed decoration is considerably smaller in the tomb of Sethos II than in that of Amenmesse (KV 10), while Sethos' tomb also exhibits erased (and restored) cartouches in its outer part. In KV 15, the planned fine relief-work is restricted to the first corridor, the remaining decoration being in red outline (second and third corridors), crude paintings (well room and burial chamber) and crude, partly unfinished, relief (pillared hall); the tomb ends just beyond the pillared hall in an improvised burial chamber, with the inner sarcophagus. In contrast, fine relief-work (erased by Sethos II) covered the first three corridors of KV 10, while the tomb extends a considerable distance beyond the pillared hall, though its full extent is obscured by *turab* (Thomas, *op. cit.* 110). This evidence is strongly supportive of KV 15 being begun, its decoration sketched out, and partly cut, in Sethos II's Year 1/2; Amenmesse then seizing power, erasing Sethos' cartouches, and cutting KV 10; the latter's decoration being erased at Sethos' restoration and KV 15 resumed, to be finished off in a hurry at its owner's premature demise, all *contra* Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 25 ff. See Dodson, *DE* 2 (1985), 7-11.

² *Urk.* IV, 1548-52.

⁴ G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, III (Cairo, 1914), 32-3, no. 42212.

⁵ S. Morenz, *Der Gott auf der Blume* (Ascona, 1954), 28 n. 36; K. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period* (Warminster, 1973), 371 and n. 738. These sources quote the number of the object incorrectly as 11005.

⁶ A similar stamp in shrine form is noted in J. J. Dubois, *Descr. des antiquités égyptiennes . . . composant la collection de feu M. J. F. Mimaud* (Paris, 1837), 1-2, no. 6.

³ Edwards, *LAAA* 26 (1939), 3-9.

consisting of divine figures and emblems. The left¹ side bears figures of Thoth and Khons with winged goddesses; on the right side the same goddesses are shown with Hershef and Khons. The back of the shrine is decorated with a seated figure of a goddess, perhaps Maat, in the upper register, flanked by winged cobras, with an image of the god Shu below. On either side of the door at the front are coiled snakes, and above are two winged disks, the solar-disk in each having once been inlaid.

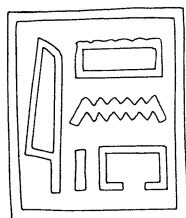


FIG. 1

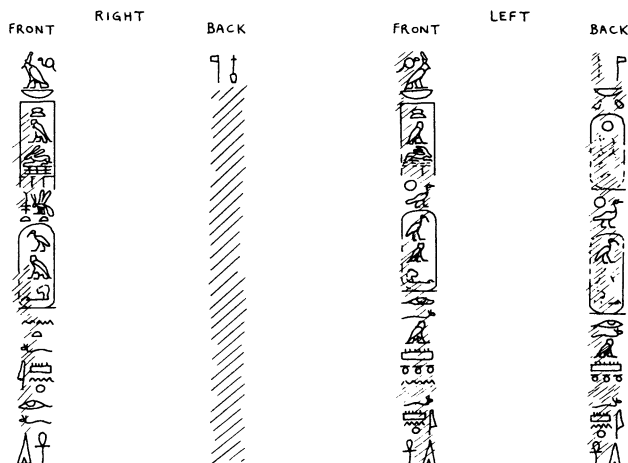


FIG. 2

The hieroglyphic inscriptions were placed in vertical lines down the side of the object, near the edges. They were not well-cut in the first place, and have since suffered from wear and corrosion. The copies in fig. 2 were made after examination of the texts under different lighting conditions, with the aid of a magnifier and the frequent use of impressions to pick out the details in damaged areas. The Horus name is *Hr-m-Wn(t)*, 'He who appears in the Hermopolite Nome',² leaving no doubt as to the links between this king and Hermopolis. On the statue of Tjaenhesret the king's cartouches are accompanied by the epithets, 'Beloved of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis' and 'Beloved of He-who-is-in-Hermopolis' (i.e. the god Shepses). The bronze shrine has no certain provenance: it was acquired in 1839 from the sale of the Anastasi collection. A Theban origin seems likely, for it would not be surprising if Thotemhat, ruling in Hermopolis, was recognized at Thebes in preference to the Kushite rulers.³ The most probable date for Thotemhat's rule would appear to be immediately after Nimlot of Hermopolis, and he may have been related to the last kings of the Twenty-third Dynasty.

2. *Iuput II, the Twenty-third Dynasty and the Delta*

It is noteworthy that the monuments of the Twenty-third Dynasty, as identified by Kitchen,⁴ are concentrated in Upper Egypt, particularly from Heracleopolis to Thebes. From the reign of Shoshenk III, the Twenty-second Dynasty is replaced on Theban monuments by the Twenty-third.⁵ The names of all the kings of the latter dynasty are found at Thebes, with the sole exception of Iuput II, who is known from the Piankhy Stela to have

¹ 'Left' and 'right' from the observer's point of view.

² The reading of the Horus name in Morenz, loc. cit., and Kitchen, op. cit. 371, as *Nb-itm-m-mrt* is incorrect.

³ The statue of Tjaenhesret is probably also of Theban origin, see Kitchen, op. cit. 222, 370.

⁴ Ibid. 128.

⁵ Ibid. 131.

been a Lower Egyptian ruler, based at a place called Ta-Remu in the Delta.¹ Monuments of the other kings of the Twenty-third Dynasty from the Delta are lacking, and the suggestion that the dynasty possessed a Delta residence rests almost entirely on the evidence concerning Iuput II. Of the Lower Egyptian connections of Iuput there can be no doubt, but there is no evidence at all that he had any relationship with the Twenty-third Dynasty.² Indeed, the fact that he is the only ruler attested in the Delta when all the remainder of the dynasty are known solely from Upper Egyptian monuments suggests the opposite. There is no justification, as yet, to assume that the kings of the Twenty-third Dynasty had a Delta centre, at Leontopolis or anywhere else. We can only say that Iuput II ruled somewhere in the central Delta region, sufficiently close to Mendes to have been recognized by the princes of that city.³ He could well have been related to the Twenty-second Dynasty line of kings at Tanis and Bubastis, and have ruled contemporaneously with Osorkon IV. This might explain how it was possible for him to place a granite altar in the temple of Tell el-Yahudiya, far from his home base.⁴ The bronze door hinge with the name of Iuput (Cairo JE 38261) has been stated to have come from Tell Moqdam, on the strength of an alleged comment by a dealer.⁵ The *Journal d'Entrée* contains no such information, but states simply that the object was 'purchased'. This hinge also bears an inscription referring to an official of Wadjet, Mistress of Imet, a locality which has usually been identified with Tell Farun (Nebesha) in the eastern Delta (fig. 3).⁶ There is no reason why the hinge should not have come originally from this site, which lies close to the Twenty-second Dynasty base at Tanis. Iuput may have been based at Leontopolis (Muqdam), although the identification of this city with Ta-Remu is in need of confirmation by more substantial evidence.⁷

The regular appearance of Twenty-third Dynasty monuments in the south and their

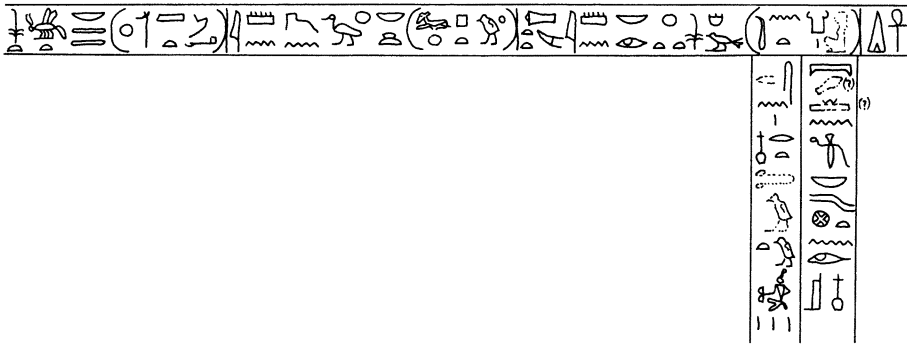


FIG. 3



FIG. 4

¹ N. C. Grimal, *La Stèle triomphale de Piankhy* (Cairo, 1981), 150, l. 114, and pl. x.

² Kitchen, *op. cit.* 360-1, admits this to be the case. On Iuput and the period in general, see G. Daressy, *RT* 30 (1908), 202-8; K. Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973), 4 ff.; F. Gomaà, *Die libyschen Fürstentümer des Deltas* (Wiesbaden, 1974).

³ A stela of Smendes, Chief of the Ma at Mendes, is dated to year 21 of Iuput II. Another stela, of Harnakht B, father of Smendes, is dated to year 11 of an unnamed king, who is more likely to have been Iuput II than Osorkon III. See Kitchen, *CdE* 52 (1977), 44. For the former stela, see J. L. Chappaz, *Genava* 30 (1982), 71-81.

⁴ E. Naville, *Mound of the Jew (Tell el Yahudieh)* (London, 1890), 10-11 and pl. i.

⁵ Daressy, *art. cit.* 202, and *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 628 ff.; Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 190 n. 1.

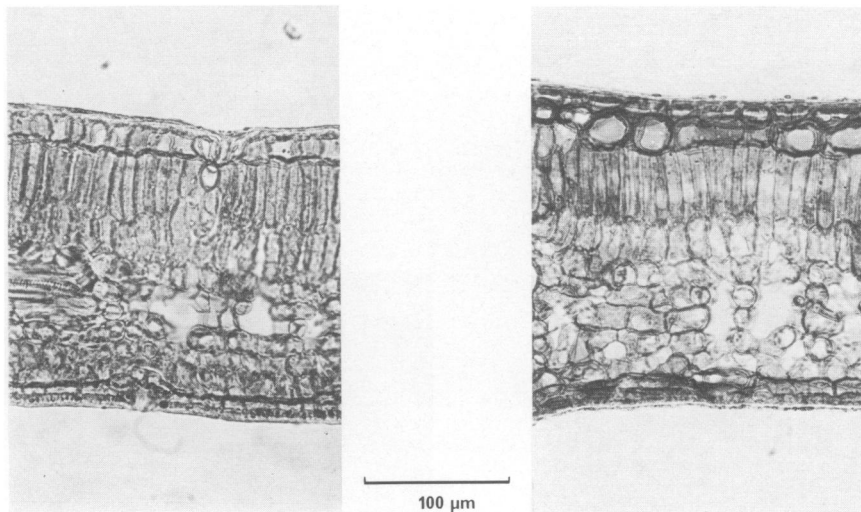
⁶ Daressy's attempt to identify Imet with Tell Muqdam is not convincing and has not found general acceptance. See *BIFAO* 30 (1930), 626 ff.

⁷ See J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 52 (1953), 179 ff. The evidence cited consists of several monuments from the Delta with inscriptions mentioning Ta-Remu: only one of these is definitely from Tell Muqdam. Two others are attributed to the site because of references to Mihos and Bastet, although their cult was not restricted to Leontopolis, and two further monuments come from Tell Balala and Mendes.



1. Bronze shrine with figure of Amun, British Museum EA 11015

NOTES ON LATE LIBYAN EGYPT



2. *Mimusops Kummel*

3. *Mimusops Laurifolia*

Transverse sections of leaf blades

THE BOTANICAL IDENTITY OF THE MIMUSOPS

absence from Lower Egypt makes the idea of a Twenty-third Dynasty enclave in the Delta highly improbable, especially as the kings were not recognized in Memphis, which lay between their supposed northern residence and their Upper Egyptian supporters.¹ The evidence available at present strongly suggests a division between the Twenty-second Dynasty territory in the eastern Delta and the Twenty-third Dynasty domain in Upper Egypt, with a boundary a little north of Heracleopolis. The residence of the Twenty-third Dynasty kings has yet to be identified, but Thebes is a strong possibility, with perhaps a retreat to Hermopolis in the face of Kushite expansion.² The consideration of Iuput II as an offshoot of the Twenty-second Dynasty leaves only the burial of a certain Ka(ro)ma(ma) near Tell Muqdam as a possible link between the Twenty-third Dynasty and the Delta.³ The hypothesis that this individual is to be identified with Queen Karomama Mery-Mut III, mother of Osorkon III, is based only on a suggestion by Gauthier and not on any firm evidence. The sole item from the funerary equipment which bore the name was a poor-quality heart-scarab of steatite with a very rough inscription on the underside. The title 'King's Mother' does not appear, and even 'Royal Wife' has been erroneously written (or incorrectly copied?). Apart from the collection of jewellery, the burial was not impressive; the sarcophagus lid had been made from a reused architectural block of Ramesses II, and a mixed group of canopic jars, one inscribed with the name of a woman called *Pipw* and two lacking their lids, was found in the chamber. There were also three glazed composition shabti-figures bearing carelessly written inscriptions, which were taken by Gauthier to be no more than a confusion of part of the shabti formula. His published version⁴ of the texts is inaccurate; the corrected copy of the inscriptions is shown in fig. 4. It is possible that the inscription contains a name of foreign type, similar to others which have been recorded.⁵ In this case, there would be a total of three different names on the burial equipment. With such a mixed group of funerary goods, it is extremely rash to base any historical conclusions on the objects from this tomb, and there is certainly no justification to assume that it was the burial place of Queen Karomama Mery-Mut III. The date of the tomb is not established with any precision: the block of Harmose, an official of Osorkon II, found in the debris of the north chamber, is considered to have been reused, but Edgar, who attended the clearance of the tomb, stated that he could not confirm whether the block had been built into the structure.⁶

P. A. SPENCER and A. J. SPENCER

The botanical identity of the *Mimusops* in ancient Egyptian tombs

The identity of leaf fragments of *Mimusops* from Egyptian tombs has been re-examined anatomically and compared with modern material. The anatomical characters suggested by Schweinfurth for distinguishing between *Mimusops kummel* and *M. laurifolia* (= *M. schimperi*) are found to be workable. The leaves can therefore be identified with great probability as *M. laurifolia* (= *M. schimperi*).

THE occurrence, in the tombs of ancient Egypt, of wood, fruits, and leaves of the genus *Mimusops*, a tropical genus of forest trees belonging to the family Sapotaceae, and known as

¹ A bronze plaque with the name of Osorkon (III) son of Isis was found with other bronzes at Memphis, but the whole group seems to have been of Theban origin. See Daressy, *ASAE* 3 (1902), 140, 150.

² The possibility that the kings of Hermopolis might be related to the Twenty-third Dynasty has already been suggested by Baer, *JNES* 32 (1973), 21.

³ Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 21-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 26. Gauthier lists only one shabti in his article but two complete examples and the lower half of a third are on display in the Egyptian Museum.

⁵ Cf. Ranke, *PN* 1, 166, 6, 28.

⁶ Gauthier, art. cit. 23.

'persea',¹ is now well established, but there has been some uncertainty as to the identity of the species concerned, and the natural habitat of that species.

Schweinfurth² studied plant remains from Deir el-Bahari, contained in offerings, funeral repasts, and mummy wreaths, including wreaths from the mummy of Ramses II. The latter, from the end of the Twentieth dynasty or the beginning of the Twenty-first, contained a large quantity of folded leaves of a species of *Mimusops*. Schweinfurth compared the leaves with those of the two species of *Mimusops* that occur in Ethiopia and surrounding countries, namely, *Mimusops kummel* Bruce ex A. DC and *M. schimperi* Hochst. ex A. Rich.; he based his identification on leaf morphology and concluded that leaves of *M. schimperi* were used for the wreaths. This conclusion was further strengthened by anatomical observations by Dr Maximilian Westermaier of the Botanical Institute of the Berlin University, who reported that the leaves of the wreaths, as well as the modern leaves of *M. schimperi*, have a double layer of epidermal cells, whereas the leaves of *M. kummel* have a single layer.

Schweinfurth expressed reservations about his finding, as he was not certain about the taxonomic status of *M. schimperi*, and was not sure whether the character of the double epidermis could be considered a constant one. He suggested that *M. schimperi* is identical with the plant referred to by the ancient name 'persea'. Since then the identification proposed by Schweinfurth has been used in the literature about ancient Egyptian plant remains, summarized by Lucas,³ Germer,⁴ and Charpentier.⁵ The finds of *Mimusops* in Egyptian tombs can be divided into the following categories: (1) twigs or leaves from the Twelfth Dynasty to Graeco-Roman times, including several very large funeral bouquets found in the tomb of Tutankhamun; (2) dried fruits or seeds in tombs from the Third Dynasty onwards; (3) a head-rest made of *Mimusops* wood, identified by Ribstein.⁶ As considerably more specimens of *Mimusops* from Ethiopia and surrounding countries are now available, and the species in that area has been taxonomically revised by one of us,⁷ we have found it worthwhile, as suggested by Schweinfurth, to repeat Dr Westermaier's studies of the leaf anatomy, as well as to re-investigate the leaf morphology and fruit morphology of the ancient Egyptian examples of *Mimusops* held at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew.

Friis⁸ has shown that Schweinfurth was right in considering *M. schimperi* specifically distinct from *M. kummel*, but that the nomenclaturally correct name for the former species is *M. laurifolia* (Forssk.) Friis. Twigs from a funeral bouquet found at Gebelein (Upper Egypt) of post-Ptolemaic date were compared with leaves of recent *Mimusops* species, and found to represent *M. laurifolia*.

It is also argued by Friis that the natural area of distribution of *M. laurifolia* (= *M. schimperi*) is the great escarpment of North Yemen, the east escarpment of the Ethiopian plateau, and the mountain chain in the Hararge Province of Ethiopia and northern Somalia

¹ The identification of 'persea' with *Mimusops* follows the presently accepted practice (G. Schweinfurth, 'The Flora of Ancient Egypt', *Nature* 28 (1883) 109-14; F. Woenig, *Die Pflanzen im Alten Aegypten* (Leipzig, 1886), 321-3; V. Laurent-Täckholm, *Faraos Blomster* (Stockholm, 1951), 120-3) and not that formerly adopted by A. R. Delile, *Voyage à Méroé*, iv, F. Caillaud, ed. (Paris, 1827), 384-5, and F. Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte* (Paris, 1923), 29, as applying to *Balanites aegyptiaca*.

² Loc. cit.

³ *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th edn. (London, 1962) revised by J. R. Harris, 445.

⁴ *Untersuchung über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten* (Hamburg; Dissertation, 1979), 122-4.

⁵ *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l'Égypte antique* (Paris, 1981), 198, 1062, 1076, 1078.

⁶ 'Zur Kenntniss der im alten Aegypten verwendeten Hölzer', *Botanisches Arkiv* 9 (1925), 194-209.

⁷ Friis, 'The Taxonomy and Distribution of *Mimusops laurifolia* (Sapotaceae)', *Kew Bulletin*, 35 (1981), 785-92.

⁸ See n. 7 and 'Notes on Somalian Sapotaceae', *ibid.* 40 (1985), 395-8.

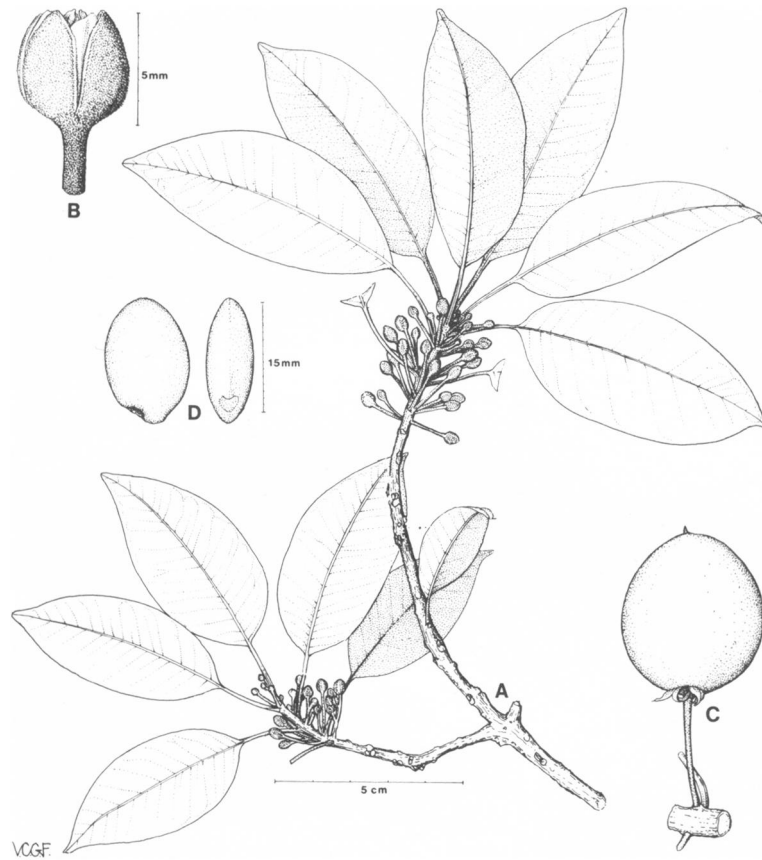


FIG. 1. *Mimusops laurifolia*. A, flowering twig; B, flower bud; C, fruit; D, seed. Drawn by Mrs Victoria C. Friis from specimens at British Museum (Natural History) and Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. Reprinted from *Kew Bulletin* 35 by permission of the Controller of H.M. Stationery Office.

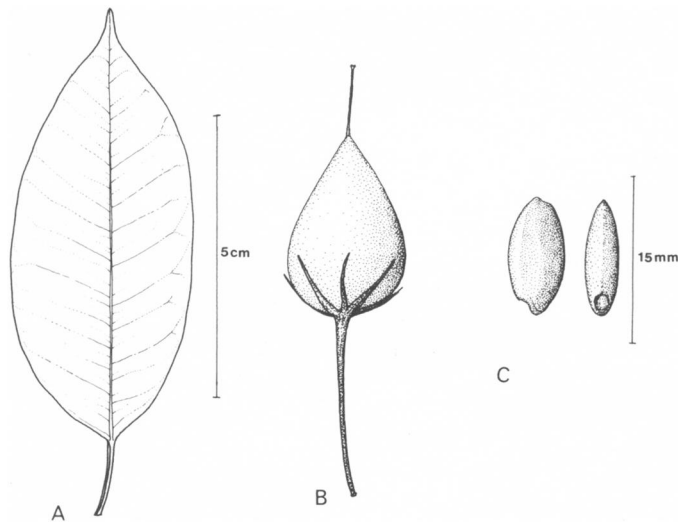


FIG. 2. *Mimusops kummel*. A, leaf; B, fruit; C, seed. Drawn by Mrs Victoria C. Friis from specimens at the Botanical Museum, Copenhagen.

(see map, fig. 1). It was found that there is very little reason to believe that this tree of the tropical mountain forests has ever been native in ancient Egypt. There is no indication of a climatic change since Roman times,¹ when, to judge from the finds in the tombs, *M. laurifolia* must still have been fairly common. Today there is certainly no other tree in Egypt with similar natural distribution, as all the species in Egypt with tropical African affinity are associated with desert conditions or restricted to swamps. It seems much more likely that the tree was cultivated in Egypt, as has lately been the case in the garden of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo,² but unfortunately the last tree was removed about 1981. It is therefore suggested that *M. laurifolia* could have been an early introduction from the south, as must have been the case with *Ficus sycomorus* L., the sycamore fig.³

The material studied at Kew includes three recent herbarium specimens of *M. kummel*, three recent specimens of *M. laurifolia*, one specimen of *Mimusops* leaves from an offering bundle of olive leaves in a tomb at Dra' Abu el-Naga', Thebes, from Twentieth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty collected by E. Schiaparelli and now preserved as a herbarium specimen at Kew, and one specimen of *Mimusops* leaves from a wreath obtained as a duplicate from University College London (UC 8494B), now housed in the Kew Museums. The 'double epidermis' observed by Dr Westermaier in *M. laurifolia* was consistently present in the modern specimens of that species examined at Kew, whilst *M. kummel* has a single epidermis. The specimen of *Mimusops* leaves from the tombs at Thebes had a discontinuous 'double epidermis' and the specimen *Mimusops* leaf from wreath UC 8494B had a continuous 'double epidermis'. The 'double epidermis' has an outer layer composed of considerably smaller cells than the inner layer. Their anticlinal walls do not coincide and the two layers are quite distinct. This leads us to suggest that the inner layer be called a hypodermis, although in the absence of developmental information this term should be used with caution. Both species have a double palisade layer below the epidermis or epidermis and hypodermis, and the stomata which are found only on the abaxial side of the leaf, are deeply sunken, a feature which protects the plant against excessive evaporation.

The conclusion from the observations of the upper epidermis is that the leaves of *Mimusops* from ancient Egypt are indeed from *Mimusops laurifolia* (= *M. schimperii*) and that the presence of a hypodermis is a valuable character for the identification of *Mimusops* leaves from tombs. The identification of the *Mimusops* fruits from the tombs does not appear to be so consistent, but the identification of fruits and seeds does also seem to be more difficult. The fruits and seeds of *M. kummel* are obovate or pointed, and larger than those of *M. laurifolia*, which are almost elliptical. The seeds from ancient Egyptian tombs kept at Kew have been compared with modern material. The accompanying illustrations (figs. 1-2 and pl. XXI, 2, 3) show the differences between the two species, the seeds of *M. kummel* being ovoid-acute, those of *M. laurifolia* almost ellipsoid.

I. FRIIS, F. NIGEL HEPPER, and PETER GASSON

¹ Boulos, 'The Mediterranean Element in the Flora of Egypt and Libya', *La Flore du bassin méditerranéen: essai de systématique synthétique. Colloques Internationaux du CNRS*, no. 235 (1975), 119-24.

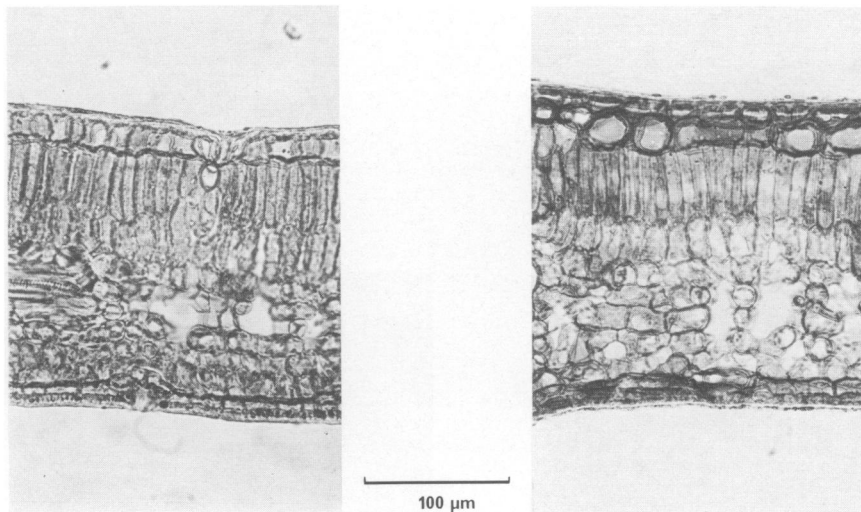
² Laurent-Täckholm, loc. cit.

³ Galil, Stein, and Horovitz, 'On the Origin of the Sycamore Fig (*Ficus sycomorus* L.) in the Middle East', *Garden's Bulletin Singapore* 29 (1977), 191-205.



1. Bronze shrine with figure of Amun, British Museum EA 11015

NOTES ON LATE LIBYAN EGYPT



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Transverse sections of leaf blades

THE BOTANICAL IDENTITY OF THE MIMUSOPS

The king-title βασιλίσκος in Nubia in the fourth to sixth century AD¹

The author suggests that the king-title 'basiliskos' from the fourth to sixth century AD implied that the king was a pagan.

THE title βασιλίσκος is found in the following inscriptions:

SB III 6257: Χαραχῆν βασιλείσκος τῶν Βλεμύων written on gazelle leather from Gebelen, fifth to sixth century AD.²

SB III 6258: Πακυτίμνε ἐπιφ(ανέστατος) βασιλίσκος on gazelle leather from Gebelen, fifth to sixth century AD.³

SB V 8536: Σιλκῶ, βασιλίσκος Νουβάδων καὶ ὄλων τῶν Αἰθιόπων, the famous Silko-inscription from Talmis (Kalabsche) written on a pillar of an inner wall of the Mandulis temple. About AD 600?⁴

In his interpretation of a Greek inscription from Ikhmindī, S. Donadoni⁵ made a distinction between the two titles βασιλεύς and βασιλίσκος. He concluded correctly that the former is 'riserbato ai capi di gruppi etnici', whereas the latter has a more pre-eminent meaning.⁶ In my opinion the title signifies more than this. It could be derived from the uraeus serpent which, according to Artemidorus Daldianus, was a sign of great power.⁷ As the serpent was worn by the Egyptian kings, it seems that the Nubian kings Charachen, Pakytimne, and Silko regarded themselves as possessing the status of a Pharaoh. The serpent also implies that the three kings were pagans wearing a pagan sign of royal power. In the case of Silko, the fact that the lion and the bear⁸—and the βασιλίσκος in its basic sense, uraeus-serpent—in the Bible represent evil, seems to me to make an interpretation of these animals as non-Christian symbols quite evident.⁹

OVE HANSEN

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to Thorkild Fogh Christensen for kind assistance concerning Egyptological matters and Søren Juul-Marker and Finn Sode-Mogensen for having saved me from errors concerning the Old Testament.

² Cf. H. Krall, *Denkschr. Akad. Wien* 46 (1898), 4, Nr. 1 with photograph.

³ Krall, op. cit. 4, Nr. 2 with photograph.

⁴ *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae. Bd. I* (Lipsiae 1903), no. 201.

⁵ 'Un'epigrafe greco-nubiana da Ikhmindī', *La Parola del passato* 14 (1959), 461.

⁶ See Horapollon, 1, 1. According to him the Egyptians say that 'Eternity is represented by this animal', αἰῶνα δὲ λέγουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ζώου δηλοῦσθαι. Cf. M. Wellmann, *RE* III, 100–1, s.v. Basilisk.

⁷ Artem. 4, 56. Cf. H. Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, 844–7, s.v. Uräus.

⁸ Silko-inscription l. 15. For his being either Christian or Pagan, see U. Wilcken, 'Heidnisches und Christliches aus Ägypten', *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 1 (1900), 419, 436.

⁹ LXX Ps. 90: 13: ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήση καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα. 1 Kgs. 17: 34: καὶ ὅταν ἦρχετο ὁ λέων καὶ ἡ ἄρκος καὶ ἐλάμβανεν πρόβατον ἐκ τῆς ἀγέλης. 36: καὶ τὴν ἄρκον ἔτυπεν ὁ δοῦλός σου καὶ τὸν λέοντα. 37: κύριος ὁς ἐξείλατό με ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς τῆς ἄρκου. Amos 5: 19: ὃν τρόπον ὅταν φύγη ἄνθρωπος ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ἐμπέση αὐτῷ ἡ ἄρκος.

REVIEWS

Excavations at Tell Basta: Report of the Seasons 1967-71 and Catalogue of Finds. By AHMAD EL-SAWI. 240 × 170 mm. Pp. 104, figs. 243, folded map. Prague, Charles University, 1979. No price stated.

This volume contains a concise but useful record of excavations over four seasons at Tell Basta, from 1968 to 1971. The work was mostly concerned with the excavation of cemeteries, situated in the north-west part of the site, and was essentially a rescue project prior to the expansion of modern buildings over the area.

The graves were of mixed date, ranging from the Early Dynastic to the Late Period, but with a majority of New Kingdom age. The burials consisted of pit-graves, with or without brick lining, some but not all being equipped with coffins. Grave-goods included tools, vessels, cosmetic items, scarabs and amulets, shabtis, and jewellery. Most of this material is illustrated in the figures, some of which are drawn and others photographic, but working back from an illustration to the text is difficult. A concordance of figure numbers and burial numbers would have helped. Also valuable would have been a separate concordance to link the published burial numbers with the original excavation numbers, which are visible in some of the photographs of the graves. For example, the grave shown in fig. 109 has an excavation number BT 15, but only by going through the text page by page can one find that this grave is published as Burial 137 on page 63.

The text of the volume consists of concise catalogue-type entries on each burial, with a brief description and a list of contents. Future study of the objects illustrated could well provide a more precise dating for some of the graves; in the report, a general 'New Kingdom' date is used to cover everything from Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesside. The finds are not discussed at length, for this is a simple presentation of the material. The large number of illustrations, however, should permit a re-evaluation of the objects by scholars interested in the various classes of material represented. No comments are made here about the dating or typology of individual objects, because there is little point in mentioning one or two pieces when what is really needed is a study of all the material. The presentation of data from over 200 graves, dug as a rescue project on a difficult site, is a considerable achievement, and we should be grateful for the information that has been saved.

In addition to the burials, a few other structures were located in the course of the excavations. These included a cat-cemetery, which was briefly examined (see p. 76 of the report), a palace, probably of the Middle Kingdom (pp. 76-7), a secular building of the Old Kingdom (pp. 74-5), and a temple of Teti (pp. 75-6). The structures are all described only briefly, but there are plans of the palace and the Old Kingdom building (called 'the Great Building'). The latter may have been an administrative centre or simply a large domestic estate. Of the temple of Teti, only an inscribed pillar and parts of a mud-brick enclosure wall were found, the pillar bearing a reference to a funerary chapel (*hwt-ks*) of Teti. By the New Kingdom, the temple had been destroyed and the area was overbuilt by cemeteries.

Despite the slim appearance of the volume, it contains a large amount of information from a part of Bubastis which is no longer accessible. In particular, the excavations have shed new light on the burial customs of the Delta during the New Kingdom. The report is one more useful addition to the sparse bibliography of the cities of Lower Egypt.

A. J. SPENCER

Mendes I. By ROBERT K. HOLZ, DAVID STIEGLITZ, DONALD P. HANSEN, EDWARD OCHSENSCHLAGER. 405 × 310 mm. Pp. xxi + 83 incl. pls. 40. Cairo, 1980. American Research Center in Egypt. Price \$45.

Mendes I, published after *Mendes II*, continues the series of 'peripheral' studies concerning the site but does not as yet enter into the heart of the matter, that is to say, the results of the five seasons'

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Mendes I, published after *Mendes II*, continues the series of 'peripheral' studies concerning the site but does not as yet enter into the heart of the matter, that is to say, the results of the five seasons'

excavation work. By comparison with *Mendes* II, the volume is luxurious; printed on excellent paper, pleasingly composed, and with large margins. The photographic reproductions of maps are of consistently high quality.

The greater part of the book is devoted to a detailed description (by R. Holz) of the cartographic evidence concerning Mendes and Thmuis from the time of Herodotus to the present day, illustrated by photographic reproductions of the relevant parts of the maps concerned. The identity of the authors of the maps, their sources—whether information gathered at first hand or borrowed from previous maps without verification, the differences of name by which the site is designated, the changes in its assigned position, etc., are all carefully set out in full. As is natural, the conclusions drawn by the author at the end of this section are the conclusions of a cartographer and concern primarily the typology of the maps themselves considered as subgroupings within the corpus of maps in general. But the information gathered from the study of these same maps relating specifically to the site of Mendes-Thmuis should also have been indicated clearly somewhere in the following chapters. This is not the case. In fact, it is only implicitly included in the statements about the two towns which appear at the beginning of the Editorial Preface; in later chapters it is not clearly separated from the evidence of ancient literary sources or from the ocular testimony of modern visitors to the site. In consequence, the fundamental interest of collecting together such cartographic evidence as has here been published, is not made evident to the uninitiated reader because insufficient stress has been laid on the results derived from its study.

It seems to me that this evidence can be summarized as follows:

1. The name of Mendes as the designation of a specific town (as opposed to the Mendesian Nome) does not appear on any map before the sixteenth century. The two maps illustrated on plate 2, marked 'According to Herodotus' and 'According to Strabo' are, of course, not ancient maps but reconstructions compiled by John Ball in 1942 on the basis of literary evidence from these two authors (cf. chapter 1, p. 4).

2. The *Kom* identified as that of the town of Thmuis is noted regularly on all the maps from the time of Ptolemy to the present day. Only the vocalization of the name and the form and situation of the Tell are subject to a certain fluctuation. The mention of Thmuis on Ball's map 'According to Herodotus' is misleading. Herodotus nowhere mentions the town of Thmuis of the Mendesian Nome for the good reason that it only came into prominence some hundreds of years later. What he mentions is a Thmuite Nome, unattested from other sources and for the moment unidentifiable (but cf. Daressy, *BIFAO* 30, 639). Modern attempts to connect this Thmuite Nome with the later city of Thmuis do not seem to have taken into consideration the anachronism implied in such an identification.

3. Until approximately 1800, the *Kom* of Thmuis appears on the maps as one mass although Sicard in 1722 already vaguely marks two high points within the circumference of the whole. From 1800 to about 1880 the Tell is still drawn as one mass but divided more and more definitely into two separate hillocks within the circumference of the Tell. It is only from 1882 onwards that a definite separation is indicated between the two parts of the mound. On the British War Office map of that year two almost contiguous mounds are shown; after the construction of the Shiwan canal in 1888, the two appear further apart. Even so, the lowest contour line on the 1926 map is still common to the two *Koms*.

The last observation suggests that the two *Koms* which, at the present day seem so definitely separated, were originally one. Although not explicitly stated, this constation is no doubt fundamental to Holz's opinion given in chapter 3 (p. 20): 'Historical, cartographical as well as visual evidence indicates that these two *Koms* were once a continuous landform.' And he adds in a note: 'The cultivated area and exposed banks of the irrigation ditches between the *Koms* abound in pottery sherds and rock fragments. This suggests that agriculture has gradually impinged on the center of the site and divided it into two distinct *Koms*.' Consequently, there seems no good reason for Ochsenschlager's statement to the contrary (chapter 4B, p. 25) that: 'There is at present no definite indication that the *Kom* (Tell Timai) extended north and joined Tell el-Rub'a.'

Observations 1 and 2 confirm the literary evidence which indicates that Mendes as a separate town disappeared between the time when Strabo (24 BC) still included it in his list of Egyptian cities, and the moment in the first century AD when Josephus wrote his history, in which he speaks only of

Thmuis. Ptolemy in the second century and all his successors until the sixteenth century knew only of Thmuis. The sudden resurrection of Mendes on Ortelius's map of 1584 and on other later maps, placed considerably to the north of its true position, can only be attributed to a renewed acquaintance with classical literature and a desire on the part of the cartographers of the period for historical if not geographical accuracy.

The fact that the two Koms were originally one is not necessarily in contradiction with the physical realities which Yoyotte uses to support his etymology of the name of Thmuis (*GLECS* VIII and IX). The Kom was in any case situated near one of the branches of the Nile, although opinions differ as to which branch it was and whether the Kom lay east or west of it. The Butic canal likewise passed in the vicinity of the Kom, most probably to the south of it as proposed by Bietak (*Tell el-Daba'a*, II (1975), 147, fig. 27). The new land built up by these waterways probably extended the original Kom of Mendes southward providing an additional area for the expansion of the city in the Late Period. A gradual displacement of the centre of activity to this new southern suburb would have caused the older parts of the town to fall gradually into disuse and ruin, and eventually to fall prey to the *sebakhin*.

Considering the interest of the material gathered in the two first volumes of Mendes for the history and the geography of the city, we can only sincerely hope that a third volume containing the record of the excavations will shortly be forthcoming.

HELEN JACQUET-GORDON

Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis. By ROBERT A. WILD. *Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain*, 87. Pp. xxx + 307, figs. 32, pls. 30, 1 map. 245 × 160 mm. Leiden, Brill, 1981. ISBN 90 04 06331 5. Price, f 128.

Appendix I (pp. 161–89) of this study is entitled 'Survey of the Sites', and with its detailed notes (pp. 257–76) points to the main emphasis of the work, which is on the extensive archaeological data. This Appendix is in itself a valuable contribution, including as it does a table of all the sites, a description of the sanctuaries listed with a discussion of dating and identification, and an elaborate bibliography which often provides a critical assessment of the publications named. The preceding chapters are entitled 'Overview of the Evidence', 'The Nile Water Crypts', 'Other Types of Fixed Nile Water Containers', 'Why Nile Water?' (covering three chapters), 'Ablution Facilities and Rituals', and 'Egyptianizing the Cult of the Egyptian Gods'. If the last heading might seem puzzling (why should the cult of Egyptian gods need such a process?), the explanation concerns the new wave of Egyptian influence which is apparent in early Imperial times and which relates in some degree to both the Greek East and the Roman West—a matter in which Dr Wild is able to correct the 'simple division' posited by Vidman.

One factor in this phase is the prominence of Osiris Hydreios, and in his discussions of this and other matters Dr Wild refreshingly diverges from several previous writers in taking careful account of the evidence from within Egypt as well as that from without. It is true that when he touches on the evidence of earlier periods, he is not always so dependable, as when he states on page 69 that the idea of Osiris as 'the divine power immanent within the Nile' is one 'which goes back into the earliest stages of Egyptian religion'. He cites Budge, *Gods*, 2, 122, but in fact the association is originally a good deal less direct: see my *Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 151–63. On page 125 the dictum of Isidore Lévy that the adjective in the expression *ψυχρὸν ἕδωρ* 'has no true parallel in Egyptian sources' is surprisingly left unqueried. The word *qbbt*, with the sign for water as determinative, fully expresses the idea (*Wb.* v, 25, 10); further, there is an exact correspondence, with noun and adjective, in the phrase *mw qbḥ* (*Wb.* v, 26, 6). It is none the less typical of Dr Wild's thorough method that he enriches the discussion (pp. 248–9) with a comprehensive collection of the Greek inscriptions invoking the Osirian gift of cold water; nor is his conclusion unacceptable (p. 125)—'the formula is fundamentally Egyptian in its origin, but influenced by familiar formulations found on Greek funerary monuments'.

By and large this is an impressively painstaking study. Although it is concerned mainly with a particular aspect of the cult, in which Osiris is of central importance, it also provides new and valid insights on questions relating to its wider development.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Cities of the Delta, I, Naucratis. By WILLIAM D. E. COULSON and ALBERT LEONARD, JUN. American Research Center in Egypt Reports, Vol. 4. 280 × 215 mm. Pp. xiv + 106, figs. 46, pls. 10. Undena Publications, Malibu, 1981. ISBN 0 89003 080 4 (paper), 0 89003 081 2 (cloth). Price \$20.50 (cloth); \$15.00 (paper).

The remains of archaeological sites containing a long history of human occupation are complicated and unpredictable, and although it is possible to observe patterns, the details of their layout are in every case unique. Even from one area to another quite close by, the different ways in which people occupied spaces and distributed material around them may vary considerably. In Egypt the remains of ancient towns often comprise vast fields of ruins covering acres of land, and in many cases these ruins extend far above and below the modern ground level which surrounds them. Inside the mounds, immaculately preserved organic and inorganic material frequently survives on a large scale, interleaved with the remains of structures built of wood, reeds, mud-brick, and stone. As a single unit the entire site is an accumulation of individual items which cannot be disassociated from one another if the lives of the people who created the archaeological record are to be in any way understood. The contents of the earth thus comprise a unique and intricate historical document in which is recorded a dense archive of information about every aspect of human activity. Like a written document it needs a skilled and patient specialist to read it if the maximum amount of detail is to be drawn from it. Yet in the case of archaeology the very process by which the document is read is also one method by which it is totally destroyed, as if after completing one page it is necessary to eradicate it in order to pass on to the next. The destructive nature of archaeology has been widely recognized, and in recent years methods have been evolved which make it possible to examine and describe the details of stratigraphy on an archaeological site very closely, and in ways which archaeologists had not considered possible before. But this kind of work takes time, and at many of the sites which most require this treatment, time is often frustratingly limited. The enormity of the sites themselves and the scale on which the preservation of buildings and artefacts occurs apparently provides an almost endless prospect for exploration and research, which would eventually fill up many of the gaps in our understanding of ancient Egypt. However, the rapid destruction of the remains of the ancient towns, particularly in the Delta, but also in Upper Egypt, creates an atmosphere of urgency which most workers in the field understand. The pressures imposed on the landscape by the expanding population which needs more land for fields, houses, and cemeteries, and for mud and gravel quarries to make bricks and concrete, are causing changes at an alarming rate as the countryside becomes increasingly more affluent and modern. Just as the archaeologist's skills have developed to bring us closer to a more complete picture of the past, so the very resource which could provide that picture is being eroded with even greater thoroughness. In the face of such conditions compromises have to be made if anything is to be achieved at all, but in an atmosphere of rescue work it is essential for survey and excavation to be carried out with care and a clear view of priorities.

Naucratis is very much part of this scenario. Like many sites both in Egypt and in other parts of the world, it has been affected in the recent past by two quite separate kinds of digging. The excavations of early archaeologists and the activities of the agents of antiquities dealers have disturbed the ground to a considerable depth in the search for architectural remains and portable objects. Equally serious is the damage done by the removal of *sebbakh* (fertile earth) and the levelling of fields for cultivation which have reduced both the vertical and horizontal extent of the ruins; in places where a hundred years ago great *tells* rose out of the landscape there is now only flat farmland. Thus the modern ground level is only an arbitrary one, representing a stratum which was once buried inside the earth, sandwiched between earlier and later occupational debris.

The harmful effects of excavation, mentioned above, make it vital that before further damage is done to a site by more digging, the visible remains and the present ground surface itself should be properly recorded and understood. This is achieved by detailed surface planning and photography, which enables the archaeologist to become sufficiently familiar with his site to begin excavation in a sensible place and on a scale suitable for obtaining useful results. Once excavation has begun it demands complete and accurate recording of the ground as it is removed, followed by clear and comprehensible publication of the results of both the planning and excavation so that the site can be seen in its entirety. A hasty publication is inevitably filled with undigested and ill-considered material in the same way that premature digging creates confusion and avoidable mistakes.

This book is a preliminary report of two seasons of surveying and excavation carried out at Naucratis in the Western Nile Delta during 1978–9 and 1980. It is divided into six main sections beginning with a General Introduction which points out the significance of Naucratis as an important city standing culturally and historically at the beginning of Classical Greek contact with Egypt. This chapter also gives a list of the earliest excavators at Naucratis from Petrie in 1884–5, Gardner in 1886 to Hogarth in 1899 and 1903. The Naucratis Project is introduced as a direct response to the fact that attempts to interpret the results of these earlier excavators' work in a modern way have been largely unsuccessful. Furthermore, their concentration on the monumental, religious architecture of the city has resulted in a serious gap in our knowledge of the mercantile and domestic aspects of Naucratis. In order to place this important early Greek emporium in its proper historical and geographical perspectives, the Naucratis Project was divided between the survey and excavation at the site of Naucratis itself (Kom Geif) and the survey of a much wider area incorporating isolated *koms* which now mark the site of Naucratis and some of the ancient settlements in its vicinity. The second chapter is an Historical Introduction which gives a résumé of the events surrounding the end of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in Egypt, the collapse of Assyria and the rise of the neo-Babylonians. This forms the historical background against which the literary and historical sources for the founding of Naucratis are discussed. Although the evidence is slim, it points to a date early in the reign of Psamtek I for the inception of the city. The policies of Amasis seem to have enlarged and elevated Naucratis to its fullest importance, as Herodotus suggests, and the city was remarkable for possessing the mint at which the first Greek coins made in Egypt were struck. Naucratis became famous for its independent traditions and privileges, which were the inspiration for the laws of another new city, Antinopolis in Middle Egypt, during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian (AD 117–38).

Chapter 3 is an account of the excavations undertaken during the 1980 season at the 'South Mound' on Kom Geif. The excavation was carried out according to a method described as the 'Gezer' or 'modified "Wheeler–Kenyon" method', and no local labour was used for digging. Two 4 × 4 m trial trenches were dug in part of an area in which Petrie reported the position of a large platform of mud-brick. The trenches were sunk to the water table, at a depth of 3 m below modern ground level. Testing the ground with these two sondages was intended to 'present maximum vertical exposure of the archaeological soils' to provide 'details of the stratigraphy of Naucratis'.

The fourth and fifth chapters deal with 'The Survey of Naucratis' and 'The Regional Survey', both of which are important and urgent aspects of the Project. Denudation of the site in recent years has changed dramatically the appearance of many of the principal monuments, and in some cases areas of ruins have been partly or completely removed in the extraction of *sebbakh* and the breaking up of stone. The local survey of Naucratis was carried out by dividing the ground into numbered strips in which pottery and other material was gathered from the surface for analysis and with the aim of forming a 'reference ceramic typology'. Material was collected from the perimeter of the lake which now marks the site of Petrie's excavations, as well as from the surrounding fields. A summary of the material shows that everywhere late Classical and Roman sherds predominated, with painted sherds of the last two centuries BC, and African Red Slip wares datable to the sixth and seventh centuries AD. The regional survey involved the examination of an area roughly 27 × 14 km around Naucratis itself. The sites incorporated into this area vary considerably in the dates and condition of the remains still visible above the ground. Again surface material was collected and used to provide possible functional and chronological information about the various sites. The book ends with a short conclusion and nine plates with photographs of pottery and views of some of the areas examined.

The General Introduction sets out a plan for the progress of the Naucratis Project containing a highly laudable series of aims demonstrating that the authors have understood the threats currently faced by sites of this kind, and the urgent need to examine them using other disciplines, such as physical anthropology, botany, sedimentology, and the social sciences, as well as archaeology. However, although this is only a preliminary report, its contents leave one wholly unconvinced that, as far as the archaeological aspect is concerned, the authors know how to achieve those aims, and the other disciplines do not apparently contribute to the results and interpretations presented here. Even more serious are the implications of their methods of excavation when the amount of damage they cause to the archaeological remains is considered against the minimal amount of information they can supply.

The first season reported here lasted for four weeks during which as many as five sites were

'surveyed and mapped in a preliminary way'; this work included the 'preparation of a site plan and the gathering of a representative collection' of material from the surface at each site. A season of one month for this kind of work suggests that the treatment given to each area was extremely superficial and this is verified by the plans published on fig. 28 (el-Barnugi), fig. 33 (Kom Firin), fig. 37 (Kom Dahab), fig. 40 (Kom Kortas), fig. 42 (Kom Barud), fig. 44 (Kom el-Kharaz), and fig. 46 (Kom el-Hisn), which really convey very little information about each site.¹ Such plans as these represent preliminary sketches, with the most conspicuous landmarks drawn in, which usually precede the detailed survey work of making accurate and informative site plans, and are not generally for publication if a proper survey is being done.

The second season was longer than the first, and was spent on the excavations described in the third chapter. Despite the authors' stated loyalty to the 'Wheeler-Kenyon' method of excavation the first season of digging at Naucratis employed a method which in 1954 Wheeler himself described thus: 'The old practice of cutting trial-trenches, of making *sondages*, as a preliminary to, or even in lieu of, area-excitation was frequently a substitute for intelligent thinking and clear aiming. It was to a large extent "shooting into the brown" on the off-chance of bringing down a bird.'² As Wheeler goes on to point out, trial trenches rarely prove anything save of the most general nature, since they are so localized that they reduce a three-dimensional site to a two-dimensional slit across unknown territory. Furthermore, they are usually so small that the important relationships between architecture and related stratified occupational debris are destroyed in a way which makes it impossible to record them systematically. This destruction is probably their worst characteristic, because it frequently does such harm that no amount of careful work can repair the dislocated fragments of the site.

The eleven pages devoted to the description of the excavation make it abundantly clear that this has been the case at Naucratis. The aim of the excavation was to 'present the maximum vertical exposure of the archaeological soils still extant at this important site. It was felt that the horizontal clearing of large areas should be postponed until such time as we had produced a clear understanding of which historical periods were still preserved at Naucratis.' For this reason the emphasis is placed in the report almost entirely on the pottery retrieved from both trenches. No indication is given of whether other small finds were found.

A typology of the pottery recovered from the trial trenches is presented on pages 20-9. The material is divided into ten basic 'fabric types' some of which have subdivisions incorporating variations of colour and different surface treatments. However, Type VI, 'Amphorae' is based on shape, not fabric, and Types VII and VIII seem to be based on surface treatment only. Type VII consists of three painted sherds whose fabric is 'similar to Type IIA, and VIII includes 'Red-slipped closely burnished ware' of different fabrics. In their criteria for the different types the authors have fluctuated between basic fabrics (i.e. clays, inclusions, and firing properties), wares (usually taken to mean a specific combination of fabric and surface treatment, i.e. colour, coating, and texture), and shape, which does not have to be connected with either fabric or ware. They have also not related their fabric groups to the usual broad categories of alluvial silts, marls, (desert clays) and mixtures which are the conventional terms among Egyptian ceramicists. One suspects that their Types IX and X may be a marl clay which often fires with a pinkish bloom on the surface, but their descriptions are unclear. The pottery drawings, done mostly from sherds and not whole vessels, are arranged by the 'Fabric Types' and not, as is more usual, by shape, making it difficult to compare the basic shapes.

The pottery types are related to the numbered *loci* and strata of the excavation, but this is hampered by the cumbersome verbal descriptions of the pottery which might have been better presented with the help of diagrams. On figs. 5 and 6 the plans and section drawings of the trenches are laid out opposite one another so that it is easy to compare the two. However, both are too over-simplified to provide adequate illustrations for the written descriptions of the work, and a proper understanding of the site is impossible since no indication is given of what, if anything, was on the surface before excavation began.

The excavation of 1980 failed to provide the sequence of datable stratified pottery for which the excavators had hoped. They realized that the answer to their dilemma was open area excavation, yet

¹ A better map of Kom Firin is in *AJA* 86 (1982), 376.

² Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Archaeology from the Earth* (Penguin, 1956), 81.

during the next season, in 1981, which concentrated on Kom Firin, more uninformative and damaging trial trenches were dug into two of the most important areas of the site. This time they were 2×2 m.¹ The south mound at Kom Geif, into which the 1980 trenches were cut is probably the remains of a substantial mud-brick building rising to a height of several metres above the modern ground level. It is presumably part of a platform excavated by Petrie, and interpreted by him as storerooms, together with its surrounding tumble of fallen mud-brick. The 1980 trenches must have been dug at a spot on its west side, somewhere north of the area marked as a cemetery on Petrie's plan.² Platforms of this type are now well known from many Egyptian town and temple sites. They are constructed of massive mud-brick walls which form compartments filled with redeposited spoil, and their purpose was to act as foundations for large buildings. In towns the filling material was frequently redeposited domestic rubbish containing vast quantities of sherds. The pottery types described in connection with the 1981 work at Kom Firin, are of Ptolemaic and Roman date, but the same levels seem also to have contained a fragment of a faience relief chalice, wrongly restored in *AJA* 86 (1982), 379, illus. 15. This type of vessel belongs to the Third Intermediate Period, and its presence strongly suggests that it and its associated pottery were all in a disturbed or redeposited context. One suspects that the same is the case at Kom Geif, and the decision to begin excavating was taken prematurely before the ground surface had been adequately studied and understood. After reading in the General Introduction that our knowledge of Naucratis is limited because Petrie and his contemporaries concentrated their efforts on the religious architecture of the city, it is odd to find more excavations in the same area when the stated aim of the new work is to investigate the non-religious aspects of the city.

The photographs on plate 3 demonstrate the localized nature of the areas examined in 1980, and the limited amount of material to be derived from such work. On plates 8, 9, and 10 the photographs comprise views of various sites in the vicinity of Naucratis included in the Regional Survey. Several of them are too highly contrasting to show any detail, or are blurred, and most are taken without a scale. They are crammed together, and the overlapping corners on plates 8 and 9 give the impression of a scrapbook.

The book gives the impression that the authors are working in a vacuum. They have clearly understood the serious threat to the remains of Naucratis from the dangers described above, yet their methods and results are not integrated with those of other archaeologists working at similar sites in Egypt. One feels also that there is a lack of understanding of Egypt, and of Egyptology in general, since on page 8 in the 'Historical Introduction' we read of the family relationships of the last three kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty; 'the XXVth Dynasty retained one last claimant, Tantamani, son of Shebitku, sister [*sic*] of Taharqa.' It is disappointing that with several good precedents now set in the field of settlement archaeology in Egypt, the early stages of the Naucratis Project should have been presented so precipitously, before any useful information had been obtained from the site.

MICHAEL JONES

The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras. By JANUSZ KARKOWSKI. Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences et Centre Polonais d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne dans la République Arabe d'Égypte au Caire sous la direction de Kazimierz Michałowski, *Faras V*. 295 × 200 mm. Pp. xi + 372, pls. 41. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe—Éditions Scientifiques de Pologne, 1981. No price stated.

The fifth volume of the Faras series comprises two main parts, one a discussion of historical problems relating to Pharaonic Faras and the other a comprehensive catalogue of inscribed remains, ranging from building stones to scarabs, discovered at the site not only by the Polish expedition but also by previous excavators. As a result of the Polish campaign necessary correctives are made to earlier interpretations of Pharaonic Faras. With the revelation that the bulk of inscribed blocks from the Meroitic enclosure derived from other sites, most notably the southern temple at Buhen, the supposed importance of Faras in Pharaonic times is somewhat diminished, but our knowledge of the Hatshepsut-Thutmose III temple at Buhen is correspondingly increased through Janusz Karkowski's meticulous study of the fragmentary remains.

The Middle Kingdom evidence relating to Faras is not copious. From the author's well-reasoned discussion of toponyms it can be concluded that Inek-tawy was the probable name of a Middle

Kingdom fortress at Faras. During the New Kingdom Ibeshek served to designate the area around the Hathor rock, while Sehetep-netjeru was the name of Tutankhamun's walled town at Faras. The Pharaonic history of Faras witnessed its ups and downs. After late Second Intermediate Period and early Eighteenth Dynasty activity, there seems to have been a levelling off of interest until the reign of Tutankhamun, when a new town and temple were built. The suggestion that under Thutmose IV there may have been some building in this area is based on a very subjective stylistic interpretation of a fragmentary wall block, No. 60, showing the partially preserved faces of Amun and a king. While the photograph of the block supports a pre-Amarna dating in that Amun's face appears to be recarved at a lower level than the royal head, suggesting a post-Amarna restoration of Amun, the fact that the block has been reshaped for reuse makes one wonder whether it was originally located at Faras. After Ramesses II Faras declined in importance. Most of the interesting Pharaonic material from Faras is due to the activity of Christians, who brought in older blocks from Buhen and Aksha as building material. This is where the major impact of this volume lies, in particular in supplementing Caminos's noteworthy publication of the Buhen temples.

Analysis of the numerous cut-down Thutmosid blocks has permitted Karkowski to prove the source of this material: in some cases actual joins can be made to blocks forming the lower courses preserved in the Buhen temple, recently re-erected in Khartoum. Particularly significant are the fragments of architrave from Faras, for no architraves survived at Buhen itself. Through painstaking investigation Karkowski has reconstructed the architraves and indicated their probable placement. It can be concluded that while the temple proper and side colonnades were constructed during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the forecourt with its columns, pillars, and architraves reflects an expansion of the monument during the latter's sole reign. The asymmetrical arrangement of the forecourt and its entrance may be due to the presence of robing chambers (*prw-dwt*) in the forecourt to the right of the doorway. Since the Faras blocks generally derive from the upper courses of the Buhen temple, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the northern sanctuary of the temple was unroofed and thus served as a chapel for the solar form of Horus of Buhen.

With regard to the catalogue, each item is treated in considerable detail and with appropriate bibliographical references. Although the photographs are not always too clear, hand-copies of the inscriptions serve to elucidate obscurities. A Ramessid door-jamb, No. 432, might have benefited from a facsimile drawing. Instead of *tnyw tm* I would suggest reading *šnyw* (old *šnw*) *tm*, 'all the courtiers', and the supposed *p* of a demonstrative *pn* is really part of the *tyty*-logogram so that the second column might read *r-prt hty-c tyty n nsw m t r dr-f*, 'Noble, count, curtain of the king in the entire land'. In view of the Nubian provenience of this block, it is tempting to assign its ownership to a Viceroy of Kush like Setau, who left a stela at the Hathor rock, rather than to a vizier.

Although one might point to some deficiencies in the production of this volume (my copy for review was received with a broken spine), I believe that the late Professor Kazimierz Michałowski, to whom this work is dedicated, would indeed have been most proud of this contribution by a former student of his.

EDWARD F. WENTE

Das Grab des Anch-hor. By MANFRED BIETAK and ELFRIEDE REISER-HASLAUER. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo der Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts IV-V. Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie VI-VII. 2 vols. 302 × 236 cm. Pp. x + 308, figs. 121, pls. 158, plans 32 loose in box. Vienna, 1978 and 1982. ISBN 3 7001 0445 6. Price DM 138 and DM 200.

In retrospect, one of the few happy consequences of the political situation in Egypt in the late 1960s and early 1970s was the renewal of interest in the Theban tombs of the Late Period, which stemmed from the concentration of expeditions at Luxor, where Austrian, Belgian, German, and Italian missions worked side by side in the Asasif. Some of the tombs uncovered then have already been published (Basa, Mutirdis, part of Ibi), while the appearance of others (Padihorresnet, Patjenfy, Sheshonq) is keenly awaited. One surprise of the campaign was the discovery of the large and previously unknown tomb of a man whose very existence was not suspected, namely Ankhhor, Chief Steward of the God's Wife of Amun, who held office under Psammetichus II and Apries. Some of what turn out to be his ushabtis have been in European collections since the early nineteenth century, but their precise provenance was unknown, and they do not reveal his connection with the God's

Wife. It is this tomb which is presented here in two substantial volumes, accompanied by a box of loose plates.

It must be said at once that this is the most comprehensive account ever published of an Egyptian tomb. For the first time, the clearance of a monument of this size and nature has been undertaken, and the results presented, from an archaeological perspective, as an excavation rather than as an exercise in shifting sand. A very full and painstaking analysis of the architectural and archaeological evidence enables the complex history of the tomb to be reconstructed. This is all the more remarkable since it was substantially altered by subsequent users and has suffered grievously at the hands of generations of robbers. Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer's publication far surpasses in scope the traditional tomb report, as a brief survey of the contents demonstrates.

In chapters 1–2, the topographical and archaeological context of the tomb is established, and the role played by the processional route of the Valley Festival to Hatshepsut's mortuary temple in the orientation of the Asasif tombs is elucidated. The structure of the tomb, its decoration, and its inscriptions are clearly presented in chapters 4–5. Those buried in the tomb fall into two main groups, datable to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and to the Thirtieth Dynasty–Ptolemaic period respectively. The burial remains of both are fully described in chapter 5, the most remarkable finding being the single intact burial, that of one Wahibre. A small number of demotic 'identification tags' associated with the later group are considered separately in chapter 8 by J. Quaegebeur. The family tree of Ankhhor is discussed by E. Graefe in chapter 3 (cf. J. Taylor, *CdE* 59 (1984), 222–30), and the establishment of other family relationships is attempted in chapter 7. These are complicated by the recurrence of the same names, and are subject to some correction, cf. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 59 (1984), 238–41. The task of prosopographic study has been greatly facilitated by the provision of a genealogical register of the over 160 individuals named in the tomb, in chapter 9. In chapter 6, there is discussion of the relief work under the headings of technique, canon, prototypes, and style. The work concludes (chapters 10–11) with technical reports on the animal mummies and grain samples from the tomb.

Illustration is extremely full, and all aspects of excavation, architecture, decoration, inscription, and finds are covered in the text figures, plans, and plates. One's only reservations are that some of the figures on the loose plates are not large enough to require such a cumbersome method of presentation, and that the matt paper used for the plates has meant a lack of clarity and contrast in the photographs. The latter does detract somewhat from an otherwise exemplary publication.

The importance of the tomb of Ankhhor is manifold. From the prosopographic point of view, it contributes substantially to our knowledge of the entourage of the God's Wife, which came to dominate the Theban aristocracy in the seventh and sixth centuries BC, and this information has already been utilized by Graefe in his *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun*. It also adds to the quite abundant but still relatively unexplored evidence for the Theban priesthood in the fourth century and Ptolemaic period. The architectural significance of the tomb can best be judged from the wider context of D. Eigner's recent book, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole*. It also materially enhances our picture of the burial practices of Thebes in the latter part of the first millennium BC. The contrast between the graceful charm of the relief carving and the shoddiness of Ankhhor's own individually made but uniformly hideous ushabtis is particularly intriguing, and provides a measure of the variation in quality of funerary provision, even in relatively high circles. Finally, despite reuse, damage by robbers, and the fact that the decoration was either intentionally limited in scope, or never finished (only the 'Lichthof' being extensively carved), the tomb has an important contribution to make to our knowledge of Saite art. Some of the scenes (oasis 'tribute', apiculture, tomb owner in royal baldachin) are of great interest, as are the similarities to Eighteenth Dynasty tomb motifs. Bietak argues against direct 'tomb to tomb' copying, and for the existence of pattern books, which he suggests were compiled in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty from scenes in tombs near the Asasif, particularly of the reigns of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis III. The picture will no doubt become clearer as more of these fascinating monuments are published (cf. Manuelian, *Prolegomena zur Untersuchung saitischer 'Kopien'*, in *SAK* 10 (1983), 221–45). Much stimulus has already been provided, and the authors and their colleagues are heartily to be thanked for recovering so much so successfully, and presenting it so clearly and so fully.

ANTHONY LEAHY

Les Statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne (1580-1085 avant JC). Signification et insertion dans le culte du Ka royal. By CATHERINE CHADEFAUD. 210 × 295 mm. Pp. xiii + 233 and 11 text-figs. (line-drawings). Paris, 1982, published by the author. ISBN 2 903986 00 2. Price £30 or \$60.

This book is in the main a corpus of royal and private standard-bearing statues that have come down to us from Pharaonic Egypt either as sculptures in the round (statues proper) or figured in wall-paintings and reliefs; the statues in question carry a standard (sometimes two) that is known in Egyptian as *ḥꜣ mdw šps(y)*, 'the august staff', and consists of a pole topped with a divine or a royal head, or a divine effigy in full, or a symbolic object.

The corpus comprises 149 items ranging from a bust attributed to the Twelfth-Dynasty Pharaoh Ammenemes (Amenemhat) III, c.1800 BC, to a relief temp. Ramesses XI, the last king of the Twentieth Dynasty, c.1050 BC, thus stretching over a 750 years' time-span. There also seven additional records that provide textual evidence of the cult of the *mdw šps(y)* in the Saïte and Ptolemaic periods and bring up to 156 the total number of objects included in the compilation. The treatment accorded to them is strictly verbal: apart from two reliefs reproduced in very indifferent line-drawings, none of the other 154 items is graphically illustrated. Not to mention errors, irrelevancies, misrepresentations, and omissions, the verbal descriptions of the statues, reliefs, and paintings that make up the corpus suffer from a serious deficiency, namely the absence of the hieroglyphic legends found upon or around the objects described. The corpus would have gained immensely by the inclusion of good hand-copies of the original texts, which are usually quite brief, seldom fail to throw some light on the representations to which they belong, and are always indispensable to the earnest student. Thus on page 19 the reader is told of 'une inscription brève mais capitale pour la compréhension du rôle du porte-enseigne'; he must, however, make shift with a French version of it and look elsewhere for the Egyptian original. Similar remarks pointing out either the unusual character of a given label text, or its significance, or some noteworthy feature of the inscriptions accompanying the standard-bearing statues occur frequently in the book under review, and always without even a snippet of the original texts.

The corpus is followed by a 'liste-catalogue des linteaux, stèles et graffiti en rapport avec le culte du Ka royal au Nouvel Empire', with a total of seventy-seven such records; these are summarily dealt with and supplemented by five line-drawings no better than those mentioned above, and again without the relevant label texts.

The study of the records in the corpus and the list catalogue has led Mrs Chadeaud to a conclusion which few will find unexceptionable and which had better be given here in her own words.

Nous avons dégagé la constatation suivante: tous les éléments qui mettent en rapport le *mdw šps*, le Ka royal et les demandes faites par les particuliers se trouvent tous réunis de façon convergente sur un type bien particulier de monuments, les linteaux de portes. Que ce soit par l'iconographie ou par les textes, voir encore par l'amalgame des deux sur un même monument, le culte voué au ka royal du souverain, de son vivant, perçe sans ambiguïté, si l'on accorde une attention minutieuse aux moindres détails: par exemple l'équivalence du nom d'Horus sur le *srḥ* avec la figuration anthropomorphe du Ka royal, les jeux de graphisme entre *kꜣ* ('nom') et *kꜣ/kꜣw* ('nourriture, aliments').

She has also discovered from the analysis of the texts found on door-lintels that the wording of a good number of prayers addressed to the king's soul is borrowed from the phraseology of divine addresses; and she observes, to conclude, that

les documents du Nouvel Empire et ceux de la Basse-Époque permettent de parler, en quelque sorte, d'une institutionnalisation du culte du *mdw šps* alors que la statuaire porte-enseigne disparaît définitivement de la documentation à la fin de l'époque ramesside.

Readers will find following her argumentation anything but plain sailing, for it is always rambling, often question-begging, never cogent, and not made any easier by the exasperatingly intricate system of cross-references she has chosen to use. Mrs Chadeaud has yet to learn that the simplest and quickest way of directing the reader to anything in a book, whether a statement, or a record, or an illustration, is by just giving the number of the page on which it occurs, instead of puzzling him with an awkward system of siglae of her own invention which hardly anybody will ever have time and patience enough even to attempt to grasp.

Page x: the author distinguishes three different positions for both royal and private standard-bearing statues and observes that 'dans les trois cas le personnage est figuré dans la position de la marche apparent, pied gauche en avant'. This is not always so. The feet of some standard-bearers are side by side, as if the subject was stationary; see, for example, Budge, *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, 201, photograph of No. 729; Koefoed-Petersen, *Les Stèles égyptiennes*, pl. 36a; Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* III, pl. 168, fig. 6. Such is also the posture of still unpublished Ramesside standard-bearing statues in the speos of Haremḥab at Gebel es-Silsilah.

Page 3, 'Remarque': to doubt that the standards in the Cairo Museum statue of Ammenemes III can be compared to those held by statues of New Kingdom Pharaohs is to deny the evidence of sight and touch.

Page 4, 'Rep. bs-rf', i.e. 'representation in low relief' in two of the bold-face headings is wrong, and so is the phrase 'le bas-relief de la première salle de la tombe, mur sud' further down on the same page. The entire decoration of the wall, including the picture of the standard-bearing statue, is not in low relief but in paint applied on a flat layer of stucco (cf. Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV*, 2). The painting is polychrome and described in great detail by Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 4, 71 f., whose comments on this representation of Tuthmosis IV as standard-bearer are very much worthy of note.

Page 4, 'Bibliographie': add the above cited article by Eaton-Krauss and the Nims reference on page 72 n. 17 of her article.

Page 5, 'Bibliographie': add Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, 247 f. with reference to plate 186.

Page 7: add Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 4, 72 (Postscript) to the bibliography of the fragmentary statue Berlin 17020.

Page 9, 'Bibliographie': add Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 4, 72 f.

Page 11, 'Bibliographie': correct 'pl. XXI (a)' to 'pl. XXII, c'. Add Karkowski, *The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras*, 72 n. 333 and p. 140 (2), giving compelling reasons for identifying the statue with Tutankhamun. For the temple of this king at Faras, for which Mrs C. quotes some bibliography on p. 11 n. (a), see Karkowski, op. cit. 115 f.

Page 14, 'Remarque': Contrary to Mrs C.'s opinion, James's rendering of the text on the Brooklyn fragment is impeccable and makes virtually certain that the piece 'comes from a statue presumably made for a high official at the express wish of Horemheb'. Neither the word *mnw*, 'monument', nor the dedication formula *ir-n-f m mnw-f*, 'he made as his monument', occurs in the Brooklyn text, and therefore Mrs C.'s cross-reference to note 9 on page 172 of her book is not pertinent; equally irrelevant to the elucidation of the Brooklyn text are the seven inscriptions she mentions at the end of note (c) on page 14.

Page 30, 'Grille descriptive': 'détruite' must be a *lapsus calami* for 'décrite'. Surely the statue was not successively destroyed by Burton, Wilkinson, and Lepsius.

Page 35, 'Bibliographie': the Bubastis bust is also briefly mentioned by James and Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 8, 12, 41, a book published a year after Mrs C.'s work.

Page 38, 'Bibliographie': add Uphill, *The Temples of Per Ramesses*, 71, T.242; 150, T.242 (published in 1984).

Page 39, 'Bibliographie': add *ibid.* 8, T.1; 129, T.1-2.

Page 40, 'Bibliographie': correct 'Gardiner-Griffith' to 'Gardner-Griffith'.

Page 45, 'Bibliographie': add Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* II, 342 (detailed description of the statue and translation of the text on the staff).

Pages 51 f.: PE Mnp, 3 is a hybrid resulting from the crossing of two different monuments. One is a statue of Merenptah I, for which see PM IV, 17 (70); the other is a statue of Ramesses II (Cairo J. d'É. 37481), on which see Daressy, *ASAE* 20, 9, no. 4, and Uphill, *The Temples of Per Ramesses*, 71, T.243. Both are royal standard-bearing statues from Tanis, though on neither of them is to be found the least trace of Prince Sety-Merenptah, described by Mrs C. as being represented 'debout, en bas-relief, vêtu d'une longue robe plissée' on the left side of the statue—a pure fantasy! On page 52, line 6, read '(1888)' for '(1885)' and 'plan 70' instead of 'plan 106'. On line 9 delete the irrelevant 'et 10', and note that Ramesses II's cartouche is found on the statue Cairo J. d'É. 37481 and therefore, *pace* Mrs C., Daressy's attribution of it to that king is, on the face of it, undoubtedly correct. Mrs C. has misread the cartouche on the buckle of Merenptah I's belt (cf. Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. 7, no. 136); it does not hold 'une épithète spécifique du souverain "Ba-en-Rê, objet d'amour d'Amon"', but Merenptah

I's nomen cartouche in the unusual (faulty?) variant *Mr(·n)-'Imn ḥtp-ḥr-Mꜣꜣt* also found in Petrie and Walker, *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*, pl. 21, bottom right.

Pages 52 f.: PE Mnp, 4 is another conflation of two different sculptures from Tanis. One is the statue of Merenptah I cited in PM IV, 20 (106), the other is Ramesses II's statue described by Daressy, *ASAE* 20, 9 f., no. 5, Cairo J. d'É. 37483. Here again Mrs C.'s lively imagination conjures up a relief of Prince Sety-Merenptah which neither of the above statues bears, and whose attitude she describes in detail, adding that the crown prince is here named with his principal titles and that the relief would appear to be a later addition to the statue, 'exécutée après coup, comme le suggère Daressy (op. cit., p. 10)'—a ludicrous fabrication, all of this, of which Daressy is wholly innocent (such side relief of the future Sethos II is found, however, on the statue from el-Ashmûnein published by Maspero, *Le Musée Égyptien*, II, 37 ff. with pl. 13 (B), and Chabân, *ASAE* 8, 211 f.). Contrary to her statement on page 52, line 19, Daressy did not err in attributing J. d'É. 37483 to Ramesses II, for the statue bears his cartouche. In the Petrie reference on page 52 correct '(1885)' to '(1888)' and 'pl. VIII to pl. VII'. Cancel the De Rougé reference: there is no 'reproduction', not even a verbal allusion to Merenptah I's statue in any of the four volumes of his *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*. Mrs C. wrongly remarks that on the statue she designates as PE Mnp, 4 one of Merenptah I's Horian names refers epithetically to him as 'Fils d'Amon', which is wrong: *sꜣ'Imn* is not to be found anywhere on this particular statue, though it does occur on another of the same king; see Petrie, *Tanis*, II, pl. 7, no. 136 (plan 70). In note (e) correct 'p. 349' to 'p. 348'. Note (h) is thoroughly bungled: the reference is wrong, for 'pl. VIII' read 'pl. VII'; the epithet *iti wsr rnpwt* said to be inscribed on the right-hand standard held by Merenptah I is neither there nor on any of the preserved parts of the statue; it may be found, however, on the above-mentioned statue No. 136 and elsewhere, for it is not unusual. A fragmentary legend on the left-hand standard reads, according to Mrs C., '*djꜣ rnp nb*': no text, whether damaged or whole, either on the standard or on any part of the statue could possibly admit of that reading or of a reading even remotely resembling it, while her version of the fanciful legend ('qu'il soit pourvu de jouissance en qualité de maître des Deux Terres') calls to mind the 'imaginative folly' of Athanasius Kircher's translations.

Page 55 and note (d) on page 56: the statue Louvre A.24 is said to be made of yellow sandstone from Gebel es-Silsilah on the authority of Yoyotte, *Les Trésors des Pharaons*, 256: surely his own sheer guess, for there is no indication on the statue, textual or otherwise, of the provenance of the stone. In the Vandier *MAE* reference, correct 'pl. cxxvii (5)' to 'pl. cxxviii (5)'.

Page 79 at end: add to the corpus two fragmentary reliefs from Memphis published by Schulman, *JARCE* 6, 155, nos. 2 and 3 with pl. 1, figs. 2 and 3. *Pace* Schulman, the king was not 'represented offering a small statue of a deity to another deity'. Note that in the representations to which Schulman refers the proffered statuette is always much further away from the king's face than on either of the Memphite reliefs, and also the king's free hand, raised palm-outward in a characteristic gesture, intervenes between his face and the statuette. In the two Memphite reliefs the king was doubtless holding a *mdw šps* topped with a full image of Ptah enthroned (see, for instance, Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin*, pl. 74), and the curved line taken by Schulman to be 'part of the hand of the king which supports the offering' is the strengthening strut or brace of the bracket; note, for example, the curved outline of the strut in Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. 30, middle right.

Still another royal standard-bearing statue of uncertain attribution (Amenophis II? Tuthmosis IV?) should be added here; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 51 and pl. 72; Eaton-Krauss, *SAK* 4, 70 with nn. 7-11.

Add also the head of a Tanis statue that held a single standard; cf. Daressy, *ASAE* 20, 10, no. 9; Uphill, *The Temples of Per Ramesses*, 71, T.245.

Page 89, 'Remarques': the hieroglyphic inscription on the statue is misinterpreted here; it does not mention 'les divinités de Ouset' but 'Hathor dwelling in Waset and all the gods of the land', with — carved in error for —, as noted by Roeder.

Page 99, 'Remarques' on Kha'emwaset's statue from Sheikh Mubarik: Mrs C. affirms that 'le culte concerne ici l'enseigne elle-même avec Hathor pour divinité locale', and unwarrantedly bases her statement upon a text on the statue for which she refers the reader to Daressy, *ASAE* 16, 255. The text simply mentions Hathor as the giver or potential giver of sundry boons to Prince Kha'emwaset and says nothing about the cult of the standard, either explicitly or by implication.

Page 100: add Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, 254 f. with reference to pl. 206b, to the bibliography of PE E.1 (Ouennefer). Add also Clère in Posener-Krieger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 1, 155 ff., published in 1985, three years after Mrs C.'s book.

Page 101: following Wennūfer's statue Louvre A.66 add to the E Series the anonymous standard-bearing statue described by Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, 1, 252 f. (E).

Page 112, 'Bibliographie': add James and Davies, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 45, fig. 52.

Page 115: add Vandersleyen, *Das Alte Ägypten*, 254 with reference to pl. 206a, to the bibliography of PE L.5 (Penbouï).

Page 120, PE M.1: the title of Koefoed-Petersen's book is not *Catalogue des Stèles* but *Les Stèles égyptiennes*; the word 'catalogue' appears neither on the cover nor on the bastard title nor on the title-page of the book.

Page 123, Rep. PE P.3: 'bas-relief' is wrong; the figure of the standard-bearer is not carved but painted on a flat surface of pink lime plaster; cf. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, 11.

Page 123, Rep. PE P.4: same error, not 'bas-relief' but polychrome paint on flat whitewashed plaster; cf. Nelson and Hölscher, *Work in Western Thebes 1931-33*, 50 and fig. 21.

Page 124, Rep. PE P.7: 'bas-relief' is wrong; the entire decoration of the tomb is in paint applied on a 'badigeon au lait de chaux'; cf. Bruyère, *Tombes thébaines de Deir el-Médine à décoration monochrome*, 57.

Page 126, Rep. PE P.13: 'stèle' should at least be queried; this record, now in Chicago, had better be described as a fragmentary relief. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions*, III, 62, no. 17, should be added to the bibliography. The vizier's name is not Ptahhotep (so misread again on p. 223, top right) but Raḥotep var. Paraḥotep; cf. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 41, 223 ff.

Page 131, KN 15: the lintel is not from 'Sedment tombe de Meryatoum'; its provenance is unknown, cf. Cramer, *ZÄS* 72, 96 (18). The Petrie reference given here by Mrs C. is irrelevant.

Page 132, KN 26 is said to be a 'linteau fragmentaire', which is wrong. Černý (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 180, no. 269, refers to it as a 'block 51 × 41 cm., probably a door jamb'; but PM VII, 354, top line, rightly describe it as the 'lower part of a stela with figure of a royal scribe', and so too Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, 88, who found the fragment, judged it to be.

Page 132, line 2 from top: correct '(1900)' to '(1930)'.

Page 132, KN 27: 'linteau fragmentaire' should be queried. Černý (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 178, no. 253, states: 'judging by its dimensions, 63 × 39 cm., the fragment is probably a sculptured block'.

Page 133: KN 35 *bis* is a fragmentary relief which Mrs C. for no good reason labels 'linteau (trois fragments)'. Neither Petrie nor Stewart, who studied and published the fragments, even tentatively suggested that they might have been parts of a lintel. Direct examination of the fragments at University College London convinced the reviewer that they cannot be lintel remains. Cf. Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, 36 with pl. 38, 1; id., *Ancient Egypt*, 1914, 23, fig. 18; Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, 1, 56 with pl. 45, 1; Caminos, *JEA* 64, 157.

Page 134: KN 41 is described as a 'linteau (deux fragments)', which is incorrect; cf. Daressy, *RT* 14, 28: No. xxxvii is a door-lintel (dessus de porte), No. xxxviii is a door-jamb (montant de porte).

Page 136, KN 55: correct 'stèle' to 'linteau'. Add to the bibliography Helck, *Urk.* IV, 1929 f. (no. 718); Radwan, *MDAIK* 29, 71 ff. with pl. 27, b; Dewachter, *RdE* 35, 87 with n. 28 on p. 88, and p. 90, fig. 5.

Page 136: KN 58 is not a 'stèle rupestre' but a round-topped free-standing stela; see Černý (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 175, no. 247, who refers to the photograph in Petrie, *Researches in Sinai*, opposite p. 72, fig. 85, which 'gives an admirable idea of the commanding position in which the stela was set up'.

Page 136, KN 60: same error, not a 'stèle rupestre' but a free-standing stela erected by the main entrance of the temple of Hathor at Serabît el-Khâdim; cf. PM V, 249 f. (Room A, No. 252).

Page 137, KN 61: surely not a 'stèle rupestre' but a free-standing one since it was found among the ruins of the temple mentioned in the immediately preceding paragraph; cf. Černý (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 178, no. 254; PM V, 363, no. 254.

Page 137: KN 64 is wrongly described as a 'stèle rupestre'. It was a free-standing stela that flanked the entrance to the Hathor temple in Sinai; cf. Černý (ed.), *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, II, 186, no. 271.

Pages 148 f. with nn. 115–17 on page 182: dealing with the materials the *mdw špsw* or 'august standards' were made of, Mrs C. writes, 'le *mdw šps* était tiré d'un bois précieux¹¹⁵ souvent plaqué de feuilles d'or. Il existe aussi l'attestation d'un pieu incrusté de cristal de roche¹¹⁶, et peut-être d'un réalisé en cuivre¹¹⁷.' Precious wood yes, but neither gold leaf, nor inlaid rock-crystal, nor yet copper, at least in the light of the evidence she inaccurately cites on page 182. The alleged evidence is a fragmentary block from Armant bearing the lower end of three columns of a hieroglyphic text; fig. 1 on this page reproduces the published facsimile.

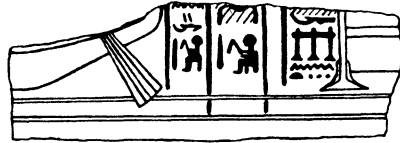


FIG. 1

Mrs C. renders: "'... un bâton (*mdw*) d'ébène [...], un bâton d'or ... de cristal [...]"', which is clearly incorrect. Read: (1) ... *an august staff of [ebo]ny* (2) ... *an august staff of gold (?) or silver (?)* (3) ... *faïence*. Note that the text reads *mdw šps* both in column 1 and column 2, not simply *mdw*. The mutilated condition of the inscription renders it uncertain as to the identity of the material of the standard in column 2: it could be either *nbw* or *hd*, hence the double query; and there is not a tittle of evidence that *thnt* in column 3 refers to a *mdw šps*, therefore 'l'attestation d'un pieu incrusté de cristal de roche' does simply not exist. Mrs C. also errs in dating this block to the reign of Amenophis III; there is good reason to think it is temp. Amenophis II, cf. M. S. Drower in Mond and Myers, *Temples of Armant*, Text, 174 bottom. This, incidentally, is the right title of the book, not *The Temple of Armant* as cited by Mrs C., who also wrongly quotes 'pl. C, no. 5, LI' instead of 'pl. CI, No. 5' (LI is a gratuitous addition). Equally uncalled for are the two references to Papyrus Harris I at the end of note (115), for they only concern fine fabrics to clothe a statue (𓂏, *tw*) of Amūn, not materials for the making of standards. Note (116) contains a cryptic cross-reference to 'n. 33 supra': note 33 will be found on page 48 (top line) and again on page 175, but appears to be totally unrelated to the alleged *mdw šps* inlaid with rock-crystal; as for the Armant inscription, also cited in note (116), we just have seen what value it has to prove the existence of 'august staffs' embellished with encrusted pieces of faïence or glass (*thnt*, cf. Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*, 135 ff., 233). Mrs C. thinks that one might perhaps find proof of an 'august staff' made of copper in a Ninth or early Eleventh Dynasty stela in which the owner declares, 'I fought for my lord with a staff of copper': there may be some doubt as to whether he is referring to actual fighting with a metal weapon (cf. *Wb.* II, 178, 2) or speaking metaphorically, but it is unquestionable that he is talking of a *mdw* (𓂏), not of a standard or *mdw šps* (𓂏𓂏) of the kind borne by the statues now under consideration. Mrs C. would appear to have had second thoughts on this matter, however, for she admits at the end of footnote (117) that the copper staff in question 'ne semble pas être une enseigne'; she ought to have gone a step further by striking out all reference to a copper *mdw šps* and the entire note (117) from her book.

Page 154, top: 'Le haut-dignitaire rend ici un culte à la fois a l'enseigne divine de Béliér (ou *mdw*) et au cartouche royal, (équivalent du nom ou Ka), les deux éléments étant présentés par le genie du Nil.' This is a misrepresentation of the evidence: only the standard surmounted by the ram's head is held out by the Nile figure, not the cartouche, which rests upon a one-legged stand, as distinctly shown in the photograph published by Nelson and Piérini, *Catalogue des Antiquités Egyptiennes. Collection des Musées d'Archéologie de Marseille*, 23, fig. 5.

Page 174, note (21): correct 'OLZ 62' to 'OLZ 68'.

Page 181, note (113): correct 'Hölscher, *Medinet Habou IV*' to 'The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu, IV*'. Hölscher had neither part nor lot in this particular publication of the Chicago Oriental Institute.

Page 185, note (156): correct 'Hölscher, *Medinet Habou III*' to 'The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, III'. Here again Mrs C. makes Hölscher the author of a book in the production of which he did not take the least share.

Page 186, note (163): correct 'Ricke, *Beit-el-Wali Temples*, pl 41 B' to 'Ricke, Hughes and Wentz, *Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II*, pl. 44 B' (only one temple). At the end of the same note read 'la' for 'ma' and 'Fecundity' for 'Fecondity'; the publication date 1977 is still another error, since Baines's long-announced book only appeared in 1985.

Page 197, note (286): the so-called 'stèle de la famine' is not at Gebel es-Silsilah but on the island of Siheil, just south of Aswan, in the First Cataract (PM v, 252, no. 81). Neither Vandier nor Barguet, quoted by Mrs. C. apropos of this stela, is responsible for the error.

Page 210, fig. 10: 'l'inteau' is wrong, see above, remark on page 133, KN 35 bis.

Page 223, upper right: correct 'Ptahhotep' to '(Pa)rahotep', see above, comments on page 126, Rep. PE P.13.

The above *addenda et corrigenda* are by no means exhaustive. The reviewer deemed it unnecessary to check every reference and test the validity of every statement in the book after random probings had brought to light errors serious and abundant enough to mark *Les Statues porte-enseignes de l'Égypte ancienne* as hopeless botch-work, a thoroughly unreliable book to be either used with the utmost caution or discounted altogether.

RICARDO A. CAMINOS

Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty, fascicle 1. Translated into English by BARBARA CUMMING. 236 × 168 mm. Pp. xi+80. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1982. ISBN 0 85668 218 7. Price £5.95.

The student of ancient Egypt whose only language is English, and especially the one whose knowledge of hieroglyphs is rudimentary, is beset by many problems. Not the least of these problems is the lack of translations of Egyptian historical texts into English. The last and only comprehensive rendering of Egyptian historical texts into English, Breasted's *Ancient Records of Egypt*, 5 vols. (Chicago, 1906-7), is now often difficult to locate for all but the professional and is in many places outdated. More recent anthologies of Egyptian literature translated into English include only a few examples of historical texts (e.g. Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, vols. 1-3 (Berkeley, 1973-80)) or omit the genre entirely (e.g. William Kelly Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1972)). Thus, an attempt to make more widely available in English even a part of the corpus of Egyptian historical documents is most welcome.

Since Breasted's day, the number of historical texts has greatly expanded, and the understanding of them has markedly advanced. Any comprehensive replacement of Breasted's work would require an effort far beyond the intentions of the author. As a more modest step, she has chosen to translate a part of the collection of Eighteenth Dynasty historical texts assembled by Wolfgang Helck (fascicles 17-19 of *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1955-7), a part of volume iv of the series *Urkunden des Aegyptischen Altertums* founded by Georg Steindorff). Her project began originally as a translation from the German of Helck's translation of fascicles 17-22 of *Urkunden IV*, but she eventually (and more rightly) retranslated all the texts directly from Helck's hieroglyphic copies, using Helck's translation merely as a guide.

This first fascicle of an intended three provides a translation of fascicle 17 of *Urkunden IV*: supplementary texts of Tuthmosis III and texts of Amenhotep II. The work is introduced by a short essay by Harry S. Smith of University College London. At the end of the volume is a glossary of geographical terms and indices of deities, kings, private persons, occupations, and place-names. Of special interest to the professional is a list provided by Helck of emendations to *Urkunden IV*, fascicle 17.

The translations provided are reasonable interpretations of the hieroglyphic texts, given their innate peculiarities. In all but the most obscure passages, unfathomable even to the professional, the gist of the texts come across to the reader. One can gain some idea of the style of the author's translation by comparing her version of a passage from the Great Stela of Amenhotep II (*Urkunden IV*, 1280, 15-1281, 6) with a translation by Miriam Lichtheim. The passage deals with the king's

prohess in archery. After describing how four thick copper targets had been set up approximately 40 feet apart, the account proceeds:

(Cumming) . . . Thereupon his Majesty appeared in his chariot like Month in his might. He seized his bow and snatched four arrows all at once. Then he set off in a northerly direction shooting at it like Month with his panoply, and his arrows emerged at the back of it;/(then) he set about another stand. This was a success which had never been achieved in the past and had never been heard thus in story: 'An arrow was shot at a copper target, emerged from it and landed on the ground', except in the case of the king. . . .

(Lichtheim) . . . Then his majesty appeared on the chariot like Mont in his might. He drew his bow while holding four arrows together in his fist. Thus he rode northward shooting at them, like Mont in his panoply, each arrow coming out at the back of its target while he attacked the next post. It was a deed never yet done, never yet heard reported: shooting an arrow at a target of copper so that it came out of it and dropped to the ground—(done) only by the King. . . .

The two translations also illustrate the variety of ways in which a given Egyptian text might be rendered.

The one major difficulty of the book does not lie within the author's control, given her initial decision to use *Urkunden IV*. The hieroglyphic texts as published by Helck are not necessarily the most current version available. For example, on page 1361 of *Urkunden IV*, Helck gives the texts of three blocks from Elephantine: E, F, and G. These now prove to come from a single gateway (block G being the lintel of that gateway and blocks E and F, two parts of the left jamb). In fact, the two texts E and F complete one another with only a single group lacking (it is uncertain whether from the beginning or the end of the text). Thus instead of two disjointed fragments of text, as published originally by Helck and so translated in this volume, there is a complete text which reads: '. . . king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of Diadems, who has assumed the crown of Upper Egypt, lord of the Two Lands 'Akheperure'. He made it as his monument for his mother, Satis, lady of heaven, making for her a portal (called) Amenophis, lord of sustenance. . . .' (The blocks, without allusion to Helck's copies, appear only in preliminary excavation reports in *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 118, pl. 44 and in *MDAIK* 27 (1971), 201; in all fairness to the author, she should not be expected to have been aware of them.)

Despite its short-comings, this and its companion volumes will prove to be a useful and convenient translation of part of the corpus of Egyptian historical texts. The author is to be commended for the diligent effort which has gone into the work and the promising results so far accomplished.

CHARLES C. VAN SICLEN, III

Michigan Papyri (P. Mich. XV). Edited by P. J. SIJPESTEIJN. *Studia Amstelodamensia ad epigraphicam, ius antiquum et papyrologicam pertinentia* 19. 287 × 213 mm. Pp. xii + 220, 31 pls. Zutphen, Terra Publishing Co., 1982. ISBN 90 6255 211 0. Price f. 80.

This latest volume of the Michigan papyri consists of seventy-two texts of a miscellaneous character (nos. 685–756), ranging in date from the second century BC to the eighth century AD. All are in Greek and, as can be seen, they cover almost the whole period during which Greek was in use in Egypt, even though with very few exceptions they date from the second century AD or later. Just over half are edited here for the first time; the remainder have previously appeared in various journals. Photographs of the majority of the papyri are provided in the plates accompanying the volume (note that nos. 716, 719, and 729 are upside down); for a few papyri it is necessary to consult the journal in which they were first published.

Only three texts can be classified as literary or sub-literary: 685, a text of part of Psalm 106, perhaps an amulet; 686, a table of fractions; and 687, which appears to be a writing-exercise and which mentions *riparii* and the ἡγεμονικὴ τάξις of Arcadia. The rest are documentary texts, all of known types. Most are small, nearly all are fragmentary, and few contain information likely to excite the professional papyrologist let alone the non-specialist. Nevertheless it is important that these texts should have been edited, for their cumulative effect if for no other reason, and it says a great deal for Sijpesteijn's energy and skill that he has been able to bring such a *tâche ingrate* to fruition.

Every text is provided with an introduction and notes, which set the papyrus in its context and supply useful bibliographies; particularly noteworthy are the introductions to 700, 703, and 748, with

comments on bank-*διαγραφή*, the *ἀραβία*-tax and sales of wine on delivery respectively. Mention should also be made of Sijpesteijn's important discussion of *laographia*-receipts on pages 21–3, and of the two appendices which bring up to date the lists of *penthemeros*-certificates and of women acting without a guardian. The usual comprehensive indexes complete the volume.

Several of the papyri include interesting words (in particular 717, 734, 740, 742, and 752) or names (e.g. 745 and 749), while one or two of the later Byzantine texts are worth the attention of the palaeographer (especially 685, 734, 747, and 748). Human interest is represented by two of the petitions: in 688 a man states that part of his neighbour's wall has collapsed severely injuring his wife, and indicates that he is holding his neighbour responsible for the injuries; while in 723 a woman alleges that the guardian left for her and her brother by her father in his will is refusing to hand over to them their inheritance now that they are of age (see further below).

In conclusion, I offer comments on one or two individual papyri. 700 is noteworthy, as the editor stresses, for being a marriage contract in the very unusual form of a bank-*διαγραφή*. 706, which concerns a cult statue, would be especially interesting were it not very poorly preserved. In 707, a sale of slaves, it is very possible that the vendors are the sons of the well-known Claudia Isidora (also called Apia). The plate (in *Aegyptus* 59 (1979)) suggests to me that the second hand could well begin at the expected point, with *Γάιος* in line 22; line 26 would then contain the signature of Aurelius (a 'slow writer'); even so line 27, in a different hand again, remains a problem. The format of 708, a fragment of an *epikrasis* of a slave, is noteworthy, as is the fact that it is partly in red ink. In 720, a tax receipt of AD 308, *ἡμ[ῶν]* in line 6 suggests that more than one banker is involved; if so, we should perhaps restore *βουλευτ]αί* in line 5 rather than *κ]αί*; in line 4 it is worth checking the original to see whether *γυμ(νασιαρχήσας)* could be read instead of *ταμ(ίας)*. 723 must surely be similar in its subject-matter to the well-known prosecution of Abinnaeus' wife Nonna, preserved in P. Abinn. 63, and the *ἄρτους* referred to, which puzzle the editor, must be the same as the *ἄρτος* which is frequently mentioned in P. Abinn. 63; Martin and Van Berchem have argued that this is 'an issue of bread made at imperial expense to owners of a house in Alexandria', to be compared with the *panis aedium* known from Constantinople. The papyrus also contains an interesting reference to *Φραβωνιτῶν πόλις*; this supports the view (for which see A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*², 493 n. 66) that the *Φλαβωνίτης* mentioned in O. Theb. 132 (third century AD) is the same place as that which appears in the form *Φράγωνις* in the sixth-century lists. In line 5 of this text I wonder whether *τελείας* in fact agrees with a noun such as *ἡλικίας* to be supplied in the lacuna following. In 724, 12 the reading looks more like *τὸν ἐμ[ό]ν* than *τὸν ἀβ[τό]ν*, which, if correct, would imply that Diogenes, the *ex-logistes* of line 3, was the owner of the boat as well as the guarantor. At the start of 726, probably a report of a trial, another possible supplement is *ὁ ἐξάκτωρ* (cf. line 7), and in line 9 some case of *λίβε[λλος]* is certainly a possible supplement as an alternative to the much rarer word *λίβε[λλάριος]* suggested by the editor.

J. DAVID THOMAS

The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim. Vols. III–IV. By NAGUIB KANAWATI. 290 × 217 mm. Vol. III, pp. 48, pls. 11, figs. 35. Vol. IV, pp. 48, pls. 14, figs. 34. Sydney, The Macquarie Ancient History Association, 1982–3. ISBN 0 908299 05 2 and 0 908299 06 0. Price £17.75 each.

In 1981, while working for the Society at Abydos, I was fortunate enough to be given an escorted visit by members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization to some of the tombs at el-Hawawish. The size of this necropolis, and the interesting nature of the material it contains fascinated me then; Dr Kanawati's project had begun there the previous year, and it is pleasing now to have the third and fourth volumes of the results of his labours for review.

Situated about 7 km east of the town of Akhmim, el-Hawawish is perhaps the last remaining *known* cemetery to have awaited careful publication. Little information has been available concerning it until this series of monographs began to appear, principally a summary of the larger tombs by Newberry (*AAA* 4 (1912), 99–120), and the publication of part of the tomb of Qereri by Vandier (*ASAE* 36 (1936), 33–44). Akhmim (ancient *Ἰφω*) was the capital of the ninth Upper Egyptian Nome, that of the god Min; the number of tombs at Hawawish (Kanawati believes in excess of 300) is an

indication of its importance. That it has been so long ignored by Egyptologists is probably a combination of logistical problems and pure chance.

These two volumes between them present accounts of five decorated (Tjeti; Kaihep, Wenuminu, Nebet, Hezyminu, and Cheniankhu) and twelve undecorated tombs, as well as several pieces from Akhmim—almost certainly el-Hawawish—now in the Cairo Museum (stela of Shepsitkau and coffins of Tjeti; Kaihep, Hetepet, and Shepsipuminu). All the material so far presented dates between the late Fifth and the Ninth Dynasties. A standard format is adopted for the description of each inscribed tomb: details of the owner and family, dating, architecture, burial apartments, decoration, and finds. It is too early in this project for general statements to be made as to the position of these tombs in the architectural and stylistic development of the cemetery, but the accounts presented of each feature are detailed and descriptive, and the author makes numerous comparisons with his own previous work at the site and with tombs of similar date from other provincial cemeteries. The section which receives the most detailed treatment is that on the dating and identity of the individuals. It could be argued that the author is here merely expressing his own interest in Old Kingdom provincial officials, as shown in his previous *Egyptian Administration and Governmental Reforms*; while there can be no doubt that he is particularly enthusiastic in this area, certain aspects of necropolis development and style can only be examined when more of the material has been studied.

The standard of the documentation in the book is generally good. I am very pleased to see that full-size facsimile copies have been adopted as the basic method of recording. While not perfect, this method, in the right hands, has fewer drawbacks than any other (cf. Caminos, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, 17–19). As far as is possible to check, the standard of the drawing is satisfactory, especially in view of the manifold difficulties in the copying of paintings (but see my more detailed comments below). A trivial concern is that some of the lines almost look too straight to be true—an epigrapher must resist the temptation to use a straight-edge unless he can be sure that the ancients had done so.

The photographs constitute a more serious criticism. In attempting to keep the cost of epigraphic publications down to a reasonable figure, it is inevitable that photographs often have to be omitted or severely reduced in number. One often can only hope to reproduce a few representative samples, but these should be of good quality and well printed, so that the scholar can verify at least some details and obtain the ‘feel’ for the decoration that only a photograph can provide. This has not happened here: vol. iii has only one black and white plate of a wall (pl. 10), while vol. iv fares slightly better with four (pl. 5–8). Even allowing for the poor conditions of the walls, all are rather indifferently reproduced. Printing on a higher gloss paper would have helped. See below for comments on the colour plates.

The publication of the coffins in the Cairo Museum, produced in more favourable conditions, is an excellent example of epigraphic work with totally satisfactory drawings and plates. These objects with their interesting palaeography typify the late Old Kingdom and after; I look forward to the author’s more detailed study of them.



Certain weaknesses arise as a result of the author’s desire (to some extent laudable) to put out the material quickly, leaving the study of certain features until later. My major complaint is that the colours are not noted on anything like a systematic basis; and what is Egyptian wall-painting without colour? The problems of recording it are great, and the best solution at present, albeit an expensive one, seems to be the use of colour charts, as done by the Bracks at Thebes (*Das Grab des Tjanuni, Das Grab des Haremheb*). A study of the general colour conventions of a cemetery seems a logical subject for a later volume, but the objective recording of the colours of a tomb is as important as the reproduction of the wall scenes, and needs to be in the same volume. Presumably the colour plates are an attempt to circumvent this problem, but the reproduction of colour is still a haphazard business (Caminos, *op. cit.* 12–13). The colours of these plates are surely inaccurate, even allowing for the fact that my notes tell me that the Hawawish colour conventions are a little odd.

Although a survey of the whole mountain at el-Hawawish is in progress, and a number of areas given reference letters, there is only one map available, and that a very general one (vol. i, fig. 1). A sketch-map at least is necessary in each volume to show where the tombs described lie. Likewise we are told that a master index is in production, but the addition of a volume index (such as in Junker, *Giza*) would make consultation easier. I am also dismayed at the drawing of the hieroglyphs in the text; this is a job that is worth doing well, in view of the effect it has on the overall appearance. Location diagrams for the figures or at least an indication of where the drawings of each wall of the

tomb are to be found are also desirable, together with references on the plates to where they are discussed in the text.

The following more detailed observations are offered:

Vol. iii

- p. 7 It would be helpful if references were given in the title lists to where the titles might be found in the plates
- p. 8 *sdꜣwty* is better translated 'seal-bearer' than 'treasurer'.
- p. 22 Comparing pl. 1 and fig. 8 of pillar 4, I note that the delineation between some areas of different colour inside the hieroglyphs is missing: the mane of the first *hꜣt*, the wings of the *m* owls and the *wr* bird. The book-roll following *mdw* in col. 5 almost certainly had a sealing on top. Note that the ancient artist omitted the *š* in the title *wr šꜣntꜣyw*. Figure 9: the title in cols. 2–3 could be *imy-r šꜣmꜣ-ib nb ipt nꜣwt*; the chin beard and strap of the *tp* in col. 3 are visible in pl. 2. I regret the omission of copies of the red ink outlines on the north wall.
- p. 23 Register III: *šꜣd ꜣm-kꜣ šꜣm . . .* is probably *šꜣd ꜣm-kꜣ ꜣrꜣ ꜣꜣb*—the curve of the water issuing from the pot in the *wꜣb* sign is visible in fig. 12.
- p. 24 The description of fig. 13 is said to be 'from the right'; it is actually from the left.
- pp. 26–7 Fragments: despite the scale on the drawing, an indication of the dimensions would be helpful. Figure 19: F17 is part of an offering list, F18 the end of a lintel. F29/30 contain interesting titles: *ꜣm bꜣw ꜣ* is only known in the provinces in the titulary of Djau from Abydos; what appears to read *ꜣm ꜣꜣ mꜣn* is unique, and the related title *ꜣm-nꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ mꜣn* is not otherwise known outside the memphite region. *ꜣm*  is very rare, and again is unknown in the south (cf. Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 49). These are very strange titles to appear in the provinces, and it is regrettable that they are so fragmentary. They may be yet another example of the resurrection of older titles in the later Old Kingdom.
- pp. 37/41  is best read *ny ꜣꜣ-s* and considered an actual title, 'the one belonging to her estate', that is, the position of the average estate worker.
- p. 38 Kanawati's suggestion of a relationship between Nebet and the similarly named woman at Abydos should be regarded as suspect. The name is very common, and although the proximity of Akhmim to Abydos may admit of some local influence, it would not be as important as the association between Deir el Gebrawi and Abydos in the reign of Pepy II.

Vol. iv

- p. 9 False Door: the wide apertures either side of the panel, at least in the memphite region, are an indication of Fifth Dynasty date, as is the lack of a cornice.
- p. 21 Name *nꜣꜣ-s[. . .]-mꜣw* is surely *nꜣꜣ-sꜣꜣ-mꜣw*.
- p. 32 Although possible, Kanawati's associations for the dependant whose name begins *ꜣꜣ* are somewhat fanciful.
- p. 42 Coffin lid: note the unusual formula *m šꜣmꜣ-tꜣwꜣ nꜣꜣ m ꜣꜣ m imntt* plus the strange sign preceding it.

These comments should not be allowed to detract from the fact that these volumes are among the better examples of epigraphic work being produced these days, at a time when standing monuments are under threat as never before and the need for epigraphers is one of the foremost requirements of Egyptology. Certain reservations notwithstanding, Kanawati's achievement of producing these epigraphic memoirs in a relatively short period is one that should be noted and emulated by as many of his colleagues as possible.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings, Part Three: The Late Period. By H. M. STEWART. 305 × 215 mm. Pp. x+46, pls. 48. Warminster, Aris and Phillips, 1983. ISBN 0 85668 171 7. Price £20.

This, the final volume of Stewart's publication of the stelae, reliefs, and paintings in University College London, continues the recent, laudable drive to make the Petrie Collection better known. In

addition to the expected post-New Kingdom objects (eighty-three entries), there is here a miscellaneous supplement of sixty-three pieces, mostly statue or statuette fragments, covering all periods. Information on material and dimensions, as well as selective translation accompanied by a brief commentary and bibliography, is provided in a concise catalogue. Provenance is also given, but not always clearly explained. The description of no. 36 as from 'El-Lahun (if correct)' is unnecessarily cryptic. In many cases, an object is said to be 'possibly' or 'probably' from a site without any indication as to whether this is based on museum information or internal evidence. Indexes and a line-drawing of each object complete the presentation.

As the indexes show, the interest of these pieces is mainly of a prosopographical nature, although the hymn to Osiris (no. 1) stands out. Some have already been fully published (e.g. nos. 4, 67, 102), others cited in discussion (no. 5!), but many have remained unknown until now. There are fresh monuments of well-documented individuals (nos. 71, 138) and, in no. 130, a new vizier with a new name. The author's primary concern has been to make these inscriptions and the information they contain available to scholars, and the commentary is kept to a minimum. Even so, it is erratic. The following notes include both corrections and additional references, some to works which are too recent to have been accessible to Stewart. The numbers refer to his catalogue entries.

1. The ⊗ determinative makes it clear that the epithet of Osiris is understood, as it usually is after the New Kingdom, as 'Foremost of the West', not '. . . Westerners'. The reading of the last of Neskhonsu's titles was shown to be *hry(t) špswt* by Gardiner, *JEA* 37 (1951), 110.
5. To the bibliography, add Meeks, in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II (ed. Lipinski), *OLA* 6, 668, no. 22.8.15. The stela has been mentioned briefly by Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 344 n. 571 and *CdE* 52 (1977), 48. For the name *B:k-n-n:nfw*, see now Vittmann, *SAK* 10 (1983), 337-9. The curious sign at the end of the second cartouche is a ligature of $\overline{\Delta}$. In line 2, read $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$ and not $\overset{\circ}{\text{I}}$; Δ is omitted above the plural strokes in the same line.
7. *Snb* is not an integral part of the owner's name, but an epithet, for which see most recently L. M. Leahy, *GM* 65 (1983), 52 n. 12, 53 nn. 24-5. The name of the father is *Wd:-Hr-mdn*, attested in demotic and Greek (Thissen, *Aegyptus* 51 (1971), 225) but not otherwise in hieroglyphic. Cf. Yoyotte, *RdE* 34 (1982-3), 142-3 for this local form of Horus of Aphroditopolis.
9. In line 2, the vertical stroke near the end is simply the top of a worn Δ .
10. Stewart's copy of this stela is uncharacteristically poor; almost all of the five columns indicated can be read, and the inscription continues above the head of the male figure. Unfortunately, the name of the latter is lost and only the beginning of the woman's survives. Read: *hṭp di nsw n R:-Hr-šhty nb pt di:f prt hrw t hnkṭ kꜣw ṣpdw Wsir T:-šrit- . . . mꜣr-hrw sꜣs (?) . . .*
11. In line 2, read $\overline{\sigma}$ $\overline{\Delta}$ in the name 'Sheshonq (?)', which is certain.
14. To the bibliography, add Meeks, op. cit. 676, no. 26.3 1b. There are a number of misunderstandings in the translation of the text. Line 1 end, read *hr-hbs*, 'lamp endowment', for which see Leahy, *GM* 49 (1981), 37-46. Line 2, not 'given by the hand of', but 'placed in the hand of' (for *n-drt*, see Meeks, op. cit. 644 n. 174). The name of the priest in line 3 is not *Wp-wꜣwt-nht*. It might be *Hk:-nht*, which seems not to be attested elsewhere, or, better, a defective writing of *Hk:-tꜣy-f-nht*, for which see *PN* I, 256, 25; II, 379; De Meulenaere, *RdE* 12 (1960), 68; El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais*, 250-2; Quaegebeur, *Onoma* 18 (1974), 410. Line 3, not 'who gives monuments' but 'who causes them to endure'. The donation to 'Isis, who grants old age' puts the provenance of the stela in the region of Sais, the cult centre of that form of Isis (El-Sayed, op. cit. 146, n. c). My reading of it as a personal name *Di-ṣst-ṣw*, and the interpretation which I placed upon the text in *GM* 49 (1981), 40 n. 27 and *RdE* 34 (1982-3), 79 n. 6, are probably wrong.
17. The name Tadiesankh, perhaps even the same person since it is not attested elsewhere, occurs on another stela, which can also be attributed to Aswan, Cairo CG 22062 (Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines*, 58-9). A similarly curious formation, *T:-di-ṣst-mn*, is found on a ushabti whose provenance is not known, published by Botti, *Epigraphica* 16 (1954), 16-17, pl. vi.
18. The name of the first follower is probably to be read *Ir-Hr-wd:-n:nfw*, cf. *PN* II, 265, 17, and the writings listed by Vittmann, *SAK* 10 (1983), 337-8. For the omission of the plural article, cf. De

- Meulenaere, *SAK* 6 (1978), 65 n. f. For the name type, see also Bietak and Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anch-hor*, II, 269 n. 520.
20. Add Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis*, I, 206-10, to the bibliography.
22. Line 1, instead of 'the praised one who is in . . .', read the priestly titles *ḥsk imy[is]*. Line 2, the name is *Pṣ-di-Ḥr-pṣ-ḥrd*; this example should be added to the list furnished by Forgeau, *GM* 60 (1982), 15 n. 23.
25. The names and the phraseology (*rdit iṣw, sn tṣ*) suggest a date closer to the New Kingdom for this lintel.
32. On the stela of the Mnevis bull, see now Moursi, *SAK* 10 (1983).
- 33 and 34. Both stela are listed by PM III², 816.
36. For the title *ḥ iqr n Rṣ*, see now Demaree, *The ḥ ikr n Rṣ Stelae on Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*.
38. The name of the father is *Pṣ-kṣpw* (PN I, 120, 5), as already recognized by PM III², 81.
46. n. 3. For the demon Nehaher, see El-Sayed, *Bulletin du centenaire IFAO*, 119-40.
49. The first two epithets of Isis are the standard 'the great, the mother of the god', and not a single 'greatest of the goddesses'; the quail chick is an error for the vulture. In the column on the far right, the partially preserved word is not 'reverence(?)' but 'joy', *ṣwt-(ib)*.
66. Column 2, not '. . . thou rejoicest' but 'to thy nostrils' (*r šrt-k*).
67. This pyramidion has been published by De Meulenaere, *JÉOL* 20 (1967-8), 7-8, and briefly discussed by Derchain, *OLP* 6-7 (1975-6), 155-6. The lacuna suggested by plate 29, left, is simply a chip in the stone avoided by the sculptor. Nubhotep is a divine, not a personal, name.
70. The genealogy is misunderstood: the owner is evidently female, and therefore 'daughter' not 'son' of her father. *Tṣ-nt-* . . . is the mother, not grandmother, of Djedmutesankh.
71. For *wr wṣdty*, properly 'great one of the two diadems', see el-Sayed, op. cit. 112 n. g. The partially destroyed title is *imy-r wn ḥṣwt rsyt*. The owner, Wahibre, is the son of Peftjauawyneith (read ḥ at the corner), and is a well-known official (el-Sayed, op. cit. 228-30). The importance of this piece is that it is the only one of Wahibre's many monuments to bear a cartouche. The name of Amasis confirms the dating suggested by recent research, summarized in Pernigotti, *La statuaria egiziana nel Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna*, 65.
72. The date of this piece is probably Ptolemaic rather than XXI-XXV.
80. This piece is mentioned non-committally in Vittmann, *Orientalia* 44 (1975), 386, in his discussion of the Saite royal family.
97. Read *Htp-Sbk(?)*
98. For the title *ṣtw ṣ n niwt*, see Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971), 37-41. The name is, of course, *Sṣ-ḥqṣ* (PN I, 284, 1) and not *Sṣ-ḥqṣt*.
100. Read the title as *wḏpw*, 'butler', and the name as *Mntw-nḥt*.
102. Add to the bibliography, Davies, *A Royal Statue Reattributed*, 27, no. 30.
106. The statue type suggests that this fragment is part of a temple dedication, rather than from the owner's tomb. The restoration of *Dsr[-ṣḥt?]* is not necessarily correct, since the list of the gods in whose offerings Rekhmire hoped to share (*Urk.* IV, 1168) also names Amun of *Dsr-dsrw* and of *Dsr-st*.
110. The epithets of Osiris, the orthography of the formula, and the name *Qṣt-snwṣ* (PN I, 332, 17 and 23) all place this piece in the Middle Kingdom, not the Eighteenth Dynasty.
116. Read the title as *mnwṣ*?
118. Not Hathor 'mistress of contentment', but Hathor-Nebethetepet, on whom see the studies of Vandier, *RdE* 16-18 and 20.
120. The personal names show clearly that this statuette base is later than Stewart's 'Ramesside'. For Horus of Shedet, see el-Sayed, *Bulletin du Centenaire IFAO*, 319.
123. The presence of *Kṣ-nḥt* in the Horus name precludes a Late Period date for this piece, since it is only used from Dynasty XVIII to XXII.
128. 'Prophet of the *ba(?)* of the pharaoh' is unlikely to be correct.
129. The name of the mother is probably *Tṣ-(nt)-ṣr*, rare but current at precisely the date of this piece, De Meulenaere, *CdE* 57 (1982), 221 n. 3. This assumes the superfluous *ṣ*, discussed by

- De Meulenaere, *Kēmi* 16 (1962), 28–31, and confusion of 𓆎 with 𓆏 , for which see Leahy, *SAK* 8 (1980), 171.
130. The vizier Neferdjedneferibre is otherwise unknown, and is to be added to the list in Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 145–8. The name is also new, although patterned on an Old Kingdom model, *Nfr-dd-ptḥ* (*PN* 1, 201, 9); cf. Old Kingdom *Nfr-sšm-ptḥ* and Saite *Nfr-sšm-psmtk*. *Hwt-ꜣt* is not the palace but the solar temple of Re-Atum at Heliopolis.
132. For the title *whm nsw* at this period, see Leahy, *CdE* 55 (1980), 51 n. 3.
133. At the beginning of the text, read ‘Osiris *pꜣ-nfr-(n-)irty-fy* gives life to *3st-(m-)ḥb . . . mn*’. For this epithet of Osiris at Karnak and Sais, see Leahy, *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 82, k, adding Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques Musée National de Copenhague*, 38–9, pl. xviii, fig. 29, and Kuhlmann and Schenkel, *Das Grab des Ibi*, 1, 144, pls. 43, 116b, in both of which it occurs in personal names. In line 3, the name is just *Irt-Hr-rw*.
134. The feminine name is *Mr-ḫmn-it-s* (*PN* 1, 155, 23), the preceding title probably [*ihyt*]’*Imn-Rr*; cf. PM I², 791 and 836. For the name pattern, cf. Thirion, *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 109, and Vittmann, *SAK* 10 (1982), 334 n. 9. The date of the piece is Ptolemaic.
136. The date is evidently Twenty-fifth Dynasty.
137. The father’s name is better read as *Di-’Imn-nḥt* on the pattern of *PN* 1, 396.
138. For Tjaibanebdjedimu, see De Meulenaere, in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, 187–97.
143. An Ankhtakeloth with the same title is known from a Serapeum stela (Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter, *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, no. 46) and ushabtis (Schneider, *Shabtis*, II, 160–1).
144. For this writing of *Tꜣ-(n-nꜣ)-ḥbw*, see Vittmann, *SAK* 10 (1983), 337–8. For the name itself, De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 107–12.

The preceding corrections, which are not exhaustive, show that simple misreadings are more frequent than one could wish. However, the lasting value of a book such as this lies not in the profundity of its commentary but in the accuracy and utility of its copies. It is therefore disconcerting to note that only two photographs are provided, so that the textual corrections made above (nos. 5, 9, 10, 11) are only possible because the reviewer has himself chanced to study those monuments in the museum. Further doubts about the palaeographic worth of the drawings are raised by nos. 10–11, painted stelae with ink inscriptions, which are not true to the originals, and are quite indistinguishable in Stewart’s copies from those with incised relief and text. Recourse to the original is frequently an impractical ideal, and it is disturbing to discover that the absence of photographs which would enable the user to control the copies is dictated not by cost but by a dogma expressed in the preface to volume 1: ‘Since great care has been taken to reproduce the character of the monuments in line, photographic plates have been used only in exceptional cases . . .’ This reveals a fundamental misconception of the role of line-drawing in publication, a matter quite distinct from the quality of its execution. The view implicit in this is by no means peculiar to the author, but its pretensions are confounded by the results. ‘Character’ is precisely what is lost in the reproduction in line of inscriptions or relief scenes. Line-drawing by its very nature tends to standardize, to emphasize similarities rather than differences, to obliterate nuance, while giving a specious impression of exactitude. Depth, texture, cutting technique, modelling, and style are irretrievably lost, no matter how skilled the exponent.

Apart from its relative cheapness, which, at £20 for this slim volume, is not a consideration here, line-drawing has only one merit. Properly done, it enables the user to benefit from the impression of someone who has studied the original repeatedly and with care. It can therefore provide a valuable complement to a photograph, sometimes even a vital one, but it remains essentially subjective, and cannot adequately replace a photograph. The worse the condition of an object, the clearer the superiority of, and the need for, a photograph becomes, as is shown by the deficiencies of Stewart’s copy of a faded ink text (see no. 10 above).

The limitations of the technique in conveying information are plain. What is not so obvious is the insidious way in which it promotes some areas of study and inhibits others. Line-drawing, if well done, may suffice for the lexicographer, the philologist, or the prosopographer, but even in the most experienced hands it is quite inadequate for the needs of the art historian (cf. no. 54). Its exclusive use reflects and perpetuates the emphasis on language traditional in Egyptological studies; small wonder

that we do not possess even a 'Prolegomenon' to the history of relief carving! Of course, something is better than nothing. The author has placed scholars in his debt by providing a handy introduction to the reliefs in University College. But let it not be thought that this is a proper way to *publish* a collection.

ANTHONY LEAHY

Die Anthropologische Untersuchung der C-Gruppen- und Pan-Gräber-Skelette aus Sayala, Ägyptisch-Nubien. By EUGEN STROUHAL, and JOHANN JUNGWIRTH. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. xiv + 183, pls. 33, 27 line-drawings, 1 map, 68 tables. Wien, Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984. ISBN 3 7001 0673 4. Price S. 630.

The anthropological report of the Austrian concession by the Unesco-Action for the Rescue of Nubian Activities, has now been published. Dr Johann Jungwirth was entrusted with the examination of the osseous material and the unavoidable delay in the publication of the work was partly due to an unfortunate period of ill health, and, in 1980, by his untimely death. Happily he had earlier enlisted the interest and active help of the Czechoslovakian, Dr Eugen Strouhal, surely one of the foremost contemporary physical anthropologists. During the earlier periods they worked closely together, which was fortunate, but later a heavy load of responsibility was borne by Strouhal.

The report is confined to the study of two Nubian ethnic groups, the C-group and the Pan-grave peoples. The name of the latter group is derived from the shape of their flat circular graves and these were to be found far away from the banks of the Nile on the edge of the desert, whilst the C-group communities lived close to the Nile and were pastoralists and agriculturalists. Although their skulls showed many morphological differences, there was a sufficient number of features to regard them all as being of negroid stock.

The report is meticulously compiled, and every metric and non-metric characteristic is included, while the line-drawings clearly demonstrate some of the morphological differences. These differences are also readily appreciated by reference to the thirty-three plates. These are extremely well produced (it was gratifying to find the assumption that they were the work of the photographer in the Anthropologische Abteilung, Naturalhistorisches Museum, Vienna, was confirmed by the acknowledgement at the bottom of pl. 33). These plates also show that the skulls had suffered from a hostile environment and the many fragments must have needed most patient restoration. The illustrations of the injuries and diseases of some individuals help to convey the impression that in the probable absence of the use of narcotics and pain-killers, it would have been well if they had anticipated and practised the philosophical teachings of Zeno.

Every possible detail of this skeletal material has been recorded, and the data are now available for comparison with that from other Nubian investigations.

F. F. LEEK

Other books received

1. *L'Empire des Râmses.* By Claire Lalouette. 215 × 136 mm. Pp. 539. Fayard, 1985. ISBN 2 213 01534 1. No price stated.
2. *Textes sacrés et textes profanes de l'ancienne Égypte.* By Claire Lalouette. 225 × 140 mm. Pp. 345. Gallimard, 1984. ISBN 2 07 070142 5. Price F 135.
3. *Funktionen und Leistungen des Mythos.* By J. Assmann, W. Burkert, and F. Stolz. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 48. 235 × 160 mm. Pp. 118, figs. 17. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 1982. ISBN 3 7278 0268 5. No price stated.
4. *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context. A Study of Demotic Instructions.* By Miriam Lichtheim. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 52. 235 × 160 mm. Pp. 240. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 1983. ISBN 3 7278 0291 x. Price DM 93.
5. *Egyptian Mummies.* By Barbara Adams. 210 × 148 mm. Pp. 64, figs. 49. Shire Publications Ltd., 1984. ISBN 0 85263 699 7. Price £2.50.

6. *Droit-Économie-Société de l'Égypte Ancienne (Chronique bibliographique 1967-1982)*. By B. Menu. 236 × 155 mm. Pp. 331. Versailles, 1983. ISBN 2 903971 03 x. Price DM 78.
7. *Chrysostomos Nubianus. An Old Nubian Version of Ps.-Chrysostom In venerabilem crucem sermo*. By Gerald M. Browne. 215 × 156 mm. Pp. 160, pls. xiv. Roma. Barcelona, Papyrologica Castroctaviana, 1984. Price \$22.
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9. *Die Lehre des Ancheschonqi (P. BM 10508)*. By H. J. Thissen. Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen Band 32. 275 × 188 mm. Pp. vii + 144. Bonn, Dr Rudolf Habelt, 1984. ISBN 3 7749 2100 8. Price DM 64.
10. *Historia del Antiguo Oriente*. By A. Tovar, W. Rollig, and I. Gamer-Wallert. 215 × 150 mm. Pp. 330. Barcelona, Hora SA, 1984. ISBN 84 85950 01 1. No price stated.
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14. *Cerddores yn Cwrdd â'i Duwiau. A Musician Meets her Gods*. Pictures from the Wellcombe Museum University College Swansea No. 2. 190 × 250 mm. Pp. 32, many figs. Swansea, 1984. ISBN 0 86076 069 3. Price £1.
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16. *Ägypten Dauer und Wandel*. By Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo. Sonder-schrift 18. 300 × 215 mm. Pp. 180, pls. 22. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1985. ISBN 3 8053 0796 9. Price DM 128.
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18. *Studies in Egyptian Religion*. Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee. Edited by M. Heerma van Vos, D. J. Hoens, G. Mussies, D. Van Der Plas and H. Te Velde. Studies in the History of Religions: Supplements to *Numen* 43. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. vii + 150, frontispiece and 3 pls. Leiden, Brill, 1982. ISBN 90 04 06728 0. Price f 56.

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