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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 cursive signs. 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, or are otherwise unsatisfactory, will be returned.

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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

WHEN this *Journal* first appeared in 1914, Egyptology was essentially an amateur subject. There were few university or museum posts, and the pursuit of Egypt's past was still the preserve of the few who had the private resources to allow them to indulge in their passion. It was therefore easy enough for the interested scholar to keep abreast of developments. Today, although it is still a comparatively small subject, the number of scholars active, the volume of research of all kinds, and the number of periodicals have all increased dramatically. This, together with intensified contacts with disciplines such as the physical sciences, linguistics and anthropology, has led to increased specialisation, and it has long ceased to be possible for any individual to be equally conversant with all aspects and periods of Egyptology. The time has now come to acknowledge this, and to act on a corollary as far as publishing is concerned, by adopting the practice of refereeing which is widely used in other fields. In future, all manuscripts submitted to *JEA* will be sent for review to two independent scholars drawn from the international Egyptological community and, where appropriate, beyond. The role of the referees will be to offer positive criticism to authors through the Editor. The process will be strictly anonymous in both directions, and it is important that all parties should see it as a constructive exchange, the sole purpose of which is to ensure that what appears in the *JEA* is of the highest possible standard. Final decisions will remain firmly in the hands of the Editor. In this connection, the attention of readers is drawn to the revised 'Notes for Contributors' which appear on the inside front cover of this volume. Manuscripts received by the Editor in recent years have ranged from the excellent—which ought to be the norm—to the downright shoddy. The latter will no longer be tolerated.

The Society has had four expeditions in the field in the last year. An account of the Memphis Survey appears on pp. 1–15 below. The directors of the others report as follows:

*Qasr Ibrim*: Between 10 December 1989 and 27 February 1990, a total of seven weeks continual excavation took place, with the remainder of the time devoted to the study of material and architecture. This year's team consisted of Mark Horton, Peter French, Hamish Robertson, David Edwards, Signe Biddle, Martin Biddle, Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, Paul Drury, Katherine Spence, Catherine Clark, Peter Rowley-Conwy, Pamela Rose, Marcia Okun, Willemina Wendrich, Svetlana Taylor, Silvia Bonacossa in Sella, Penelope Wilson, Nicola Smith, Steven Ashley, Michael Worthington and Hans Barnard. Abd el-Hakim Karrar was the representative from the Antiquities Organization, and we were very grateful for his help and expertise. Among the members of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, we thank in particular Dr Ali Hasan, Mr M. Balbush and Dr Ali al Khouli for their help and advice in Cairo, and Mr Abdin Siam and his inspectors, Mr Moheiy Mustafa and Mr Atia Redawan, for their continued assistance in Aswan and Abu Simbel. The High Dam Authority kindly provided the tugs that enabled our boats to reach Aswan, and periodic resupply to Abu Simbel.

The research for this season was centred upon the collection of the information necessary to expedite the publication of the previous excavations. Survey work concentrated upon the hinterland of the site while architectural analysis of the cathedral and churches will allow a special volume to be devoted to these structures. Excavations took place at the south end of Tavern Street,



extending into South Rampart Street, where important deposits of X-group, Roman and Napatan date were investigated.

This season's hinterland survey work took place in the desert south-east of the main site, on a peninsula that can only be reached by boat. Here there was extensive evidence for human activity in what is probably a Roman fort, or forts; possibly the siege camps built during the campaign of Petronius in 23 BC. There are broad similarities to the siege camps around Masada, which date to AD 79. Detailed mapping at Ibrim has shown clear evidence for the internal arrangements of tent lines and administrative buildings which will be of wide interest for the understanding of Roman military history during the Augustan period.

Our work at the cathedral attempted to elucidate the precise form of the period I structure, and to provide firm dates for its construction by selective excavation to obtain stratified ceramics and radiocarbon samples. The foundations of X-group structures were found directly below the cathedral paving. The crypts were shown to retain their period I form, including much of their original mudbrick vaulting. A pottery sample from these vaults was entirely Meroitic in date, showing how it had been packed with residual material. It was clearly established that the existing stairs are also primary, but narrowed in period II. Investigations in the baptistery revealed the period I substructure, and showed that the baptismal font is a primary feature. In the sacristy, a wall robber trench was excavated that preserved the line of a wall, eliminated between periods I and II, and containing in its fill building debris from period I, including painted cedar wood and a segment of a ring of *opus sectile* paving in green granite (which, it is tempting to suggest, formed part of the paving of the original apse).

Study of the churches concentrated upon structure 9651, largely built of sandstone and located on high spur overlooking the citadel. Architectural analysis in 1988 showed that this building had an exceptionally long life, and it was suggested that it might have started as a pre-Christian cult centre. Clearance of the ruin this season proved that it was church from the outset. Its plan is typical of the early Nubian church, and a sixth or early seventh century date can be suggested. In period II, the building was extended to the east, and in period III to the south. In period IV a new floor was inserted, probably in the eleventh century, which sealed an important collection of liturgical and other finds, including a Coptic cross, leather book bindings, fragments of parchment and papyrus, patterned silk, spoons of silver and copper alloy, a shallow glass dish, mud jar sealings and a large deep pottery basin of early Christian polished red ware with a frieze of moulded designs. A layer of clean wind-blown sand sealed this floor; above it were two further periods associated with the conversion of the building to a mosque during the sixteenth century.

The aim of the main excavations was to obtain a secure stratigraphic sequence, from the fortifications into the occupational deposits of the site. The earliest levels were identified from the mudbrick South Bastion, eastwards along South Rampart Street. Below the Roman level, water damage had destroyed most of the organics, but up to two metres of Napatan period dump were excavated in 1990, associated with four major reconstructions of the fortifications. No clear evidence of Ptolemaic occupation was found in this area, as was claimed in 1980. Instead a long occupation through the Third Intermediate Period can now be postulated. Work on the ceramics from these levels is showing a Napatan sequence with forms derived from New Kingdom pottery at its beginning. There is a very clear break with the ceramics of the Roman legionary occupation sealing these Napatan levels.

To the east, excavations were begun on what proved to be a complex building, with a sequence that ended in the early Christian period, with levels that contained an important cache of Coptic and liturgical textiles. The main room fills were deposited during the late X-group period and finds on the floors of this building suggest that its main occupation belonged to the early X-group or late Meroitic period. A small shrine was excavated, that contained an offertory table, portable altars, a figurine, 'knob' stones and pieces of faience. Attached to the east side was a series of rooms, which enjoyed a brief life, which ended in catastrophe. This was marked first by a massive fire, then by the collapse of the easternmost girdle wall and the opening up of a large north-south crack, into which the fire debris fell. We cannot tell whether these events in the early X-group were caused by accident, natural causes or by military action against the fortifications.

As in previous seasons, work at Ibrim continued to produce an exceptional range of finds; 729 objects were registered. The X-group levels produced a fine collection of items of both religious

and domestic significance, including important leather items. Texts included substantial Meroitic and Greek papyri, as well as the normal range of other languages found at the site. Pottery studies concentrated upon the working out of a sequence of Napatan and Roman pottery from stratified deposits and on recording early Meroitic vessels from the survey of the mainland.

*Saqqara*: Several projects were advanced or completed this season, which lasted from 11 January to 14 March 1990. The EES staff consisted of G. T. Martin, D. A. Aston, Barbara G. Aston, J. van Dijk and Eleni Cladakis. Jennifer Dinsmore (British Museum) joined the expedition for part of the season to advise on conservation matters. The staff from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden comprised H. D. Schneider, W. R. K. Perizonius, P. J. Bomhof, Anneke de Kemp and M. Marée. The Egyptian Antiquities Organization was represented by Mr Fawzy Abdel-Halim Omar and Mr Khaled Abdallah Daoud. The expedition wishes to record its appreciation of other help received from colleagues in the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, especially Mr Mahmud Abu'l-Wafa (Director of Saqqara).

The excavation of the superstructure and substructure of Maya's tomb was completed in 1988. This season, the later intrusive shafts which were cut into the superstructure were dealt with, as well as those in the forecourt east of the tomb. Much closely-dated and contexted funerary material was found, including an amphora dated by an hieratic docket to Year 20 of Ramesses II, and an important group of Bes-jars. Skeletal material was plentiful, and some burials were found undisturbed. Preliminary analysis of the latter has been carried out, and more detailed studies will be undertaken next year. There are three decorated rooms (H, K and O) in the substructure. The first of these (H) is in relatively good condition, and this year the expedition cleaned, repaired, and conserved the reliefs *in situ*, replacing loose blocks where they had been prised from the walls in antiquity. Rooms K and O were smashed by the ancient plunderers. In 1990 most of the fragments of relief from these chambers, including veritable masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture, were removed to the surface and stored in a purpose-built workshop, where they have undergone cleaning and conservation in preparation for reassembling next season. A few large reliefs, too heavy and difficult to manhandle this year, have been left in K and O. All this material will be recorded epigraphically in 1991. Much has already been learnt about the iconography of the substructure reliefs, some of which were altered or amended by the ancient sculptors. Work has continued on the large cache of contexted pottery from the forecourt and substructure of the monument.

Much of the architecture of the tomb of Maya consists of blocks taken from Old-Kingdom monuments at Saqqara. Some material originates from the causeway of Unas, and thus is of considerable interest from the point of view of the decoration of Old-Kingdom pyramid complexes. All the blocks and fragments have been recorded in detail with a view to speedy publication. Two fine reliefs from the offering-room of Horemheb's tomb were found re-used as blocking material in one of the subsidiary shafts of the tomb of Maya. One was part of a unique scene depicting Horemheb (as an official) libating a deity. The expedition also completed the excavation of the main shaft and tomb chamber of Ramose. Some pottery, including Coptic material, and other funerary objects were found, but the principal gains are increased insights into the architectural complexity of the substructures of Memphite New-Kingdom funerary chapels. The superstructure of the tomb appears to be unfinished.

A detailed report and recommendations were prepared on Maya's tomb, in connection with the possible re-erection of relief blocks, particularly in the substructure. The reconstruction of the pylon entrance of the monument, which was found practically destroyed on excavation in 1988, was almost completed by the erection of a lintel, cornice and a portion of the roof. Sundry other works of conservation and repair have been carried out in the tombs of Tia and Tia, Paser, Khay and Pabes.

*El-Amarna*. Work began on 5 March and ended on 19 April. The expedition comprised Barry J. Kemp, Andrew Boyce, Joanna Boyd, Susan Cole, Ann Cornwell, Jane Faiers, Imogen Grundon, Wendy Horton, Richard Hughes, Gavin Kitchingham, Anthony Leahy, Rosemary Luff, Michael Mallinson, Ian Mathieson, Paul Nicholson, Gwilym Owen, Catherine Powell, Pamela Rose, Delwen Samuel, Margaret Serpico, Katherine Spence, Frances Weatherhead. The Egyptian

Antiquities Organization was represented by Mr Eiman Mohammed Sadiq and by Mr Emad Ramsy Yussef. Assistance was provided by Mr Adel Hassan and Mr Yahya Zakaria and others in the Mallawi and Minia Inspectorates, and by Mr Kamal Fahmy in Cairo.

At Kom el-Nana, the excavation this season, focused on the Central Platform, and on a strip of ground running southwards as far as the southern enclosure wall. At the Central Platform the north and east sides were excavated, leaving just the west for a future season. The lower courses of brickwork were virtually complete and preserve a good part of the total plan. More evidence was found of structural modifications during the lifetime of the building. By the time that the site was abandoned, demolition was already underway, and as it proceeded, and the outer wall, along with some of the adjacent gravel fill, was removed, the surrounding mud plaster floor was extended over the places where they had been, so that if the work had been completed, no trace of the platform would have been visible. A further undisturbed secondary burial was also discovered, near where the two were found last year.

Close by to the south, part of a second brick building was uncovered, apparently an elongated rectangle with its floor, paved throughout with mud brick, raised 40 cm above the surface of the surrounding ground. Its internal layout comprised two distinctly different parts. On the east had been a roofed portion with walls and columns from a series of rooms arranged behind a principal entrance on the south, which had the form of a brick staircase projecting perpendicularly from the side of the building. An open area lay on the west surrounded by a high wall and containing a sunken garden. This had first been laid out as a series of square garden plots, but subsequently these were abandoned in favour of a single large tree growing in a deep pit. Later still the sunken garden filled up with sand in which a large quantity of pottery mixed with animal bone was thrown, the deposit containing amphorae, bread moulds, and medium storage jars.

The staircase leading up to this building lay on the axis of a major entrance in the southern enclosure wall, which took the form of a pair of mud brick pylons, each with a thickness of 6 metres, on either side of a very broad gateway. A large part of the western pylon was cleared and planned. As with other Amarna temples it was originally paved with stone and approached from both sides by a ramp enclosed between pairs of projecting walls. Over much of the Kom el-Nana enclosure the ground seems to have been artificially levelled and raised by the dumping of desert materials and builders' waste.

A trench along the west side of the gateway has given an interesting stratigraphic column. After the end of the Amarna Period most of the stonework was removed (although some decorated fragments were left behind) and much of the concrete foundation platform broken up. The large pit which was left behind then slowly filled with sand and debris from the eroding bricks of the pylons, picking up virtually no artefacts until a thick trampled mud layer formed over the top in late Roman times. This was probably associated with a walled platform of rubble thrown up over the eastern pylon which perhaps served as a watch post for the late Roman settlement. This stratigraphy provides strong evidence that those who removed the stones (presumably in the Nineteenth Dynasty although there is no on-site evidence to prove this) did so with the intent of thoroughly smashing the foundations.

The Small Aten Temple also saw a continuation of the work of previous seasons: conservation of the temple fabric, removal of Pendlebury's dumps and detailed planning. In the first court the emphasis was on extending the recording of the field of small altars on either side of the Great Altar. Sufficient survived to add a further, easterly, row to those found by Pendlebury. For the second court the gateway between the second set of pylons was examined, as well as the two walls flanking the ramp which led up through the gateway. Behind the gateway, to the east, lie the remains of a feature marked as a rectangle on the Pendlebury plan as if on the temple axis. What survives are two groups of bricks associated with lime plaster which represent the north-eastern and south-eastern corners, but the whole lies not on the temple axis but to one side, on the north. A strip of ground running south from the southern doorway in the second court was examined to provide a cross-section of the street between the temple and the block of magazines and bakery lying to the south. The level of the street rose from the temple to the magazines and had a fairly even hard covering, broken in the middle by a huge tree pit which would have effectively divided the street into two sectors, one belonging to the temple and the other to the bakery. The Pendlebury dump removed in the course of the work provided many fragments of mud roofing

slabs from barrel-vaulted roofs (distinguishable by the deep grooves on one face), several bricks bearing the *hwt*-stamp, and fragments of pottery bread moulds, suggesting that the dump derives primarily from the magazines/bakery block.

The temple pylons do not belong to the first phase of the temple; how and where the temple began on its western side has yet to be properly established. The excavation around the front of the temple in previous seasons uncovered a distinct mud floor belonging to the first-phase temple which had been buried by deposits belonging to the later temple, and which continued westwards beneath the modern road in the direction of the Coronation Hall. This latter building is known from Pendlebury's excavations to have been constructed in the time of Smenkhkare. The possibility has to be considered that, prior to this time, the temple ground continued further westwards and that the Coronation Hall was built over it. In order to investigate whether this premise could ever be tested two small excavations were made straddling the wall of the Hall: one on the line of the Small Aten Temple axis, and the other at the north-east corner. At both places the earlier ground levels were located, establishing that beneath the surface of the modern road ancient stratigraphy relevant to the question still lies intact.

At the expedition house, a variety of undertakings prospered. Work continued on the analysis of Eighteenth Dynasty pottery, and a good start was made towards establishing a corpus of late Roman pottery from Kom el-Nana. Further experiments were made in ancient ceramic technology, using reproductions of a kiln and potter's wheel, both based securely on pharaonic evidence. A study was begun of the organic residues which survive on the internal surfaces of a large number of sherds in the expedition's collection. The fragments of decorated and architectural stonework from last year's work at Kom el-Nana, numbering over 4,000, were recorded. Environmental projects, notably the study of butchery marks and of cereal grains were undertaken. Progress was also made towards a final report on the excavations at the Workmen's Village.

A number of deaths have, sadly, to be recorded. One is that of Mr Cyril Spaul, an Honorary Research Fellow at University College, London, who died on 12 September 1989. A gentle, unassuming man, Cyril Spaul joined the Society in 1931, was a valued member of the Committee for 37 years, 1945–82, and also served with dedication as Honorary Librarian and Reviews Editor from 1951 to 1975. Many readers will recall the wide range of book reviews he published in the pages of this *Journal*. He shared a particular interest in Egyptian language with his great friend, the late Raymond Faulkner, and many students will remember his occasional classes in Egyptian 'unseen' at Cambridge for the quiet enthusiasm and ready toleration of beginner's gaffes with which he conducted them.

Colin Henderson Roberts died on 11 February 1990 at the age of 80. He had been Lecturer and then Reader in Papyrology at Oxford (1937–53), later Secretary to the Delegates of the University Press (1954–74). In a distinguished editorial career, Roberts published Greek and Latin papyri from the John Rylands Library, from the Merton collection, and from the Egypt Exploration Society's own holdings (contributions to *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* XVIII–XX and XXII, 1941–52 and 1954; *The Antinoopolis Papyri* I, 1950). He had a special interest in palaeography (*Greek Literary Hands* (1955) remains a standard work), above all in the manuscripts of the Early Church. It was he who demonstrated, in *PBA* 155, that the codex was a specifically Christian form of book (codex replaced roll in the fourth century AD, as Christianity replaced paganism) (the thesis was updated and extended by Roberts and T. C. Skeat in *The Birth of the Codex*, 1983); and his brilliant Schweich Lectures of 1977, *Manuscripts, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt*, use the evidence of book-format and book-circulation to give a bold and exciting picture of the early Christian community. In his long retirement, he continued to work for the New English Bible. Roberts combined his incisive intelligence with a gentle courtesy; all those who knew him remember him with affection. [Peter Parsons.]

In late November 1989 Dr Constant de Wit died at Luxor in his mid-eighties. He came to full-time Egyptology relatively late in life, but from 1947 onwards he contributed often to journals. In the 1950s he studied demotic with Glanville at Cambridge and then Ptolemaic with Fairman at Liverpool. For a number of years he was 'chef de section' at the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth in Brussels. He is probably best known for his encyclopaedic *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (1951), and for his three-volume edition of *Les inscriptions du temple d'Opet à Karnak*, completed in 1968. [Kenneth Kitchen.]

Michael Allen Hoffman, the leader of the American expedition to Hierakonpolis since 1978, died of cancer at the age of 45 on 23 April 1990. He brought to his work in Egypt a thorough grounding in anthropology and New World archaeology, as well as extensive fieldwork in the U.S.A., Pakistan and Afghanistan. His particular interest was in Predynastic settlement patterns and the expansion of society which led to the formation of the Egyptian state, and, to investigate this, he gathered about him an international, multidisciplinary team. Happily, he was able to prepare a revised text of his much admired book, *Egypt before the Pharaohs* (1979), before he passed away. His dedication, professionalism, personal warmth and enthusiasm will be sorely missed by the members of the Hierakonpolis expedition, who are determined to continue his work and to fulfil his wish to publish the excavation reports in a comprehensive monograph series. A memorial fund to enable these ends to be realised has been set up and donations can be made to the Egyptian Studies Association by sending sterling contributions to Barbara Adams at the Petrie Museum, University College, Gower Street, London WC1E 6BT. Dollar contributions can be sent to the new Director of the Hierakonpolis project, James O. Mills, at the Egyptian Studies Association, c/o Earth Science and Resources Center, University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C. 29208, U.S.A. [Barbara Adams.]

It remains to notice with great regret the death on 22 April 1990, just a few months short of her one hundredth birthday, of Dr Rosalind Moss, joint creator of one of Egyptology's most indispensable tools, the *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. An appreciation by her successor as its editor, Jaromir Malek, was published in the 'Independent' on 26 April, and an obituary will appear in next year's volume of this *Journal*.

The Editor has been asked to publicise the awards offered by the Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation, which it is felt may not be sufficiently widely known. This body makes grants each year to help research, excavation and publication in the field of Egyptology in its widest sense: philology and archaeology, history of religion and of art, from prehistoric to Coptic times. Seven copies of applications in English or French must be submitted before 15 March, with a short *curriculum vitae* and a description of the project. Documents will not be returned. Applications should be sent to: The Michela Schiff Giorgini Foundation, c/o OFISA S.A., Chemin des Charmettes, 1003 Lausanne, Switzerland.

Finally, after recording last year that the teaching of Egyptology at Durham had ceased, it is a pleasure to reassure readers that the Egyptian collection in the Oriental Museum at that university remains intact, and open to visitors, in the capable hands of Mr John Ruffle.

## MEMPHIS, 1989

By L. L. GIDDY, D. G. JEFFREYS and J. MALEK

In addition to post-excavation processing and analysis of the ceramic and environmental collections from Kom Rabi'a, three field projects were carried out in 1989. Limited clearance was done for epigraphic recording at the west gate of the Ptah temple (site BAA), where there was evidence of modification to the pylon and hypostyle hall late in the reign of Ramesses II. Drill cores were taken to the west and north-west of Kom Tuman, where our information about the early occupation and flood defences of the city has been greatly extended. Resistivity meter survey continued in the south-east of the ruin field, where two major anomalies were recorded: at the site of faience kilns excavated by Petrie on Kom Helul, and on Kom Qal'a, where traces of a large stone structure, perhaps a Third Intermediate Period temple, were found.

THE 1989 Survey of Memphis season ran from 15 September to 15 December, the staff being Elizabeth Boddens-Hosang, Janine Bourriau, Sarah Buckingham, Christian Décobert, Kathryn Eriksson, Joseph Fury, Barbara Ghaleb, Dr Lisa Giddy, Rachel Hooper, Jane Inskipp, David Jeffreys, Dr Jaromir Malek, Ian and Padi Mathieson, Mary Anne Murray, Dr Paul Nicholson, Sally Swain, and Ana Tavares. Dr David Aston visited briefly to discuss his text for *Survey of Memphis*, III; Peter French and Andrew Boyce continued work on Anubieion pottery, to be published in *The Anubieion at Saqqâra*, III in 1990-1. Professor Smith and Ken Frazer arrived in late November to work on publication of the temple precinct at the Sacred Animal Necropolis. Most of this season at Mit Rahina has been spent on the study, recording, and analysis of pottery, animal bones and botanical remains recovered from five seasons' excavation at Kom Rabi'a (site RAT 1984-8). In addition, three field projects ran consecutively: from 27 September to 15 October, the archaeological and epigraphic survey of the west gate of the Ptah temple (site BAA, see fig. 2) completed the recording of loose and stray inscribed and decorated blocks from the pylon and hypostyle hall. From 16 October the drill core work took place in the north-west sector of the ruin field and environs, and from 4-11 November resistivity survey work was concentrated on Kom Qal'a and Kom Helul.

Once again, we acknowledge with gratitude the help and cooperation of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, with whose permission the Society's work is carried out, especially its Officers at Abbassiya: Chairman Dr Said Tawfiq, Dr Ali Hassan, Dr Ali el-Khouli, and in the Secretariat Ahmed Moussa, Mme Fawzia and Mme Samia; at Saqqara and Mit Rahina, the Director of Antiquities Mahmoud Abu'l-Wafa, Chief Inspector Mohammed Rashid, and in particular the EAO representative this year, Ezzat Mohammed Abd el-Salaam, whose enthusiasm and willing assistance at all times are much appreciated by the Society. As always the efforts of the house staff at Saqqara have greatly facilitated the work of the Survey. Thanks go also to the University of Sydney for their continued financial support, and for allowing leave and providing fares for Giddy and Eriksson; to Memphis State University for similar contributions of finance and personnel (this year's MSU student, Joseph Fury, worked for three weeks on froth-flotation and sorting of bulk samples).

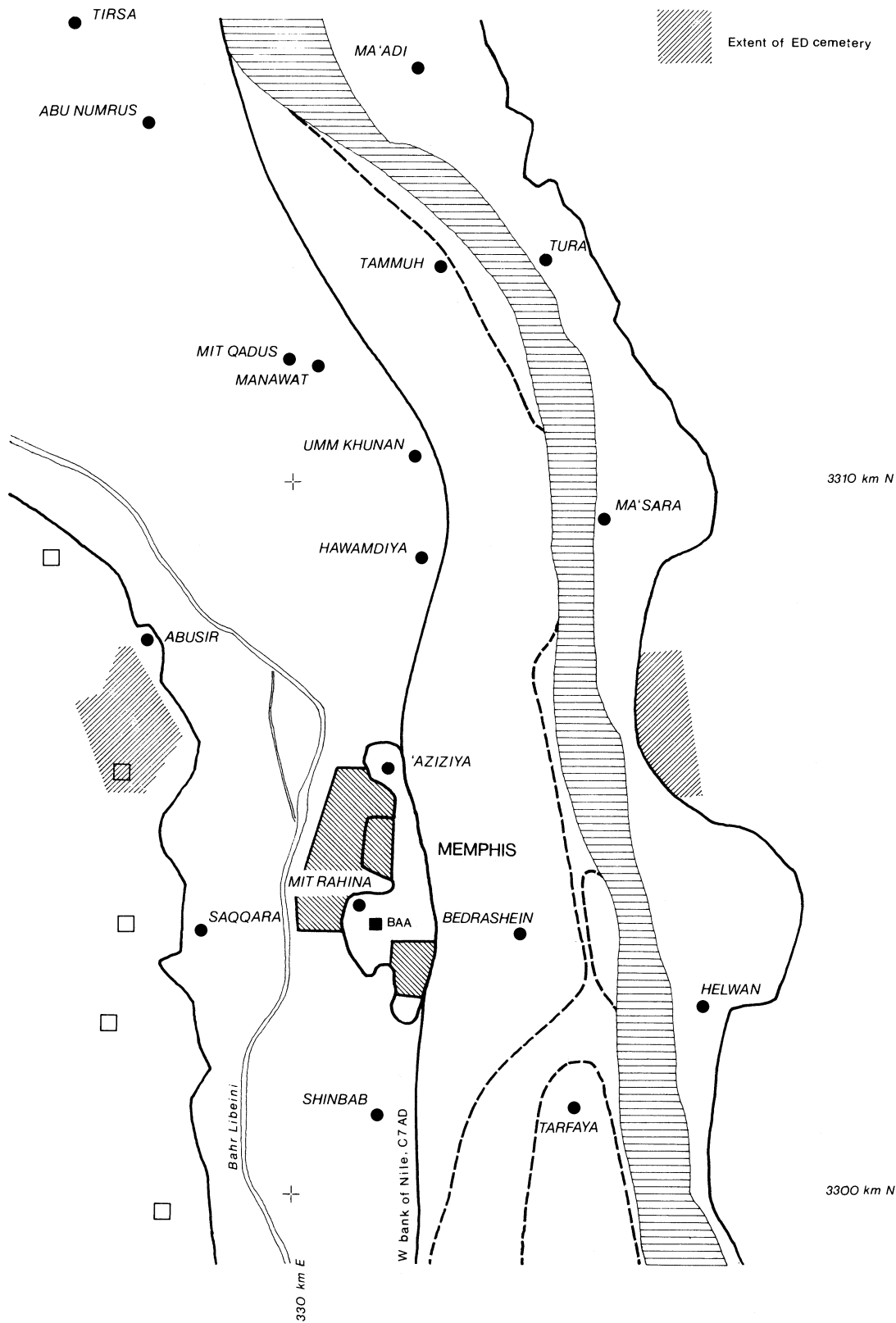


FIG. 1. Memphis and environs, showing EES survey concessions in 1989 (close-hatched areas). Broken lines indicate the islands and the west bank of the river in the nineteenth century AD. UTM coordinates at 10 km intervals.

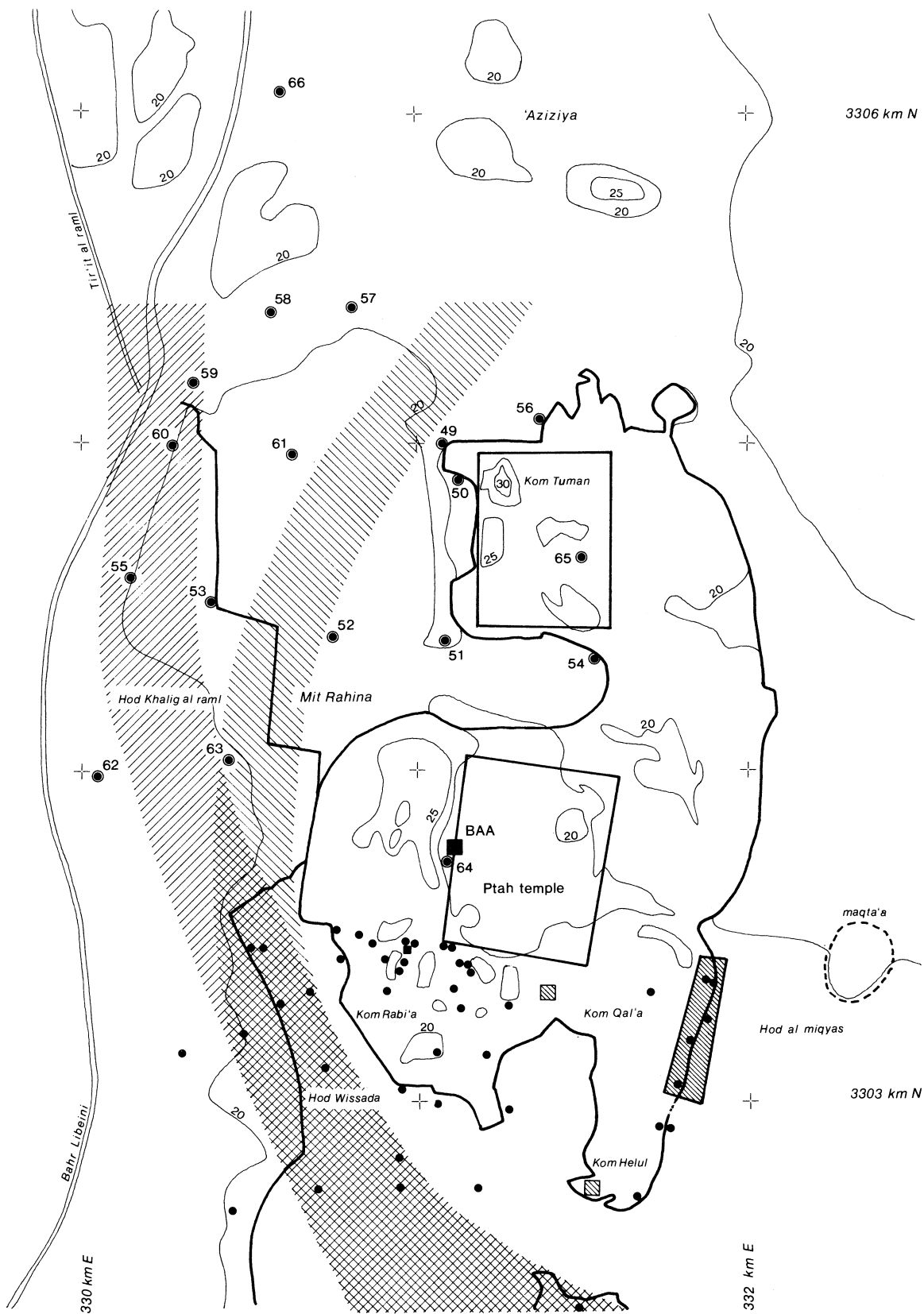


FIG. 2. Memphis ruin field, showing drill core sites (1989 sites are numbered) and suggested lines of *ibliz* banks. Close-hatched areas are resistivity sites. UTM grid intersects at 1 km intervals; contours ASL at 5 m vertical intervals.



*Epigraphic section*

Work at the west gate of the Ptah temple enclosure (site BAA) continued the progress made in the 1987 season.<sup>1</sup> We checked, completed, and photographed a number of earlier epigraphic recordings in more favourable conditions, particularly during the period of low water in late September. In order to improve our understanding of the epigraphic features, and to facilitate detailed planning of the structure, clearance of restricted areas was also undertaken. Thirty-one new blocks and sculptural fragments were discovered and assigned SCHISM (Systematic Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions and Sculptures from Memphis) numbers. Any further work here would now involve heavy lifting gear and other equipment and expertise beyond the Society's present resources.

Several new items of epigraphic interest may be noted. The incomplete 'alabaster' (calcite) colossal statue<sup>2</sup> (SCHISM 3702) and the breast fragment of a 'limestone' colossus of Ramesses II<sup>3</sup> (SCHISM 3703, pl. IV, 1) were found to be parts of the same seated statue; it probably stood on the central granite pedestal outside the south wing of the pylon. Superficially the material of the two pieces appears different, but there is little doubt that they belong to the same calcite sculpture. The larger fragment lies in front of the pylon, face down, pointing west (in a position similar to that of 'Abu'l-Hol', SCHISM 51, as found by Caviglia). The lower part of the head and beard, as well as part of the waist, are preserved. This is the first *seated* colossal statue recorded at Memphis; the form of the crown and the size of the base are not known, but the original height must have been 12 m or more.<sup>4</sup> A fragment of the inscribed back pillar was also located, wedged beneath the eastern side of the larger fragment. A fragment of a granite base (SCHISM 3864), with a very eroded foot of a colossal statue on the upper surface, has also been found (pl. IV, 2); it is probably a companion piece to that standing across the southern entrance passage,<sup>5</sup> and of the same size, to judge by the preserved inscription. Several new granite fragments (pl. III, 2), including one of a white crown, were registered as belonging to SCHISM 3701, although the discovery late in the season of the new base throws the question open again. Among the material reused in the temple there are some small pieces of Old-Kingdom tomb relief (fig. 3), a limestone *talatat* block, probably of the reign of Amenophis IV, and two fragmentary stelae (one being an 'ear-stela', fig. 4).

Clearance was concentrated in the areas to the south and west of the pylon, and within the pylon itself. At the west end of the central entrance passage, a massive quartzite threshold, with sockets for a double-leaf door, was cleared and planned. The threshold, unlike those in the northern and southern entrances, appears to have been added *after* the construction of the pylon, and may be associated with the rebuilding of the central ramp (fig. 6). There is also evidence for the insertion of a pair of inscribed quartzite gate jambs in the central entrance itself (figs. 5-7, pls. III, 1 and IV, 3), perhaps during the reign of Ramesses II. The northern and southern entrances had alabaster jambs inscribed by Ramesses II, set on basalt bases to which the names of Ramesses III had been added;

<sup>1</sup> JEA 74 (1988), 25-9, pls. iv [3, 4], v; J. Malek, *Archaeology Today* 9 [4] (April 1988), 40-5, with illustrations.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis*, I (London, 1909), 5, 10, pl. xxiii [middle left]; JEA 73 (1987), 19.

<sup>3</sup> Petrie, op. cit. 5. This is the piece referred to in JEA 73, 18 n. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Petrie estimated it at 38 ft. (11.59 m).

<sup>5</sup> SCHISM 3701; Petrie, op. cit. 5, 9-10, pl. xxiii [top right and middle right]; JEA 73, 19.

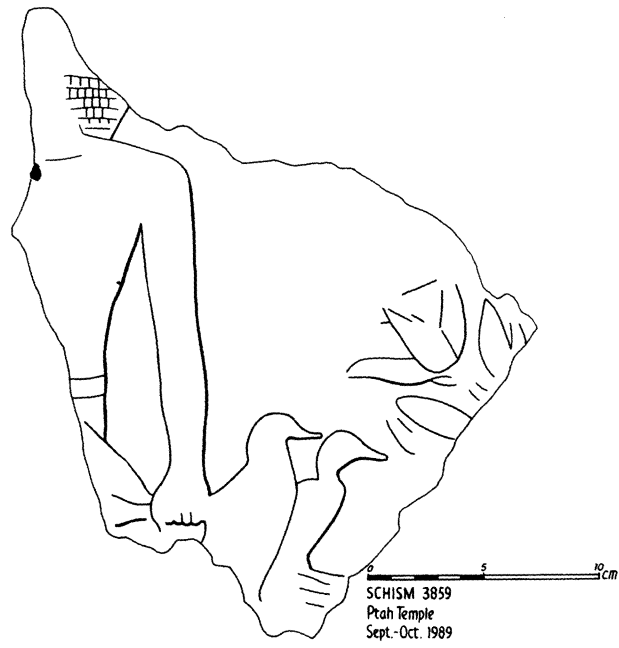
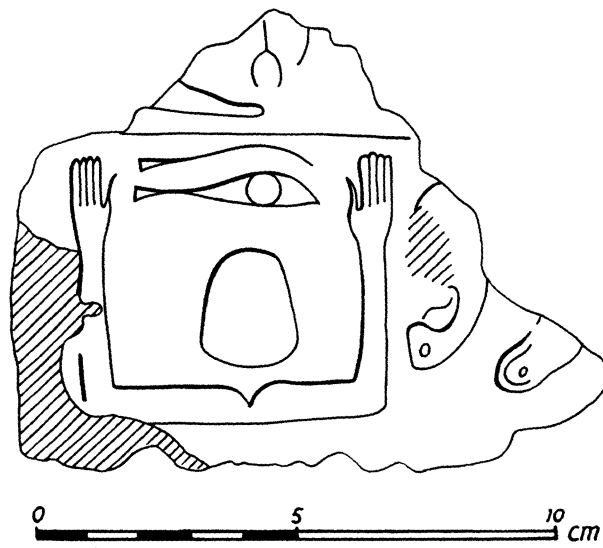


FIG. 3. Old-Kingdom tomb relief.



SCHISM 3844  
Ptah Temple  
Sept.-Oct. 1989

FIG. 4. Fragment of ear-stela.



FIG. 5. Quartzite jamb, Ramesses II offering to Ptah and Sekhmet.

these rested on granite thresholds (fig. 8). Partial clearance of the southern entrance passage revealed remains of a limestone blocking (contemporary with the rebuilding of the central gate?) at the west end (pl. I, 1). The granite column bases, which are such a puzzling feature of the southern and northern corridors flanking the hypostyle hall, may therefore be subsequent to these blockings, and may suggest a change in the use of the entire structure.

Outside the southern entrance we found remains of two monolithic granite engaged columns(?) bearing the names and titulary of Ramesses II (pl. IV, 4). These may have been associated with an unusual arrangement of the approach to the gate, or may be remains of the torus mouldings from the corners of the pylon. Two of the three granite statue pedestals recorded by Petrie against the exterior of the south wing of the pylon were relocated and planned, but no trace was found of his northernmost pedestal.<sup>6</sup> Limited exposures were made at the south-west corner, and along the south side, of the pylon (pl. II, 2) to allow the recording of buried blocks and the planning of the limestone bedding course, and to investigate the associated stratigraphy. Rising water prevented more extensive work, but an interesting sand deposit<sup>7</sup> containing Ramesside sherds and earlier material was revealed along the south side of the pylon at foundation level. No trace was found of a Ramesside (or Hellenistic) enclosure wall abutting the southern end of the pylon, despite the presence of a massive brick wall exposed in a cutting only 30 m to the south.

Detailed plotting of the many displaced blocks of granite, quartzite, basalt, limestone (pl. III, 3) and alabaster (calcite) on and around the pylon has greatly advanced our understanding of the architectural composition of this unusual monument. The west face of the pylon (fig. 8) between the southern and northern entrances above foundation level probably consisted of a pink granite base course, with an inscribed band of *jnr km* (probably black basalt<sup>8</sup>) forming the base of the door frames and the lining of the passages (pl. IV, 5). The exteriors of the northern and southern walls flanking the corridors either side of the hypostyle feature a dado of large basalt blocks, probably reused Old-Kingdom paving slabs,<sup>9</sup> which bear processional scenes added by Ramesses II, and which in turn rest on granite casing blocks with the characteristic batter of Old-Kingdom pyramids.<sup>10</sup> The thresholds of most doorways in the hypostyle are also (inverted) pyramid casing blocks. The quantity, quality, and variety of hard-stone architectural elements suggest that the temple was largely built from blocks selected and reused from earlier (often Old-Kingdom) monuments in the Memphis area. This provides a new insight into the activities of Prince Khaemwese, who is almost certainly mentioned on the base of the granite colossus SCHISM 3701 (pl. II, 1-2), in the Old-Kingdom necropolis of Memphis: his 'restoration texts' at Abu Ghurab,<sup>11</sup> Abusir,<sup>12</sup> and Saqqara<sup>13</sup> may now be seen in a rather different light.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit., pl. ii.

<sup>7</sup> The same as that mentioned by Petrie, op. cit. 7, 9 (?).

<sup>8</sup> According to J. R. Harris, *Lexicographical studies in ancient Egyptian materials* (Berlin, 1961), 74, the term only applies to black granite, but this does not seem to be the case here.

<sup>9</sup> Such as are found in the pyramid temples of Sahure at Abusir, and of Userkaf at Saqqara.

<sup>10</sup> Such as those of Khéphren and Mycerinus.

<sup>11</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 315.

<sup>12</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 335.

<sup>13</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 400, 421, 434.

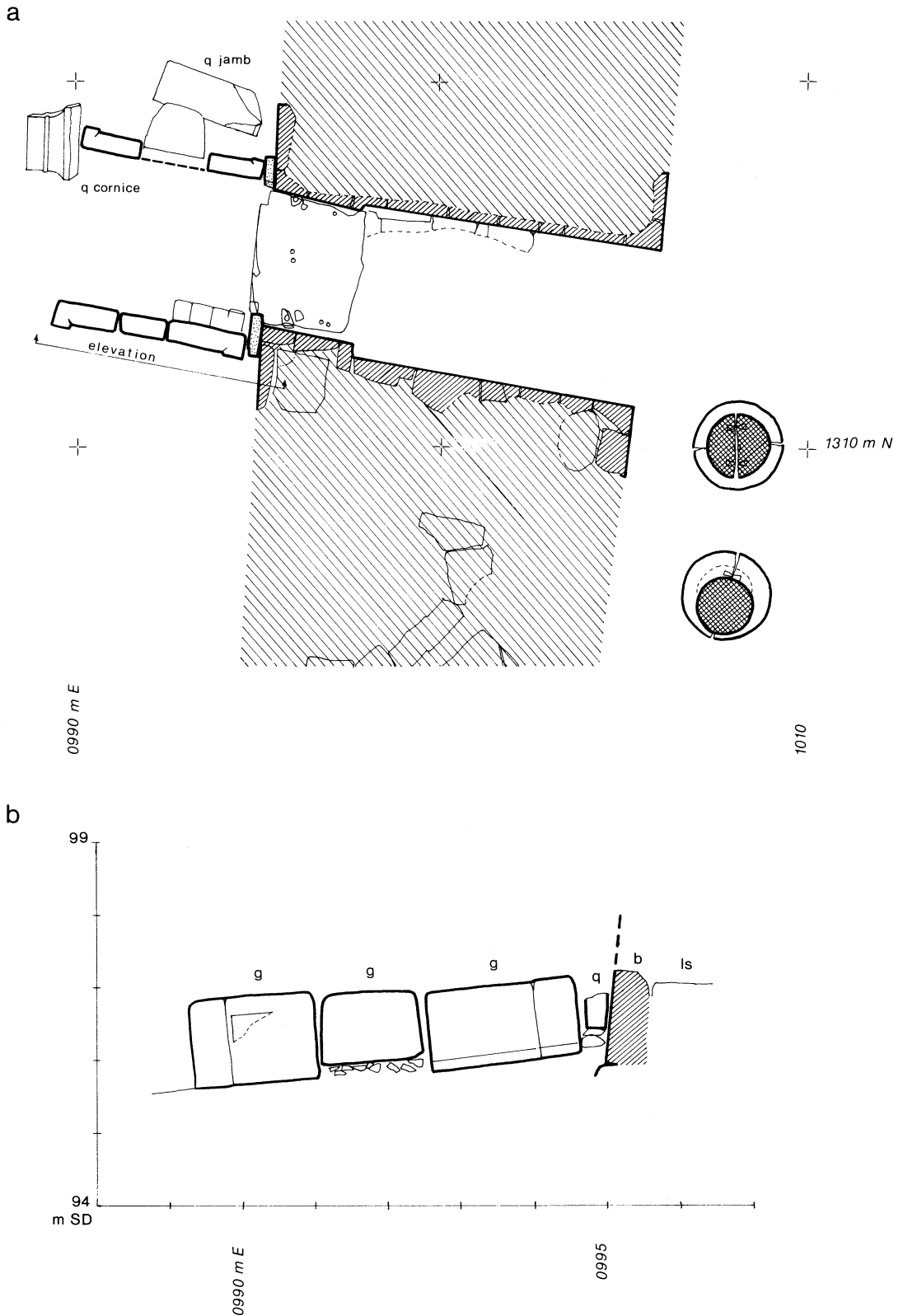


FIG. 6. Plan of central gate of Ptah temple west pylon and elevation of south side of approach ramp. (See fig. 8 for shading conventions.)

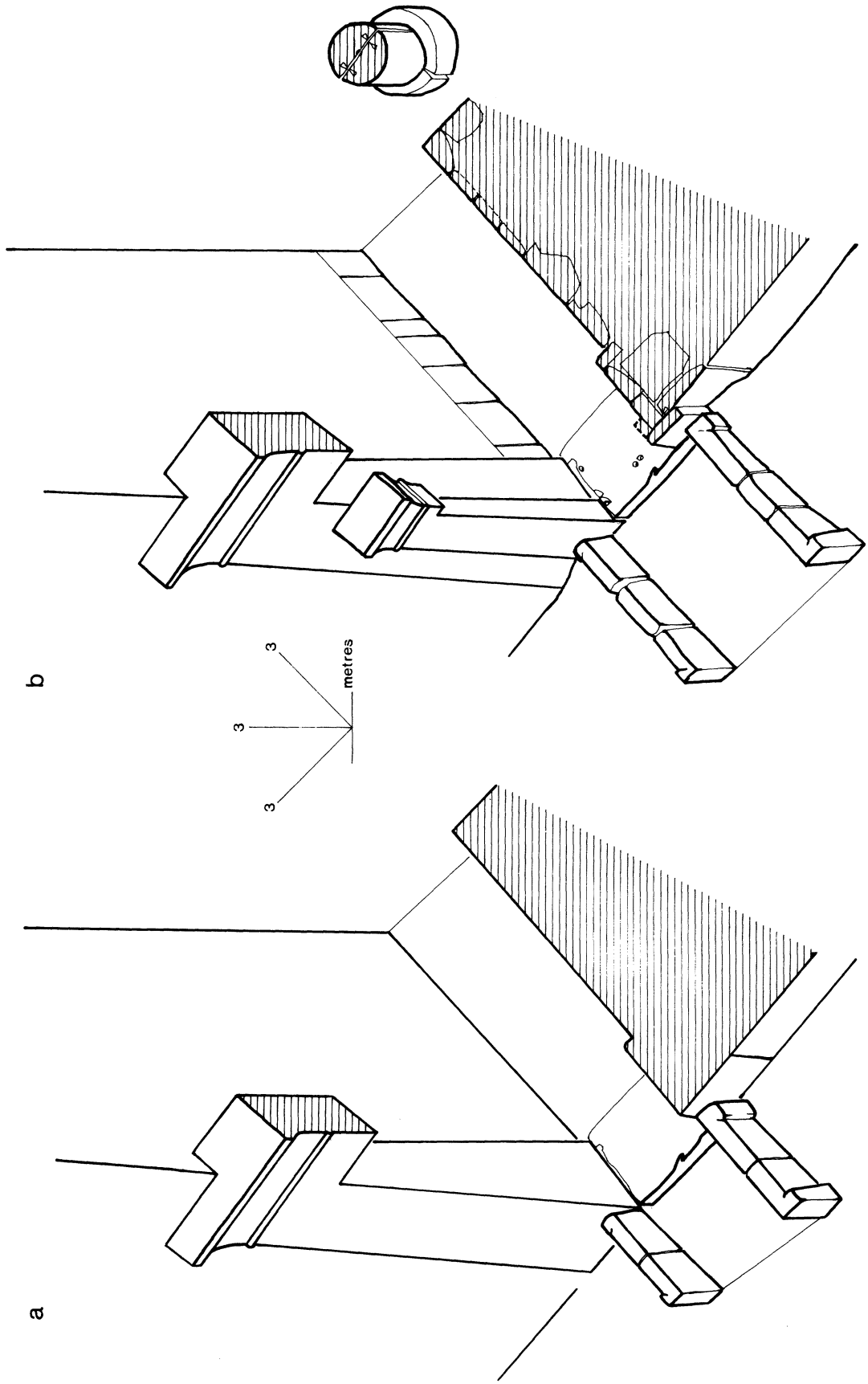


FIG. 7. Axonometric reconstruction of central gate of west pylon (a) before and (b) after insertion of quartzite jambs.

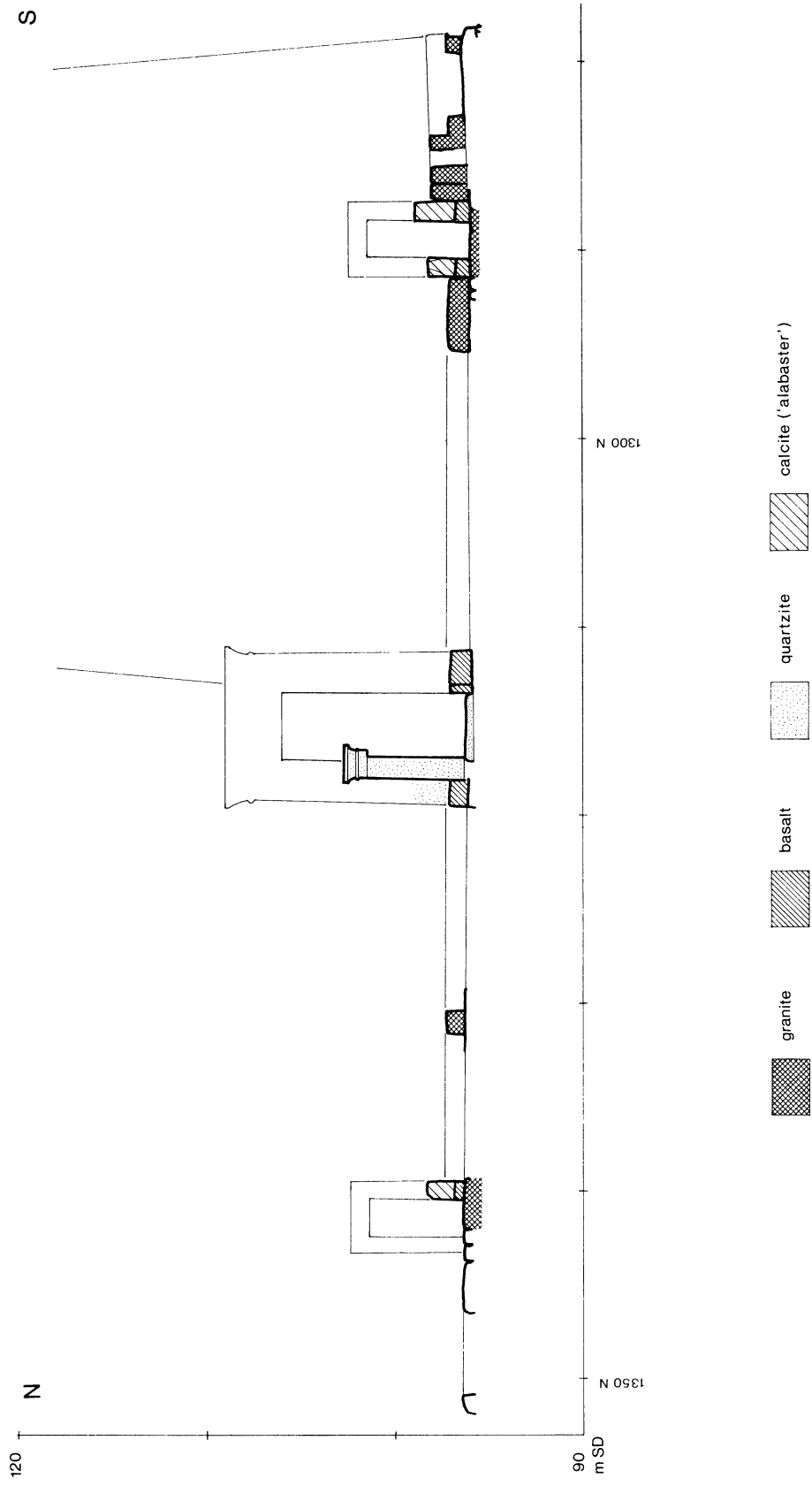


FIG. 8. Elevation of west face of pylon.

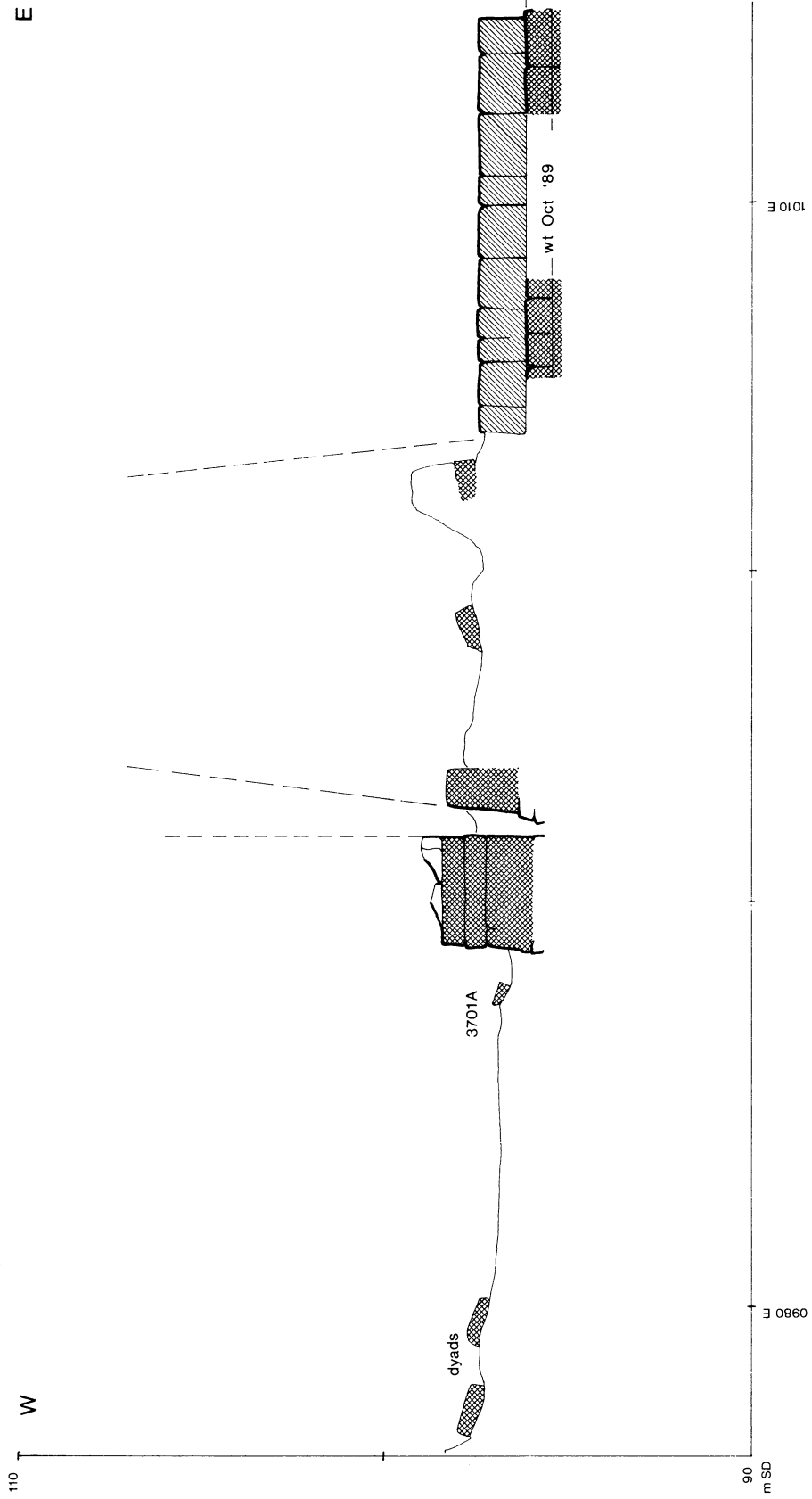


FIG. 9. Sectional view through south wall of hypostyle hall and south wing of pylon, with statue base SCHISM 3701 restored to the pedestal.



*Drill cores*

This season eighteen more cores have been taken from sites lying mostly to the west, south-west and north-west of Kom Tuman (Palace of Apries). The aim of drilling in this area was to explore further the buried bank of black clay (*ibliz*), associated with sherds of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom date, which was located in 1987 at Hod Wissada, to the west and south-west of Kom Rabi'a. This bank appeared to rise to 16 m ASL at the north end, and we anticipated relatively high-lying early material in this area.

The picture further north is more complex than expected, with not one but two high banks of black clay recorded (fig. 2): one just east of the present course of the Bahr Libeini (the northward continuation of the Bahr Yusuf), and another close to the western edge of the visible ruin field at Kom Tuman. Between these two features no clay, but black alluvial sand, was recorded, sealed in most places by occupation deposits dated on pottery evidence to the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Two cores in easterly locations (54 on the eastern edge of the 'North Birka', and 65 on Kom Tuman itself, south-east of the foundation platform of the Palace of Apries) produced no black clay or sand but a sequence of occupation deposits above a coarse yellow alluvial sand. This finding mirrors the results of earlier coring on Kom Rabi'a and Kom Qal'a, where the black alluvials slope away eastwards beneath yellow and brownish-yellow sands and silts.<sup>14</sup> While taking cores close to Kom Tuman we observed that at all points where the edge of the mound is cleanly cut by modern agriculture, there is only solid brickwork visible, suggesting that the palace foundations on the west side may be much more extensive than shown by Petrie, who claimed to have located the west wall of the surrounding 'camp'.<sup>15</sup>

On the west side of the survey area, along the east bank of Mariyutiya (Muhit) Canal, the black clay was recorded at its highest levels (nearly 16 m ASL, or 4 m below the modern valley floor). In all cores this far west the clay was found to be archaeologically sterile, suggesting that it is largely a natural feature. The locations of these sterile clays (fig. 2) provide an orientation for this western bank which approximates to the present course of the canal called *tir'it al raml* ('canal of sand'), and to the alignment of the *hod*, also known in the cadastral records as 'canal of sand' (*khalig al raml*). Possibly in the medieval period these canals formed one continuous waterway, but today they are distinct, the connection being visible only in the surrounding field pattern. Interestingly, the Bahr Libeini today swings around the east side of an area of high-lying (20 m + ASL) land before turning sharply to the north-west (figs. 1, 2), whereas the course of the *tir'it/khalig al raml* lies consistently west of this area, suggesting that the high ground might be a fossil *gezira*, perhaps the most easterly of a series of abandoned levees left by an eastward-moving Bahr Libeini/Bahr Yusuf, the recession accelerated by the bend in the stream. If this is the case, there is a high probability that any Early Dynastic occupation near the foot of the Saqqara-Abusir escarpment has been scoured out by the shifting watercourse. The most northerly core (66) was taken from west of 'Aziziya town, where limestone blocks (some inscribed) have been visible in the east bank of the Mariyutiya ever since the canal was dug in 1907-8.<sup>16</sup> Here sherd-bearing deposits of black clay were

<sup>14</sup> JEA 73, 17; 75 (1989), 8.

<sup>15</sup> Petrie, *op. cit.*, pl. i. Petrie does, however, show as a broken line a rectangular structure outside the north-west corner of the 'camp', but it is unclear what this signifies.

<sup>16</sup> *Survey of Memphis (SoM)*, 1, 47, 77, fig. 50.

recorded, just as had been found in the nearest core site (58) to the south. Higher up, remains of a redbrick and limestone structure were observed above a layer of very coarse sand. Although no associated Islamic pottery was found, this building probably lay at the east end of, or alongside, the processional way taking pilgrims to the shrine of Sign Yusuf on the western desert edge.

At this early stage, our impression is that the sites west of Mit Rahina and Kom Tuman where evidence of human activity has been recorded represent occupation of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Conceivably the 'Early Dynastic' levels further south are contaminated by residual material. The two clay banks must diverge northwards from some point near the modern Saqqara-Bedrashein road: at Hod Wissada they are probably superimposed. The eastern arm, perhaps the Ptolemaic earthwork, encircles the Hellenistic citadel, while the western arm then follows the line of the *khalig/tir'it al raml* to the northwest, carrying it close to the western desert edge. Probably the true Early Dynastic centre lies here, in the vicinity of southern Hawamdiya, a little to the north of this year's survey concession, and between the Protodynastic cemeteries of North Saqqara and North Helwan. It hoped to investigate this area further in 1990.

### *Resistivity survey*

The resistivity meter survey concentrated on Kom Qal'a (fig. 2), where the first set of lines was laid out down the east side of the ruin field to try to find traces of the Roman riverside wall located further north at Kom Arba'in in 1982.<sup>17</sup> Although no unequivocal electrical anomaly was recorded in this area ('[Southern] Field of the Nilometer', *hod al-miqyas* [*al-qibli*]), even in places where in 1988 drilling had appeared to confirm the presence of limestone and redbrick structures,<sup>18</sup> the edge of the occupation does come here to an abrupt end along the eastern edge of the ruin field, with only undisturbed alluvial silts and ploughsoil being recorded beneath the modern cultivation. The fact that the Hod al-miqyas here lies a little to the east of the edge of Kom Qal'a (fig. 2), with a *hod nagara* intervening, suggests that at some time after the abandonment of the city the course of the river aligned with the circular depression known as 'the breach' (*al-maqt'a'a*), a medieval feature showing where the river had burst its west bank in earlier times.

The second set of lines was located in the extreme south of Kom Qal'a (the small kom known as Helul), where the site of a group of faience kilns excavated and recorded by Petrie is still to be recognized in a series of low mounds of fired brickearth, covered with faience wasters and slag debris. Here a set of east-west lines across the most southerly mound showed a number of walls apparently laid out in a grid pattern, which seems to conform to Petrie's description. Whether these are in fact the kilns recorded by Petrie remains, however, in doubt, since the anomalies reach a depth of 6–7 m, almost certainly too far down to be the same structures. The third sample area lay in the vicinity of Petrie's expedition house (now destroyed), to the east-south-east of the museum housing the limestone colossal statue of Ramesses II ('Abu'l-Hol'). Since Petrie and others mention a standing column of Siamun buried beneath the courtyard of his house,<sup>19</sup> this

<sup>17</sup> *SoM* 1, 32, 76, fig. 47.

<sup>18</sup> *JEA* 75, 3, fig. 1, 8.

<sup>19</sup> *SoM* 1, 20, 94 n. 149.

seemed a promising area for survey by this method. An array of east–west and north–south lines provided evidence of a major anomaly, almost certainly a stone structure, which may well therefore be a stone temple (?) of the Third Intermediate Period. It is hoped to provide better definition of this feature next year, as well as investigating the earthworks revealed this season by drilling.

#### *Post-excavation work*

*Pottery* (Janine Bourriau): Our aim in this study season was to record sufficient material for the analysis of the New Kingdom pottery to begin, in preparation for publication. As a result, it was decided to concentrate on completion of the recording of contexts datable by comparative material from Gurob, Haraga and Riqqa to the first two ceramic phases of the Eighteenth Dynasty. These may be equated with (1) the reigns of Ahmose to Tuthmosis I, and (2) the reign of Tuthmosis II to the end of that of Tuthmosis III. These contexts have produced a particularly interesting range of imported wares: Base Ring and Red Lustrous wares from Cyprus, Mycenaean pottery, coarse-ware amphorae from Syria-Palestine, and Kerma ware. We were keen, therefore, to be able to set these exceptional pieces against the context of the Egyptian pottery of the time. In terms of stratigraphy, many of the contexts sealed the sand layer (Level V<sup>20</sup>) and we were anxious also to record all the ceramic evidence for the dating of this feature. We were able to complete the recording of all the contexts in phase 1 (Level IV?), and of enough material from phase 2 (Level III?) to have a clear idea of its character. A few contexts of both phases have yet to be excavated. At the end of the season (taking into account pottery recorded in previous seasons), half of all the *in situ* New Kingdom pottery from the site had been recorded. A new microscope, with camera port for through-the-lens photography, has been used both to examine sherd sections and to record a type series. Once developed, these photographs should be crucial in the correct identification of fabrics, which is at present one of the most difficult aspects of pottery recording.

*Archaeobotany* (Mary Anne Murray): This year is the first time that archaeobotanical material collected at Kom Rabi'a has been analysed. The plant remains, preserved by charring, were recovered using the process called flotation or water separation, which floats the seeds and charcoal away from the soil matrix. Of 99 samples floated this season, 76 are from Middle Kingdom, and 23 from New Kingdom, contexts. Initial sorting and positive identification of species has been completed for a quarter of these samples. The analysis has shown a wide range of species, including the grains and chaff of barley (*Hordeum sativum*) and emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), the seeds of lentils (*Lens* sp.) and several other members of the Leguminosae (or Pea) family, olive (*Olea* sp.), grape (*Vitis vinifera*), date (*Phoenix dactylifera*), pistachio (*Pistacia* sp.), persea (*Mimusops schimperi*), acacia pods and seeds (*Acacia* sp.), and the edible tubers of both wild nut grass (*Cyperus rotundus*) and yellow nut grass (*Cyperus esculentus*). Various weed species were also recovered, such as *Amaranthus* sp., *Papaver* sp., *Scirpus* sp., *Malva* sp., and members of the families of Caryophyllaceae, Polygonaceae and Graminae (including *Phalaris* sp. and *Lolium* sp.). Many more species await positive identification, and the wood charcoal recovered from the excavation was not analysed this year.

<sup>20</sup> JEA 73, 15–17; 74, 17–18.

*Zooarchaeology* (Barbara Ghaleb): In 1988 the project arrived at a bioarchaeological strategy designed to sample quantitatively for both macro- and micro-animal remains. Bulk soil samples were taken from a variety of archaeological contexts (living floors, ash deposits, collapsed brick rubble) and this study season has provided an opportunity to study animal and plant remains from them. Samples of known volume (2–120 litres per context) were collected from 100 of the contexts excavated, and this year's work has confirmed our first impression that many contexts sampled are rich in both animal and plant remains.

The preliminary identification of the bone fragments recovered indicates that a variety of types and sizes of fish (chiefly Nile species, e.g. *Synodontis* sp., *Bagrus* sp., *Clarias* sp., *Oreochromis (Tilapia)* sp., *Lates Niloticus*, *Labeo* sp., *Polypterus bichir*, but also some marine, e.g. *Sparus* sp.) and certain bird species are present, and were probably all eaten by the ancient Egyptians in addition to domesticated mammals (cow, pig, sheep and goat). Larger remains of both mammals and fish were also recovered, and study of the two types of bone sample provides direct evidence of the range of animal husbandry and wild food procurement practiced in ancient Egypt. The bone remains also contain some evidence of butchery techniques, and provide information on animals that may have lived within the settlement area as pets (dogs, cats) or would have been naturally present (mice, rats, lizards). Due to the amount of preliminary work involved before positive identification and analysis can take place (initial cleaning, sorting, consolidation and labelling), it is not yet possible to discuss quantitative differences or to offer a comprehensive list of the kinds of animal species represented. This is particularly true of the fish and bird species, although it is interesting to note that all but three of the fish species identified (Nile species *Polypterus bichir* and *Bagrus*, and Mediterranean and Red Sea genus *Sparus*) are frequently depicted in Old Kingdom tombs at Saqqara.



1. Southern passage through west pylon of the Ptah temple enclosure, with limestone blocking, looking east (p. 7)



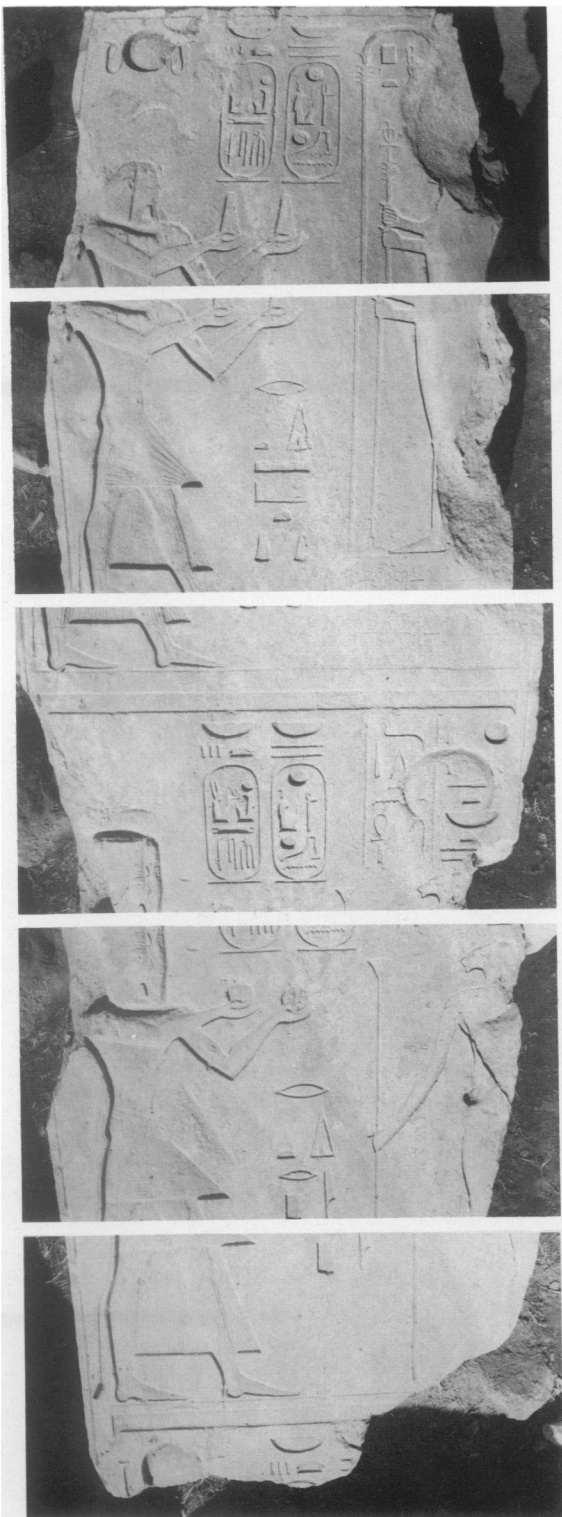
2. South end of pylon, looking east (p. 7)



1. Detached front edge of base (SCHISM 3701A) of colossal statue of Ramesses II, near southern passage



2. Detail of SCHISM 3701A, showing part of a king's son, probably Khaemwese



1. Quartzite jamb of Ramesses II, from the central gate (SCHISM 3732) (p. 4)



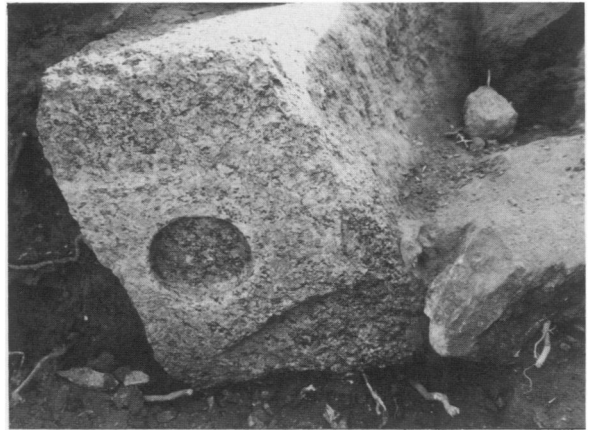
2. Fragment of the kilt and dagger of a colossal red granite statue (SCHISM 3701B) (p. 4)



3. One of the few remaining limestone decorated blocks (SCHISM 3715) (p. 7)



1. The right part of the chest of a seated alabaster colossus of Ramesses II (SCHISM 3703) (p. 4)



2. Fragment of the base of a colossal red granite statue (SCHISM 3864) (p. 4)



3. Quartzite half-lintel and cornice of Ramesses II, from the central gate (SCHISM 3734) (p. 4)



4. Fragment of an engaged column(?) of Ramesses II (SCHISM 3849A) (p. 7)



5. Two adjoining basalt blocks with a building-text (SCHISM 706 + 707) (p. 7)



## THE ORIGIN OF THE PYRAMID TEXTS FOUND ON MIDDLE KINGDOM SAQQÂRA COFFINS\*

By STEPHEN E. THOMPSON

Previous studies of the Pyramid Texts occurring on Middle Kingdom coffins have asserted that the texts from the pyramid of Unas had more influence on the coffins than did those found in later Old Kingdom pyramids. A study of the order of the spells and of the versions of the Pyramid Texts found on the Middle Kingdom Saqqâra coffins shows this not to be the case. The Pyramid Texts on these coffins have affinities to those occurring in the later Sixth Dynasty pyramids, particularly those of Pepi II and Neit. They are not, however, direct copies of texts in these later pyramids. The texts on any particular coffin exhibit affinities to those found in several different pyramids as well as variants which do not appear in any pyramid published to date. One possible source for the Pyramid Texts on the Saqqâra coffins is hieratic copies of the Pyramid Texts in which a mixing of the texts from the pyramids has occurred and into which new features have been introduced by subsequent copyists.

PREVIOUS studies of the Pyramid Texts occurring on Middle Kingdom coffins have asserted that the collection of spells found in the pyramid of Unas (and in the mastaba of Senwosretankh) had more influence on the texts used on Middle Kingdom coffins than did those found in the later Old Kingdom pyramids. Altenmüller states that the spell-sequences of the Pyramid Texts used during the Middle Kingdom 'weisen eine Fassung auf, durch die sie mit den Exemplaren der Frühen Fassung (Unas, Senwosretankh) und nicht mit denen der Späten Fassung (Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, Neit) zu verbinden sind'.<sup>1</sup> He further claims that between the end of the Old Kingdom and the occurrence of the Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom sources there was no further development and that the expansions of the Pyramid Texts in the later pyramids had no influence on the Middle Kingdom editions of the Pyramid Texts. Barta has expressed a similar opinion. He presents a series of mathematical calculations which, he maintains, demonstrate that the version of the Pyramid Texts found in the Pyramid of Unas is 'das am intensivsten überlieferte Textcorpus' of Pyramid Texts found on the Middle Kingdom sources.<sup>2</sup>

An examination of the textual variations in the Pyramid Text spells on these coffins and tomb-walls, however, yields a somewhat different view of the influence of the various Old Kingdom pyramid sources on the Middle Kingdom texts. As part of a study of the Pyramid Texts occurring on Middle Kingdom coffins and burial chambers from Saqqâra, these texts were compared with those of the Old Kingdom pyramids (including Aba) and the mastaba of Senwosretankh. The aim was to determine whether a particular source could be identified for the Saqqâra texts, which were chosen because they contain a larger number of Pyramid Text spells than any other group of Middle Kingdom coffins.

\*A version of this paper was read at the 1988 ARCE meeting in Chicago. I would like to thank Professors Leonard Lesko, Eugene Cruz-Urbe and William Ward for their comments and suggestions on both versions of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> H. Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 51.

<sup>2</sup> W. Barta, *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 2.

Of the twenty-one Saqqâra coffins and tomb-walls which contain Pyramid Texts, I was only able to include fourteen, since the texts of seven coffins are presently unavailable.<sup>3</sup> These Pyramid Texts were arranged in parallel columns and then compared with all the published Pyramid Texts found in the above-mentioned sources. The results of this comparison recalls a statement of Hayes concerning the texts of the mastaba of Senwosretankh: 'the variants ... in the texts ... are far too numerous, too distinctive, and in many cases too independently and intelligently conceived ever to have occurred in texts copied directly from these [pyramid] versions'.<sup>4</sup> He further stated that the texts in Senwosretankh are 'in no sense the result of an archaistic copying of particular ancient buildings, objects and texts'. This is also true of the texts found on the Saqqâra coffins. The numerous variants indicate that they are not the results of the direct copying of an Old Kingdom source. For example, in Sq6C, PT 837c, which in all the pyramids reads *wʿb bꜣ.k wʿb šhm.k*, reads instead *wʿb bꜣ.k imy ntr.w wʿb šhm.k imy šh.w*. The additional phrases were apparently borrowed from PT 839b, which reads *wʿb šhm.k imy šh.w wʿb bꜣ.k imy ntr.w*. Since the *bꜣ* and *šh* are mentioned in inverse order in the two instances, the text in Sq6C cannot be a scribal error in which PT 839b was inadvertently copied for PT 837c. Rather, this text is an example of a variant introduced by a scribe, a variant in this instance based on a subsequent passage in the Pyramid Text corpus.

However, while the texts of the Saqqâra coffins were not copied directly from Old Kingdom pyramid sources, a relationship remains. For example, the texts on the top of Sq3C are in an order which apparently derives from the order of the spells found on the west wall of the pyramid of Neit. Furthermore, the details of the texts demonstrate a connection between the two. In Sq3C, PT 828b includes the phrase *dmd.s n.k ʿwt.k*, which to date occurs only in the pyramids of Pepi II and Neit. This indicates that Sq3C used as its source for PT 828b a document which preserves the text of this spell as it occurs in those pyramids. This phrase is omitted in PT 828b on Sq4C, indicating that this version comes from a source related to the text of the pyramids of Pepi I and Merenre, where this phrase is likewise omitted. The results of a comparison between coffin Sq3C and the Pyramid Texts are presented in table 1. From a study of this table, it is evident that the Pyramid Texts of Sq3C do not follow any single pyramid source. The texts of the pyramids of Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit all seem to have had an influence on Sq3C, though that of Pepi II and Neit is stronger. The same can be said for all the Saqqâra coffins on which the texts are sufficiently well preserved to make the comparison statistically valid. Each shows affinities to the texts found in several Old Kingdom sources. For those sources which are poorly preserved, what few texts remain show affinities to the later pyramid versions rather than to the earlier. Of the 108 instances in which a text from the Saqqâra coffins or tomb-walls shows an affinity to a text in a particular Old Kingdom pyramid or pyramids, 17% are attributable to Unas, while 71% are attributable to the later pyramid sources.<sup>5</sup> The remaining 12% are attributable to Senwosretankh.

<sup>3</sup> Coffins Sq1C, Sq2C, Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C, Sq6C, Sq7C, Sq9C, Sq10C, Sq12C, Sq13C, Sq1Ch and burial chambers Sq1Sq and Sq2Sq were included. The source of the texts for this study was the collation sheets of the Egyptian Coffin Texts project and a photograph of the texts of Sq1Ch. I would like to thank Prof. Janet Johnson and the Oriental Institute for making copies of these available to me. The remaining Saqqâra coffins were apparently never copied for the project.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Hayes, *The Texts in the Mastaba of Se'n-Wosret-'Ankh at Lisht* (New York, 1937; reprint, 1973), 11.

<sup>5</sup> T – 5.5%, P – 13%, M – 13%, N – 21%, Nt – 18.5%.

TABLE I. *Sq3C*

PT 51c	Sq3C: <i>int. n. f twst. n. f</i> N: <i>int. n. f twst. n. f</i>
PT 576a	Sq3C: <i>shm. n. f n. t̄ ib n sth</i> N: <i>shm. n. f n. k̄ ib n sīs</i>
PT 580a	Sq3C: <i>m rn. k n Bryt</i> N: <i>m rn. k n Bryt</i>
PT 582d	Sq3C: <i>ir. n. f n k̄. f im. t̄ htp. f</i> N, Nt: <i>ir. n. f n k̄. f im. k̄ htp. f</i>
PT 629b	Sq3C: <i>m dbn phr hrw nbw. t</i> N: <i>m dbn phr hrw nbw. t</i>
PT 635c	Sq3C: <i>ndr. n n. t̄ Dhwt̄y hftyw. k hsq*</i> M: <i>ndr. n n. k̄ Dhwt̄y hftyw. k hsq</i>
PT 636c	Sq3C: <i>pr̄r. t[r̄] im. s</i> T: <i>pr̄r. t r̄ im. s</i>
PT 785b	Sq3C: <i>sk. t̄ sn m h̄b̄s. s</i> P: <i>sk. t̄ sn m h̄b̄s. s</i>
PT 823a	Sq3C: <i>Nwt pr. n irty m tp. t̄</i> P: <i>Nwt pr. n irty m tp. t̄</i>
PT 828b	Sq3C: <i>dmd. s n. t̄ cwt. k</i> N, Nt: <i>dmd. s n. k̄ cwt. k</i>
PT 830b	Sq3C: <i>d. n Dhwt̄y ir. t m-c. f</i> P: <i>Dhwt̄y d. n. f ir. t Hr</i>
PT 847a	Sq3C: <i>šn. n. t̄ n. t̄ ntr nb</i> Nt: <i>šn. n. k̄ n. k̄ ntr. w nb</i>
PT 850c	Sq3C: <i>sfh. f dw. t nb. t̄ iryt. f</i> Nt: <i>sfh. f dw. t̄ iryt. f</i>
PT 1630d	Sq3C: <i>Km. t m rn. k n Km wr</i> N, Nt: <i>Km m rn. k n Km wr</i>
PT 1634c	Sq3C: <i>m rn. k n š-[ntr]</i> N, Nt: <i>m rn. k n š-ntr</i>

\*Both Sq3C and M write *hsq* with the composite hieroglyph of an owl being decapitated, in contrast to T, P, and N, which use the alphabetic signs.

Before attempting an explanation, it should be emphasized that the texts on the coffins must have been taken from hieratic documents, judging from the occasional confusion of signs in the Saqqâra coffins, and that more than one such document was used as a source for the Pyramid Text spells. Although the tops of coffins Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C and Sq6C contain basically the same series of spells, details of the texts indicate that Sq3C and Sq6C are descended from similar hieratic originals, while Sq4C and Sq5C depend on a slightly different tradition. It is of interest that both traditions appear on Sq5C and Sq6C, which are the inner and outer coffins of the same person. There also appear to have been two traditions for the group of serpent spells found on Sq1C, Sq2C and Sq1Sq.

The origin of the hieratic manuscripts from which the Pyramid Texts on the Saqqâra coffins were taken remains to be determined. It should be noted that the sources for the texts found in the Old Kingdom pyramids were also hieratic manuscripts.<sup>6</sup> From the facts, that the Old Kingdom pyramids differ in the collection of spells used,<sup>7</sup> and that the texts of the spells also show occasional differences in the various pyramids,<sup>8</sup> it would appear that a separate hieratic document was created for each pyramid prior to its decoration. It has been suggested that there existed during the Middle Kingdom a funerary scriptorium (probably more than one), in which were kept master copies of funerary texts written on papyrus.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that within this scriptorium the papyri which had been created for the Old Kingdom pyramids were stored and used as sources for subsequent manuscripts. The fact that features unique to individual Old Kingdom pyramids appear in the texts of the Saqqâra coffins (see table 1) would seem to indicate that these earlier manuscripts were not discarded after use. It is possible that, over a period of time, as these papyri were recopied, a mixing of the various Pyramid Text traditions could have taken place, accompanied by the introduction of new features. The result is what we find in the Saqqâra sources: a single Middle Kingdom tradition having affinities with several Old Kingdom sources but relying most heavily on the texts of the later pyramids for their models.

Since the Pyramid Texts found on the Middle Kingdom Saqqâra coffins indicate that the texts of the later pyramids had a greater influence on the form of these texts than did the earlier, a reconsideration of the conclusion of Altenmüller and Barta is in order. In his discussion of the use of spell-groups of Pyramid Texts outside of the pyramids, Altenmüller identifies six spell-groups to which he assigns the letters A through F<sup>10</sup> (table 2). He contends that since group A, the most frequently recorded spell-group, occurs in examples of both the earlier (Unas and Senwosretankh) and the later versions of the Pyramid Texts, one must first determine to which version of the Pyramid Texts the other spell-groups recorded on the coffins and in the sarcophagus chambers belong before it can be determined from which version series A derives.<sup>11</sup>

Of Altenmüller's remaining five sequences of spells, only two appear in the pyramids in the form in which we find them in the Middle Kingdom sources. Series B, D, and E occur in no Old Kingdom pyramid, and B contains texts not found in any pyramid, but which form part of the corpus of the Coffin Texts. Of the remaining two series, F is found only in the pyramid of Neit and C occurs in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit. Altenmüller assigns series D and E to the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts due to their association with the other series (i.e. D with C and B, E with D).<sup>12</sup> It remains to be

<sup>6</sup> Hayes' argument for a hieratic source for the texts of Senwosretankh also applies to the texts of the Old Kingdom pyramids. See Hayes, *op. cit.* 8, and the references cited in his n. 19 which refer to the Old Kingdom pyramids.

<sup>7</sup> H. Altenmüller, *LÄ* v, 15.

<sup>8</sup> L. Speleers, *Comment faut-il lire les Textes des Pyramides Égyptiennes?* (Brussels, 1934), 148-56.

<sup>9</sup> See J. P. Allen, in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 29; Hayes, *op. cit.* 11; Altenmüller, *LÄ* v, 20; M. Weber, *LÄ* iv, 954-7.

<sup>10</sup> Altenmüller, *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual*, 46-51.

<sup>11</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 46-7.

<sup>12</sup> Altenmüller assigns series B to the earlier version because it is associated with spells of this version (270-272, 302-304) in Q1Q. Series D is assigned to the earlier version because it is found together with series C in Sq4C and with series B in B10C. Series E and F Altenmüller considers to be a continuation of series D in coffins B9C and B10C. See Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 47-51.

TABLE 2. *Altenmüller's Series*

Series A	Series B	Series C	Series D	Series E	Series F
213	579	588	593	422	468
214	CT63-74	446	356	374	412
215	CT832	449	357	CT517	723
216	670	428	364	424	690
217	532B	447-448	677	366-369	674
218	CT837	450-451	365	423	462
219	CT838	367-368	373	370-372	675
220	CT839	589-590	712B	332	676
221		426-434		722	
222		443-444			
		454			
		425			
		455			
		var 448			
		356			

seen, however, whether the series A, C, and F belong to the earlier version. If series C and B do not belong to this version, then neither do D and E (dependent on D). The only way to determine from which version series A derives is to compare the texts of this series in the pyramids with the texts found in the Middle Kingdom sources. Unfortunately, series A is not found in its entirety on the Saqqâra coffins which form the basis of the present study. While the numerous variants in those parts of series A which do occur in the Saqqâra coffins indicate that they were not copied from any particular Old Kingdom pyramid source, they show few characteristics which enable us to identify individual pyramid influence.

Series C, however, is well-represented in the Saqqâra coffins. Of the nine occurrences of this group on later sources, seven are on Middle Kingdom Saqqâra coffins. Of these sources Altenmüller believes that only Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C and Sq6C contain the complete sequence (table 3). He notes that the introductory spells of series C (588, 446, 449, 428) appear in an order which does not occur in any Old Kingdom source. Only the series as it occurs in Neit begins with spell 588 followed by spell 446, as it does in the Saqqâra coffins. Following these two spells, the coffins insert spells 449 and 428, also found at the beginning of the series as it occurs in Merenre and Pepi II. Altenmüller contends that since the texts on the tops of the Middle Kingdom coffins are recorded in the normal direction of right to left, the texts in these coffins should be considered the more nearly correct order of the introductory series which appears in a disordered fashion in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit<sup>13</sup> (table 4). He further notes that two examples of series C from the Saqqâra coffins, Sq3C and Sq4C, differ in the order of the spells found at the end of the series as it occurs in the pyramids of Pepi II and Neit. In the pyramids we find spells 452 and 453 between 455 and 356. On the coffins, however, we find spells 448 and the beginning of 449.

<sup>13</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 27-8.

TABLE 3. *Series C*

Sq3C	Sq4C	Sq5C	Sq6C
588	588	588	588
446	446	466	446
449	449	449	449
428	428	428	428
447-448	447-448	447-448	447-448
450-451	450-451	450-451	450-451
367-368	367-368	367-368	367-368
589-590	589-590	589-590	589-590
426-434	426-434	426-434	426-434
443-444	443-444	443-444	443-444
454	454	454-455	454
425	425		425
455	455		455
448-449	448-449		
356	356		
cf. PT628-629			
PT1788 + misc.			
593			

TABLE 4. *Series C in the Pyramids*

Merenre	Pepi II	Neit	Pepi I
428	412 end	588	367-368
588	449	446-448	426-435
446	428	450-451	436-438
449	446-448	367-368	336
447-448	450-451	589-590	335
450-451	367-368	426-434	439-446
589-590	589-590	443-444	428
426-434	426-434	454	447-453
443-444	443-444	425	356
454	454	455	454
425	425	452-453	425
452-453	452-453	593	356-357
	356		

Altenmüller asserts that since coffins Sq3C and Sq4C appear to be following the same spell-series for group C, and that since the Middle Kingdom coffins show a general preference for the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts, the spell-sequence C found in the coffins should be considered a component part of the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts, which was omitted from the pyramids of Unas and Teti for unknown reasons.<sup>14</sup> Finally, Altenmüller notes that almost all the spells which make up this series occur on the west wall of the sarcophagus chamber of Pepi I but in an order quite different from

<sup>14</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 48-9.

that found in the later pyramids and coffins (table 4). He suggests two possible explanations for this: (1) the copy of the spell-sequence in Pepi I goes back to a version in which the spells were ordered differently than in Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit, or (2) the distribution of the spells in Pepi I is due to the fact that the west wall was carved in a complex series of stages which led to a disordering of the spells in the sequence. He prefers the latter explanation because he feels it unlikely that the pattern of spells found in Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit, and in the coffins, would have had a completely different form a short time before Pepi I. He is not completely convinced by his explanation, however, because he notes that it remains unexplained why a spell-series which had had a standard sequence since the pyramid of Merenre and on the Middle Kingdom coffins would show a completely different order in its oldest attestation in the pyramid of Pepi I.<sup>15</sup>

Altenmüller's conclusion that the order of series C found in coffins Sq3C, Sq4C, Sq5C and Sq6C is the original one and that series C was part of the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts (omitted from the pyramids of Unas and Teti for unknown reasons) is not supported by the texts and the order of the spells found on the Saqqâra coffins, which show that the later pyramids, particularly those of Pepi II and Neit, had a greater influence than did the earlier pyramids. The order of the spells also indicates that the pyramid of Neit is the likely source for series C. As Altenmüller points out, the beginning of the series on the coffins is most like the beginning of the series in the pyramid of Neit. Furthermore, when considering the spells on the top of Sq3C, the most complete copy of series C, Altenmüller seems to have thought that the texts ended with spell 356.<sup>16</sup> This is not the case. There are ten more lines of text and these lines contain variants of PT 628-629, PT 1788, and spell 593.

Now the only pyramid in which spell 593 is associated with the spells in series C is that of Neit. I would therefore suggest that, while the texts for this series of spells derive from several different pyramid sources, the order is patterned after that of Neit. The differences which Altenmüller notes between the series on the Saqqâra coffins and the series as it occurs in the pyramids are undoubtedly the result of the further development which series C underwent after the Old Kingdom. I maintain that the order of the spells in the introduction of series C used on the coffins did not come into use until after the pyramid of Neit. That the introduction to the series on the coffins is a combination of the introductory spells found in Pepi II and Neit supports the idea that the texts on the coffins are the result of a mixing of the pyramid sources. I also believe that the occurrence of the spells of series C in a disordered fashion in the pyramid of Pepi I indicates that these spells had not yet taken the form in which we find them in the pyramids of Merenre, Pepi II, and Neit and on the Middle Kingdom coffins. It is more logical to trace the development of this series of spells from its first partial appearance in the pyramid of Pepi I through to the Middle Kingdom coffins than to assume that the original form of the series is that found on the more recent sources, or that the differences which are found in the Old Kingdom occurrences of series C represent variations of an original pre-Unas text, evidence for which does not surface until the Middle Kingdom.

Let us now reconsider Altenmüller's series in light of the results of our study of the Saqqâra coffins. As stated previously, the partial occurrences of series A do not allow us to determine more than that they are not the result of the copying of a particular Old

<sup>15</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 29-31.

<sup>16</sup> Altenmüller, *op. cit.* 27.

Kingdom source. This is due to the fact that these texts have been transmitted rather uniformly and contain few diagnostic features in either the pyramid versions or the Saqqâra coffins. If my conclusions concerning the relative influence of the different pyramids are correct, then it is probable that manuscripts based on the texts of the later pyramids were the ultimate source for the coffins, although their influence is not evident. Altenmüller assigns series B to the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts due to its association with spells of this version (270–272, 302–304) in burial chamber Q1Q (see above). These spells also occur in the later version of the Pyramid Texts, and if what is true for the Saqqâra coffins holds true for Q1Q, then these spells are more likely to show the influence of the later sources than the earlier. When it is noted that series B is largely made up of texts which to date are not found in any Old Kingdom pyramid, its attribution to the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts is improbable. I have shown above that series C does not derive from the earlier version of the Pyramid Texts. Altenmüller assigns series D to that version due to its association with series C in Sq4C and with series B in B10C. Since neither of these series belongs to the earlier version, neither does D, or E, which was assigned to it because of its occurrence in B9C with series D. Finally, series F occurs to date only in the pyramid of Neit and is assigned by Altenmüller to the earlier version based on its association with series E in B9C, B10C and Papyrus Schmitt. Since series D does not originate in the earlier version, it cannot be used to support the attribution of series F to this version. In view of the influence of the later pyramid versions on the Saqqâra coffins, I would consider series F to have come into use with the pyramid of Neit, and it is this pyramid which probably served as the ultimate source of series F.

Barta takes a different approach to prove his assertion that the Pyramid Texts of Unas are those used most extensively on Middle Kingdom monuments. After listing all the Pyramid Texts which occur on Middle Kingdom coffins, he goes through a series of mathematical calculations to determine which of the five major pyramids (Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II) have the highest percentage of their texts transmitted to the Middle Kingdom coffins. He calculates the total number of lines in Sethe's edition of the Pyramid Texts<sup>17</sup> which record the texts from each pyramid, and then determines the number of these lines which appear on Middle Kingdom coffins. He concludes that 75.6% of the text lines from Unas are handed down, while the percentage of lines transmitted for the other pyramids is only 60.2% (T), 21.4% (P), 28.9% (M), and 34.7% (N). Barta then notes that a certain number of lines of the texts in the later pyramids are simply parallels to texts found in earlier pyramids, and that this number of lines for each pyramid should be subtracted from the total number of lines transmitted from each pyramid in order to determine the percentage of the texts unique to each pyramid which are found on the Middle Kingdom coffins. After making this adjustment he finds that, while 75.6% of the lines of text representing the texts of Unas occur on the Middle Kingdom coffins, only 31.4% of the texts unique to Teti were transmitted, while the percentage is even lower for each later pyramid (P – 14.6%, M – 3.9%, N – 9.2%). Barta then concludes from his calculation that 'erweist sich jedenfalls die Version der Unas-Pyramide als das am intensivsten überlieferte Textcorpus' on the Middle Kingdom sources.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1908; reprint, Hildesheim, 1969).

<sup>18</sup> Barta, *op. cit.* 2.



The flaw in Barta's argument, however, is that one cannot assume that the pyramid in which a spell first appears necessarily served as the source for the spell as it appears on a Middle Kingdom monument. Most of the spells found in the pyramid of Unas are also found in the later Old Kingdom pyramids. The appearance of one of these spells on a Middle Kingdom coffin does not necessarily imply that the pyramid of Unas had any direct influence on the text as it occurs on the coffin. It is equally possible that the text of this spell could be related to its occurrence in a later pyramid. For example, the text of PT 227a on Sq1C is not related to the text of the pyramid in which this spell first occurs (Unas) but to the text of the pyramid of Pepi II. In view of the fact that the immediate sources for the Pyramid Texts on the Saqqâra coffins were hieratic documents in which the influence of several Old Kingdom pyramids is observable, it is unlikely that the Middle Kingdom coffins were attempting to duplicate the texts found in any particular pyramid. Rather than viewing the use of the Pyramid Texts on Middle Kingdom coffins as in some sense 'archaizing' and looking to the earliest occurrence of these texts as their model, these texts should be seen as another step in the evolving tradition of the Pyramid Texts, continuing the development which took place with the composition of the texts found in each of the Old Kingdom pyramids.

## CRIME, CULT AND CAPITAL PUNISHMENT (MO'ALLA INSCRIPTION 8)\*

By HARCO WILLEMS

Section 1 of this article provides a fresh translation of Mo'alla inscription no. 8, which lays down punishments for violators of the tomb of Ankhtifi, including their sacrifice to the local god Hemen. It thus provides the earliest evidence for the death penalty in Egypt. Several other texts, from the Old Kingdom through the Middle Kingdom, show that this practice was not confined to Mo'alla (section 2). The Mo'alla texts make it clear that the punishment took the form of a sacrifice during (a) procession(s) of Hemen, and a reconstruction of this religious festivity is attempted in section 3. It is suggested that several representatives of the Evil One—bulls, hippopotami and fish—were killed on this occasion; criminals could be added to, or substituted for, these animals. In section 4, it is argued that the texts refer to real human sacrifices, not to symbolic killings performed on execration figurines. Reviewing the evidence, the author concludes that capital punishment existed throughout Egyptian history, and that it could be inflicted in the form of human sacrifice. The evidence suggests that this procedure occurred as a punishment for some kind of desecration, such as the violation of tombs, temples or other sacred installations.

THE autobiographical inscriptions in the tomb of Ankhtifi at Mo'alla form part of the basic literature for any student of the First Intermediate Period. The texts are truly remarkable. Instead of the well-known biographical stock-phrases, they provide lengthy narratives of an unconventional nature. There are, for instance, detailed descriptions of military engagements between the armies of the Third and Fourth Upper Egyptian nomes, and of famines, during which even cannibalism is said to have occurred.<sup>1</sup> The value of Ankhtifi's biography is all the greater in light of the general reticence of contemporary inscriptions. Many scholars have expressed the view that this text offers an exemplary account of the state of unrest that they believe to have prevailed throughout Egypt in the early First Intermediate Period.

The interest taken in these historical texts is understandable and fully justified. However, it appears to have distracted attention from the many other riches offered by the inscriptions in the tomb. For instance, inscription nos. 8 and 9 have hardly been commented upon since their publication. In fact, these are not separate inscriptions, but two halves of a continuous text concerned to safeguard the tomb against violation. The sanctions against such desecrations are first laid down in inscription no. 8. This is followed in inscription no. 9 by a justification, in which Ankhtifi explains that he rightfully acquired the sepulchre.

In this paper, I provide a fresh rendering and interpretation of inscription no. 8, which has some renown as one of the few longer inscriptions concerning the theology of

\*Several people have read an earlier version of this article. I am particularly grateful to the late Prof. K. Baer, to whom I owe a number of remarks on the text of Mo'alla inscription no. 8. I have also benefitted from discussions with Dr Guido van den Boorn, Drs Arno Egberts, Dr Detlef Franke, Dr Andrea McDowell and Drs Louis Zonhoven. I am particularly grateful to Dr McDowell for her willingness to polish my English text.

<sup>1</sup>J. Vandier, *Mo'alla* (Cairo, 1950).

Hemen. That it has nonetheless been neglected,<sup>2</sup> is probably due to its many epigraphic peculiarities. As a result, its grammatical structure has been wrongly interpreted, and its remarkable contents misunderstood. It will appear from my analysis that severe sanctions were imposed for tomb violation. The second section analyses parallel sources from the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and the legal status of the formulaic genre. According to the inscription, the punishments are inflicted in the context of the local cult. In section three, I attempt to reconstruct the festival procession of the god Hemen, which is mentioned in this context. In the synthesis in section four, I consider whether the text should be taken at face value—with the implication that it deals with a human sacrifice—or whether a less literal rendering should be preferred.

1. The text

The implications of the inscription can only be understood after it has been analysed in detail. Before presenting my translation, I should like to discuss briefly the word  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  *n.w* which follows the group  $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$  in five parallel clauses (*Mo'alla*, III, 2-5, see fig. 1).

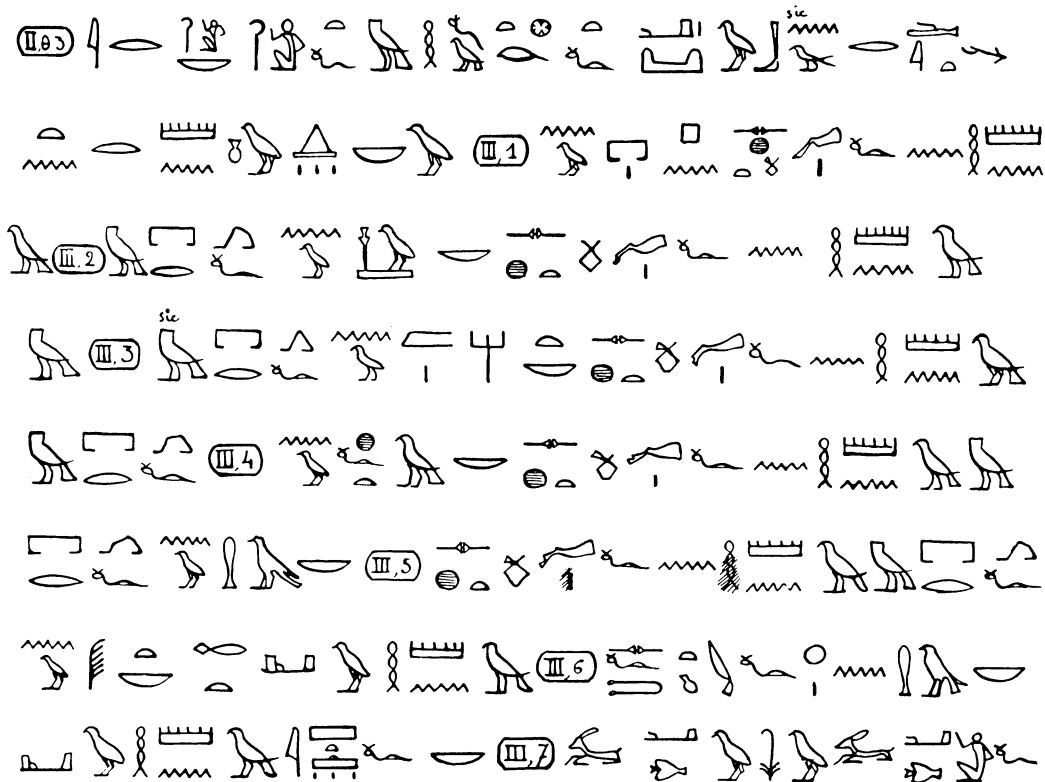

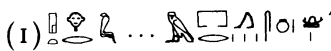



FIG. 1. Mo'alla inscription 8 (after Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 206) (by kind permission of IFAO).

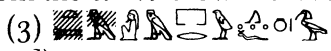
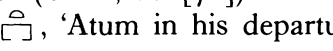
<sup>2</sup> Apart from two complete renderings by Vandier (*Mo'alla*, 206-15) and W. Schenkel, *Memphis-Herakleopolis-Theben* (Wiesbaden, 1965), 50-1 (hereinafter *MHT*), there are only scattered references and commentaries on points of detail (G. Posener, *Journal des Savants* 1952, 117-20; T. Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive* (Uppsala 1953), 29-33; H. G. Fischer, *WZKM* 57 (1961), 65-6). These articles concentrate on the text itself. It is also cited in a number of other publications referred to in the footnotes below.

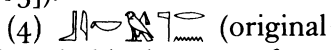
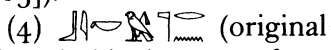
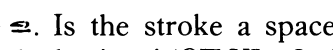
According to current views, the latter group constitutes the *m sdm=f* construction *m pri=f*, 'when he leaves'. The word *n.w* can hardly be anything but the indirect genitive.<sup>3</sup> But if this is correct, what is the *nomen regens*? It must be a plural masculine noun. At first sight, this is not easily found in the immediate context. Vandier and Schenkel believed that it is the distant *mn.w nb.w*. While it is a characteristic feature of the indirect genitive that *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* can be separated by intervening words, in the present case, the distance is so great that this is hardly viable. The awkwardness of the renderings proposed thus far (see n. 2) makes this clear enough.

There is an alternative solution. The following parallels indicate that the group  is not a verbal, but a nominal formation:



(1)  ... , 'Hathor ... in her departure from (literally 'of') the Bark of Members' (CT I, 204e-205a [47]/B16C, cf. B12C, B17C).<sup>4</sup>

(2)  (variants ) , 'Atum in this departure of his from the *wrr.t*-crown forever' (CT II, 22e [78]).

(3)  , 'Atum in his departure from the horizon' (CT IV, 9of [313]).


(4)  (original . Is the stroke a space-filler?) , 'the divine falcon in his departure from the horizon' (CT VI, 38o [479]).<sup>5</sup>

In all these cases—and more could be cited—it is clear that *n.w* is appended to a deverbal noun *pri.w*, 'leaving, procession'. Example 4 resembles our passage in the omission of a plural determinative. The text can now be translated as follows:

As regards any ruler who will rule in Mo'alla, and who will commit a bad, evil act<sup>a</sup> against this coffin,<sup>b</sup> and against any part of this tomb, his arm will be cut off<sup>c</sup> for Hemen at his procession from (literally 'of') the district;<sup>d</sup> his arm will be cut off for Hemen at his procession from the eastern side;<sup>e</sup> his arm will be cut off for Hemen at his procession from the bank (?);<sup>f</sup> his arm will be cut off for Hemen at his procession from the ;<sup>g</sup> his arm will be cut off for Hemen at his procession from the Great Shade (?);<sup>h</sup> and Hemen will not accept his meat offering on the day of ; and Hemen will not accept any of his meals; and his heir will not inherit from him.<sup>i</sup>

### Notes


(a) *ṛ dw bin*: For *ṛ* meaning 'act', see W. V. Davies, *JEA* 61 (1975), 49n. 39. It is also possible that *ṛ dw* is a composite term of the type *ṛ* + deverbal noun (meaning something like 'malpractice'); see now L. Pantalacci, *OLP* 16 (1985), 5-20, who remarks that such composites are often the object of *iri*, as in the present case. Against this interpretation, one could argue that the verb of quality *dw* is not dynamic, as it should be, according to Pantalacci (op. cit. 11). But some of her own examples are also non-dynamic. Compare the use of *ṛ* discussed in n. 34.

<sup>3</sup> Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 212-13 (f), hesitantly suggested a reading *in*, 'by', for  and interpreted the following words as names of otherwise unattested spirits. Such a far-fetched rendering can, of course, only be a last resort.

<sup>4</sup> This is apparently a re-interpretation of the text. On earlier coffins, *pri.w* is an active perfective participle, 'those who leave', followed by the preposition *m* or *m-hnw*. As a rule, the indirect genitive after *pri.w* denotes the place *from* which the departure takes place; e.g., Merikare P 115-16 (the king's birth is described as 'his departure of the womb' (*pri.w=f n.w h.t*)) or the phrase *pri.w n(.w) r*, 'the leaving of the mouth' for 'utterance' (*Wb.* 1, 526, 11-12). The former instance shows that deverbal nouns in *w* are treated as syntactic plurals even though they can be semantic singulars (cf. M. Heerma van Voss, *Oudste versie van dodenboek 17a* (Leiden, 1963), 49-50 and an unpublished grammar by Dr J. F. Borghouts).

<sup>5</sup> References 2 and 4 I owe to Dr J. F. Borghouts.

(b) See M. Stracmans, *ALPHOS* 15 (1958–60), 33–7 for this passage.




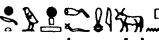
(c) *Wb.* III, 467, 5 explains the idiom *shi hps̄* in  as 'ihm wird ein Schenkel dargebracht'. Commenting on the present passage, Vandier (*Mo'alla*, 212) argues, that 'to cut off a foreleg' is a more literal rendering of *shi hps̄*. In support of this view, he refers to a painting in Ankhthifi's tomb where the expression occurs in a label to a butchering scene (*Mo'alla*, 257 and pl. xxv). Although I accept Vandier's proposal, the ritual background implied by the *Wörterbuch's* rendering should not be overlooked, for all known references place 'the cutting off of the foreleg' in a ceremonial context.

This is clearly the case in a painting on the front exterior of a First Intermediate Period coffin, also from Mo'alla (Cairo CG 28116, P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, II (Cairo, 1906), 96 and pl. vi). The removal of the ox's foreleg, which is referred to by the idiom under discussion, accompanies a scene depicting the *Stundenwachen* in the Place of Embalming. The deceased is shown lying on a bier. Near his head, are the sacred unguents (cf. PT §§50–4), while two priestesses stand at his feet. They must be the 'Two Kites', the ritualists playing the mythological roles of Isis and Nephthys.

A textual account of the *Stundenwachen* is provided by CT spells 1–26 (see my *Chests of Life* (Leiden, 1988), 149 n. 107). One of these spells is probably closely related to the above scene, for it states in an address to the mummy on the bier: 'Your enemy's foreleg is cut off for you (*iw shi(.w) n=k hps̄ n hft.y=k*). The Two Kites mourn you' (CT I, 74d–e [24]). The enemy of the Osirian deceased is, of course, Seth. Since sacrificial animals very often figure as manifestations of this divinity (see below), it would seem that the present passage refers to the same matters as the Coffin Text. Some funerary texts of the New Kingdom also mention the removal of an ox's foreleg for the deceased on his bier.<sup>6</sup> Slaughterings also took place after the mummy had been transported from the Place of Embalming to the tomb (witness such passages as Sin. B 195–6). According to a Ramesside inscription, this sacrifice too was called *shi hps̄* (J. Berlandini, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 46).

The Mo'alla passage differs from those discussed so far in that it refers not to a funerary, but to a temple, ritual. However, the idiom was used in the latter context as well: according to a text in the tomb of Neferhotep, a foreleg is cut off (*shi hps̄*) for the deceased 'just like what is done for any god or any goddess' (Hari, loc. cit.). It can be concluded that *shi hps̄* was generally used as a technical term for the severing of a foreleg as a cultic practice.

These examples might suggest that the sanction against tomb violation laid down by inscription no. 8 was the offer of an ox to Hemen. This was actually one of the alternatives considered by Vandier, but one wonders with Posener<sup>7</sup> if this punishment is not remarkably light. Also, the threat does not mention the *hps̄* of the culprit's ox, but of the culprit himself. These doubts are strengthened by the further stipulation that Hemen will no longer accept the offender's meat offering.

Vandier's second alternative is that *hps̄* here has the metaphorical meaning 'human arm', which is known from other texts of the First Intermediate Period. The orientation of the *hps̄*-sign supports this view. Fischer points out that a graphic distinction was regularly made between *hps̄*-signs denoting 'forelegs of beef' () or 'arms' ().<sup>8</sup> In the latter case, the orientation of the sign is analogous to that of the normal arm-sign (). However, the most conclusive evidence in favour of rendering *hps̄* as 'arm' is found in a striking parallel from the Hekaib sanctuary. Here, a potential violator of a statue-cult is threatened as follows: , 'his arm will be cut off like (the leg of) the above ox' (referring to a sacrificial ox mentioned just before) (L. Habachi, *Elephantine IV. The Sanctuary of Hekaib* (Mainz, 1986), no. 9, lines 22–3). The implications of this inscription

<sup>6</sup>Tb. Naville Kap. 172, line 30–1; R. Hari, *La tombe thébaine du père divin Neferhotep* (Geneva, 1985), 47–9, pl. 34, line 135; N. de G. Davies, *Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London, 1941), pl. 21; idem, *Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re* (New York, 1943), pl. 86.

<sup>7</sup>Posener, *Journal des Savants*, 1952, 119.

<sup>8</sup>H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs I. Reversals* (New York, 1977), 121–7 and idem, *JEA* 59 (1973), 224–6. In liturgical texts where the sacrificial ox is mythologized as Seth, a certain ambiguity arises. On the one hand, the god's *hps̄* could be the ox's 'foreleg'; on the other, his 'arm' could be meant, for Seth was also depicted in human shape. This ambiguity may account for the fact that in CT I, 74d the *hps̄*-sign is reversed as if a human arm were meant.

are obvious. It presupposes knowledge of the idiom *shī hps̄* with reference to the sacrifice of an ox. However, in this case, it is not the ox itself that is slaughtered; the animal is mentioned only for comparison. The translation of *hps̄* as ‘arm’ is therefore unavoidable (cf. section 2.1 below).

(d) : Vandier hesitated between a reading *hr̄.w* or *‘br̄.w*, ‘stela’, or *sh̄m.w*, ‘génies puissants’ (*Mo’alla*, 213 (g)). Fischer argues against the view that the rectangle which forms the base of the sign-group is a determinative (*WZKM* 57, 65–6). Instead, he explains the group as a ligature in which and are connected by an extension of the base-line of the quail-sign. In support of this, he cites the following cases:

1. *wḏ-nsw.t*, ‘king’s decree’;<sup>9</sup>
2. the title read *im.y-r hrp.w* by Fischer;<sup>10</sup>
3. the title on a stela from Naga ed-Deir;<sup>11</sup>
4. the phrase *Tj-wr r-dr=f*, ‘the Thinite nome in its entirety’ on the same stela.

In the first example, Fischer’s view seems to be correct, but, as he remarks himself, it differs from the others. Most probably, the ligature here serves to mark off the reversed group *wḏ* from the surrounding text. No such explanation accounts for 2, 3 and 4, and there are indications, at least in 2, that the rectangle is in fact a determinative. The title occurs on the stela of a certain Inpuemhat, among other designations such as *htm.w bi.ty smr w̄.ty sdm sdm.t w̄i.w*. The same titles appear on the coffin of Karenen (Sq6C), from the same site and general period as the stela, but here, the relevant title is written and <sup>12</sup> In the latter instance, the rectangle is clearly not an extension of the base-line of the quail-sign, but a sign in its own right.

In 4, a geographical name is present, which suggests that the rectangle is a land-determinative, as often in the First Intermediate Period.<sup>13</sup> This probably also holds in 2 and 3. Fischer’s proposal for this title, *im.y-r hrp.w*, ‘overseer of leaders’, is not very plausible as the instances of that title *never* show the determinatives . On the other hand, the title combining the -sign with a land-determinative, is frequently attested. This affords strong supportive evidence for my view.<sup>14</sup> The latter title is commonly read *im.y-r hrp*, ‘overseer of a *hrp*-district’. In recent years, however, it has become increasingly clear that the final element should rather be read *w*, ‘district’.<sup>15</sup> The titles of Inpuemhat and Karenen, and possibly 3 above, can all be explained accordingly. Since the differences between these writings and that in *Mo’alla* inscription no. 8 are minimal, I propose that the latter also includes the word ‘district’.

I read the -sign after *w* as the festival determinative; see next note.

(e) The group has hitherto been translated in three different ways. Vandier hesitantly proposed a reading ‘tous les Esprits de l’Est (?)’, evidently reading as a nisbe *gs.yw*, ‘those of the side’ (*Mo’alla*, 207 and 213 (h)). This was prompted by his interpretation of the preceding word

<sup>9</sup> Koptos Decrees H, L, R and O (see H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden, 1967). The details are not visible in this publication, but see Fischer, *WZKM* 57, 66, n. 21).

<sup>10</sup> J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1905–1906* (Cairo, 1907), pl. xv; see now H. D. Schneider, *OMRO* 52 (1971), 10, fig. 1; Fischer, *Reversals*, 60, n. 156.

<sup>11</sup> Fischer, *WZKM* 57, 72–7, with literature.

<sup>12</sup> The publication of this coffin is inadequate (J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara 1906–1907* (Cairo, 1909), 7–14, 24–50; de Buck, *CT*). I owe my information to the de Buck collection in the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, Leiden.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., *W̄s.t* (H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Rome, 1964), no. 45); *ntr.wy* (Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, pl. 8, 2; *Mo’alla*, II, ε 2); *W̄s.t-Hr* (e.g. *Mo’alla*, I, β 1); *imn.tyw* (*Mo’alla*, II, ε 2).

<sup>14</sup> W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), no. 307; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1985), 52.

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Dr Guido van den Boorn for bringing this point to my attention. For the reading, see *ALex.*, 77.0798; J. J. Clère, *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 79–80; W. Needler, in: *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan*, ed. by W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis (Boston, 1981), 133. As early as 1950, J. Vercoutter had come to the conclusion that, in *Wb.* III, 329, 14, *hrp.w*, ‘district’, was incorrectly read (see *BIFAO* 49 (1950), 93, n. d). The *Wörterbuch* bases its translation on the phrase on a Ptolemaic stela from the Louvre where the owner is apparently called a *hrp w*, ‘leader of a district (*w*)’.

*n. w* as *in*, ‘by’, which is unlikely (see n. 3). As an alternative, he suggested *gs ib. ty nb*, ‘toute (?) moitié Est’ (loc. cit.). He realized, however, that this interpretation is improbable because the adjective *nb* should precede *ib. ty*.<sup>16</sup>

Schenkel’s translation of the passage shows that he was well aware of these grammatical difficulties, for he assumes that *nb* is affixed, not to *gs*, but to  $\Upsilon$ . Moreover, he argues that  $\Upsilon$  is not the *ib*-sign, but the altar-sign (*hrw. t*). The resulting translation, ‘Seite (?) irgendeines Altars’,<sup>17</sup> is grammatically possible, but, elsewhere in the Mo’alla texts,  $\Upsilon$  is definitely a form of the *ib*-sign.<sup>18</sup>

All these renderings present grammatical or epigraphic difficulties, and, in every case, the reading of  $\cup$  as *nb* is in some way a complicating factor. To solve the problem, I propose to read  $\cup$  as the festival determinative  $\ominus$ . Many parallels for the omission of inner details can be cited. Occasionally, no distinction is made between the two signs even in texts where they occur side by side.<sup>19</sup> Vandier made a similar suggestion for another passage of Mo’alla inscription no. 8 (*Mo’alla*, 215 (n)).

There is hence no epigraphic obstacle to my proposal. One could, however, protest against the occurrence of the festival determinative after *gs ib. ty*. At first sight, the whole group might appear to read ‘the festival of the eastern side’, but this is problematic. The addition of the determinative is a graphic, not a linguistic, device, so that, in speech, there would be no difference between the terms ‘eastern side’ and ‘festival of the eastern side’. Homonyms do exist, of course, but I have been unable to find other cases where a determinative alone turns a geographical term into the name of a festival.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the same problems occur with respect to the group  $\text{𓆎} \cup$  in the preceding clause, and in the parallel clauses that follow.

Thus, the festival sign in Mo’alla inscription no. 8—if such it is—cannot satisfactorily be explained as a determinative of the preceding noun. It is well-known, however, that determinatives can define *groups* of words. A clear, though late, parallel for this usage is  $\text{𓆎} \ominus \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$  ‘(the festival of) the Great Navigation of her Majesty’,<sup>21</sup> where  $\ominus$  is a postponed determinative of *hni. t*, ‘(festive) navigation’. A second instance, dating to the First Intermediate Period, is found on a stela in the Pushkin Museum:  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ , ‘may he be committed to the earth’.<sup>22</sup> Hence,  $\cup$  must be read as the festival-sign  $\ominus$ , and, both here and in the parallel clauses, serves as a postponed determinative of the word *pri. w* ‘procession’.<sup>23</sup>

(f) Vandier, *Mo’alla*, 206–7 and 213–14 (i) read this group as  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \cup \text{hft. yw}$ , but the inscription actually reads  $\text{𓆎} \cup$ , *hfi. t* (see Vandier, *Mo’alla*, pl. xviii and Schenkel, *MHT*, 51, n. d). In the two preceding clauses, the corresponding position is occupied by the terms *w* and *gs ib. ty*. Both refer to locations, so it is not improbable that *hfi. t* also denotes a locality whence the procession departed. The term is probably related to *hfi. t*, ‘bank’, or similar (*Wb.* III, 271, 13–14) or *hfi. t*, ‘Örtlichkeit von der Opfergaben kommen’ (*Wb.* III, 230, 13; cf. stela Cairo CG 20564, 3, reference due to Dr Detlef Franke).

(g) The explanation of the term  $\text{𓆎} \cup$  is also difficult. It probably recurs in *Mo’alla*, III, 6, in the phrase  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \cup$ , ‘the day of  $\text{𓆎} \cup$ ’. Although Vandier suggested that the bird-signs in the two

<sup>16</sup> For *nb* taking precedence over all other adjectives, see E. Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §355; cf. Vandier, *Mo’alla*, 213 (h). In a personal communication, the late Prof. Baer suggested that *gs ib. ty* might be a composite noun. While this proposal is difficult to disprove, there does not appear to be other evidence for it. Moreover, I have some difficulty understanding what the author of inscription no. 8 could have in mind when referring to ‘Hemen in his procession from all east-sides’.

<sup>17</sup> Schenkel, *MHT*, 51 and n. c.

<sup>18</sup> *Mo’alla*, II 72; II 72; for a contemporary instance from elsewhere, see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 13.

<sup>19</sup> Instances from the First Intermediate Period are *TPPI* §3; §12; Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, no. 3; stela Cairo CG 20543; H. G. Fischer, *MMJ* 11 (1976), 10–11; 16–17, etc. Unfortunately, the only certain instance of the festival-sign in the Mo’alla texts is damaged (*Mo’alla*, IV, 1:  $\text{𓆎}$ ).

<sup>20</sup> Where necessary, overt expression was given to the location of the festival in explicit constructions like *hb n ip. t*, ‘the festival of Opet’, or *hb n in. t*, ‘the festival of the valley’.

<sup>21</sup> R. El-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Sais et ses divinités* (Cairo, 1975), 162.

<sup>22</sup> S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum* (Leningrad, 1982), no. 26, line 4. For the principle of postponed determinatives, see Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §56.

<sup>23</sup> The sign does not follow at the end of the whole phrase in all cases. In *Mo’alla*, III, 5, it precedes the adjective *z. t*. See for this term n. (h) below.

words are different (*Mo'alla*, 215 (n)), the difference is not apparent in his photograph (*Mo'alla*, pl. xviii; cf. Schenkel, *MHT*, 51, n. e).

In a personal communication, the late Prof. Baer proposed to take the  $\text{𓆎}$ -sign as a determinative of *hm*, reading 'Hemen on the (festival of) his emergence from a "body" (*hm*)'. This would refer to 'a three-dimensional manifestation, either statue or animal, when the real *Hmn* appears from his three-dimensional image'. Baer compared the occurrence of a word *hm* in *TPPI*, §33, line 10, where a priest is said to 'read a festival-scroll for the *hm*', probably the cult-statue of the deceased (cf. J. Spiegel, *ZÄS* 75 (1939), 114). Our text would thus refer to an occasion on which Hemen's cult-statue or animal was taken in procession from his sanctuary.

(h) Read similarly by Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 207 and 214 (k). He proposed that the term refers to the darkest part of the tomb, i.e. the tomb shaft. However, since it now appears certain that the text does not describe elements of Ankhtifi's tomb, but places visited by Hemen's procession(s), another explanation must be found. I have suggested that at least some of the parallel terms describe the cult topography of the region. *šw.t ʕ.t* could have a similar application. For instance, *šw.t* could mean 'dry land' (*Wb.* IV, 430, 4-5), in which case our text would refer to a place in the region of Mo'alla called 'the great dry-land'. Or the meaning of *šw.t* could be 'shade' (as proposed in my translation), which can occur as part of a geographical name, for instance, the village named *šw.t-Hwi = f-wi*, 'Shade of Cheops' (*Wb.* IV, 432, 5). Elsewhere, *šw.t*, 'shade', occurs in composite terms describing temples or elements thereof (*Wb.* IV, 433, 3-4). The 'Great Shade' might thus be a sacred place passed by Hemen's procession.

Here, the festival determinative is not at the end of the whole phrase *pri.⟨w⟩ = f n. w šw.t ʕ.t*, but before the last word. For this, one could compare writings of the festival name *pri.t ʕ.t* ( $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$  or  $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ ), where a similar shift is common.

(i) The removal from office not only of the culprit himself, but also of his family, was common practice in Egyptian justice (see D. Lorton, *JESHO* 20 (1978), 50-3 and passim). The statement that the god also refuses his offerings is more exceptional, though it does occur in other texts.<sup>24</sup> For the grammatical structure of this part of the text, see Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 214 (1); Edel, *Altäg. Gr.*, §1100.

One can summarize the text as follows. It threatens the potential violator of Ankhtifi's tomb with a variety of punishments: one of his arms will be presented to the god Hemen, and the god will no longer accept offerings presented by the victim. In addition, the latter's family will be ousted from his office.

## 2. Capital punishment

In the current literature, capital punishment and punishment by mutilation are generally considered late phenomena, which did not occur prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>25</sup> though Leahy recently argued that an Abydene stela of the Second Intermediate Period contains evidence for the death penalty.<sup>26</sup> Mo'alla inscription no. 8 indicates that similar legal procedures were known at least as early as the First Intermediate Period, and it is by no means the only such text.

At first sight, it would appear to provide an early instance of punishment by mutilation. The 'cutting off of an arm' could be compared with New Kingdom references to the

<sup>24</sup> H. Sottas, *La Préservation de la propriété funéraire* (Paris, 1913), 50-1, 75; E. Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber* (Opladen, 1984), 25-37; see further stela 9 from the Hekaib-sanctuary at Elephantine discussed on pp. 34-5.

<sup>25</sup> D. Lorton, *JESHO* 20 (1978), 50-3 (however, he admits that the Teaching for Merikare suggests that the sanction for high treason was the death penalty); G. van den Boorn, *Orientalia* 51 (1984), 372-3; idem, *The Duties of the Vizier* (Leiden, 1987), 118-19.

<sup>26</sup> A. Leahy, *JESHO* 27 (1984), 199. See 2.7 below. Cf. also H. de Meulenaere, *CdE* 28 (1953), 259-60.



penalty of *swt* ʿ. *t*, ‘the removal of a limb’.<sup>27</sup> Initially, I favoured this interpretation myself. I now believe, however, that the Mo’alla text gives only a partial description of what was actually a death penalty in ritual disguise. This is suggested by a number of texts describing similar crimes and punishments. A cursory search of the literature yielded the following cases.

### 1. Stela no. 9 in the Hekaib sanctuary

One of the most elaborate parallels to our passage occurs on a stela (no. 9) erected by Sarenput I in the Hekaib sanctuary on Elephantine island, on which he describes his restoration of the edifice, which he found in ruins. He not only embellished the chapel of Hekaib, but also added one for himself, and erected stelae and what was probably an altar in the forecourt.<sup>28</sup>

At the end of the text, Sarenput explains that, of every head of cattle entering the temple, a hind-leg will be offered to the cult-statue. He adds a note which strongly recalls Mo’alla inscription no. 8:

As for any governor, any *wab*-priest, any *ka*-priest, any scribe or any nobleman who will take it [the offering] away from my statue, his arm will be cut off (*sh*. *tw* *hps*=*f*) like (that of) the above ox, and his neck will be severed (?  $\overline{\text{mn}}$  *mn*. *t(w)* *ts*=*f*)<sup>29</sup> like (that of) a bird; his position will no longer exist; the position of his son will no longer exist; his house in the Nubian nome will no longer exist; his tomb in the necropolis will no longer exist; and his god will not accept his white bread. He is destined to the fire, and his children to the flame, his corpse being destined to ‘smelling the earth’ (*sn* *ts*). I shall be against him as a crocodile in the water, as a snake on the earth and as an enemy in the necropolis! [I owe the reading of *sn* *ts* to Dr Franke’s unpublished commentary].

The text speaks for itself: the seizure of offering meat will be severely punished. The criminal himself will be butchered ‘like an ox’ and ‘like a bird’; his body will be burned, and, instead of being buried, it will be cast on the ground. His children will be dealt with in a similar way, while his office will be taken from his family, and neither his earthly house nor his tomb will be allowed to exist. Furthermore, as in the Mo’alla text, his god will not accept his offerings. Unfortunately, it is not clear who inflicts these penalties. The god refusing the culprit’s offerings is apparently one of the authorities. The other stipulations use the passive morpheme *tw*, thus indicating only that a third party was involved.

<sup>27</sup> G. van den Boorn, *Varia Aegyptiaca* 1 (1985), 11–17.

<sup>28</sup> Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Hekaib*, 36–7 for stela, no. 9. I express my gratitude to Dr D. Franke for being allowed to use his unpublished commentary on the text. The translated passage covers lines 21–5. For the stelae and their emplacement in the sanctuary, see op. cit. 34–7, 140–54, pls. 12, 22–4.

<sup>29</sup> ‘The above ox’ (*tw* *pn*) probably refers to the sacrificial animal just mentioned. My rendering of the group  $\overline{\text{mn}}$  as *mn*. *t(w)* *ts*=*f* is tentative. Only one other instance of a verb  $\overline{\text{mn}}$  is known to me (CT VI, 162k [562]). According to R. O. Faulkner (*Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, II (Warminster, 1977), 169) this is a spelling of the word *mn*, ‘to die’, while P. Barguet interprets it as the verb *mn*, ‘to suffer’ (*Textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1986), 343). In both cases, however, the spellings would be irregular, while neither interpretation seems required by the context. This spell deals with the unification of the two river banks, one symbol of which is the joining of Isis and Nephthys. About these goddesses, we hear:  $\overline{\text{mn}}$ . Meeks guessed that *mn* means ‘être séparée’ (*ALex.* 78.1703), the implication being that the goddesses will not be separated. While Meeks cites no evidence for his proposal, it suits the context better than the other renderings. Alternatively, one might propose that  $\overline{\text{mn}}$  is the Middle Kingdom version of the New Kingdom verb  $\overline{\text{mn}}$ , *mn* or *mn* (*Wb.* II, 47, 6). In the tomb-robbery papyri, the term denotes a corporal punishment affecting a criminal’s arms and feet. As T. E. Peet argued, the verb probably refers to the ‘twisting’ of limbs (*Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, I (Oxford, 1930), 21).

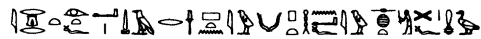
In this respect, the three last threats stand apart, since Sarenput threatens personally to inflict punishment for the violations. The ways in which he proposes to do so are remarkable, for he assumes the forms of dangerous animals and of an 'enemy in the necropolis' to carry out his punitive actions. For mere mortals, this would be impossible, of course. In the Hereafter, however, matters were different. The transformation spells in the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead prove that the deceased could adopt a wide range of forms, including those of snakes and crocodiles. It is probable, therefore, that Sarenput is stressing his commitment to the Hekaib sanctuary even after his death (but see also the next section).

The personal tone of these sentences is characteristic of the Old rather than the Middle Kingdom. In threats of the former period, the deceased always plays an active role, either by summoning the violator to the Lawcourt of the Great God, or in a more violent way by 'grabbing his neck like a bird(s)'.<sup>30</sup> An instance is the text written over the entrance to Harkhuf's tomb (*Urk.* 1, 122, 14-15): 'As regards any person who will enter [this] tomb [in his state of impurity], [I shall grab] his neck like a bird's and he will be judged on account of it by the Great God'.<sup>31</sup> After the Old Kingdom, a change occurred in the phraseology. The deceased no longer intervened personally, but entrusted his protection to an unspecified third party,<sup>32</sup> a development to which I shall return below. The *content* of Sarenput's final threats also betrays Old Kingdom influence: in *Urk.* 1, 23, 12-13 and 226, 12-13, the tomb violator is threatened with death by crocodiles and snakes.

Without as yet drawing any inference from this, one may conclude that the first part of the Sarenput text is inspired by the phraseology of the Middle Kingdom, whereas the last lines are rooted in that of the Old Kingdom. In conformity with texts written in the earlier style, Sarenput relies on his magical ability in the Hereafter. We shall see below that the style typical of the Middle Kingdom at least partly reflects well-known legal concepts. The first part of Sarenput's inscription may therefore reflect legal reality rather than hopes based on religious beliefs.

## 2. *Stela Cairo CG 1651*

As noted above, formulae like that in Harkhuf's tomb disappeared after the Sixth Dynasty. The text on stela Cairo CG 1651, however, was clearly influenced by the ancient phraseology, although it probably dates from the First Intermediate Period or early Middle Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> It is important here because it describes the mutilation of an offender. Unfortunately, its grammar allows two different renderings. I suggest the following:



Further, as regards the one who will commit unjust acts<sup>34</sup> against this stela, he is judged, and his neck<sup>35</sup> is cut off (*iw shi. tw tz=f*) like a bird(s).

<sup>30</sup> Although far from complete, the best study is still Sottas, *Préservation*, 10-42. See also K. Sethe and A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), 10-11.

<sup>31</sup> For the reconstructed passages, cf. Sottas, *Préservation*, 13; E. Edel, *MDAIK* 13 (1944), 5-13. For the meaning of *cb. w.* 'state of impurity', see *ibid.* 5; Sethe and Gardiner, *op. cit.* 10n. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Sottas, *Préservation*, 43-82. The few ego-oriented inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom and First Intermediate Period are also discussed by Sethe and Gardiner, *op. cit.* 10.

<sup>33</sup> L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler aus dem Alten Reich*, II (Cairo, 1964), 111; cf. Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 13.

<sup>34</sup> For *r d:(. w)*, there is the same ambiguity of meaning discussed in n.a of the philological commentary above. For the connection of the root *d:* with 'injustice', 'transgression', see *Wb.* v, 517,9-519,1.

<sup>35</sup> ✕ for *ts*, 'neck', is probably an abbreviated form of —.

According to Edel,<sup>36</sup> both threats should be emended to *iw=ir sdm* constructions, hence: ‘(I shall) go to trial with him and (I shall) cut off his neck like a bird(s)’. While Old Kingdom variants cited by Edel confirm that the *r* was frequently omitted, no other text states that the tomb owner *himself* will cut off the neck or other limbs of persons violating his tomb. I prefer therefore to read the text as it stands, interpreting both threats as *iw sdm=f* constructions.<sup>37</sup>

In the Old Kingdom texts which seem to have influenced the scribe of the present inscription, the speaker threatens to take personal action against the violator. Since a dead person is speaking, the event is generally believed to take place in the Hereafter, and the Tribunal of the Great God may also have to be sought there. However, the Judgement in the Hereafter was also ‘enacted’ on earth during the funeral and on other occasions.<sup>38</sup> This makes it difficult to decide whether the Old Kingdom passages are accounts of events in the Hereafter, or simply mythologizing descriptions of a cultic practice. In the latter case, the difference from the rather down-to-earth formulae of the Middle Kingdom is smaller than has been believed.

However this question is answered, there are no clear indications that Cairo CG 1651 refers to mythical circumstances. Nothing forces us to situate the judgement session it mentions in the Netherworld. Moreover, the punishment is described in overtly ritual terms: the culprit’s neck is to be chopped off as if he were a (sacrificial) bird.

### 3. Tombs III and IV at Assiut

The two preceding sections provide parallels for the dismemberment of the culprit encountered in Mo’alla inscription no. 8. On stela CG 1651, the punishment was actually tantamount to a death penalty, for the violator’s neck was said to be cut off. In the Hekaib text, likewise, the ultimate result of the punishment was death, since, after his arm had been severed, the victim was burned, and his remains cast to the ground. Strictly, Mo’alla inscription no. 8 only refers to the removal of an arm. However, the terminology is the same as that used for the sacrifice, i.e. the killing, of an ox. This, with the above parallels, makes it clear that the reference is to a death penalty.

Many texts describe similar punishments in greater or lesser detail. Several instances occur on the façades of the First Intermediate Period tombs at Assiut. According to Edel’s perceptive reconstruction, the inscription on the door-jamb of tomb no. III runs as follows:

<sup>36</sup> Edel, *MDAIK* 13, 13.

<sup>37</sup> *Iw sdm=f* (or *iw=f sdm=f*) is the affirmative counterpart of *n sdm.n=f* (H. J. Polotsky, *Israel Oriental Studies*, Tel Aviv 6 (1976), 45–6). Instances of the latter in the apodosis of threat formulae are cited in n.49 below.

<sup>38</sup> See my *Chests of Life*, 146–59. A ritual tribunal session carried out as part of the mortuary cult is described in CT 37. The title of ‘overseer of the scribes of the Great Tribunal of the Great God’ is apparently attested among a number of well-known legal titles in an Old Kingdom mastaba at Giza (H. Junker, *Giza*, VII (Vienna, 1944), 198–9). This would seem to imply that human officials could work for the Divine Tribunal. Striking confirmation for this is found in Koptos decree R (Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, fig. 28 = *Urk.* 1, 305–6), where the verdict of Osiris and of the local divinity are mentioned in an *earthly* legal context! This text suggests two things that have apparently gone unnoticed thus far. Firstly, the Osirian Tribunal was not an invention of the First Intermediate Period, but existed prior to that (R. Grieshammer *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden, 1970), 1–2, missed these important references). Secondly, the Divine Judgement may have been less esoteric than is usually believed.

As regards any nome governor, any son of a man, any nobleman or any civilian, who will fail to protect this tomb and its contents, his god will not accept his white bread, he will not be buried in the West, and their flesh will burn together with (that of) the criminals, they having been turned into ones who do not exist.<sup>39</sup>

The texts continue on the outside of the tomb with more threats. There, the culprit and his offspring are denied access to life in the Netherworld, he is turned over to the Place of Judgement (?), and his house is burned. Furthermore, his name will be pronounced no more, and gods and humans will despise him, he having become an 'enemy of spirits' (*hft. y n šh. w*).<sup>40</sup>

A similar inscription was written to the left of the entrance to tomb no. IV:

But as regards any rebel (*sbi*) and any ill-hearted person (*hsk-ib*), who will commit wrong (*pnꜣy. t*) despite these things he has heard,<sup>41</sup> his name will not exist, he will not be buried in the desert, he will be cooked (*iw=f r psi. t*) together with the criminals whom god has cursed. May his town-god despise him! May his citizens despise him!<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the Saite tomb of Khonsirdis at el-Hasaya contains a text which is clearly related to the sources from Assiut.<sup>43</sup> Although it is useful in that it affords another version of these threats, it presents no new information.

The punishments mentioned in these texts largely coincide with those mentioned in Ankhtifi's tomb and in the Hekaib stela. The criminal loses his earthly possessions and his right to burial, his god refuses his offerings and his body is destroyed by fire. The punishment also affects his children, who, according to the inscription in tomb no. III, will be ousted from their tombs.

The texts also provide fresh evidence, including different sanctions. Among the threats in tomb no. III, it is stated that 'his (the criminal's) name will not be pronounced among (those of) the spirits', that 'his remembrance will not be with the Living' and that 'his name will not be with his children'.<sup>44</sup> As Posener demonstrated long ago,<sup>45</sup> such punishments were very common in Egyptian legal practice. A criminal's name could be altered to designate him as an enemy of Re, i.e., as Apophis. In accordance with this, some of the Assiut texts designate the violator as a 'rebel' (*sbi*). Alternatively, his name could be effectively wiped out of existence. The removal of names from inscriptions bears eloquent testimony to this custom.

We are further told that the violator is burned together with 'the criminals' (*hbn. tyw*). It appears that this term has a legal connotation. Most examples occur in texts about the Judgement of the Dead, where the expression designates the opponents of the winner of

<sup>39</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 5 and pp. 25-37. Since the verb *tkꜣ*, 'burn', can be both transitive and intransitive, there is no reason why it should be rendered as a transitive infinitive, as was recently proposed by L. Depuydt (*BiOr* 44 (1987), 427).

<sup>40</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 7, p. 37-66.

<sup>41</sup> In the preceding part of the inscription.

<sup>42</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 15, lines 79-80 and p. 120-7. For *psi* referring not to boiling something in a pot, but to heating it directly on hot ashes, see N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Antefoker* (London, 1920), pl. 8. In view of such evidence, I see no reason to follow U. Verhoeven (*Grillen, Backen, Kochen* (Brussels, 1984), 105), who states that our text refers to boiling criminals in a cooking pot in the Netherworld.

<sup>43</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 23 and pp. 189-94. Yet another Siutian imprecation formula of the Middle Kingdom occurs in tomb no. 1, see below, n. 126.

<sup>44</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 7, line 68 and pp. 53-4, 62.

<sup>45</sup> G. Posener, *RdE* 5 (1946), 51-6.

the trial. But it was also used in everyday legal practice. This is proved by a passage in the 'Duties of the Vizier', where people who commit certain irregularities are said to be 'entered in the register of criminal(s), which is in the Great Prison' (*šfdw n ḥbn. ty wnn m ḥnrt wr*).<sup>46</sup> In view of these juridical undertones, it must be significant that the inscriptions in tomb no. III refer to a Place of Judgement.<sup>47</sup> Whether the tribunal is terrestrial or divine will be discussed below.

#### 4. The tomb of Chnumhotep II at Beni Hasan

In a similar, though much less elaborate inscription,<sup>48</sup> count Chnumhotep explains that he has ordained the regular performance of offering rites at his tomb. Then follows the statement:

Moreover, as regards ⟨any⟩ *ka*-priest or any people who will violate this, he cannot exist (literally 'be'; *n wn. n =f*<sup>49</sup>), and his son cannot be at his place (*n wn. n sꜣ =f ḥr ns. t =f*).

#### 5. Graffiti in Lower Nubia

Several other texts of the Twelfth Dynasty briefly mention the death penalty. Four were copied by Žába in Lower Nubia. The first, graffito 58, states that the violator will not be able to sail home from Nubia to Egypt.<sup>50</sup> No reasons are stated for this, but, directly to the right of the text, a second graffito (no. 57) is more explicit: 'As for the one who will damage it (the graffito), he will die at the King's execution block'.<sup>51</sup> A third text (no. 24) states: 'As for the one who will damage it, he will die by the hand of the executioner'.<sup>52</sup> Finally, inscription 56 appears to deal with similar matters, although it is barely legible.<sup>53</sup> Crude though these graffiti are, they were apparently highly valued by their makers. The regular occurrence of the threat formulae suggests that there were strong legal sanctions against their violation. Text no. 57 even suggests that the violators were punished under the direct responsibility of the king.

Despite great differences in formulation in the sources discussed so far, there is a common pattern. Each text deals with some kind of desecration—violation of tombs, of the Hekaib temple or of graffiti. As sanctions, they prescribe gruesome punishments, including death. However, one could easily protest that these are mere threats, that we need not take at face value.

<sup>46</sup> E. Dévaud, *Kémi* 1 (1928), 138; Edel, op. cit. 33. For the passage in the 'Duties of the Vizier', see van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier*, 125–8.

<sup>47</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 7, lines 67 and 70 (the latter being most uncertain; see *ibid.* 57–8).

<sup>48</sup> P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 1 (London, 1893), pl. xxv, lines 96–9.

<sup>49</sup> The interpretation of this clause as a *n sdm. n =f* construction of the verb *wnn* was first proposed by E. Doret, *JEA* 65 (1979), 163 n. 10. To the sources cited there for the *n sdm. n =f* form of *wnn*, one can add Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 7, line 67 (*n ḥ. n =f m ḥr. t-nṯr s. t n. t ḥ. w n wn. n ḥr. t =f m ḥr. t-nṯr*, 'He cannot be spirit-like in the necropolis, the place of the spirits; his possessions cannot exist (lit. "be") in the necropolis'). In his commentary, Edel seems to have missed Doret's article.

<sup>50</sup> Ž. Žába, *The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (Prague, 1974), 84–6. Cf. the texts discussed by D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 218.

<sup>51</sup> Žába, op. cit. 81–4, no. 57. Instead of *nm. t nsw. t*, 'execution block', Žába read *nm. ty nsw. t*, 'king's executioner', which is also possible.

<sup>52</sup> Žába, op. cit. 52.

<sup>53</sup> Žába, op. cit. 79–80.

One answer to this objection is that all sources use the grammatical structure current in legal texts.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the threats are often formulated by means of the forms *nn sdm=f*, *n sdm. n=f* or *iw=f r sdm*.<sup>55</sup> These do not express vague hopes or expectations, but indicate circumstances which will certainly (*iw=f r sdm*) or certainly not (*nn sdm=f*) prevail in future, or which, generally speaking, are impossible (*n sdm. n=f*). Furthermore, threats such as these would not be convincing if they referred to sanctions with no practical reality.

It is true, however, that all the above sources derive from private people; even if some of these were nomarchs, one might wonder how they could prevent the violation of their tombs once they were dead. Fortunately, other texts, some unquestionably legal documents, provide corroborating information. There is also one Middle Kingdom historical inscription which contains a narrative about the same kind of punishment.

### 6. *The decree of king Demedjibtawi (Coptos Decree R)*

One of the Coptos decrees was issued by king Demedjibtawy of the Eighth Dynasty for the benefit of the funerary cult of a certain Idy. Regarding people who interfere with Idy's cult-installations in the temple of Coptos, the monarch states: 'My Majesty cannot allow that their property or the property of their fathers will stay with them, nor that they will join the spirits in the necropolis, nor that they will be among the living (*nh.w*)'.<sup>56</sup> Commenting on the word *nh.w*, Goedicke denies that the rendering 'living' is possible,<sup>57</sup> since this would imply that the text refers to the death penalty, 'wofür insbesondere im Hinblick auf die Art der strafbaren Handlung keine Veranlassung vorliegt'. No arguments for this assertion are given. Lorton does not even consider the possibility of a death penalty, but simply follows Goedicke's view that *nh.w* refers to 'free citizens'.<sup>58</sup> However, in the inscriptions discussed above, the death penalty is frequently mentioned as a punishment for damaging funerary or temple cults. Goedicke's only objection to reading *nh.w* in the literal sense does not therefore carry much weight. Moreover, the title *nh*, to which Lorton and Goedicke refer, does not mean 'citizen', but indicates a military rank.<sup>59</sup> It is unlikely that our text refers to this. In my view, it specifies the same punishments as the inscriptions translated thus far: the criminal loses his earthly possessions, and also his life on earth and in the Hereafter.

<sup>54</sup> Lorton, *JESHO* 20, 53-64. Note that the location of the inscriptions in tombs is no argument against their legal nature. Contracts were inscribed in tombs also (e.g., H. Goedicke, *Private Rechts inschriften aus dem Alten Reich* (Vienna, 1970); Siut 1, 1. 269 ff.). In Urk. 1, 14, 9ff., an imprecation formula forms part of a contract with mortuary priests.

<sup>55</sup> As regards the death penalty, we find *nn sdm=f* constructions in Žába, op. cit., no. 58; cf. also n. 74; *n sdm. n=f* constructions in Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 1, pl. xxv, line 98; see also section 6 below; *iw=f r sdm* constructions in Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 5, line 64; fig. 15, line 80; p. 190 and prospective *sdm=f* constructions in Mo'alla inscription no. 8, Žába, op. cit. nos. 24, 56 (?), 57 and Hekaib stela no. 9. As I suggested in section 2 above, a generalizing *iw sdm=f* construction may be attested in stela Cairo CG 1651. A *hr=f sdm=f* construction occurs in the Neferhotep decree (see 2.7 below).

<sup>56</sup> Coptos Decree R, see Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, 213-25, particularly 214 (III); Lorton, *JESHO* 20, 11; A. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 20 (1973), 77-82; M. F. Mostafa, *ASAE* 71 (1987), 169-84.

<sup>57</sup> Goedicke, op. cit. 217-19. Sottas, *Préservation*, 93-4, translated the word as 'vivants'.

<sup>58</sup> Lorton, *JESHO* 20, 11.

<sup>59</sup> O. Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971), 23-48.

7. *The Neferhotep decree* [see 'Postscript', p. 54 below]

This is a royal inscription which, in its present form, is dated to the reign of Neferhotep I, though it appears originally to have been made for an earlier Pharaoh of the Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>60</sup> The text announces that the 'Holy Land south of Abydos', i.e. part of the Abydene necropolis, is declared a 'closed area' to the public. Severe sanctions are imposed for trespass:

As regards anyone whom one will find within these (border-)stones, except a *w<sup>b</sup>*-priest at his duty (*m hrw w<sup>b</sup> r hn. t=f*), he will be burned (*hr. tw wbd. tw=f*).<sup>61</sup> Moreover, as regards any nobleman (*sr*) who will cause a tomb to be made for himself within this holy place, he shall be reported, and this law [i.e., the punishment of death by fire], which appertains to the necropolis as of today, shall be imposed on him. But as regards the region around this holy place, (this is) the place where people will make tombs for themselves, and where (people) will be buried.

The decree evidently concerns an area in the necropolis of Abydos which was so packed with tomb structures (or cenotaphs) that no new constructions could be built without damaging older ones. Therefore, the king forbids further building activity in the region.

It is well-known that, in the Ramesside Period, cemeteries stood under government supervision. The famous tomb-robbery papyri afford a rare insight into the measures taken when the authorities were informed about the violation of burials. They also make it clear that the robbers were, at least occasionally, put to death.<sup>62</sup> A hieratic stela found in the funerary temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, contains a royal decree of Amenhotep III suggesting that a similar organization existed in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The text contains instructions for the security forces of the Theban necropolis.<sup>63</sup> Its formulation is strongly reminiscent of the phraseology of the Old and Middle Kingdom sources discussed in this article.

The decrees of Demedjibtawi and Neferhotep prove that the central government was already responsible for the security of funerary structures in the time of these monarchs.

<sup>60</sup> D. Randall-Maciver and A. C. Mace, *El Amrah and Abydos* (London, 1902), pl. xxix; W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Inschriften der Zweiten Zwischenzeit*,<sup>2</sup> (Wiesbaden, 1983), 18–19. See also J. von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit in Ägypten* (Glückstadt, 1964), 56; A. Leahy, *JEA* 75 (1989), 41–60.

<sup>61</sup> For *m-hrw*, see Leahy, *JEA* 75, 45 (m). Against Lorton (*JESHO* 20, 18), I translate *wbd*, not as 'to brand', but as 'to burn'. This alternative was already advocated by Leahy, *JEA* 75, 45 (n), and is now borne out by the occurrence of the same term in the Töd inscription to be discussed below. The formulae cited thus far contradict Lorton's view that Egyptian texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms do not mention death by fire as a penalty.

<sup>62</sup> Peet, *Great Tomb Robberies*, 1, 9–20; J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 1973), 261–84; D. Valbelle, *Les Ouvriers de la Tombe* (Cairo, 1985), 134–6.

<sup>63</sup> Cl. Robichon et A. Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 1 (Cairo, 1936), 1–17; A. Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou* (Cairo, 1968), 66–85. The ductus of the hieratic text shows that the inscription must date to the Twenty-first Dynasty, and not to the Eighteenth Dynasty. For this reason, the authenticity of the text has been doubted. Varille, however, adduced arguments against this: pointing to the reliability of the historical references contained in the text, he concluded that its writer made use of an Eighteenth Dynasty text which he 'translated' into Late Egyptian. Nevertheless, he remarked that 'le bref codicille en faveur du gouverneur de l'Ouest de Thèbes montre bien que son bénéficiaire n'était pas entièrement désintéressé à le voir graver sur la pierre', and he argued that the text contains a number of modifications (op. cit. 81–5). His arguments for this latter assertion are by no means compelling, however.

### 8. *The Tôd inscription of Sesostris I*

Another inscription illustrating the commitment of the king—Sesostris I in this case—is engraved on a block in the temple at Tôd.<sup>64</sup> It first describes how the king inspected the sacred building and found it fallen into ruin—to the dismay of the gods. This unfortunate situation is then said to have been caused by a group of hooligans. The monarch strikes back violently. The enemies are arrested and subsequently burned.

The enemies on the terrace [of the temple] have been placed on the brazier (*hr. yw m hty. w di. w m th*); it (also) meant the flame for the one for whom they acted (*tk; pw n iri. n=sn n=f*), after I had ... him for it (... *n=i sw r=s*); it was the capturing fire in which they burned (?) (*h. t pw šdi. t wbd(.t). n=sn im (?)*).<sup>65</sup>

The texts discussed previously all concern possible future desecrations of tombs and temples and hypothetical sanctions. The importance of the present inscription is that it gives a *description* of death penalties that are said actually to have been carried out. A similar descriptive passage, of the Twenty-second Dynasty, will be discussed below (pp. 50–1).<sup>66</sup>

### *Summary*

Ever since the Egyptians began to provide their dead with valuable tomb furnishings, there were probably tomb robbers. Many biographies from the Old Kingdom inform us that tombs and equipment were gifts from the king himself. In view of this state commitment to the Afterlife of the nobility, it is logical that the central government was also responsible for the protection of the burial grounds and funerary chapels. We have textual testimony for this from the time of king Demedjibtawi, a contemporary of Ankhtifi, onwards.

Our enquiry has shown that Mo'alla inscription no. 8 is just one of a range of texts threatening potential desecrators of tombs, temples or stelae. Not every text is equally elaborate, so that some mention penalties not attested in others. On the whole, however, a coherent set of punishments emerges. Apart from suffering the death penalty, which is our primary concern, the criminal is cast out of social and religious life by the loss of his office and possessions, and by the god's refusal to accept his offerings. Moreover, he loses his identity and his right to be buried. For an Egyptian, there were no hopes for Afterlife in these circumstances. Finally, the punishments affect the criminal's family as well. Not all relatives appear to be concerned here; the culprit's children feature prominently in the formulae, but I have found no references to the punishment of his wife.<sup>67</sup>

Judging from stela Cairo CG 1651, the criminals were brought before a court of justice before their execution. Even in remote parts of Egypt, this category of punishment

<sup>64</sup> W. Helck in, *Ägypten. Dauer und Wandel* (Mainz, 1985), 45–52. I have also benefitted from Dr Franke's unpublished study of the text, which is based on an improved transcription.

<sup>65</sup> *Tk; pw n iri. n=sn n=f* cannot be rendered as 'It was the flame for how they acted against him', for in *iri n*, the *n* is not the dative of disadvantage; cf. my remarks in *JÉOL* 28 (1983–4), 98 n. 133. Reference is probably made to the leader of the rebels.

<sup>66</sup> The defeat of enemies in sacrificial terms may also be hinted at in *Les.* 84, 8; cf. Fischer, *JEA* 59 (1973), 224–6; see, however, also W. V. Davies, *JEA* 62 (1976), 176–7. Comparable punishments are frequently mentioned in later texts, see, e.g., A. Leahy, *RdE* 34 (1982), 78, 86; de Meulenaere, *CdE* 28 (1953), 258–60.

<sup>67</sup> In texts from the New Kingdom and later, the picture is different. Thus, the wife is raped (?) according to the decree cited in n. 63. Compare also *Urk.* vi, 131, 13 and G. Legrain, *ZÄS* 35 (1897), 16.



appears to have been the responsibility of the central, not the local, administration. This is suggested not only by the royal inscriptions cited, but also by the graffiti in Lower Nubia, where the violators are threatened with being sent to the 'king's execution block'.

It has been doubted whether threats like these should be taken literally. Thus, Sottas qualifies them as vague in comparison with those encountered in formulae of the Old Kingdom,<sup>68</sup> which may themselves be rather speculative: he interprets the latter as magical interventions by the deceased tomb owner in the Hereafter. Edel refers to the death by fire described in the tombs from Assiut as 'Höllendrohungen'.<sup>69</sup> Elsewhere, he is more ambiguous, asserting that the threats concern death by fire in the Hereafter as well as on earth.<sup>70</sup> Although he cites the Neferhotep decree in this context, he does not elaborate on the consequences of this viewpoint for Egyptian legal history.

These authors do not seem to realize that threats of the type current in the Middle Kingdom reflect contemporary jurisdiction. The loss of the right to burial, of identity, and of possessions, and the punishment of the criminal together with his family, are all too well-known to require much comment.<sup>71</sup> In the Antef decree, for instance, most of these penalties are said to fall to the lot of Teti, son of Minhotep, who is accused of abuse of power in the temple of Min at Koptos. He also suffers exclusion from religious life.<sup>72</sup> Among other things, the decree ordains that his offerings be removed from the temple.<sup>73</sup> This recalls passages in our threat formulae where the god is said to refuse offerings from the violator. In other words, *all* categories of punishment found in the threats are also known from purely juridical texts. The penalty of death by fire is no exception, for it is mentioned on two royal decrees of which the legal character has never been questioned.

The conclusion that the texts really concern the violator's physical death is borne out by an early Eighteenth Dynasty formula including the following sanction: 'his [the criminal's] lifetime on earth will not continue (*nn hpr ḥr. w=f tp t*)'.<sup>74</sup> Like many Near Eastern countries in the not too distant past or even today, ancient Egypt knew no distinction between 'church' and state. Under these circumstances, it is no great wonder that criminal offences were interpreted as transgressions against Maat, the divine world order. Although not all infringements were explained in these terms,<sup>75</sup> the desecrations discussed in this article were, for obvious reasons. The criminals themselves were classified as 'rebels' (*sbi. w*),<sup>76</sup> and their punishment took place in a cultic context. They were burned on temple altars: in addition to the Middle Kingdom sources, one from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is worth quoting for its unambiguous terminology. Here, one who damages a stela is threatened with being judged in the temple of Heracleopolis. Then 'he

<sup>68</sup> Sottas, *Préservation*, 53.

<sup>69</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, 33.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 125.

<sup>71</sup> Lorton, *JESHO* 20, 2-23, 50-2. For 'debaptism' and the loss of one's name as a punishment, see Posener, *RdÉ* 5 (1946), 51-6.

<sup>72</sup> *Les.*, 98; W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), pl. viii.

<sup>73</sup> *Les.*, 98, 12.

<sup>74</sup> *Urk.* iv, 401,2. For *ḥr. w*, 'lifetime', see J. Assmann, *Zeit und Ewigkeit* (Heidelberg, 1975), 11 f.

<sup>75</sup> As a rule, no religious qualifications appear to have been used for small thefts, adultery, etc., so far as we can gather from the evidence from Deir el-Medīna (see e.g. C. Eyre, *JEA* 70 (1984), 92-105; A. McDowell, 'Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community at Deir el-Medīna', Dissertation, Philadelphia 1987).

<sup>76</sup> References to the criminal as a *sbi* are found in some of the Assiut inscriptions discussed in section 3 above. For *sbi* as a term designating the Evil One, or his manifestations, see *Wb.* iv, 87-8; D. Wildung, *LÄ* II, 146-8. In the execration texts, the term also refers to Egyptian and foreign enemies. As will appear in n. 111, these people were also qualified as manifestations of Apophis.

is destined to the knife of *Hnbw* who is in Naref (...), his members are a burnt-offering (*hr. w=f m sbi n sd. t*), he being destined to the brazier of Osiris (*iw=f n rh n Wsir*).<sup>77</sup>

It is possible that some of the actual braziers have been preserved. An altar found at Edfu at the beginning of this century bears reliefs on its sides which depict a sacrificial cow and a goose, several nude, tied men, and priests carrying knives and torches. A similar, pylon-shaped altar was discovered in front of the entrance of the temple of Tôd—the same temple where Sesostri I claims to have burned offenders. The inscriptions on this monument refer to the destruction of mythological enemies, a subject very common in ritual texts referring to sacrifices. Here, however, continual reference is made to the myth of the Destruction of Mankind. This mythological antecedent appears to be better suited to human than to animal sacrifices.<sup>78</sup> Both altars date from the Late Period, but there is a possibility that another, from the Middle Kingdom, was also used for human sacrifices in case of necessity. I refer to the brick altar in the Hekaib sanctuary. This hypothesis cannot be proved, but it should nevertheless be noted that the installation is situated directly in front of the stela referring to human sacrifice.<sup>79</sup>

Also, the terminology for these killings is identical with that used for sacrifices. In Mo'alla inscription no. 8, the event is associated with a certain festival of the local god Hemen, during whose processions the criminal is said to be sacrificed.

### 3. The cult of Hemen

The references to Hemen's cult can only be properly understood against the background of information drawn from other sources. There are only a handful of references to this god, and some of these are utterly obscure.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest a reconstruction of the festivities during which his procession took place.

Very little is known about Hemen's mythology. It is clear that he was a falcon-deity.<sup>81</sup> It is doubtless due to this characteristic that he became associated with the falcon-god Horus. The two divinities were sometimes syncretistically merged in the form of Horus-Hemen.<sup>82</sup> Also, a mythological passage in a papyrus from the Middle Kingdom claims

<sup>77</sup> F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, II (Manchester, 1909), pl. 40, 7-9; Sottas, *Préservation*, 156; cf. H. Junker, *Die Onurislegende* (Vienna, 1917), 156. Sacrifice as a form of punishment likewise occurs in CT VI, 132d [535], albeit in a funerary context.

<sup>78</sup> For the altars, see A. Weigall, *ASAE* 8 (1908), 44-6; F. Bisson de la Roque, *BIFAO* 40 (1941), 36-42. For the interpretation of these objects as altars used for human sacrifices, see J. Yoyotte, *Annuaire EPHE* 89 (1980-1), 37-8. Cf. also H. Junker, *ZAS* 67 (1931), pl. 7.

<sup>79</sup> Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Hekaib*, 35 for the altar. The stelae now erected around the base refer to rituals with fire, but it is uncertain whether this is their original position.

<sup>80</sup> For discussions on Hemen, see V. Vikentiev, *La haute crue du Nil en l'an 6 de Taharqa* (Cairo, 1930), 67-72; Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 8-13; Posener, *Journal des Savants* 1952, 117-20; Säve-Söderbergh, *On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting*, 29-33; G. Gabra, *CdE* 49 (1974), 234-7; H. Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 193-4; J. Vandier, *RdE* 10 (1955), 73-9; J. Černý in R. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence, 1962), 49-51; R. Stadelmann, *LA* II, 1117. Apart from the evidence brought forward in these studies, one may note (1) the occurrence of Hemen in names of people who may originate from the region of Mo'alla (S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *AOF* 3 (1975), 5-11; P. Vernus, *RdE* 26 (1974), 107; Černý, loc. cit.; Coffin T13C+T1Ch, which may have come from Gebelein (see my *Chests of Life*, 117)); (2) obscure references to him in the ferryman spell CT V, 93b, 112g [397]/T1Be and in the food-spells CT VI, 195d [580] and 284j-k [660]. See also CT V, 248g [415].

<sup>81</sup> Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 9-10.

<sup>82</sup> C. Nims, *JEA* 38 (1952), 40; H. Wild, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 193-4. The two gods already appear in conjunction in Pyramid Texts §1013; H. Goedicke, *ASAE* 56 (1959), 59-62. Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 263 (18).

that Hemen was the son of Isis; in other words, he and Horus had the same mother.<sup>83</sup> Horus was the divine embodiment of the king, and Hemen occasionally appears in a comparable context. Thus, a text on a statue base in Avignon refers to him by a royal epithet as a 'Lord of Sed-festivals'.<sup>84</sup> In the earliest reference, PT 231, he is already personified by the king.<sup>85</sup>

Like Horus, Hemen further appears as the opponent of Seth. Thus, in BD 17, Seth is said to be captured by a net provided by Hemen (*Urk.* v, 88, 9, cf. Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 9). A comparable theology underlies the Pyramid Text spell just referred to. This runs as follows: 'Saying words: Your bone is a harpoon, that you may be harpooned; the hearts have been removed,<sup>86</sup> the Nubians who are on their *mt* have been slain; such is Hemen!' According to Sethe, this was recited during a ritual hippopotamus-killing. The death of the animal symbolized the defeat of the forces of disorder, notably Seth, of whom the hippopotamus was a personification. The final clause may have been uttered by a priest as a commentary, the implication being that the killer of the animal—the king—played the role of Hemen.<sup>87</sup>

Vandier realized that some of the paintings in Ankhtifi's tomb probably depict this ritual (*Mo'alla*, 8f.). On the pertinent wall, Ankhtifi is shown on a large scale, watching diverse activities; near him are a butchering scene and representations of a number of boats under oar, while below him is a scene of fishermen with nets. Further south, there is a depiction of a hippopotamus being killed by harpooners. The scene is labelled with the phrases 'May Horus bring a good Inundation to his son king Kaneferre; watching the navigation of Hemen'.<sup>88</sup> We are thus confronted with a ritual involving the god Hemen, during which a hippopotamus is killed, just as in the Pyramid Text passage. In both cases the purpose is to bolster the sovereignty of the king. The Pyramid Text spell indicates that the killing of the Typhonian hippopotamus symbolized, in political terms, the defeat of Egypt's foreign enemies. This is not explicit in the label to the *Mo'alla* scene, though Sethian symbolism must surely underlie the sacrifices depicted. According to this text, the performance of the ritual served to support the state symbolically in other ways. It aims at procuring a 'good Inundation' (i.e. fertility) from Horus—who again appears in close association with Hemen.<sup>89</sup>

Taken together, the two sources indicate that a festival was celebrated in the neighbourhood of *Mo'alla* which was called (or included) a navigation of Hemen. It is possible that the same ceremony is alluded to in CT 659. Addressing the 'bull of the East', the deceased claims 'I descend to your bark, which is moored at the stairway, just

<sup>83</sup> P. Ram. IV C, 25, J. B. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956); see M. Münster, *Untersuchungen zum Göttin Isis* (Berlin, 1968), 128. Note, however, that the same text states that Hemen fathered a child by Nephthys. This episode does not appear to be known from the Horus myth.

<sup>84</sup> M.-P. Foissy-Aufrère, S. Aufrère and C. Loury, *Egypte & Provence. Musée Calvet* (Avignon, 1985), § 106–7 and fig. 38; *Wb.* III, 59, 11.

<sup>85</sup> See K. Sethe, *Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, 1 (Glückstadt, no date), 205–6.

<sup>86</sup> For *dr* as a spelling of *dr*, cf. CT 1, 46e [15], IV, 208/9c [335].

<sup>87</sup> Sethe, op. cit. 202–6.

<sup>88</sup> Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 36, 129–59, pls. xiv, xl–xli. The scene is chiefly noted because it features the cartouche of a king Kaneferre. The most recent evaluation of the chronological importance of this name is D. Spänel, *GM* 78 (1984), 89–90.

<sup>89</sup> For Hemen as a patron of the Inundation, see Vikentiev, *La haute crue*; Vandier, *RdE* 10, 73–9; Posener, *Journal des Savants*, 1952, 117; Stadelmann, *LÄ* II, 1117. The mention of the god in the food-spells cited in n.80 may find its explanation here.

like Hemen who knows no weariness!' (CT VI, 280b-d). His embarkation in the solar bark lying ready at the eastern horizon is apparently compared with Hemen's boarding on the east. Could this be a reference to the latter's ceremonial navigation from Mo'alla on the east bank of the Nile?

The above sources appear to indicate that Hemen embarked on a ship, perhaps for a Nile crossing similar to that of Amun at Thebes. At the risk of stretching the evidence here, the destination of the voyage may have been Esna; in the Roman Period, at any rate, Hemen did cross over to Esna at the beginning of the Khoiak festival.<sup>90</sup>

During the ritual, a hippopotamus was killed to symbolize the defeat of disorder, i.e., of Seth, the traditional enemy of the Egyptian king, who continually menaced the kingdom as a patron of hostile foreign countries and of climatic disturbances. I believe that the subjugation of evil forces is also the theme underlying the other ritual scenes on the same wall of Ankhtifi's chapel. This is clearly the case in the bull sacrifice before Ankhtifi. The animal symbolized Seth, who was punished for having murdered Osiris.<sup>91</sup>

The fishing scene depicted as part of the 'navigation of Hemen' may have a similar background. There is evidence for Ptolemaic temple rituals during which the evil forces were symbolically caught in nets.<sup>92</sup> The image of fish as representatives of evil, as well as of the fishing net as a means for capturing these forces already occurs in the Coffin Texts.<sup>93</sup> Since Hemen is once stated to have provided the net for capturing Seth,<sup>94</sup> it is not improbable that the same imagery underlies the Mo'alla scene. One of the Ptolemaic reliefs provides a particularly close analogy. Here the net not only contains fish, but also other manifestations of the Evil One, including a bull. Moreover, figures of hippopotami were destroyed.<sup>95</sup> In other words, all categories of animals ritually killed in the Mo'alla painting appear in a similar context in this Late Period ritual. The analogy goes even further, for the latter rites also took place in connection with a boat procession, in this case Hathor's journey.

Thus, the painting in Ankhtifi's chapel may depict four different rites associated with Hemen's navigation. The ships may belong to the procession proper, while the three other scenes show how Seth, the enemy of Horus/Hemen, was punished in the form of a bull, a hippopotamus and fish caught in a net. Mo'alla inscription no. 8 may also be

<sup>90</sup> S. Sauneron, *Esna*, II (Cairo, 1963), no. 55, 5-6; *Esna*, V (Cairo, 1962), 15, 47-57. I owe these references to Drs A. Egberts. For the sake of completeness, I also mention a Saite papyrus referring to oracles of Hemen, which must also have taken place during processions of the god's cult-statue (Černý, in *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 49-51).

<sup>91</sup> For the symbolism of this sacrifice, see H. Junker, *ZÄS* 48 (1911), 70-7; E. Otto, *JNES* 9 (1950), 167; Yoyotte, *Annuaire EPHE* 89, 46 f. The hostile role of Seth is an old theme already attested in the Pyramid Texts (e.g. PT 580), although at that time the god was not yet regarded as exclusively malicious. Killings of hippopotami also occur as parallels to slaughtering of bulls in burial rites (see my *Chests of Life*, 149-50).

<sup>92</sup> *Edfou*, VI, 55-8; 235-8; illustrated in *Edfou*, XIII, pl. cccxcii-cccxciii; *Edfou*, XIV, pl. dlxxxv-dlxxxvi; Sauneron, *Esna*, VI, 163-6; *LD* IV, pl. 2a, see M. Alliot, *RdE* 5 (1946), 57-118; J.-C. Goyon, *Kémi* 19 (1969), 53, 11-12. A further rite (*Edfou*, V, 134, 30-33) is discussed by P. Vernus, *GM* 29 (1978), 145-8. Cf. also *Esna*, III, no. 199, 27-8.

<sup>93</sup> The consumption of fish in *CT* VI, 16a-d [473] symbolizes the defeat of Apophis. Many CT spells, including the one just cited, refer to a net (see D. Bidoli, *Die Sprüche der Fangnetze* Glückstadt, 1976). For the relation of these spells to fishery scenes in Old Kingdom mastabas and to the Ptolemaic rites just mentioned, see Alliot, *RdE* 5, 112-18.

<sup>94</sup> *Urk.* V, 88, 9. Another fishing scene on the same wall of Ankhtifi's tomb was apparently conceived of as a ritual scene. The accompanying label recalls the texts found in hippopotamus hunt rituals of the Late Period (see Vandier, *Mo'alla*, 262 (15)).

<sup>95</sup> See the discussion by G. Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75 (1975), 409.

rooted in this ritual atmosphere. It repeatedly mentions processions (*pri.w*) of Hemen. The second reference implies that Hemen departed from the 'eastern side'. Unfortunately the text is not more explicit, but the first interpretation that comes to mind is that the 'eastern side' refers to the east bank of the Nile. The next phrase, which mentions Hemen's 'processions from the bank(?)', seems to point in the same direction.<sup>96</sup>


Text no. 8 makes clear that, at this point of the ritual, the tomb violator's arm was cut off and presented to Hemen. As we have seen, the terminology adopted (*šhi hpsš*) is the same as that used to describe the severance of the foreleg of a sacrificial bull (see n.(c) of the philological commentary). The latter is depicted, moreover, among the scenes of the 'navigation of Hemen'.<sup>97</sup> In other words, the text seems to imply that a human victim could be added to, or substituted for, (some of) the animals killed in the course of Hemen's procession.

#### 4. The practical performance of the ritual

In the preceding sections, I hope to have shown that Mo'alla inscription no. 8 is less enigmatic than it has been considered. I have argued that, as it stands, the text states that a tomb violator will be ritually killed to serve as a sacrificial 'animal' for the local god Hemen.

One could object that the texts cited refer to symbolic killings, for which there is abundant evidence in other contexts. The Ptolemaic rituals are generally interpreted in this way. We have seen that these included a ceremony in which representatives of the Evil One were caught in nets. All kinds of animals are represented here: fish, birds, bulls and antelopes; but the catch also includes four human figures, which have been explained as wax statuettes.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, according to the Book for the Protection of the *nšm.t* Bark, figures of red wax representing Seth in the form of a crocodile were 'caught' in a net and subsequently burned.<sup>99</sup> Wax statuettes in the form of human beings are also attested in many other texts, the oldest instance dating to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>100</sup>

The ritual instructions explaining how these figurines should be dealt with indicate that they symbolized the 'enemy'. In a kind of 'voodoo' session, they were inscribed with the so-called execration texts, which provide names or descriptions of hostile people—usually foreign tribesmen, but also Egyptians—and dangerous things.<sup>101</sup> Then the figurines were destroyed and burned in a fire, at least according to some ritual prescrip-

<sup>96</sup> The localities mentioned in the other phrases, the 'District', the , and the 'Great Shade', cannot be properly understood at present. Therefore, it is impossible to decide whether Mo'alla inscription no. 8 alludes to five different processions, or whether one procession is referred to in different terms.

<sup>97</sup> Vandier, *Mo'alla*, pl. xi and p. 147-8.

<sup>98</sup> Alliot, *RdE* 5, 108-18 (see the scenes referred to in n.92); Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75, 410. The human figures are generally explained as wax figures, although no text states explicitly that they are not real humans! The fact that they are said to be inscribed with their names does not prove anything, since the king himself (i.e., the officiant) is treated in a similar way in a comparable ritual (*Edfou*, vi, 131.3).

<sup>99</sup> Goyon, *Kêmi* 19, 53, 11-12.

<sup>100</sup> *Papyrus Bremner Rhind*, 22,1-32,12 (Book of Overthrowing Apep); *Urk.* vi, 5-59; Goyon, *Kêmi* 19, 151-88 (wax figures mentioned on pp. 178,5-6; 186,7-188,11). Cf. also J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An* (Cairo, 1972), 28, xvi, 19; P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825* (Brussels, 1965), v, 1-5; S. Sauneron, *Papyrus magique illustré de Brooklyn* (New York, 1970), pl. iii, 7-8; idem, *Esna*, v, 376. Cf. BD 7. The earliest instance is CT 1, 146-57d [37]. Recent discussions of the sources can be found in Posener's articles cited in the next note.

<sup>101</sup> The main publications can be found in G. Posener, *L'Ā* 1, 67-9; add Abu-Bakr and Osing, *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 97-133; *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 133-85; G. Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 74 (1974), 397-404;

tions of the Late Period.<sup>102</sup> In this manner, the people mentioned on the statuettes were symbolically killed. In some cases the figurines were replaced by red earthenware pots inscribed with similar texts. Like the statuettes, the pots were destroyed, being shattered during the ritual of 'Breaking the Red Pots' (*sd dšr. wt*).<sup>103</sup> This version of the rite is first attested in the Pyramid Texts.

There can thus be no doubt that these execration rites were already being carried out at the time when Mo'alla inscription no. 8 and its parallels were written. It could be argued that the threat formulae found there do not refer to a true death penalty, let alone a human sacrifice, but only to the destruction of substitute figures. Those who hold that the threat formulae concern only the destruction of substitute figurines could also point out that many execration texts refer to Egyptians. Often, they are mentioned by name, and in one case reference is even made to a person who has lost his title, evidently as a punishment for some crime. Other texts not only envisage punishing a criminal, but his descendants as well. The analogy with the imprecation formulae is striking.<sup>104</sup>

It must be admitted that this alternative view provides a coherent interpretation of the facts. There is, however, not a shred of evidence in our threat formulae themselves to prove that they refer merely to execration rites. Nothing in these texts suggests that they should *not* be taken literally.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, a symbolic reading of the texts raises a number of problems which are difficult to resolve.

The aim of the execration texts is to destroy the manifestations of evil, the 'rebels', in a symbolic manner. Most enemies are named explicitly in the texts, showing that the Egyptians had definite ideas about the source of the danger. Most texts do not concern abstract notions like demons, but people or ethnic groups whose identity was known very well. Despite this 'realistic' aspect, the lists enumerate a set of enemies who cannot all be destroyed by practical means. In the case of hostile peoples and their rulers, geographical remoteness prevented the complete eradication of the enemy. The category of the Egyptian 'rebels' was intangible for other reasons: the texts discern two subgroups. The first of these consist of 'all humans (*rm̄t*), all mankind (*pr. t*), all humanity (*rh̄y. t*), all men, all eunuchs (*sh̄t. yw*), all women, all noblemen, who will rebel (*sbi. ty=sn*), who will conspire, who will fight, who will plan to fight, who will plan to rebel, every rebel who will plan to rebel (*sbi nb dd sbi = f*) in this whole country'.<sup>106</sup> They are, in other words, people

75 (1975), 405-11; 76 (1976), 435-42; 77 (1977), 503-11; A. Vila, in *L'homme, hier et aujourd'hui* (Recueil d'études en l'honneur d'A. Leroi-Gourhan) (Paris, 1973), 625-39; N. Grimal, in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Vercoutter* (Paris, 1985), 111-21; G. Posener, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement* (Cairo, 1987); M. Heimer, *RdE* 33 (1981), 134-7.

<sup>102</sup> P. Bremner *Rhind*, 24, 19-20 and passim; *Urk.* vi, 5, 17-18; 49, 18-59, 17; Goyon, *Kémi* 19, 186, 6-188, 3.

<sup>103</sup> See PT 244. Recent discussions of the ritual can be found in J. van Dijk, *L'Ā* vi, 1389-96 and G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches* (Mainz, 1986), 176-92.

<sup>104</sup> Loss of office is mentioned on an unpublished execration figure from Lisht; see Posener, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 77, 511. Punishment of descendants is discussed in Posener, *CdE* 27 (1939), 41; idem, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 265; idem, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 74, 400; 76, 439. H. Altenmüller, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 36, denies the occurrence of real human sacrifices. According to him, these were in reality reduced to the destruction of execration figurines.

<sup>105</sup> As we saw at the end of section 3 above, the threats in Middle Kingdom formulae coincide with legal sanctions known from the same period. Some of the threats in texts from other periods of Egyptian history may be less realistic. The well-known obscene threats of the Third Intermediate Period are probably hyperbolic. It should be stressed, however, that threats like the latter are, as far as I am aware, always formulated by means of prospective *sdm=f* forms, which imply a degree of subjectivity.

<sup>106</sup> K. Sethe, *Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge* (Berlin, 1926), 59-62. Similar lists occur in other execration texts.

of evil intent who have not yet been exposed. The second subgroup consists of the dead Egyptians.<sup>107</sup> A great deal of study has been devoted to this group by Posener, who has argued convincingly that their names were included in the execration lists only a short time after their death.<sup>108</sup> There may have been various reasons for the inclusion of these people in the lists. For instance, the spirit of the deceased could continue to disturb survivors. The Letters to the Dead prove that the latter could take legal action against spirits, and perhaps execration formed the ultimate sanction.<sup>109</sup> In other cases, however, the names of dead Egyptians are followed by indications that legal action had already been undertaken against them during their lifetime. The dead Egyptian referred to above, who had been deprived of his office, is a case in point.<sup>110</sup>

Finally, Seth and Apophis were the subjects of execration rites, as in the liturgical texts of the Late Period, which generally concern the ritual manipulation of statuettes of these two.

In short, the execration texts concern opponents whose integral destruction is impractical. Either they escape complete destruction because of their supernatural nature—spirits, Seth and Apophis—or else they represent foreign peoples, spirits, or enemies who have not yet been identified. All these latter were considered manifestations of Seth or Apophis.<sup>111</sup>

However, not all people ‘possessed’ by these evil demons could escape identification. The Dream Book of the New Kingdom identifies red haired men as Typhonians, a notion also attested elsewhere.<sup>112</sup> The behaviour of people could also lead to the conviction that the forces of evil worked through them. For instance, a text from Deir el-Medīna appears to describe how a social outcast in the village was beaten with sticks on New Year’s Day. It has recently been argued that the action paralleled the cosmic subjugation of Apophis, a precondition for the New Year to begin. Apparently the man’s behaviour had placed him on a par with the demon.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, some categories of criminals were ‘debaptised’ and received a name which identified them as Apophis.<sup>114</sup> As we have seen above, tomb violators were also called ‘rebels’ (*sbi.w*), a designation which often characterizes Apophis or Seth.<sup>115</sup>

Egyptian thinking thus characterized not only the remote enemies mentioned in the execration texts as manifestations of the Evil One, but some living Egyptians as well.

<sup>107</sup> For the categories of people, see Sethe, op. cit., 60–9; Posener, *CdE* 27, 40 f.; idem, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 74, 397–402; 76, 435–42; 77, 503–11. Sethe thought that the texts were death wishes, but Posener has shown that they actually present lists of dead persons (*CdE* 27, 46; idem, *MDAIK* 16, 266). Very occasionally, the names of Egyptians are not preceded by the qualification *mwt(.t)*, ‘dead one’, (idem, *Annuaire du Collège de France* 77, 511).

<sup>108</sup> Posener, *MDAIK* 16, 268; cf. also the dead Egyptian said to have lost his office (cf. n. 104).

<sup>109</sup> Legal action in the Letters to the Dead, see Sethe and Gardiner, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead*, pl. vii, 13–14, perhaps pl. iv, 5; A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 16 (1930), 21–2; A. Piankoff and J. J. Clère, *JEA* 20 (1934), 158–9, 163–6; R. J. Demarée, *The šh ikr n Rr Stelae* (Leiden, 1983), 213–18, is the most recent study of the texts.

<sup>110</sup> See nn. 104, 108.

<sup>111</sup> For the mechanisms involved in the execration texts, see Posener’s publications cited in n. 101. Identification with Apophis is discussed by the same author in *RdE* 5, 53; *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75, 406–7; *BD* 7. Association with Seth occurs in an execration formula of the Middle Kingdom (CT I, 155c [137]).

<sup>112</sup> P. Chester Beatty III, rt. 11, 1; J. F. Borghouts, *JEA* 59 (1973), 144, with literature.

<sup>113</sup> O. DeM 1265 1, 3–4; see J. F. Borghouts, *GM* 38 (1980), 24; idem, *Nieuwjaar in het Oude Egypte* (Leiden, 1986), 17–18. One could compare the Amenhotep decree cited in n. 63, where a criminal is said to be punished by burning ‘like Apophis on the morning of New Year’s Day’.

<sup>114</sup> Posener, *RdE* 5, 51–6; S. Schott, *ZAS* 67 (1931), 106–10; Borghouts, *JEA* 59, 119–20.

<sup>115</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 7, line 65; fig. 15, line 79.

Offering animals fell in the same class. Therefore, it is in keeping with what we know about Egyptian religious philosophy that criminals could be killed during sacrificial rites.

At this point, it may be useful to recall a statement of Diodorus Siculus, who also reports on the substitution of humans for sacrificial animals.

But red bulls were given up to be sacrificed because of the notion that red was the colour of Typhon, who plotted against Osiris and whom Isis punished for the murder of her husband. They further allege that in earlier days the kings were wont to sacrifice men of Typhon's colour at the tomb of Osiris. Now, few Egyptians are found to be red, although most foreigners are.<sup>116</sup>

Many other classical authors provide similar accounts. While the general reliability of some of these writers has been questioned, others testify to a remarkable knowledge of Egyptian religion.<sup>117</sup> To the classical evidence, recent scholarship has added fresh indications, drawn from indigenous Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom and Late Period.

Thus, Yoyotte devoted a thorough study to the cult of Mut at Heliopolis. His evidence suggests that human beings were burned on the altar of the temple of this goddess.<sup>118</sup> Among his sources are a few liturgical papyri of the Late Period. These documents contain directives for the performance of certain cultic acts and the texts of the hymns and incantations recited on these occasions. As usual in documents of this kind, the clarity of the directives leaves little to be desired.

The first part of the papyri deals with the execration rites with wax enemy figures mentioned above.<sup>119</sup> But the manuscripts also contain versions of the 'Buch von der Abwehr des Bösen'. Like the preceding text, the Book concerns the ritual punishment of the Evil One.<sup>120</sup> Nothing indicates that it describes acts operated on wax figurines. On the contrary, Yoyotte has shown that the ceremony involves human beings representing the great Enemy.

In the introduction, the opposition between the forces of Maat and Isfet is expressed as a legal dispute between Re and the Evil One. The remarkable thing is that the gods are said to have changed themselves into human beings (*rmꜥ*) on this occasion:

Their shape turned into (the shape of) humans in Heliopolis whose children's children exist until the present day. And they are damned that they (i.e. the children of the Evil One) be burned on the brazier of Mut who carries her brother, which envelopes all 'cattle-people'. Those of Heliopolis (the offspring of Re) are standing by and say: 'Re is justified against Apophis!' 4 times; 'Osiris Khontamenti is justified against that weak Seth!' 4 times; 'Osiris N is justified against his enemies!' 4 times.<sup>121</sup>

The primordial legal dispute of two gods is thus rephrased in human terms as the opposition between the human descendants of Re and the Evil One. The former are given instruction to repeat certain utterances four times. This cultic directive makes clear that real people are intended. In their statements, it is stressed that Re and Osiris are justified against Seth and Apophis, the archetypes of Evil; in the preceding lines, the children of

<sup>116</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Book I*, 88; my translation follows that of E. Murphy, *Diodorus on Egypt* (Jefferson, 1985), 114.

<sup>117</sup> J. Gwyn Griffiths, *ASAE* 48 (1948), 409-23 provides a useful survey of the classical evidence. Critical reaction to this article is given in Yoyotte, *Annuaire, EPHE* 89, 29-102.

<sup>118</sup> Yoyotte, op. cit.

<sup>119</sup> *Urk.* vi, 4-59.

<sup>120</sup> *Urk.* vi, 60-147; pp. 145-7 have been published by J.-Cl. Goyon, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 343-7.

<sup>121</sup> *Urk.* vi, 64/65,3-13. The passage is discussed by Yoyotte, op. cit. 77-84.



the latter two are indeed said to have been destroyed by being burned on a brazier. Stripped of its mythologizing disguise, the text appears to describe a public execution of certain people on the altar of Mut's temple in Heliopolis.

Recently, Schulman studied a group of New Kingdom stelae depicting similar events. According to this study, foreigners taken captive during military campaigns were brought back to Egypt, where, in a temple ceremony symbolizing the defeat of the 'rebels', they were killed in public by the king.<sup>122</sup> Other references to burning rituals with human victims are discussed by Leahy.<sup>123</sup>

As we have seen, Diodorus Siculus refers to the substitution of human beings for sacrificial animals. Something comparable is implied by the term 'cattle-people' (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏, *rmṯ ṣw.t*) in the 'Buch von der Abwehr des Bösen'.<sup>124</sup> But who are these people? The answer is provided by a second reference in the same text. This part is written in Middle Egyptian, but the redactor added a translation in Late Egyptian. From this, it appears that the 'cattle-people' were 'people who revolted' (*rmṯ i-iri.w iri.t*) *sbi.w*.<sup>125</sup> This suggests that, by some act of 'rebellion' (*sbi*), certain people revealed themselves as belonging to the class of 'children of the Evil One'. As a result, they were sacrificed like cattle (*ṣw.t*) on the brazier of the local temple. The end of the text lists the crimes committed by Seth, and thus, in all probability, the crimes for which the 'cattle-people' were burned. It is remarkable that *all* are *cultic* crimes. And it is even more striking that the punishments listed in the same part of the text often have exact counterparts in threat formulae of the Late Period.<sup>126</sup>

The historical reliability of this reconstruction is strongly supported by the 'Chronicle of Prince Osorkon' of the Twenty-second Dynasty. Having been informed of transgressions against the Theban temples, Osorkon gives orders to arrest the perpetrators.

Then they were brought to him at once as prisoners, like a bunch of pinioned birds. Then he struck them down for him [the god], they having been brought like goats (*ṣ.w*) on the night of the Feast of the Evening Sacrifice in which braziers are kindled, ... like braziers at the Feast of the Going forth of Sothis. Everyone was burned with fire at the place of his crime [i.e. in the temple].<sup>127</sup>

<sup>122</sup> A. Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards* (Freiburg, 1988), 8–115; M. Defossez, *GM* 85 (1985), 28–30 (reference due to Dr Andrea McDowell). An enigmatic object, which may possibly be a cage for such a victim, has been discussed by A. Grimm, *JEA* 73 (1987), 202–6. Schulman's book has been criticized by R. Müller-Wollermann (*GM* 105 (1988), 69–76), but her criticism does not carry much weight. In rejecting the possibility of ritual executions, she disregards much of the textual evidence, while she fails to adduce parallels for her interpretation of the iconography of the stelae (p. 72).

<sup>123</sup> Leahy, *JESHO* 27, 199–206.

<sup>124</sup> *Urk.* vi, 65,9 and 77,21. Schott read *rmṯ ṣw.t nb.t* as 'alle bösen Menschen', a rendering which is impossible on both grammatical and lexicographical grounds. Firstly, the adjective *nb.t* should precede the 'adjective' *ṣw.t* (cf. n. 16). Secondly, the word *ṣw.t* is not an adjective ('böse') but a noun meaning 'small cattle, goats' (*Wb.* 1, 171,2 does mention a word 𓂏𓂏𓂏, 'Sünde, Böses?', but the reading is by no means certain. The word occurs in Admonitions 12,3 and probably means 'seed' (cf. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1 (Berkeley, 1973), 159)). I follow Yoyotte's rendering, *Annuaire, EPHE* 89, 90, 95–7.

<sup>125</sup> *Urk.* vi, 77,22.

<sup>126</sup> *Urk.* vi, 128/129, 17–146/147,5. Instances of the correspondence are, e.g., the rape of the criminal's wife (cf. n. 67); the god's wrath (*dndn*) in the context of punishment (*Urk.* vi, 133,7, 139,17 and Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, 190 (Saite) for the same as early as the Middle Kingdom, see P. Montet, *Kémi* 3 (1930–5), 47); punishment by the king's knife (*ṣr.t nsw.t*) (*Urk.* vi, 133,11; G. Daressy, *RT* 15 (1893), 175; H. Brugsch, *ZAS* 34 (1896), 84); by the knife (*ds*) of various gods (*Urk.* vi, 143,12 and J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 54 (1968), pl. xxv, 13; Griffith, loc. cit. (n. 77)).

<sup>127</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III. The Bubastite Portal* (Chicago, 1954), pl. 20, lines 35–6; R. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1954), 48–51.

Again, the human victims are compared to goats. Texts like these—Yoyotte cites many others—show that my interpretation of Mo'alla inscription no. 8 can be supported by the Egyptian religious literature. While the sources just analysed are all late, there is also unequivocal evidence from the Middle Kingdom itself.

Some years ago, a survey carried out on the hill facing the entrance to the Middle Kingdom fortress at Mirgissa produced a pit containing thousands of potsherds inscribed with execration texts. It was evident that the 'Breaking of the Red Pots' had been carried out here. In the immediate vicinity there was a burial containing 'un squelette humain en très mauvais état, dans une attitude indéfinissable, membres déjetées, et dont le crâne était absent'. The skull was found a few yards away, together with some pottery, a flint knife, and fragments of red wax.<sup>128</sup> The 'Breaking of the Red Pots' was here evidently not restricted to a symbolic killing. The find provides striking confirmation of Posener's suggestion that criminals were in some cases execrated and killed in a combined rite.<sup>129</sup>

### Conclusion

Mo'alla inscription no. 8 is one of a series of texts describing the death penalty. Hitherto, it was doubted that this type of punishment occurred before the New Kingdom. However, the dossier discussed in this article makes clear that it is repeatedly referred to in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom. From the same period, we have the actual discovery of a corpse which must have been ritually killed (see n. 128). Two points merit special attention.

Firstly, the legal procedures of which Mo'alla inscription no. 8 allows us a glimpse, are of interest. For although the formulae appear never to have been considered as juridical documents, there is no reason why they should not be (see pp. 39, 42 above). The criminal is put to death to serve as a sacrificial 'animal' for the god Hemen. The sacrifice is further stated to take place during one of Hemen's processions. It is well-known that processions could also have a juridical dimension under the New Kingdom, when they were occasions on which gods might voice their opinions on legal matters by means of an oracle.<sup>130</sup> One might wonder whether the Mo'alla text refers to a similar practice, and Malte Römer recently mentioned inscription no. 8 in this connection.<sup>131</sup> Oracles during processions of Hemen are, moreover, known to have occurred under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>132</sup>

Nevertheless, it is hard to decide whether we are facing an oracle text, since Hemen is not said to pronounce judgement himself. He is the beneficiary of the offering, but not necessarily the judge. The legal procedure must have preceded the slaughtering rite, but was Hemen involved here as well? Some texts do refer to trials, and in a few cases the

<sup>128</sup> Vila, *op. cit.* 628–9 and 635; the citation is from p. 629. Ceremonial killings, probably also in the Old or Middle Kingdoms, are also in evidence in a mastaba recently discovered in Tell el-Balamun (Abd el-Malek Ghattas, *ASAE* 68 (1982), 45–9). The context of the find is not suggestive of punitive killings, however. The mastaba was found to contain two corpses with masks of gold foil and many other bodies, each with a hole in the skull. Cf. also the archaic slave burials, or the burial discussed by W. M. F. Petrie, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London, 1912), 33–4 (reference due to Dr Deborah Sweeney).

<sup>129</sup> Cf. nn. 104, 108.

<sup>130</sup> L. Kákosy, *LÄ* III, 600–6.

<sup>131</sup> M. Römer, *GM* 99 (1987), 31. He does not state that the Mo'alla texts describe an oracle, but mentions the processions at Mo'alla in a comparison with oracular processions of the New Kingdom.

<sup>132</sup> Černý, in Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 49–52.

implication appears to be that these legal sessions were the responsibility of (a branch of?) the central government (see p. 38). Whether or not the god (i.e., his priesthood) was involved here is unclear, although in one text the criminals to be burned are said to have been punished by the god himself.<sup>133</sup> It is tempting to read the Mo'alla text in the same way, in which case it provides evidence for oracles long before the New Kingdom. The available evidence is unfortunately much too slender to warrant this conclusion.

The second point of interest is that all texts analysed refer to similar crimes. In the Mo'alla inscription, the criminal is punished for the violation of a tomb, and the same background underlies the references from Assiut (2.3), Beni Hasan (2.4) and Abydos (2.7). The Nubian graffiti (2.5) and the text on stela Cairo CG 1651 (2.2) refer to death as a sanction for damage done to stelae. The Tôd inscription and the Sarenput stela (2.8 and 2.1) speak of harm done to temple cults. Finally, the Demedjbtawy decree concerns infringements of a funerary cult (2.6). Hence, in every case the integrity of sacred installations is at stake. The texts from the New Kingdom and later mention similar sanctions for this category of crimes.

Since the crime was directed against religious institutions, and since the punishment was inflicted in a cultic context (as a sacrifice), it seems certain that they did not view the damage simply in material terms. This is most clearly the case with regard to the Lower Nubian graffiti, which are mere scratchings in the rock. Considerations of material loss can hardly have played a role here; rather, the damage of the writer's name would pose a magical threat to his person. A strong ideological undertone also underlies the Siutian imprecations, where the perpetrators are called 'rebels' (*sbî.w*), a loaded term in Egyptian theology. For the Egyptians, the crime obviously had a moral aspect that was intimately related to mythology. By his acts, the violator revealed himself as a manifestation of Seth or Apophis, the embodiments of disorder. The criminal was thus placed on the same level as the animals slaughtered in temple or funerary cults to symbolize the defeat of evil forces. When viewed from this angle, the punishment was not simply a matter of revenge, although that must often also have been involved. It was rather a method to counter cosmic disorder, that is, to safeguard society at large from pollutive elements. Ideas like these are not peculiar to Egyptian culture. One might compare the treatment of witches in the European Middle Ages, who were associated with the Devil, or similar cases from other cultures throughout the world.<sup>134</sup> Who is to be recognized as a transgressor, and how he should be dealt with, are matters that are often determined by religious considerations. But at the same time, these classifications help to illustrate and maintain the rules in a given community. No matter how odd taboo regulations may appear to be to outsiders, they often play a central part in the social fabric.

I have attempted to demonstrate that, in ancient Egypt, desecration was a taboo for which there were severe punishments.<sup>135</sup> Although it is impossible to determine how

<sup>133</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 15, line 80. Cf. also n. 77.

<sup>134</sup> Cf. M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (New York—Washington, 1966) (see in particular pp. 94–113. I am grateful to Marijke van Kesteren for bringing this publication to my attention); M. Pollock, *La hache du bûcheron. Moralité et mortalité dans un village du Québec* (Moordrecht, 1971), 1–24. A perceptive survey of taboos in ancient Egypt is P. Frandsen, *LÄ* vi, 135–42.

<sup>135</sup> The term 'taboo' may not be entirely justified here. I have used it, nevertheless, to indicate that our sources do not deal with just any offence, but with sacral offences. Moreover, certain texts in Assiut state that the violator is to be despised by his town god and his fellow citizens (Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, 126–7). The verb *bwî*, 'despise', used in this context is related to the noun *bw.t*, which is generally translated by 'taboo' (Montet, *Kémi* 11, 85–111; Frandsen, loc. cit.).

often the sanctions were carried out (for most sources discuss them in hypothetical terms), these texts appear to have a sound legal basis. They also provide us with glimpses into the practical performance of the rituals. Like witch executions, the Egyptian death penalties were probably inflicted in public and were important social occasions.

By his punishment, the criminal is in all respects relegated to the condition of an outsider, losing not only his property and office, but also his life, his identity and the right to be buried. According to some texts, the same inflictions befall his descendants. Moreover, even the possibility of recourse to the gods is cut off, since they no longer accept his offerings. A few texts state explicitly that everyone, god and human alike, has turned himself against the culprit:

May his town god despise (*bwi*) him! May his neighbours (*tkn. w*) despise (*bwi*) him! his house (*hw. t*) being destined to the fire, his estate (*pr*) being destined to the devouring flame (*wnmy. t*)!<sup>136</sup>

These statements envisage some concerted action on the part of the whole community against the violator. They could be simply dismissed as exaggerations, but why should we not take them seriously? From the New Kingdom, we have texts containing similar imprecations. I have already cited an ostrakon from Deir el-Medīna relating how one inhabitant of the village was continually harrassed and mocked by the community. On festival days, he was even beaten with sticks. It is made clear that he was treated in this way because he was a 'hot one'—a standard term for persons of bad character (n. 113). If people were dealt with in such a way for character faults, one can imagine that actual deeds of desecration could stir even more violent reactions. A stela from the Twentieth Dynasty illustrates the involvement of the whole community in the punishment of these crimes. It lays down that 'Amun will change himself into a fighter (*ir. y n 'h*) for him [the hurt tomb owner] as a brother of all people of his city!'.<sup>137</sup> The Siutian texts from the Middle Kingdom can be explained in much the same way.

The communal character of the rites may, finally, explain a feature that perplexed the excavators of the Mirgissa corpse (n. 128). 'Nous avons pensé que la procédure devrait avoir un caractère discret, si ce n'est secret, la raison évidente étant que l'emplacement du dépôt devait être ignoré des gens mal intentionnés. Or, le dépôt est en vue directe, sinon de l'intérieur de la forteresse, mais du haut des ramparts; il était impossible de cacher aux yeux de ses occupants l'animation qui régna un jour sur le dôme voisin ...'.<sup>138</sup> The actual findings thus show that the ritual execution was a public affair, no less than the sacrifices in temples of the New Kingdom and later.<sup>139</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Edel, *Siut-Gräber*, fig. 7, line 71; cf. fig. 15, line 80 and p. 190.

<sup>137</sup> Sottas, *Préservation*, 57.

<sup>138</sup> Vila, *op. cit.* 634.

<sup>139</sup> For public temple rites, see also Schulman, *Ceremonial Execution*, and the discussion on pp. 49–50 above.

**Postscript**

I now believe that the Neferhotep decree (p. 40 above) deals with a sacred area in Abydos rather than with a necropolis (see A. Leahy, *JEA* 75, 41-60). However, I am not entirely convinced by Leahy's view that the area concerned is restricted to the wadi leading to Umm el Qa'ab. The prohibition to enter a sacred region is very uncommon. It is paralleled, however, in the regulations concerning the Osirian tomb area on Biggeh island (see H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Vienna, 1913), v, vii, 22 (§6), 31 (§6), 69, 71-2, 76-7, 78, 80, 82, 86). These regulations were probably taken over from those concerning major Osirian tombs, like the one at Abydos (Junker, *op. cit.* 50, 70, 78, 85-7). Arguably, the Neferhotep decree deals with the tomb of Osiris (and, possibly, the wadi leading to it).

# INTERPRETING THE STORY OF THE SHIPWRECKED SAILOR<sup>1</sup>

By JOHN BAINES

The story of the Shipwrecked Sailor is a complex work of written literature that is based partly on esoteric knowledge. Its superficial presentation looks to folk and oral models in style, situation, anonymity, and treatment of character, making play with traditional and proverbial wisdom. It is not allegorical in any simple sense. The conception of the seventy-four forms of the sun god is encapsulated within the folk/oral treatment, while the deviant wisdom that offerings to the gods are pointless is relativized by being put forward by a god. The core narrative of the end of things is a myth that is linked to moralizing on a modest, domestic scale; this pairing has parallels in religious texts. All these meanings are organized within a cyclical form which exploits first-person narration for ironical effect. The text is not didactic in a straightforward way, but has the unifying theme of experience and how it is confronted.

THE conventional interpretation of the Shipwrecked Sailor has changed slowly from a view of the text as a simple folk story<sup>2</sup> to one of a complex, many-layered narrative in which the traveller moves in space and time to the limit of the cosmos, to a mythical place where he encounters a primordial god who relates to him a moralized vision of the end of

<sup>1</sup> Referred to in the notes as ShS, and in the text by line numbers. Original edition with photographs: W. Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques N°N° 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage Impérial de S-Pétersbourg* ([St Petersburg], 1913), 1-3, pls. i-viii, 1-8. Standard text: A. M. Blackman, *Middle-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932), 41-8 (the hieratic transcription could be improved on a few minor points). Translated quotations display metrical colon and 'line' divisions by means of spaces and '/'. In very many cases the latter agree with J. L. Foster, *SAK* 15 (1988), 93-7.

Selective bibliography of text, translations and studies: W. K. Simpson, *LÁ* v, 619-22. Studies not listed there or appearing later include: J.-L. Chappaz, 'Que diable allaient-ils faire dans cette galère? Recherche sur le thème de la navigation dans quelques contes égyptiens', *BSEG* 3 (1980), 3-7; E. N. Maksimov, 'O vzaimodeistvii religii i fol'klora na primere obraza volshebnogo zmeya iz "Skazki o poterpevshe korablekrushenie"' [On the interaction of religion and folklore, from the example of the magic snake in the 'Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor'], in *Drevnii Vostok*, Sbornik 2, Ak. Nauk SSSR (Moscow, 1980), 120-6 (French abstract p. 212); A. Spalinger, 'An Alarming Parallel to the end of the Shipwrecked Sailor', *GM* 73 (1984), 91-5 (with bibliography); S. Donadoni, 'Il naufragio del "Naufrago"', *BSEG* 9-10 (1984-5), 87-8; D. Kurth, 'Zur Interpretation der Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen', *SAK* 14 (1987), 167-79; B. Radomska, 'Die Insel des Schiffbrüchigen—eine Halbinsel?', *GM* 99 (1987), 27-30; D. Devauchelle, 'Naufragé 184-186', *GM* 101 (1988), 21-5; J. L. Foster, '"The Shipwrecked Sailor": Prose or Verse? (Postponing Clauses or Tense-neutral Clauses)', *SAK* 15, 69-109.

Eberhard Otto's 'Die Geschichten des Sinuhe und des Schiffbrüchigen als "lehrhafte Stücke"', *ZAS* 93 (1966), 100-11, is particularly valuable. I see the text as less didactic than he did.

I should like to thank J. C. A. Baines and David Silverman for advice and help. Christopher Eyre and Richard Parkinson made valuable comments on a draft, emphasizing how rich the text's implications are and how many approaches to it are possible; I do not indicate separately the points I owe to them. I am grateful to the University of Arizona, the Alexander von Humboldt-Stiftung and the University of Münster for facilities granted during work on the text.

<sup>2</sup> See Kurth, *SAK* 14, 167-8, citations 1-4; still maintained, for example, by D. B. Redford, *JSSSEA* 6 (1975), 13-16. The parallel description of Red Sea snakes, which Redford cites from Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, is apt, but it does not exhaust the text's meaning.

the cosmos, and then returns to Egypt.<sup>3</sup> The newer reading does much more justice to the text's meaning, but it has been achieved at the expense of some of the awareness of superficial form implicit in its predecessor, and of what the text itself says or implies about its meaning.<sup>4</sup> It is worth returning to the text to consider its form and associations, and to incorporate additional approaches in order to enhance comprehension of it as a literary whole. If the story is seen as a unity, it should nevertheless be asked whether its meaning is unitary, and whether the various strands point in the same direction or should not be reconciled. Such questions assume that the text is a self-conscious work of literature and not a 'naive' product whose features might be the result of chance.

This point, which seems to be accepted by almost all who have written recently about the text (see n. 2), has important theoretical implications, but these do not need to be pursued here, because, although my discussion implies and exploits the concept of a single author, it aims not to recreate that author's intention but to model meanings available to a modern, and ideally an ancient, audience.<sup>5</sup> In part, it builds on suggestions that some bodies of Egyptian texts and knowledge were exclusive or esoteric.

It is necessary to relate the text to a hypothetical milieu from which its written form may have sprung. Because only one manuscript is known and nothing closely comparable is preserved,<sup>6</sup> interpretation must depend heavily on the reading of the text itself and on thematic or cultural analogies, some of them remote. For the latter exercise, even a unique work can be set in a partly hypothetical context of other literary creations and of non-written practices; interpretations with such a basis may be disproved, but they are potentially more revealing than ones that do not make similar assumptions.<sup>7</sup> What is almost lacking is an indication of how the Egyptians themselves received the text. Here, evidence could come from multiple copies, from the later development of its genre, or from verbal or other allusions, but there is scant trace of such responses.<sup>8</sup> This assessment may be modified by new evidence, but, in comparison with instruction texts in particular, the Shipwrecked Sailor does not form part of a large genre.

<sup>3</sup>The first author to propose this reading, which has been elaborated by others, was G. Lanczkowski, *ZDMG* 103 (1953), 360–71. His 'Parallelmotive zu einer altägyptischen Erzählung', *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 239–60, in which he related the core of the text to Ethiopian religion, seems to me mistaken in method and conclusions. See also n. 7 below.

<sup>4</sup>The chief author to explore the latter aspect was Otto, *ZÄS* 93, 100–11. B. M. Bryan, *Sarapis* 5 (1979), 3–13, follows a similar strategy. See also Kurth, *SAK* 14, esp. 177 no. 2.

<sup>5</sup>This formulation does not do justice to problems of literary intentionality, and in particular ignores issues raised by E. D. Hirsch, *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven and London, 1967); these are tangential here and would need separate discussion.

<sup>6</sup>The text that is nearest in general character is the brief Herdsman's Story, preserved at the end of the manuscript of the Dispute of a Man with his Ba: A. H. Gardiner, *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe und die Hirtengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1909), pls. 16–17; R. Drenkhahn, *LÄ* II, 1223–4; fullest study H. Goedicke, *CdE* 45 (1970), 244–66. See also n. 73 below.

<sup>7</sup>Kurth, *SAK* 14, 170–1, discusses briefly the methodological problem of comparison. I agree with him in preferring to start with the analysis of the preserved text, but his suspicion of comparative approaches is too peremptory.

<sup>8</sup>The allusion to ShS proposed by W. K. Simpson, *JAOs* 78 (1958), 50–1, is made plausible by the use of a *šdm. n. f* form in the appropriate place, since that form does not occur elsewhere in the Late Egyptian text in question (as noted by W. Guglielmi, *WdO* 14 (1983), 153 n. b; see also id., *SAK* 11 (1984), 352–3). The suggestion of N.-C. Grimal, that the question 'Who brought you? Who brought you?' in the stela of Piye is a citation from our text, is insufficiently founded (*La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire* (Cairo, 1981), 64 n. 153; see also id., in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *Livre du Centenaire, 1880–1980* (Cairo, 1980), 64 n. 153). As in other cases, such a formulation is more likely to derive from a common stock of phraseology than from a particular written text. Even if this point is disregarded, the range of Egyptian written literary texts is so incompletely known that a catalogue of citations will almost inevitably be misleading.

### Folk analogies: frame and extended significance

The Shipwrecked Sailor appears more 'oral' in style than most Middle Egyptian literary texts. All preserved Egyptian literature was, however, produced for the small literate élite and should be evaluated within the literate context.<sup>9</sup> It is hard to imagine written copies or written works having a role in the wider culture of the non-literate. This does not mean that the motifs of those works would have been unknown among those without access to writing, but that written texts will not have been the means of communicating them. Thus, although the New Kingdom story of Horus and Seth appears a less élite composition than Middle Kingdom literary works, Gardiner's depiction of it as 'intended for purely popular consumption' does not correspond to a plausible social reality. His picture of its reception at a 'recital by a village story-teller before a squatting circle of guffawing fellaheen' is unlikely.<sup>10</sup> The shape and content of oral tradition are unknown, but the ubiquity of metre<sup>11</sup> is probably related to its use in formal or elevated oral discourse, which should logically have precedence over writing as a context for such a device. Metre could be common to high culture and more general oral practice, and there is every reason to expect that story-telling occurred in both contexts. Continuous written texts will use oral practice as their precedent, but their forms in writing, and in particular their compression, set them far apart from original oral compositions, so that they provide little evidence for oral forms.

The Shipwrecked Sailor should not be considered as earlier than other Middle Egyptian literary texts on the ground that it appears more oral, since this would be to misinterpret its position in relation to the written and the oral.<sup>12</sup> Its 'oral' quality is significant not so much in connection with oral narrative as with other literary texts. Many of its superficial features are markedly simple. Vocabulary and style are plain, while the structure, although elaborately layered, presents a straightforward narrative line, and a whole passage is repeated with only minor variations (23-40 = 89-110). The next preserved work with such ostensibly 'naive' traits is P. Westcar, which was probably composed in its present form more than a century later.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the Shipwrecked Sailor aims at a surface simplicity and plainness as much as other Middle Egyptian 'classics' aim at complexity and richness of expression. Its style and tone contrast more strongly with those of contemporaneous texts than is the case with New Kingdom and slightly later stories, most of which are strongly formulaic; there, the exceptional text is Wenamun.<sup>14</sup> Because of the Shipwrecked Sailor's complex implications and allusions to

<sup>9</sup> For estimated size of élite see J. Baines and C. J. Eyre, *GM* 61 (1983), 65-72; for the context of ShS, compare the comment of Miriam Lichtheim that the text probably comes from the 'educated scribes and ... the ambience of the court' (*Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 1 (Berkeley etc., 1973), 211).

<sup>10</sup> *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: Description of a Hieratic Papyrus* (London, 1931), 10-11.

<sup>11</sup> Summary G. Fecht, *LÄ* IV, 1127-54. The very different analyses of Foster agree here. For the metrical analysis of ShS see also n. 1 above.

<sup>12</sup> There is a general consensus that ShS dates to the Middle Kingdom. Simpson, *LÄ* v, 619, suggests 'Dyn. 11 or early Dyn. 12'. Apart from other considerations, the lack of other literary works datable to the Eleventh Dynasty makes the earlier alternative unlikely.

<sup>13</sup> Translation e.g. Lichtheim, *Literature*, 1, 215-22; new text: A. M. Blackman, ed. W. V. Davies, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians* (Reading, 1988). The ms is normally dated to the Second Intermediate Period, while its advanced form of Middle Egyptian favours composition after the other main Middle Kingdom literary texts. My allowance of a century's gap between ShS and P. Westcar is therefore conservative. See also next note.

<sup>14</sup> For interpretation, see A. Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 64-72, esp. 64 n. 14.



topics that may have been esoteric in the Middle Kingdom, its superficial simplicity can hardly be due to direct derivation from oral folk narrative. In a more plausible socially exclusive oral context, the simplicity would probably be studied; even there, the allusions are likely to have been esoteric for many. Although several features of style and the frequency of repetition may seem close to oral form, the composition as a whole is probably not similar to orally created texts. Rather, the presentation imitates oral form, not least through being organized in three levels of story within story, but adds a dimension of dense allusion and compression instead of the stylistic richness of other texts. The story's status as written literature, as against a papyrus that records an oral composition, is demonstrated by textual corruptions that must have a written origin.<sup>15</sup> It is in any case unlikely that a single recording of an otherwise oral composition should happen to be preserved.<sup>16</sup>

The 'oral' context is thrown into relief by the text's first words, *dd jn*, which probably read 'Speech by the worthy companion', rather than 'Then the worthy companion spoke'. This is not a full syntactic form, but a notation characteristic of written contexts. Although it is not identical with regular written introductions to speeches (normally *dd mdw*, whose associations were perhaps too solemn for use here), it seems to announce that the text is a written composition whose subject is a speech. If the text is then performed orally, as it surely would have been, it acquires an additional formal distancing device.

Thus, the presentation creates a form that the audience to a performance will recognize as imitating an orally-composed folk story, and this context affects and comments on the content. In considering aspects of this oral or folk analogy, my aim is not to make a motif analysis of the text on the lines of folklore studies, but to view its ostensible folk aspects from within its literary context; in this perspective, extended cross-cultural comparisons are irrelevant, however valuable they may otherwise be.

A feature typical of folk stories is that none of the participants is named.<sup>17</sup> The only references to specific places are in the frame, where Wawat and Biga are mentioned (9-10), and in the first sentence of the main story, which seems to allude to Sinai (23-4, repeated 89-90).<sup>18</sup> The characters are known by their titles, *ḥtj-ḥ* and *šmsw*,<sup>19</sup> not even by a precise designation of role, and the king is mentioned in the frame and the narrative, but is not named. Nor is the snake named. This anonymity may have a broader, quasi-mythical significance.

The motif of the bystander (as the *šmsw*/narrator may be characterized), who butts in and monopolizes attention with his own story, probably has a folklore origin as a pretext for a narrative; within the text, it creates tension by implying that what is at stake is not in the narrative but in the context.<sup>20</sup> It might also allow an elaboration into a cycle of stories,

<sup>15</sup> The best example is the phrase *jn-ḥt ḥh. n. j-s(w)* (36-7, 105-6), which occurs twice but is not meaningful as it stands. Cf. Lichtheim, *Literature*, 1, 212, 215 n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The provenance of the papyrus is unknown, cf. Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques*, 1, but the excellent state of preservation suggests that it comes from a collection deposited in a tomb.

<sup>17</sup> Noted, e.g., by Simpson, *LÄ* v, 619.

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. J. Černý, in A. H. Gardiner *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1955), 1-3; R. Giveon, *LÄ* v, 948.

<sup>19</sup> At the beginning of Sinuhe, the protagonist's principal title preceding his name is *šmsw* (R 2). The context is different because Sinuhe is the servant of the king, but the coincidence may be significant.

<sup>20</sup> The obvious English parallel is Coleridge, *The Ancient Mariner*, an elaborate imitation of a moral folktale; but there the context is no more than a pretext.

and the Shipwrecked Sailor could possibly derive from a cycle or imitate one; the setting leaves space for a cycle, because the leader would not give the account of himself for which the narrator offers moral support until he reached the capital, many days' journey north of the frontier. Cycles or cycle contexts are common both in Egyptian literature and in folk stories.<sup>21</sup> The central content of the snake's narrative, however, seems inappropriate to a cycle, so that allusion to cycle form is more likely than derivation from a cycle.

The bystander, as a 'sailor', belongs to a group known in many societies for telling tall stories: to place the narrative in such a person's mouth is to say that it need not be taken at face value.<sup>22</sup> The same point is exploited by Hardjedef in P. Westcar, when he says that the stories preceding his own episode relate to former periods and what is true in them cannot be distinguished from what is invented.<sup>23</sup> In that case, the result is to throw into relief, and thus to validate, the following narratives of the deeds of Djedi, and particularly of the birth of the three future kings. The effect of the choice of narrator on the Shipwrecked Sailor is less clear and may operate on more than one level. Since the central content is so serious that it is not formulated openly, it would not make sense for it to be devalued through the person of the narrator. It is more likely that the text is made into a tall story—which it is on any literal level—and told by an implausible narrator in order to shield that content.<sup>24</sup> The narrator himself may allude to his ambiguous status when he says that he is 'free from excess' (12–13), but this phrase occurs elsewhere in relation to journeys and may be a regular attribute of a *šmsw*.<sup>25</sup> In view of the story that follows, it must, however, have ironical implications.

As noted especially by Bryan (n.4 above), the narrator is far from being a 'hero'—a characteristic he shares with the protagonists of several other narratives.<sup>26</sup> But the hapless traveller, who suffers disaster and does not know how to conduct himself in the situation in which he finds himself, could be a stock character from story-telling rather than a 'comical bad example', as Bryan proposes. His principal significance is as the vehicle of the narrative. This case is not sufficiently clear to show whether the text uses a folk analogy here or not. However this may be, Bryan must be right in assuming that the narrator is a 'type' or genre figure rather than a completely independent creation. His repeated mistakes and misunderstandings may derive from a known repertory of situations, and they have a value in moving the narrative forward. What separates the narrator from a character like Sinuhe (also a *šmsw*, n.19 above), or the peasant in the Eloquent Peasant, is that he appears to be all surface: there is nothing psychological in the transformations through which he passes, and this externality is mirrored by the flat narrative

<sup>21</sup> The suggestion of Simpson, *LÄ* v, 619, that the papyrus may have been longer and subsequently cut just before the preserved beginning, is implausible, because a substantial blank leading edge is preserved and the writing starts at the top of a column; see Golénischeff, *Les papyrus hiératiques*, pl. 1. The text should be treated as being complete as it stands.

<sup>22</sup> This point is implied by Redford, *JSSA* 6, 13–14. Compare an author's comment on the device of using an angler to tell stories because his 'veracity would be automatically suspect': P. G. Wodehouse, 'Preface', in id., *The World of Mr. Mulliner* (New York, 1974), [8].

<sup>23</sup> Broken: K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*<sup>2</sup> (Leipzig, 1928), 28, 18–20; Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, 8, 5–6.

<sup>24</sup> This presentation relates to the use of first person, see p. 69 below.

<sup>25</sup> *Urk.* vii, 62, 5; 66, 3. R. L. B. Moss, in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1932), pl. 48b, l. 3. A further example may be *ibid.* pl. 47b, l. 9, where the otherwise unknown word *hnw* (*Wb.* iii, 104, 10) could be a miswriting of *hnw*.

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Baines, *JEA* 68 (1982), 39.

style. Any moral or didactic message is presented by the narrator only in his and the snake's rather sententious proverbial utterances. Ethical overtones in the narrative and in other features of the context are not realized through character. Here, too, the folk analogy creates a schematic feel to the text; but the context and elaboration of the schema become quite complex, while the first person narrative form precludes any simple identification with folk stories.

The use of stock motifs, situations and formulations is visible in the introduction to the two stories within the story.<sup>27</sup> The *šmsw* begins the last section of his introduction with a proverb, 'The mouth of a man saves him' (17-18), and starts the narrative itself with the formula 'Let me tell you the like thereof/which happened ...' (21-2), which is repeated word for word by the snake (125). The narratives are made into 'proverbial' responses to situations and their explicitly stated nature as analogies for one another is emphasized by the formal parallelism. Contrasting with this framing is the snake's introduction to its narrative, which comes at the crucial centre point (124):

How fortunate is he who tells his (bitter) experience  
(after) the suffering has passed.

This statement, which is also proverbial,<sup>28</sup> is at home in folk and other narrative because it provides a reassuring point of departure for story-telling by anticipating a 'happy end', or at least the protagonist's survival, but its purpose in the text is probably more profound. It comments both on the sailor's narrative and on the snake's, which follows at once, while making a statement that is valid within and outside the text. The statement also looks forward to the snake's moralizing about self-control and how it will assist the sailor to return home—which it will not do in any direct way—and to be reintegrated into society.

This moral contrasts with other implications of the narrative as a whole, which is framed by further proverbial, or at least stereotyped, statements. The narrator's summary to the expedition leader, 'The mouth of a man saves him', must be ironical in context because of the leader's complete silence—an irony of situation paralleled on a grand scale in the Eloquent Peasant.<sup>29</sup> At the end, the narrator says (180-2):

See me after I reached land, after I saw what I experienced.  
Listen, then, [to me]. To hear is good for a man.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> On proverbs see B. Gunn, *JEA* 12 (1926), 282-4; W. Guglielmi, *LÄ* v, 1219-22; F. Junge, *LÄ* iv, 1041-3.

<sup>28</sup> A close parallel is the protasis of an offering formula on a Middle Kingdom stela: 'inasmuch as you wish ... that you should arrive (?-*ph*) in peace, that you should recount your expeditions to your wives ...' (Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*<sup>2</sup>, 88, 21-2). Since this is unlikely to apply well to many who might read the formula, it probably mobilizes a stock situation.

In Western literature there is a well-known opposite saying, which probably draws on a similar background in story-telling and has a similar narrative function, by Francesca da Rimini in Dante, *Inferno*, V:41. This is alluded to in the opening of Alfred de Vigny's *Grandeur et servitude militaires* (e.g. Paris and London, Collection Gallia, n.d.), 3, where in introducing a narrative of his tribulations in military service the author inverts it to make a statement very close to that of the snake.

<sup>29</sup> Text: R. Parkinson, *The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* (Oxford, forthcoming); translation e.g. Lichtheim, *Literature*, 1, 169-84.

<sup>30</sup> Reconstruction uncertain. The lines could read 'Listen, then [to my speech]./To hear is good for a man'.

This again is paradoxical, since all the leader has done is to act as a captive audience, but now he will at last speak, rather than hearing. The contrast between these two statements is made the stronger by their both being preceded by the phrase 'Listen to me' (12, 181–2 [uncertain, see last note]). 'Reaching land' can evoke death and burial, the ultimate mooring and landing, which the snake mentioned earlier (169). Similarly, 'experiencing' (*dpj*) is a key word which takes up the introduction to the snake's narrative to make a formal pattern. There are parallels for these formulations in Sinuhe,<sup>31</sup> but their significance may also be wider and less literary, lying in the recall of general categories and wisdom, which here describe a process and its end in relation both to real events and to the sequence of the narrative, so that their character is different from similar statements in instruction texts.

The last sentence of the text, spoken by the expedition leader (185–6):<sup>32</sup>

Who gives water [to] a bird at dawn  
when it will be slaughtered in the morning?

is proverbial or aphoristic, but, unlike the other proverbs, its meaning is in its allusion and not directly in what it says. It could form an ironical summary of the text's meaning, or its function could relate more closely to the narrative and to the leader's undecided destiny. Spalinger and Devauchelle have enriched its meaning with parallels: the leader alludes to a practice of giving drink to a fowl before it is slaughtered, whose religious, or possibly instrumental, significance is unknown. This excludes the widespread older interpretation of 'who would give water ...' as meaning that such an action would be pointless.<sup>33</sup> Instead, the leader is the bird and the answer to his proverbial question is 'the slaughterer'—the narrator, who gives the 'water' or the narrative. A possible reading of this situation, that the leader sees the narrator as condemning him for an even worse failure than his own on an expedition, is unlikely, because the leader's expedition has returned intact (7–11), even though it has presumably not achieved its goal. The only consistent interpretation I can offer is that the leader is so sunk in despair as to assume that the narrator is attacking, rather than helping, him with his story.<sup>34</sup>

The use of proverbs is distinct from that of narrative formulae and extends the range of the allusions to 'folk' content,<sup>35</sup> but the two devices may have a similar purpose. The morality of the proverbs should be taken seriously, but any reduction of the text to a

<sup>31</sup>The general metaphor of life as a journey on water underlies much of the interpretation of H. Goedicke, *Die Geschichte des Schiffbrüchigen* (Wiesbaden, 1974), esp. p. 82. *dpj* 'experience' has a parallel where Sinuhe is near death from thirst and says 'this is the taste (*dpt*) of death' (B 23). Landing comes at the end: (B 310): 'when the day of landing came'. (The 'mooring' of Ammunenshi's marrying his daughter to Sinuhe, B 78–9, is probably irrelevant here.)

<sup>32</sup>See M. Gilula, in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 75–82; Spalinger, *GM* 73, 91–5; Devauchelle, *GM* 101, 21–5 (Devauchelle's free reading 'does one not give water ...?' cannot be reconciled with the wording of the text, because the question is introduced by 'Who?').

<sup>33</sup>E.g. Kurth, *SAK* 14, 175–6, 178–9, rightly rejecting Otto's optimistic reading of the sentence.

<sup>34</sup>The passage could allude to sacrifice, rather than the butchery of a bird. This could even imply that the leader would be discarded after sacrifice as something useless; cf. H. Junker, in O. Firchow (ed.), *Ägyptologische Studien* [Fs Grapow] (Berlin, 1955), 168–75.

<sup>35</sup>Guglielmi, *LÄ* v, 1220–1, derives proverbs from the twin sources of instruction texts and 'folk' wisdom, whereas my argument assumes that their associations are essentially with the latter. This distinction may be a matter of literary formulation rather than of different social context, but I would prefer to view proverbs as not being distinctive of high culture.

presentation of a rather trite moral message would not do justice to it. The proverbs retain their quality as oral wisdom. They occur both at important junctures and in a scattering throughout the text, and they represent almost mechanical encapsulations of a message. Such a usage is characteristic of oral discourse, oral narrative and other oral genres,<sup>36</sup> and so in a written and high-cultural context places a bracket round what they assert. They state the meaning of the events as if in a folk story, and commented according to folk categories, rather than any absolute meaning. This relativization is countered to some extent by the generality of most of the proverbs' values, which would be good for almost any situation, but the point remains that the text presents both events and some moralizing commentary in a form that makes their validity more internal to its own discourse than general.<sup>37</sup>

While this relativization of the proverbs and their moralizing may not be critical, there is a similar and crucial relativization of the narrative as a whole. The text has been shown, principally by M.-T. Derchain-Urtel,<sup>38</sup> to present in the snake a being who is the creator god, who has survived, perhaps with his daughter Maat, the catastrophe of the end of creation and the loss of the other gods, as symbolized by the seventy-four forms of the sun god. The island this being inhabits is an explicitly fictional location outside the cosmos, time and space; it exists only in the text and will disappear after the narrator's encounter with the snake. This interpretation does not exclude others. In an alternative outlined by W. K. Simpson:<sup>39</sup>

The text can be read in part as an astronomical metaphor; the serpent as the sun, a falling star ..., a stay of four months, a return journey of two months, and a ship which sinks beneath the waves with 120 men only to reappear (?) later.

This reading, and that of Kurth,<sup>40</sup> who sees the narrative as describing the daily solar cycle, agree with Goedicke (n. 31 above) in interpreting it allegorically. The difficulty here is that the allegory elucidates the narrative only 'in part'—which is not the case with the explicit allegory of Truth and Falsehood, whose plot forms a more consistent analogy for the myth of Osiris and Seth.<sup>41</sup> Kurth's and Simpson's readings may add meaning to the narrator's experience by integrating it into other cosmic patterns, giving it both short-term periodicity and the most extended spatial and temporal reference, but they do not exhaust the text's significance or supplant the less neat and more securely founded interpretation of Derchain-Urtel; it is also difficult to choose between them. If such an extra level of meaning is accepted, both the many-layered character of the narrative and its ostensible 'folk' features can remain integral to an interpretation.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> See, e.g., W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London, 1982), 33–6.

<sup>37</sup> Many further examples could exist. Thus, the expression 'who foretells (something) before it has come, who acts before it has happened (i.e. anticipates events: *sr n jjt jrj n hpri*)' on a Middle Kingdom stela (P. A. A. Boeser, *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums in Leiden*, II (The Hague, 1909), pl. 7, 4th col. on right) is related to the crew's qualities of 'foretelling a wind before it had come,/a storm before it had happened' (31–2, 97–8), and may be a common turn of phrase.

<sup>38</sup> *SAK* 1 (1974), 83–104.

<sup>39</sup> *LÄ* v, 620.

<sup>40</sup> *SAK* 14, 173–5.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, II (Berkeley etc., 1976), 211–14.

<sup>42</sup> Kurth, *SAK* 14, 171, makes a similar point as a principle of interpretation, but then seems to prefer a single reading.

This central conception of the end of the cosmos and the rarefied knowledge of the seventy-four forms of the sun god are presented as if they were folklore. Other texts relating to the end of the cosmos, Coffin Texts Spell 1130<sup>43</sup> and Book of the Dead Chapter 175,<sup>44</sup> are preserved in relatively widely disseminated sources and are generally assumed to derive from separate literary compositions rather than being original mortuary texts,<sup>45</sup> but the seventy-four forms of the sun god are known only from the Litany of Re,<sup>46</sup> which is first attested from the New Kingdom, and then only in the most restricted contexts. Following Wente and Assmann,<sup>47</sup> in particular, I assume that the Litany, like the underworld books, was composed in the Middle Kingdom like the Shipwrecked Sailor, although these texts were not recorded on the monuments before the New Kingdom. The list of seventy-four names, which is not a continuous exposition, could well be older than any Middle Kingdom written version, and hence could even be a piece of restricted knowledge from a time before there were continuous texts; I see no means of assessing this question.<sup>48</sup> It follows from Wente's and Assmann's different interpretations that the original context of the underworld books was not the deceased king's destiny in the hereafter but either the regular solar cult (Assmann) or an aspect of it that involved the 'initiation' of individuals (Wente).

The Shipwrecked Sailor could allude to the belief in the seventy-four forms in the Litany (which is an enumeration rather than an exposition), or it could allude to the Litany itself. Whichever it does, the exclusivity of the belief remains: the story mobilizes a piece of restricted sacred knowledge in a non-sacred context. The same would probably apply to Simpson's 'astronomical metaphor' pattern. These pieces of restricted knowledge could hardly have been incorporated into the story without change or dissimulation, so that the indirect character of their use is integral to their presence. Apart from these changes, the 'folk' form may be what makes their use possible at all. The result

<sup>43</sup> CT VII, 461c-471g. Translations e.g. Lichtheim, *Literature*, I, 131-3; E. Otto, in J. Assmann *et al.* (eds.), *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur: Studien zum Gedenken an Eberhard Otto* (Wiesbaden, 1977), 1-18. The Book of the Two Ways, into which it was incorporated, has been discovered in sources from two sites other than el-Barsha (D. P. Silverman, 'Textual Criticism in the Coffin Texts', in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1989), 39-43, and thus was more widespread than had been thought. Spell 1130 is usually considered to be alien in the Book—which itself was not originally a mortuary composition (see e.g. Otto, *op. cit.* 5-6)—and so could have been inserted from a different and more generally known context. However this may be, its spanning of genres probably increased its availability.

<sup>44</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *The Chapters of Going forth by Day or the Theban recension of the Book of the Dead*, III (London, 1910), 72-7. See e.g. E. Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zurich and Munich, 1979), 365-71. The earliest study to relate this text to the Shipwrecked Sailor was G. Lanczkowski, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte*, 5:3 (1953), 1-10. The occurrence of the crucial part of the speech of Atum in Coffin Texts Spell 184 (CT III, 82d-83a = R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, I (Warminster, 1973), 154 [misinterpreted]) establishes its relevance to the period of the Shipwrecked Sailor (see Lanczkowski, *op. cit.*; E. Otto, *CdE* 37 (1962), 250). It is impossible to know whether the preserved form of BD 175 goes back to the Middle Kingdom, but there is no strong indication that it does not; cf. Otto, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 5 with n.12.

<sup>45</sup> E. Hornung, *Das Buch der Anbetung des Re im Westen (Sonnenlitanei)* (2 vols., Geneva, 1975-6).

<sup>47</sup> E. F. Wente, *JNES* 41 (1982), 161-79; J. Assmann, *Re und Amun* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 1983), 22-53. The authors' views differ, but they both assign the original context of the underworld books to the sphere of the living and not of the dead. The most extensive discussion is by Assmann, 'Tod und Initiation im altägyptischen Totenglauben', in H. P. Duerr (ed.), *Sehnsucht nach dem Ursprung* [Fs Mircea Eliade] (Frankfurt a.M., 1983), 336-59 (English translation in *Religion and Philosophy* [n.43 above], 135-59); this is only peripherally concerned with esoteric texts.

<sup>48</sup> For another case where an early date can be made plausible see last note.

is a delicate balance between display and concealment of esoteric material. This transposition is related to the pervasiveness of decorum in Egyptian cultural artefacts.<sup>49</sup>

So far, I have discussed relations between written styles of narrative and other presentation on the one hand and oral and folk styles on the other, but I have not related the narrative to actual folk stories and have relied on connections that have been established between the narrative and Egyptian religious conceptions. This approach is limited, because there are analogies between the plot and those of folk stories. As remarked by Kurth,<sup>50</sup> comparisons with examples of travel, shipwreck, and so forth in other cultures and periods are vague, but they remain relevant, because they form part of the story's accommodation to folk models. There is a convergence between travel abroad as a motif in Egyptian narratives and in folk stories, but Sinuhe and Wenamun show that the theme is not limited to folk-style texts, so that it may have a wider meaning in the Shipwrecked Sailor. I suggest that this meaning is twofold, both making a folk allusion and incorporating a domain of potentiality absent from the immediate Egyptian world. This point is fairly clear in relation to the narrator's journey to the edge of the cosmos, and is part of the text's formal and thematic organization, in which the narrator's journey is both a literal movement and a progression in values and comprehension—which are presented to the audience rather than being assimilated by him (in Sinuhe the progression is more internal).

A final aspect of the folk analogy is its relation to moral or moralizing readings of the text. The harsh fates of the ship's crew and the snake's companions are typical of folk stories, in which the destruction of the wicked, or simply of figures that get in the way of the plot, is commonplace. Later in the text, both the narrator and the snake—after its initial grief—attend no more to the fate of their dead companions. Here, any subtle moral concerns may be irrelevant. Such a perspective can, however, do justice to only one of the text's levels.

One motif that probably relates to a known but deviant strand of wisdom, but is not a folk motif, is the snake's rejection of the offerings the narrator proposes to make to him, on the grounds that he already has in abundance all the items mentioned (149–52). As emphasized by E. Hornung,<sup>51</sup> such a tension in ideas is fundamental to relations between gods and humanity; before people can offer to gods, the gods have everything. Nonetheless, the gods expect offerings and are well disposed if they receive them. The uselessness of offerings implied in the Shipwrecked Sailor can be compared with the attitudes of some harpists' songs, that there is no point in making provision for an unknowable future, in this case human death and the grave.<sup>52</sup> In turn, these notions are related to wider discourse about reputations and the past,<sup>53</sup> with which the snake also contrasts

<sup>49</sup>The possibility of such a concealment was recognized by Otto, *ZÄS* 93, 100–1. For decorum see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster and Chicago, 1985), 277–305.

<sup>50</sup>*SAK* 14, 171.

<sup>51</sup>*Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca NY, 1982), 197–205; see also, citing ShS, G. Fecht, *ZÄS* 100 (1973), 16.

<sup>52</sup>Most recent edition: M. V. Fox, *The Song of Songs and the Ancient Egyptian Love Songs* (Madison and London, 1985), 378–80; see also id., *Orientalia* 46 (1977), 393–423. General study: J. Assmann, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 55–84. The dating of the 'Harpist's song from the Tomb of King Inyotef' is uncertain; it could belong to the Middle Kingdom. The songs as a whole are known from the New Kingdom, but their context existed earlier, and the associated ideas may have existed too.

<sup>53</sup>Cf. J. Baines, in R. Layton (ed.), *Who Needs the Past?* (London, 1988), 131–49.

offerings (159–60). The idea that offerings are useless is known from the Admonitions,<sup>54</sup> but its significance is different there, being related first to personal magical and religious concerns and only secondarily to divine cult. The chief concern there seems to be that there is no contact between human and divine, and the gods do not hear and respond to human attention; this is the opposite of the context of the Shipwrecked Sailor, but in the story this issue is not central, because the myth it implies has a different focus. Doubt about the efficacy of human action toward gods is probably as widespread as gods. When the snake exploits this idea, the situation is ironical, for a god who does heed a man is telling that man that he need not heed the gods in a traditional way; he then even gives to the man almost exactly what the man had been planning to offer him. Because the idea that offerings may be ineffective is so general, it is difficult to relate it to a social or religious setting, but it is important that this was not a unique insight. At the same time, the snake's own story of suffering shows that there are limits to the efficacy of divine, as well as human, provision.

### Myth and morality

Folklore supplies a frame, plot, and several other features for the text, but, on a conventional understanding that folk stories do not incorporate central religious beliefs and values whereas myth does incorporate them, the core idea of the end of the world and the survival of the creator as a snake is mythical rather than folkloric. The resulting text is not a myth, although mythical literary narratives seem to have existed during the Middle Kingdom.<sup>55</sup> Instead, the mythical part is encapsulated within a folkloric frame and is present chiefly as an allusion and a very indirect short narrative. Such allusive use of mythical material is normal in Egyptian texts. One distinctive feature here is that the mythical content is given a moralizing slant by the snake's story and comments on it. More critically for the myth, the folk context subverts the veracity and plausibility of the narrative which conveys it (as discussed in the last section). It is unlikely that the myth is devalued by this treatment. The restricted knowledge it contains is, rather, protected in order to be presented where it would otherwise not occur.

It is an extension of normal Egyptological usage to describe the conception of the end of the cosmos, which refers to the future, as a myth, but this is appropriate, because it is given a narrative structure, is placed in the past within the story, and has a present meaning and relevance through the abrogation of space and time.<sup>56</sup> The problematic

<sup>54</sup> Fecht, *ZÄS* 100, 6–16.

<sup>55</sup> The clearest-seeming example is the Horus and Seth fragment from Illahun, F. Ll. Griffith, *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), I, pl. 3, no. VI.12; II, 4. Assmann (*GM* 25 (1977), 33 n.52), suggests that this narrative may have formed part of a magical spell (later parallel: C. Sturtewagen, *ASAE* 69 (1983), 241–5). While this is possible, nothing in the text itself points in that direction. Some New Kingdom mythical narratives in magical contexts adhere to literary conventions and may have had a literary origin, and this could be the case here; see esp. Re and Isis: J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden, 1978), no. 85, pp. 51–5, with refs. p. 122. The Herdsman's Story is also relevant here (n.6 above). Whether P. Westcar recounts a 'myth' or not, it is in a different category from those texts; on the related birth cycle see J. Assmann, in id. *et al.*, *Funktionen und Leistungen des Mythos* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 1982), 13–61. See also next note.

<sup>56</sup> This leaves aside the question of when myth became a widespread form of religious discourse, which is relevant because the existence of narratives about the gods has been denied before a relatively late date; see Assmann, *GM* 25, 7–42, building on Schott in particular. There has been no critique of these discussions, but see E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* IV, 280–1; Baines, *JNES* (in press).



nature of such narratives can be seen in this instance, because the snake's short tale (126–32; ten metrical lines) is presented as a separate unit, followed by the moral derived from it, with little overlap between them; it appears almost like a short text incorporated in a larger one, although there is no reason to think that this is the case. Rather, this brief central passage acquires an extra focus by being 'detached' in this way.

This linking of the myth of the end of the cosmos with moralizing occurs in the Shipwrecked Sailor, CT 1130, and BD 175. In each, the moral gives either spiritual or domestic values more weight than fame, success, or wealth. The Coffin Text states that the human condition was created to promote equality and good conduct in the face of death—a conception probably related to the community of the living and the dead.<sup>57</sup> In the following passage, which may derive from a separate source,<sup>58</sup> this statement is relativized by the declaration that everything will end and start again, but the implications of this still broader context are there related only to the text's mortuary purpose. In BD 175, the creator offers as blessings to Osiris, who is to survive after the end of the cosmos and with whom the deceased is identified, 'transfiguration in place of water, air and (sexual) gratification, and peace of heart in place of bread and beer'.<sup>59</sup> In the Shipwrecked Sailor the moral is less clear. After the destruction of his 'companions', the snake seems to have achieved equanimity by mastering his grief. This is compared by implication with the loss of the ship's crew, but the snake's speech then looks forward to the narrator's return to the family, which is 'better than anything', a consummation that depends on 'controlling' his 'heart' (132–4). In this, he will neglect the role of the expedition leader for that of the normal individual—just as the values of CT 1130 are applied to any and all of humanity—but he does not then do so in the continuation of the text.

The moral the snake derives from its experience is the bleakest and most paradoxical element in the text. After the destruction of the other beings with whom one has lived, and of the cosmos, so the mythical reading would imply, all that is left is to display fortitude in the face of loss. If the snake is the creator, it is in some sense absolved of responsibility for the loss, which is left to a physical agency—a shooting star—rather than a volitional one. A reading in moral terms might seem forced because of the supra-moral and supra-personal character of these events, but it should be retained, since the snake presents it explicitly in this light, as, by implication, does the frame for the entire text. The issue of free will and divine knowledge is also implied by the snake's narrative and conditional foretelling of the future<sup>60</sup>—although those abstract terms may over-assimilate the material to Western categories. The parallels of CT 1130 and BD 175 show a moralizing reading of a myth which seems to take it away from its natural context. CT 1130, too, absolves the creator for theodicy. Myths tend to be morally neutral or ambivalent and seldom have an explicit moral message, and this moralizing is one of the features that has led commentators to consider these texts as literary, rather than conventionally

<sup>57</sup> See n.43 above. See also J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester* (Glückstadt, 1970), 58–70; Baines, *JEA* 73 (1987), 80–1, 86–8.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Otto, in *Fragen in die altägyptische Literatur*, 15–18.

<sup>59</sup> This is the version of BD 175: Budge, *Chapters of Going Forth by Day*, III, 73, l. 12; CT III, 82d–83a reads: 'I have set transfiguration after(?) copulation, joy after desire (?-*jwt-jb*), and peace of heart after eating bread'; see Otto, *CdE* 37, 250–1. For *m-znw* 'after' see M. Gilula, *JNES* 28 (1969), 122. Here, this may mean that in a future life, 'after' this life, transfiguration etc. will replace the more basic satisfaction of desires and needs. See also n.43 above.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. G. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott in den "Mahnworten des Ipuwer"* (Heidelberg, 1972), 222.

mortuary, and instrumental in purpose. Neither text has the formal characteristics of a mythical narrative.

This mythical context is part of the wider 'historical' predicament of society and cosmos. The ultimate fragility of Egyptian conceptions of social and world order may be compared with the notion that all will end, to which the snake gives such vivid expression, while certain features of the maintenance of order, such as the restriction of texts relating to the solar cult, parallel the evocation of esoteric knowledge, and especially the closely related seventy-four forms, in the story.<sup>61</sup>

A final 'mythical' element is the island. This is not itself a myth, but it probably relates to conceptions like the ideal agricultural existence of the Fields of Ealu, which are attested from the Pyramid Texts on, and most characteristically in the vignette to BD 110.<sup>62</sup> The specific point of comparison here is that the island turns out to be cultivated (47-52). Any evocation of the Fields of Ealu must relate to a different domain from the 'eschatological' narrative of the destruction of the snakes, so that no general vision of the afterlife or last things is created; the island is also not depicted as mortuary. Its real existence within the narrative is rendered problematic by the statements of the snake that it is an 'island of the *ka*' (114) and that the narrator 'will never (or did never?) see this island, which emerged from (or will become?) the waves' (153-4; translation uncertain). Thus, something integral to Egyptian beliefs about the afterlife, and mythical rather than folkloric, may be transformed into the model for a fictitious, morally paradigmatic element in the story. Such a treatment would be inappropriate in anything but a literary fiction.

This need not exhaust the island's meaning or associations, because it could also be related to the primeval hill or first created matter,<sup>63</sup> whether this reading is apt depends in part on the rendering of the problematic ll. 153-4 (see above).<sup>64</sup> In the cyclical view of CT 1130, the place of the end of things could also be that of their beginning; the cultivated character of the island does, however, speak against a strong connection here.

### Form

Like Sinuhe, the Shipwrecked Sailor has an internally cyclical form, in this case A B C D C' B' A', where A, A' is the frame of the *šmsw* and leader, B, B' the narrator's departure and return, C, C' his life on the island, and D the central narrative of the snake.<sup>65</sup> In A, A', narrator and leader occupy normal roles of the Egyptian élite, while C, C' is a paradisaical analogy for human life, in which the divine can also be experienced.

A linear reading through the breaks in continuity creates difficulties, among which is the contradiction between the domestic ideal of the snake's presentation and the social integration and success of B, in which the narrator starts as an expedition leader, like the leader he is addressing; in B' he receives rewards for a successful homecoming.<sup>66</sup> Thus,

<sup>61</sup> See Assmann, *Re und Amun*, 22-53. On pessimism, see also id., in D. Hellholm (ed.), *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (Tübingen, 1983), esp. 352-7.

<sup>62</sup> For the Fields of Ealu see e.g. J. Leclant, *LA* 1, 1156-60; for the vignette see Hornung, *Totenbuch*, 216-18.

<sup>63</sup> For the topography of the world of creation, see R. B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator* (Wiesbaden, 1985), 42-51.

<sup>64</sup> Yet other islands, such as the Island of Fire of mortuary texts (R. Grieshammer, *LÄ* 11, 258-9), might possibly be brought into relation with the story.

<sup>65</sup> Compare the diagram of Kurth, *SAK* 14, 176 fig. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Noted by Bryan, *Sarapis* 5, 8-9. I do not accept her view that the narrator presents himself as a member of the crew.

as when Sinuhe is recalled to Egypt, his possession of a wife and family in Palestine becomes irrelevant, so the apparently modest ideals of the snake, with their paradisaical island analogy, become irrelevant in the context of the élite member's integration and ambitions, as expressed in his promotion on return to Egypt.<sup>67</sup> The text should not be pressed too far here, because nothing says that the narrator did not rejoin his family; this is not a contradiction but a matter of focus. In narrative terms, this shift also relates the narrator's story more closely to his message for the leader, who needs to present his expedition to the king: this progressive departure from and return to the 'plot' has structural advantages. The fate of the drowned sailors may similarly be irrelevant to the rest of the text.

A more difficult feature of this structure is that the snake god's request to the narrator, to 'place his good name (reputation) in your town' (159–60) when he gets back to Egypt, is not mentioned when the return takes place. The action could go without saying—since the snake asks for it to be done, it is done—but it is a little paradoxical, because neither the snake nor any other character is named. This anonymity is paralleled in CT 1130.<sup>68</sup> Another narrative analogy is with the 'true' name of Re, which Isis succeeds in extracting from him in the story of Re and Isis, but the audience never learns it (n. 55 above). The point of the story and of its incorporation in magical spells would be lost if it were revealed; similarly, if the snake were named, it would lose much of its aura, and would no longer be unknown (148) to people. More generally, the restricted knowledge exploited in the text requires that much be alluded to rather than named; in a different sense, this is a widespread feature of the use of myth in Egyptian texts (n. 56 above).

In two places the text seems to conceal identities by means of partly structural devices. In the first, the snake says to the narrator that '(the) god' has caused him to live and brought him to the island (113). Since the snake is a god and subsequently completes the rescue, the 'god' could be himself; his third-person allusion to himself is then a concealment.<sup>69</sup> Alternatively, the 'god' could be the generalized deity common in instruction texts and it would be difficult to say which god might be meant, apart from a notion that delivery from a catastrophe would be due to a divine agency which would not need to be specified.<sup>70</sup> The former of these readings is the more economical and probably to be preferred. The second mystification comes at the end, where the frame refers to the narrator in the first person: 'Then he (the leader) said to me (the narrator)' (183), apparently blurring the distinction between the levels of the story (in the schema above, this section is A').<sup>71</sup> This detail can hardly be an error of first person for third, because use of the third person would here require a naming of the *šmsw* by title, rather than a pronoun. Either it can be taken as a more complex corruption of the text, which is possible, or it must be interpreted as it stands. In the latter case, there could be an extra level to the structure, so that the narrator's story included his interlocutor's response in a way that was not revealed until the end. The introduction in the first line of the story

<sup>67</sup> For Sinuhe, see Baines, *JEA* 68 (1982), esp. 43 for a similar argument on the irrelevance of Sinuhe's personal religious practice.

<sup>68</sup> See Otto, in *Fragen an die altägyptische Literatur*, 6. On names and anonymity of gods, see E. Brunner-Traut, *LÄ* 1, 281–91; H. Brunner, in H. von Stietencron (ed.), *Der Name Gottes* (Düsseldorf, 1975), 33–49.

<sup>69</sup> See Otto, *ZÄS* 93, 107–8; Bryan, *Sarapis* 5, 8.

<sup>70</sup> On the unnamed deity in instruction texts, see Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 49–60.

<sup>71</sup> On interrelations between frame and main narrative, see L. Koenen, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, 22 (1985), 191–2 with n. 117.

would then be the only element that gave a neutral setting. Such a structure would also be an artifice, seemingly implying a position in a cycle. This detail is another indication of complexity of levels.

The most salient formal characteristic of the main narrative is that it is in the first person. Several other literary narratives are told in this way,<sup>72</sup> but they are not closely comparable with the Shipwrecked Sailor. The slight but significant third-person frame hardly affects the audience's immersion in the first-person narrative, although this impression could be different if the text were part of a cycle, perhaps consisting of first-person narratives. First person is not a normal form for narratives of myths or folk stories, so that its literary use to present the former through the latter creates an initial irony and suspension of belief. The same general point probably applies to another Middle Egyptian narrative in which a human being meets a deity, the Herdsman's Story (n.6 above). There, the paradox of the literary first person (singular and plural) is particularly strong, because the text incorporates a non-literary magical spell.<sup>73</sup>

Another analogy for first person is the speech of a deity or aretalogy.<sup>74</sup> This may be significant, both because related forms occur in more narrowly literary texts such as Admonitions,<sup>75</sup> and because the thematically relevant CT 1130 is such a speech.<sup>76</sup> The snake's narrative can be compared with the latter, from which it differs in presenting its topic in a pure, uncommented form; while the spell exhibits narrative features, it has a didactic and thematic organization.

Thus, the use of first person has contrasting implications in relation to the text's general structure. It demonstrates that what might otherwise be considered a folk story (the text could not be mistaken for a 'true' narrative of a myth) is something else, while it allies the core speech of the snake with the most privileged and serious, but still artificial, form of divine discourse.<sup>77</sup> At the same time, the personal form has small-scale effects on how the narrator is presented, allowing irony and indirection that would be evident to the audience. There is a contrast in implication, which is common to many narratives, between the untrustworthy narrator and the quality of testimony in a first-person narrative about an awe-inspiring experience.<sup>78</sup>

The first-person form is not used to any great extent for the oblique treatment of character (p. 59 above). Its potential here is clearest at the beginning, where the silent 'interlocutor' is a foil for the garrulous speaker and subsequent narrator. Later, the narrator progressively discovers, but does not state explicitly, that the island is cultivated

<sup>72</sup> See Baines, *JEA* 68, 35. The list could be extended.

<sup>73</sup> See M. Gilula, *GM* 29 (1978), 21-2; the text is CT VII, 36m-r = Herdsman's Story (n.6 above), 17-22. See also J. R. Ogdon, *GM* 100 (1987), 73-80. Ogdon's suggestion that the Coffin Text borrows from the story has no clear foundation.

<sup>74</sup> See especially J. Assmann, *LÄ* I, 425-34. The first line of the text can be related to this point, see p. 68 above.

<sup>75</sup> See e.g. Fecht, *Der Vorwurf an Gott*, 120-36.

<sup>76</sup> BD 175, whose core passage is a dialogue, uses a similar presentation.

<sup>77</sup> This has an original context in first-person divine speeches in temple relief, which are the earliest preserved continuous texts; cf. J. Baines, in id. *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 131. I would retain the past, and so partly 'narrative', reading of these speeches, against P. Vernus, in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Pharaonic Egypt, the Bible and Christianity* (Jerusalem, 1985), 307-16.

<sup>78</sup> The parallel with a theophany drawn by Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 128-35, is valid in literary terms, but I doubt whether it shows what the Egyptians considered to be a true theophany; see my *Fecundity Figures*, 143-4.

(47–52), so that it belongs to the domain of culture rather than nature, as well as having paradisaic associations. This uncommented revelation is probably made more effective by first-person narration, which conveys the discovery economically.

### Didactic aspects and organizing motif

Bryan's discussion<sup>79</sup> centres on the narrator's character, which she relates to ideals of behaviour enjoined in instruction texts, against many of which he offends. Her parallels are valuable in illustrating the homogeneity of Egyptian literary phraseology, but her conclusions are problematic, because the narrator's predicament cannot be compared with the formalized social contexts of the instruction texts, while the folk analogy militates against taking the phraseology as representational of itself—that is, the analogy does not suit a conventionally didactic text. There is a distinction here between frame and narrative; in the frame, the phraseology may be well fitted to its ostensible purpose. The first few sentences (1–11) look to the different language of royal or non-royal inscriptions about campaigns abroad,<sup>80</sup> and provide an apt context for the rest of the narrative. After them comes the direct, moralizing address to the leader which creates the motivation for the specific story told (12–19). This contains the closest parallels for conventional moralizing and contrasts with the narrator's actions in the story, but the significance of this opposition lies in its relativization and mobilization of the context and of the following narrative, rather than in a moralizing commentary on its teller's actions. By contrast, the snake's moralizing (132–4) uses phraseology similar to didactic texts and epithets of praise in biographies, but its exotic position must mark it as distinct from normal utterances of such sentiments, which are in themselves unremarkable: the values are striking because of their paradoxical placing. Only through integration with the text's total statement could they be generalized, so that it is difficult to say what they signify.

The narrator's presentation of himself and his ineptness before the snake may be both ironical and didactic. His initial exhortation on how to behave before the king favours this view, because his behaviour before the snake is almost the opposite of what he recommends<sup>81</sup>—although he does succeed in replying, which is more than Sinuhe does in a similar predicament before the king (B 252–6). A reading of this irony is that it shows that, despite a failed mission and initial inability to cope with a new situation, one may return and 'reach land' successfully; the injunction to 'see me' at the end would encapsulate this idea. The failure is not stated in as many words, but could be understood by the leader, or by the audience. This reading implies that there is both self-conscious irony of the narrator and irony addressed to the audience. On such an interpretation, both the text's 'teaching' and its literary framing are relativized in various ways. The 'teaching' remains internal to the text rather than general and should not be seen as giving the whole a primarily didactic purpose.

There is another sense in which an apparently moral or didactic notion can form an organizing principle whose meaning may not be only didactic. If the text's literary state-

<sup>79</sup> *Sarapis* 5, 3–13.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. J. Baines, in G. Dreyer and J. Osing (eds.), *Form und Mass ... Festschrift für Gerhard Fecht* (Wiesbaden, 1987), 43–61.

<sup>81</sup> Bryan, *Sarapis* 5, 3–13. Her further discussion, however, seems to assume that the narrator's irony is unconscious. This may be true in part, but it is difficult to accept as a whole, because he reports episodes like the snake's laughing at him (149), which he would hardly do if he were not aware of the bad figure he cut.

ment is summarized, it can be said to be about confronting, accepting and making the best of adverse experience, and, in the narrative context, about presenting it to others so that it may have worth. Verbal associations of the terms show that this experience, or 'taste', is bitter or adverse. There is a further, ultimate sense in which such experience has meaning, since it leads to death and the passage into the next life and, so the snake's moralizing would imply, creates a cosmically transcendent principle which at the same time refers values back to the simplest and most domestic. At the end, the blandness and apparent optimism with which the narrator presents his 'reaching land' is gainsaid by the phrase itself; dying, for which it is a euphemism, is always ambivalent, whatever one's hopes. Death may not be the primary reference here, but it must be an association.

The focus on adverse experience also has implications for the narrator's presentation of events and the leader's final comment. The narrator begins by saying that the expedition from which they are returning has been successful, at least in returning to Egypt intact, but he then implies that its aims have not been achieved. However the leader's response is interpreted, he does not believe the expedition has been a success. Thus, the 'pessimism', which according to Kurth needs explanation as a distinctive feature,<sup>82</sup> is integral to the text's organization and themes. There could be an irony in the leader's not accepting the optimism that experience can be turned to good effect, but he may be countering implicitly that the catastrophe is yet to happen. As an 'audience', he can be related to the wider audience of the text—which is not to say that his view should be adopted wholesale.<sup>83</sup> His response can also be compared with the inserted stories in the Dispute of a Man with his Ba<sup>84</sup> in giving an indirect, terse and hopeless illustration for an elaborate address. If the leader were to arrive at the king, all would probably be forgiven, but the point of the situation is that he has not arrived, and is thus open to starker alternatives. His predicament parallels that of the snake at the catastrophe, before it assimilated the lesson it teaches, and in this way it again mobilizes the esoteric knowledge on which the snake's central story is based.

The morality of experience is crucial in the introduction, in the snake's presentation of its narrative, and in the conclusion. Like many other features, it has an internal utility in motivating the narration, apart from any wider 'moral' significance it may possess. This organizing principle of experience is not necessarily didactic; it may have a more broadly aesthetic and literary meaning. Many major works of literature, including ones of great extent, are often regarded as having single organizing themes, such as ambition, revenge or destiny, but it does not follow that they can be reduced to moral statements about those themes.<sup>85</sup>

This line of argument stretches principles of interpretation, but may be useful in assimilating Egyptian works to wider literary types. Also, the text's comments on itself stress the centrality of experience. These should not be seen as absolutes, but as contextually significant orientations. In the situation of the 'traveller', experience and how it is mastered are crucial to ultimate destiny. By association, this travel may be the

<sup>82</sup> *SAK* 14, 175–9.

<sup>83</sup> Here, I give more weight to his position than does Kurth, *SAK* 14, 176–9.

<sup>84</sup> Cols. 56–85; e.g. Lichtheim, *Literature*, 1, 165–6.

<sup>85</sup> An explicit, if remote analogy is Henry James's characterization of the theme of his *The Portrait of a Lady* as a 'certain young woman affronting her destiny': 'Preface' to *The Portrait of a Lady* (New York, 1908 edition), xii. Compare the comment of Graham Greene on the motif's adequacy to sustain a narrative: 'Introduction' to *The Portrait of a Lady* (World's Classics, London etc., 1947), v–vi.

journey of life itself, but the text's meaning does not reduce to that, any more than it can be abstracted from the *élite* milieu of the narrative and that milieu's phraseology.

### Conclusion

This thematization of experience must be related to other aspects of the story. In some respects, the Shipwrecked Sailor contrasts here with a text such as *Sinuhe*, whose biographical structure militates against its being summarized in terms of a single theme.<sup>86</sup> The notion of experience, which could apply to a work without supernatural overtones, may seem to sit awkwardly with the snake's esoteric narrative, just as the moral the snake draws is not necessarily the obvious one. But to insist on this discrepancy would be to use inappropriate unifying arguments. The text is diverse, but in a different way from *Sinuhe*, and its organization is on the two planes of human experience and cosmic event or myth. This full exploitation of myth in a text that does not recount a myth is alien to modern literary traditions. A further aspect that is so prominent as to form a distinct level of organization and meaning is the structure of story within story within story. The thrust of this is partly aesthetic, demonstrating a concern with form for its own sake, but it may also evoke the folk analogy by keeping the activity of story-telling to the fore throughout.

The Shipwrecked Sailor cannot be interpreted fully by any simple strategy or on any single interpretive assumption. I have used various approaches and have hardly asked whether these cohere to create a single meaning. In narrative terms, the text covers such a variety of events and such a span of space and time that loose ends are to be expected, particularly in a small compass; and works of fiction that tie up all their ends are seldom among the richest. The text's meaning may be ultimately single, but that meaning may not be analysable in any normal sense, being created rather in the assimilation of the brief whole. The unifying motif of how one masters experience does not seem close to the esoteric aspects, although those who were involved with concealed knowledge might not have agreed. There could be a tension between the lesson of experience and the esoteric knowledge at which the text hints, which would be achieved by access and by exclusion of others rather than by action or passion.

Despite its superficial plainness, the text is rich in allusion and association.<sup>87</sup> Much of this allusion must be lost to the modern reader, and the identification of new elements could alter readings. I have not attempted a comprehensive analysis or a close verbal reading. The apparent denseness of allusion may, however, be in part an aspect of the story's being an alien cultural artefact, rather than being specific to this text, so that the salience of this feature is difficult to assess.

My strategy has been to interpret the text in terms of its assumed literary character, emphasizing the significance of the frame and assuming awareness of form in author and audience, as well as an exploitation of levels of oral and literary discourse. In pursuing literary meaning, this approach may go beyond what an ancient audience would have done—as well as falling short in other ways. Such an overstepping is part of literary interpretation and of integrating a work within widely applicable modes of analysis. The work's meaning can only be recovered by taking risks; the Shipwrecked Sailor is about, and rewards, risk and experience.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Baines, *JEA* 68, esp. 33–8.

<sup>87</sup> Compare the comments of Otto, *ZÄS* 93, 103.

# THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL *SDM(.F)/SDM.N(.F)* AS VERBAL VERB-FORMS IN MIDDLE EGYPTIAN\*

By MARK COLLIER

The current widely-accepted view of the suffix conjugation is that developed by Polotsky, according to which verb-forms are seen as transpositions of the verb, behaving as the substitutional equivalents of the non-verbal parts of speech (noun, adjective, or adverb). However, it is argued that the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(f)* after *mk* and *ist* do not submit to a substitutional analysis as adverbial forms. In this construction, the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(f)* (with the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal construction) belong substitutionally with initial main clause formations, which are unconverted/non-transposed patterns, and contrast with genuinely converted/transposed (true subordinate) clause formations, which cannot occur after *mk* and *ist*. This suggests that the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(f)* should be analysed as unconverted/non-transposed forms: i.e. as the Middle Egyptian verbal *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(f)*. This analysis is shown to account for the well known 'adverbial' properties of these forms without invoking adverbial substitution.

## 1. Introduction

OVER the past fifty years, the work of Professor H. J. Polotsky has led to a fundamental re-evaluation of the role of the verb in Middle Egyptian syntax.<sup>1</sup> To him is due the current widely-accepted organization of the simple suffix conjugation into three morphological forms: the that-form, the relative form and the circumstantial form. These forms are, according to Polotsky, 'transpositions' of the verb into, respectively, a nominal, adjectival and adverbial form, by a 'syncategorisation' of the verb with these other parts of speech.<sup>2</sup> Central to this analysis is the premise that the syntax of these forms can be reduced, via the principle of substitution, to the distribution of nouns, adjectives and adverbs.<sup>3</sup>

\*For comments on an earlier draft of this paper, I am grateful to Aidan Dodson, Bill Manley, Dr Stephen Quirke, Professor H. S. Smith, and Dr John Tait.

<sup>1</sup>For a full bibliography of Polotsky's work up until 1978, see A. Shisha-Halevy, in *Studies presented to Hans Jakob Polotsky*, ed. D. W. Young (Beacon Hill, 1981), 559-64. For Middle Egyptian, his most important works are: *Etudes de syntaxe copte* (Cairo, 1944), part III; 'Egyptian Tenses', conveniently in *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem, 1971), 71-96; 'Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique', *Israel Oriental Studies*, 6 (1976), 1-50 ('Transpositions').

<sup>2</sup>Polotsky, 'Transpositions', 2.

<sup>3</sup>See particularly Polotsky, *Lingua Sapientissima*, ed. J. D. Ray (Cambridge, 1987), 18-19 and 'Transpositions', 2.



However, in this paper it is argued that the occurrence of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*<sup>4</sup> after the initial particles *mk* and *ist*<sup>5</sup> in literary Middle Egyptian<sup>6</sup> does not submit to a substitutional analysis of these forms as adverbial verb-forms.<sup>7</sup> It is proposed that the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* are to be analysed simply as verbal verb-forms (i.e. non-transposed forms), an analysis which requires a reconsideration of the role of the transposition of the verb in the verbal system of Middle Egyptian.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Constructions introduced by the initial particles *mk* and *ist*

In literary Middle Egyptian, the initial particles *mk*<sup>9</sup> and *ist* can precede the following patterns:<sup>10</sup>

(a) *sentence with nominal predicate*

(1) Sh.S. 159–60: *mk hrt. i pw im. k*

See, it is my due from you.

sim. Adm. 10,2; Peas. B1,45–6; B1,46; Ptah. 11,8; Westc. 10,4. *ist*: BH. 1, 26; 1, 166–7.

<sup>4</sup>For the possibility of a circumstantial form of the prospective *sḏm(.f)*, see Polotsky, ‘Transpositions’, 32. This form is not discussed in this paper, since it is the initial (nominal) prospective form which should occur after *mk* and *ist* (cf. n.9 and refs.).

<sup>5</sup>A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup> (Oxford, 1957) (*EG*<sup>3</sup>), §§234 and 231 respectively. This paper concentrates on *mk*, the most common of the initial particles which exhibit the behaviour investigated here. The examples of *ist* are supplemented by some Middle Kingdom inscriptional material and examples of the related particle *ti* (*EG*<sup>3</sup>, §243).

<sup>6</sup>See G. Posener, *RdE* 6 (1951), 33–40 for a list of literary Middle Egyptian texts. The instructions of Hardedef, Ptahhotep and (to) Kagemni are included here on grammatical grounds. Only material from pre-Nineteenth Dynasty copies is utilized. The exemplification here thus complements Johnson’s examples from Middle Kingdom letters (next note).

<sup>7</sup>For a compelling attempt to analyse *mk* + circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* in accordance with Polotsky’s transpositional view of the verb, see J. H. Johnson, in *Festschrift W. Westendorf. Studien zu Sprache und Religions Ägyptens*, 1, ed. F. Junge (Göttingen, 1984), 71–85. Johnson tentatively analyses the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* as the predicate of a deleted auxiliary, removing the adverbial analysis of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* to the more familiar territory of constructions with auxiliaries (for which see Polotsky, ‘Transpositions’, 32–6 and 40). A consideration of this construction cannot be undertaken in this paper, but was the subject of M. A. Collier, *A Grammatical Analysis of Sentences with iw in Middle Egyptian* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of London, 1989), where it is argued that, even after auxiliaries, the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* are to be analysed as verbal-verb forms. In this paper, I wish to investigate the substitutional relations of constructions with *mk* and *ist* as they appear on the ‘surface’, without invoking deleted material.

<sup>8</sup>Although this analysis of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* has something in common with that of critics of Polotsky’s approach such as Gardiner (*EG*<sup>3</sup>, §234) and J. Vergote (*OLA* 13 (1982), 337–43), the work presented here adopts the insights outlined by Polotsky and is intended as a contribution to the approach to Middle Egyptian grammar which he has developed; see section 5.

<sup>9</sup>Surprisingly, no certain example of *mk* + bare prospective *sḏm(.f)* occurs in the literary corpus. See *EG*<sup>3</sup>, §234 and Johnson, op. cit. 79–80 for non-literary examples. The following example (pointed out to me by John Tait) is perhaps to be analysed as exhibiting anticipatory emphasis:

(FN1) Westc. 2,6: *mt n ir. n st im. s*

See, we, we shall spend (some) time in it.

If the standard reconstruction of the entire passage is correct (see e.g. A. M. Blackman, *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*, ed. W. V. Davies (Reading, 1988), 2), then only one female is addressed, seemingly precluding reading *mt n ir. n* . . .

<sup>10</sup>Textual abbreviations as *EG*<sup>3</sup>, xxi–xxix, excepting: F.F. = ‘The Pleasures of Fishing and Fowling’; Kha. = ‘The Lamentations of Khakheperresonbe’; Les. = Sethe, *Lesestücke*; Meri. = ‘The Instructions to King Merikare’; Myth. = ‘A Mythological Story’; Nef. = ‘The Prophecy of Neferti’; Ptah. = ‘The Instructions of Ptahhotep’; Sis. = ‘The Instructions of Sisobek’; Sport. = ‘The Sporting King’. All examples are quoted by page and line reference of the major source.

(b) *sentence with adjectival predicate*(2) Leb. 86-7: *mk bḥ rn. i*<sup>11</sup>

See, my name is detested.

sim. Adm. 7,2-3 (impersonal); 7,3 (impersonal); 8,5-6; Leb. 67; Sh.S. 182. *ist*: Bersh. 1, 14,1.(c) *second tenses*<sup>12</sup>(3) Peas. B2,123-4: *mk irr. k r irt ḥnc. i*

See, you will arrange to act with me.

sim. Nef. 6; Peas. B1,81-2; with anticipatory emphasis: Sh.S. 113-4. *ist*: Les. 70,18-19 and probably Peas. B1,71-3; B1,184-5; Westc. 7,6-7.(d) *participial statement/in+noun+prospective sdmw(.f)*(4) Westc. 6,6-7: *mt ink db.[.i] szw*<sup>13</sup>

See, I am the one who will replace it.

sim. Westc. 9,6. *ist*: Westc. 1,20 (broken).(e) *existential sentence:*(5) Peas. B1,203-4: *mk nn km n dd n. k st*

See, there is no profit for the one who says it [his good cause—MAC] to you.

*ist*: Peas. R2; Westc. 2,3-4 (broken).(f) *sentence with adverbial predicate*(6) Sin. B263: *mk wi m-bḥ. k*

See, I am before you.

sim. Adm. 2,12-13; 4,7-8; 7,2; 7,9; 7,10; 7,11; 7,12; 7,13; 7,13; 7,14; 8,1; 8,3; 8,5; 8,9 (broken); 8,14-9,1 (broken); 9,2; 9,3-4; 9,4; 9,5; F.F. C3,18; Kha. vs6; Meri. 7,10; 9,7; 11,1; Myth. B2,11 (broken); Nef. 20-1; 21; Peas. R5; B1,71; B1,136-7; B1,161-2; B1,171-2; B1,173-4; B1,174-5; B1,176; B1,177; B1,189-90; B1,192; B1,205-6; B1,231; B1,238-9; Sh.S. 108; Sin. B77; B232; B232; Sport. Fr. 2,6 (broken); with anticipatory emphasis and negation: Adm. 9,2. *ist*: Peas. R44-5; with anticipatory emphasis with *ir*: Westc. 6,10-11.(g) *pseudo-verbal construction*<sup>14</sup>(7) Peas. B1,70: *mk wi stp. kw(i)*

See, I am burdened.

sim. Adm. 7,1 (st); 7,4-5 (st); 7,6 (*hr*); 7,7 (*hr*); 7,8 (st); 7,9 (st); 7,10-11 (st); 8,2 (st); 8,2-3 (st) (emended); 8,4 (st); 8,7-8 (*hr*) (emended); 8,10 (*hr*); 8,11 (*hr*); 8,12 (*hr*); 8,12-13 (*hr*) (broken); 8,13 (*hr*); 9,1 (st); 11,12-13 (*hr*) (broken); 12,13 (*hr*); Herdsm. 1-2 (st); Leb. 11 (*hr*); Meri. 3,11 (st); 6,1 (st); 10,14 (st); Mill. 2,5 (st); Peas. R2-3 (*m*); R61-2 (*hr*); B1,11-12 (*r*); B1,12 (*r*); B1,77 (st); B1,116 (st); B1,119-20 (st); B1,130 (st); B1,219 (st); B1,219-220 (st); B1,220 (st); B1,313-4 (*r*); B1,314 (*r*); B2,113-4 (*hr*); Ptah. 11,6 (st); Sh.S. 10-11 (st); 117-8 (*r*); 167-8 (*r*); Sin. B257 (st); B264-5 (st); Sis. A9 (st) (broken); Westc. 3,7-8 (st); 4,10-11 (st) (broken); 8,12 (st); 10,5 (st); 12,22-23 (st); with anticipatory emphasis: Adm. 7,4 (st). *ist*: Sin. B1 (st); Les. 74,12-13 (st). *t*: Sin. R13-14 (st).(h) *circumstantial sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*The ability of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* to occur after *mk* and *ist* is indirectly suggested by:(i) *mk* + passive *sdm(w)(.f)*:(8) Westc. 11,5-6: *mk ms n. k hr dw 3*

See, three children have been born to you.

<sup>11</sup> The sentence recurs in this section of 'The Dispute between a Man and his *br*', both in this simple form and in an ellipsed form.<sup>12</sup> See Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses', §§43-5. 'Second tenses' after *mk* are more common in the non-literary material, see Johnson, op. cit. 78-9.<sup>13</sup> After Blackman, op. cit. 7 with reference to B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), 54.<sup>14</sup> The citations are annotated to indicate the predicate: st=stative; *hr*, *m*, *r*=the relevant preposition governing the infinitive.

sim. Adm. 7,1; 7,5; Meri. 8,8 (broken). *ist*: Mill. 2,1; Sin. R22-3 (impersonal); B1,173-4 (impersonal).

(ii) *mk* + noun + stative of verb of motion:

(9) Westc. 8,12: *mk wi iy. kwī*

See, I am come.

sim., for example, Herdsm. 1-2; Peas. B1, 77; B1,119-20; Sh.S. 10-11; Sin. B257; Westc. 3,7-8; 12,22-3.

(iii) *mk* + *n sdm(.f)/n sdm.n(.f)*:

(10) Westc. 8,17: *mk n wd. tw irt mnt iry n t; rwt špsst*

See, to do the like thereof to the august herd has not been commanded.

(11) Adm. 12,5-6: *mtn n mss. n. tw bsw iry*

See, the power thereof cannot be seen.

sim. with anticipatory emphasis: Adm. 9,5-6 (broken); 9,6. *ist*: with anticipatory emphasis: Sin. B223 (or *n* + passive *sdm(w)(.f)*).

According to Polotsky, the passive *sdm(w)(.f)* is an adverbial verb-form in Middle Egyptian,<sup>15</sup> whilst verbs of motion take the stative rather than the circumstantial *sdm.n(.f)* in adverbial environments.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, *n sdm(.f)* and *n sdm.n(.f)* are here negations of the circumstantial *sdm.n(.f)* and *sdm(.f)* respectively,<sup>17</sup> not of second tenses.<sup>18</sup>

Examples with *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* must be interpreted with caution, since the evidence assembled above suggests that both the circumstantial and the that-form *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* can immediately follow the initial particle.<sup>19</sup> The circumstantial *sdm(.f)* is not particularly common in literary Middle Egyptian main clauses, except in the *iw.f sdm.f* pattern—contrast the abundance of pseudo-verbal examples with *mk*.<sup>20</sup> An example which would seem to require analysis as a circumstantial *sdm(.f)* rather than as a that-form or prospective *sdm(.f)* is:

(12) Sis. A12: *mk wd pr-wr sf[h. tw. k]*

See, the 'great house' commands that [you be] rele[ased].

sim. Adm. 9,3; Sin. B181,<sup>21</sup> with anticipatory emphasis: Adm. 7,14-8,1 (broken); Peas. B1,97; Ptah. 19,5. *tī*: with anticipatory emphasis: Sin. R15.

For the (transitive) *sdm.n(.f)*, we are dependent on context. However, the following example does not seem to lend itself readily to a 'second tense' interpretation:

(13) Sh.S. 2-3: *mk ph. n. n hnw, šsp hrpw, hwi mnit, hstt rdī. t(i) hr t; ...*

See, we have reached home, the mallet has been taken, the mooring post struck, the prow rope placed on land ...

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. 'Transpositions', 28 table. This may not be the case in Old Egyptian and early Middle Egyptian, see Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses', §33 with n.45, id. 'Transpositions', 19 with n.34, and id., *Essays on Egyptian Grammar*, ed. W. K. Simpson (New Haven, 1986), 32.

<sup>16</sup> Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses', section IV.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. most recently F. Kammerzell, *GM* 102 (1988), 46-8, 51-2. It is clear, *contra* M. Gilula, *JEA* 56 (1970), 207, that, in addition to *iw sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*, *n sdm.n(.f)/sdm(.f)* negate the bare circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* according to Gunn's rule in literary Middle Egyptian (see, for example, Adm. 7,1; Leb. 145-7; Peas. B1,312-3; Sh.S. 148; Westc. 11,21 (virtual relative clauses); F.F. B2,7; B2,9; Leb. 5-6; Meri. 11,7; Peas. B2,113-4 (simple adverbial clauses)), rather than *n-is sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*, of which no examples occur in the literary corpus. For Johnson, it is presumably (*iw*) *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* which is negated here.

<sup>18</sup> These being negated, of course, by either *tm* or *n ... is*, see Gilula, *op. cit.* 209-10.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses', §§43-5.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. P. Vernus, *Crossroad*, ed. G. Englund and P. J. Frandsen (Copenhagen, 1986), 375-88.

<sup>21</sup> Adm. 2,13 and Sis. Biii11 are too broken to decide between that-form and circumstantial interpretation.

The description of the mooring of the boat seems to add to the opening statement of arrival (expressed by *mk* + *sdm.n(.f)*) as adjuncts or conjuncts rather than to be cast into sharp focus (as the *vedette* of a second tense) to this same opening remark. Other likely occurrences of *mk* + circumstantial *sdm.n(.f)* are Meri. 13,2–3; Mill. 3,9 (broken + variants); with anticipatory emphasis: Adm. 7,7. Equally, consider the following example with *ist*:

(14) Sin. B268–9: *ist r.f in. n. sn mnit. sn, rbꜣ. sn, sššt. sn m-ꜣ. s(n) ms. in. sn st n hm.f...*

Now, as for this, they had brought their *mnit*-necklaces, their rattles and their sistra with them. So they held them out to his person ...

It seems most unlikely that *m-ꜣ. s(n)* is in focus here; rather it would seem that the verbal action itself is the chief element of interest. Similarly, Sin. R11–12.

Thus, in terms of observable ‘surface’ relations, the substitutional paradigm after the initial particles *mk* and *ist* in literary Middle Egyptian is:

- (15) sentence with nominal predicate  
 sentence with adjectival predicate  
 second tenses  
 participial statement/*in* + noun + prospective *sdmw(.f)*  
 existential sentence  
 bare sentence with adverbial predicate  
 bare pseudo-verbal construction  
 bare circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*

### 3. Substitution

As initial main clause patterns, the sentence with nominal predicate, the sentence with adjectival predicate, second tenses, and the participial statement/*in* + noun + prospective *sdmw(.f)* in paradigm (15) do not enter into substitutional relations with nouns, adjectives, or adverbs; nor do they display any converter/transposer. Hence these constructions are unconverted or non-transposed constructions. Paradigm (15), therefore, would not seem to provide a sound substitutional basis for an analysis of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* as adverbial transpositions of the verb after *mk* and *ist*.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, it is central to Polotsky’s analysis of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* as adverbial forms that these forms substitute for prepositional phrases—the diagnostic adverbial element.<sup>23</sup> However, bare prepositional phrases cannot occur after initial particles to form a self-contained, complete pattern involving predication.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup>The problem for a transpositional approach is to account for the adverbial nature of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* whilst accounting for the substitutional relations with unconverted main clause patterns. Johnson’s analysis (loc. cit.) of the circumstantial forms as adverbial predicates to a deleted auxiliary subject provides the necessary unconverted main clause pattern whilst relegating the adverbial nature of the circumstantial forms to the predicate position of constructions with auxiliaries.

<sup>23</sup>See Polotsky, ‘Egyptian Tenses’, §§6, 8.

<sup>24</sup>Rather than a pattern exhibiting an omitted pronoun subject (which would be a noun subject + prepositional phrase predicate pattern) or ellipse (see e.g. Ba 86–8, and the examples of *mk* + noun in *EG*<sup>3</sup>, §234, where the noun is hardly predicated by *mk* or, in view of paradigm (15), the object of *mk*). Such elliptical patterns clearly do not constitute a sound substitutional basis for analysing complete constructions involving predications; compare the ill-formed nature of true adverbial and nominal clauses after *mk*. It is, of course, a dubious practice to utilize (purported) ill-formed examples in dealing with a dead language such as Ancient Egyptian. Such a practice can only be licensed in the elucidation of a matter of theoretical concern, as here.

- (16) \**mk m pr*  
 \*See, in the house.

Rather, it is the entire clause noun subject + prepositional phrase predicate which is found;<sup>25</sup> it is with this entire unit that the circumstantial *s $\underline{d}$ m(.f)/s $\underline{d}$ m.n(.f)* are in a substitutional relationship in this construction.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, this is not simply because *mk* and *ist* prefer clauses to phrases: true adverbial clauses are not acceptable after *mk* and *ist*.<sup>27</sup>

- (17) \**mk hr-ntt sš m pr*  
 \*See, because the scribe is in the house.  
 (18) \**mk hr-ntt hšb. i tw r niwt*  
 \*See, because I am sending you to the town.

Nor, indeed, are nominal clauses:

- (19) \**mk ntt sš m pr*  
 \*See, that the scribe is in the house.

The that-form suffix conjugation verb-form can only occur in an entire second tense (i.e. with adverbial focus), a main clause pattern, not as a simple noun clause:

- (20) = (3) Peas. B2,122-3: *mk irr. k r irt hn $\epsilon$ . i*  
 [literally] See, that you will do is to act with me.  
 (21) \**mk irr. k*  
 \*See, that you will do.

Hence, the proper analysis of the paradigm of patterns which can occur after *mk* and *ist* would not seem to be a matter concerning substitution with non-verbal parts of speech. In particular, it would seem necessary to conclude that the bare circumstantial *s $\underline{d}$ m(.f)/s $\underline{d}$ m.n(.f)* do not behave in this construction as adverbial substitutes and thus cannot be analysed as adverbial transpositions of the verb.<sup>28</sup> Rather, in accordance with the substitutional approach to syntax adopted by Polotsky, the circumstantial *s $\underline{d}$ m(.f)/s $\underline{d}$ m.n(.f)* (and indeed the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal construction) should be treated after *mk* and *ist* in the same manner as the initial main clause patterns: i.e. as unconverted or non-transposed forms. For the circumstantial *s $\underline{d}$ m(.f)/s $\underline{d}$ m.n(.f)*, the resultant analysis is that these forms are to be treated, at least after

<sup>25</sup> The bare sentence with adverbial predicate is, of course, standardly treated as being adverbial in nature, but see the remarks here and in section 5.

<sup>26</sup> A proposal to salvage the adverbial analysis might be to invoke an omitted pronoun before the circumstantial forms, placing the circumstantial *s $\underline{d}$ m(.f)/s $\underline{d}$ m.n(.f)* in a substitutional relation with the prepositional phrase:

$$(FN2) \quad mk \begin{bmatrix} s\check{s} \\ \phi \end{bmatrix} \begin{bmatrix} m \text{ pr} \\ s\check{d}m.n(.f) \end{bmatrix}$$

This alternative cannot be dealt with here. However, in Collier, op. cit. 5.3-5, it is argued that pronoun omission is subject to particular grammatical conditions (which  $\phi$  does not meet in (FN2)). Consequently, it is not acceptable to invoke  $\phi$  merely to satisfy a substitutional paradigm; it must be independently justified.

<sup>27</sup> True adverbial clauses are clauses with prepositional converters (and are thus to be contrasted with preposition + converted noun clause object). Examples are clauses introduced by *m-ht* (see EG<sup>3</sup>, §327 for examples of *m-ht* + bare pseudo-verbal construction) and by the compound converter preposition-*ntt* (see EG<sup>3</sup>, §223).

<sup>28</sup> Unless Johnson's proposal (loc. cit.) is adopted, which removes a consideration of the adverbial nature of the circumstantial *s $\underline{d}$ m(.f)/s $\underline{d}$ m.n(.f)* to constructions introduced by auxiliaries.

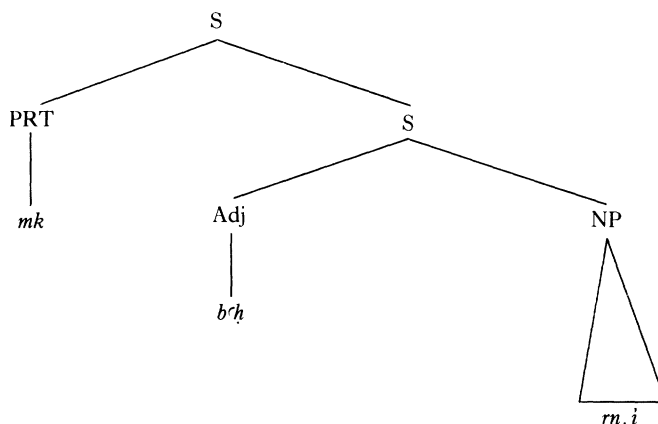
*mk* and *ist*, as verbal verb-forms heading a simple unconverted/non-transposed verbal sentence.

The advantage of this approach is that it allows a simple analysis of the paradigm with initial particles: initial particles co-occur with unconverted/non-transposed clause forms as opposed to converted/transposed (i.e. genuinely subordinated) clauses.<sup>29</sup> Such an unconverted clause can be either initial or non-initial (represented here by the feature [NINT]).<sup>30</sup> In a slightly different usage from Johnson, the bare circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate, and the bare pseudo-verbal construction are here non-initial main clause formations which, through combination with the initial particle, can behave initially. This analysis may be represented as follows:

### *Initial main clause*

(e.g.) sentence with adjectival predicate:

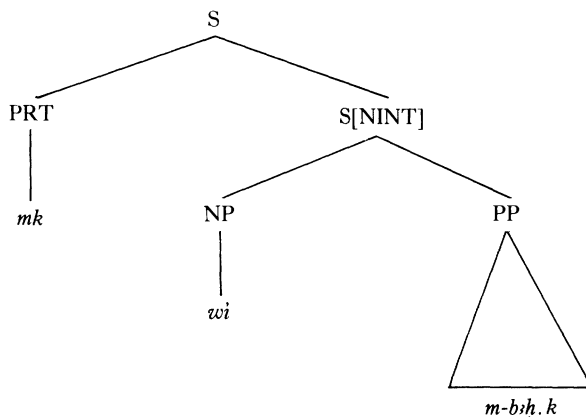
(22) = (2)



### *Non-initial main clause*

sentence with adverbial predicate (and the pseudo-verbal construction):

(23) = (6)

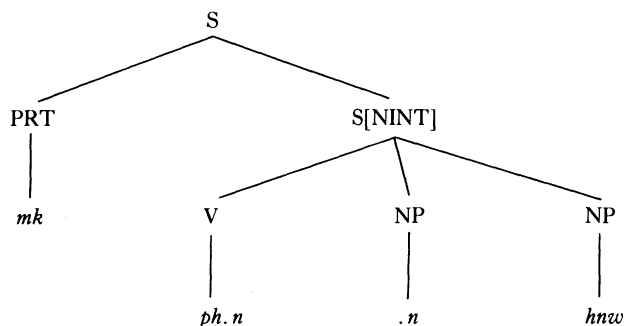


<sup>29</sup> This proposal is to be contrasted with Johnson's claim that *mk* occurs only with independent (initial) main clauses (op. cit. 72 and 80).

<sup>30</sup> Non-initiality is not discussed here, for this does not seem to me to be simply a syntactic manner (in particular, it is not an issue concerning grammatical subordination), but is to be connected with the relative

circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*:

(24) = (13)



#### 4. Predication

The work of Polotsky has led to a theory of predication where the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* (just like any other adverbial element) can only be predicative in a main clause when it stands in a predicative relation to some preceding nominal subject.<sup>31</sup> Such an analysis of predication would seem to be incompatible with the analysis presented above, since there is no preceding nominal phrase to which the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* can be predicative. However, an investigation into the predicative relations in the construction introduced by *mk* and *ist* suggests an alternative approach to predication.

It is clear from the evidence of paradigm (15) that the initial particle cannot be analysed as a nominal subject to an adverbial clause predicate; this is just not acceptable with the sentence with nominal predicate, the sentence with adjectival predicate, second tenses, or the participial statement, since these initial main clause patterns cannot be analysed as adverbial predicates.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, the ability of initial main clauses to occur independently (without auxiliary or initial particle) suggests that an initial particle such as *mk* has nothing to do with the predicative relations of the entire construction introduced by the particle;<sup>33</sup> *mk*, for example, simply draws attention to the following construction. Therefore, it is within the pattern which co-occurs with the initial particle that the predication is to be found. This should hold, then, for *mk* + sentence with adverbial predicate (and thus *mk* + pseudo-verbal construction):

(25) = (6) Sin. B263: *mk wi m-bḥ.k*  
See, I am before you.

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tense system of Middle Egyptian (compare J. P. Allen, in *Essays on Egyptian Grammar*, 1–21). Notice that auxiliaries and initial particles are not converters in the substitutional sense of converting a pattern into a suitable form for usage as a substitute for a non-verbal part of speech; rather, they are ‘initialisers’. It would seem that initiality and conversion are two separate issues which have become confused in the notion of an adverbial form.

<sup>31</sup> See Polotsky, ‘Transpositions’, 40 and cf. n. 38.

<sup>32</sup> This also holds, therefore, for an analysis [*mk wi*]<sub>Nsubj</sub> [*m-bḥ.k*]<sub>ADVpred</sub> for *mk* + sentence with adverbial predicate (see (6)) which seems to be suggested by F. Junge, in *Crossroad*, 224 (dealing with *tī sw ḥḥb/iy.f* in Sin R13–15).

<sup>33</sup> As noted by Polotsky, ‘Egyptian Tenses’, §45 (‘free “présentatif”’) and Johnson, op. cit. 80 (‘unbound particle’).

Taken at face value, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *m-b;h.k* is the predicate of the construction, predicating a location on *wi*, and that *mk* simply draws attention to the entire sentence *wi m-b;h.k*. In this analysis, it is the preceding nominal element (here *wi*) which provides the subject for the prepositional phrase predicate. Of course, this is just the analysis offered long ago by Gardiner.<sup>34</sup> Semantically, it is clear that there is no need for some additional nominal item in this sentence, for the internal subject-predicate relations of the pattern of the sentence with adverbial predicate already display the necessary predicative relations to provide a well-formed semantic interpretation.

There would seem to be no reason why this cannot also be the case with *mk* + circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*:

- (26) = (13) Sh.S. 2-3: *mk ph.n.n hnw*  
See, we have reached home.

Here, *mk* draws attention to the situation *ph.n.n hnw*, 'we have reached home'. Within the proposition 'we have reached home', it is not *ph.n.n* or *ph.n.n hnw* which is the predicate, but clearly *ph.n... hnw* (predicating an action on *.n*). In this analysis, the subject of the wrapped verbal predicate<sup>35</sup> follows the verb, in accordance with the remarks on Middle Egyptian word order in EG,<sup>3</sup> §27. Once again, the necessary predicative relations for providing a well-formed semantic interpretation of this construction are already present within the verbal sentence, without invoking some deleted external subject. All that is required is that the predicative relations within the verbal expression are given due attention.

Of course, this contrasts significantly with the conception of the predicative relations of the verb developed by Polotsky. Concerning the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*, the current widely-accepted view of predication is that these forms can have both 'predicative' and 'non-predicative uses'.<sup>36</sup> In adjunct usage, for example, the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* are considered to be non-predicative. However, consider the following example:

- (27) Sin. R15-16: *ti sw hm iy.f in.n.f sqr-ꜥnh n thnw*  
Now, in fact, he was returning, having brought away living captives of the *thnw*-people.

Whilst the entire adjunct clause is indeed non-predicative, within the adjunct clause, an action (*in.n... sqr-ꜥnh*) is predicated on *.f* (Sesostris I). Thus, it is clear that even in subordinate usage the verb-form proper (here *in.n*) is predicative in relation to its own dependents. Indeed, all suffix conjugation verb-forms, understood as *sdm/sdm.n*, are predicative in that they predicate some item (the following pronominal or nominal subject). It is the entire expression they head which need not be predicative; it may be

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, EG<sup>3</sup>, §119.

<sup>35</sup> The components of the predicate, although forming a semantic unit, do not behave as a syntactic unit, being wrapped around the subject expression according to a quite general syntactic process of Middle Egyptian independently required to account for quantifier and demonstrative position in noun phrases, *pw* placement, and possibly for enclitic particle position.

It seems to me that much confusion has been engendered in work on Egyptian grammar through attempts to organize subject-predicate relations in terms of the structural and word order relations of a subject constituent and a predicate constituent in a surface approach to syntax.

<sup>36</sup> For Polotsky, 'Transpositions', §§ 2.5 and 3.8, the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* must be raised *en vedette* to be predicative in main clauses. Cf. J. H. Johnson, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 71.



used subordinately as a subject, object or adjunct to another expression.<sup>37</sup> However, the verb, as the 'head' of the expression within which it occurs, is also the indicator (in Middle Egyptian) of the relationship which the entire expression contracts with the surrounding syntactic context. It is in this sense, as the carrier of an external grammatical relation, that the verb-form can be described as being 'non-predicative'.

It seems to me that the current view of predication, relying as it does on the notion of a 'non-predicative verb-form', fails to assign proper importance to the role of the verb within the verbal expression as opposed to the role of the verb as the carrier of the external relations of the verbal expression. Once this distinction is observed, then a simple theory of predication emerges. If the entire verbal expression containing the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* is subordinate (e.g. as an adjunct, see example (27)) to some other predicative expression, then the verb-form, although predicative in relation to its own dependents, itself carries the grammatical role of the subordinated verbal expression, and may loosely be said to be non-predicative. However, when the verbal expression is not subordinate (e.g. after initial particles, auxiliaries and in coordination), then the verb-form within the verbal expression simply must be predicative at the level of the entire construction, not just within the verbal expression. In this approach, the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* can be 'predicative' in the Polotskyan sense without there being any requirement for some preceding nominal subject to place either the verb-form or the entire verbal expression *en vedette*: whether the verb-form is 'predicative' in a construction depends on whether the verbal expression is grammatically subordinate or not. Indeed, from this perspective, the requirement of an external subject may simply be a consequence of the failure to assign proper importance to the role of the verb in relation to its own dependents.<sup>38</sup> This can be seen in the case of the construction *mk* + circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*, exemplified in (26). The verb-headed clause (*ph.n.n hnw*) is not subordinate to some other item (in the sense of nominal or adverbial substitution<sup>39</sup>) and thus the verb-form must be predicative at the level of the entire construction. However, the verb-form, properly understood as *ph.n*, is already predicative in this manner, since (forming the predicate *ph.n... hnw* with its object) it predicates its own subject (*.n*) which, by standard word order conventions, follows the verb. This is, of course, just the predicative relationship which, it has been suggested above, is required in this construction.

<sup>37</sup> Equally, consider the following example of the bare sentence with adverbial predicate as an adjunct:

(FN3) Sh.S 39-42: *hc.n rdi.kwi r iw pn n wsd-wr, ir.n.i hrw 3, wr.kwi, ib.i m snwy.i*

Then I was placed on this island of the great green, after I had spent three days alone [in the water—MAC], with my heart as my (only) companion.

Although the entire adjunct clause (*ib.i m snwy.i*) is non-predicative, the prepositional phrase (*m snwy.i*) is still predicative within the adjunct clause (predicating *ib.i*); contrast Polotsky's discussion of predication and 'masquemet', 'Transpositions', 30.

As in the text, the syntactic difference between occurrences of this pattern after auxiliaries, initial particles and in continuative usage in contrast to adjunct and *en vedette* usage is whether the pattern is grammatically subordinate or not.

<sup>38</sup> Clearly, this issue deserves a fuller study than can be presented here. Notice that in this approach, only the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* *en vedette* in 'second tenses' behave according to Polotsky's theory of predication. Hence Polotsky's use of the second tense analogy to analyse first tenses ('Transpositions', 40) may turn out to be a rare error on his part.

<sup>39</sup> The construction is to be analysed as a double-headed construction, cf. A. R. Warner, *Linguistics* 27.2 (1989), 179-205.

### 5. The circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* as verbal verb-forms

To have any general applicability, the analysis of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* as verbal verb-forms must be integrated into a general analysis of the suffix conjugation and must be able to account for the 'adverbial' properties of these forms, namely their substitutional relationship with prepositional phrases. The discussion here is, however, necessarily brief.<sup>40</sup>

Consider the claim that the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate, and the bare pseudo-verbal construction are unconverted or non-transposed expressions. This can be seen most clearly in the case of the sentence with adverbial predicate (and hence the pseudo-verbal construction), for here, as Polotsky notes,<sup>41</sup> converters must occur as independent words:

(28) <i>iw/mk [sš m pr]</i>	main clause
<i>[sš m pr]</i>	'adverbial' clause
<i>hr-ntt [sš m pr]</i>	true adverbial clause
<i>ntt/wnn/wnt [sš m pr]</i>	nominal clause
<i>nty/wn(n) [ss im.f]</i>	adjectival clause

In contrast to true adverbial clauses such as preposition-*ntt* clauses, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate does not display any overt converter. In the analysis offered here, this is simply because there is no converter present in this pattern. Thus, this pattern is not an adverbial transposition of the sentence with adverbial predicate;<sup>42</sup> it is simply the minimal clause formation of this pattern to which auxiliaries, initial particles and converters are added. By analogy, the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* should be the unconverted/non-transposed forms of the suffix conjugation to which auxiliaries, initial particles and converters (either as morphemes or separate words)<sup>43</sup> are added. Polotsky's three forms of the simple suffix conjugation are, therefore:

(29) circumstantial form:	unconverted form
that-form:	converted form (nominal)
relative form:	converted form (adjectival)

If Polotsky is correct in his postulation of nominal and adjectival transpositions of the verb, then the proper interpretation of the suffix conjugation is in the contrast between converted or transposed forms and unconverted or non-transposed forms of the verb, rather than between nominal and adverbial transpositions. Only converted forms are 'transpositional' in the sense introduced by Polotsky, in that they are strictly subordinate, always substituting for non-verbal parts of speech.

It is by adopting the treatment of the traditional parts of speech in generative grammar that the 'adverbial' properties of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* can be accounted for in this analysis. Within generative grammar, categories or parts of speech are not seen as indivisible items but as bundles of feature-encoded information (including not only the

<sup>40</sup> For a more extensive discussion, see Collier, *op. cit.* chapters 5 and 7.

<sup>41</sup> 'Transpositions', 30.

<sup>42</sup> It is, rather, 'inherently' adverbial, see below in the text. There is thus no requirement for an adverbial converter (such as preposition-*ntt*), unless the particular semantic nuance conveyed by the converter is required.

<sup>43</sup> See *EG*<sup>3</sup>, §223 and Johnson, *Fs. Westendorf*, 81-3 for examples of preposition-*ntt* + circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)*.

traditional parts of speech but also such matters as agreement). The traditional parts of speech are divided according to their nominal or verbal attributes.<sup>44</sup> In Middle Egyptian, it is well known that nouns and adjectives are related in having nominal properties, whilst adjectives and verbs are related in having verbal properties.<sup>45</sup> Equally, nouns and prepositions contrast with verbs and adjectives by not having verbal properties. In this system, (unconverted) verbs and prepositions contrast with nouns and adjectives by not having nominal properties (and hence require nominalization before being able to behave nominally). The Middle Egyptian major parts of speech may thus be represented:

(30)		[N]	[V]
	noun	[+N]	[-V]
	adjective	[+N]	[+V]
	verb	[-N]	[+V]
	'adverb'	[-N]	[-V]

Polotsky's fundamental discovery of the opposition between nominal (substantival and adjectival) and adverbial expressions may thus be articulated in terms of the features nominal versus non-nominal, where both unconverted verb-forms and 'adverbs' are 'inherently' non-nominal.

Generative grammar also recognizes that 'heads' play a vital role in syntax. Indeed, a major constraint on the build up of phrases and clauses is that, unless overruled, a syntactic unit shares the same features (here, part of speech) as its head. Thus, both sentences with verbal predicate and sentences with adverbial predicate are 'inherently' non-nominal, having non-nominal predicates, and can have a non-nominal distribution (substituting for prepositional phrases) without being converted into an adverbial form. In this analysis, the notion of adverbial substitution is not necessary to the description of non-nominal behaviour, for this is simply a consequence of the non-nominal nature of (unconverted) verbs and prepositions in a synchronic description of Middle Egyptian. The advantage of this analysis is that it distinguishes between 'inherent' forms and converted forms, allowing the articulation of two separate grammatical oppositions: between nominal and non-nominal expressions, and between converted and non-converted expressions. It is the latter opposition which is relevant to the elucidation of the paradigm of constructions introduced by *mk* and *ist*.

## 6. Conclusion

The paradigm for constructions introduced by the initial particles *mk* and *ist* turns out to be one of vital importance for the correct understanding of the syntactic role of the verb-form in Middle Egyptian. In particular, the notions of adverbial substitution and of the adverbial transposition of the verb, which have played such an important part in recent grammatical studies, are seen to be neither necessary nor sufficient to the analysis of the occurrence of the circumstantial *sdm(.f)/sdm.n(.f)* in this construction. Rather, the

<sup>44</sup>The feature system of parts of speech and the relationship between lexical and non-lexical categories are often collectively referred to as 'X-bar syntax'. The version presupposed here is that of generalized phrase structure grammar, see G. Gazdar, E. Klein, G. K. Pullum and I. A. Sag, *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar* (Oxford, 1985), 20-1 and 50, and G. K. Pullum, *Proceedings of the Chicago Linguistic Society* 21.1 (1985), 323-53.

<sup>45</sup>See *EG*<sup>3</sup>, §48 and 143.

forms of which the morphology and distribution was first established by Polotsky in 'Egyptian Tenses' and which he labelled the 'circumstantial' *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, are, in terms of their syntax, the unconverted or non-transposed forms of the simple suffix conjugation; that is to say, they are to be analysed simply as the Middle Egyptian verbal *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*.

## CROWN PRINCE DJHUTMOSE AND THE ROYAL SONS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY\*

By AIDAN DODSON

A survey of the known monuments of Prince Djhutmose, eldest son of Amenophis III, and of the role of the royal prince in the Eighteenth Dynasty. To this is appended a full list of such princes, and a reassessment of certain relationships.

AMONG the myriad Egyptian antiquities in the Louvre Museum is a schist statuette, bearing the numbers E.2749 and N.792 (pl. V, 2).<sup>1</sup> 10.5 cm long, 5 cm high and 2.8 cm broad, it represents a prostrate man grinding corn, wearing a short wig with side-lock, a kilt and a panther-skin. The garb identifies him as *sm*-priest of Ptah at Memphis.<sup>2</sup> The piece is inscribed on three sides: (right) ‘*shd* of the king’s son, the sem-priest, Djhutmose: (left) I am the servant of this noble god, his miller. (front) Incense for the Ennead of the western necropolis’.

Apart from the interest inherent in its form,<sup>3</sup> this sculpture is significant in being one of a tiny number of three-dimensional depictions of Eighteenth Dynasty princes. While information on the sons of the king is reasonably plentiful from the Ramesside Period, images of, and references to, princes of the preceding epoch are distinctly limited.<sup>4</sup> This Djhutmose is perhaps the best attested non-regnant prince of his line; of his monuments,

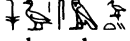
\*My thanks are due to Jaromir Malek for access to Howard Carter’s MS catalogue of the Tutankhamun material, to J. de Cenival and Elisabeth Delange for information on the Prince Djhutmose material in the Louvre, and to A. F. Shore and Pat Winker for pl. V, 3.

<sup>1</sup>Ex-Clot-Bey collection; while its texts are given in *LD Text*, 1, 11 [3] and A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43 (1906), 53, it has never been properly published or illustrated. It is, however, mentioned by the following works: P. Pierret, *Catalogue de la salle historique de la galerie égyptienne* (Paris, 1877), 11 [10]; J. Capart, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, 1 (Oxford, 1908), 201 [2]; id., *CdE* 17 (1943), 31 [2]; J. H. Breasted, Jnr, *Egyptian Servant Statues* (Washington, 1948), 23 [1]; J. Vandier, *Manuel d’archéologie*, III, 478, 673; id., *Les Antiquités égyptiennes au Musée du Louvre/Le Département des antiquités égyptiennes* (Paris, 1948), 57; K. Bosse-Griffiths, *JEA* 41 (1955), 61; D. Redford, *JEA* 51 (1965), 111. Some confusion has arisen as a result of Gauthier referring to the statuette as ‘du grand prêtre de Memphis Ptahmès’ (*LR* II, 274 [B]), recently perpetuated by Peter Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (Hildesheim, 1987), 173 n.9.

<sup>2</sup>On the history of this office, cf. Gardiner, *AEO*, 1, 39\*-41\*; B. Schmitz, *LÄ* v, 833-6.

<sup>3</sup>Some discussion of, and references to, the *genre* is to be found in Gardiner, *ZÄS* 43, 55-9, and Capart, *Transactions*, 201 ff, and *CdE* 17, 30-4. The closest parallel to this statuette is one of the High Priest of Ptah in Memphis, Ptahmose (temp. Amenophis III), formerly in the collection of Cardinal Lambruschini: D. L. U., *Disegno d’una imagine egizia funeraria in un nuovo atteggiamento* (Rome, 1842), quoted by Gardiner, op. cit. 55-6.

<sup>4</sup>A list of all definite and probable Eighteenth Dynasty princes attested by contemporary documents and monuments is given in an Appendix. This excludes depictions of kings as children which are unequivocally to be dated to the king’s own reign: a particular example is the *sr-nsw smsw n ht.f...* (*Mn-hprw-R*) shown in TT64, which is without doubt a retrospective illustration of the already reigning Tuthmosis IV. On the representations of members of a king’s family in Eighteenth Dynasty private tomb chapels, cf. A. Radwan, *Die Darstellung des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1969), 86 ff.

most, if not all, are from the Memphite area, not unnaturally, in view of his office. He seems, like the later *sm*-priest and son of Ramesses II, Khaemwaset, to have had responsibility for the Apis bulls of Memphis, and it is through this connection that his filiation can be established. Prior to the establishment of the Lesser Vaults under Ramesses II, the Apis tombs comprised a freestanding chapel, surmounting an underground chamber reached by a sloping passage.<sup>5</sup> When uncovered by Mariette, the basic decoration of Chapel I was still identifiable, and was described thus: 'On y voit Aménophis III, accompagné de son fils  ... faisant l'offrande de l'encens au taureau de Memphis ...'.<sup>6</sup> In the burial chamber, the only name found was that of the prince,<sup>7</sup> inscribed upon a number of calcite and pottery vases.<sup>8</sup>

The other known monument mentioning the prince-priest is the sarcophagus of a cat, presumably his pet;<sup>9</sup> it was allegedly found at Mit Rahina, which suits the location of Djhutmose's official activity. It gives his fullest known titulary: *sr-nsw smsw, imy-r hmw-ntr m sm'w t3-mhw, wr hrp hmw, sm*, 'Crown Prince,<sup>10</sup> Overseer of the Priests of Upper and Lower Egypt, High Priest of Ptah in Memphis and *sm*-priest (of Ptah)'. It is unclear whether he had always combined the High- and *sm*-priesthoods or whether, like Khaemwaset, he had begun his priestly career as *sm* and only assumed the greater office later.<sup>11</sup> The combined evidence makes it clear that Djhutmose was the eldest son of Amenophis III, presumably by Queen Tiye, and died prematurely, to leave the throne to his brother Amenhotpe (Amenophis IV).

Djhutmose is one of a bare half-dozen princes of the Eighteenth Dynasty whose father can be identified by direct association, the remainder being datable only indirectly. A factor contributing to this difficulty is that, until well into the New Kingdom, princes appear to have taken no part in the administration of the country outside their fathers' reigns.<sup>12</sup> To state the case more accurately, no officials are explicitly said to be a brother of the ruling king.<sup>13</sup> Amongst princes too young to hold office, the same situation occurs: on official monuments, only sons of the reigning king are commemorated. This suggests

<sup>5</sup> A. Mariette-Pacha, *Le Sérapéum de Memphis*, 1 (Paris, 1882), 117, fig. 1; this drawing appears to be the only surviving depiction of such a superstructure, which is shown as raised upon a platform, naos-roofed, with a papyrus-bundle column at each corner.

<sup>6</sup> Op. cit. 124; I am unaware of any copy of this scene ever having been published.

<sup>7</sup> Op. cit. 125.

<sup>8</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 780, lists only one, of calcite, Louvre N.482, inscribed *sr-nsw s*[...]. However, six further vessels bearing his name and titles are in the Louvre, under the numbers N.482 (*sic*), N.484 A-B, N.455, N.455 B and AF.153; the last five are of pottery.

<sup>9</sup> Cairo CG 5003, JE 30172; L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 44 (1907), 97; G. A. Reisner, *Canopics* (Cairo, 1967), 392-4; J.-P. Corteggiani, *The Egypt of the Pharaohs at the Cairo Museum* (London, 1987), 99-100; the piece has frequently been mistaken for a canopic chest, most recently by Redford, op. cit. 111.

<sup>10</sup> For the political meaning of this title, and its distinction from the 'genealogical' *sr-nsw tpy*, see K. A. Kitchen, *JEA* 68 (1982), 118n.16.

<sup>11</sup> F. Gomaà, *Chaemwese, Sohn Ramses' II und Hoherpriester von Memphis* (Wiesbaden, 1973), 20-5. It is possible that at some stage in his career, Djhutmose held the additional title *hry pdt*, since a whip from the tomb of Tutankhamun, to whom he was chronologically and genealogically close, gives this title to a prince of the name; see also Appendix: 28.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. G. Robins, *Wepwawet* 3 (1987), 16; B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-NJSWT „Königssohn“* (Bonn, 1976), 331-2.

<sup>13</sup> That it was unusual for officials to publicize familial relationships with the royal house is demonstrated by the case of the Second Prophet of Amun, Anen, brother of Queen Tiye, who is linked with her only by his being named on the coffin of their mother, Tjuiu: C. Aldred, *JEA* 43 (1957), 32. It is perhaps significant that throughout Egyptian history we lack any personages bearing the title \**sn-nsw*, in contrast to the relatively numerous 'king's sisters'.

that during the first portion of the New Kingdom the possession of the blood royal lost its political significance once individuals had passed out of the direct line of succession.<sup>14</sup>

The few cases where one might venture to suggest that we have mentions of non-regnant princes after their fathers' demise all occur in the tombs of royal tutors or in their graffiti at the First Cataract.<sup>15</sup> Since depictions on private tomb walls reflect the whole career of the deceased,<sup>16</sup> a brood shown in the care of a long-serving tutor could comprise all the children he had had the honour of educating. Thus, as the offspring of more than one king, some may still have been infants when a tomb wall was decorated, while others may have long since grown to maturity. Great care should therefore be taken when assessing such scenes: where a noble's *floruit* is known to have spanned only one reign, it is probably safe to assume that any royal children shown in his tomb were those of that ruler. Where this is not the case, one can safely say only that a child is no later than the date of the tomb's decoration. This latter situation is typified by the case of Meryre and his ward Siatum (Appendix: 21).

Insofar as the extremely limited evidence allows conclusions, princes who reached their majority during their fathers' lifetimes appear to have received high appointments. Like their better-attested Ramesside successors, they served in the civil service, army and priesthood: Amenemhat A acted as Overseer of Cattle, Amenmose as Generalissimo, and Amenhotpe B and Djhutmose B as *sm*-priests at Memphis.<sup>17</sup> The regularity of the appointment of princes to priestly office is supported by Tuthmosis III's well-known retrospective from Karnak.<sup>18</sup>

As in most other aspects of their careers, the burials of Eighteenth Dynasty princes remain almost unknown; indeed, it is not until the reign of Ramesses III that a group of princely tombs can be identified.<sup>19</sup> As far as independent tombs are concerned, P. Abbott indicates that Ahmose-Sipairi possessed a tomb at the southern end of Dra Abu'l-Naga,<sup>20</sup> while Amenemhat Q is the likely owner of MMA Tomb 1021.<sup>21</sup> Of unknown original

<sup>14</sup> How long such a 'rule' applied, if one actually existed, is unclear. While very active under their father, we have no mentions of the sons of Ramesses II under their brother Merenptah, or his successors. It is not until we reach the sons of Ramesses III that a king's brothers are attested as such on monuments. It is clear that the Medinet Habu lists of princes were labelled after Ramesses III's death, the regnant Ramesses VI labelling one figure for his brother Sethhirkopshef C (≡ Ramesses VIII): Kitchen, *JEA* 68, 120. Also, under Ramesses V, the king's uncle, Meryatum, is recorded as still being in office as High Priest at Heliopolis, Kitchen, *JEA* 58 (1972), 185n.2. During the Libyan Period, the number of royal princes holding public office, particularly the High Priesthoods at Thebes and Memphis, becomes more significant, but there seems never to have been a return to the situation prevalent under the Fourth Dynasty, when an appreciable proportion of the offices of state, including the vizirate, were held by possessors of the blood royal. Thus, it would appear that the withdrawal of the royal family from the bureaucracy at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty had some substance which retained its significance to the pharaonic regime until its dissolution.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. below, n. 68.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. the scenes relating to the reign of Ramesses III, but carved under Ramesses IV in TT 148 (PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 259-60), and the tombs of the Amenophis III/IV interface.

<sup>17</sup> Royal generalissimos under Ramesses II included Amenhirkopshef and Ramesse; the latter's namesake (≡ Ramesses IV: Kitchen, *JEA* 68, 116-7) held the same office under Ramesses III, while Ramesses II and III both possessed sons named Khaemwaset who held the *sm*-priesthood of Ptah.

<sup>18</sup> *Urk* IV, 156-66.

<sup>19</sup> KV 3, QV 42-4, 53, 55. Under Ramesses II, KV 5 might be assigned to a group of royal children: *The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis: Report of the Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Seasons* (Berkeley, 1987), 19-23. This paucity of princely tombs is not limited to the New Kingdom: apart from the king's sons buried under the Fourth Dynasty at Meidum and Giza, such sepulchres are extremely rare at all periods.

<sup>20</sup> H. E. Winlock, *JEA* 10 (1924), 222-3.

<sup>21</sup> See Appendix: 26.

provenance are the coffin of Siamun A, found cached in TT 320,<sup>22</sup> and the canopic fragments naming Menkheperre, allegedly from the area of the Valley of Queens.<sup>23</sup> That these came from independent tombs seems likely. In Siamun's case, it perhaps lay in the northern part of the necropolis, given his presence in the Deir el-Bahari cache.<sup>24</sup> Menkheperre's burial in the general area of the Valley of Queens would fit in reasonably well with the known employment of the southern part of the necropolis during the Tuthmoside Period.<sup>25</sup>

In two cases, those of Webensenu and Amenemhat B, princes were interred in their fathers' tombs.<sup>26</sup> The questions surrounding the primary burial of members of the royal family in kingly tombs of the New Kingdom have never been satisfactorily resolved; 'surplus' human remains are known from a number of the latter, but in generally ambiguous contexts. However, it seems natural that if a son, daughter or, perhaps, wife died before they had a usable tomb, they might be laid to rest in a corner of a living king's sepulchre, should the latter be sufficiently complete.<sup>27</sup> Some Eighteenth Dynasty princes were doubtless also buried outside Thebes. Since there is good evidence for the residence of princes in the Memphite region,<sup>28</sup> it is probable that some were interred at Saqqâra.<sup>29</sup>

An additional area of obscurity concerning the royal princes is the mechanism of the royal succession. That some form of public proclamation of the heir took place should probably be inferred from the well-known texts of Hatshepsut and Ramesses II,<sup>30</sup> with such evidence as exists pointing to a system of primogeniture, satisfying the Egyptian ideal of placing the eldest son in his father's place. However, no material survives with any direct bearing on what transpired on the death of a king without an heir. From the unique painting of Ay before the corpse of Tutankhamun in KV 62,<sup>31</sup> it has been inferred that the burial of one's predecessor could serve to legitimate a succession.<sup>32</sup> Association as coregent may also have been relevant, if the scanty evidence in favour of Horemhab and Ramesses I's joint rule is correct.<sup>33</sup> Kings' daughters may also have played a role in the succession. Wholly discredited are the old 'Great Heiress' theories, according to

<sup>22</sup> See Appendix: 2.

<sup>23</sup> Appendix: 9. On the forty-plus canopic fragments that came onto the market with those of the prince, cf. A. M. Dodson and J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 75 (1989), 137-8, with refs.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dodson, *ZAS* 115 (1988), 119 n. 77.

<sup>25</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup> Appendix: 14; 20.

<sup>27</sup> The case of the two premature infants from KV 62 would have been more useful in this connection were it not for their foetal nature (cf. C. Desroches Noblecourt, *Tutankhamen* (London, 1963), 254).

<sup>28</sup> E.g. the naos of Amenmose, P.BM EA 10056 (Amenhotpe B), the Sphinx stela of Amenhotpe B and Amenemopet (for references, see Appendix: 5; 12; 11), and the Giza retrospectives of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis IV (*Urk.* IV, 1276-83, 1539-44).

<sup>29</sup> During the reign of Ramesses II, Khaemwaset, who bore the same priestly titles as Amenhotpe and Djhutmose B, was almost certainly buried at Saqqâra (Gomaà, op. cit. 48-54, J. Vercoutter, *LA* v, 869-70; but cf. R. Mond and O. H. Myers, *The Bucheum*, 1 (London, 1934), 8-9; M. Ibrahim and D. Rohl, *JACF* 2 (1988), 26 nn. 27-8), while another son, Nebweben, was also buried in northern Egypt, at Gurob (PM IV, 114; cf. D. Polz, *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 145-66).

<sup>30</sup> *Urk.* IV, 216-34; *KRI* II, 327-8.

<sup>31</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 570-1 (8).

<sup>32</sup> See Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster 1972, 1986), 333 n. 498, which deals with the supposed bypassing of Osorkon B, Crown Prince of Takelot II, by Shoshenq III, but cf. now D. A. Aston, *JEA* 75 (1989), 149-51.

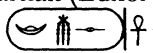
<sup>33</sup> W. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (Chicago, 1977), 182-3. This does not seem to have occurred in the case of Tuthmosis I succeeding Amenophis I, if the former was truly not a son of the latter (id. ib. 115).



which no son could succeed his father without marrying his sister, who carried the actual right to the throne,<sup>34</sup> but, where no son survived, *realpolitik*, if nothing else, would have pushed a king's son(s)-in-law to the fore. It is unfortunate that none of the spouses of kings known, or thought, to have lacked the blood royal can definitely be identified as royal daughters.<sup>35</sup> Further elucidation of the internal dynamics of the royal family as a sub-system of the Egyptian political whole requires new evidence.

### Appendix: Royal Princes of the Eighteenth Dynasty

#### 1. Ahmose-ankh

Son and heir (*sr-nsw smsw*) of Amosis, shown on stela from Karnak (Luxor Museum) in company of his father and mother, Ahmose-Nefertiri. His name, written , has also been read as simply 'Ahmose', followed by the epithet 'may he live'.<sup>36</sup>

#### 2. Siamun A

Son of Amosis. A hieratic text on bandages from his rewrapped mummy seems to give him the title *sr-nsw smsw*;<sup>37</sup> if this is correct, he would precede or succeed Ahmose-ankh in that role, dying as a child. His coffin (CG 61008), essentially identical to that of his father,<sup>38</sup> and mummy (CG 61059)<sup>39</sup> were found together in TT 320.

#### 3. Ahmose-Sipairi

Son of either Amosis or Amenophis I. Died in childhood, but appears on contemporary (or near-contemporary) monuments and later votive material.<sup>40</sup> His tomb probably lay at the southern end

<sup>34</sup> For a brief discussion and references, see L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history* (Uppsala, 1986), 103-4.

<sup>35</sup> Arguments making Mutnodjmet, wife of Horemheb, a daughter of Ay fall short of proof, as does the interpretation of Tuthmosis I's Queen Ahmose's title *snt-nsw* as referring to Amenophis I. If the marriage between Ay and Ankhesenamun postulated on the basis of the 'Newberry' ring-bezel actually occurred, legitimation by marriage to a princess of the blood gains support, particularly in light of Ankhesenamun's offer to Shuppiliumash to make his son king by marrying him (Bryce, below, pp. 97-105).

<sup>36</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 73. The reading of the name depends on whether the cartouche belongs to the prince himself, or to his father; the rules governing use of a cartouche by royal offspring remain obscure, there being no consistency in the inscriptional evidence (cf. Troy, op. cit. 134). An attempt has been made to identify this prince with a Second Prophet of Amun Ahmose, who died under Amosis (see C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London, 1988), 136-7, 310 [13]), but it seems extremely unlikely that a Crown Prince would have been buried with only priestly titles while his father yet lived.

<sup>37</sup> Siamun's name was written on his coffin first without, and then with, a cartouche by Twenty-first Dynasty restorers. A cartouche is also found in other posthumous references, *LR* II, 190-1.

<sup>38</sup> G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cairo, 1909), 10.

<sup>39</sup> G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912), 18.

<sup>40</sup> H. Winlock believed that he could prove Sipairi to have been the eldest son and heir of Amenophis I, but never published his reasons, *JEA* 10 (1924), 223 n. 1; more recently, C. Vandersleyen has argued for his equation with Ahmose, the son of Taa II, *LÄ* v, 385-6, and *SAK* 10 (1983), 311-24. Other modern opinion has leant towards making him Amosis' son (e.g. Schmitz, op. cit. 288), but early Eighteenth Dynasty depictions already place him alongside Amenophis I, e.g. Cairo CG 34005, P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1909), 10-11, pl. v; other similarly datable representations of the prince are CG 34004, op. cit. 9-10, pl. iv and Petrie Museum UC 14219, H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, 1 (Warminster, 1976), 34, pl. 27.3. For his later appearances, in many cases in conjunction with Amenophis I, cf. *LR* II, 188-90.

of Dra Abu'l-Naga;<sup>41</sup> his probable mummy, CG 61064, was recovered from TT 320,<sup>42</sup> in a child's coffin (CG 61007) that may be of a slightly later date.<sup>43</sup>

#### 4. Ramose

Perhaps a son of Amosis or Amenophis I. Known from an early Eighteenth Dynasty statue in the Department of Egyptology, University of Liverpool (E.609),<sup>44</sup> probably mentioned on a stela from the 'Chapel of Wadjmose',<sup>45</sup> and included among the 'Lords of the West' in TT 2.<sup>46</sup>

#### 5. Amenmose

Son and heir (*sr-nsw smsw*) of Tuthmosis I and Generalissimo. A naos fragment bought at Giza, dated to Year 4 of Tuthmosis I (Louvre E.8074) gives his titles and encloses his name in a cartouche.<sup>47</sup> He accompanies his brother, Wadjmose, in a scene in the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab.<sup>48</sup>

#### 6. Wadjmose

Son of Tuthmosis I, perhaps born only a few years before the king's accession to the throne. His major contemporary attestation is in the tomb of Paheri.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps under his brother, Tuthmosis II, a West Theban chapel was dedicated to him.<sup>50</sup>

#### 7. Amenemhat A

Son and heir (*sr-nsw smsw*) of Tuthmosis III. Named on the south side of Festival Hall at Karnak temp. Year 24.<sup>51</sup>

#### 8. Amenhotpe A


Son of Tuthmosis III, later king as Amenophis II. Depicted in the tomb of Min, Mayor of Thinis (TT 109),<sup>52</sup> and perhaps in TT 143.<sup>53</sup>

#### 9. Menkheperre

Son of Tuthmosis III. He is depicted upon British Museum statuette EA 1280 (pl. V, 1), where he leads two princesses called Meryetamun and a princess Iset.<sup>54</sup> In all probability, canopic fragments in Strasbourg, 1396, and Cairo are also his.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Winlock, op. cit. 222-3, but cf. my remarks on the nature of the Abbott 'itinerary', *ZÄS* 115 (1988), 118.

<sup>42</sup> Smith, op. cit. 22-5, pl. xix.

<sup>43</sup> Daressy, op. cit. 9-10, pl. x. The coffin is wholly dissimilar to those of Amosis and Siamun A, and has much more in common with examples of the Tuthmoside period; indeed, the coffin and mummy's attribution to Sipairi rests upon an evidently corrupt hieratic text, transcribed by Daressy as .

<sup>44</sup> S. R. Snape, *JEA* 71 (1985), 180-3. <sup>45</sup> Op. cit. 182 n. 5.

<sup>46</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 7 (10). From his appearance here, his attribution to the end of the Seventeenth or beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty is almost certain.

<sup>47</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 46; C. M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire* (Cairo, 1976), 52-5, pl. 4. On the use of a cartouche, cf. n. 36, above.

<sup>48</sup> J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab* (London, 1894), pl. x.

<sup>49</sup> PM v, 179-81. It would seem unlikely that Paheri could have held his title *mnr n sr-nsw* had Tuthmosis not been king when Wadjmose was placed in his care, presumably in childhood; we have Ramesside examples of a royal grandson having the title *sr-nsw* (e.g. Ramesse, son of Khaemwaset), but it seems almost certain that Tuthmosis I was not himself a king's son.

<sup>50</sup> See S. Quirke below, p. 174.

<sup>51</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 126 [462] (appointment as *imy-r ihw n t-iryf*). For the possibility that the prince's mother was Neferure, see P. F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut* (London, 1988), 79.

<sup>52</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 227 (5); Radwan, op. cit. pl. viii [1]; Manuelian, op. cit. 202, fig. 42.

<sup>53</sup> An ink sketch shows a prince seated in front of his father, apparently being shown how to shoot. The (anonymous) tomb would seem to date to the general period Tuthmosis III/Amenophis II: PM I<sup>2</sup>, 255 (5).

<sup>54</sup> I concur with Gay Robins' dating of this monument to the time of Tuthmosis III, identifying its owner, Huy, as the mother of Queen Meryetre, *GM* 56 (1982), 82-3.

<sup>55</sup> G. Legrain, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 139 [6, 7]; 5 (1904), 139-41; see above, n. 23.

## 10. Siamun B

Son of Tuthmosis III. Named upon statuette CG 1112,<sup>56</sup> depicting the *imy-r sdrwtj* Sennefer, who is datable to the reign of Tuthmosis III.<sup>57</sup>

## 11. Amenemopet

Possibly a son of Tuthmosis III, although Schmitz prefers to date him to the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>58</sup> Owner of stela C from near Amenophis II's Sphinx Temple.<sup>59</sup>

## 12. Amenhotpe B

Son, and probably heir, of Amenophis II. Mentioned as *sm*-priest in P.BM EA 10056,<sup>60</sup> and probably to be equated with the owner of 'stela B', from Giza. The latter was *iry-prt*,<sup>61</sup> *hnty-r* and *sm*, as well as *sr-nsw* and possibly the user of a cartouche, but had his names completely erased in antiquity.<sup>62</sup>

## 13. Djhutmose A

Son of Amenophis II, later king as Tuthmosis IV. Owner of a statuette from the Temple of Mut at Karnak, which also bears the name of his tutor, Heqareshu.<sup>63</sup>

## 14. Webensenu

Son of Amenophis II. Died as a child and buried with his father in KV 35.<sup>64</sup> Probably named on the block statue of Minmose, from Karnak.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, IV (Berlin, 1934), 64. The area containing the prince's name appears to have been interfered with.

<sup>57</sup> W. K. Simpson, *LA* v, 856-7.

<sup>58</sup> Schmitz, op. cit. 305, bases her objections upon the prince's combination of titles. However, the size of the corpus of Eighteenth Dynasty princely material does not allow definitive conclusions from this basis.

<sup>59</sup> S. Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations* (Cairo, 1953), 87-9 (fig. 69); Zivie, op. cit. 104-10. While Hassan's poor photograph makes it difficult to judge with certainty, the style seems rather earlier than stela A and B from the same area, which almost certainly date to Amenophis II.


<sup>60</sup> Col. 9, 8; S. R. K. Glanville, *ZAS* 66 (1930), 105-6.

<sup>61</sup> On this title, see Gardiner, *JEA* 39 (1953), 10; Kitchen, *JEA* 68, 121; Murnane, op. cit. 58 n. 105.

<sup>62</sup> Hassan, op. cit. 85, fig. 68; Zivie, op. cit. 96-104; the erasures seem to have been very carefully done. The dating of the prince of EA. 10056 and his equation with the owner of the stela stands to the credit of Redford, op. cit. 111-12, 114. On objections raised by Schmitz, op. cit. 299-305, cf. above n. 58.

<sup>63</sup> CG 923, Borchardt, *Statuen*, III (Berlin, 1930), 156. Tuthmosis IV is later represented, as a miniature king, on the lap of this worthy in TT 64. Assigned to his son, Heqaerneheh, in PM I<sup>2</sup>, 128-9, this tomb has been attributed to Heqareshu by Labib Habachi, *Festschrift für Siegfried Schott zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Helck (Wiesbaden, 1968), 69-70, but the sum of the texts from the tomb (*Urk.* IV, 1573-4) support Heqaerneheh's ownership.

<sup>64</sup> Certainly attributable to him are a canopic jar, CG 5031, and four shabtis, CG 24269-24273: G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois* (Cairo, 1902), 244-5, 103-4, pls. I, xxvi. Possibly also his is mummy CG 61071, Smith, op. cit. 39-40, pl. xcvi; I am inclined to see this, and the other two bodies from Jc (notation of Elizabeth Thomas, *Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 85, fig. 9), as distinct from those cached in Jb. They lacked any kind of coffin, proper wrappings or hieratic docket, in contrast to the pharaohs reburied nearby. From this, one could infer that they represented original inmates of the tomb, probably members of Amenophis II's family who had predeceased him. This would upset speculations that CG 61070 is Hatshepsut or Tiye; for a criticism of the latter identification on the basis of hair from KV 62, see R. Germer, *SAK* 11 (1984), 85-90.

<sup>65</sup> CG 638: Borchardt, *Statuen*, II (Berlin, 1925), 186-7, pl. 117. Of the prince's name, Borchardt could only read , which suits Webensenu better than any other candidate. I see no grounds for Manuelian's speculation (op. cit. 177), that Webensenu could have been the Giza 'Prince B'.

## 15. Nedjem

Son of Amenophis II. Named, with Webensenu, on the statue of Minmose.<sup>66</sup>

## 16. Akheperure

Son of Amenophis II. Named in graffiti 23 and 32 at Konosso<sup>67</sup> and almost certainly in TT 226.<sup>68</sup>

## 17. Akheper[ka?]re

Son of Amenophis II. Named in TT 226.<sup>69</sup>

## 18. Khaemwaset

Perhaps a son of Amenophis II. Named as *sr-nsw* and *hry-ihw* in two Sehel graffiti including the prenomen of Amenophis II.<sup>70</sup>

## 19. Amenhotpe C

Son of Tuthmosis IV, later king as Amenophis III. Appears in the tomb of his tutor Heqaerneheh (TT 64),<sup>71</sup> and on two Konosso graffiti.<sup>72</sup>

## 20. Amenemhat B

Son of Tuthmosis IV. Depicted in TT 64, died young and buried with his father in KV 43 (pl. V, 3).<sup>73</sup>

<sup>66</sup> Borchardt, loc. cit.

<sup>67</sup> P. Newberry, *JEA* 14 (1928), 85, figs. 1, 3; the first associates him with a prince Amenhotpe (to be identified with Amenhotpe C) and Heqareshu, the second with the same prince and Heqaerneheh.

<sup>68</sup> This tomb dates to the beginning of the reign of Amenophis III, and should probably be attributed to Heqareshu, as a (second) tomb built towards the end of his career, cf. Habachi, op. cit. passim. His first monument will presumably have been built under Amenophis II, but remains unidentified, in spite of op. cit. 69–70; cf. n. 63 above. Four children are represented in TT 226, two now nameless, the others bearing names of the form Akheper[...]re, PM I<sup>2</sup>, 327. They have generally been considered as also appearing among the children shown behind Heqaerneheh in TT 64 (see below), but this does not necessarily follow. The representation in TT 226 could be of the royal children who had been in the charge of Heqareshu during a career that had begun in the reign of Amenophis II, remembered in the twilight of his career. Thus, they may be considered as being offspring of one, two or all of Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III. The Konosso graffiti need not place the princes Akheperure and Amenhotpe in the same generation: what they may represent is a visit of Amenhotpe (C), Tuthmosis IV's eldest son (cf. just below) and one of the reigning king's younger brothers, who was perhaps a child of Amenophis II's old age, accompanied by their father-son pair of tutors, Heqareshu being responsible for the late king's offspring, the younger for the child of the reigning king.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. last note. The name could equally be restored as 'Akheperenne' or other variants.

<sup>70</sup> For bibliography, see Manuelian, op. cit. 176 n. 33, who also suggests his ownership of a statue in the Vatican. Schmitz, op. cit. 274, argues that Khaemwaset was only a titular prince.

<sup>71</sup> On TT 64, see n. 63, above. Prince Amenhotpe probably appears there thrice: PM I<sup>2</sup>, 128 (2), (3) and (7); to the bibliography of (3) add Radwan, op. cit. 91, pl. xiii. Two of Heqaerneheh's shabtis were allegedly found in the Valley of Kings, CG 46536: Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1872), pl. 36 [f,g]; cf. Thomas, op. cit. 138.

<sup>72</sup> Newberry, loc. cit. The paternity of the various princes named at Konosso and represented in TT 64 has been the subject of much debate. In 1928 Newberry marshalled evidence in favour of their father being Tuthmosis IV (op. cit. 82–5); more recently, Redford (op. cit. 113–4), and Manuelian (op. cit. 175) opined that he was Amenophis II. Since Heqareshu would seem to have become a royal tutor under Amenophis II, one would be justified in assuming that his son, Heqaerneheh, will have begun to serve around the time of the next king's accession. On this basis, his first charges would probably date to the reign of Tuthmosis IV. As the tomb's decoration seems to date to this latter king, Heqaerneheh's charges will have been in all likelihood Tuthmosis' offspring; see also n. 68, above.

<sup>73</sup> PM I<sup>2</sup>, 560. The prince is named on four canopic jars, CG 46037–9 and Boston MFA 03.1130; the mummy of a child which still stands in Annex Jb is probably also his: H. Carter, P. E. Newberry and G.

**21. Siatum**

Son of Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV or Amenophis III. A *sr-nsw* of this name is known from two sources, a relief of his tutor<sup>74</sup> and a label which names him as the father of a lady reburied under the Twenty-first Dynasty.<sup>75</sup>

**22. Name(s) Lost**

Son(s) of Tuthmosis IV. One is depicted directly behind Amenemhat B in TT 64, but the plaster behind and below these two figures is lost, so that the number and gender of the missing figures remains uncertain.<sup>76</sup>

**23. Djhutmose B**

Son and heir (*sr-nsw smsw*) of Amenophis III (above pp. 87–8).

**24. Tutankhaten**

Probably son of Akhenaten, later king. Named on a block from Hermopolis.<sup>77</sup>

**25. Nakhtmin**

Possibly a son of Ay; Generalissimo, and *iry-p't*. Represented on statues CG 779<sup>78</sup> and probably JE 36526;<sup>79</sup> donated five shabtis to the burial of Tutankhamun.<sup>80</sup>

Maspero, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (Westminster, 1904), x, fig. 3. The photograph of the mummy's head, from an original glass negative in Liverpool, dates to the tomb's excavation and is hitherto unpublished. Since this annex otherwise contained the king's shabtis, and various vases, it is likely that the mummy was originally buried in Jc, which contained mummy wrappings and debris. Some of the latter may represent the remains of a princess Tintamun, who is named upon a further canopic jar, CG 46040. Thomas, op. cit. 81, 100 n. 156, suggests that the canopics and mummy might be the result of a reburial of Amenemhat A, the son of Tuthmosis III; however, canopics are rarely a feature of reburials, and TT 64 provides *prima facie* evidence for a son of Tuthmosis IV named Amenemhat.

<sup>74</sup>Vienna AS. 5814: PM III<sup>2</sup>, 706; D. Berg, *JEA* 73 (1987), 213–6. This piece may be assigned stylistically to the period of Tuthmosis IV/Amenophis III.

<sup>75</sup>Edinburgh RMS 1956.154: Dodson and Janssen, *JEA* 75, 128–9. This lady, Nebetia, was found alongside, among others, two daughters of Tuthmosis IV, but as a communal reburial, with no guarantee of any chronological homogeneity for its inmates, the deposit must remain a chronologically neutral factor. In the absence of further data, the equation of the Siatums from these two sources would seem not unlikely. In this event, he is datable in general terms by means of Vienna AS. 5814: cf. p. 89, above. In favour of his assignment to Tuthmosis IV is the fact that his name corresponds to part of one of that king's Horus names, *Kr-nht sr-Itm*. J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptische Königsnamen* (Munich/Berlin, 1984), 85, 228 [H3].

<sup>76</sup>Newberry, op. cit. 84, n. 2, pl. xii. As has already been noted, the frequent equation of these figures' owners with the children depicted in TT 226 may be incorrect. Against the identification of the children in TT 64 as those of Tuthmosis IV, it has been queried whether his nine-year reign could have accommodated \*seven sons, plus at least four or five daughters (Schmitz, op. cit. 294; Dodson and Janssen, *JEA* 75, 136–7). However, the size of a man's progeny is more a function of the number of his sexual partners than mature longevity and, in any case, it would be *theoretically* possible for a dozen children to have been borne to him by a single woman within his reign.

<sup>77</sup>G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim, 1969), pl. 106 [831–VIII C]. The parentage of Tutankhaten has been the subject of much discussion, with unanimity impossible while the question of a long coregency between Amenophis III and IV remains unresolved. In favour of Akhenaten's paternity is the lack of any other official depiction of a brother of a reigning sovereign during this dynasty (cf. above p. 88), although this might not be valid in the novel environment of the Amarna Period.

<sup>78</sup>Borchardt, op. cit. III, 88; PM I<sup>2</sup>, 784–5; it is upon this shattered monument that the case for making Nakhtmin a royal prince rests. The left-hand column of text at the rear of the statue, which gives some of his principal titles, has been hammered out, leaving it just readable; its lower part is lost. It reads *sr-nsw, imy-r ms'w wr, sr-nsw n[...]*; A. R. Schulman, *JARCE* 4 (1965), 62–3, wishes to restore 'n Kš', but this has been rejected by a number of scholars on the grounds that no real place exists for him amongst the Viceroys of the late Eighteenth Dynasty: e.g. Habachi, *LÄ* III, 633, 638 n. 86, Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt* (London,

## 26. Amenemhat Q

Unplaced, probably in earlier part of Dynasty. Owner of a rewrapped mummy found in the cliffs north of the temple-site of Mentuhotpe III and, probably, of the adjacent tomb MMA 1021.<sup>81</sup>

## 27. [...]pentepkau

Unplaced, probably mid-Dynasty. Bore additional title *hry pꜣt*. Known only from a fragment of sphinx-stela from near the Second Pyramid of Giza.<sup>82</sup>

## 28. Djhutmose Q

Possibly identical to 23: entitled *ss-nsw hry pꜣt* on a whip from KV 62.<sup>83</sup>

1968), 92, n. 14. The alternative restorations *N[ht-Mnw]* or *n [ht.f]* suggest that he was an actual king's son, although falling short of proof. If this interpretation is correct, the fact that his other reasonably certain monuments (see just below) do not include the *ss-nsw* title would suggest the accession of his father at a time when Nakhtmin was already well advanced in his career. In such a case, the only possible candidates for the father would be Ay and Horemheb. Of the two, Ay is the more likely, particularly if the malicious damage suffered by Nakhtmin's figures is linked to the desecration of many of Ay's monuments; on the latter event, cf. O. Schaden, *The God's Father Ay* (Ann Arbor, 1982), 281–3.

<sup>79</sup>JE 36526 (PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 785), mutilated. If the interpretation of CG 779's owner in n. 78 is correct, this piece, lacking *ss-nsw* and giving his (unnamed) mother the title *dwt Mnw*, would antedate Ay's accession.

<sup>80</sup>JE 60827, 60828, 60830, 60836, 60837 = Carter MS catalogue, 330I, 330J, 318A, 330K, 318C; they combine with the two statues to give Nakhtmin the definite titles of *ss-nsw*, *imy-r mšr* and *ꜣw hr wnmw nsw*. Schulman's attempts (op. cit. passim), to attribute additional monuments to him spring from the assumption that his career included service as Viceroy of Kush, and therefore should probably be discarded.

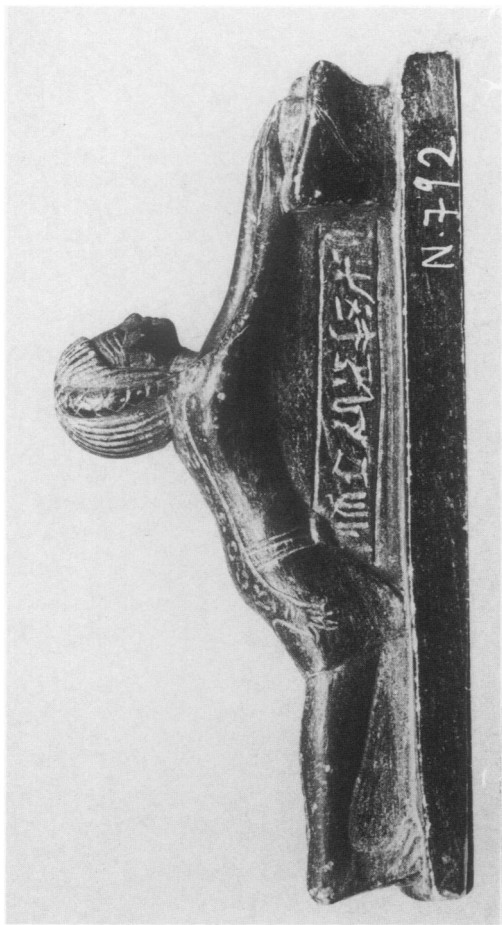
<sup>81</sup>PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 667; Thomas, op. cit. 178. The excavators attempted to make this baby a son and nominal co-regent of Amenophis I, basing this upon a pectoral depicting this king, probably of Ramesside or later date, and a corrupt hieratic docket. For a refutation of this interpretation, see Robins, *GM* 30 (1978), 71–5. It is not possible to identify this Amenemhat, who died at an age of little over a year (A. Lansing, *BMA* 15 Pt. II (1920), 10), with the sons of either Tuthmosis III or IV: the latter's mummy was almost certainly found in KV 43, while the former was likely to have been some way past infancy when his appointment as *imy-r ihw* was commemorated in Year 24.

<sup>82</sup>Zivie, op. cit. 164–6; Schmitz, op. cit. 274–5, suggests, however, that he was merely an 'Offiziere im Prinzenrang'.

<sup>83</sup>JE 61997; PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 582; Carter MS catalogue 332, 333.



1. Statuette of the *dwt-ntr* Huy: British Museum EA 1280 (p. 92)  
 (courtesy Trustees of the British Museum)



2. Prince Djhutmose B: Louvre E.2749 = N.792 (p. 87)  
 (courtesy Musée du Louvre)



3. Mummy of Amenemhat B (p. 94)

## THE DEATH OF NIPHURURIYA AND ITS AFTERMATH\*

By TREVOR R. BRYCE

The identity of the pharaoh called Niphururiya (or Nibhururiya) in the Hittite document commonly known as the 'Deeds' of Suppiluliuma is re-examined. Opinion is still largely divided between two candidates—Akhenaten and Tutankhamun; Smenkhkare has recently been suggested as a third possibility. The paper concentrates on three main factors: (1) important revisions to the chronology of Suppiluliuma's reign; (2) a re-examination of the identity of the pharaoh called Huriya in the Amarna letter EA 41; (3) a consideration of the fragmentary document *KUB XIX 20*, a letter written by Suppiluliuma to Niphururiya's successor. These factors establish beyond doubt that Niphururiya was Tutankhamun. While it is clear from the Hittite records that Niphururiya/Tutankhamun died in late summer, evidence from Tutankhamun's tomb indicates that the pharaoh was not buried until the following spring. Thus, an unusually long delay between death and burial, considerably beyond the traditional 70-day period, is indicated. The paper concludes with a discussion of the reasons for this delay.

THE identity of the pharaoh referred to as Niphururiya<sup>1</sup> in the 'seventh' tablet of the Hittite document commonly known as the 'Deeds' of Suppiluliuma<sup>2</sup> has long been a matter of scholarly debate. Opinion has fluctuated between two main candidates—Akhenaten and Tutankhamun. Yet as long ago as 1933, Sturm demonstrated that the evidence which is fundamental to the identification points clearly to Tutankhamun,<sup>3</sup> and his arguments were reaffirmed by Edel fifteen years later.<sup>4</sup> The case for Tutankhamun rests on two main grounds, which in my view remain unshaken by the supporters of the Akhenaten proposal. These are:

- (1) Niphururiya/Nibhururiya is a precise rendering in cuneiform of Tutankhamun's prenomen, Nebkheperure; by contrast, Akhenaten's prenomen was Neferkheperure.
- (2) Tutankhamun died without issue, which accords with the claim of Niphururiya's widow that she had no son to succeed to the throne. With the death of Tutankhamun, the royal line was at an end. Akhenaten, on the other hand, was succeeded by his co-regent Smenkhkare (if the latter outlived Akhenaten), and subsequently by Tutankhamun. Although their precise relationship with Akhenaten is uncertain, there can be no doubt about their royal lineage.

\*I have discussed this topic at some length with Dr C. C. Walters, and acknowledge with gratitude the many helpful suggestions and comments he has made on the relevant Egyptian material.

<sup>1</sup>On the faulty form Piphururiya, see H. G. Güterbock, *JCS* 10 (1956), 94 n. e. The correct form of the name can be transcribed as either Niphururiya or Nibhururiya.

<sup>2</sup>Published and edited by Güterbock, 'The Deeds of Suppiluliuma as told by his son Mursili II', *JCS* 10, 41-68, 75-98, 107-30 (hereafter 'Deeds'). The 'Deeds' appears in three series, one with short columns, one with medium-length columns, and one with long columns. The preserved 'seventh' tablet (the number is given in the Colophon) belongs to the short-column series. It appears in Güterbock's edition as Fragment 28. For the events relating to the death of Niphururiya and its aftermath, see esp. pp. 94-8, 107-8.

<sup>3</sup>J. Sturm, *Revue hittite et asianique (RHA)* 2, fasc. 13 (1933), 161-76.

<sup>4</sup>E. Edel, *JNES* 7 (1948), 11-24, esp. 14-15.



These points have long been made, and have been accepted by many scholars.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, some still argue, or assume without question, that Niphururiya was Akhenaten. In recent years, the case for Akhenaten has been presented at some length by Krauss in his book on the end of the Amarna period.<sup>6</sup> This work has proved influential, particularly among German scholars, and has ensured a new lease of life for the Niphururiya-Akhenaten equation, in spite of the fundamental objections raised by Kitchen.<sup>7</sup> Thus, in his book on Hittite-Egyptian treaties published in 1985, Sürenhagen regarded Krauss' advocacy of the identification as convincing.<sup>8</sup> Even more recently, Wilhelm and Boese has used Krauss' conclusions as one of the cornerstones of their proposed revision of the chronology of Suppiluliuma's reign.<sup>9</sup> They suggest, however, a third possibility for Niphururiya — Smenkhkare.<sup>10</sup> The matter has important implications for the length of Suppiluliuma's reign, since we know that the Hittites' second Syrian war, which lasted six years, began in the year of Niphururiya's death, and that Suppiluliuma died at the end of this war.<sup>11</sup> Thus if Niphururiya = Akhenaten or Smenkhkare, then his reign would have ended nine or ten years earlier than if he was Tutankhamun.

For the above reasons, the Niphururiya question merits re-examination. I approach this essentially from a Hittite point of view, since a number of considerations arising from a study of the chronology of Suppiluliuma's reign have an important bearing on the resolution of the matter. To begin with, it is useful to list the events which, according to Hittite sources, preceded and followed the death of Niphururiya. These can be summarized as follows:

- (1) An Egyptian attack on the country of Kadesh, at that time under Hittite control after Suppiluliuma had taken it from the Hurrian king.
- (2) Suppiluliuma's final campaign against the Hurrians, culminating in his siege of Carchemish.
- (3) The Hittite retaliatory attack on Amka, Egyptian subject territory; the attack was led by the Hittite commanders Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma, and is recorded in two of the prayers of Mursili II (see below) as well as in the 'Deeds'.
- (4) The death of Niphururiya and the appeal of his widow 'Dahamunzu'<sup>12</sup> to Suppiluliuma for one of his sons to become her next husband.
- (5) Suppiluliuma despatches his envoy Hattusa-ziti to Egypt to investigate the matter.
- (6) Suppiluliuma completes the siege of Carchemish, arranges for booty and transportees to be conveyed from the conquered city to Hattusa, installs his son

<sup>5</sup> E.g. K. Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs* (Liverpool, 1962), 22; id., review of D. B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the 18th Dynasty*, in *CdE* 43 (1968), 318 f.; J. Vergote, *Toutankhamon dans les archives hittites* (Istanbul, 1961); E. Hornung, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1964), 93.

<sup>6</sup> R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit* (Hildesheim, 1978), esp. 9-19.

<sup>7</sup> In his review of Krauss, *JEA* 71 (1985), 44.

<sup>8</sup> D. Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge aus hethitischer Sicht* (Pavia, 1985), 41.

<sup>9</sup> G. Wilhelm and J. Boese, in *High, Middle or Low?*, Acts of an International Colloquium held at the University of Gothenburg, 20-22 August 1987 (Gothenburg, 1987), 74-116.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.* 100-2.

<sup>11</sup> The figure of six years for the duration of the second Syrian war is based on the information contained in the document *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi (KUB)*, XIX 9 (see below, n. 18). Wilhelm and Boese have argued, though not conclusively, that the interval between Niphururiya's death and Suppiluliuma's was more likely to have been about ten years (*op. cit.* 94-6).

<sup>12</sup> The name simply means 'the wife of the king'; see W. Federn, *JCS* 14 (1960), 33.

Piyassili/Sarri-Kusuh as viceroy in Carchemish, and returns to Hattusa before the onset of winter.

(7) The Hittite envoy returns to Hattusa the following spring, accompanied by the Egyptian envoy Hani. Persuaded by the information he receives from them, Suppiluliuma sends his son Zannanza to Egypt for the intended marriage with the Egyptian queen.

(8) Zannanza dies on the journey.

(9) Suppiluliuma holds the Egyptians responsible for his son's death, and eventually launches a retaliatory attack on Egyptian territory (sc. in Syria).

(10) Egyptian prisoners brought to Hatti spread a plague through the Hittite population.

Our chief source of information for these events, the 'Deeds' of Suppiluliuma, is complemented by two other sources in particular, in both cases extracts from the prayers of Suppiluliuma's son Mursili II. I give a translation of these extracts, since they will figure in the discussion to follow.

(1) From the Second Plague Prayer of Mursili (*KUB XIV 8* and duplicates):

My father sent foot soldiers and charioteers who attacked the country of Amka, Egyptian territory. Again he sent troops, and again he attacked it. When the Egyptians became frightened, they asked outright for one of his sons to (take over) the kingship. But when my father gave them one of his sons, they killed him as they led him there. My father let his anger run away with him, he went to war against Egypt and attacked Egypt . . .

(transl. A. Goetze)<sup>13</sup>

(2) From *KUB XXXI 121a*:

[. . . troops and ch]arioteers of Hatti . . . he sent out Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma, and they attacked those countries.

But the king of Egypt died in those days . . .

But since the wife of the king of Egypt was destitute, she wrote to my father . . .

(transl. H. G. Güterbock)<sup>14</sup>

One further document which needs to be taken into account is *KUB XIX 20*.<sup>15</sup> This is the draft of a letter, of which only very fragmentary remains survive, sent by a Hittite king to the king of Egypt on the subject of the death of the former's son. Neither the writer's nor the addressee's name is preserved. However, although the document is seldom referred to in discussions of the Niphururiya episode, there seems to be no doubt that its author is Suppiluliuma, writing to the Egyptian king on the matter of the death of Zannanza. In spite of its fragmentary state, several important pieces of information emerge from the letter. There had evidently been an earlier exchange of correspondence between the two kings on the same matter. The Hittite king is replying to statements and complaints made by the addressee which are clearly responses to threats made by the

<sup>13</sup>In *ANET*, 394. The text was originally edited by A. Goetze in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1929); see esp. 208-10. A more recent edition has been published by R. Lebrun, *Hymnes et prières hittites* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1980), esp. 205, transl. 211-12.

<sup>14</sup>The text has been published and discussed by Güterbock, *RHA* 18, fasc. 66 (1960), 60-1. See also Lebrun, op. cit. 243-7.

<sup>15</sup>E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites* (Paris, 1971), no. 154; originally published by E. Forrer, *Forschungen* II/1 (Berlin, 1926), 28-30. The text is cited by Güterbock, *RHA* 18 (66), 57, and by Ph. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *Anatolica* 1 (1967), 60. It is briefly discussed by A. Spalinger, *BES* 1 (1979), 78-9. For a more detailed and more plausible interpretation of the surviving fragments of the text, see W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985), 26-34.

Hittite king in an earlier letter. Indeed, the Egyptian king may have written more than once to his Hittite counterpart on the topic, if we can interpret the remains of lines 16–23 of the document to mean that the Hittite had received several communications from Egypt in connection with it.<sup>16</sup>

The first of these communications may be attested in a passage from the ‘Deeds’ indicating the first report Suppiluliuma received of his son’s death:

[When] they brought this tablet, they spoke thus: [‘The people of Egypt(?)] killed [Zannanza] and brought word: “Zannanza [died(?)]” And when] my father he[ard] of the slaying of Zannanza, he began to lament for [Zanna]nza, [and] to the god[s . . .] he spoke [th]us: ‘Oh gods! I did [no e]vil, [yet] the people of Egy[pt d]id [this to me], and they (also) [attacked] the frontier of my country!’<sup>17</sup>  
(transl. Güterbock)

The restorations are those proposed by Güterbock, and it is not clear precisely who brought the tablet to Suppiluliuma, or who was being accused of Zannanza’s death. There seems to be little doubt, however, that the new pharaoh disclaimed responsibility, and sought to convince Suppiluliuma of this in the letters he wrote to him. As far as we can judge from the remains of *KUB XIX 20*, the letters were largely conciliatory in nature, while clearly deprecating the Hittite’s threat of military action; the Egyptian sought by diplomatic means to avoid a military conflict with Hatti, and to re-establish, perhaps, the old bonds of friendship between the two countries.

In spite of the impression we may get from Mursili’s Second Plague Prayer, it is clear from *KUB XIX 20* that Suppiluliuma’s military response did not follow immediately upon receipt of the news of his son’s death, but only after several letters had passed between himself and the new pharaoh. In the intervening period, Suppiluliuma may genuinely have sought to provide the Egyptians with the opportunity of exculpating themselves from responsibility for Zannanza’s death; on the other hand, his willingness to engage in correspondence with the pharaoh may have been intended simply to allow sufficient time for him to organize a retaliatory attack on Egyptian territory. In either case, some weeks or months, must have elapsed between Zannanza’s death and the Hittite offensive.

A factor which has an important bearing on the identity of Niphururiya is the identity of the addressee of the Amarna letter EA 41, written by Suppiluliuma to a pharaoh called Huriya, congratulating him on his accession. Although Suppiluliuma remonstrates mildly with the new pharaoh for not sending him the usual gifts and diplomatic messages as his father had done, the overall tone of the letter is highly cordial and conciliatory; Suppiluliuma reminds the pharaoh of the friendly relations he has had with his father, and expresses the hope that he will enjoy similar relations with the son. Who was Huriya? In the past, it has been assumed that Suppiluliuma came to the throne either before, or early in, the period of his Anatolian campaigns, which began, according to *KUB XIX 9*,<sup>18</sup> some twenty years before his campaigns in Syria. In this event, his enthronement must have taken place during the reign of Amenophis III (around the twenty-first year of the

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Murnane, *op. cit.* 27.

<sup>17</sup> From Fragment 31 of the ‘Deeds’ (*KUB XIX 4*), 107–8.

<sup>18</sup> For a translation and discussion of the relevant portion of the text, see Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, 3–5. See also Houwink ten Cate’s comments in his review of the above in *BiOr* 20 (1963), 273.

latter's reign, according to Kitchen's calculations).<sup>19</sup> This would make it likely that the addressee of EA 41 was Akhenaten, with Huriya representing an abbreviated form of his prenomen, Neferkheperure.

However, Wilhelm and Boese have recently demonstrated that Suppiluliuma's accession should be dated much later—to shortly before the king's first Syrian war.<sup>20</sup> In this case, the Egyptian throne would already have been occupied by Akhenaten, even if we make allowance for the possibility of a co-regency with his father. Consequently, EA 41 must have been addressed to one of Akhenaten's successors who came to the throne during Suppiluliuma's reign—either Smenkhkare (on the assumption that he survived Akhenaten) or Tutankhamun.<sup>21</sup> Huriya would be a cuneiform abbreviation for either Ankhkheperure, Smenkhkare's prenomen, or Nebkheperure, Tutankhamun's prenomen. On the surface, either is possible.

How does this relate to the question of the identity of Niphururiya? Let us first of all consider the proposals to identify Niphururiya with (a) Akhenaten, and (b) Smenkhkare. If (a) applies, then Huriya could be either Smenkhkare or Tutankhamun. If (b) applies, then Huriya can only be Tutankhamun. With respect to (a), Smenkhkare can immediately be ruled out. Even if we allow him a short independent reign, this must have followed immediately after Akhenaten's death (in view of the co-regency), whereas it is clear from the 'Deeds' that an interval of many months must have elapsed between the death of Niphururiya and the accession of his successor (see below). Could Huriya have been Tutankhamun? If so, we would have to assume that Smenkhkare did not outlive Akhenaten, that the Egyptian throne was left vacant for some months, and that an attempt was made by Akhenaten's widow to bypass Tutankhamun's claims to the succession by having a Hittite prince installed as pharaoh.

Even if we admit these assumptions, it is still inconceivable, within the context of the events surrounding Niphururiya's death, that EA 41 could have been addressed to Tutankhamun, if Niphururiya = Akhenaten. At this time, it is clear that relations between Egypt and Hatti had seriously deteriorated, as shown by the Egyptian attack on Kadesh, and the retaliatory Hittite attack on Amka. The situation had gone from bad to worse with the death of Zannanza, for which Suppiluliuma held the Egyptians responsible, and in response to which a Hittite attack had been launched on Egyptian territory. We would be obliged to accept that, on the one hand, Suppiluliuma wrote furious letters to the pharaoh who now occupied the throne intended for his son, accusing the Egyptians of murdering his son, threatening military retaliation, and carrying out the threat, while, on the other hand, he wrote a letter of congratulations to the new pharaoh, reminding him of the cordial relations which he had enjoyed with his father, and expressing the hope that such relations would continue with the new king. The proposition is not tenable.

That leaves us with alternative (b)—that Niphururiya = Smenkhkare, as proposed by Wilhelm and Boese. In this event, we would have to assume that Smenkhkare was also the addressee of EA 41: Tutankhamun would be ruled out for precisely the reasons stated

<sup>19</sup> Op. cit. 39.

<sup>20</sup> *High, Middle or Low?*, 76–94. Ironically, the down-dating of Suppiluliuma's accession provides the grounds for one of the strongest arguments against Wilhelm and Boese's proposal to identify Niphururiya with Smenkhkare; see below.

<sup>21</sup> Even without the evidence for the lowering of Suppiluliuma's accession date, several scholars had already suggested that Tutankhamun was the addressee of the letter; e.g., Houwink ten Cate, *BiOr* 20, 275–6, C. Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz von El-Amarna* (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1973), 101.

in alternative (a). If Smenkhkare outlived Akhenaten, his independent reign probably lasted no more than a year,<sup>22</sup> and some weeks of it must already have elapsed before EA 41 was written. This would allow time for the news of the accession to reach Hattusa and also, presumably, a 'period of grace' during which the new pharaoh might have been expected to renew the bonds of friendship with his Hittite counterpart, by sending the usual gifts, messages, etc. But when it became clear that the Egyptian had been remiss in this matter, it was left to Suppiluliuma to make the initial overtures. In EA 41 he made clear his wish to maintain amicable relations between the two kingdoms. Coming at a time when the political situation within Egypt must have been precarious, the Hittite initiative could hardly have been unwelcome to the new pharaoh. Yet we are to believe that he not only ignored the initiative, but showed himself openly hostile to the Hittites by launching an attack on Kadesh; all this, apparently, within a single year.

Even if we are prepared to accept such a scenario, we must further allow Wilhelm and Boese's proposition that after Smenkhkare's death his widow, Meritaten, had the right, irrespective of any other claims upon the throne, to determine who his successor would be, both as her husband and as pharaoh. There is no need to debate this proposition here, since the question we should be asking is not what the queen might or might not have been legally entitled to do, but what situation Suppiluliuma would have been prepared to accept. The Hittite king leaves no doubt as to the purpose of his envoy's visit to Egypt: 'Go and bring me back the truth. Maybe they deceive me. Maybe there is a son of *their Lord!*'<sup>23</sup> The emphasis in the last sentence should, I believe, be placed on the last two words rather than on the verb, shifting attention away from the pharaoh's widow to the pharaoh himself. In this case, the suspected deception would lie not in a failure on the queen's part to tell the truth, but in a failure to tell the whole truth. Suppiluliuma's concern was to establish whether Niphururiya himself had a son to succeed him.

Thus, when the Egyptian envoy Hani addressed Suppiluliuma the following spring, he assured him that 'Niphururiya, who was our lord, died. He has no son. . . . We are seeking a son of our Lord for the kingship in Egypt . . .'<sup>24</sup> This is clearly a response to the specific enquiries which the Hittite envoy Hattusa-ziti had been instructed to make in Egypt. The unqualified assurances which Suppiluliuma received from Hani must have been verified by his own envoy. It is inconceivable that Suppiluliuma would have sent his son to Egypt without such verification, and extremely unlikely that he would have risked doing so if his investigations had revealed that Niphururiya was survived by any person of royal birth who could make a claim upon the throne. If Niphururiya = Smenkhkare, we cannot accept that Hattusa-ziti could have spent several months in Egypt without knowing of the existence of Tutankhamun. And regardless of whom precisely Tutankhamun's parents were, there is no doubt about his royal lineage or his potential eligibility for the succession.<sup>25</sup> At the death of Tutankhamun—and only then—the royal line was at an end. The dead king had no sons, no heirs. The throne was eventually

<sup>22</sup> See, e.g., Kitchen, *JEA* 71, 44.

<sup>23</sup> This conveys the sense of the Hittite more closely than Güterbock's translation 'Maybe (in fact) they do have a son of their lord!'

<sup>24</sup> 'Deeds', 98. There is a slight ambiguity in the two uses of the term 'our lord' (*BE-LÍ-NI*) in this passage. On the first occasion it clearly refers to Niphururiya, on the second occasion it probably refers to Suppiluliuma; hence Güterbock's distinction between 'lord' and 'Lord'.

<sup>25</sup> Evidence of his royal lineage is provided, for example, by an inscription from Hermopolis, published in G. Roeder, *Armarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis* (Hildesheim, 1969), taf. 106, 831–viii C.

occupied by Ay, a commoner. This was precisely the situation foreshadowed by Niphururiya's widow—one which she had sought to avoid by a marriage alliance with the royal house of Hatti.

Wilhelm and Boese's proposal rests in the final instance on the assumption that the writing of Smenkhkare's name as Niphururiya in the 'Deeds' is due to scribal error. Hittite texts may not be entirely free of errors of this kind, but it is a dangerous practice to take refuge in such an explanation when textual evidence appears to be in conflict with a particular historical proposition. In this case, the suggestion is particularly implausible, since it involves not merely a cuneiform misrepresentation of a pharaoh's name, but confusion on the part of Mursili (or his scribe) between the names of two pharaohs—Smenkhkare (if he is to be equated with Niphururiya) and Tutankhamun. Moreover, since Suppiluliuma's reign probably ended only five years after Niphururiya's death,<sup>26</sup> then if Niphururiya = Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun must still have been on the Egyptian throne at the time of Mursili's accession, dying about four years later. We must then believe that Mursili confused the name of this king, who was his contemporary and had occupied the throne intended for his brother Zannanza, with that of the king's predecessor who had died some nine or ten years earlier!<sup>27</sup>

Chronological and historical considerations clearly rule out the identification of Niphururiya with either Akhenaten or Smenkhkare. We are left with only one acceptable conclusion—that Niphururiya is to be identified with Tutankhamun. It follows that 'Dahamunzu' = Ankhesenpaaten. With these identifications confirmed, we can reconsider the identity of Huriya, the addressee of EA 41. While we cannot decide categorically between Smenkhkare and Tutankhamun, I have a preference for the former. Once Akhenaten is ruled out as the pharaoh of the 'Dahamunzu episode', there is little to conflict with Suppiluliuma's claim in EA 41 that relations between the two kingdoms had been amicable.<sup>28</sup> The wording of the letter suggests, though it does not prove conclusively, that the addressee's reign followed immediately after that of his 'father'<sup>29</sup> and predecessor. This would certainly apply to Smenkhkare, but only to Tutankhamun if Smenkhkare did not survive Akhenaten. Of course, if Huriya's reign lasted no more than a few months, this argument would carry less weight. But a more persuasive argument in favour of Smenkhkare has been put forward by Wilhelm and Boese, who suggest that *ana Huriya* ('to Huriya') in EA 41 is a haplographical error for *ana[Ana]Huriya* ('to [Ank]kheperure'—i.e. Smenkhkare).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Unless we accept Wilhelm and Boese's proposal that his reign continued for another ten years, on the basis of their suggested reconstruction of the tablet series of the 'Deeds'.

<sup>27</sup> This calculation allows for a year's rule by Mursili's immediate predecessor Arnuwanda, and an interregnum of almost a year between Niphururiya's death and the accession of his successor (as discussed below).

<sup>28</sup> The one possible exception is the likely tension between the two kingdoms caused by the Hittite offensive against Amka reported in EA 170, a letter written by Ba'aluya and Batti'ilu to Aziru, king of Amurru, during his sojourn in Egypt. This offensive is to be distinguished from the raid on Amka by Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma around the time of Niphururiya's death: both campaigns are mentioned in the passage from Mursili's Second Plague Prayer, translated above. While it has been suggested that the events referred to in EA 170 occurred shortly before Akhenaten's death (cf. H. Klengel, *MIO* 10 (1964), 77–8), the dating of the document remains uncertain. Houwink ten Cate has suggested that it could belong to Tutankhamun's reign (*BiOr* 20, 276). That would, of course, depend on how far into the reign the Amarna archive extended.

<sup>29</sup> The term 'father' in the letter is used essentially to designate the addressee's predecessor on the Egyptian throne. It need not imply a literal father-son relationship.

<sup>30</sup> *High, Middle or Low?*, 97.

One final matter to be considered is the period of time that elapsed between the death and burial of Tutankhamun. As we know from the 'Deeds', the death must have occurred at least several weeks before Suppiluliuma's siege of Carchemish—allowing time for the news of it to reach Suppiluliuma, in the letter containing the request from Tutankhamun's widow. The report of the death is closely associated in the text with the report of the Hittite attack on Amka: 'But when the people of Egypt heard of the attack on Amka, they were afraid. And since, in addition, their lord Niphururiya had died, therefore the queen of Egypt . . . sent a messenger to my father . . .'.<sup>31</sup> We may reasonably assume that both events occurred at about the same time. Almost certainly Tutankhamun died some time after the Egyptian attack on Kadesh which preceded the Amka campaign, since it is most unlikely that the Egyptians would have launched such an attack, knowing the possible repercussions, during the crisis caused by their king's death and the sudden end of the royal line.

In calculating at what stage in the campaigning season the siege of Carchemish took place, we must allow sufficient time for the completion of the siege (eight days according to the 'Deeds'), the arrangements for the transport of booty and captives back to Hattusa, the installation of Piyassili/Sarri-Kusuh as viceroy of Carchemish, and Suppiluliuma's return to Hattusa before the onset of winter. In the light of these considerations, the siege of Carchemish was probably undertaken early in the autumn; therefore, Tutankhamun must have died in the late summer, around the middle or the end of August. If normal procedures were followed, he would have been buried seventy days later—in the late autumn. However, it is clear from botanical evidence found in the tomb<sup>32</sup> that the burial took place in spring, by the end of April at the latest. This would mean that it was delayed for something like six months beyond what would have been normal.<sup>33</sup> The burial rites were performed by Ay, who became the next pharaoh.<sup>34</sup> Murnane has recently suggested, as an alternative to supposing an abnormally long period between death and burial, that the burial did in fact take place after seventy days, that Ay became a caretaker king, performing the burial ceremonies, and that he was actually ruling in this capacity when the Hittites invaded Amka and the queen sent her letters to Suppiluliuma.<sup>35</sup> Murnane states that while the account in the 'Deeds' says not a word in support of this assumption, it is not inconsistent with it.

There are several serious objections to Murnane's proposal, but one in particular makes discussion of the others superfluous. While it is not completely clear from the 'Deeds' that Tutankhamun's death occurred around the same time as the Amka campaign, this is the most logical reading of the text. And as we have noted, the Egyptian attack on Kadesh, which took place shortly before the Amka attack, was almost certainly launched before the crisis caused by Tutankhamun's death. But apart from these considerations, attention should be drawn to a text, apparently overlooked by Murnane, which indicates quite unequivocally that the Amka campaign and the death of the

<sup>31</sup> 'Deeds', 94.

<sup>32</sup> H. Carter and A. C. Mace, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen* (London, 1927), II, 196. Carter and Mace refer to the blossoms and fruits found in the wreaths in the tomb. These include the cornflower 'which flowers at about the harvest time in March or April, and it is just at this time that the mandrake and woody nightshade fruits ripen'.

<sup>33</sup> The only precedent I know of for this is the abnormally long period of 272 days between the death and burial of the Fourth Dynasty queen Meresankh (III), *Urk.* I, 156–7 (98), to which Dr Walters has drawn my attention.

<sup>34</sup> Thus Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 231 n. 80.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.* 229–30.

pharaoh occurred within the same period—namely *KUB XXXI 121a*, translated above. In between references to the campaign conducted by Lupakki and Tarhunta-zalma and the Egyptian queen's appeal to Suppiluliuma, the text states: 'But the king of Egypt died in those days'. Thus, there can be no doubt that (a) Tutankhamun's death is to be assigned to the period shortly before the siege of Carchemish, and (b) his burial was delayed until the following spring. If they stood on their own, these two pieces of information—one documentary and the other archaeological—might well be regarded as problematical and difficult to reconcile. Yet we know from the 'Dahamunzu episode' that the Egyptian throne was left vacant for many months, pending the outcome of the queen's appeal to Suppiluliuma, and could not have been re-occupied until after the Hittite prince's death, some time during the spring of the year following the queen's appeal. The separate strands of information can thus be neatly correlated.

There can be little doubt that the queen had not foreseen that the throne would be left vacant for so long. Had Suppiluliuma replied promptly and favourably to her first letter, there would almost certainly have been sufficient time for a Hittite prince to reach Egypt and perform Tutankhamun's burial rites at the end of the seventy-day period before ascending the throne. That is obviously what the queen hoped. The timing would have been tight, but the situation did, after all, call for the utmost haste. The unexpected delay was caused by Suppiluliuma's insistence on an investigation by his envoy before he gave his decision. The queen (and presumably her supporters and advisers) were thus faced with two alternatives—to proceed with the burial in accordance with traditional practice, or to break with tradition and delay the burial until the rites could be performed by the new king. If, under normal circumstances, this act was an important part of the legitimization of a new king's accession, even greater significance must have been attached to it in the situation where the throne was to be occupied by a foreigner. Whatever the usual procedures may have been, the situation following Tutankhamun's death clearly necessitated the implementation of quite abnormal measures.

On receiving the report from his envoy, Suppiluliuma no doubt despatched Zannanza to Egypt without delay. On the assumption that Hattusa-ziti returned to Hattusa around the beginning of March (at the earliest), we have a maximum of two months (to the end of April) to cover Zannanza's departure to Egypt, his death on the journey, the report of his death in Egypt, and the burial of Tutankhamun. Once news of the death reached Egypt, it became imperative to appoint a replacement to the throne immediately, both in the interests of internal political stability and in anticipation of the Hittite response to Zannanza's death.

Under these circumstances, Ay occupied the Egyptian throne, and was presumably the recipient of Suppiluliuma's letter *KUB XIX 20*. It seems that Ay denied any responsibility for the Hittite prince's death, and we can probably accept his denial at face value. Had he had earlier designs on the Egyptian throne, he would have made his intentions clear before the Hittite envoy's return to Hattusa, rather than wait until the Hittites became directly involved in the matter of the succession. There was nothing to gain—and a great deal to lose—in delaying a bid for the throne until Suppiluliuma had committed his son to the marriage proposal. How, then, do we explain Zannanza's death? Was it organized by a rival faction in Egypt opposed to the accession of a foreigner? Was the prince killed by a local group on his passage through Syria? Was his death accidental? Or was he the victim of an as yet unrevealed conspiracy? Such speculation belongs more appropriately within the realm of historical fiction.



## NOTES ON THE EXTERIOR CONSTRUCTION SIGNS FROM TUTANKHAMUN'S SHRINES

By MARTHA R. BELL

Hieroglyphic signs on Tutankhamun's shrines are linked to construction techniques rather than tomb orientation. Structural parts and dimensions of the shrines are described.


HOWARD CARTER seems to have been the first to observe that the hieroglyphic marks, painted and scratched on various parts of Tutankhamun's four wooden shrines, indicated a cardinal orientation in reverse of the way they were actually found, if modern compass readings are used.<sup>1</sup> However, it is not altogether certain that the marks were primarily meant to be aligned with cardinal points. While recently examining the shrine remains from KV 55, I had the opportunity to look at Tutankhamun's shrines in some detail<sup>2</sup> and was able to suggest corrections to previous copies and new constructional correlations. The evidence and conclusions are presented here. My attempts to reconstruct Tiy's shrine also brought it forcibly to my attention that very little information was available on Tutankhamun's shrines, aside from the textual and iconographic studies. As a partial corrective to this situation, Carter's measurements of shrine dimensions are appended.

### 1. Signs

● = Painted sign. † = Scratched sign. Most were originally painted, but this can be very difficult to determine, especially through the glass cases. \* = Painted and scratched sign.

*Shrine I (4), Carter's 207*

	Bell <sup>3</sup>	Carter <sup>4</sup>	Piankoff <sup>5</sup>
FRONT CENTRE			

ROOF			 <sup>6</sup>
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<sup>1</sup>H. Carter, unpublished MS; field notes; *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen*, II (London, 1927), 25, 48. He attributes the reversal to carelessness. Unpublished Carter materials were very kindly made available to me by J. Malek and E. Miles, and are used here through the courtesy of the Griffith Institute. The many valuable suggestions, and general review of this paper, made by Lanny Bell have improved it immeasurably.

<sup>2</sup>Tutankhamun's shrines were viewed only as exhibited in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo. For Tiy's shrine, cf. M. Bell, 'An Armchair Excavation of KV 55', *JARCE* 27 (1990).

<sup>3</sup>These notes are based on observations made by myself and L. Bell. I have designated as 'Right' the side to one's right when facing towards the doors, as also A. Piankoff and N. Rambova, *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955). All signs have been normalized, except for hieratic *t*. For paleography see Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, plates. The signs have kindly been inked by H. Parkinson after my computer version.

<sup>4</sup>Texts from Carter MS. Roman numerals for shrines indicate position from the exterior, as given by Carter; Arabic numerals indicate the ancient Egyptian order, from the inside out.

<sup>5</sup>Texts from A. Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* (Cairo, 1952), pls. 21-2.

<sup>6</sup>I was usually not able to view, and so could not collate, any texts in the roof areas, except as marked.

LEFT PANEL SIDE

RIGHT PANEL SIDE

Bell

Carter




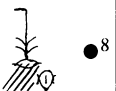
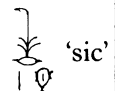




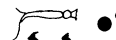


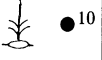


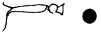


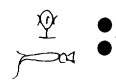





Piankoff

Bell

Carter

Piankoff














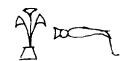














FRONT

CORNICE	 ● <sup>7</sup>			 ● <sup>8</sup>	 'sic'	
LINTEL				 ● <sup>8</sup>		
DOORS	 ● <sup>9</sup>			 ● <sup>10</sup>		
SILL	 ●					
UPRIGHTS	 ● <sup>7</sup>			 ● <sup>11</sup>		

LEFT SIDE (Right Panel)

RIGHT SIDE (Left Panel)

BACK

ROOF						
CORNICE	 ●			 ●		
FRIEZE	 ● <sup>12</sup>			 ●		
PANEL	 ● <sup>12</sup>				 <sup>13</sup>	
DADO	 ●			 ●		
UPRIGHTS	 ●				 <sup>13</sup>	

<sup>7</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pl. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pls. 54, 55; R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 40 (1940), pl. 21.

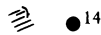








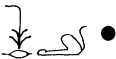





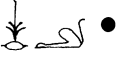




















<sup>9</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pls. 54, 58.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pls. 55, 57.












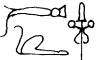
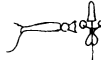









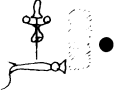


<sup>11</sup> Ibid., pl. 55; Engelbach, *ASAE* 40, pl. 21.

<sup>12</sup> Only traces of this sign remain.

<sup>13</sup> As neither Piankoff nor I saw this mark, I suspect that Carter has accidentally and mistakenly added it, in parallelism to the signs on the other side. However, there is always the possibility that the sign was effaced during removal from the tomb or reconstruction in the museum.

RIGHT PANEL	FRONT			BACK		
	Bell	Carter	Piankoff	Bell	Carter	Piankoff
MID-ROOF						
ROOF						
CORNICE						
FRIEZE						
PANEL						
DADO						
UPRIGHTS						


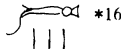





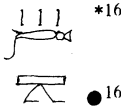

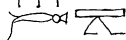
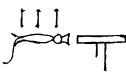
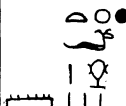



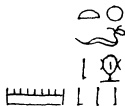
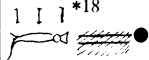

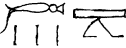

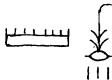

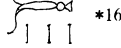










LEFT PANEL

ROOF						
FRIEZE						
PANEL						
DADO						
UPRIGHTS						







<sup>14</sup> Painted traces may represent the top curl and first leaf of *rsy*, which would be appropriate here, but could also be *hr*, as Piankoff has copied.

<sup>15</sup> Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 21. This is incorrect, and probably due to the ease of paleographic confusion between the signs.

Shrine II (3), Carter's 237

FRONT	LEFT PANEL SIDE			RIGHT PANEL SIDE		
	Bell	Carter	Piankoff	Bell	Carter	Piankoff
ROOF						
CORNICE	 *16			 *17		
LINTEL	 *16  ●16			 *16  ● 		
DOORS	 *18  ●			 ●19		
UPRIGHT TOP BOTTOM	 *16			 *19  ●19		 
SILL				 ●		

BACK  
CENTRE

CORNICE	 *20		
FRIEZE	 ●20		

<sup>16</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pl. 37.

<sup>17</sup> Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and its Treasures* (New York, 1976), [94] shows how well scratched signs can be seen, as opposed to painted signs. This plate also shows Right Front lintel, upright and door signs.

<sup>18</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pl. facing p. 93.

<sup>19</sup> Carter, op. cit., pl. 57.

<sup>20</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pl. 50.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 50, 53.

<sup>22</sup> The *rsy* is just at the back of the damaged *d*-sign on pl. 51.

<sup>23</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pl. 47.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 37, 47.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 49.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 37.

Shrine II (3), Carter's 237

LEFT (Ref. Right Panel)

RIGHT (Ref. Left Panel)

Bell

Carter

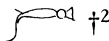
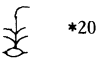


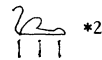


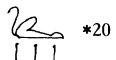



Piankoff

Bell

Carter

Piankoff





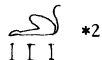


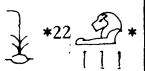


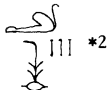






BACK

CORNICE EDGE				 †20		
CORNICE	 *20			 *20		
UPRIGHTS	 *20			 †		

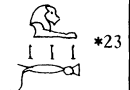


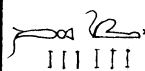

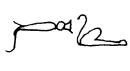
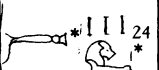

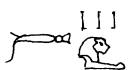
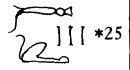


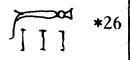



FRONT

BACK

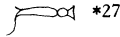


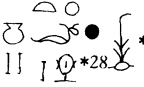















RIGHT PANEL

ROOF FRONT						
CORNICE	 *			 *21		
FRIEZE	 *22			 *21		
UPRIGHTS				 *20		







LEFT PANEL

CORNICE	 *23			 *		
FRIEZE	 *24			 *25		
UPRIGHTS	 *26					

Shrine III (2), Carter's 238

FRONT	LEFT PANEL SIDE			RIGHT PANEL SIDE		
	Bell	Carter	Piankoff	Bell	Carter	Piankoff
CORNICE EDGE				☉ *27		
MID ROOF						☉
CORNICE	 *27			 *28		
LINTEL	 †29  †29			 *29		
DOORS	 *29			 *30		

BACK CENTRE

CORNICE	 *31		
FRIEZE	 *31		

RIGHT PANEL CENTRE

CORNICE		☉ 32	
---------	--	------	--

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., pl. 23.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. E. Hornung, *Das Grab des Haremhab im Tal der Könige* (Bern, 1971), 47, pl. 47h, on the actual south wall of the chamber. Engelbach, *ASAE* 40, pl. 22 shows that only the *hr* and stroke are scratched.














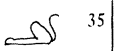






<sup>29</sup> Piankoff and Rambora, *op cit.*, pls. 23, 29. The scratched 'mouth' on the lintel is most likely a mistaken writing for the centre part of a 'north' sign, although it could be intended to indicate 'opening' or 'entrance', which would also be appropriate here.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pl. 29. Also Engelbach, *ASAE* 40, pl. 22 (incorrectly cited as Shrine II); this also shows signs on the Front's cornice and lintel (Right Panel Side).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., pl. 33.

<sup>32</sup> This was probably misplaced here from the Right Panel Roof (front part).









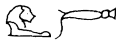


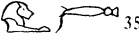

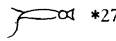




<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pl. 34. Cf. also Engelbach, *ASAE* 40, pl. 22 for signs on Right Panel (front) roof, cornice, frieze and upright.

RIGHT PANEL	FRONT			BACK		
	Bell	Carter	Piankoff	Bell	Carter	Piankoff
ROOF FRONT	̄̄ †		̄̄	̄̄ †		
CORNICE	 *33			 *31		
FRIEZE	 *33			 *34		
PANEL		 35			 35	
UPRIGHTS	 *			 *31		

LEFT PANEL  
CENTRE

CORNICE	̄̄ *	̄̄	̄̄
---------	------	----	----

LEFT PANEL

CORNICE	 *27			 *		
FRIEZE	 *36			 *37		
PANEL		 35			 35	
UPRIGHTS	 *27					

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., pls. 33, 36.

<sup>35</sup> This superfluous mark is most likely due to Carter's apparent understanding of the shrine sides as being composed of separate cross-beams/friezes and panels. Actually, they were all one piece.


<sup>36</sup> Ibid., pl. 30. This may be only scratched.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pl. 32.

Shrine IV (1), Carter's 239

Bell Carter Piankoff Bell Carter Piankoff










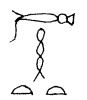
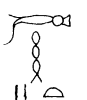
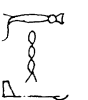
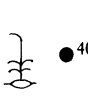


FRONT

ROOF		 38	
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LEFT PANEL SIDE

RIGHT PANEL SIDE

FRONT

LINTEL	 † <sup>39</sup>			 † <sup>39</sup>		
UPRIGHTS				 † <sup>40</sup>		
DOORS	 ● <sup>41</sup>			 ● <sup>40</sup>		





BACK CENTRE

ROOF		 42	
FRIEZE	 * <sup>43</sup>		

LEFT SIDE (Right Panel)

RIGHT SIDE (Left Panel)

BACK

UPRIGHTS		 44		 † <sup>43</sup>	 45	
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<sup>38</sup> Called 'Roof Section—front end'.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., pls. 18–19.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pl. 19.

<sup>41</sup> Logically the text should read 'north', as Piankoff's 'cubit' does not seem to make good sense here. However, the smeared ink of the final signs cannot be read clearly from outside the glass case, and the question is unresolved. Ibid., pl. 19.

<sup>42</sup> Called 'Roof Section—back end'.











<sup>43</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, op. cit., pl. 21.

<sup>44</sup> This is said to be from the 'Back End Section', on left. Possibly it was taken from the Left Panel, back upright, and mistakenly placed here.










<sup>45</sup> Indicated for 'Back end section', right.



*Shrine IV (1), Carter's 239*

RIGHT PANEL	FRONT			BACK		
	Bell	Carter	Piankoff	Bell	Carter	Piankoff
CORNICE				 *		
FRIEZE	 *46	 47		 †46	 47	
PANEL	 *46					

## LEFT PANEL

CORNICE	 *			 *		
PANEL	 †48	 49			 49	
UPRIGHTS				 *		

**2. Interpretations and conclusions<sup>50</sup>**

1. The signs are written in cursive hieroglyphic with some hieratic.

2. The signs indicate that the shrines were anciently numbered from inner to outer.<sup>51</sup> Shrine III (from the outside) has '2-*nw*' ('second')<sup>52</sup> written on many of its elements, and Shrine II (from the outside) is inscribed with triple strokes, marking them as the second and third shrines from the interior. This also implies that they were made as parts of sets.

<sup>46</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pl. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Indicated as 'Right side section', but not indicated where.

<sup>48</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pl. 20.

<sup>49</sup> Indicated as 'Left side section', but not indicated where.

<sup>50</sup> My thanks to J. Darnell and L. Bell for their invaluable assistance in the translations of all the hieroglyphic terms.

<sup>51</sup> Also noted in Carter, *op. cit.* 47-8; Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, 7, who follows Carter's system of Roman numerals from the outside in. I have noted this difference by appending the ancient number in Arabic numerals; e.g. Shrine I (4).

<sup>52</sup> Gardiner, *EG*<sup>3</sup>, §263.2, this reference courtesy of J. Darnell.



The front and back parts are never called 'west' or 'east', although they would be at these cardinal points. Instead, they are denoted as *hft-hr* and *hr*. These last seem to be larger, more all-encompassing terms than *hst* and *phwy*, and would oppose *mhy* and *rsy*. Combinations are used to denote exact location, such as 'front, north' and 'back, south'. Further joins are specified for doors to lintel, sill to jamb. Roof marks are mostly put on the south (right) side, but also appear on front and back.

6. The main source of confusion during reconstruction would be in the fitting of identical parts from the two long side-walls. So, side pieces, as well as front and back parts, are marked according to their 'north' or 'south' (i.e., left or right) position. And this must reflect an underlying view of the shrines as divided into halves *lengthwise* (which is functional and reflects the actual arrangement of parts). It is in the use of 'north' and 'south' here—instead of 'east' and 'west', which are more commonly taken as 'left' and 'right'<sup>59</sup>—that we may possibly see some use beyond the purely pragmatic for directional choice. If the shrines were normally placed on an east-west axis, then the long sides would be on the north and south. Whether this might have religious value is unclear, but note that according to the markings on Tutankhamun's shrines, the doors would be on the *west*, and the rear of the shrines on the *east*.

If cardinal orientation were the most important use of the signs, we might expect the smallest shrine to be fully marked—as this presumably set up the orientation of the whole series. However, only 'north' and 'south' are used. These would be sufficient, but hardly as elaborate as one might expect if they were weighted with religious symbolism. Further, interior marks in the 'south-west' corner of Shrine III are marked *iby*, 'east'.<sup>60</sup> If taken seriously, it would show that the orientation of Shrine III was different from that of Shrine I.

Room plan could have had some bearing on shrine placement. Both KV 55<sup>61</sup> and 62 have broad burial-chambers, and the shrines are arranged to parallel this layout, with shrine doors to the right. Clearly the sides marked *hft-hr* or *hr* are meant to face the viewer, and this may have been the main point of interest, so that actual placement would depend on where the 'front' had to go. If the shrines' orientation did affect their magical efficacy, it is hard to understand why they were not simply reversed, and thus correctly oriented to cardinal points. It would have made no difference for their re-erection,<sup>62</sup> and little to their blockage of the Treasury. Note that the canopic shrine's front, also marked *hr*, was also placed to face the onlooker. The markings in Horemheb's tomb seem to show that front and back take precedence over compass direction,<sup>63</sup> it might be that they are independent of such direction.

<sup>58</sup> *Wb.* III, 8, 10 for buildings; Hornung, op. cit., pls. 40, 41, 47d,e.

<sup>59</sup> G. Posener, *NAWG* (1965), 69, 71, 72-4: for ancient Egyptians the strong south-north orientation made east left and west right.

<sup>60</sup> The right-side front corner: Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, pl. 22. Carter, MS, called the interior marks of Shrine III "Guide Marks". Only the exterior signs are named "Orientation" marks'.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. M. Bell, *JARCE* 27 (1990). Note: if Tiy's shrine was marked as Tutankhamun's (i.e. left = north), and was actually positioned as I have suggested, it would have aligned with the orientation given by the magical bricks and also used by Ayrton.

<sup>62</sup> Except perhaps for sealing the doors. Carter, op. cit., pl. 55, shows how limited space was to both west and east.

<sup>63</sup> Hornung, op. cit., pls. 40, 41, 47d,e,h.  $\diamond$  seems to be the most important element in the phrase, as it is the only part scratched in the painted text on the cornice of Shrine III (2): cf. Engelbach, *ASAE* 40, pl. 22.

7. According to modern compass headings, the shrines have been erected in reverse, i.e. north to south, etc. But, our modern understanding could be quite different from ancient conceptions, and may have misled our interpretations of the monuments. There were significant differences between the ancient system based on the daily solar circuit and that based on night-time astronomical observations.<sup>64</sup> Problems in understanding tomb orientation and even magical brick placement illustrate this situation. Although magical bricks were specified to be at all four compass points, the Egyptians apparently felt that religious requirements were satisfied when two bricks were placed in each of the east and west walls.<sup>65</sup>

8. Interior marks, apparently in paint, occurred on Shrines I-III.<sup>66</sup> They are different from the exterior marks in that they do not seem meant to be *read*, but only to be used (by semi-literate workmen) for matching parts. They are all easily recognizable, and reminiscent of quarry marks or signs used by members of the Deir el-Medina gangs.<sup>67</sup> Although fewer, they parallel the exterior marks in placement, and were probably intended to supplement the outer indications.

9. Tutankhamun's canopic chest and its canopy both have a series of similar markings, in similarly functional positions, which certainly indicate joins. They are like the signs used on the interior of Tutankhamun's shrines, and front (*hr*) and back (*hꜣ*) are amply annotated. Ink marks on the funerary couches may be for different purposes.<sup>68</sup>

10. Carter notes<sup>69</sup> that Shrines I (4) and II (3) used metal dowels, marked with compass points, for holding cornice pieces together. He cites those on Shrine I as marked 'north-east, south-west, etc., to show their correct orientation'. As this simply parallels the shrine's corner markings, they may not have had any more necessary connection to true compass orientation than the signs did. There was most likely some variation in the placement of dowel cuttings, and perhaps size of dowel, and proper alignment was probably necessary for a good fit.

11. The doors of Shrine II seem marked as *šm*, 'going' or 'moving' (left) and *mn*, 'staying' or 'fixed' (right).<sup>70</sup> As the right door is really the outer door, fitting *over* the 'tongue' of the inner (here left) door, I am not certain what was meant. A closer examination of the shrine interior might elucidate matters. The interiors of these doors are also marked with a *hꜣš* (right) and Gardiner's sign S28, the 'cloth' determinative (left).<sup>71</sup>

12. The fact that only the largest shrine actually needed its dado, frieze, uprights, and central panel to be made of separate elements implies that the traditional design originally derived from similar, large-scale structures, probably also in wood. Thus, the typical decorative scheme for shrines is in most cases skeuomorphic (e.g. the small golden shrine of Tutankhamun).

<sup>64</sup> This information courtesy of L. Bell.

<sup>65</sup> L. Kákosy, in J. H. Kamstra, H. Milde and K. Wagtenonk, editors, *Funerary Symbols and Religion* (Kampen, 1988), 65, with references.

<sup>66</sup> Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon*, pls. 21-2; 71 (Shrine IV). These vary somewhat from those in Carter's notes. As I could see very few myself, I have not presented my own copies, and draw few conclusions.

<sup>67</sup> These comments courtesy of L. Bell.

<sup>68</sup> Edwards, *op. cit.* [60-1] for mark on left chest of lion-headed couch. There are two more on the lion-couch, and the hippo-couch also has a marking.

<sup>69</sup> Unpublished materials; Carter, *op. cit.* 43.

<sup>70</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pls. 37, 46; Carter, *op. cit.*, pl. 57.

<sup>71</sup> Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pls. 38, 39.

### 3. Shrine construction

My results differ somewhat from Carter's for several reasons. First, I rely more heavily on the logic of the marks as indicative of separate pieces. Carter, dealing with precious antiquities, may have erred on the side of caution and not dismantled the shrines any further than necessary. But, this may not have been down to the ancient level of 'dismemberment'. For example, he did not fully understand the system of joining horizontal planks since, understandably, he never took them apart.<sup>72</sup> This difference becomes acute in attempting to understand the construction of lintels and cornices on Shrines I and II. The inner construction of sections can now only be inferred from the position of cracks in the gesso.

Furthermore, Carter seems never to have distinguished clearly between the mere representations of parts, and their actual presence as separate members. On all four shrines he spoke of the side panels as being constructed of chief beam, panel and dado, when actually only Shrine I has all these elements. The other shrines simply have their *representations*.<sup>73</sup>

Side panels and doors were built in the same, very strong, way—essentially 'framed' like a picture. The vertical interior planks of the doors are held by what Carter calls 'rails': horizontal edging pieces at top and bottom, the same width as the total width of the planks. Then narrower vertical pieces, Carter's 'clamps', finished off the 'hanging' and 'meeting' edges. These were the same length as the planks plus the 'rails', and so completed the whole. On Shrine I, the horizontal 'rails' may be the finishing elements, perhaps to give additional resistance to sagging. The side panels are made similarly, except that all the interior planks are horizontal, so there are no 'rails'. They can, however, have more than one set of vertical 'clamps'.

All joining edges seem to have been rebated, and further strengthened with copper<sup>74</sup> and wood tenons, held by dowels of the same material. These were applied to all joints, vertical and horizontal. The joints were apparently also glued,<sup>75</sup> and Plenderleith<sup>76</sup> says that a copper tenon was 'luted' into position with a 'resinous material'. Copper tenons seem to have been used only in the cornice area, especially in the corners. They presumably made stronger joints to roof and/or body and better supported the weight of the roof. Horizontal, S-shaped, copper dowels were also placed across cornice joints on Shrines I and II.<sup>77</sup> All four shrines were edged with copper<sup>78</sup> skirting, probably to protect their footing. This has been formed individually around each body element, and is a sure indication of segment division. Only Shrines I and II have copper sheathing for the door pivots, probably meant as extra protection against strain and wear due to the doors' greater weight.

<sup>72</sup> It can be demonstrated that the planks from Tiy's shrine are not simply joined by dowels, but that the dowels represent vertical tenon placements: see my forthcoming article on KV 55 in *JARCE* 27 (1990). It is not clear if Carter actually took Shrine I's frieze, panel and dado apart when he removed them, as he talks about removing panels (after the roof and entablature), leaving only the corner uprights (op. cit. 43).

<sup>73</sup> Cf. n. 35.

<sup>74</sup> Plenderleith and Lucas both determined that the metal was not bronze (Griffith Institute archives). Shrine I apparently did not have copper tenons (implied by Carter, op. cit. 40, but mentioned in field notes).

<sup>75</sup> Carter MS.

<sup>76</sup> Report to Carter (Griffith Institute archives); also Carter, op. cit. 203.

<sup>77</sup> Carter, op. cit. 43 and MS.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid. 205–6.

*Shrine I (4): 24 sections*<sup>79</sup>

Roof: 3 sections. The middle part had been reversed.<sup>80</sup> The double curve could have been for structural, as well as religious, reasons, due to the roof's great length.<sup>81</sup> Horizontal boards were used to build up a frame on all four sides, and the top is formed by planks laid across the width (from side to side), running down the length of the frame.

Cornice: 4 sections. Joins are on the sides, so the front and back pieces are U-shaped in plan. A round moulding is attached to the bottom.

Frieze: 3 sections. Carter thought that the 4 frieze beams were made in one piece with the cornice. The multiplicity of joiners' marks here, plus the extreme unwieldiness and vulnerability of such a construction, makes it most unlikely. Although very difficult to see, traces on the left side may lend credence to my view. Carter apparently never tried to separate cornice from frieze.<sup>82</sup>

Lintel: 1 section. The lintel surely needed to be extremely strong, and I think it was always made separately from the cornice. On the two smaller shrines it was combined with the uprights and sill still forming a very strong weight-supporting arrangement.

Panel: 3 sections. These comprise only the sunken, central area, not the frieze or the dado.

Dado: 3 sections. This is a separate element on the back and sides.

Sill: 1 section. A separate element on this shrine. The sills on all four shrines are horizontal beams somewhat less wide than the lintel, so that the jambs can be attached to them on both their tops and sides. Carter says that the jambs are 'mitered and stub tenoned' to the lintel, and 'stub tenoned' to the sill.

Upright: 4 sections. Breaks in the copper skirting show that these were separate elements. Joined in a complicated manner from several pieces of wood, their construction needs more study. Carter says that the vertical corner mouldings are 'planted', i.e. attached with headless wooden pins.

Door: 2 sections. Made of about 5 vertical planks held by 'rails'.<sup>83</sup>

*Shrine II (3): 17 sections*<sup>84</sup>

The body is built similarly to Shrine I.

Roof: 2 sections. The roof of Shrines II and III are similar in shape, a single curve, and both are constructed as Shrine I.

Cornice: 4 sections. As Shrine I.

Upright: 4 sections. Breaks in the copper skirting show that they are separate elements.

<sup>79</sup> Carter noted 20, because he thought that cornice and frieze were made in one. Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pls. 54-5. Carter (*op. cit.* 42) says that the four shrines 'comprised in all some eighty sections ...'. His notes mention only 51. My total is 61. All Carter references are to his unpublished MS and field notes now in the Griffith Institute, unless otherwise specified.

<sup>80</sup> Carter MS. As it had no orientation markings the fit must not have been good.

<sup>81</sup> Carter, unpublished MS.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Carter, *op. cit.* 42-3, pls. 15, 58, where lintel and cornice seem still attached, although the side panels have been removed.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pls. 57-8.

<sup>84</sup> Carter counted 16, as he attaches the front cornice to the lintel. Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pls. 37, 50.

Body panel: 3 sections. The back and sides are only *decorated* to look like separate friezes, panels and dados.<sup>85</sup> They are actually made of horizontal planks (6–7 on the sides, 5 at back) framed by 2 vertical ‘clamps’.

Front: 2 sections. Lintel and sill are separately made, and joined by the jambs.

Door: 2 sections. About 3 vertical planks, with ‘rails’ and ‘clamps’.

*Shrine III (2): 12 sections*<sup>86</sup>

Built similarly to Shrine IV.

Roof: 2 sections. Shape and construction like Shrine II.

Cornice: 4 sections. As Shrines I, II.

Body: 4 sections. The body construction of Shrines III and IV is similar, and certainly due to their small size. As the corner uprights are made in one with the sill and lintel (front), or panel (back), the front and back take on a U-shaped plan, like the cornice. This means that the join with the side sections is actually made on the sides. These joins can be seen in the copper skirting.

The sides are simple straight sections. As on Shrine II, the frieze and dado are only decorative, not structural, elements. The sides have about 5–6 horizontal planks, the back about 7, all with vertical ‘clamps’. On the front, the lintel is cut away in the centre for the doors, so that it actually juts down on each side, forming part of the jambs.

Doors: 2 sections. Made of two vertical planks, with ‘rails’ and ‘clamps’.

*Shrine IV (1): 8 sections*<sup>87</sup>

Built similarly to Shrine III, and simplest of all, certainly due to its small size.

Roof: 1 section; cornice: 1 section? The roof is different in design and construction from the other shrines. Carter said that it was made in one piece with the cornice.<sup>88</sup> The sheer unwieldiness of such an arrangement, plus the presence of signs, makes me question his conclusion: only careful examination will resolve the question. Carter himself cited marks for roof front and back, and I noticed an unusual system on the cornice. Instead of the usual clean joint-lines on the sides,<sup>89</sup> only a section half the height of the cornice makes the return. A similar section from the side seems to overlap this, somewhat in the manner of sill and jamb. The directional signs are scratched on these sections, as if they were separate and meant to be joined. However, there are so few marks on the whole that one could take them for general positioning marks, rather than as matching particular parts.

Body: 4 sections. As Shrine III. The back is made of about 6 horizontal planks; the uprights, as indicated by the decoration, are actually made from 2 vertical ‘clamps’, with the narrowest on the outside. The sides are made of about 6 planks held by ‘clamps’.

Doors: 2 sections. They seem made of 2 vertical planks, with ‘rails’ and ‘clamps’.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, pls. 47, 50.

<sup>86</sup> Carter listed 10: he counts the doors as one with the front, not separately. Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pls. 23, 33.

<sup>87</sup> Carter counted five: he says the cornice is made in one with the roof, and he counts the doors as one with the front. Cf. Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pl. 18.

<sup>88</sup> Carter, *op. cit.* 46–7; pl. 15 showed the roof being lifted in one with the cornice. Carter had great difficulty in removing it this way and one wonders if his difficulty was due to his failure to separate two distinct parts, or if the ancients also had to spend several days getting it into the tomb.

<sup>89</sup> E.g., Piankoff and Rambova, *op. cit.*, pl. 55.

**4. Shrine dimensions (Carter)***I (4), Carter's 207:*

	1. MS ('Mean measurement')	2. Field notes
At base	5.02 × 3.34 m	5.02 × 3.34
At abutment of cornice	4.94 × 3.27	
Max. cornice	5.30 × 3.63	5.265 × 3.63
H. to abutment of cornice	2.40	
H. to top of cornice	2.70	2.705
H. max.	2.98	2.98
Batter (approx.)	15.6 mm per 1 m vertical	15 mm per 1 m vertical
Doorway	2.77 w. × 2.07 h.	

*II (3), Carter's 237:*

	1. MS ('Mean measurement')	2. Field notes
At base	3.83 × 2.52	3.827 × 2.525
At abutment of cornice	3.767 × 2.47	
Max. cornice	4.032 × 2.75	4.03 × 2.75
H. to abutment of cornice	1.75	
H. to top of cornice	2.00	1.99
H. max.	2.25	
Batter (approx.)	16.8 mm per 1 m vertical	18 mm per 1 m vertical
Doorway	1.39 h. × 1.92 w.	

*III (2), Carter's 238:*

	1. MS ('Mean measurement')	2. Field notes
At base	3.355 × 2.07	3.37 × 2.09
At abutment of cornice	3.305 × 2.02	
Max. cornice	3.565 × 2.29	3.56 × 2.29
H. to abutment of cornice	1.65	
H. to top of cornice	1.88	1.88
H. max.	2.08	
Batter (approx.)	15 mm per 1 m vertical	15-21 mm per 1 m vertical
Doorway	1.615 w. × 1.375 h.	



*IV (1), Carter's 239:*

	1. MS ('Mean measurement')	2a. Field notes: Shrine
At base	2.905 × 1.615	2.935 × 1.62
Max. cornice <sup>90</sup>	3.09 × 1.81	3.09 × 1.81
H. to abutment of cornice	1.52	
H. max.	1.92	1.955
Batter approx.	19.7 mm per 1 m vertical	3.33 cm per 1 m vertical <sup>91</sup>
Doorway	1.215 w. × 1.31 h.	
Door leaf	1.20 <sup>92</sup> × 0.60	
Roof height		0.40
	2b. Field notes: South Side Panel [compass south, Left Side-Panel]	2c. Field notes: North Side Panel [compass north, Right Side-Panel]
L. at bottom	2.54	2.52
L. at top	2.48	2.46
'(Height) = w. 152 cents.'		1.51
Batter	3 cm	3 cm
Thickness overall:	5.5 cm min. 7.0 cm max.	6.0 cm
	2d. Field notes: West End Panel (including corner posts) [compass west, i.e., back]	
L. at bottom	1.63	
L. at top	1.59	
W. corner posts	0.195 each	
Height	1.51	
Batter	3 cm	
'For thickness see above'	[i.e., North Side Panel]	
	3. Field notes (revised)	
At base	2.905 × 1.615	
Max. cornice	3.09 × 1.81	
H. to abutment of cornice	1.52	
H. max.	1.92	
Batter approx.	16.5 mm per 1 m vertical	
Doorway	1.215 w. × 1.31 h.	
Door leaf	1.30 × 0.60	

<sup>90</sup>This is specifically said to be at the 'extreme edges of cavetto cornice'. However, if the measurements were not taken at the abutment of the cornice. I do not understand how Carter was able to work out the degree of batter.

<sup>91</sup>This is impossible, and seems to be the total amount of batter, rather than per metre.

<sup>92</sup>In the MS this has been corrected by hand from 130 × 60 cm to 120 × 60 cm. The revised field notes give 130 × 60 cm.

## 4. Field sketch-plan

Back: total width	1.595
width uprights	20 cm wide
Front: width uprights	21.5
width door leaves	58
total width	1.59 [by doubling leaves and uprights]
Left side: w. uprights	19.5
total width	2.895
joint open	1.5 cm in front, and 2 cm in back [can see from his figures that the total width of 2.895 is 2.86 plus 2, plus 1.5 to produce total w. so he includes the gaps]
thickness wall	6 cm
Right side: w. uprights	19.5
total width	2.86 [implies joints not open here?]

## 5. Field sketch of front

W. base	16.2 [+ corner mouldings?]
W. abutment cornice	156.5 + 5 [corner mouldings] = 161.5
H.	152
Max. H.	152 + 40 = 192

## HOGS AND HYGIENE\*

By ROBERT L. MILLER

Physiological and ecological aspects of pig raising can shed light on the value of pigs in the subsistence economy of the workmen's villages at Deir el-Medina and Amarna. Recycling waste to feed pigs meant that a more efficient use could be made of available food sources, including scraps which would not sustain a larger human, with the option of butchering the animal to recoup the energy resources invested in it.

### Pig diet and nutrition

ACCORDING to one study of the biology of pigs, 'In its nutrient requirements, the pig resembles the human in more ways than any other nonprimate mammalian species'.<sup>1</sup> This makes it well suited to recycling scraps from human food preparation and leftovers. Until recently, in a number of agricultural and urban economies in Europe and North America as well as in Asia and Oceania, pigs played an important role in waste disposal and domestic hygiene.<sup>2</sup> Lack of refrigeration in traditional sub-tropical village economies meant that food left uneaten after a meal could not always be safely consumed later, as food-spoiling microorganisms, some of which could cause gastroenteritis and food poisoning, would quickly reach unacceptable levels for human consumption.<sup>3</sup> As domestic refuse would be disposed of close to the house, a domestic animal with a range

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<sup>1</sup> W. G. Pond and K. A. Houpt, *The Biology of the Pig* (Ithaca, NY, 1978), 276.

<sup>2</sup> **Europe and North America:** According to Waverley Root, 'Naples was probably the last important city of the West to permit pigs to feed in the city streets because until quite recently it had no other street-cleaning service ... Each house had its own pig tethered by a twenty-four-foot rope, the right length to permit it to clean up the street in front of its own premises' (*Food* (New York, 1980), 372). In medieval Paris, street pigs fed in the gutters provided the cheapest meat (ibid. 371); urban pigs in sixteenth century Flanders were depicted by Pieter Breugel the Elder (C. Grigson, 'Porridge and pottage: pig husbandry in Neolithic England', in M. Bell and S. Limbrey (eds.), *Archaeological Aspects of Woodland Ecology* (Oxford, 1982), 302-3, fig. 1). In New York, pigs foraged in the streets until well into the nineteenth century (Waverley Root, op. cit. 372). **Indonesia and Papua New Guinea:** R. A. Rappaport, *Pigs for the Ancestors* (New Haven, 1967), 58; R. Feachem, 'The Raiapu Enga pig herd', *Mankind* 9 (1973), 25-31. **Asia:** A. Pacey (ed.), *Sanitation in Developing Countries* (Chichester, 1978), 28 and 203. In Hong Kong, about half of the potential loss of restaurant and domestic food preparation waste is saved and fed to pigs, allowing the per capita protein consumption to be four times the recommended minimum daily allowance (S. Boyden, *An integrative ecological approach to the study of human settlements* (Paris, 1979), 49-50).

<sup>3</sup> There are good health reasons for not eating unrefrigerated leftovers in climates where flies and relatively high temperatures provide ideal conditions for microbial populations such as *E. coli*, the standard microorganism used to indicate the degree of faecal contamination of food and water. Populations of *E. coli* double every 40-80 minutes at room temperatures of 30-40°C (F. H. Johnson and I. Lewin, 'The growth rate of *E. coli* in relation to temperature, quinine and coenzyme', *Journal of Cellular and Comparative Physiology* 28 (1946), 59, fig. 9). At this rate of growth, even a relatively minor colony of 10 human *E. coli* would grow to 30,000 in about 10 hours. While most food spoiling microorganisms are harmless, illness and even death can result in some cases (C. S. Pederson, *Microbiology of food fermentation*, 2nd ed. (Westport, 1979), 82). Like most microorganisms adapted to the guts of warm-blooded animal hosts, *E. coli* populations divide and

of nutrient requirements similar to humans, able to recycle nutrients for later consumption, was a considerable benefit. Even when no other sources of animal food are available, pigs, dogs and poultry can fend for themselves if allowed to range freely and scavenge their feed from open areas.<sup>4</sup>

What criteria might be used to infer the use of pigs as scavengers in ancient communities?<sup>5</sup> Studies of archaeozoology and population ecology provide some interesting possibilities which complement the ethnozoological record. At Abu Salabikh, Iraq, milk teeth shed by juvenile pigs were recovered by water sieving from street deposits dated c. 2500 BC, which might suggest that pigs ran free in the streets, disposing of the waste and garbage thrown out of the door.<sup>6</sup> This hypothesis needs to be tested by comparison with observed patterns of behaviour, as carefully sieved bone assemblages from this and other sites are published in the future.

Ethnographic observation in Greek villages suggests that small numbers of pigs can be allowed to run free, and that if they are let out during the day from a sty where buckets of water and feed are available for them to return to as needed, they will forage up to a radius of about a mile from where they are kept.<sup>7</sup> This pattern can be seen among the *zabbālīn* refuse collectors of Cairo today. A recent study of this group noted that 'the practice, common in low-income areas, of feeding and raising animals in streets and yards on waste food and other refuse means that much of the public area waste in such quarters is actually domestic waste'.<sup>8</sup> Ancient pictorial evidence may show a similar management practice. The pigs which are depicted being driven through the open by swineherds in New Kingdom tombs<sup>9</sup> could have passed through town streets going to and from their home sites on their way to the fields. Not all pigs were necessarily allowed to range free, and the right to fatten pigs on the garbage of a neighbourhood could have been as strictly regulated in antiquity as it has been by the Wahiya garbage brokers of Cairo in recent times, who bid for or inherit the right to rent collection routes to the *zabbālīn* who gather the refuse.<sup>10</sup>

The use of domesticated livestock, especially pigs, as walking waste disposal units within Cairo's recent inventive and unique network of entrepreneurial technology

grow at a much slower rate at cooler temperatures, taking over three hours to double in numbers at 18°C (Johnson and Lewin, loc. cit.). Thus, in temperate conditions with a room temperature at around 64°F, a colony of 10 *E. coli* would still only increase to 80 in 10 hours, so that neither these bacteria nor the possible pathogens which might be occasionally present as well would be likely to multiply to dangerous levels. As the chances of a given microorganism being able to multiply in its host are related to the size of the microbial population ingested, people with a taste for leftovers have a much better chance of avoiding unpleasant consequences in temperate climates, and people with year-round experience of cooking and eating in tropical climates tend to discard leftovers.

<sup>4</sup> Pigs and poultry: L. G. Allbaugh, *Crete: a case study of an underdeveloped area* (Princeton, 1953), 279; pigs and dogs: S. Bökönyi, in J. Clutton-Brock (ed.), *The walking larder: patterns of domestication, pastoralism and predation* (London, 1989), 23.

<sup>5</sup> G. F. Ijzereef, 'Bronze Age Animal Bones from Bovenkarspel', *Nederlandse Oudheden* 10 (1981); Grigson, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> S. Payne, 'Abu Salabikh: Pilot sample water-sieving, 1985' (unpublished manuscript).

<sup>7</sup> Recent, unpublished archaeological ethnographic fieldwork under the auspices of the British School at Athens by J. Cocking (personal communication, January 1989).

<sup>8</sup> K. E. Haynes and S. M. El-Hakim, 'Appropriate technology and public policy: the urban waste management system in Cairo', *Geographical Review* 69 (1979), 102.

<sup>9</sup> W. J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui and L. Grivetti, *Food: the gift of Osiris* (London, 1977), I, 186-7, figs. 4.8 and 4.9.

<sup>10</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 102-3.

appropriate for modern urban waste management would furnish rich pickings for specifically archaeologically-oriented studies. The correlations between areas of waste disposal, the different sizes and sorts of organic and inorganic rubbish found in them, and the careful identification of significant subsets of animal bone preservation and distribution which might be characteristic of different species of refuse scavengers and commensals would certainly be a fascinating subject for an unsqueamish interdisciplinary anthropological project on the lines of those already undertaken in other areas.<sup>11</sup> Much valuable information could be informally gathered without the commitment of resources required by such a project, which could only be carried out by an institution based in Cairo year round. The hypothesis that areas where young pigs forage can be identified by the presence of milk teeth is one which may still be susceptible to testing in some neighbourhoods of Egypt, and it is to be hoped that a zoo-archaeologist can undertake this before the demand of contractors for landfill and the unwillingness of commuters to share the streets with other people's garbage ends the activities of the *zabbālin* in their present form. It would also be interesting to compare the density of such milk teeth per square metre in streets where pigs are usually found in the open, and in the *zeribas* (enclosed pigyards) where they are kept, with densities in streets through which they pass only on occasion.

This might furnish a means of distinguishing the degree to which access was free or restricted within different areas of open space in streets and compounds during the New Kingdom. Although pigs certainly belonged to temples during the New Kingdom,<sup>12</sup> areas such as the inner parts, where even people were not allowed, would probably have been off limits to the pigs scavenging through the heaps of waste immediately adjacent to the enclosure walls. On the other hand, would the interior spaces of small neighbourhood chapels, such as those in the Workmen's Village at Amarna, have been as carefully protected as the interiors of the major temples? If pigs were carefully penned or tethered, even in the Workmen's Village, isolated milk teeth might also be less common in such contexts, although butchering young pigs would also produce milk teeth in the archaeological record in areas where they were eaten, in addition to those where they fed.

Pigs are not the only species to enjoy a comparable range of nutrients to those needed by humans, and often have to share the spoils of human household refuse with other species, such as domestic fowl and dogs, which are also common scavengers in villages and towns in the tropics and subtropics. There may be an interesting principle of coevolution<sup>13</sup> involved, relating to species with similar nutrient requirements sharing the same niche. While no simple mathematical rule accounts for all cases, there are a number of instances which support the empirical rule of thumb noted by R. H. MacArthur that, among species with similar food preferences, the larger tends to be about twice as heavy as the smaller.<sup>14</sup> As young pigs used for pork are often slaughtered when they have

<sup>11</sup> W. L. Rathje, 'Modern material culture studies', in M. B. Schiffer (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (New York, 1979), 1-37; R. A. Gould and M. B. Schiffer (eds.), *Modern Material Culture: the archaeology of us* (New York, 1981); B. Hayden and A. Cannon, 'Where the garbage goes: refuse disposal in the Maya Highlands', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 2 (1983), 117-63.

<sup>12</sup> Darby *et al.*, *op. cit.* 189.

<sup>13</sup> R. Foley (ed.), *Hominid Evolution and Community Ecology* (New York, 1984), 6-10; M. H. Nitecki (ed.), *Coevolution* (Chicago, 1983).

<sup>14</sup> *Geographical Ecology: Patterns in the Distribution of Species* (New York, 1972), 23. More recent discussion of the issue of differing weights of prey, predators and species with similar diets occupying the same habitat,

reached a weight of at least 40 kg (either at 14–18 weeks intensive feeding in temperate zone pig management,<sup>15</sup> or at 8 months in pigs fed on urban garbage in Cairo<sup>16</sup>) their size would appear to fit this rule, although sows and boars needed for breeding would reach considerably larger weights.

As with any example of mutualistic coevolution, both species benefit. The scavenger which has been domesticated and housed obtains the advantage of the reduced mortality from predation by other species or by adults of its own kind on infants or juveniles, protection which an architecturally-structured environment can provide. It also benefits from the foods discarded, overlooked or broken up into more easily ingested units by the larger commensal.<sup>17</sup> The presence of a relatively heavy-weight scavenger such as the pig in the urban and village environment would also increase the productivity of the ecosystem and speed the nutrient flow to the greater numbers of smaller organisms which can thereby be supported.<sup>18</sup> Where loose earth and rubbish were eventually used as manure in orchards and garden plots in or near residential areas, this consideration is particularly significant, as populations of microbial and beetle detritivores would be needed to free or fix nutrients required by the plants growing there. Finally, humans can use domesticated scavengers as food and energy stores of different sizes available for enjoyment on special occasions and for sharing or exchanging as the need arises.

The flexibility of pig diet is also important. Pigs are able to hydrolyze and absorb very large amounts of fat efficiently from birth (about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the dry matter of sow's milk is fat), and they are not as demanding in requirements for protein and carbohydrates as other

as well as the extent to which the size of an animal reflects the size of its meals, is found in R. M. May (ed.), *Theoretical Ecology: Issues and Applications*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1981) and in D. R. Strong, D. Simberloff, L. G. Abele and A. B. Thistle (eds.), *Ecological Communities: Conceptual Issues and the Evidence* (Princeton, 1984). The issue is not trivial: if litters of ten pigs with the same range of nutrient requirements as humans were kept until they reached the same size as humans, the numbers of the human population would tend to be reduced to support the animals. Direct competition for food may have occurred in times of famine or when children were malnourished. An ostrakon from Deir el-Medina depicts a weeping child reduced to eating from the same dish as a pig (J. Vandier d'Abbadie, *ASAE* 40 (1941), 481, pl. 44); see also Frances Trollope's *Life and Adventures of Michael Armstrong, the Factory Boy* (1840) for an illustration of underfed children working in a factory warily raiding a pig trough for scraps (reproduced in D. Hunter, *The Disease of Occupations*, 6th ed. (London, 1978), 109, fig. 45). Serious injuries requiring hospitalization from free-ranging domestic pigs are reported as occurring at a frequency of less than 1/100,000 population in Papua New Guinea (P. Barss and S. Ennis, 'Injuries caused by pigs in Papua New Guinea', *Medical Journal of Australia* 149 (1988), 649–56), and so would not be expected to have occurred more than once a year in a whole nome, or once a generation in a village such as Deir el-Medina or that at Amarna. Nevertheless, two of the six cases over six years in a population of 135,000 in Milne Bay Province, Papua New Guinea, involved two-year-old toddlers bitten or tusked by domestic village pigs stealing food from their hands.

Although pigs often indicate the presence of forest resources, their presence in unforested urban contexts is itself worth noting as an adaptation to desertification. When the environment in the neighbourhood of human settlements is so severely degraded that it cannot support large animals, the prospects for the survival of wildlife, humans and livestock in the vicinity are equally bleak, a process that can be observed in marginal environments in some instances in antiquity (R. Miller, 'Elephants, ivory and charcoal: an ecological perspective', *BASOR* 264 (1986), 29–43). As some environmental degradation always accompanies human settlements, their longer-term survival may, perhaps, have been assisted by recycling waste for meat production using scavenging species such as pigs. The time-scale on which the coevolutionary adaptation between pigs and people occurs is similar to that involving species with similar nutrient requirements in island ecosystems, and differences in size between human populations and their domestic animals might be predicted by similar mathematical models developed for the study of coevolution in other contexts (e.g. J. Roughgarden, 'Coevolution between competitors', in D. J. Futuyma and M. Slatkin (eds.), *Coevolution* (Sutherland, Mass., 1983), 383–403).

<sup>15</sup>J. F. Gracey, *Thornton's Meat Hygiene*, 7th ed. (Eastbourne, 1981), 11.

<sup>16</sup>Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 104.

<sup>17</sup>R. H. Peters, *The Ecological Implications of Body Size* (Cambridge, 1983), 158.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

domestic animals.<sup>19</sup> Even so, comparison of the rate of growth of pigs with other domestic animals in the first three months of life<sup>20</sup> shows that the potential returns for the investment of energy and other nutrients during this period can be three- to fivefold greater than with other domestic animals. This flexibility in what can be nutritiously ingested by pigs may at first sight weaken the argument for human and porcine mutualism: although pigs and people can eat the same range of foods, the offal, rubbish and waste which pigs eat would not go on the table of their owners. However, it is this omnivorous scavenging which has made the pig an important component of a shared mutual benefit between people and pigs over 8000 years. While tapeworm from undercooked pig meat is a human health problem, pigs nevertheless ingest waste and faecal material which would otherwise pose risks to health in permanently settled communities. A comparison of the number of diseases pigs carry which are a risk to humans with the number of diseases which human waste can carry might be revealing. Scavenging pigs might reduce the incidence of faecally-transmitted intestinal parasites such as shigella (dysentery) bacteria and hookworm infections by occasionally interrupting the cycle of transmission, even though they would not eliminate them altogether.<sup>21</sup> As with other

<sup>19</sup> Pond and Houpt, op. cit. 284-99.

<sup>20</sup> J. Hannan, 'Recent advances in our knowledge of iron deficiency anaemia in piglets', *Veterinary Record* 88 (1971), fig. 1.

<sup>21</sup> R. Feachem, D. J. Bradley, H. Garelick and D. D. Mara, *Appropriate Technology for Water Supply and Sanitation, vol. 3. Health aspects of excreta and sullage management—a state-of-the-art review* (Washington, D. C., 1980); P. E. C. Manson-Bahr and F. I. C. Apter, *Manson's Tropical Diseases* 18th ed. (London, 1982). With the exception of well-known zoonoses like *Salmonella* or protozoa, few pathogens adapted to the gut of one species thrive inside other species. An *E. coli* strain associated with diarrhoea in piglets failed to cause diarrhoea in 14 adults at doses of  $10^6$ - $10^9$ , although human *E. coli* strains associated with diarrhoea caused diarrhoea in more than two thirds of adults at doses of  $10^9$  in two other studies (R. G. Feachem, D. J. Bradley, H. Garelick and D. D. Mara, *Sanitation and Disease: Health aspects of excreta and wastewater management* (Chichester, 1983), 201). Some diseases may be transmitted from pigs to humans. According to Barss and Ennis (op. cit. 653), *Strongyloides* spp. can be picked up from salad grown in pig faeces; this genus of worm is recorded from a Twenty-fifth Dynasty mummy studied by the Manchester Mummy Project (R. David and E. Tapp, (eds.), *Evidence Embalmed* (Manchester, 1984), 70-1, 94-5). However, other direct lines of human-human transmission via human faeces in moist soil are more significant; the person who picked up the *Strongyloides* in Milne Bay reported by Barss and Ennis was a visitor, the relation of pigs to local morbidity is not known and is only anecdotal in this case. Pigs are only indirectly responsible for some ascarid roundworm infections. Although the distribution of ascarid infections in southeast Asia and the Pacific corresponds closely to areas of significant pig raising, and pigs have been implicated in the transmission of ascariasis (Barss and Ennis, op. cit. 653), this is primarily due to their inability to digest ascarid eggs ingested with human faeces (H. I. Jones, 'The role of pigs in the dissemination of Ascaris and hookworm infections in Papua New Guinea', *Papua New Guinea Medical Journal* 19 (1976), 153-5). Ascarid eggs can pass unharmed through a pig's gut and remain viable, in contrast to hookworm eggs, which are largely destroyed in transit (ibid.). Ascariasis is recorded in a second century BC Ptolemaic mummy (A. Cockburn, W. H. Peck, R. A. Barraco and T. A. Reyman, 'A classic mummy: PUM II', in A. Cockburn and E. Cockburn (eds.), *Mummies, Disease and Ancient Cultures* (Cambridge, 1983), 65-6). However, while humans must originally have acquired *Ascaris* from pigs rather than prehuman primates because this worm is not a natural parasite of primates in the wild (*Lancet* 1 (1989), 997-8), recent work indicates that there is very little evidence of cross transmission between human *A. lumbricoides* and pig *A. suum*, and it is concluded that '*A. lumbricoides* is a man-adapted parasite maintained in nature by interhuman transmission' (ibid.). There may even be benefits to infection with *Ascaris*, which may provide a degree of generic cross-protection against more virulent helminths (ibid. 98; G. S. Nelson, 'Parasitic zoonoses', in P. T. Englund and A. Sher (eds.), *The Biology of Parasitism* (New York, 1988), 26-7), as well as stimulation of mast cell production which may have supplied some protection against coronary disease (*Lancet* 1 (1989), 997-8). This would be further evidence of coevolution to the mutual benefit of parasite and host (ibid.), especially given the significant amounts of pork in the ancient Egyptian diet suggested by this study and the frequency of cardiovascular pathology in Egyptian mummies (reviewed by A. T. Sandison in D. Brothwell and A. T. Sandison (eds.), *Diseases in Antiquity* (Springfield, Ill., 1967), 474-88 and in Cockburn and Cockburn (eds.), *Mummies, Disease and Ancient Cultures*, 37).

cases of interaction between species, a conscious understanding of the process of mutual adaptation is not required on either side, but the epidemiological benefits of pig raising could have been experienced even by communities whose only concern was the eventual consumption of the scavenging species they provided for.

Considerable volumes of waste can be produced by households. A century ago the amount of domestic waste produced per capita, excluding sullage, was estimated as 567 kg a year,<sup>22</sup> equivalent to over 1.5 kg a day per person. While not all of the waste would be of nutritional value to domestic scavengers, the ability of pigs to consume both garbage and faeces would mean that sources of human pathogens would also be removed from public areas, limiting the opportunities for the transmission of some faecally transmitted diseases. Pigs readily consume human waste. Instances of excreta disposed of directly into pig pens are known from parts of Asia;<sup>23</sup> palaeobiological study of waste found in animal pens suggests that this practice may also have occurred 3300 years ago in the Workmen's Village at Amarna, where eggs resembling those of *Taenia* spp. were found in faeces. As eggs are produced by the adult *Taenia* worms which live in humans, not by the immature larvae which inhabit pigs, it would appear that human faeces were present in these deposits.<sup>24</sup>

It is also interesting to note that a family of four can in some instances produce approximately 2 kg of nitrogen-rich excreta each per day.<sup>25</sup> This, together with an estimated 220 g of garbage and rubbish produced per capita per day,<sup>26</sup> would be enough to provide much of the food required for four young pigs. For optimum weight gain pigs need to consume about 5% of their body weight daily, which is calculated as 2.25 kg food/day for a 45 kg pig.<sup>27</sup> As pigs also need phosphorous,<sup>28</sup> the mixture of hearth ash, human waste and garbage which is characteristic of public dumps would provide an ideal combination of nutrients for rapid weight gain. Recycled offal from butchering may also have formed part of New Kingdom pigs' diet, to judge from evidence of another intestinal worm present in the mummy of a weaver, Nakht. Nakht's trichinosis<sup>29</sup> would probably have been caused by eating pork, and the incidence of trichinosis is greatest in swine fed slaughterhouse offal, although alternative routes of infection include the ingestion by pigs of viable trichinella cysts from carnivore carcasses, rodents or rodent faeces.<sup>30</sup> As the

<sup>22</sup>H. Schadewaldt, 'Von der Cloaca maxima bis zur modernen Kläranlage-historische Aspekte zur Abfallbeseitigung', *Zentralblatt für Bakteriologie, Mikrobiologie und Hygiene*, 1. Abt. Orig. B 178 (1983), 68-80.

<sup>23</sup>Pacey, op. cit. 28.

<sup>24</sup>C. R. Donald, in B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports 1* (London, 1984), 56-7.

<sup>25</sup>Pacey, op. cit. 154.

<sup>26</sup>H. B. Gotaas, *Composting* (Geneva, 1956), 38; Schadewaldt, op. cit. 69.

<sup>27</sup>Pond and Houpt, op. cit. 341.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid. 301-2.

<sup>29</sup>N. B. Millet, G. D. Hart, T. A. Reyman, M. R. Zimmerman and P. K. Lewin, 'ROM 1: mummification for the common people', in Cockburn and Cockburn (eds.), op. cit. 71-84.

<sup>30</sup>Gracey, op. cit. 315. Among consumers of pork, trichinosis can reach fairly high levels; a national autopsy survey in the United States in 1944 revealed a human infection rate of 16% (Nelson, op. cit. 31). However, in Africa and the Arctic, wild carnivores are the maintenance hosts of *Trichinella*, and if Nakht had eaten hyaena, or if a pig he ate had scavenged carrion from the carcass of a hyaena, he would have been exposed to *Trichinella* from its reservoir host. According to Nelson, concentration on the domestic cycle of pigs and man has had an inhibiting effect on the epidemiology of trichinosis until recently, and he emphasizes that 'it is only in recent years that it has been realized that the true maintenance hosts of *Trichinella* are carrion feeding or cannibalistic wild carnivores. Domestic pigs are artificial hosts forced into cannibalism either by feeding them garbage-containing pork scraps or by overcrowding where dead pigs are



architecture of the pig sties in the Workmen's Village at Amarna suggests that pigs were permanently penned there and not free ranging,<sup>31</sup> it is interesting to note that pigs kept under such confined conditions are subject to higher loads of intestinal worms,<sup>32</sup> such as the *Taenia* and *Trichinella* observed in the admittedly small sample of New Kingdom workers represented by Nakht and the Amarna tomb workers.

In pre-industrial towns and cities, the absence of facilities for garbage collection and waste disposal meant that streets were littered with potentially hazardous organic waste which entrepreneurs collected for reuse as fuel, livestock food and fertilizer.<sup>33</sup> Pigs, along with other domesticated scavengers such as dogs, cats and domestic fowl, could play an important role in maintaining a primitive, but often effective, form of sanitation. To cite only one example, from an irrigation engineer working on a project in rural India in the 1880s: 'We built a village some distance from the works for the workmen', Willcocks writes, 'and, to ensure proper sanitation, we had a trench dug round it about a quarter of a mile from the outermost houses. Within the line of this trench nothing was allowed. We had begun to engage a gang of labourers to bury everything offensive with earth, in accordance with the Mosaic Regulations in the wilderness, when four men turned up in the office and asked to be allowed to divide the circumference into four quarters, and each of them would take his quarter and feed his pigs there. They were given permission, and we had no further worry for a long time'.<sup>34</sup>

Where pigs are found in small but consistent numbers in faunal assemblages from ancient settlements, in addition to their value as sources of meat, it may be possible to interpret their presence as evidence of an adaptation to sanitation which would have had some beneficial side effects even though it would not have been based on any explicit theory of public health.<sup>35</sup> It is not even necessary to assume that they formed a major part of the diet of all the inhabitants. The possibility that it might be taboo to eat the flesh of particular animals would not preclude their presence on a site, as the Indian example just cited shows. The multiplicity of religious and ethnic affiliations which can exist side by side in ancient as well as modern societies would suggest that a complex mosaic of competing and conflicting dietary patterns may sometimes be overlooked unless careful attention is paid to spatial and status differences within sites, as Zeder has recently shown.<sup>36</sup>

### Exchange systems and pigs in the workmen's villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medina

Even where pigs were eaten, complex patterns of behaviour can be noted. At Amarna, in the fourteenth century BC, pigs were raised and butchered by the residents of the

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often consumed by their companions' (ibid. 32). Nevertheless, this artificial situation has prevailed for some 7–8,000 years in Europe, Asia, Oceania and North Africa, which would be long enough to produce nucleic acid base pair substitutions in domesticated *Trichinella* DNA, and allow the investigation of this divergence archaeologically if short sequences of parasite DNA could be cloned from cysts recovered from mummy material.

<sup>31</sup> Kemp, *AR* 1, 47–9.

<sup>32</sup> G. Barker, *Prehistoric Farming in Europe* (Cambridge, 1985), 35.

<sup>33</sup> Anon., 'The Cleansing of Cairo', *Lancet* 1 (1909), 1720–3, 1782–4; E. J. Owens, 'The koprologoi at Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.', *Classical Quarterly* 33 (1983), 44–50.

<sup>34</sup> W. Willcocks, *Sixty Years in the East* (Edinburgh, 1935), 73.

<sup>35</sup> Grigson, op. cit.

<sup>36</sup> M. A. Zeder, 'Understanding urban process through the study of specialized subsistence economy in the Near East', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 7 (1988), 1–55.

Workmen's Village,<sup>37</sup> but these pigs may not have been included among the rations distributed in the town and its outlying settlements by the central administration. The pig fat referred to on the docket of one jar found in the Workmen's Village was produced in the Delta, not locally.<sup>38</sup> Although this jar might have been delivered and the contents consumed in another part of Amarna before the pot was reused and discarded in the Workmen's Village, an analogous situation appears to have prevailed at another late second millennium BC workmen's village of comparable size at Deir el-Medina. Detailed records from this site list the wide range of commodities supplied to workmen by the central administration for wages, everyday consumption and special occasions.<sup>39</sup> Although pigs occur in five instances in Deir el-Medina texts,<sup>40</sup> and were used, together with other commodities or on their own, as items of value in commercial transactions,<sup>41</sup> they are not recorded among the animals and foods delivered to the site. Nevertheless, the value of pigs was reckoned to be equivalent to 3–5 *deben* of copper (about 270–450 grams), roughly the same value as footstools, expensive sandals, or the decoration of a coffin.<sup>42</sup> This evidence that pigs were present at Deir el-Medina, although not provided through official channels, suggests that, as in the Workmen's Village in Amarna, they were raised by the workmen themselves. It is interesting to note that at least two of the five commodity prices involving pigs concern their exchange for coffins or for work on coffins,<sup>43</sup> which would be needed at short notice, when the value of time and energy expended on different aspects of a household's economy would need to be realized quickly.

Recently-matured pigs ready for butchering would have probably been on hand most of the year. As pigs in the Amarna Workmen's Village were slaughtered while still relatively young,<sup>44</sup> which was also the case elsewhere during the Old and Middle Kingdoms,<sup>45</sup> this would have taken advantage of the weight gained during the period of rapid growth characteristic of juvenile pigs.<sup>46</sup> The potential significance of young shoats (weaned pigs less than one year old) in the economic transactions of the villagers of Deir el-Medina can be gauged by the important role pigs still played in the domestic economy of the *zabbālīn* in Cairo during the 1970s. There, each household consisted of living quarters attached to a *zeriba* to which the waste would be brought to feed the pigs confined inside the pigyard. According to Haynes and El-Hakim, 'The *zeriba*'s main cash commodity is pigs'.<sup>47</sup> Over a two-year period the variety of pig raised by the *zabbālīn* pro-

<sup>37</sup> Kemp, loc. cit.; id., *Amarna Reports* I–III (London, 1985–6).

<sup>38</sup> A. Leahy, in Kemp, *AR* II, 66–7.

<sup>39</sup> J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 455–93; D. Valbelle, «*Les ouvriers de la tombe*». *Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside* (Cairo, 1985), 148–57.

<sup>40</sup> Janssen, op. cit. 177–8.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. 10, 218–9. In O. DeM. 73, a Ramesside receipt from Deir el-Medina for the delivery of a coffin, payment is by means of a number of commodities, including a pig: 'Given to him in exchange for the coffin: 8½ *deben* of copper; further, 5 *deben* of copper; 1 pig worth 5 *deben*; 1 goat worth 3 *deben*; 1 goat worth [2 *deben*]; 2 (logs of) sycamore wood worth 2 *deben*. Total, 25½ *deben*.' (adapted from ibid. 10).

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. 525–7, 219.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. 10, 219.

<sup>44</sup> H. Hecker, 'Preliminary report on the faunal remains from the Workmen's Village', in Kemp, *AR* I, 157–8.

<sup>45</sup> J. Boessneck and A. von den Driesch, *Studien an subfossilen Tierknochen aus Ägypten* (Munich, 1982).

<sup>46</sup> Hannan, op. cit.

<sup>47</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 104. The purchase of objects using pigs in combination with other items was characteristic of Papua New Guinea eighty years ago, according to C. G. Seligman (*The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), 531–4), who noted that 'pigs so often form part of the price paid for

duces four or five litters, with eight to twelve pigs per litter. Using a conservative estimate of a herd size of ten pigs, and the then current wholesale price of 0.24 £E/kg liveweight, and allowing for a mortality of 25% among the young pigs, Haynes and El-Hakim reckoned that the annual income of a *zeriba* with tens sows could have reached 2000 Egyptian pounds.<sup>48</sup> This is not a negligible sum in an economy where the wages of a qualified university graduate might be only 100 pounds a month.<sup>49</sup>

To maintain their larger herd size,<sup>50</sup> the modern *zabbālīn* need the refuse of 250 households. However, these modern herds were certainly much larger than could have been maintained by Deir el-Medina's inhabitants, who would not have had the advantage of carts to transport domestic refuse. Urban households in the New Kingdom may have owned their own herds which scavenged in the city, but this remains a possibility to be investigated. The involvement of the royal estate itself might be suggested by the gift of what is apparently 1000 breeding pairs of pigs to the temple of Ptah at Memphis by Amenophis III.<sup>51</sup> These could certainly have managed pig raising on the scale of that practised in modern Cairo. The continuing importance of pig raising in New Kingdom Memphis is indicated by the frequency of pig bones on the site, where they were a major food source, second in importance only to cattle.<sup>52</sup>

Given that pigs could function as items of value within the village economy, how many of them were there relative to other animals on the site, and how were the relative different values between different species of livestock arrived at? Pigs have few non-edible secondary products, apart from skins, and are of no use as draught or transport animals, in contrast to donkeys and cattle, worth one or two orders of magnitude greater in nominal metal weight.<sup>53</sup> These questions cannot be adequately dealt with until quantitative analyses of New Kingdom bone assemblages from relevant contexts are completed. While the pig skulls from the excavations in Deir el-Medina on display in the Dokki Agriculture Museum in Cairo<sup>54</sup> complement the texts in providing further evidence for the presence of this species on the site, the conditions of recovery and excavation prevailing when Deir el-Medina was dug may make it impossible to estimate the relative frequency of pigs within the overall faunal assemblage from this site. Was the percentage of pig bones within the animal bones at Deir el-Medina, which is unknown, reflected in its comparative rarity in the Ramesside commodity price texts? Of the 78

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any valuable, that they may almost be regarded as currency' (ibid. 513). Pigs are still 'the only ubiquitous trade item' here (Barss and Ennis, op. cit. 654), and when it was suggested that a portrait of the Prime Minister should replace the traditional picture of the pig on a new bank note, 'subsequent correspondents favoured the pig over the Prime Minister at a ratio of about two to one' (ibid.)!

<sup>48</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 104. The number of litters per year varies in a number of different livestock management strategies, and largely depends on the availability of food. Medieval sources recommending three litters a year are recorded, although modern European practice is to allow only two. Columella (VII.9.4) recommended only one litter a year for semi-wild pigs in remote areas, but suggested two for urban pigs (references in R. C. G. M. Lauwerier, *JAS* 10 (1983), 483-8). Can more litters per year be raised when urban waste is used to feed pigs, as in Cairo and Hong Kong today (Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit.; Boyden, op. cit. 49-50)?

<sup>49</sup> S.-E. Ibrahim, 'Cairo: a sociological profile', in A. Evin (ed.), *The Expanding Metropolis: Coping with the Urban Growth of Cairo* (Singapore, 1985), 25-33.

<sup>50</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 103.

<sup>51</sup> L. Bell in Hecker, op. cit. 161 n. 12.

<sup>52</sup> H. Hecker, *JEA* 72 (1986), 8-9.

<sup>53</sup> Janssen, op. cit. 167-77.

<sup>54</sup> Darby *et al.*, op. cit. 188-9; L. Keimer, 'Remarques sur le porc et le sanglier dans l'Égypte ancienne', *BIE* 19 (1937), 149; Valbelle, op. cit. 277 n. 6.

references to livestock prices in the texts published by Janssen, the five concerning pigs make it one of the least frequent animals (6.4%) within this subset of the literary version of the faunal assemblage,<sup>55</sup> although whether frequencies in economic texts differed from those in the overall textual assemblage, and how far either of these would have borne any relation to the actual frequency of pigs on site, also also points worth considering. At Amarna, Hecker's preliminary study of bones from the Workmen's Village indicated that pigs were the dominant species present.<sup>56</sup> The presence of pork in the diet of a New Kingdom artisan is also suggested by the *Taenia* eggs and *Trichinella* cyst found in the funerary temple weaver, Nakht.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, while it is unlikely to have tallied exactly with the actual frequency of pigs at Deir el-Medina, a percentage of 6.4% falls within the less than 10% range of frequency for pigs found at many ancient sites (fig. 1).

The analysis of the sieved bone from recent excavations at the Workmen's Village in Amarna<sup>58</sup> should, when completed, provide a useful comparative model of pig produc-

	Period	% (Nos.)
Egypt		
1. Elephantine, cemetery	Old Kingdom–Middle Kingdom	4.9
2. Elephantine, temple	Fourth–Eleventh Dynasty	1.8
3. Deir el-Medina (texts)	New Kingdom	6.4
Western Asia		
4. Arad, settlement	Early Bronze Age I–II	0.3
5. Tel Aphek & Tel Dalit	Early Bronze Age I–II	1.8
6. Tel Aphek & Tel Dalit	Middle Bronze Age II	7.7
7. Jericho	Early Bronze Age	1.8
8. Jericho	Middle Bronze Age	7.7
9. Jericho	Byzantine	1.6
10. Hesbân	Ayyūbid/Mamlūk	0.1
Northwestern Europe		
11. Knap Hill	Early Neolithic (3000–2500 BC)	5
12. Windmill Hill	Early Neolithic (3000–2500 BC)	16–18
13. Puddlehill	Late Neolithic (2000–1500 BC)	60
14. Durrington Walls	Late Neolithic (2000–1500 BC)	67
15. Snail Down	Early Bronze Age (1630–1450 BC)	10
16. Bovenkarspel	Early Bronze Age (1350–650 BC)	6.4

FIG. 1. Frequency, based on numbers of bones or skeletons, of pigs on sites in Egypt, Western Asia and northwestern Europe, 3000 BC–AD 1500.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Janssen, *op. cit.* 165–79.

<sup>56</sup> Millet *et al.*, 79–80.

<sup>57</sup> Based on data in Boessneck and von den Driesch, *op. cit.* 50, 114–5 (nos. 1–2); Janssen, *op. cit.* 165–79 (no. 3); H. Lernau, in R. Amiran, *Early Arad*, 1 (Jerusalem, 1978), 87–9 (no. 4); S. Hellwing and R. Gophna, *Tel Aviv* 11 (1984), 50 (nos. 5–6); J. Clutton-Brock, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 45 (1979), 138 (nos. 7–9); Ø. Labianca, *Andrews Univ. Sem. St.* 11 (1973), 137, 142 (no. 10); Grigson, *op. cit.* 306–8 (nos. 11–15); G. F. Ijzereef, *op. cit.* 25 (no. 16).

<sup>58</sup> Hecker, *op. cit.*; R. Luff, in preparation.

tion, allowing the significance of pigs within the faunal remains there to be assessed, and their contribution of energy and protein to the diet of the village's inhabitants to be inferred. As the duration of the village's existence and its population can both be estimated, it should theoretically be possible to develop a quantitative model for its nutritional intake and to assess the role of pork as an internally produced source of energy and protein which enabled artisans to use some of the centrally distributed rations they would otherwise have needed to subsist on in commodity exchange systems.

Pigs can also contribute inputs of energy to other aspects of subsistence production, notably vegetables. On the desert edge, alluvial soil for garden plots would have had to be carried in from areas of the river valley reached by the flood.<sup>59</sup> While these flood soils would initially have been of excellent quality, the phosphate needed for healthy drought-resistant and stress-tolerant plant growth would quickly have become exhausted by repeated cropping and cutting, as the vegetables and greens were eaten and removed. The small garden plots in the workmen's villages would thus have benefitted from the compost the pigs provided, to judge by the experience of Cairo's recent *zabbālīn*, who composted the waste and food left uneaten by the pigs, along with the pig droppings, and sold it as agricultural manure and fertilizer.<sup>60</sup>

This pattern of entrepreneurial village pig production within the context of an urban economy recurred in Egypt at a much later time. Among Copts in Egypt earlier this century, small numbers of pigs were raised, not for domestic consumption, but for sale in the urban markets, particularly Cairo, Alexandria and the Canal Zone.<sup>61</sup> Only small numbers of pigs were recorded, no more than 16,000 nationwide in 1923 and 50,000 in 1947 in an economy where careful accounting was practised. The presence of increased numbers of foreigners during the period immediately preceding the latter census, and the demand for sausage, bacon and pork which this would have stimulated appears to have resulted in increased levels of production to meet it. In recent times, considerable rewards could be derived from pig production by middlemen who were not very choosy about what their livestock ate before becoming other people's meat and sausage.<sup>62</sup>

Were portions of butchered pork ready to be prepared and eaten also commodities in the New Kingdom workmen's villages? Although the interpretation is uncertain, one Deir el-Medina ostrakon apparently refers to two portions of pig which could be exchanged for a value in silver equivalent to about 58 litres of grain.<sup>63</sup> This suggests that butchered sides or joints of pork raised in the village and other outlying suburbs of Thebes could sometimes have been in demand, either to supply residents and visitors within neighbouring communities or the main city, or for special occasions celebrated by the workmen. The preparation of communal, shared meals was an important aspect of activity in the chapels of the Workmen's Village,<sup>64</sup> where pig bones were found, although apparently less often than elsewhere on the site.<sup>65</sup> Such associations may often have been

<sup>59</sup> R. A. Fernea and J. G. Kennedy, 'Initial adaptations to resettlement: a new life for Egyptian Nubians', *Current Anthropology* 7 (1966), 349-54.

<sup>60</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 103. An unintentional but beneficial side effect of using pig faeces instead of human faeces for garden manure would be the reduced numbers of viable human pathogens present in the food produced (cf. n. 21 above).

<sup>61</sup> J. Besançon, *L'homme et le Nil* (Paris, 1957) 255.

<sup>62</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit.

<sup>63</sup> Janssen, op. cit. 178.

<sup>64</sup> Kemp, *AR* IV (1987), 82.

<sup>65</sup> Hecker, op. cit. 161.

useful ways of finishing a carcass where means of preserving it were time-consuming or unavailable, and ceremonial occasions for the consumption of pork are known elsewhere from both archaeological and ethnozoological studies.<sup>66</sup>

The positive correlation between religious architecture and pork in the Workmen's Village at Amarna is in contrast to the negative correlation between pig bones and temples in Palestine and Jordan and the later taboos on contact with pigs reported for Egypt by Herodotus and some writers of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.<sup>67</sup> This serves to emphasize that there is no automatic relationship between pigs and prestige either in antiquity or the present. The study of animal bones from further excavations in Egyptian religious and urban sites will be needed to elucidate the relationship between the presence or absence of evidence for pigs, pig meat and lard and pig bones in areas for public and religious association as well as in neighbourhoods of different status within the same conurbation.

### Conclusion

The biology, nutritional requirements and habits of pigs made them ideally suited to the role of an edible sanitation service which they often performed in towns and villages. It could even be that the pig tax levied on every adult male in Egypt under Roman rule<sup>68</sup> reflected, at least in part, a recognition and subsidy of the pig's contribution to health and hygiene.

However, in earlier periods, concern with sanitation was likely to have been more rudimentary. Even if pigs played a role in household sanitation in some communities, like the villages at Deir el-Medina and Amarna, this is likely to have been no more than an accidental by-product of a rigidly planned architectural layout of domestic space with no room for a rubbish heap inside the ordinary dwellings within the walls of the village, although rubbish heaps were located immediately outside the residential enclosure wall in both villages.<sup>69</sup> Given the value of the materials they dealt with in their daily work, it is perhaps not surprising that workmen on tomb projects were not able to take advantage of the amorphous profile of an intramural dung heap where valuables could be hidden. At Deir el-Medina, Bruyère noted that the unusual absence of successive stratified floor levels such as would be expected on any ordinary site occupied for half a millennium, and attributed this to the deliberate practice of keeping the same floor level throughout successive occupations, perhaps related to the demands of security on the job the tomb workers were engaged in.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, domestic rubbish would have needed to be

<sup>66</sup> Grigson, *op. cit.*

<sup>67</sup> **Palestine and Jordan:** Papers by M. Zeder, M. Metzger, B. Hesse and P. Wapnish presented at a session of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Chicago, 1988, to be published as a volume edited by Brian Hesse. **Egypt:** Darby *et al.*, *op. cit.* 190-9.

<sup>68</sup> N. Lewis, *Life in Egypt under Roman Rule* (Oxford, 1983), 171.

<sup>69</sup> Kemp, *AR* III, fig. 0.2; B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935). 3ème partie: le village, les décharges publiques, la station de repos du col de la vallée des rois* (Cairo, 1939), 18, 336-9, pl. 6. Rubbish mounds adjacent to villages of palace workmen within the palace complex at Malkata should also be noted (W. Stevenson Smith and W. K. Simpson, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*<sup>2</sup>, (Harmondsworth, 1981), 282-3). Lack of courtyard space owing to a shortage of building space inside a village adjacent to an urban centre in upper Egypt has been noted by N. S. Hopkins, *Agrarian transformation in Egypt* (Boulder, 1987), 48n.5.

<sup>70</sup> Bruyère, *op. cit.* 18. Recent excavations in limited areas of the southern part of the settlement have shown that Bruyère failed to recognize that, in the southern part of the village, the north-south axial street of

disposed of daily. By helping to recycle the organic waste which would have been used for fuel or manure in other villages with more internal space for drying, storage and composting, keeping pigs may have helped the necropolis workmen adapt to the architectural constraints imposed on the site.

Where it was possible, the preferred solution would probably have been to have the household dung heap within or immediately adjacent to the enclosed space occupied by a given household or interrelated households, often in the courtyard, where the valuable sources of animal nutrition and agricultural manure the dung heap contained would remain under the control of the family or families inhabiting the area surrounding the courtyard. As Hoffman noted in his study of trash disposal in Hierakonpolis during the early third millennium BC, 'there appears to have been no aversion to dumping large amounts of organic trash near one's dwelling, not to mention under one's floor'.<sup>71</sup>

The jealous protection of household waste within the domestic space guarded by the household remained an important consideration in Egyptian villages until recently; a health project in the Delta a generation ago foundered on the refusal of villagers to share a communal waste disposal area where households would lose control of their dung heaps.<sup>72</sup> The perceived risk to subsistence resulting from allowing domestic waste to be left out where the more active, dishonest or unscrupulous would be able to make off with more than their share, outweighed the eventual return to increased levels of infant mortality which applications of insecticide in a fly control program had temporarily reduced. Although the lack of effective statistical controls in Weir *et al.*'s study (n.72) could be criticized, it is still of considerable value in highlighting the economic priorities of households in marginal rural economies where every available source of energy needs to be used and recycled efficiently.

The economic attractions of pig raising thus become more clear. As individual households and groups of households raised pigs which recycled organic waste, they would have been able to produce a resource which could be exchanged for commodities available to others with more access to fields, markets and river banks where other commodities would be in greater supply than those current among the tomb workers.

The problem remains, how were these linkages between entrepreneurial activity in neighbourhoods with different patterns of activity and access to raw materials for producing pigs, sandals, coffins or basketry achieved? The day to day process of reaching agreed levels of exchange between the different parties to a transaction required some

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the latest settlement ran directly over earlier phases of domestic architecture on a different orientation (Ch. Bonnet and D. Valbelle, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 440-1, pl. 68:1; idem, *BIFAO* 76 (1976), 318-22, fig. 11). The history of town planning in Deir el-Medina is certainly more complex than Bruyère realized, although the manner in which changes in the village's layout apparently occurred simultaneously over extended areas support his belief that centralized planning control determined the character of the architecture. Bonnet and Valbelle also note the thinness of the archaeological levels in the northern areas of the village (*BIFAO* 75, 441), supporting Bruyère's contention that there was not a marked build-up of underfloor rubbish in this area. The axial layout and uniform domestic module with restricted domestic space characteristic of Kahun and the New Kingdom workmen's villages at Amarna and Deir el-Medina are strikingly closely echoed in the plan and uniform layout of late nineteenth century *ezbahs* constructed by landowners for their farm-workers (J. Lozach and G. Hug, *L'habitat rural en Égypte* (Cairo, 1930), 49-52, fig. 5).

<sup>71</sup>M. A. Hoffman, 'The social context of trash disposal in an Early Dynastic Egyptian town', *American Antiquity* 39 (1974), 43-4.

<sup>72</sup>J. Weir, I. Wasif, F. Hassan, S. Attia and M. Kader, 'An evaluation of health and sanitation in Egyptian villages', *Journal of the Egyptian Public Health Association* 27 (1952), 55-114.

common equivalent other than the relatively rare metallic scraps hoarded and filched from outside sources. Every consumer has to eat, so the pricing of the portions of pig in terms of units of grain is not surprising in a non-money economy such as that of Deir el-Medina; until very recently households within villages in Middle Egypt still practised a largely non-monetary system of exchanging cane syrup (*dibs*), cheese and chickens among themselves.<sup>73</sup> What needs further study, however, is what such equivalences were based on when items of everyday consumption were involved; here the nominal values in metallic units may distract from the day to day operation of such a system.

How were such equivalences evaluated and assessed? Were purely nominal, traditional or prestige considerations at stake, such as those involved in the sharing of high-energy, easily circulated and shared food, to reinforce social bonds and display hospitality? This could well lie at the basis of most of the equivalences between commodity prices in Deir el-Medina. Could more utilitarian considerations also be taken into account? If one takes the view that energy malnutrition is critical, this is a point which needs to be investigated, for when a villager is giving a commodity which can be eaten in exchange for another commodity which is also to be eaten, he is unlikely to be willing consistently to lose in the deal. Thus, the value of a given amount of pork or grain might tend to approximate its energy value to those who eventually eat it.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Conversation with a local museum official, April 1986; cf. M. Abaza, *The changing image of women in rural Egypt* (Cairo, 1987), 83, where the reciprocal exchange of commodities between village households is noted. Poultry and eggs produced by women in the household were bartered to grocers for sugar, tea, soap, needles and thread (H. Fakhouri, *Kafr el-Elow: an Egyptian village in transition* (New York, 1972), 37). See also A. Richards, *Egypt's agricultural development, 1800-1980* (Boulder, 1982), 227-32, where calculation of rural wages 1938-80 is based on maize equivalents; Richards also comments that during the 1920s and 1930s there was little market for food crops in rural areas, where workers depended on subsistence plots and household production for their food (ibid. 258).

<sup>74</sup> For most of the late New Kingdom, the value of the basic staple commodities like barley and wheat did not change substantially (Janssen, op. cit. 116). If the subsistence model implicit in this paper works, this could perhaps be attributed to the inelasticity of demand: the exchange of subsistence commodities was based in part on their immediate caloric value to the consumer, and there are physiological limits to the amounts of barley and wheat that can be eaten. Under normal circumstances, the amount of grain produced and stored would not vary sufficiently from year to year for its value in other commodities, whether pork, copper or silver, to fluctuate by as much as an order of magnitude (original value  $\times 10$ ). However, it would be reasonable to look for precisely those anomalous peaks in the metallic equivalences of grain which occur in Ramesside documents (ibid. 112-32) for possible evidence of the effect of interruptions in production due to poor harvests following catastrophically low Niles, as the effect would need to be felt throughout Egypt for metal scraps to fall in value relative to a commodity such as grain which can be easily stored for several years running. Omitting duplicate and dubious references, Janssen lists 43 examples of barley or wheat commodity prices from the century and a half covered by the sources, and in three of these examples the price is 10-24 *deben* per *khar*, approximately ten times the usual value of grain. Three catastrophic crop failures owing to low floods out of the 25-40 years known from the texts would correspond to the frequency of such crises recorded for the quarter century 1876-1900 by Willcocks, who ascribed the worst famines to drought (*Egyptian irrigation*<sup>3</sup> (London, 1913), 180, 328). In 1877, there was famine in Upper Egypt when the Nile failed to rise about 6 metres at Aswan, 74 per cent of its average peak height; levels as low or lower were recorded on two other occasions over the same period by Willcocks, although efficient administration had prevented famine. Apart from these episodic crises, the overall productivity of the Nile valley or of a given area of it would be sufficiently predictable to allow fairly stable relative values of subsistence commodities to be worked out by trial and error, so that the exchange of grain for meat under normal circumstances may have been as uniform as the metallic equivalences recorded in the same series of texts.

<sup>75</sup> P. L. Pellet and S. Shadarevian, *Food Composition Tables for use in the Middle East*<sup>2</sup> (Beirut, 1970).



Using tables for Middle Eastern food prepared by Pellet and Shadarevian<sup>75</sup> (377 Kcal/100 g serving of pork and 360 Kcal/100 g barley), it is possible to estimate the weight of pork meat which could provide approximately the same order of magnitude of energy as that provided by the 3 *oipe* given in exchange for two portions of pig in one transaction at Deir el-Medina.<sup>76</sup> As the *oipe* used in expressing the value of a commodity in terms of grain measured 19.22 litres,<sup>77</sup> the sellers of two portions of pig could have received approximately 58 litres of barley, which would supply  $14.6 \times 10^4$  Kcal of energy (at 700 g/litre<sup>78</sup>). If a roughly equivalent amount of energy from pork was involved in this transaction, 38.8 kg of meat would be required in exchange. This could be supplied by the caloric value of two sides of meat from a 40+ kg pig, allowing for the difference between live weight and carcass weight. While it is possible that much smaller quantities of meat were exchanged for 3 *oipe*, if meat was given greater value for reasons of taste or prestige, it is interesting that the caloric equivalent of 58 litres of grain could have been supplied by a pig of the same 40 kg size slaughterweight preferred in Cairo in recent times.<sup>79</sup> If the optimum slaughterweight of pigs was the same in pharaonic and modern Egypt, this might provide indirect support for Keimer's contention that modern Coptic pigs were of the same variety as the type of lean pig found at Deir el-Medina and depicted in Middle and New Kingdom tomb paintings.<sup>80</sup>

Further topics in related areas of ancient Egyptian commodity production remain to be explored in the future. Controlled experimental reconstruction of the processes and variables involved with pig keeping would be valuable in interpreting the material related to pigs, pig butchering, and the storage, distribution and consumption of pork and lard. However, this would require the study of food product storage and spoilage in relation to the archaeology, architecture and ceramics from different sites, and is beyond the scope of the present study. The way in which transactions within the economy of Deir el-Medina were integrated into the economy of the nearby urban centre of Thebes would also merit closer attention. A recent survey of agrarian and household economy in a village on the outskirts of Asyut concludes that although 'the peasant may indeed have disappeared, the wage laborer has not entirely taken his place. Instead we find the petty commodity producing small farmer household.'<sup>81</sup> The necropolis workers were certainly neither peasants nor small farmers, but their use of domestic waste, and perhaps of grain

<sup>76</sup> Janssen, op. cit. 178.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid. 109.

<sup>78</sup> F. Sigaut, 'La redécouverte des silos à grains en Europe occidentale, 1708-1880', in M. Gast and F. Sigaut (eds.), *Les techniques de conservation des grains à long terme*, 1 (Paris, 1979), 24.

<sup>79</sup> Haynes and El-Hakim, op. cit. 104. Calorimetric techniques were not available to the households of the necropolis workers. 58 litres of dry barley would weigh approximately 40-41 kg. As the amount of energy from 100 g of barley and pork is so close, equal weights of pork and barley could have been exchanged without either party being short-changed nutritionally.

<sup>80</sup> Keimer, op. cit. 150-3, believed that the modern Coptic pig was directly descended from Neolithic Egyptian pigs excavated at Merimde. Although the range of this variety extended into Europe, the possibility that a local inbreeding population could be identified going back 5,000-8,000 years is intriguing, and might merit some careful scrutiny of identifiable sequences of nucleic acid base-pairs in modern Egyptian pigs and ancient desiccated pig tissue or coprolites, if these easily-degraded molecular sequences survive and if their identifiable features can be shown to be absent from other species of animals, as well as from negative controls of domestic and feral Asian or European pigs.

<sup>81</sup> Hopkins, op. cit. 179.

rations as well,<sup>82</sup> to feed pigs, and the use of the large litter size of the sow to produce a commodity used in everyday and special transactions, suggests that household production of commodities to supplement wages may not be a completely recent development in Egyptian economic history.

<sup>82</sup>As workers at Deir el-Medina were paid in foodstuffs, largely grain (Janssen, op. cit. 455-66), in quantities larger than needed to support a family of 4-5 (ibid. 463), grain could have been stored, bartered and put to other uses. P. Halstead, "If it rains in March-April": traditional responses to crop failure in Greece', ms. submitted to *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, discusses livestock as 'animal capital' sold when necessary for special occasions such as the marriage of a daughter, and used for indirect storage of surplus grain in a form less vulnerable to attacks by beetles and weevils. The use of pigs as consumers of surplus grain as well as of damaged crops, fruit and foodstuffs is also discussed by P. Deiner and E. E. Robkin, *Current Anthropology* 19 (1978), 498.

## THE TEMPLE OF APIS IN MEMPHIS

By MICHAEL JONES

The evidence for the date and significance of various monuments uncovered in the 'Embalming House of the Apis Bulls' is reviewed in the light of recent excavations there. It is suggested that the latest building level dates to the fourth century BC and can be equated with the major renovation undertaken by Nectanebo II, as described on a stela of his year 2 now in the Cairo Museum. In particular, a newly-discovered inscription on a vessel found *in situ* identifies the site, or some part of it, as the *w'bt* of the temple of Apis. The fourth-century structure was built on a platform, into the foundations of which were incorporated blocks of Shabako, usurped by Psamtek II. These probably came from the building described by Herodotus II, 153.

THE site known as the 'Embalming House of Apis Bulls' is located in the south-west corner of the Hellenistic Ptah temple enclosure at Memphis. It includes several separate monuments, uncovered sporadically over the last 135 years, during excavations which have either gone unrecorded or from which little documentation is known.<sup>1</sup> In the middle of the nineteenth century, subsequent to Lepsius' visit to Memphis in 1842, a group of three alabaster blocks was unearthed some 160 m north-west of the fallen limestone colossus of Ramesses II, now inside the local museum.<sup>2</sup> On the north face of the northern block there is a dedication by Ramesses II to *Hp rnh* ('Living Apis').<sup>3</sup> On the south face of the southern block a more detailed relief (pl. VI) has a central panel containing the cartouches of Shoshenq I flanking the names of the gods Osiris, Apis, Atum and Horus, *n sp*, 'together'. Anubis pours a libation over the king's nomen and the divine names, while opposite, the High Priest of Ptah, Shedsunefertem, son of Ankhefensekhmet, performs the 'Opening-the-Mouth' ceremony beside the king's prenomen. The inscription also records the building of a *w'bt* for Osiris-Apis.<sup>4</sup> The block undoubtedly formed part of this *w'bt*, or may even itself have been the *w'bt*; this word seems to have been used to denote both a 'pure place', and an emplacement at which purification was carried out.<sup>5</sup> During conservation work carried out in 1986, these blocks were lifted and pottery datable to the first century BC or first century AD was found in sealed layers below them, demonstrating clearly that they had been reused, probably as foundations for a building of 'Roman' date.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 841-2 G and H. Most recently the site has been studied in detail during six seasons of survey and excavation, 1982-6, conducted by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, sponsored by the Dimick Foundation of Washington DC; preliminary reports by M. Jones and A. Milward Jones have been published in *JARCE* 19 (1982), 51-8, pls. vi-vii, and plan II; *JARCE* 20 (1983), 33-45, pls. ii-vi and plan I; *JARCE* 22 (1985), 17-28 and figs. 1-12; *JARCE* 24 (1987), 35-46 and figs. 1-9; *JARCE* 25 (1988), 105-16. See also D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis*, 1 (London, 1985), 65-6 and 70, figs. 15 and 25.

<sup>2</sup> 'Abu'l-Hol': PM III<sup>2</sup>, 836.

<sup>3</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis*, 1 (London, 1909), 12; *JARCE* 20, 44, fig. 7.

<sup>4</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 841-2; A. R. Schulman, *JNES* 39 (1980), 308 n. 8e.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the example of an alabaster slab found in a room beside the 'Akh-menu' of Tuthmosis III at Karnak inscribed '... his monument for his father Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Chief of the Gods. He has made for him a *w'bt* from stone of Hatnub. It is for the use of the Divine Fathers'. G. Legrain, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 225-6; P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 202 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *JARCE* 25, 115-16.

In 1941 Mustafa el-Amir and Ahmed Badawy began digging into the palm-covered mound immediately north of these alabaster blocks.<sup>7</sup> In the course of the following two months they uncovered the monument known today as the 'Embalming House of Apis Bulls'. El-Amir himself believed that he had found the *Σηκός*, or 'stall' known from the classical writers, in which the live Apis was housed, and where Herodotus, Diodorus and Strabo, among many other curious and pious Europeans, had seen the bull for themselves. During these excavations, a number of inscribed objects which had been royal donations to the god Apis were found. These include:

(a) A small alabaster lion bed, probably for a votive purpose, with a dedication of Necho II, 'beloved of Osiris Apis', inscribed on the front.<sup>8</sup>

(b) An alabaster block cut from the fore-quarters of a disused lion bed. The inscription on the front, which was almost certainly carved for its original use as a lion bed, states that (*Hnm-ib-Rꜥ*) (Amasis) ordered it 'as his monument for his father Living Apis (*Hꜥ rnh*)'. Above the centre of the main horizontal line of inscription, the lower ends of three columns of hieroglyphs (the tops were cut away when the block was sawn up in antiquity) show various containers, one of which may be a beaker with incense pellets. A *ps̄-kf* implement, associated with the 'Opening-the-Mouth' ritual, is also included in this group.<sup>9</sup>

(c) An alabaster basin with an inscription dated to year 34 of Darius I, naming 'Living Apis'.<sup>10</sup> This was also the year of a well-recorded Apis burial in the Serapeum.<sup>11</sup>

An examination of the photographs taken of the 1941 excavation in progress,<sup>12</sup> makes it unlikely that any of these inscribed objects were found in their original positions. All had most probably been reused in later times, for purposes such as building material or foundation fill when the site was reconstructed. The small alabaster lion bed of Necho II seems to have been placed beside three more alabaster blocks of similar dimensions, so that the four formed the lowest course of a wall. The other three are of the kind with lions' bodies carved in high relief on either side, the two heads sculpted in the round on top at the front, and the tails wrapped round a receptacle at the rear.<sup>13</sup> These are undoubtedly offering tables, but none shows any trace of inscription today. The heads were probably already broken off before the blocks were reused, and have apparently not been found. The sawn-up alabaster lion bed of Amasis was resited in the west end of Room A after it had been cut in half, in a place where the room is too narrow to have accommodated the original full length of the block as a lion bed. The inscription of Amasis and the signs

<sup>7</sup> Mustafa el-Amir, *JEA* 34 (1948), 51–6 and pls. xv–xvii.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 51 and pl. xv, 5; *JARCE* 19, 57, fig. 3; Dimick in Anthes, *op. cit.* pl. 45, d and e.

<sup>9</sup> El-Amir, *op. cit.* 52, B and pl. xvi, 5; *JARCE* 19, pl. vi, A and B. This piece is no. 2 of Dimick in Anthes, *op. cit.* pl. 41, and is still *in situ* at the site. PM III<sup>2</sup>, 842, while referring to el-Amir's published photograph of this piece, gives its present location as the Cairo Museum, JE 86757, which is actually a different, much smaller, fragmentary alabaster stand inscribed for Amasis, found nearby by Ahmed Badawy in 1941; its exact provenance is not known.

<sup>10</sup> El-Amir, *op. cit.* 52 and 54, A, and pl. xvii, 2; A. Lucas, *ASAE* 42 (1943), 165–6; the other shallower and uninscribed alabaster basin discussed by Lucas was also found in this excavation.

<sup>11</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 800–4.

<sup>12</sup> Twelve of these views were published in a small format in el-Amir, *op. cit.* pls. xv–xvii. I am extremely grateful to Said Amer el-Fiky, formerly Director of Saqqâra, and Hassabullah el-Tayib Ahmed, head of photography at Saqqâra, for their assistance with this research at the archive of the Egyptian Antiquities Organisation, Saqqâra.

<sup>13</sup> El-Amir, *op. cit.* pl. xv, 3. Two are shown in detail by Dimick in Anthes, *op. cit.* pl. 45, b and c.

including the *psš-ḳf* (the latter groups partly cut away) seem to play no part in its secondary function, since the inscribed surface was positioned almost flat against the face of a wall. In its new location it may have served as a lustration slab, raised slightly above the floor around it. The precise provenance of the basin of Darius I was not recorded.

Since every inscription used to identify this site occurs on material found in reused contexts, any conclusions based on them about the identity and function of the site must be made cautiously. They could have been brought for reuse from another nearby structure which was already disused and being dismantled sporadically as the need arose for useful building materials. They might even have been reused more than once before they were finally placed where el-Amir's workmen found them in 1941.

Nevertheless, two important factors emerge from this list of finds. Firstly, it is surprising that so many alabaster items were collected at one site, and all inscribed with texts dedicating them to one particular god, Apis. To those already listed must be added two more, which, although bearing no royal dedications, are more impressive for their size and execution than anything else remaining in the area. These are the alabaster lion bed with its basin, also alabaster (together no. 4), located in its own small chamber at the east end of Room A, and the other large alabaster lion bed with a plain top and no basin (no. 5) in the centre of Room C.<sup>14</sup> Both are still *in situ*. Secondly, there is a considerable concentration of inscribed material naming either 'Living Apis' or 'Osiris-Apis' at this site on the south side of the great temple of Ptah. None has been found elsewhere in Memphis, and it provides enough circumstantial evidence to propose that in this general area a continuous cult of Apis was maintained from the reign of Ramesses II down to Darius I. It was during the period of Persian rule that Herodotus visited Memphis, recording that 'when Psammetichus [I] had thus become sole monarch of Egypt, he built the southern gateway of the temple of Hephaistos (Ptah) in Memphis, and also a court for Apis, in which Apis is kept whenever he makes his appearance in Egypt. The court is opposite the gateway of Psammetichus, and is surrounded with a colonnade and adorned with a multitude of figures. Instead of pillars, the colonnade rests upon colossal statues, twelve cubits in height' (Herodotus, *Histories*, II, 153).

The walls of the edifice discovered by el-Amir and Badawy in 1941 stand nowhere more than one metre above the ancient floor level. In some places they dug below the pavements into the foundations, and the monument as it appears today exhibits features which would never have been visible together at any time in antiquity. Nevertheless, a substantial area of the original paving remains in position in Room C, and fragments are discernible elsewhere. When their levels are compared with the similar levels of the surviving thresholds and another paved floor found in 1941 around lion bed no. 4, but removed soon afterwards, important details become clear. When lion bed no. 4 and the basin fitted under the spout at its north end were found, a pavement of limestone slabs surrounded them. The lion bed was clearly sited against the east side of a square room or court, whose south wall had contained the reused votive alabaster lion bed of Necho II.<sup>15</sup> The paving slabs were taken up soon after their discovery to reveal an earlier limestone

<sup>14</sup>The designations of Rooms A, B and C and the numbers of lion beds are those of Dimick; see Dimick in Anthes, *op. cit.* 76-9 and pl. 41 and *JARCE* 20, plan I.

<sup>15</sup>The material which covered the north-east corner of the Apis House before the excavations of 1941 has long since been cleared away, and it is now impossible to know for certain whether lion bed no. 4 was originally housed in a roofed chamber or in a court open to the sky.

lion bed (no. 3) used for its foundations.<sup>16</sup> Lion bed no. 4 and its basin are still *in situ*. Along the sides of both bed and basin, the line between the finely polished alabaster, as it was intended to be seen when finished, and the roughly chiselled surface once hidden below the floor, shows clearly the original pavement level of this room. This is the same as that of the limestone pavement in Room C, into which lion bed no. 5 is set, demonstrating that both beds were in use contemporaneously.

In 1955 John Dimick made soundings in Room C, in the centre of the site, and at either end of Room A at the north of the building, noting that brick walls were found to descend two metres below the 'later floor levels'.<sup>17</sup> Rudolph Anthes postulated correctly from this that the monument had been built on a mudbrick platform which elevated it above its contemporary surrounding ground level: 'The mounting level of the ground water obliged the later builders of the embalming place (sic) to build an enormous platform of bricks there to a height of 2 m'.<sup>18</sup>

Further excavation by the New York University Expedition was able to clarify the nature of this platform. Excavations in 1984 and 1986 in the west end of Room B were conducted to examine the contents of two foundation compartments beneath the building. These were built of mudbrick walls and filled with a packing of limestone blocks, chips and crumbled mudbrick. Some of the limestone blocks bore hieroglyphic inscriptions proclaiming that they came from a monument usurped by (*Nfr-ib-Rꜥ*) (Psamtek II) 'for his father Osiris-Apis'. The names of Psamtek II were carved in palimpsest over those of Shabaka whose prenomen, (*Nfr-kꜣ-Rꜥ*), as well as his Two Ladies and Horus names, had been altered on all the examples found.<sup>19</sup> Although they had been reused in foundation fill, these blocks add considerably to the corpus of dated Apis material from the site. On the basis of this discovery, the present monument must have been built sometime after 595 BC, the accession date of Psamtek II, and most probably somewhat later, since it contained the reused lion bed of Amasis. The excavations in Room B showed that the foundation platform was constructed at this point over an impressively wide, earlier mudbrick wall, and although only a very small part of this underlying masonry has been examined so far, it is tempting to speculate that it might be part of the Kushite monument of Osiris-Apis from which the blocks of Shabaka/Psamtek II were taken.

North of the building excavated by el-Amir in 1941, in which the lion beds and the material discussed above were found, the foundation platform continues to the limits of the site, where the mudbrick walls were cut away at least as long ago as the mid-nineteenth century AD to make way for fields. This northern continuation of the platform supported a building whose floor level was approximately one metre higher than the pavements in the lower part of the building on its south side. The effect was to create a structure on two terraces. However, the superstructure of the building on the upper terrace has been demolished to floor level, leaving only isolated patches of paving, two door jambs and odd wall-lining slabs, all of limestone.<sup>20</sup> The material used to fill the foundation compartments of the upper level was quite different from that found in the

<sup>16</sup> El-Amir, *op. cit.* pls. xv, 6 and xvi, 1.

<sup>17</sup> Dimick in Anthes, *op. cit.* 76.

<sup>18</sup> Anthes, *op. cit.* 14, 'Summary Conclusions', 3.

<sup>19</sup> *JARCE* 22, 23 and 26, and figs. 10-12; *JARCE* 25, 105-16.

<sup>20</sup> Preliminary reports for the 1984 and 1986 seasons; *JARCE* 22, 17-21 and figs. 1-3, and *JARCE* 25, 105-16.

lower terrace. There was no reused stonework, but large quantities of redeposited rubbish, containing industrial waste and pottery dating from the Old Kingdom to the Late Period.

A remarkable discovery made here in the 1986 season was a hoard of thirteen silver coins, comprising nine tetradrachmae and four drachmae. It appears to have been buried below floor level, within the thickness of the brickwork at a point where two substantial foundation walls cross.<sup>21</sup> This isolated group of coins, showing little sign of use, may have been a foundation deposit. The coins belong to types known to have been struck in Memphis itself, and can be dated fairly precisely to the middle of the fourth century BC,<sup>22</sup> coinciding closely with the date of the latest pottery types found in the undisturbed fill of the foundations.

If the archaeological evidence has been interpreted correctly, the rebuilding of the site seems to have coincided with a time of great national revival during the Thirtieth Dynasty, which is expressed in the surviving archaeological record by new temples in many of the ancient religious centres throughout Egypt. At Saqqâra the cults of the sacred animals at the Anubeion, Bubasteion and the burial places of the Apis bull and of his mother, the cow, Isis, were endowed with new temples. A significant record of this architectural renaissance is to be found in the text of a quartzite stela discovered by Quibell in the monastery of Apa Jeremias at Saqqâra, where it had been reused as a threshold.<sup>23</sup> It is dated to the second year of the reign of Nectanebo II (358 BC) and records the inauguration of a new 'Place of Apis'. The king is described as being 'in his palace of life and dominion in *'Inb ḥd'* (line 2) where 'His Majesty commanded the building of the Place of Apis as a work enduring forever'; he decreed the building of *st nt Ḥp ḥnh*, the 'Place of Living Apis', which is described as being *r ḥwt-ntr nt it.f Pth*, 'for the temple of his father Ptah' (lines 3-4), suggesting that it was in the city of Memphis itself, rather than at the Serapeum.<sup>24</sup> The text continues *sqd. n ḥm.f bw ḥtp ntr pn im.f m kst mnḥt*, 'His Majesty constructed a place in which this god might rest as a splendid work' (line 5). Following this is a long list of the costly presentations made to the *wbt*, in readiness for the death and burial of the Apis bull (lines 6-17).<sup>25</sup> These include gold and silver, various kinds of wood, minerals, including natron of different sorts and bitumen, incense, bundles of papyrus and cattle. The text ends by saying that His Majesty decreed 6000 *deben* of linen rolls for *Kṣ-kmt*, the Serapeum, and also prepared a resting place in the Serapeum, which is described as being *r-gs*, 'beside', or perhaps 'at the edge of', Ro-Setau (line 18).

Three different establishments are mentioned: the 'Place of Living Apis', the *wbt* and the Serapeum. The former is clearly described as being part of the temple of Ptah, and the *wbt* seems to be connected with it under the general heading 'Place of Apis'. The Serapeum is separated from them topographically by being located 'beside Ro-Setau'. *st nt Ḥp ḥnh* (line 3) probably refers to the precinct attached to the Ptah temple in Memphis

<sup>21</sup> *JARCE* 25, 107-10.

<sup>22</sup> T.V. Buttrey in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics*, Berne, September 1979 (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1982) 137-40, pl. 21, 1-3.

<sup>23</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>, 779.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the inscription dedicated to *Ḥp ḥnh* by Amasis on the reused alabaster lion bed in Room A of the Apis House; see n. 9 above.

<sup>25</sup> Two demotic stelae from the Serapeum (Mariette 3372 and 199) are dated to year 2 of Nectanebo II: H. Gauthier, *LR* IV, 172 n. 1.

where the bull was housed during its lifetime. The text on this stela indicates that the living quarters of the bull and the *w<sup>r</sup>bt* in which the preparations were made for the bull's burial might have been two divisions of one structure. Such a monument may have been perceived by the ancient Egyptians as appropriate to the duality of the two natures of Living Apis and Osiris-Apis which were worshipped in it. When the content of the commemorative text on the stela is assessed in the light of the archaeological discoveries made in the south-west corner of the Ptah temple enclosure at Memphis, there is a strong possibility that the monument now standing there is the ruin of the 'Place of Apis' inaugurated in the second year of the reign of Nectanebo II.

The actual identification of the two parts of the Thirtieth Dynasty 'Place of Apis' in the text of the Saqqâra stela, that is the 'Place of Living Apis' and the *w<sup>r</sup>bt*, with the known architectural units at the site of Memphis might still remain wholly conjectural but for one very brief inscription. On the west side of the alabaster basin placed beneath the spout at the north end of lion bed no. 4 at the east end of Room A (pl. VII), there is a short hieroglyphic text. It reads *w<sup>r</sup>bt [n] ḥwt-ntr n Ḥp*, 'the *w<sup>r</sup>bt* [of] the temple of Apis'. The inscription reads from right to left, and the top edge of the tallest sign is 14.2 cm below the rim of the basin. The signs are shallowly incised, but with minute and careful detail in the facial features, folds of the legs and kilt-belt of the *w<sup>r</sup>b*-ideogram. The upper part of the inscription has been roughened through erosion along the natural veins in the stone. There are no traces of colour and the inscription is completely invisible except when the sun is almost directly overhead.<sup>26</sup>

The basin itself was made to fit precisely beneath the spout of the lion bed, and both bed and basin are *in situ* as they were found in 1941. They belong to the later of the two building phases so far identified at the site, and the basin seems to be the only inscribed piece in the entire building both in the position where it was intended to be used and with an inscription giving an indication of its purpose. Its brief label provides the first wholly positive identification of the site and recalls the record of the building of an earlier *w<sup>r</sup>bt* by Shoshenq I (n. 4 above), possibly in the same area. But it remains to be established whether the *w<sup>r</sup>bt* refers solely to the basin itself, to the lion bed and basin together, to the room or court in which the bed was situated, or to the whole building. If this is the 'Place of Apis' described in the text of the stela of Nectanebo II, the *w<sup>r</sup>bt* is a major edifice. The royal donations are summarized as *ḥt nb(t) nfrt m wsht ʿst nt w<sup>r</sup>bt*, 'every good thing for the great hall of the *w<sup>r</sup>bt*' (line 17), and the inscription on the basin of lion bed no. 4 should refer to the entire building on the lower terrace of the platform.

No clear evidence has yet come to light which would indicate further modifications to the site during the Ptolemaic period, and it must be assumed that the buildings dated to the fourth century BC continued in use for several centuries. The uppermost surviving levels on the denuded upper terrace are characterized by a scatter of limestone chips, and pits containing chips and pottery of the first-second centuries AD,<sup>27</sup> thus providing a possible date when at least part of the site was destroyed through severe stone robbing. In 1901 G. Daressy reported the discovery of a tank built of limestone blocks taken from a monument of Nectanebo II, which he speculated might have dated from the Roman period.<sup>28</sup> Its location was 'about half way between the temple of Ramesses II (Ptah

<sup>26</sup> The inscription was first noted in May 1987. It is clearly visible only between April and September when the sun is high enough not to cast the shadow of lion bed no. 4 across the basin.

<sup>27</sup> *JARCE* 24, 44 and figs. 5 and 6; *JARCE* 25, 105-16.

<sup>28</sup> G. Daressy, *ASAE* 2 (1901), 240-3; Jeffreys, *Survey of Memphis*, I, 37-8.

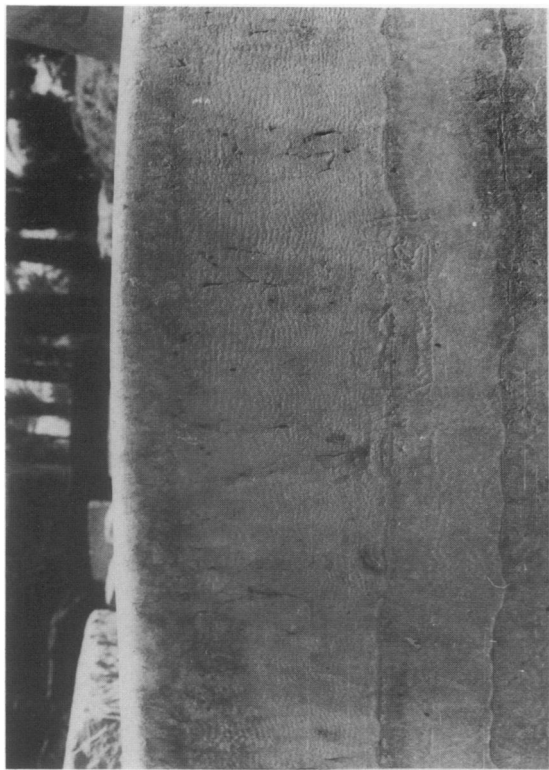


temple) and the block of Shoshenq I' (at the south-east corner of the 'Embalming House' site), which is only a few metres north of the present artificially-cut northern limit of the site. The blocks came originally from a cornice inscribed in large hieroglyphs with a row of alternating cartouches of Nectanebo II, his Golden Horus name, *smn hprw*, and part of a damaged text, . . . *ntrw nb . . . mry* which was probably part of the royal protocol. The proximity of these blocks to the '*wbt* of the *hwt-ntr* of Apis' suggests that the cornice may once have formed part of that building.

The evidence from both the archaeology of the site and the related inscriptions thus points to a date in the fourth century BC, and more specifically during the reign of Nectanebo II, for a major rebuilding of the temple of Apis in Memphis. If this interpretation is correct, the precinct described by Herodotus is no longer visible since that was almost certainly constructed in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, reinscribed and embellished by Twenty-sixth Dynasty rulers, and later pulled down and buried under the terraced platform which transformed the appearance of the site. However, the Thirtieth Dynasty buildings were probably still in use when Strabo came to Memphis during the reign of the emperor Augustus.



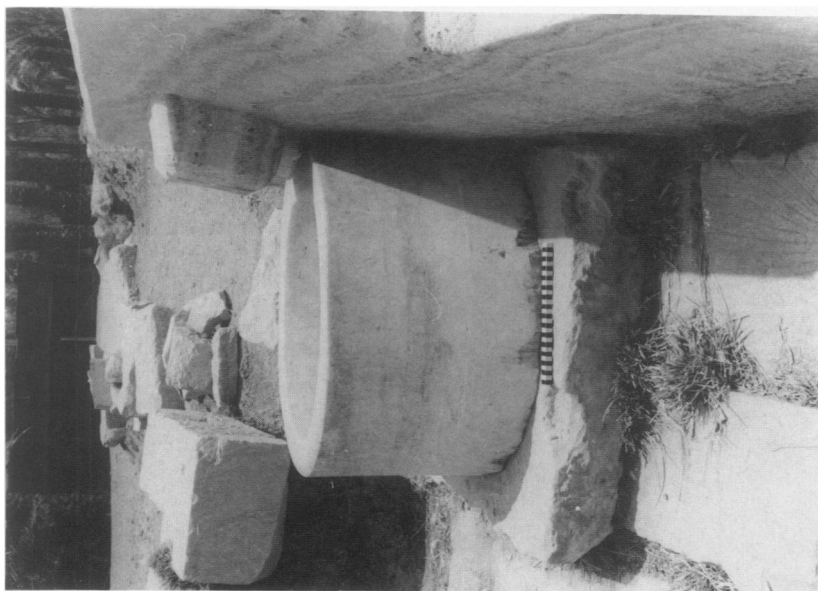
1. The inscription of Shoshenq I dedicated to Osiris-Apis-Atum-Horus with the text recording the building of a *wrbt* at left:  
photo John Dimick, 1955 (p. 141)



2. West side of basin showing position of inscription



3. West side of basin: detail of inscription



1. The west side of the inscribed basin on the north side of lion bed no. 4 (scale 0.3 m)

# THE EGYPTOLOGICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERCY EDWARD NEWBERRY (1869-1949)

By DIANA MAGEE

The papers of Percy Edward Newberry are in the Archive of the Griffith Institute in Oxford and are in the process of being catalogued; this bibliography is a by-product of that work. A list compiled by Newberry himself, considerably enlarged and revised, has served as a basis. Newberry was a person with many interests, but there has been no attempt to include non-Egyptological works. Contributions to newspapers have also been excluded. Newberry's biographical data can be found in W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1972), 216. I should like to thank: Catherine Anson, Janine Bourriau, Lisa Leahy, John Ray and A. F. Shore for their help in checking catalogue entries; Jaromir Malek and Elizabeth Miles for advice and additional help.

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15. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (I)': 1. The Story of Sanehat and the Inscription of Amenemheb: a correction. 2. The Persea-tree of Ancient Egypt. 3. A Stone Vase of Ptahmes, High Priest at Memphis under Amenhetep III. 4. A Statue of User, Vezîr of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III; in *PSBA* 21, 303-8 with pls. i, ii.

16. 'The Inscriptions and Translations', in M. Benson and J. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London, John Murray), 295-379.

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1900

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19. 'A Statue of Hapu-senb: Vezîr of Thothmes II', in *PSBA* 22, 31-6.

20. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (II)': 5. Sen-nefer, Mayor of Thebes under Amenhetep II. 6. Sen-nefer, Treasurer of Hatshepsut and Thothmes III. 7. The Vezîr Kha'y. 8. The Vezîr Paser. 9. Hatshepsut's Favourite Minister and Architect, Sen-mut. 10. A Cylinder of the Vezîr Ankh. 11. An Ushabti Figure of Paser, Mayor of Thebes. 12. The Hieroglyphics = and  $\equiv$ . 13. The sign  $\text{ø}$ ; in *PSBA* 22, 59-66.

21. 'The word  $\text{𓂏𓂏𓂏} kha$ , a "Dîwân" or "Office"', in *PSBA* 22, 99-105.

22. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (III)': 14. The Cornflower in Egyptian Art. 15. The Poppy in Egyptian Art. 16. The  $\text{𓂏𓂏} Nefu$ , "Root of the *Cyperus esculentus*, L.". 17. The  $\text{𓂏𓂏} tab$  'ark (?) "string of dried figs"', in ancient lists of offerings. 18. A Statue of Hapu, father of Thothmes II and Vezîr Hapu-Senb. 19. A Statuette of Min-nekht, Superintendent of the Granaries under Thothmes III. 20. Notes on some Hieroglyphic Signs; in *PSBA* 22, 142-54 with pls. i, ii.

23. 'Letter to Mr Rylands concerning the title Overseer of Works and *a'af* "flies"', in *PSBA* 22, 166-7.

1901

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25. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (IV)': 21. Statue of a Fan-bearer of the Body-guard of Amenhetep III. 22. The Site of the Library of Akhenaten. 23. A Priest of Astarte. 24. Some Egyptian Antiquities in the Dattari Collection, Cairo. 25. Handle of a Model Dagger (?) and Plaque inscribed with the name of Bak-en-Khensu. 26. Khnems, Vezîr of Sekhem-ka-Ra. 27. The Vezîr Seniÿ; in *PSBA* 23, 218-24 with pl.

1902


26. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (V)': 28. A Statuette of Reni, Mayor of El Kab. 29. A Statuette of Min-nekht. 30. A Stela of Teta. 31. The Family of Amenhetep III. 32. Some inscribed Pendants, Beads, etc. 33. The Vezîr ÿm-hetep. 34. A New King of the XIIIth Dynasty. 35. An Inscribed Bronze Axe-head. 36. Two Prehistoric Slate Amulets. 37. A Prehistoric Figure of the Elephant. 38. Queen Aat-shet. 39. Queen Senb-hena-es. 40. Prince Teb-ke; in *PSBA* 24, 244-52 with pl. i.

27. 'The Parentage of Queen Aah-hetep', in *PSBA* 24, 285-9.

1903

28. 'A Sixth Dynasty Tomb at Thebes', in *ASAE* 4, 97-100 with pls. i-iii.  
 29. 'Discovery of the Tomb of Thothmes IV at Bibân el-Mulûk, in *PSBA* 25, 111-12.  
 30. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (VI)': 41. A Stela dated in the reign of Aba-aa. 42. A Cup of Sebekhetep III. 43. King Amenemhat-Sebekhetep. 44. An Early Thirteenth Dynasty Stela. 45. A monument of Kha-ankh-ra Sebekhetep. 46. Some Small Inscribed objects. 47. Wine Jar Inscriptions from Tell el Amarna; in *PSBA* 25, 130-8 with pl.  
 31. 'The Sekhmet Statues of the Temple of Mut at Karnak', in *PSBA* 25, 217-21.  
 32. 'Note on the Parentage of Amenhetep III', in *PSBA* 25, 294-5.  
 33. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (VII)': 48. Sat-aah, Queen of Thothmes III. 49. The Queen of Kha-nefer-Ra Sebek-hetep III. 50. A Prince Amenhetep of the Seventeenth Dynasty. 51. Queen Nebt-nehat. 52. Princess Ptah-neferu. 53. Princess Thaa. 54. The Princess Amenemapet. 55. The Vezîr Y-meru. 56. The Daisy in Egyptian Art. 57. Some Miscellaneous Antiquities; in *PSBA* 25, 357-62 with pls. i, ii.

1904

34. (with John Garstang). *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*. 1st edition (London, Archibald Constable and Co.). Pp. x + 111, maps. 2nd edition, 1907. Pp. xii + 111, pls. and maps.  
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 36. (with Howard Carter). *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (with chapters by Gaston Maspero and G. Elliot Smith) (Westminster, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd.). Pp. xlv + 150, pls. 28.  
 37. (with Howard Carter). *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Westminster, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd.). Pp. 150, pls. 28.  
 38. 'The Horus Title  of the Kings of Egypt', in *PSBA* 26, 295-9 with pl.

1905

39. 'The Temple of Erment as it was in 1850', in *PSBA* 27, 100 with pl.  
 40. 'Extracts from my Notebooks (VIII)': 58. The Vezîr Khaÿ. 59. The Queen of Sebekhetep III. 60. Pyramidion of an Official of Queen Sensenb. 61. Hieratic Inscriptions in the Pyramid at Mêdûm. 62. A *Post-XIIIth* Dynasty King Mentuhetep. 63. Some Small Inscribed Objects; in *PSBA* 27, 101-5 with pl. 58.  
 41. 'An unpublished scene from the tomb of Thÿ at Sakkara, representing the manufacture of Seals', in *PSBA* 27, 286 with pl.

1906

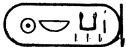


















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 43. *Egyptian Antiquities; Scarabs, an Introduction to the Study of Egyptian Seals and Signet-rings* (London, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd.). Pp. xvi + 218, pls. 44. A cheaper re-issue appeared in 1908.  
 44. 'Topographical Notes on Western Thebes collected in 1830 by Joseph Bonomi', in *ASAE* 7, 78-86.

1907

45. *The Timins Collection of Ancient Egyptian Scarabs & Cylinder Seals* (London, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd.). Pp. 61, pls. 21.  
 46. (with Theodore M. Davis, Gaston Maspero and Howard Carter). *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* (London, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd.). Pp. xxx + 48, pls. 44.  
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1908

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50. 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom', in *AAA* 1, 24-9.
51. 'Remarks on some Early Egyptian Cults', in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, 1 (Oxford, Clarendon Press), 211-13.
52. (with the Marquis of Northampton and W. Spiegelberg). *Report on some excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the winter of 1898-9* (with a chapter by K. Sethe) (London, Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd.). Pp. ix + 40 + 12\*, pls. 33.
53. See no. 43.
- 1909
54. 'A Bird Cult of the Old Kingdom', in *AAA* 2, 49-51.
55. 'Impressions of seals from Abydos', in *AAA* 2, 130 with pls. xxii-xxv.
- 1910
56. 'The Egyptian Cult-object — and the Thunderbolt', in *AAA* 3, 50-2 with pl. xix.
- 1912
57. 'The Cult-animal of Set', in *Klio* 12, 397-401.
58. 'The Wooden and Ivory Labels of the First Dynasty', in *PSBA* 34, 279-89 with pls. xxxi-xxxiii.
59. 'The Inscribed Tombs of Ekhmîm', in *AAA* 4, 99-120.
60. 'Two Prehistoric Slate Palettes', in *AAA* 4, 140 with pl. xxiv.
61. 'The Tree of the Herakleopolite Nome', in *ZÄS* 50, 78-9 with figs.
62. 'King  of the Story of the Eloquent Peasant', in *ZÄS* 50, 123.
63. 'The  of Methen = the  of the Nome Lists', in *ZÄS* 50, 124.
64. 'The Funerary Statuettes from the Tomb of Teta-Ky' and 'Vegetable Remains found in the excavations', in The Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter, *Five Years Explorations at Thebes* (London etc., Oxford University Press), 19-21, 94.
- 1913
65. 'Some Cults of Prehistoric Egypt', in *AAA* 5, 132-6 with figs.
66. 'List of Vases with Cult-signs', in *AAA* 5, 137-42.
67. 'Egyptian Historical Notes' I: 1. The Royal Herald Amunezeh. 2. The Funeral Papyrus of the Vezîr User. 3. An Official of Hatshepsut. 4. An official of the Royal Barge of Amenhetep III. 5. Amenhetep IIIrd's Daughter Isis; in *PSBA* 35, 156-8.
68. 'Notes on the Carnarvon Tablet No 1', in *PSBA* 35, 117-22 with pl. xxx.
- 1914
69. 'Egyptian Historical Notes' II: 6. The Stela of King Zer. 7. A Blue Glazed Vase of the Chancellor Amenhetep. 8. Two Wooden Coffins from El-Bersheh. 9. Some Small Historical Antiquities, in *PSBA* 36, 35-9 with pl. iii.
70. 'Egyptian Historical Notes' III: 10. Fragment of a Kohl Tube of the   . 11. A Pebble inscribed with the name of the  . 12. Clay Sealing of   . 13. Clay Sealing of the Chief Steward of the Divine Votress named Pedineit. 14. A Priest of the Goddess  . 15. Cube of Limestone bearing the name of the   . 16. A Paint-Grinder of the   . 17. Some Small Historical Antiquities, in *PSBA* 36, 168-74 with pls. ix, x.
71. 'Notes on Some Egyptian Nome Ensigns and their historical significance', in *Ancient Egypt*, 5-8.
72. (with G. A. Wainwright). 'King Udy-mu (Den) and the Palermo Stone', in *Ancient Egypt*, 148-55 with figs.
- 1915
73. 'Ta-Tehenu "Olive Land"', in *Ancient Egypt*, 97-100 with figs.
74. 'The Mother of Hatshepsût', in *Ancient Egypt*, 101-2 with figs.
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1920

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1921

77. (with T. G. Pinches). 'A Cylinder-seal inscribed in hieroglyphic and cuneiform in the Collection of the Earl of Carnarvon', in *JEA* 7, 196-9 with pl. xxxii.

1922

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 80. Introduction to *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge, Sale Catalogue, 26-30 June and 3-6 July 1922 (London, J. Davy and Sons).

1923

81. *Handbook and Guide to the Egyptian Collection ... Liverpool* (Liverpool, C. Tinling and Co. Ltd). Pp. 47, pls. 12 [Completed by T. E. Peet; later editions were substantially revised by Peet].

1924

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1925

83. 'A Duplicate Text of Horemhab's Coronation Inscription', in *Ancient Egypt*, 4.  
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1927

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1928

87. 'An unpublished monument of a  "Priest of the Double Axe" named , Hetepheren-ptah', in *ASAE* 28, 138-40.  
 88. 'A statue of the King's Scribe Amenhotep son of Hapu', in *ASAE* 28, 141-3.  
 89. 'Akhenaten's eldest son-in-law, "Ankhkheprure"', in *JEA* 14, 3-9 with figs. and pl. iv.  
 90. 'The Sons of Tuthmosis IV', in *JEA* 14, 82-5 with figs. and pl. xii.  
 91. 'Miscellanea': I. A Middle Kingdom Mayor of Byblos. II. A New Vizier of the Eleventh Dynasty. III. A New Vizier of the Nineteenth Dynasty. IV. A Label of the First Dynasty. V. Two Gold Button-seals. VI. An Official of King Horemheb. VII. The High Priest Dhutihetep; in *JEA* 14, 109-11 with figs.  
 92. 'Note on the sculptured Slab No. 15000 in the Berlin Museum', in *JEA* 14, 117 with pl. xiv.  
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1929

94. 'The Base of a Statuette of the Lady Duat-nefret, mother of Queen Nubkhaes', in *ASAE* 29, 76.  
 95. 'The Shepherd's Crook and the so-called "Flail" or "Scourge" of Osiris', in *JEA* 15, 84-94 with figs. and pls. xviii, xix.  
 96. 'Menes: the Founder of the Egyptian Monarchy', in *Great Ones of Ancient Egypt*. Portraits by Winifred Brunton and historical studies by various Egyptologists (London, Hodder and Stoughton), 37-53.



1930

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1931

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1932

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101. 'Miscellanea': 1. A Middle Kingdom Official of Pelusium. 2. A Stela of the Military Officer Sebek-khu who served under Senusret III. 3. The King's-Mother Itti. 4. The Queen 'Ankhm'ari. 5. The Scribe Amenemhet, son of Thutimes. 6. A Hyksos Scarab with a Scene of Boats. 7. A Scarab of a Mayor of Heliopolis; in *JEA* 18, 141-2 with figs.

1933

102. 'A Statue and a Scarab', in *JEA* 19, 53-4 with pl. x.

1935

103. Appendix I [on the scarabs], in Einar Gjerstad, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, II (Stockholm, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition), 825-30.

1936

104. 'On the Parentage of the Intef Kings of the Eleventh Dynasty', in *ZÄS* 72, 118-20.

1937

105. 'On some African species of the genus *Olea* and the original home of the cultivated Olive-tree', in *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of London*, Session 150, 1937-8, Pt. 1, 31 December 1937, 3-13 with pl. 1.

106. 'Note on the hieroglyph 𓆎', in *ZÄS* 73, 139.

1938

107. 'The Medallion of Dahshur', in *JEA* 24, 126-7.

108. 'Three Old Kingdom Travellers to Byblos and Pwenet', in *JEA* 24, 182-4 with figs.

109. [Obituary]. 'Sir Robert Mond, LL.D., F.R.S. 1867-1938', in *JEA* 24, 208-10 with pl. xiv.

110. [Obituary Notice]. 'Sir Robert Mond, F.R.S.', in *Nature* 142, November 12.

111. [Letter]. 'Bee-hives in Upper Egypt', in *Man* 38 [31-2].

1939

112. [Obituary]. 'Howard Carter', in *JEA* 25, 67-9.

113. [Obituary Notice]. 'Mr. Howard Carter', in *Nature* 143, March 25.

114. [Review]. William C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Ramesses III at Kantir*, in *JEA* 25, 120-1.

1942

115. 'Notes on Seagoing Ships', in *JEA* 28, 64-6.

1943

116. 'Queen Nitocris of the Sixth Dynasty', in *JEA* 29, 51-4 with fig.

117. 'William Matthew Flinders Petrie, Kt., F.R.S., F.B.A. Obituary', in *JEA* 29, 67-70.

118. 'Co-regencies of Ammenemes III, IV and Sebknofru', in *JEA* 29, 74-5.

1944

119. 'The Elephant's Trunk called its *drt* (*drt*) "Hand"', in *JEA* 30, 75.120. 'The "Formido" employed in Hunting by the Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom', in *JEA* 30, 75-6.121. 'Note on the Mandrake in Ancient Egypt', in *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society* 69, 203.

1947

122. 'The Cult of the  $\overline{\text{I}}$ -pole', in *JEA* 33, 90-1 with figs.

1948

123. 'Fy cerastes', in *JEA* 34, 118.124. 'The Hieroglyphs  $\overline{\text{I}}$  and  $\overline{\text{I}}$ ', in *JEA* 34, 119.

1949

125. 'The  $\overline{\text{I}}$  Sceptre', in *Studi in memoria di Ippolito Rosellini*, 1, 269-72.126. 'Carter, Howard (1874-1939)', in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, 1931-40 (London, Geoffrey Cumberlege), 151-2.*Posthumous publications*

1951

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1957

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## MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1988

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1988 BY MUSEUMS  
IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

*Edited by* JANINE BOURRIAU

### **Predynastic**

1. Bone needle case, University College 36421. From Naqada, tomb 1695.

### **Early Dynastic**

2. Reconstructed greywacke dish in the form of *Ficus Carica*, University College 35653. Cf. example from the tomb of Hemaka, Cairo Museum JE 71297. From Abydos.
3. Reconstructed greywacke dish in the form of a basket, University College 35654. Cf. example from the tomb of Hemaka, Cairo Museum JE 71298. From Abydos.
4. Part of bifacial chert knife, University College 35655. From Abydos.

### **Old Kingdom**

5. Blue faience face amulet, University College 38393. Probably from Abydos.
6. Greywacke stela-shaped palette, University College 35656. From Abydos.

### **First Intermediate Period**

- 7-8. Faience, steatite, carnelian and rock crystal beads, University College 31636, 31642. From Sidmant, tombs 947 and 382.
9. Seven fragments from painted wooden boxes, University College 31641 A-G. From Sidmant, possibly tomb 2137.
- 10-12. Steatite deity amulet and strings of faience beads, University College 31685, 31643-4. From Sidmant.

### **Middle Kingdom**

13. Four cartouche-shaped pieces of copper scale armour, University College 38049 A-D. From Asyut, tomb of Mesehti.
14. Obsidian scarab of [the overseer] of singers (?), Renefankh, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1988 (pl. VIII, 2). Late Twelfth Dynasty.

### **Second Intermediate Period**

15. Fragments of bone cosmetic jar, University College 31638 A-C. From Sidmant tomb 1308.

16. String of faience, steatite, carnelian and quartz beads, University College 31639. From Sidmant tomb 190.

17. Sherds of incised marl (A3) ware, probably from a large storage jar, University College 35649 A-D. Probably from Abydos.

### New Kingdom

18. Shabti fragments, portions of glazed composition and pottery vessels and objects from a foundation deposit, British Museum EA 71382-99. From Thebes, tomb of Amenophis III. Gift of the Earl of Carnarvon.

19-24. Faience and glass beads and amulets, University College 31688, 31690, 31692-5. From Sidmant, tomb 131.

25-6. Blue faience gaming piece and ring bezel with undecipherable cartouche, University College 31686-7. From Sidmant, tomb 131.

27-9. Blue glass rod, fragments of inlaid eye and flax thread for beads, University College 31689, 31696, 31691. From Sidmant, tomb 131.

30-3. Painted wooden model vase, fragment of gold leaf and string of faience, and carnelian beads and amulets, University College 31697, 31645-6. From Sidmant.

34-50. Sherds of marl clay wares, some with painted decoration, University College 31618-34. From Sidmant. Mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.

51-3. Fragments of faience inlay, University College 36446-7, 36456. From Amarna.

54. Black stone weight, University College 36448. From Amarna.

55-62. Bronze bodkins, needles, pin, knife and toilet spoon, University College 36449-5, 36480. From Amarna.

63. Lump of iron slag, University College 36483. Sample taken for analysis. From Amarna.

64-9. Fragments of undyed fine linen textiles, University College 36429-33, 36427. From Deir el-Bahari cache.

70-1. Fragments of linen, dyed pale pink/orange, University College 36428, 36426. From Deir el-Bahari cache.

72. Upper part of steatite shabti of Seti I, Fitzwilliam Museum E.4.1988 (pl. VIII, 3). From Thebes. Gift of Mr and Mrs F. E. Brooks.

73. Limestone stela of the scribe in the Place of Truth, Ramose, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1988 (pl. VIII, 1). From Thebes, reign of Ramesses II. Gift of Mr and Mrs F. E. Brooks.

74. Iron arrowhead, University College 35652. From Abydos, Ramesside period or later.

75. Faience, glass, shell, pottery beads and four flint blades, University College 35661 A-C. From Abydos. New Kingdom and later.

### Third Intermediate Period

76. Blue faience figurine of Sekhmet, inscribed with the name of a prince Smendes, British Museum EA 71023.

77. Blue faience *wedjat*-eye amulet, University College 36424. Probably from Nebesheh.

78. Brown limestone figurine of a baboon holding an infant, British Museum EA 71028.

79. Blue faience figurine of a monkey with a young monkey at its feet, British Museum EA 71029.

### Late Period

80. Head of an ibis, bronze with traces of gold, Fitzwilliam Museum E.3.1988. Gift of Mr and Mrs F. E. Brooks.

81. Bronze figurine of Horus harpooning the hippopotamus of Seth, British Museum EA 71030.

82. Miniature bronze falcon standard topped by a falcon-shaped harpoon head, British Museum EA 71033.

83. Bronze statuette of an offering-bearer, Ashmolean Museum 1988.11 (pl. IX, 1). See *The Pomerance Collection of Ancient Art*, 64, no. 71.

84. Limestone male head from a statuette, Fitzwilliam Museum E.5.1988. Gift of Mr and Mrs F. E. Brooks.

85-90. Group of faience amulets, British Museum EA 71024-7, 71031-2.

### Ptolemaic Period

91. Wooden furniture element inlaid with hieroglyphs made of polychrome glass, British Museum EA 71019.

92. Faience Bes amulet, British Museum EA 71400.

### Roman Period

93. Terracotta statuette of Isis-Aphrodite, Fitzwilliam Museum E.6.1988. First century BC to first century AD. Gift of Mr and Mrs F. E. Brooks.

94-6. Terracotta statuettes of Silenos, University College 33603-5. From Memphis.

97. Terracotta head of a camel, University College 33606 (pl. IX, 2). From Memphis.

98. Terracotta lamp incorporating the head of Silenos, University College 36434. Probably from Ehnasya.

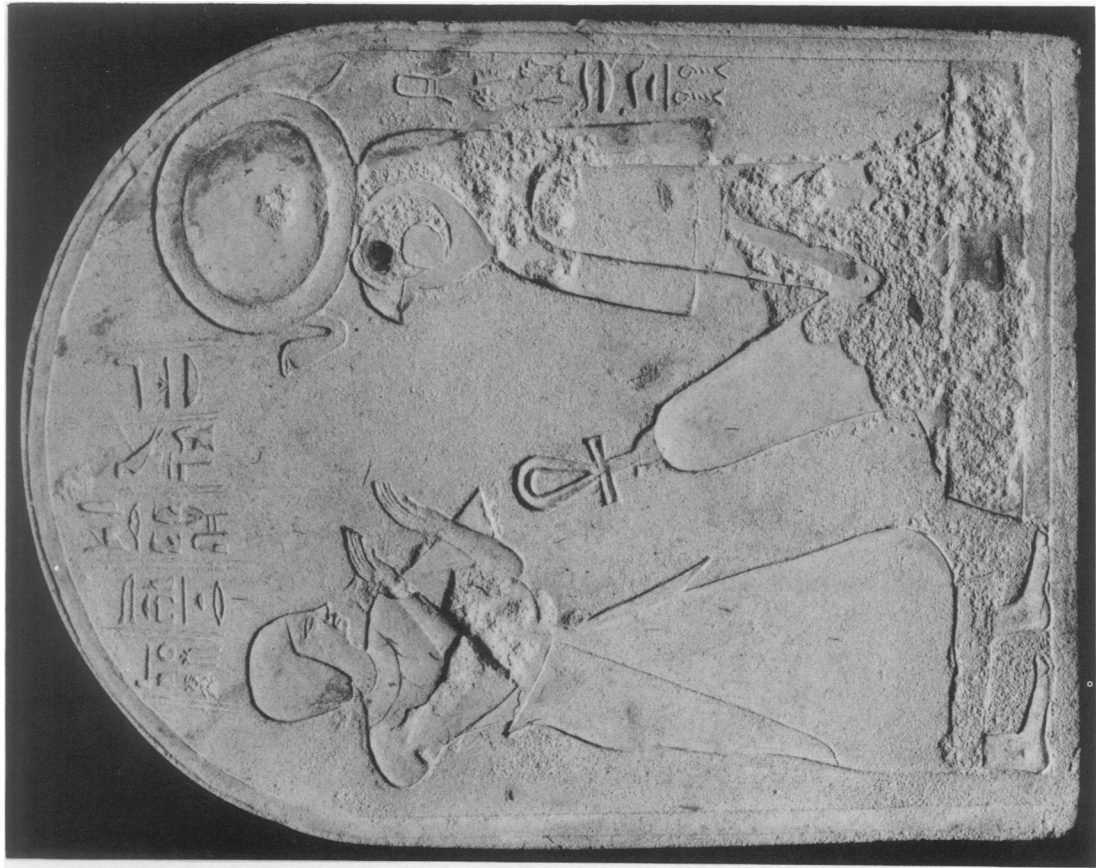
99-101. Three copper toilet instruments, Fitzwilliam Museum E.7.1988 (pl. IX, 3). Gift of Mr and Mrs F. E. Brooks.

102. Bronze appliqué in the form of the infant Horus, Liverpool Museum 1988.154.

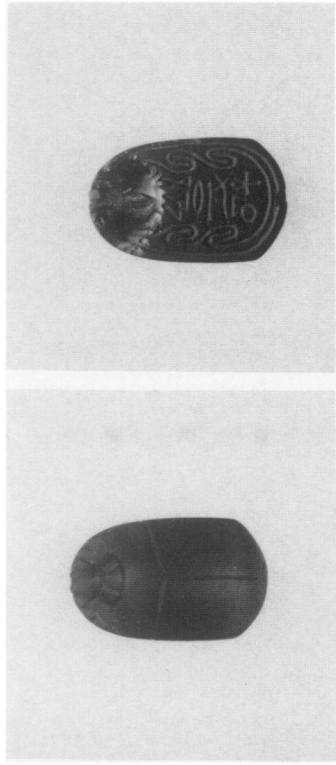
### Coptic Period

103-4. Two fragments of papyrus with legal texts in Sahidic Coptic, British Museum EA 71021-2.

105-16. Parchment and paper documents inscribed in Old Nubian and Greek, British Museum EA 71295-305, 71381. From Qasr Ibrim, Nubia. Medieval Period. Gift of the E.E.S.



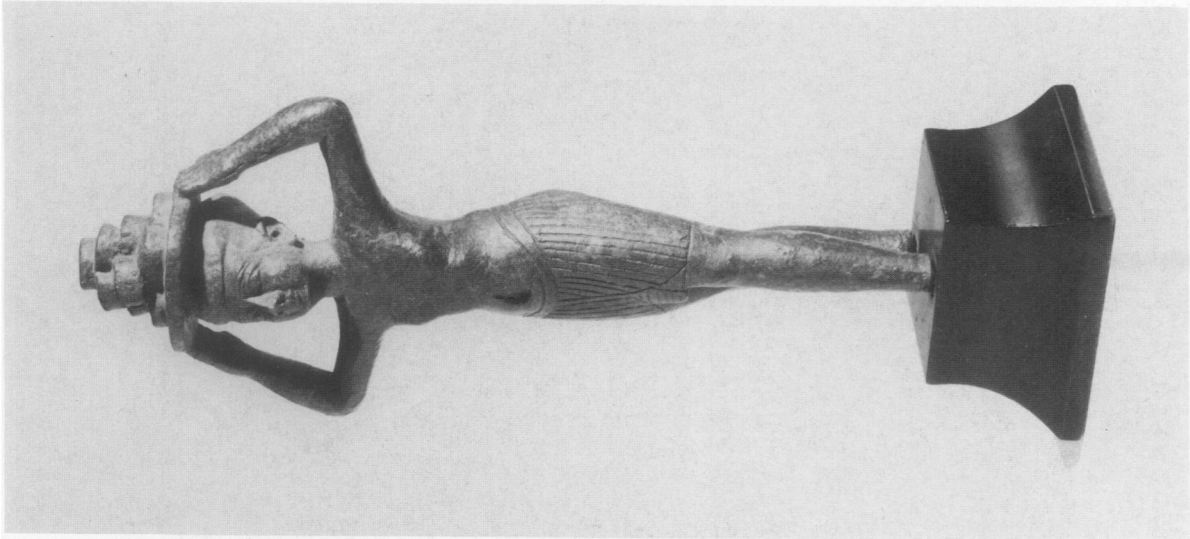
1. Stela of Ramose, Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1988 (no. 73)



2. Scarab of Renefankh, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1988 (no. 14)



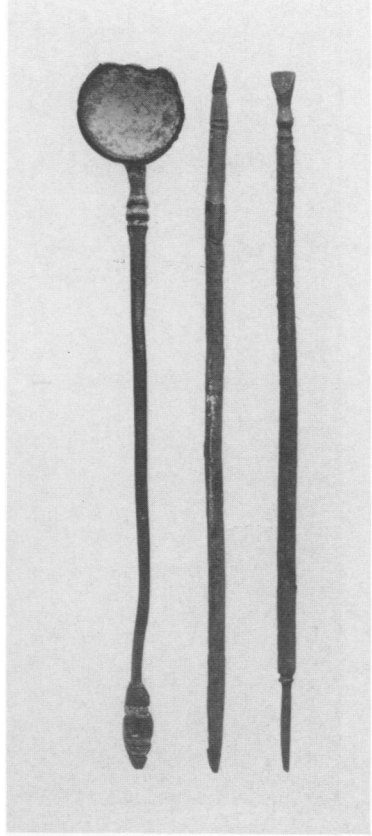
3. Shabti of Seti I, Fitzwilliam Museum E.4.1988 (no. 72)



1. Statuette of an offering-bearer, Ashmolean Museum 1988.11 (no. 83)



2. Head of a camel, University College 33606 (no. 97)



3. Toilet instruments, Fitzwilliam Museum E.7.1988 (nos. 99-101)

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1988 (pp. 157-9)

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

### A fragment from the Cairo statue of Khasekhemwy

A corner fragment of the greywacke statue of Khasekhemwy from Hierakonpolis in the Cairo Museum has been discovered in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool. It derives from the excavations of John Garstang and Harold Jones in the town and temple site of Nekhen in 1905–6. The scratched designs on the fragment are discussed and its subject matter compared to the scene on the base of the limestone statue of Khasekhemwy, also from Hierakonpolis, in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

THE last unpublished group of material from early excavations at Hierakonpolis in Great Britain known to me<sup>1</sup> is that from the town and temple excavations in Nekhen by John Garstang and Harold Jones, undertaken in 1905–6 on behalf of the Liverpool Excavations Committee. From 1980–5 I worked intermittently on the objects from Garstang's excavation in the Predynastic 'Fort' cemetery early in 1905, which are chiefly located in the University and National (City) museums in Liverpool, but are also distributed world-wide. My reconstruction of this evidence, making use of the manuscripts and photographs in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies in the University of Liverpool has now been published.<sup>2</sup> During my work, in which I was given every assistance by Professor A. F. Shore and Miss Patricia Winker, a box of unregistered objects came to light. My opinion was sought as to the likelihood of their originating at Hierakonpolis and I confirmed that the type of remains was exactly what would be expected from the Early Dynastic and early Old Kingdom temple and town site, e.g. fragments of stone vases and statues, stone drills, modelled pottery objects, spindle whorls, flints and beads. It became obvious that some of the objects bore site numbers which were the continuation of the series used by Garstang,<sup>3</sup> who in turn had followed the system used by Quibell and Green,<sup>4</sup> although there is no key to the numbering system in the Garstang or Jones manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> I requested that these objects be registered so that I could return to them at a future date with a view to completion of the record of British excavations at the site of Hierakonpolis. This numbering has now been done by Miss Winker and I have resumed work on the temple and town objects to prepare their publication.

During my first study visit in 1989 to work on this group of objects in the National Museums on Merseyside and the University Museum (the museums to which the distribution from the town site seems to have been limited), I was accompanied by my colleague from the current American expedition to Hierakonpolis, Miss Renée Friedman. She kindly helped me with the recording and photography of the objects in the limited time at our disposal and it was she who noticed that one of the statue fragments in the group resembled the famous statues of Khasekhemwy in Cairo (greywacke [slate], JE 32161) and Oxford (limestone, Ashmolean E 517).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Other than objects from the excavations of Quibell and Green listed in B. Adams, *Supplement to Ancient Hierakonpolis* (Warminster, 1974), which have not been completely published.

<sup>2</sup> *The Fort Cemetery at Hierakonpolis Excavated by John Garstang* (London, 1987).

<sup>3</sup> This is proved by the number 519 on the head of the lapis lazuli figurine found by Jones and reunited with its body in Oxford (Ashmolean E 1057), and the decorated ivory fragment in the National Museum and Gallery on Merseyside (16.11.06.428), numbered 520, see D. Slow, *Liverpool Bulletin* (1963–4), 13–18.

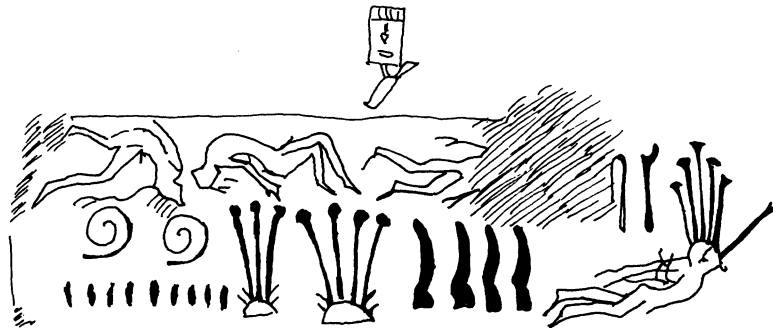
<sup>4</sup> Adams, *Supplement*.

<sup>5</sup> Garstang's manuscripts are in Liverpool: see Adams, *The Fort Cemetery*, 204 (Appendix A). Jones' papers are kept in the University Library at Aberystwyth.

<sup>6</sup> J. E. Quibell and F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis*, I (London, 1900), 11, pls. xli–xlv; II (London, 1902), 44, pl. xlvii.



The piece in question is a small corner fragment of greywacke with traces of incision on each long side. Further research has ascertained that it belongs to the left front corner of the base of the statue in Cairo (pl. X, 1; height: 56 cm; base width: 13 cm; depth: 31 cm), although it does not make up the whole missing corner. The height of the piece in Liverpool, E 749, is 4.5 cm, which is also the height of the base of the Cairo statue.<sup>7</sup> Further confirmation of its fit is given by comparison with the left intact corner of the base of the limestone statue in Oxford (fig. 1).<sup>8</sup> Both these Second Dynasty statues are of extremely fine workmanship, but the scratched scenes on their bases, depicting a line of vanquished foes, numerals and the name of Khasekhemwy, are quite crude and very shallow. The left-side front corner of the limestone statue has the fallen body of a bound captive with what seem like spikes radiating from his head, indicating the papyrus flowers which identify a Lower Egyptian origin. It will be seen from the photograph (pl. X, 2) and drawing of the corner fragment in Liverpool (fig. 2) that the left side (L: 3.8 cm) has the lower leg and foot of a man raised up in the air and the front (L: 1.8 cm) has a crudely scratched head with spikes arising from it. These sections of the Cairo statue base scene are chipped away. A cast of



2:3

FIG. 1. The inscribed front of the base of the limestone statue of Khasekhemwy in Oxford, Ashmolean E 517 (after Quibell and Green).

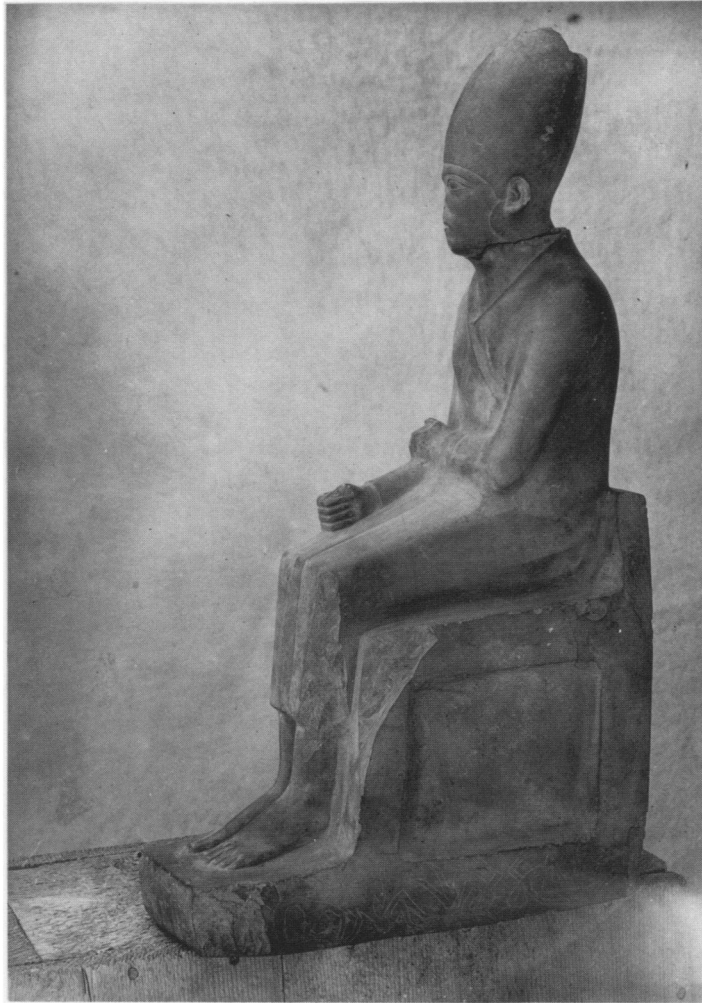


FIG. 2. The fragment in Liverpool superimposed on the inscribed base of the Cairo statue (after Capart).

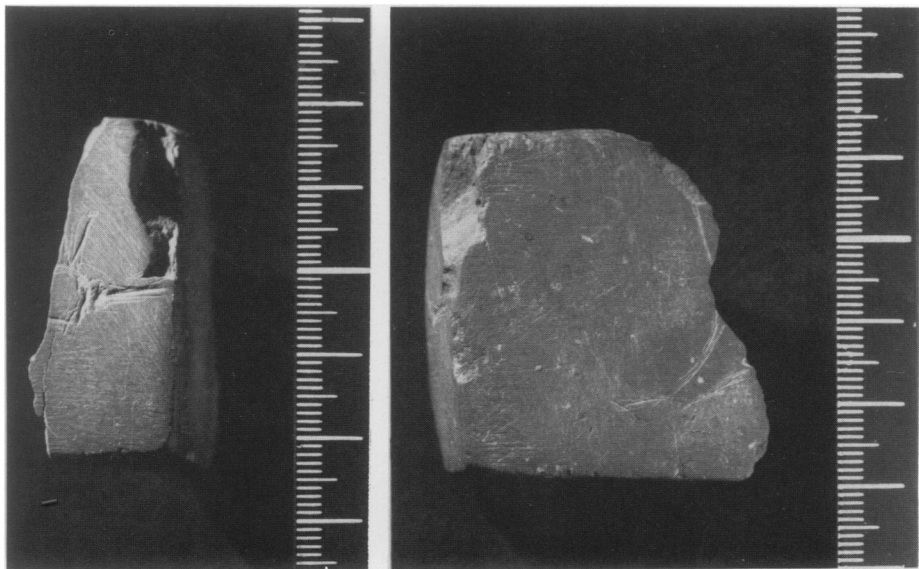
<sup>7</sup>J. Capart, *Documents pour servir à l'études de l'art égyptien* (Paris, 1931), 7-9, pls. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup>Quibell and Green, *op. cit.* 1, pl. xl.

<sup>9</sup>The cast was made by the Petrie Museum's associate conservator, Richard Jaeschke. It was tried on the statue in Cairo by another member of the Hierakonpolis expedition, Miss May Trad, to whom I extend my grateful thanks. The fit was not exact, as the corner break is deeper than the chip, but the inscription matched.



1. The greywacke statue of Khasekhemwy from Hierakonpolis (Cairo JE 32161), from an archive negative in the Petrie Museum.



2. The incised corner chip of a greywacke statue base (E.749), *courtesy of SAOS, University of Liverpool*. Left: the front with part of a 'spiked' head. Right: the side with a lower leg and foot

E 749 was made so that the fit could be tried in Cairo,<sup>9</sup> and a drawing of the base of the statue is given here with the corner fragment from Liverpool added to it (fig. 2).

There is no indication in the preliminary report of the work of Garstang and Jones<sup>10</sup> that they dug in the part of the temple area at Hierakonpolis that Quibell called the 'Citadel', that is, the five-chambered mud brick building within the oval stone revetment where he found the slate statue of Khasekhemwy in the northernmost chamber, together with the pottery lion (Ashmolean E 189) and the copper statues of Pepi I and Merenre (Cairo JE 33034-5). It is most likely that these deposits were placed in the chambers during rebuilding work in the early Middle Kingdom,<sup>11</sup> and that there were other such deposits in the temple area, which contained ceremonial objects and statuary dating from the Protodynastic and Early Dynastic periods, notably the cache called the Main Deposit. It is known that Jones trenched about under the walls in the area of the Main Deposit, where he found the head of the lapis lazuli statuette in 1906 (n. 3 above), and a pattern of site numbering is now emerging which seems to group the objects retrieved from the temple area separately from those found in the town excavations during the first season. Unfortunately, the statue fragment in question does not have a site number; it seems unlikely that it was found in the chamber where the greywacke statue was discovered, for this had been well excavated by Quibell and Green.<sup>12</sup> An archive photograph in the Petrie Museum shows that, after excavation in 1898-9, the statue itself was kept in the British base camp, a New Kingdom tomb in the Burg el Hamman hill, approximately 2 km along the great wadi. It is most likely that the chip was found in the temple area, probably near the Main Deposit, if not actually in what remained of it in 1905-6. This would seem to confirm that the objects placed in the citadel chambers did not originate there, but were buried at the same time as the other caches from the Early Dynastic temple.

BARBARA ADAMS

### The offering formula in the First Intermediate Period

Following Gardiner's analysis of the *htp di nsw* formula, two different translations of the opening phrase of the formula have been customary: using parallel clauses to introduce the king and god(s) for Old Kingdom texts, and using a dative construction to introduce the god(s) for texts of Middle Kingdom date and later. However, the palaeographic variation in the writing of the word 'Anubis' by the late Old Kingdom—a change-over from the jackal over a *htp*-sign to a jackal on a stand—suggests that the transformation of the formula had already occurred by that time.

GARDINER'S analysis of the *htp di nsw* formula argued that the construction of the phrase changed between the Old and Middle Kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> The Old Kingdom formula ran: 'An offering that the king gives, (and) an offering that Anubis (gives) ...', using a parallel construction to introduce the king and the god(s) as donors of the offerings. By the Middle Kingdom, the formula had been re-interpreted, with the god(s) introduced by a preposition, usually *n* but also *hr*,<sup>2</sup> usually unwritten: 'An offering that the king gives (to) Anubis/Osiris, that he [i.e. the god] may (in turn) give invocation-offerings to ...'. Thus, the offerings were given by the king to the god, who passed these on to the recipient.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>10</sup>J. Garstang, *ASAE* 8 (1907), 136-7. Jones continued work at Hierakonpolis in the winter of 1905-6 when Garstang had gone further south.

<sup>11</sup>B. J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 75.

<sup>12</sup>Op. cit. II, 44.

<sup>1</sup>*The Tomb of Amenemhät* (London, 1915), 79-93; *EG*<sup>3</sup>, Excursus B.

<sup>2</sup>See now G. Lapp, *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches* (Mainz, 1986), 32-3, §§50-1.

<sup>3</sup>This is not the place to argue the merits of Gardiner's interpretation over that of W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), 261-70, who proposed that the formula never actually changed. However, both H. G. Fischer in *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Rome, 1964), 15, n. 1, and Lapp, op. cit. 38, §58, also argue in favour of Gardiner's rendering.

A more precise dating for this transition is furnished, I believe, by the palaeographic variation in the name 'Anubis'. This changes from the standard Old Kingdom form of Anubis with the *hṭp*-sign below it, to the tall stand under the jackal, a writing that appears in the late Old Kingdom and is common thereafter.<sup>4</sup> The importance of this is that the *hṭp* under the jackal is actually an integral part of the writing of the offering formula, which reads *hṭp di nsw, hṭp (di) 'Inpw*, 'an offering that the king gives, and an offering that Anubis (gives)'. There, the relative form *di* or *rdi* is written (when it is written at all) after the group of Anubis over *hṭp*, and the *hṭp*-sign is actually the substantive 'offering' in the phrase 'an offering that Anubis gives'; it serves much the same purpose in the first phrase 'an offering that the king gives'. I suggest that this palaeographic distinction is how the Egyptians showed the change-over from the earlier rendering with the parallelism between king and god to the newer re-interpreted formula with the preposition introducing the god (albeit without writing the preposition).

RONALD J. LEPROHON

### Smash not sieve: Heqanakhte II, *rt.* 30

Demotic lexicography and Semitic parallels suggest that *nqrw m nqr* in Heqanakhte II, *rt.* 30 should be translated 'smash (the clods) with a smashing', 'harrow with a harrowing', and not 'sieve with the sieve'.

IN a passage typical of the terse and trenchant style adopted by Heqanakhte in sending instructions to his family, four imperatives follow one another: *ḥ; tn sp sn ikn iḥt. i nb(t) nqrw m nqr b; m šrt. tn m kt* (Letter II, *rt.* 30–1). With only minor variations in the choice of words, translators have in general followed the *editio princeps* of James in rendering 'Take great care; hoe all my land; sieve with the sieve; hack with your noses in the work'.<sup>1</sup> The contents of the letter as a whole, as well as its probable closeness in time to Letter I, show that it was written in August or September, during the season of the inundation. These instructions should refer to operations required for the successful sowing of the seed once the flood water had drained from the fields. Tomb scenes of Old Kingdom date depict the covering of the seed to begin the process of germination by the use of small cattle, the plough or the hoe. The choice of method would depend upon the condition of the land and the availability of animals and manpower.

The expression *nqrw m nqr*, sandwiched between two imperatives concerned with the sowing, presents some difficulty in interpretation. Two suggestions have been made to explain the need for sieving at this time. It might be used to clean the seed corn by allowing the inferior material and smallest particles to fall through the mesh. The larger grains, remaining in the sieve, would be chosen to ensure vigorous growth. This seems to be the understanding of Baer, who translates 'hoe all my fields, sieve (the seed grain?) with the sieve and hack with your noses in the work'.<sup>2</sup> It may be doubted whether the Egyptians possessed a sieve with a mesh fine enough for the purpose and the rare representations of the issue of the seed do not show sieving.<sup>3</sup>

Goedicke understands *ikn iḥt. i nb(t)* as 'scoop up all my arable land' and envisages the use of a kind of shovel to remove the top layer of an area on which blown sand has gathered. Once the top sand is removed, the sieve is used to mix thoroughly the surface layer, still containing a certain

<sup>4</sup> H. G. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C.* (New York, 1968), 84 (14); Lapp, *op. cit.* 8–9, § 18.

<sup>1</sup> T. G. H. James, *The Heqanakhte Papers and other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), 32 and 40.

<sup>2</sup> *JAOs* 83 (1963), 8.

<sup>3</sup> Giza mastaba G 6020, PM III<sup>2</sup>, 170; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* VI (Paris, 1978), 102, fig. 56; Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (London and New York, 1987), 537, fig. 204; G 6010 Neferbaptah PM III<sup>2</sup> 169, Vandier, *op. cit.* 27, fig. 10; Harpur, *op. cit.* 539, fig. 206. The tombs, father and son, date from the middle to end of the Fifth Dynasty. On sieves and sieving, H. Wild, *BIFAO* 64 (1966), 95–121; Vandier *op. cit.* 175 ff, 178 ff and 181. On the hardship of the work see comments of P. Halstead and G. Jones in *JHS* 109 (1989), 44–6.

amount of sand, with the fertile soil.<sup>4</sup> The shovel is not a tool known to the ancient Egyptians; the sieve hardly seems an efficient means of effecting such a mixing. Neither shovel nor sieve are indicated as tools of the shabti-figures who are shown equipped, as the standard text indicates, for the preparation of the land for sowing on the subsidence of the flood and for covering the seed; nor does the notion of shovelling and sieving suit the operation of levigating the compact soil as described by Schneider as one explanation of the clause in the shabti-formula on the transport of sand from west to east and vice-versa.<sup>5</sup>

Alternatively, the last two imperatives of the sequence might be taken as a proverb or aphorism of the countryside, emphasizing the need for sustained endeavour at the critical periods of the sowing and the harvesting. The picturesque expression 'hack with your noses in the work' is balanced by the Semitic rhetorical device of the imperative reinforced by an adverbial expression incorporating the infinitive of the same verb, 'sieve with a sieving'. The sieve is shown in agricultural scenes in tomb chapels of the New Kingdom as a necessary stage in the processing of the harvest. Coarse sieving, carried out at the same time as the winnowing, would separate out large straw fragments, weeds and unthreshed ears. The work, done at the hottest time of the year, would be monotonous and laborious, tedious and tiring, well complementing the endeavours required at the sowing, vividly expressed by the words 'hack with your noses'.

Though these explanations might offer a sort of excuse for the translation 'sieve with the sieve' (or 'sieve with a sieving'), they are not convincing in the context. Demotic lexicography offers a more persuasive explanation, suggesting that the verb *nqr* is a homonym of *nqr* 'sieve' and describes, as the context and date of the letter would seem to require, other operations in the sowing and covering of the seed.

One possibility is that the word in Heqanakhte is the same as *nqr* (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 229,6), used in P. Rylands IX, 18, 15 of erasing a hieroglyphic inscription, presumably incised or in sunk relief, on a granite stela. The process would be one of hammering or pounding the face of the stone. The word survives into Coptic, **ⲛⲟϥⲕⲉⲣ**, a cognate of Hebrew *nāqar*, 'to dig', and Akkadian *naqāru* used in the sense of 'to carve, eat away, to scrape out, to incise, to scarify'.<sup>6</sup> A variant spelling of the Egyptian word is *nqr*, *Wb.* II, 343.<sup>7</sup> The use of a long-handled clod-breaker in association with the broadcasting of seed is depicted in the Theban tombs of Nakht and Khaemhet.<sup>8</sup> Large clods would form as a result of insufficient drenching of the land and too rapid drying by sun and strong north-west winds. The operation would correspond to harrowing in the sense of breaking up clods and pulverizing the soil. Joel i.17 describes what happens if the clods are not smashed: 'The seed is rotten under their clods' (or, as some modern versions render, 'has shrivelled beneath/under the clods').

Harrowing is described in a number of demotic agricultural leases by the word *qr*. The correct reading and meaning of the group, taken by Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 111,8 as a writing of *ṣḥ* 'to reap', were established by Hughes in his additional notes to the demotic legal code from Hermopolis West.<sup>9</sup> Hughes suggests a connection with the Coptic **ⲄⲢⲏ**, 'dig' (Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 828a): according to ManiP, 208, 16 and 29, the tool used for the work is called **ⲁⲕⲉⲥ**, a feminine noun, probably a variant of **ⲁⲕⲒ** (Crum, *ibid.* 18b), of uncertain meaning, translated by

<sup>4</sup> H. Goedicke, *Studies in the Hekanakhte Papers* (Baltimore, 1984), 18 and n. p. 28-9.

<sup>5</sup> H. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), 57-60.

<sup>6</sup> Crum, *Coptic Dictionary*, 233b; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 107; *The Assyrian Dictionary* 11 N pt. 1 (Oriental Institute, Chicago, 1980), 329; W. Von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch* Bd. II (Wiesbaden, 1972), 743. I am grateful to my colleague Mr A. R. Millard for his kind advice on Semitic connections.

<sup>7</sup> W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965-77), 122, 524; R. A. Caminos, *JEA* 50 (1964), 82-3. For the incidence of Egyptian *ṣ* and *ṣ* reflecting a Semitic *r* or *l*, see P. J. Watson in J. Ruffle *et al.* eds., *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of H. W. Fairman* (Warminster, 1979), 102-3. Similarly *nqr* 'sieve', O'Tor 57068 vo. 3, ALex. II, 78.2256.

<sup>8</sup> Theban Tombs 52 (PM I<sup>2</sup>, 99) and 57 (PM I<sup>2</sup>, 113).

<sup>9</sup> G. Mattha, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West* (Cairo, 1975), 73-4. Similarly also S. Grunert, *Der Kodex Hermopolis und ausgewählten private Rechtsurkunden aus den ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1982), 47. The same meaning is arrived at by K. Zauzich who proposed the reading *ph*, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 95, no. 2.

Allberry as 'spade'.<sup>10</sup> Devaud compares Coptic ⲃⲣⲏ with Hebrew *kārāh* but the similarity in meaning between ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲉⲣ and ⲃⲣⲏ would suggest that both Coptic words ultimately go back to the same root, hieroglyphic *nqr*, *nqʿ*, Hebrew *nāqar*, Akkadian *naqāru*, radically one word.<sup>11</sup> If this interpretation is correct, it is possible that the writing of the verb *nqr* in medical texts with the striking arm or striking man determinative<sup>12</sup> might in some contexts be understood as pounding or grinding the *materia medica* with pestle and mortar, not sieving.

A. F. SHORE

### A Twelfth Dynasty statuette from Abydos

Publication of an anonymous wooden statuette of a standing man from Garstang's excavations at Abydos in 1908-9, now in Liverpool University, School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies E 7082. It can be dated by costume details to the early Twelfth Dynasty.

A WOODEN statuette in the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies (SAOS) collection of the University of Liverpool (pls. XI-XII) has often been admired, but is generally little known.<sup>1</sup> The figure, of a striding man, originates from Garstang's 1908-9 excavations at Abydos, as a paper label attached to it declares. No information concerning its exact provenance within the Abydos necropolis has survived. It passed into the hands of Mr James Smith, one of the benefactors of the Abydos Excavations Committee from 1908, where it received the catalogue number 6242/130. On the 10 October 1928, it was bequeathed to Liverpool University by Smith's widow.

The statuette, SAOS E 7082, comprises the upper torso, head and arms, along with the base, feet and left shin, although the excavation negative A 744 (SAOS) shows clearly that the figure had both shins on discovery. The area between the waist and shins, where the kilt had been, is missing, evidently having attracted the attention of termites. The figure has received some consolidating restoration inside the termite-eaten torso, the waxy material having seeped through the fragile wall of the stomach, with an additional deposit on the back of the left upper arm (pls. XI, 1-2; XII, 1). Set into the torso is a stout metal wire attaching it to the base, giving it a restored height of 17.2 cm. The wire, however, is not straight, so that the figure leans backward.

The rectangular base<sup>2</sup> has a longitudinal crack running under the right foot, which may have been caused by driving the stout wire into the back of the base. Two deep rectangular holes accommodate the tangs under the feet in a vigorous walking pose. Apart from traces of a black horizontal text band in front of the feet, 1.3 cm wide, the base is without decoration. Around each foot is a white painted sandal base 2.8 and 2.9 cm long. The complete left foot is 2.3 cm long. Both feet have delicately carved toes and white painted toe-nails. White sandal straps pass between the toes, all round the feet and are met by vertical straps from the sandal bases below the ankle bone. The left shin is preserved to a height of 3.3 cm.

The torso of the figure, 7.1 cm high, survives from the kilt level at the front and well above waist level at the back. The torso, head and arms are carved from a single piece of wood, despite graining on the left shoulder which gives the illusion of a join at this point. At the front, the top of the kilt is visible as a white belt with vertical red stripes marking a selvedge or fringed edge, and a

<sup>10</sup> C. R. C. Allberry, *A Manichaean Psalm-Book*, II (Stuttgart, 1938); R. Kasser, *Compléments au dictionnaire copte de Crum* (Cairo, 1964), 4. The tool is more likely to be the *turiya*, Hughes in Mattha, loc. cit.

<sup>11</sup> For the loss of the *n* compare for instance ⲉⲗⲕⲱ = *nqʿwt* Westendorf, op. cit. 34, Černý, op. cit. 33; ⲃⲣⲱ = *nqwt* Westendorf, op. cit. 464; <sup>12</sup> ⲉⲗⲧⲟⲩ = \**ndf*, ⲉⲗⲟⲓⲛ = *mr-ih(w)* Černý, op. cit. 34.

<sup>12</sup> *Grundriß der Medizin der alten Ägypter* VII. 1 (Berlin, 1961), 485-6.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Prof. A. F. Shore for permission to publish this statuette and Mr Roger Dickinson for photographing it.

<sup>2</sup> Height 1.8, length 9.1, width 3.4 cm.

knot of white forming the tie to the left of the navel. The stomach is flat, with a shallow, round navel and barely perceptible navel groove. The pectoral muscles are indicated by sensitive modelling. The trunk of the body is somewhat short with a gently narrowing waist. The shoulders slope to arms of unequal length, the right being longer. Both hands are held to the sides, clenched and pierced, the thumb on the right hand being elongated, both thumb nails painted white. The insides of the arms and hands are not modelled and no finger divisions are marked.

The head is set on a short, thick neck. The skull is wide and flat, rounded at the back. The scalp is bald or cropped, but not coloured. However, vestiges of a hair-line are visible on the left side of the face and forehead (pl. XII, 2), perhaps indicating that the head had originally been stippled. The large ears<sup>3</sup> stick out from the sides of the head. The outer rim and lobes are modelled, the inner rim only suggested. The eyes<sup>4</sup> are set in the face at a slight angle. Outlined in black, the black irides appear to look downward slightly. The modelling of the upper and lower lids makes the eyeballs appear rounded. The brows, lightly modelled, are without paint. The nose is long and straight with shallow nostrils and deep grooves round the fleshy wings, emphasizing its pointed end. The cheek bones are low. Above the small rounded chin, the mouth has equal lips with slight dimples at the corners.

The statuette is largely devoid of paint, except on the eyes, feet and belt. Traces of a fine white gesso with a pinkish red pigment survives in small patches on the feet, the insides of the arms, armpits, around the ears and under the left eye. The restored height of the statuette with base is 17.2 cm, the figure itself being 16.05 cm high. Although some parts of the figure are irregularly modelled, it is sufficiently regular to indicate that it was carved according to a canon of proportions of approximately 0.9 cm per square,<sup>5</sup> giving a new restored height, without base, of 16.2 cm from the soles of the feet to the hair-line, plus a further 0.9 cm to the top of the head, totalling 17.1 cm, fully 1.05 cm taller than its present height. The attitude of the statuette is Vandier's I.C.a) of the Old Kingdom and P.M.E. I of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>6</sup> The shaven or cropped head on male figures is not uncommon, particularly in the Middle Kingdom.<sup>7</sup> A close inspection of the periphery of the kilt provides a general indication of date.

The kilt was slung below the navel at the front, rising considerably at the back. The termite attack has affected only the area of the white painted kilt, so it is possible that the height of the destruction at the back marks the position of the kilt at the back. The tied knot of the belt to the *left* of the navel is unusual. The surviving left calf preserves the carved bottom of the long kilt at the back, whilst on the inner side of the shin the pointed front hem of the kilt is indicated in white paint. This type of kilt is quite distinctive, appearing in the Twelfth Dynasty. It was formed from a wraparound cloth, with one edge running down the front, ending in a point below the hem line on the left shin. The front may in addition have a starched fold to the right side with another smaller fold at the waist. Vandier describes this type of kilt, 'jupe sans apprêt',<sup>8</sup> attested first under Senwosret I and Amenemhat II. Similar kilts, however, have a late Twelfth Dynasty date and may have been the forerunner to the Thirteenth Dynasty vizierial kilt.<sup>9</sup>

Writing in 1958, Vandier without access to Garstang's excavation notes and photographic record of the 1906-9 Abydos work, stated that wooden statuary from Abydos was non-existent.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Length 0.9 cm.

<sup>4</sup> Length 0.5 cm.

<sup>5</sup> After E. Iversen, *Canon and Proportions in Egyptian Art* (Warminster, 1975), 38 ff.

<sup>6</sup> J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III (Paris, 1958), 62 and 227 respectively.

<sup>7</sup> Vandier, *op. cit.* 251.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.* 249-50.

<sup>9</sup> Vandier, *op. cit.* liv, 5, lxxiii, 2-3, lxxxvii, 7-8, for the examples Walters Art Gallery 22.336, 22.12, 22.10 and Louvre E 11053; cf. G. Steindorff, *Grabfunde des Mittleren Reiches*, I (Berlin, 1896), 31-2, fig. 31, tf. vii for West Berlin 4650; L. Borhardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II (Cairo, 1925), 40-1 for Cairo CG 436; E. Delange, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1987), 206-7 for Louvre E 26019.

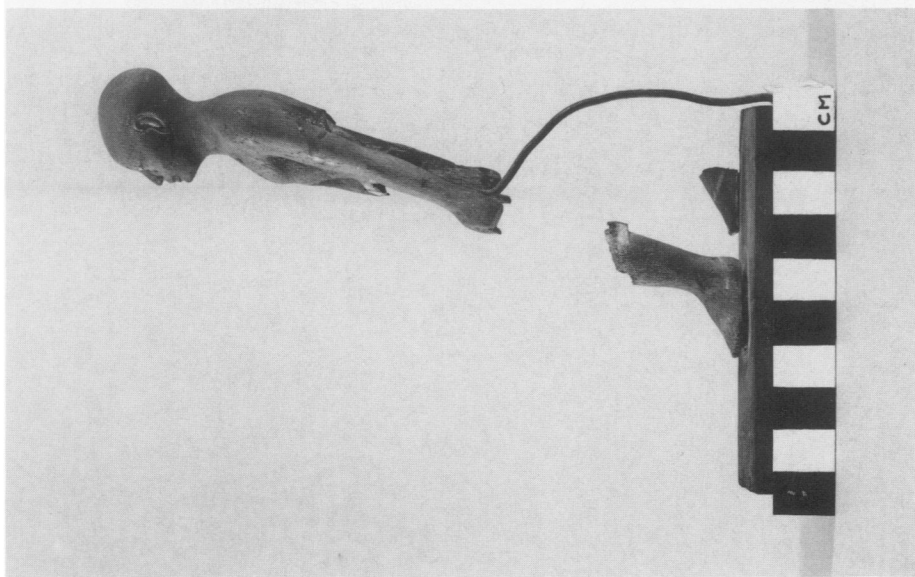
<sup>10</sup> Vandier, *op. cit.* 271.



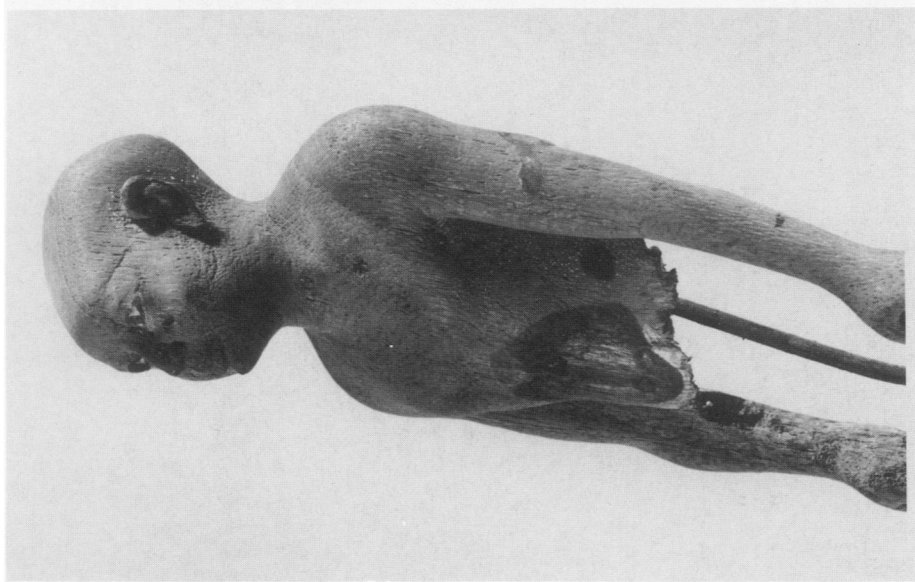
1. Liverpool University SAOS E.7082

A TWELFTH DYNASTY STATUETTE FROM ABYDOS (pp. 166-8)

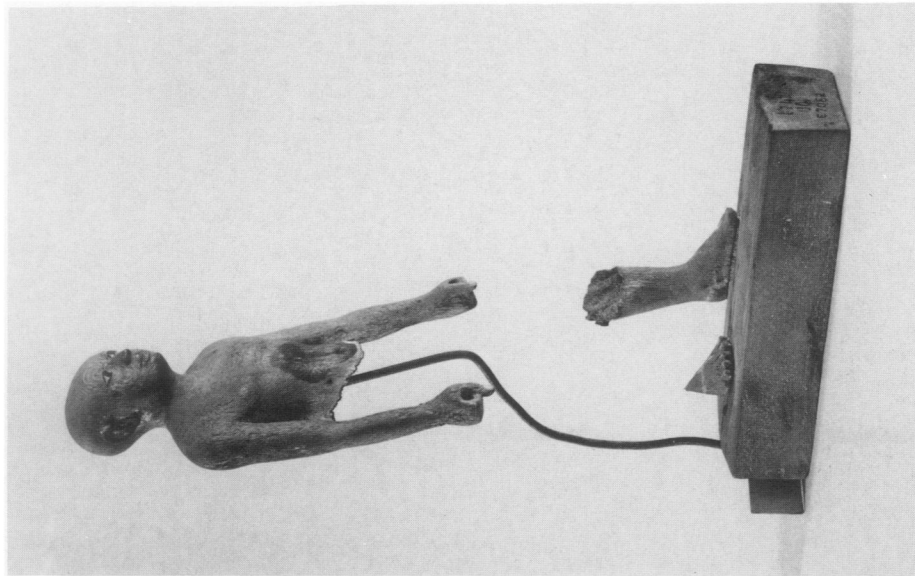




1.



2.



3.

Liverpool University SAOS E.7082

A TWELFTH DYNASTY STATUETTE FROM ABYDOS (pp. 166-8)



1.



2.

Geneva E.23458

A TWELFTH DYNASTY STATUETTE FROM ABYDOS (p. 168)

Although rare, wooden figures are known from Garstang's work and others'.<sup>11</sup> The rarity of Abydos wooden statuary makes this piece all the more interesting.

Similar to the Liverpool statuette is the wooden figure Geneva E 23458 (pl. XIII, 1-2).<sup>12</sup> This is unprovenanced but in composition and style is remarkably similar to the Abydos piece. It, too, is in a walking pose, arms to the sides, hands clenched, head shaven, and wearing the distinctive Twelfth Dynasty kilt. It is, however, somewhat more accomplished in its modelling of the chest and face. The modelling of the eyes, which are rimmed, with upper and lower lids, under-eye bags, rounded eye-balls and arched brow bone, along with the well-defined mouth and philtrum, point toward a late Twelfth or early Thirteenth Dynasty date for the piece,<sup>13</sup> whilst that from Abydos is clearly of the early Twelfth Dynasty, not only because of its kilt type, and eyes set at a slight angle, but because it portrays none of the standard late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period characteristics of the Abydos workshop.

ANGELA M. J. TOOLEY

### Syntax, semantics, and physics: the Shipwrecked Sailor's fire

A discussion of Shipwrecked Sailor lines 54-6 dealing especially with the translation of the verbs *šdī* and *shpr*.

RECOVERED from his ordeal, the hero of the Tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor wandered about his island refuge in order to find something to eat. He was pleasantly surprised to discover that food was plentiful and of excellent quality. Having eaten his fill, he offered up his thanks to the gods. It is the description of this act that is the subject of this communication.<sup>1</sup>

The text (Sh.S. 54-6) reads *šdt. i d; shpr. n. i ht ir. n. i sb n sdt n ntrw*.<sup>2</sup> Lichtheim's translation is representative of past treatments of this passage: 'Then I cut a fire drill, made a fire and gave a burnt offering to the gods'.<sup>3</sup> Thus, *šdt* has been taken as a narrative infinitive,<sup>4</sup> and the two following verbal forms as examples of the narrative *šdm. n. f*. However, the translation of *šdt. i* as 'I cut' probably owes more to an historical problem of syntax than is semantically desirable.

The basic meaning of the verb *šdī* is 'to remove'.<sup>5</sup> However, rendering *šdt. i d;* by 'I removed the fire drill' with following narrative *šdm. n. f* goes against the known laws of physics; the sailor would be removing the fire drill from the kindling before he had made the fire. Several scholars have attempted to explain this problem away by implicitly assuming that the fire drill was on the person of the sailor, perhaps in an unmentioned kit bag (e.g. 'I took out a fire-drill, made a fire ...').<sup>6</sup> Others

<sup>11</sup>Two male wooden statuettes were found in Garstang tomb 385 A'07: S. R. Snape, 'Mortuary Assemblages from Abydos' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Liverpool, 1986), 231; SAOS negatives A 185-A 186. A wooden female dwarf statuette is known from Garstang tomb 352 A'07: Snape, op. cit. 219; J. Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge, 1988), 122-3 no. 115, SAOS E 7081. E. R. Ayrton and L. Loat, *Archaeological Report 1908-1909* (London, 1909), 4, refers to wooden figures in a niche on the west side of shaft E 109.

<sup>12</sup>Height 21 cm. I would like to thank Drs Y. Mottier and J.-L. Chappaz for providing information on this figure. Pl. XIII, 1-2 appear courtesy of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève. See M. Atzler, *Werke ägyptischer Kunst von der Frühzeit bis zur Spätantike. Auktion* 59 (Basel, 16 June 1981), 10 no. 21 and bibliography cited there.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. Bourriau, op. cit. 47 no. 35.

<sup>1</sup>This article was written while I was a research associate at the Redpath Museum, McGill University. I would like to thank the museum's director, Dr R. L. Carroll.

<sup>2</sup>A. M. Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932), 43, 4-5.

<sup>3</sup>*Ancient Egyptian Literature* 1 (Berkeley, 1973), 212. For a bibliography of the tale, see J. Baines, above, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup>A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup> (London, 1957), §306, 2; see, too, E. Doret, *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian* (Geneva, 1986), 173, esp. n. 2076.

<sup>5</sup>*Wb.* IV, 560.

have attributed a secondary meaning to *šdī* (e.g. 'I shaped a fire drill, and I made a fire ...'<sup>7</sup>); most of the secondary meanings suggested refer to the fabrication of the fire drill itself. A translation 'to cut out' has been suggested by Faulkner for *šdī*<sup>8</sup> from which it might be possible, at least in the present context, to extend the meaning to 'to make'. There is, however, a serious objection to doing so. In all the examples where Faulkner has suggested rendering 'to cut out', the root meaning of the verb (i.e. 'to remove') is equally possible: *ḥr. n smn. n hm. i wd. i hr dw pf n nhrn m šd m dw hr gs imnty phr wr*,<sup>9</sup> 'Then My Majesty set up my stela on that mountain of Naharain, namely (the block) which was removed from the mountain on the western side of the Euphrates.'; *šdt int hđ nfr n 'nw r hwt. f nt hh(w) n [rnpwt]*,<sup>10</sup> 'The removing of good limestone of Mas'sara for his mansion of millions of [years].'; *stp hps. f šd hty. f*,<sup>11</sup> 'Cut off its leg. Remove its heart.' Therefore, there is no need to suggest an idiom with *šdī*. If the rendering 'to cut out' cannot be defended, then the other translations making reference to the construction of a fire drill are consequently implausible (even without a discussion of the unlikely suitability of a verb 'to cut out' in the context of the fabrication of ancient Egyptian fire drills<sup>12</sup>).

As it seems that the phrase *šdt. i d;* merely means 'I removed the fire drill', the question to be answered is 'Removed from what?'. The implied 'kit bag' solution is unconvincing. The phrase *šd m ht*, 'to remove (something) from a fire', is attested, though admittedly only once, and then in a Ptolemaic text.<sup>13</sup> More importantly, with our present understanding of Egyptian syntax, there is a solution to the problem which makes it irrelevant whether the fire drill was constructed on the spot or had survived the shipwreck with the sailor. By taking *shpr. n. i* as an example of the circumstantial *sdm. n. f* form, thus indicating an action which occurred prior to the verbal antecedent,<sup>14</sup> we can translate the passage in a manner that does justice to syntax, semantics, and physics: 'Removing the fire drill when I had ignited the fire, I made a holocaust to the gods.'

The first two verbal forms are a narrative infinitive followed by a circumstantial *sdm. n. f*. Logically, the second *sdm. n. f* cannot be a circumstantial. The holocaust to the gods would occur after the fire had caught, not before combustion, and certainly not prior to the removal of the fire drill.

The translation 'to ignite' for *shpr* is justified by clear textual evidence that this verb can refer to the animation/operation of a human, an animal, an inanimate object, or, in this case, a physical force that has already been created/constructed.

*pry. (i) nb qd rmt špr ḥr(w) ir šry nfr n hsy. f*<sup>15</sup> '(O my) lord who fashions man, who activates the (man's) lifetime, and who makes a good fate for his praised one.'

In this tripartite passage, the Aton is first said physically to construct the body of a man,<sup>16</sup> then to

<sup>6</sup>E.g. A. K. Grayson and D. B. Redford, *Papyrus and Tablet* (Englewood Cliffs, 1973), 55; E. Brunner-Traut, *Altägyptische Märchen* (Dusseldorf-Cologne, 1965), 6; V. Golenischeff, *Le conte du naufragé* (Cairo, 1912), 202.

<sup>7</sup>E.g. J. L. Foster, *SAK* 15 (1988), 86; V. Vikentiev, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 27; A. Erman, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians* (London, 1927), trans. A. M. Blackman, 31; W. K. Simpson *et al.*, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1972), 52; G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris, 1949), 34.

<sup>8</sup>CDME, 273.

<sup>9</sup>G. A. Reisner and M. B. Reisner, *ZÄS* 69 (1933), 29. The block of stone from which the stela was made was brought with the Egyptian army when it crossed over to the east bank of the Euphrates.

<sup>10</sup>*Urk.* IV, 25, 9. Or, perhaps, 'Good limestone of Mas'ara was removed'.

<sup>11</sup>E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, IV (London, 1894-1908), pl. 107. Other examples of this not uncommon phrase, both with the preceding *stp hps. f* and without are: B. van de Walle, *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef* (Brussels, 1978), 38; G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka* (London, 1979), pl. 15 (16); *KRI* II, 537, 8.

<sup>12</sup>For fire drills in ancient Egypt, see I. Grumach-Shirun, *LÄ* II, 206-7; Erman, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 31, n. 3.

<sup>13</sup>*Wb.* IV, 560, 11.

<sup>14</sup>See Doret, *Narrative Verbal System*, 68, n. 740; 151; 167.

<sup>15</sup>N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, VI (London, 1908), pl. xxv, 16.

<sup>16</sup>While the verb *qd*, 'to fashion', is attested in the context of birth scenes, the sequence of events portrayed implies that the 'fashioning' is pre-partum (e.g. *Urk.* IV, 222, 13; see also, *Urk.* IV, 161, 2 [for which J. H. Breasted, *A New Chapter in the Life of Thutmose III* (Leipzig, 1900), 21, n. 38b.]; A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* [Leipzig, 1909], 24).

imbue that body with life (literally, ‘who causes to exist the lifetime’) and, finally, to ordain the future of the now animate being.

*mki N pn isn. ty rdwy. fin mw w'bw wnnw hr itm ir hnn šw shpr kst tfnwt*<sup>17</sup>

‘Behold this King N. His feet are kissed by the pure waters that exist because of Atum, which the phallus of Shu makes and the vagina of Tefnut activates.’

Here, too, a clear distinction is made between physical creation (*iri*) and activation (*shpr*) of that which has been created.

*twt wrt ir. k mnw. k m iwntw iwntw ntrw hr it. k nb hwt st itm k psdt shpr hwt. k hnk. s n cbj ...*<sup>18</sup>

‘It is very suitable that you make<sup>19</sup> your monument in Heliopolis, the sanctuary of the gods, before your father, the Lord of the Great Mansion, Atum, the bull of the Ennead. Activate your mansion in order that it may make offering to the offering-stone ...’<sup>20</sup>

In this last example, a distinction is made between the construction of the mansion (*iri mnw*) and the point when it begins to function (*shpr hwt*).

While the English language does not have an idiom ‘to activate a fire’, ‘to ignite’ is a suitable synonym. Thus, the Shipwrecked Sailor removed his fire drill from the already-collected kindling when said kindling began to function in the manner of a fire, that is to say, it ignited.

DAVID BERG

### Kerem in the Fitzwilliam Museum

Publication of a dyad in the Fitzwilliam Museum (E. 21.1887), representing Kerem, also called Geregwaset, and his wife Abykhy (?). Their names may indicate a Semitic origin, but their five children, shown in relief on the sides and front of the statue, all have good Egyptian names. The piece probably dates to a point late in the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. Although Kerem’s title, ‘doorkeeper of Hathor of Henketankh’, implies an association with the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, it is suggested that the statue may rather come from the ‘chapel of Wadjmose’, which seems to have housed a number of early Eighteenth Dynasty royal cults.

IN 1887 Wallis Budge received £100 from the Fitzwilliam Museum of Cambridge University to procure antiquities in Egypt. According to his costings, now in the museum files, Budge paid out of this sum £24 2s for ‘1 stone seated figure, double, from Thebes + small box’ (by far the largest sum for a single object, the next most expensive items being ‘1 Scarabaeus’ at £6 10s, and ‘1 bronze Harpocrates’ at £6). The dyad, for one Kerem and his wife, now bears the number E. 21.1887. Budge provided a brief description of the texts in his publication of the Egyptian items in the Fitzwilliam, and there he dates the dyad to the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> For want of a fuller account, references to the statue have remained in the philological domain.<sup>2</sup> In 1988 Alessandra Nibbi encouraged me to provide a more complete publication, and I am grateful for this stimulus. I am also greatly indebted to Janine Bourriau, Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum, for access to museum records, photographs and detailed guidance on stylistic parallels. Responsibility for the views expressed remains, of course, my own.

<sup>17</sup> PT 2065 (Utterance 685).

<sup>18</sup> A de Buck in A. M. Blackman *et al.*, *Studia Aegyptiaca*, 1 (Rome, 1938), 50, II, 4–6.

<sup>19</sup> See B. Gunn, *Studies in Egyptian Syntax* (Paris, 1924), 51, n. 4.

<sup>20</sup> An alternative translation of this passage is that of H. Goedicke in *Festschrift zum 150-jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), 88.

<sup>1</sup> E. A. W. Budge, *A catalogue of the Egyptian collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1893), 85–6.

<sup>2</sup> H. Ranke, *PN* II, 259, 5 and 347, 9; W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung*, 141 n. 7.

*Description (pls. XIV-XV)*

The dyad represents a seated man and woman sharing the same chair. The back of the chair is sculpted as a round-topped stela 40 cm in height. On the back a line following this configuration leaves a narrow margin on both sides and at the top, with a wide margin at the bottom. This outer line encloses six horizontal lines to demarcate an upper stela roundel and six bands of hieroglyphic text.<sup>3</sup> The lines and all hieroglyphs on the dyad are incised. The roundel contains a central motif of *shen*-ring over trapezoidal cup and three water lines, with a *wedjat*-eye to either side.<sup>4</sup> Traces of blue pigment can be seen in the demarcation lines, on some hieroglyphs, and on the left *wedjat*-eye. The low sides of the chair bear shallow high relief representations of standing figures. Each is identified by a vertical line of incised hieroglyphs, and each holds an open lotus flower to the nose. The front figure on the right side also clasps a rolled cloth. Two men are depicted on each chairside. They wear the *shendyt*-kilt and face the front of the dyad. On the front, to the outside of the seated woman's legs, stands a female figure wearing a tight ankle-length dress with two wide straps over the breasts, and a standard unified tripartite wig.<sup>5</sup>

The seated figures of the dyad are mummiform from the waist down, an unparalleled feature for a dyad.<sup>6</sup> Also without parallel, to my knowledge, are the attributes held by the man; in his right hand he holds a slender scribal palette, and in his left a two-pronged flail.<sup>7</sup> Both items are carved in high relief over the contours of the body. The man wears a shoulder-length rounded wig with striations, leaving the ears exposed.<sup>8</sup> The eyebrows are carved as a separate thick line that curves parallel to the eye. The eyelids are represented as a thin line along the upper edge of the eye. Between lip and chin a furrow intervenes, and the lips consist of upturning full curved lines with clearly defined philtra. The cheeks are rounded, but the face as a whole is somewhat triangular. The woman extends her left arm flat along her lap, with her right arm disappearing behind the

<sup>3</sup> I have found the following Eighteenth Dynasty parallels for steleform dyad chairbacks: Hermitage 2508, temp. Thutmose III (I.A. Lapis and M. E. Matthieu, *Древнеегипетская Скульптура в Собрании Государственного Эрмитажа* = 'Ancient Egyptian sculpture in the State Hermitage collections' (Moscow, 1969), 73-5, no. 69, with figs. 43-4); BM 2300, temp. Thutmose III (H. De Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 315-9 with pls. 50-1); Louvre dyad of Sennefer, temp. Thutmose III (unpublished); Louvre A 54, dyad of Wensu (back unpublished); BM 2304, mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, pl. 80 A-B); Brooklyn 40.523, temp. Amenhotep III (S. Sauneron, *Kémi* 18 (1968), 62-6 with pls. 9-11).

<sup>4</sup> The same elements occur in the same arrangement on the following mid-Eighteenth Dynasty monuments: stela New York MMA 17.2.6 (W. C. Hayes, *Scepter*, II, 172, fig. 94); stela Turin 156 (A. Varille, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 129-35); stelophorous statue BM 24430 (W. Seipel, *Ägypten. Götter, Gräber und die Kunst* (Linz, 1989), 279, no. 456). For the reference of the elements to the cosmic journey of the sun, see W. Westendorf, *Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes*, 43 (9); see, too, A. Hermann, *Stelen*, 53-6, with their horizontal arrangement in pl. 4 (c) Louvre C 26 and (d) Grenoble 2.

<sup>5</sup> The *shendyt*-kilt is worn by a son Khaemwaset on the early Eighteenth Dynasty stela BM 353 (*HTBM* v, 44). Among early- to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty dyads I have found only two where the children are represented in relief on the chairsides, rather than sculpted more fully (Turin 3052 and Turin 3057). The late Eighteenth Dynasty dyad of Amennakht and Irabetsy Louvre E. 26143 includes a scene in relief of son and daughter offering on the chairback. In J. Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. cxlv. 1 (dyad temp. Amenhotep III), children in relief are visible on the chairsides. The Ramesside dyad of Pendua and Nefertari (Turin No. Suppl. 6127) bears figures in relief for the entire family on the sides, front and back.

<sup>6</sup> The mummiform lower body may have developed from the more regular depiction with a long cloak, for which see Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 495-6. I have found parallels for seated figures with lower mummiform body only from the period of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: Brooklyn 61.196 (*Images for Eternity*, 71, no. 49); Bologna N6 (S. Pernigotti, *La Statuaria* (Bologna, 1980), pls. xxxiv-xxxviii). I owe to W. V. Davies a further example of the same date, Aberdeen 1392 (R. W. Reid, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen* (Aberdeen, 1912), 180. Compare, too, the semi-mummiform image of Thutmose I in the installation scene of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (E. Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, III, pl. lxi).

<sup>7</sup> For the scribal palette as an attribute of block statues, see Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 452. A late Eighteenth Dynasty standing figure holds a scribal palette in each hand (Brooklyn 37.257E = Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. cxxxviii. 5). As Nicholas Reeves has pointed out to me, H. G. Fischer, in *LA* II, 83-5, cites no example of a flail or flywhisk with two prongs or tails.

<sup>8</sup> Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 483, (b), examples dating to the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.

back of the man. No fingertips are shown at his right side.<sup>9</sup> Her face presents similar modelling to that of the man, but is more rounded, and the philtra barely marked. She wears what can only be a tripartite wig exposing the shoulders, although the back is not depicted. The plaits of the braids, which fall vertically to pointed ends over each breast, are marked.<sup>10</sup>

Columns of incised hieroglyphs identify both figures. Their wigs are coloured black, and traces of black can be seen also on the pupils of the man's eyes. His face and hands bear red colouring. Draft outlining in red is visible along the thumb of the woman's left hand and the inner side of her left upper arm, as also between the fourth and fifth fingers of the left hand and at its fourth fingertip. The eyes of both figures have black outline marks, and the man's eyelids have red. Traces of black are visible on the flail and palette, and a red dab at the top of the flail. The red dots on the man's shoulder probably lay originally under a white slip, which apparently also occurs between the lips and chin of the woman. Damage is confined to the edge of the chairback, affecting at the top the left *wedjat*-eye, and to the right edge of the front of the base. A deep groove at the centre of the front of the base appears deliberate. If ancient, the groove may be associated with the libations or offerings for which the dyad existed.<sup>11</sup>

### Texts

- (a) Beside seated man: 'doorkeeper of Hathor of Henketankh,<sup>12</sup> Kerem'.<sup>13</sup>
- (b) Beside seated woman: 'his sister, the lady of the house, Abykhy (?)'.<sup>14</sup>
- (c) Beside front figure on chairside of seated man: 'his son Qenamun'.
- (d) Beside rear figure on chairside of seated man: 'his son Meh'.
- (e) Beside front figure on chairside of seated woman: 'his son Simut'.
- (f) Beside rear figure on chairside of seated woman: 'his son Nebneteru'.
- (g) Beside figure on front chairside, by seated woman's left leg: 'his daughter Nebetiunet'.
- (h) Text on 'stela' on chairback: '(1) Royal offering of Osiris, Foremost of the West, and Anubis

<sup>9</sup> Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 442, type B, examples from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty into the Ramesside era.

<sup>10</sup> For the wig of the woman see Vandier, *Manuel*, III, 488-9, and the close parallels given, including the thicker innermost tress, pl. cxli. 4 (New York MMA 26.7.1404, temp. Thutmose I) and pl. cxlv. 3 (Turin 3056, early Eighteenth Dynasty). The conservatism of hairstyles on female figures of this period is noted by J. Haynes, *JSSSEA* 8 (1977), 19-20.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the offering-list tabulated in front of the feet of the dyad of Yuyu, Louvre A 116, and the composite group Cairo CG 622, a dyad raised on a podium over its affixed offering-table.

<sup>12</sup> J. J. Clère demonstrated in *JEA* 54 (1968), 135-48 that the term 'doorkeeper' could be used in the Ramesside period to express loyal service of a cult. However, in the case of Kerem the scale of the dyad seems consistent with a lower temple office such as chapel doorkeeper. On the chapel of Hathor in the royal cult temple of Thutmose III, Henketankh, see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 427, and R. Stadelmann, *LA* VI, 710 with nn. 14-15. The cult of Hathor assumed particular importance with the reign of Hatshepsut and the building of her temple at Deir el-Bahari, cf. D. Wildung, in *Fs Mus. Berlin*, 266-7.

<sup>13</sup> The name *krm* is otherwise attested only for women, and only after the New Kingdom, according to Ranke, *PN* I, 347, 9, with *PN* II, 393, adding only this example from the Fitzwilliam dyad. Compare the name *krm-m* held by several queens of the Third Intermediate Period (Ranke, *PN* I, 347, 10 and H. de Meulenaere, *LA* III, 351). On this dyad the name *krm* is written with the syllabic orthography used in the New Kingdom to represent non-Egyptian names. John Ray has pointed out to me that it coincides with the common Semitic root *k-r-m* connected with vineyards, vintners and the like (cf. the Asiatic vintners cited by W. Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 396-7).

<sup>14</sup> The term 'sister' denotes the wife, from the reign of Thutmose III, according to the data collected by J. Černý, in *JEA* 40 (1954), 23-9, noting possible Middle Kingdom antecedents on p. 27 and the earliest New Kingdom example, from TT 24 (temp. Thutmose III), on p. 28. The name of the wife of Kerem ends with a circular sign and two strokes, read *sp sn* by Budge, followed by Ranke, *PN* II, 259, 5, rendering *sbj.j(?)*. Close inspection reveals the circle to enclose three diagonal strokes, presumably as *h*, giving a name *sbj-hy*. The names of the children belong to the standard Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian repertoire: Ranke, *PN* I, 334, 18 (*Qn-'Imn*); 163, 13 (*Mh*); 282, 3 (*Sr-Mwt*); 185, 7 (*Nb-ntrw*); 187, 23 (*Nbt-'Iwnt*). Each name on the dyad has a hieroglyphic determinative, except for that beside the seated man, where the sculpted figure itself provides the determinative. This distinction between owner and other persons on a monument has been noted by Fischer for the Old Kingdom and on a single New Kingdom example, New York MMA 25.184.8 (*MMJ* 8 (1973), 7-25), to which add the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty dyad Louvre A 53 (Vandier, *Manuel*, III, pl. cxliii. 1, another official at Henketankh).

(2) within Wet,<sup>15</sup> lord of the sacred land, that they may give invocation offerings of bread and beer, cattle and fowl, linen and alabaster vessels, incense and unguents, (3) everything perfect and pure, everything pleasant and sweet given by heaven, created by (4) earth, brought by the inundation from its cavern,<sup>16</sup> (5) to the soul of the scribe<sup>17</sup> Kerem, justified, (6) called Geregwaset,<sup>18</sup> justified before the great god<sup>1</sup>.

#### *Date and provenance*

Henketankh is the name of the cult temple of Thutmose III on the West Bank at Thebes. Therefore Kerem, a doorkeeper there, and his dyad cannot antedate that foundation. Ricke dated the Hathor chapel of Henketankh to the later phase of building, allowing a date for Kerem and his dyad in the second half of the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>19</sup> Certain features of the dyad indicate a date in the coregency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, namely the early forms of the wigs, the mummiform feet of the seated pair, and the phrasing of the offering formula.<sup>20</sup> The combined evidence supports a date at the end of, or immediately after, the coregency. If the names Kerem and Abykhy (?) can be identified as Semitic, we might surmise that the northern campaigns of Thutmose III brought Kerem and his wife to Egypt.<sup>21</sup> He would then have received his Egyptian name Geregwaset, 'settled-at-Thebes', upon assignment as doorkeeper of the new Hathor chapel in the royal cult temple on the West Bank.

Although the title of Kerem refers to Henketankh, the date of acquisition, 1887, suggests another provenance for the dyad. Henketankh did not attract excavation until the turn of the century,<sup>22</sup> whereas the 1886-7 Theban journey of Budge coincided with rediscovery of the temple known to Egyptology as the 'chapel of Wadjmose', as described in the following account by Maspero:<sup>23</sup> 'Elle fut découverte à Gournah, un peu au Nord du Ramesséum, vers le milieu de février 1887. Des enfants jouant dans le sable avaient mis à nu la tête d'une statue de femme. M. Grébaut, prévenu par le raïs Mohammed Abderrasoul, ordonna à M. Daressy, alors en mission à Louxor, de se transporter sur les lieux et d'exécuter des sondages autour de la statue. M. Daressy eut bientôt fait de reconnaître les ruines d'un édifice en briques qu'il débrya soigneusement'.

This early Eighteenth Dynasty temple reappeared in February 1887: on 10 January 1887 Alec Macalister had written to the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University for approval of the £100 to be sent to Budge for his purchases on behalf of the Fitzwilliam (letter now in the museum files: the exact dates of the Budge visit and purchases remain to be established). Furthermore, Bouriant commented in the late 1880s on the wholesale emptying of the Theban necropolis,<sup>24</sup> and this may discourage attempts to determine the provenance of items bought at that time. Nevertheless, the

<sup>15</sup> Inversions of the groups *Wsir* and *Wt* occur on the early- to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty stela BM 906 (*HTBM* VII, 17-18); *Wsir* is inverted on the early Eighteenth Dynasty stela Cairo CG 34017, and *Wt* on stela BM 148, temp. Thutmose IV (*HTBM* VII, 44).

<sup>16</sup> Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung*, 90, 175 and 213 records the prayer for *ht nbt nfrt w'bt ht nbt ndmt bnrt* in the Second Intermediate Period, early- to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty and Graeco-Roman period, to which Fischer adds four early to mid-Eighteenth Dynasty stela Cairo CG 34101-2, 34117 and 34168 (*MMJ* 9 (1974), 32f). The phrase *innt H'py m tpht.f* appears in the reign of Hatshepsut, on the chapel-wall stela of Djehuty, cited in Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung*, 88 (g) Bitte 2, and 108 (d) Bitte 108.

<sup>17</sup> In contrast to the full functional title on the front of the dyad, on the back Kerem bears the simple designation 'scribe', perhaps to distinguish him from purely manual, illiterate doorkeepers. Like the scribal palette this would reinforce his claim to literacy, a defence against manual labour in this world and the next, cf. S. Schott, *JEA* 54 (1968), 45-50. The seated man determinative may belong not to the title, but to the group *n k; n* arranged for block-writing as  $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$  with further rearrangement for horizontal block-writing as  $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$  >  $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$  (for the seated man replacing the single stroke cf. P. Vernus, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 156-7).

<sup>18</sup> Geregwaset is not otherwise attested, but compare Geregmennefer, name of a herald in the reign of Hatshepsut, known from his canopic jars (Ranke, *PN* 1, 352, 16) and a letter from Deir el-Bahari (Hayes, *Scepter* II, 178, fig. 99, line 3).

<sup>19</sup> H. Ricke, *Totentempel*, 21 and 37-8.

<sup>20</sup> See above nn. 6, 8, 10 and 16.

<sup>21</sup> On war captives from the northern campaigns of Thutmose I and III, see Helck, *Beziehungen*<sup>2</sup>, 342-4.

<sup>22</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 426-9.

<sup>23</sup> In M. E. Grébaut, *Le Musée égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte* 1 (Cairo, 1890-1900), 3.

<sup>24</sup> *RT* 11 (1889), 139-40.



general timing appears to favour the 'chapel of Wadjmose' as provenance for the dyad of Kerem. In support I would cite the statue of Pawah, a priest of Henketankh and lector-priest of Wadjmose, a monument which connects the staff of Henketankh and the 'chapel of Wadjmose' and which is thought to come from the latter.<sup>25</sup> Two years after his purchase of the Kerem dyad, Budge bought the statuette of Tetisheri, now considered, wholly or in part, a modern product.<sup>26</sup> Wilbour wrote that the dealer regarded the Tetisheri figure as recompense for material confiscated by Grébaut.<sup>27</sup> That material might be, or at least include, the larger pieces from the 'chapel of Wadjmose', now in Cairo. In that case it would seem reasonable to suppose that certain smaller items escaped Grébaut, and we might assign some unprovenanced objects to the site. Snape has already argued that the statuette of prince Ramose now in Liverpool comes from the chapel.<sup>28</sup> I would add the Hermitage dyad bought from a Naqada official of the French consul in 1889,<sup>29</sup> and the dyad of Kerem.

*The 'chapel of Wadjmose' and Thutmose I*

Whether or not the Kerem dyad stood there originally, the 'chapel of Wadjmose' yielded evidence for a surprising number of cults. The person most often named on objects from the site may be prince Wadjmose, a son of Thutmose I, but Snape has pointed out that the building housed statues, and therefore cults, for other members of the same royal family.<sup>30</sup> A separate temple for the wives and children of a king contradicts the pattern of Old, Middle and New Kingdom royal cults, where the main temple for the cult of the king incorporated rooms for the cults of members of his immediate family. However, the posthumous role of Thutmose I may account for this unique 'royal family temple'. Hatshepsut as female king required legitimation of her rule both from her heavenly father Amon-Ra and from her earthly father Thutmose I. To this end she adapted the tomb KV 20 for her burial alongside Thutmose I, and she established a chapel for him in her own cult temple at Deir el-Bahari.<sup>31</sup> At that point the priesthoods for the dead king may have been transferred from his original cult temple, Khenmetankh, to the Deir el-Bahari chapel. This would have left Khenmetankh as a royal cult temple without its focal royal cult, in other words, as a 'royal family temple' without the king. Therefore, I would see in the 'chapel of Wadjmose' the original temple for the cult of Thutmose I, Khenmetankh.

After the death of Hatshepsut, her step-son Thutmose III corrected the official record by removing any traces of a female king. He reburied his grandfather Thutmose I away from Hatshepsut, in a new tomb (KV 38) with fresh funerary equipment, and he installed a chapel for the dead king in his own cult temple Henketankh.<sup>32</sup> The stela of Senmose from the 'chapel of Wadjmose' shows Thutmose III offering to a seated Thutmose I and, behind, a standing prince Wadjmose.<sup>33</sup> This scene may indicate that Thutmose III restored the 'chapel of Wadjmose', and perhaps suggests for that site a cult of Thutmose I at some stage. If the main cult of Thutmose I had now moved to Henketankh, his former temple Khenmetankh would remain essentially a royal cult temple without its king, reduced to the cults for other members of his family. Such was the foundation known to Ramesside Thebans,<sup>34</sup> and rediscovered by the children of Gurna in 1887 to be named the 'chapel of Wadjmose'.

STEPHEN QUIRKE

<sup>25</sup> PM II<sup>2</sup>, 444.

<sup>26</sup> W. V. Davies, *The Statuette of Tetisheri. A Reconsideration* (London, 1984).

<sup>27</sup> Charles Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt*, ed. J. Capart (Brooklyn, 1936), 507.

<sup>28</sup> In *JEA* 71, 180-3, pl. xx.

<sup>29</sup> Hermitage 2508 (reference above n. 3).

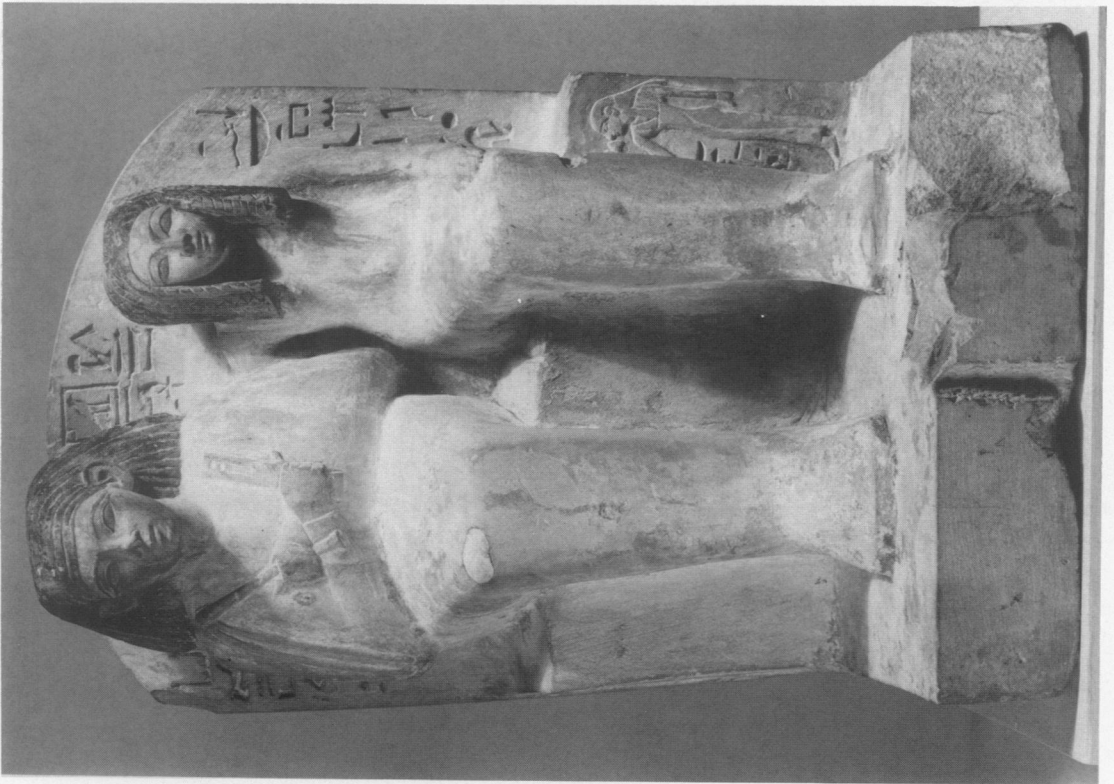
<sup>30</sup> *JEA* 71, 182.

<sup>31</sup> On Hatshepsut and the burial of Thutmose I, see now C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings. Decline of a royal necropolis* (London, 1990), 13-17. On the chapel of Thutmose I in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 361, noting especially H. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 56-68.

<sup>32</sup> On the reburial of Thutmose I, see C. N. Reeves, *op. cit.* 17-18. For the chapel of Thutmose I at Henketankh, see Stadelmann, *LA* vi, 707, fig. (b).

<sup>33</sup> Cairo CG 34016, see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 444-5, and now A. Spalinger, in *Fs. Westendorf*, 631-50 with plate.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the later New Kingdom finds from the site, listed in PM II<sup>2</sup>, 444-6, and the comments of S. Snape, *JEA* 71, 18.



1.



2.

Fitzwilliam Museum E.21.1887, front and back

KEREM IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (pp. 170-4)



1.

Fitzwilliam Museum E.2.1.1887

KEREM IN THE FITZWILLIAM MUSEUM (pp. 170-4)



2.

### Deux compagnons de métier sur une stèle inédite

Publication of a funerary stela datable to the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, found at Heliopolis in 1967 and now in a magazine at Giza. Two couples are represented in separate registers, receiving offerings. No relationship between them is specified, but both men (named *Šry* and *Tti* respectively) worked in the temple of Re, and this probably explains their joint commemoration on the same stela.

Au cours des fouilles que nous avons été amené à diriger en juin 1967 dans le quartier de Mattarieh,<sup>1</sup> nous avons mis à jour une série de stèles funéraires du Nouvel Empire<sup>2</sup> dont la plupart concernaient les fonctionnaires du temple de Rê à Héliopolis. Notre attention portera uniquement sur une stèle dont l'étude permettra de lever le voile sur l'identité de deux personnages qui étaient très liés au temple. Cette stèle (fig. 1, pl. XVI) était conservée primitivement dans le magasin B de l'inspectorat des pyramides, à l'est de la pyramide de Chéphren sous le numero 233; elle se trouve actuellement dans un autre magasin, situé derrière la chaussée montante qui mène à la pyramide de Chéops.

#### Description de la stèle

Il s'agit d'une dalle en calcaire, de 0,65 m de hauteur, sur 0,43 m de largeur, et d'une épaisseur de 0,11 m. Au sommet cintré, on voit le chen entre les deux yeux Oudjat. Directement sous le chen un disque solaire est placé sur une coupe<sup>3</sup> dont la partie inférieure, avec une partie du texte du registre supérieur (col. 1-2, 7), est fortement mutilée. Au-dessous, est gravé le texte suivant: (1) '[.....]'<sup>4</sup> (2) [...] du serviteur<sup>5</sup> (3) du temple de Rê et carrier,<sup>6</sup> (4) *Šry*, (5) (pour) sa soeur la maîtresse de maison, (6) *Ssty*, (7) (pour) sa fille [...] *Iry*, (8) (pour) son fils (9) *Twr* (10) et (pour) son fils *'Ipy*.<sup>7</sup>

Sous ce texte, à gauche, on voit le défunt et sa soeur assis côte à côte sur un siège pour recevoir les offrandes; leurs pieds reposent sur un socle peu épais. Le défunt est représenté avec un pagne long, tenant dans sa main gauche une fleur de lotus qu'il respire, tandis que l'autre main serre un morceau de tissu courbé. La soeur du défunt est représentée avec une robe longue, coiffée d'une perruque qui couvre ses épaules; sa tête est entourée d'un bandeau orné d'un bouton de lotus. On la voit embrassant l'épaule et le bras droit de son frère. Devant le défunt et sa soeur est une table gravée en petite taille par rapport à la quantité des offrandes qui y sont placées. Ce sont d'abord trois pains ronds et deux pains ovoïdes; au-dessus de ces pains sont placés successivement une botte d'oignons ou de poireaux, une patte postérieure de boeuf, une tête de canard, un pain à gauche et un petit vase à droite qui semble avoir la tête du pilier djed.

<sup>1</sup> Ces fouilles furent effectuées dans la rue d'Alexandre Nakhlah, située à 3 km environ au sud-est de l'obélisque de Sésostri Ier à Héliopolis. En réalité, ce n'était pas des fouilles régulières. Le passage d'un lourd camion dans cette rue fit apparaître une grande fosse ayant d'1, 50 m de profondeur. A la suite de ce fait, le Service des Antiquités me chargea de fouiller toute la longueur de la rue.

<sup>2</sup> On a trouvé huit de ces stèles ainsi que quatre fragments de stèles semblables. Toutes furent cachées dans une tombe de l'époque tardive qui se composait d'un puits creusé dans le sol, profond de 6, 50 m, aboutissant à une petite chambre funéraire sur le côté est. Elles étaient renversées sur la face inscrite vers le sol du puits de la tombe dans un but de protection, à moins qu'elles n'aient été délibérément utilisées comme dallage. A côté de cette tombe, on a trouvé une série de tombes tardives du même type.

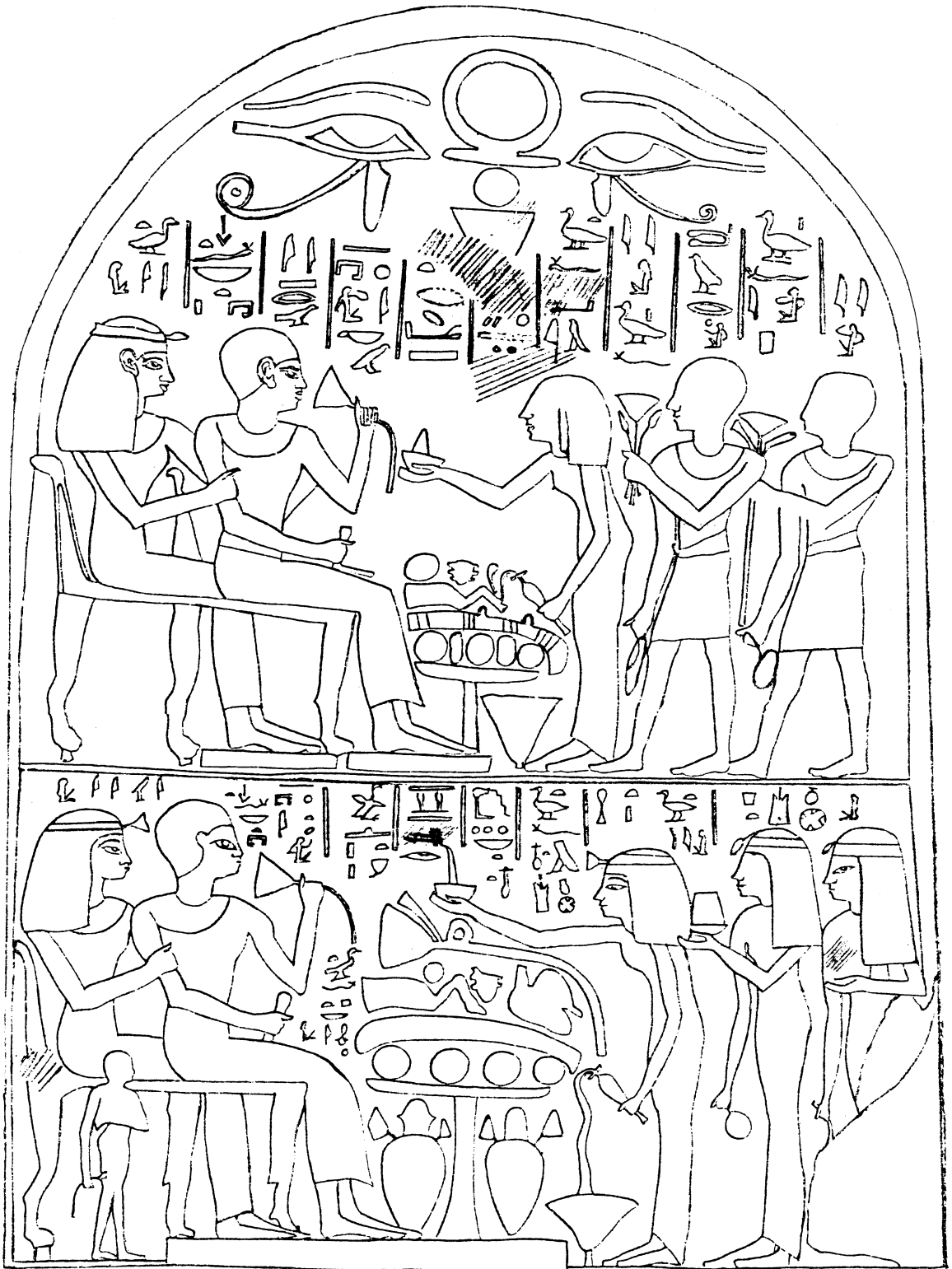
<sup>3</sup> La larme de l'oeil gauche se termine par ce qui prend l'aspect d'un disque solaire. Le disque sur la coupe remplace les trois lignes ondulées symbolisant l'eau. Dans les deux cas, la présence du disque nous suggère que l'artiste ait été influencé par le culte solaire.

<sup>4</sup> L'espace mutilée sur la première colonne ne permet pas d'écrire la formule d'offrande. Il semble que le scribe soit contenté d'inscrire directement les noms d'offrandes dont on voit quelques signes à la fin de la première colonne. Le texte sur le registre inférieur commence aussi sans cette formule d'offrande.

<sup>5</sup> Il s'agit sans doute du verbe *šdm* écrit ici par un petit oeuf  $\circ$  au lieu d'une oreille  $\sigma$ ; c'est le titre *šdm-ꜥ*, 'serviteur'.

<sup>6</sup> Pour le titre *ikwy*, 'carrier', cf. *Wb.* 1, 139, 11; A. H. Gardiner, *AEO*, 1, no. 177.

<sup>7</sup> Pour les noms, tous déjà attestés au Nouvel Empire, cf. Ranke, *PN* 1, 329, 13 (*Šry*); 295, 11-12, 14 (*Ssty*); 6, 2 (*Iry*); 392, 16 (*Twr*); 22, 24 (*'Ipy*).



En face du défunt et sa soeur sont représentés sa fille et deux de ses fils. La fille est vêtue d'une robe longue, coiffée d'une perruque. Elle présente de la main droite une cassolette, tandis que l'autre main serre un vase à libation. De ce dernier, elle verse la libation sur les offrandes; à côté de ses pieds est placé une coupe (qui prend l'aspect d'une fleur de lotus sans tige) pour y recueillir la libation. Le premier fils est debout, vêtu d'un pagne court. Il tient de sa main gauche un bouquet de fleurs de lotus,<sup>8</sup> tandis que l'autre main serre un morceau de tissu. Le deuxième fils figure avec la même attitude que son frère, sauf sa main droite qui tient à l'aide d'une corde une petite cruche sans anses.

Sur le registre inférieur est représentée une scène d'offrande relative à une famille différente. Au-dessus de cette scène est gravé le texte suivant: '(1) (Toute chose) pure et toute (chose) bonne, (2) pour le *ka* de l'Osiris, (3) le graveur<sup>9</sup> (4) du temple de Rê, *Tti*,<sup>10</sup> (pour) (5) sa soeur la maîtresse de maison, (6) *'Iwy*, (pour) (7) sa fille, *Nfrrt-m-'Iwnw*, (pour) (8) la servante (9) *S'ty* et (pour) (10) *Hnwt-'Iwnw*'.<sup>11</sup>

Sous ce texte, à gauche, le défunt *Tti* est assis sur un siège à côté de sa soeur. Ils sont représentés avec les mêmes attitudes que celles du défunt et de sa soeur sur le registre supérieur.<sup>12</sup> Sous le siège, la fillette du défunt est debout, tenant dans la main droite une fleur de lotus, tandis que l'autre main est repliée sur la poitrine. Le nom de cette fille est écrit devant son père: 'Sa fille, *Nbt-pt-mi-Rc*'.<sup>13</sup>

Devant le défunt et sa soeur, il y a une table chargée d'offrandes; ce sont: quatre pains ronds, sur lesquels sont placés successivement un grand concombre, une patte postérieure de boeuf, un petit pain rond, un vase ayant la forme d'une tête du pilier djed, et une oie égorgée. Au-dessus de toutes ces offrandes est placée une grande fleur de lotus avec une longue tige. Sous la table d'offrande, on voit une jarre de forme ovoïde, ornée de deux fleurs qui ressemblent à celles de lotus.

Face au défunt et sa soeur, on voit trois jeunes filles, dont la première est la fille du défunt. Elle est représentée avec une robe longue, coiffée d'une perruque et d'un bandeau de tête orné d'une petite fleur de lotus. Elle présente de sa main droite une cassolette et tient dans la main gauche un vase à libation. De ce dernier, elle verse la libation dans une coupe placée juste à côté de ses pieds. La deuxième jeune fille, une servante (*hmt*), est figurée avec la même robe et la même coiffure que la fille du défunt.<sup>14</sup> Cette servante présente de sa main gauche un gâteau placé dans un plat et tient de l'autre main, au moyen d'une corde, un petit vase. La dernière fille (dont la partie inférieure du corps est perdue) semble avoir la même robe et la même coiffure que les deux filles précédentes. Elle tient dans la main droite un morceau de tissu ou une corde (?) dont la partie inférieure est perdue, tandis que l'autre main est repliée sur la poitrine. Il est probable que cette jeune fille ait été une deuxième servante, mais le titre *hmt* ne figure pas ici.

L'examen des figures des personnages, des costumes, des perruques, des sièges, ainsi que les noms propres permettent de dater cette stèle à la deuxième moitié de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie, sans précision de l'époque d'un roi.

<sup>8</sup> Le bouquet de lotus qui figure dans la main de cet homme est représenté avec une longue tige, contrairement à celui qui est porté par son frère.

<sup>9</sup> Pour le titre *ty mdst*, 'graveur', cf. *Wb.* II, 188, 10; Gardiner, *AEO*, I, 71-2.\*

<sup>10</sup> Le deuxième *t* dans le nom de *Tti* est écrit par erreur comme un petit oeuf. Pour ce nom et celui de sa femme, *'Iwy*, cf. Ranke, *PN* I, 384, 4 et 16, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Les noms *Nfrrt-m-'Iwnw* (*PN* I, 202, 4) et *Hnwt-'Iwnw* (*PN* I, 242, 19) sont formés avec le nom d'Héliopolis.

<sup>12</sup> A l'exception d'une seule différence: le bandeau de tête de la femme est orné ici d'une petite fleur de lotus sans tige; comparez avec celui de la défunte du registre supérieur.

<sup>13</sup> Ce nom n'est pas enregistré dans *PN*, mais on trouve dans *PN* I, 185, 3 et II, 367, le nom masculin *Nb-mi-Rc*.

<sup>14</sup> A l'exception d'une seule différence: le bandeau de tête de cette servante est orné d'un bouton de lotus.



Stela from Heliopolis now in magazine at Giza

DEUX COMPAGNONS DE MÉTIER SUR UNE STÈLE (pp. 175-8)

*Commentaire*

On sait que le temple de Rê à Héliopolis avait regroupé de nombreuses personnes qui étaient employées au service du temple.<sup>15</sup> Il est fort intéressant que notre stèle regroupe à la fois trois titres nouveaux pour deux fonctionnaires du temple de Rê.

La stèle était faite pour deux familles différentes dont chacune occupe un registre indépendant sur la stèle. Bien que le texte ne précise pas un lien de parenté quelconque, la similitude entre le travail des deux défunts (carrier et graveur) et le lien de ce travail (temple de Rê) montre que ce n'est pas le hasard qui a regroupé les deux hommes sur la même stèle. Ils ont peut-être travaillé ensemble dans une même partie du temple, le carrier étant chargé d'apporter les pierres de construction, tandis que le graveur était habile à recevoir ces pierres pour y graver les décorations et les reliefs nécessaires à cette partie du temple.

Selon cette hypothèse, il y avait donc une relation de métier entre les deux défunts. Le placement de *Sry* au-dessus de *Tti* peut signaler une relation hiérarchique aussi. Mais la représentation des deux familles est presque identique et de la même échelle. Faut-il croire que le premier défunt avait découpé dans la carrière où il travaillait la pierre de la stèle et que le deuxième défunt, *Tti*, le graveur avait gravé la stèle? On peut donc penser qu'il n'y avait pas de propriétaire principal et que les deux familles partagent la stèle par moitié. C'est même possible qu'il existait primitivement un autre exemplaire de la stèle avec cette fois-ci une représentation du deuxième défunt *Tti* sur le registre supérieur. Un exemplaire était peut-être placé dans la tombe de chaque défunt.

ESSAM EL-BANNA

### The shabti of Anen in The Hague

Publication of a shabti of the 'Guardian of the Palanquin' Anen in the Rijksmuseum Meermann-Westreenianum, which probably belongs to the man of the same name who was brother of Queen Tiye.

IN the Rijksmuseum Meermann-Westreenianum in The Hague (inv. no. 82/196), there is an exquisite wooden shabti, finely carved with every detail shown, and smoothly polished, inscribed for one Anen (pl. XVII).<sup>1</sup> It is mummiform, with a *ba*-bird recumbent on the breast and crossed hands of the owner. The height of the statuette is 24 cm, the width 7 cm, the depth, including the bird, is 5.6 cm. The figure wears a New Kingdom composite duplex wig. The eyes are inlaid in white, the eyebrows made of dark wood. A hole in the chin would have allowed the attachment of a beard, the straps of which are painted in black. The ears are pierced, and there are two horizontal grooves in the neck. The broad collar is overlaid with sheet gold which is now reddish in colour. The striated wigs of the *ba*-bird and the man are darker in colour than the rest of the statuette. The face of the *ba*-bird and the hands of the man have a coating of pigment which is now pink. The claws of the bird, spread out across the text, are covered with sheet gold which is still bright yellow. On the back of the figure are traces of two bags painted in black. The lower part of the front and sides of the shabti is covered by nine lines of text filled with blue pigment; the back is plain. In modern times, a hole has been made in the base, under the feet, in order to fix the statuette in a museum stand. There is some surface damage to the elevated areas on the back—the head, buttocks and calves—and there are several small cracks along the right side of the body. The typology after Schneider<sup>2</sup> is Class VD, W14 H30 A3 (*ba*-bird) Tp1b (cf. 3.1.1), while the text (fig. 1) is his VC<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>15</sup> Pour un certain nombre du personnel du temple de Rê au Nouvel Empire, cf. W. Helck, *Materialen*, 1, 125–6.

<sup>1</sup> W. Spiegelberg, *Die ägyptische Sammlung des Museum Meermann-Westreenianum im Haag* (Strassburg, 1896), pl. iiii. H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), 1, 202.

<sup>2</sup> Schneider, *Shabtis*, 1, 109–10, 166–77.



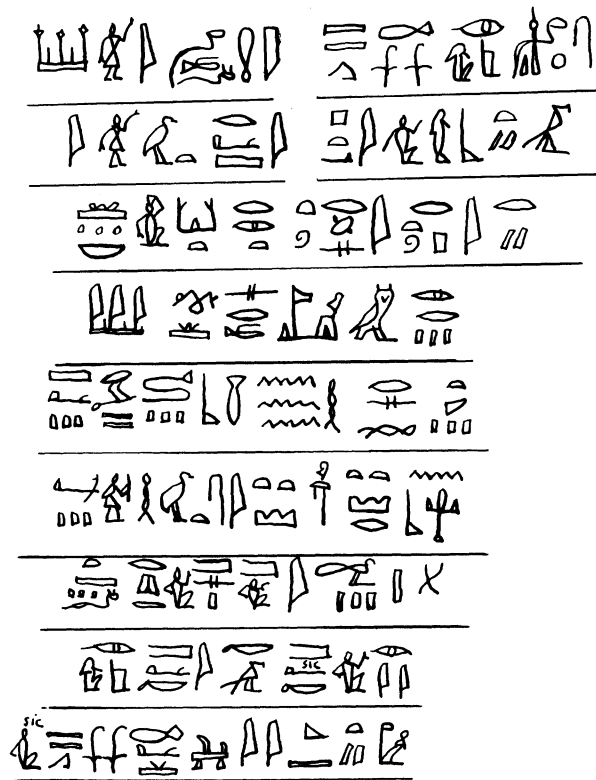


FIG. 1. Drawing by H. D. Schneider.

Nothing is known about the provenance or acquisition of the shabti. The Egyptian collection in the museum, which is currently being prepared for publication by the author, was acquired by Baron van Westreenen in the earlier part of last century, mainly through auctions or intermediaries, such as J-B. de Lescluze in Bruges.<sup>3</sup> It has not been possible to find out more about the piece from van Westreenen's acquisition catalogues.

The name Anen is rare,<sup>4</sup> but the quality of the shabti, which is of a more costly, high-quality wood than most, suggests that the owner was of high rank, and the obvious candidate is the Anen who was son of Yuya and Thuya, and brother of Queen Tiye.<sup>5</sup> The identity cannot be proved since the only title given on the shabti, *srwtj qnyt*, 'Guardian of the Palanquin', is neither found on the Turin statue which is the only known object belonging to Tiye's brother,<sup>6</sup> nor recorded in his badly damaged tomb, which was discovered by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition in 1928-9.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the shabti has good stylistic parallels in the late Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>8</sup> and the equation seems likely to be correct. If so, then another title is attested for this important person.

F. J. E. BODDENS HOSANG

<sup>3</sup> B. van de Walle, 'Jean-Baptiste de Lescluze, négociant et armateur brugeois (1780-1858)', *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de Bruges* 96 (1959), 64 ff. and 97 (1960), 154 ff.

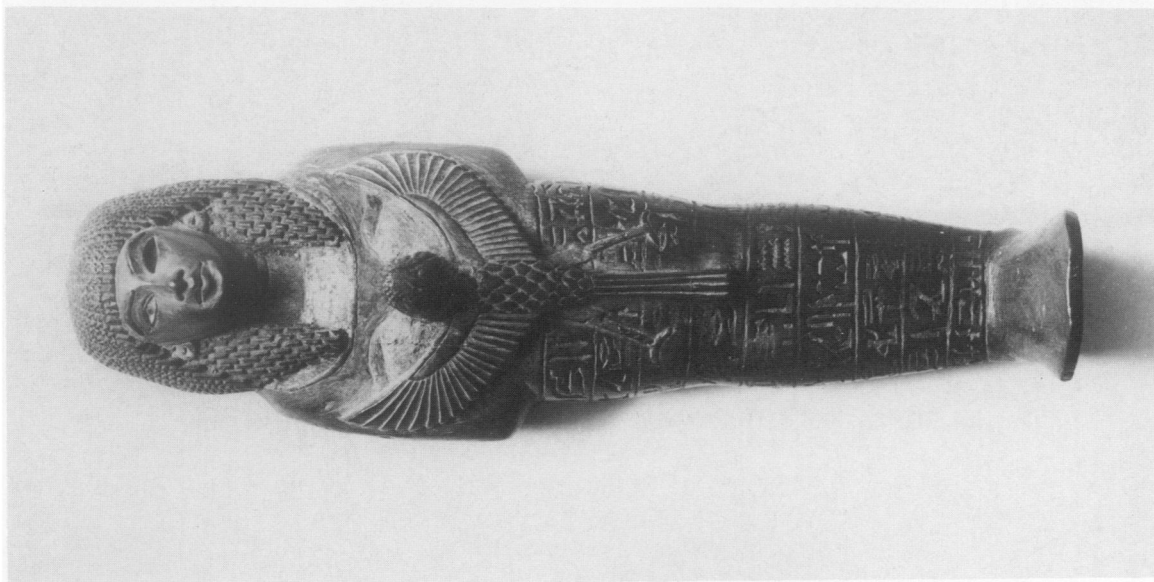
<sup>4</sup> H. Ranke, *PN* 1, 62, 16-17.

<sup>5</sup> J. E. Quibell, *The Tomb of Yuya and Thuiu* (Cairo, 1908), 19; W. Helck, *LÄ* 1, 270.

<sup>6</sup> E. Scamuzzi, *Egyptian Art in the Egyptian Museum of Turin* (Turin, 1964), pl. xxxvi; dorsal text, *Urk.* iv, 1894.

<sup>7</sup> TT 120: PM 1<sup>2</sup>, 234; for recently-published copies of some scenes, see C. K. Wilkinson and M. Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings* (New York, 1983), 125.

<sup>8</sup> Quibell, *op. cit.*, pls. xvii-xviii; W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York, 1953), II, fig. 146; P. E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes* (Cairo, 1937), CG 48410; Schneider, *Shabtis*, III, pl. 17, no. 3.1.5.3.



1.



2.



3.

Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum, The Hague, 82/196  
*(photograph courtesy of the museum)*

THE SHABTI OF ANEN IN THE HAGUE (pp. 178-9)

## New-Kingdom pyramidia

Publication of three monuments: two pyramidia, (1) of Teti, Lector-priest of Senisonb (mother of Tuthmosis I), early Eighteenth Dynasty, in Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1896-1908 E. 3926; (2) of Huy, Servant in the Place of Truth, late Eighteenth or Nineteenth Dynasty, formerly in d'Athanasi, Lee and Amherst collections; and a triangular stela(?) of Bekenamun, New Kingdom, formerly in d'Athanasi and Lee collections.

EGYPTOLOGISTS who study monuments are particularly aware of the importance of corpora which present material in a systematic way for comparative purposes and thus provide the necessary stepping stones towards detailed analysis. One recent example of such a corpus is A. Rammant-Peeters, *Les pyramidions égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*.<sup>1</sup>

The excavations currently in progress at Saqqâra have shown convincingly that a stone- or brick-built pyramid, capped with a monolithic pyramidion, was a more common feature of New-Kingdom private tomb-chapels than has hitherto been supposed.<sup>2</sup> Its ultimate manifestation is the triangular summit of some Memphite stelae, which records the appearance of the tomb-chapel viewed from the east. Rammant-Peeters' study starts with a list of 106 pyramidia from various parts of Egypt, some in museums, others only mentioned in excavation reports, and yet others whose present location is unknown. The completeness of the list is admirable. My notes concern three such monuments.<sup>3</sup> The first, which escaped the author's attention, is one of the earliest, a pyramidion of a priest of the mother of Tuthmosis I. The second comes from Deir el-Medîna and is interesting because of the inclusion of the goddess Hathor in its texts. The third is a controversial monument mentioned in Rammant-Peeters' 'Mentions à ne pas retenir' section.

1. *The pyramidion<sup>4</sup> of Teti (Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1896-1908 E. 3926). Pl. XVIII, fig. 1.*

The texts of this monument of unrecorded provenance were published by P. E. Newberry,<sup>5</sup> but his publication is no longer satisfactory. The pyramidion is made of light yellow/grey limestone and measures 30 cm (base, originally c. 31 cm) by 38.5 cm (height along the sloping edge, originally c. 40.5 cm). The texts, in vertical columns down the centre of each side, contain invocations to Re-Harakhty (East), Osiris 'foremost of the Westerners'—Onnophris 'who came forth from Nun' (West), Osiris 'lord of Busiris' (North), and Amun-Re 'lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands' (South).<sup>6</sup> Senisonb<sup>7</sup> was the mother of Tuthmosis I, but her formal relationship to Amenophis I is uncertain because she did not use the title *hmt nsw*. She is shown standing behind her son at Deir el-Bahari<sup>8</sup> and is mentioned as the King's mother on a stela from Buhen.<sup>9</sup> The writing of the name on the pyramidion<sup>10</sup> is only seemingly defective, since the red crown can be read as the medial consonant of *snb*. The pyramidion of Teti is the only evidence for priesthood associated with Senisonb's funerary cult. The reference to Amun indicates the Theban area as its provenance and the location of the as-yet-unidentified tombs of Senisonb and Teti. The monument is hardly later than the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

<sup>1</sup> Leuven, 1983.

<sup>2</sup> For the theory, see K. A. Kitchen in M. Görg and E. Pusch (eds.), *Fs. Elmar Edel* (Bamberg, 1979), 275, and, for what little has been published of the practice, G. T. Martin, *The Tomb-Chapels of Paser and Raia at Saqqâra* (London, 1985), 7 n.4 with pl. 29; id. *JEA* 69 (1983), 27.

<sup>3</sup> I am grateful to Mrs M. E. Cox for the line-drawings on figs. 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> I wish to thank Dr Helen Whitehouse for help during the collation of the line-drawings and permission to publish.

<sup>5</sup> *PSBA* 27 (1905), 102 [60].

<sup>6</sup> The texts do not require a commentary. The last, only partly-preserved, sign on the southern face is *jmḥ* (Gardiner sign-list F 39).

<sup>7</sup> F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I.* (Hildesheim, 1978), 26 (correct 'otherwise unknown'); G. Robins, *GM* 62 (1983), 68; L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Uppsala, 1986), 163 [18.11] (Senisonb's name is, in fact, lost on stela Berlin 13725); C. Meyer, *LA* vi, 536.

<sup>8</sup> E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, 1, pls. xiii-xv; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 363 (122) (f).

<sup>9</sup> Cairo CG 34006, P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, 11-13, pl. v; PM VII, 141.

<sup>10</sup> H. Gauthier, *LR* II, 209 [B. 3], was misled by Newberry into believing that the name is written on the monument more than once.

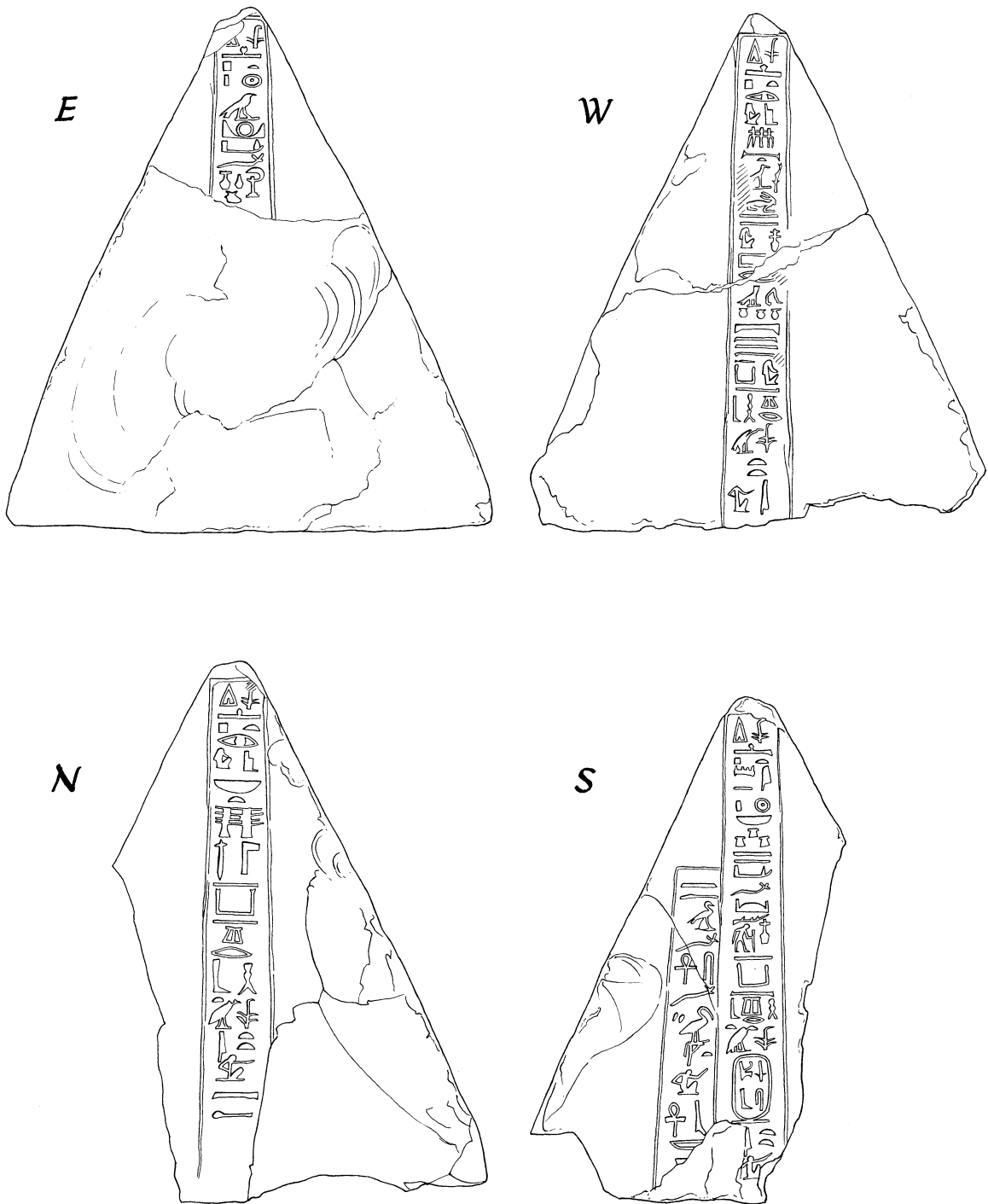


FIG. 1. The pyramidion of Teti, in Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. 1896-1908 E. 3926.

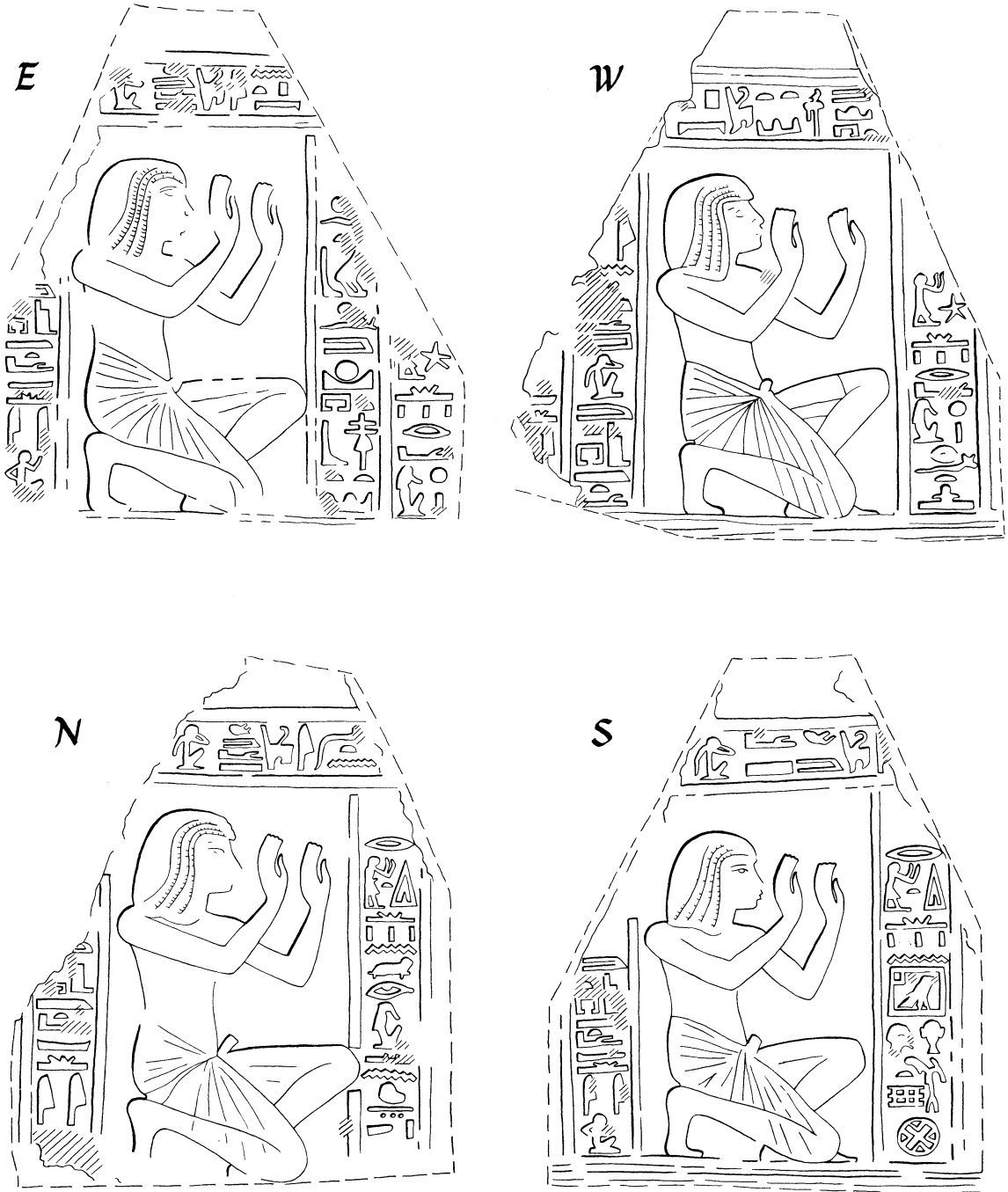


FIG. 2. The pyramidion of Huy. Drawing based on rubbing no. iii.80 by J. Williams. (Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.)

2. *The pyramidion of Huy (Rammant-Peeters, doc. 95). Pl. XIX, fig. 2.*

This pyramidion passed through three celebrated collections, those of Giovanni d'Athanasī,<sup>11</sup> John Lee,<sup>12</sup> and Lord Amherst of Hackney.<sup>13</sup> Its present location is not known, but photographs in the papers of J. Černý<sup>14</sup> are marked 'Altounian—1931'. While it was at Hartwell House, sometime between 1830 and 1840, rubbings were made by John Williams.<sup>15</sup> The pyramidion is made of 'fine

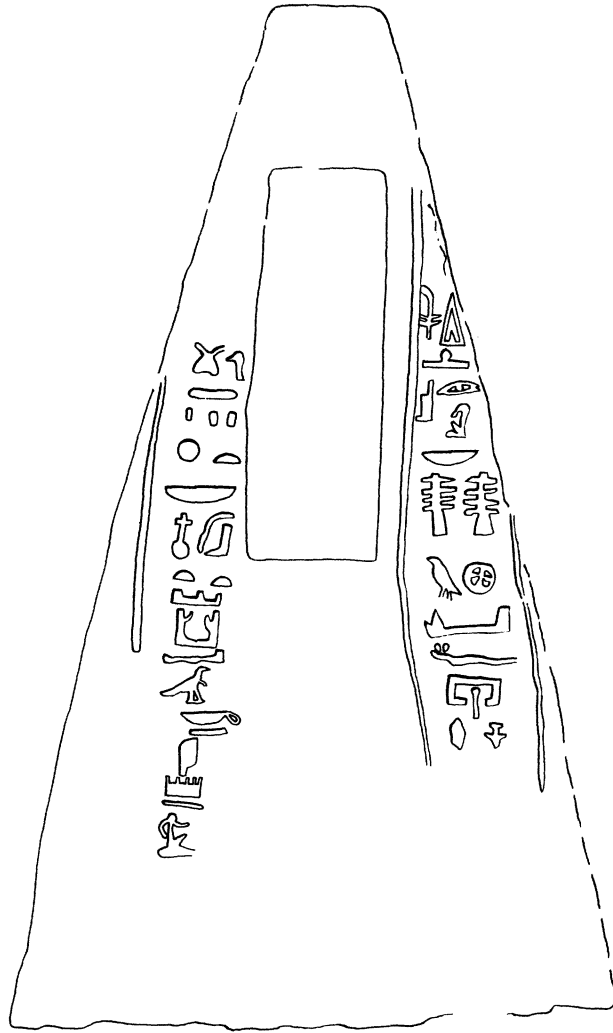


FIG. 3. The monument of Bekenamun. Drawing based on rubbing no. iii.78 by J. Williams. (Courtesy of the Griffith Institute.)

<sup>11</sup> *Catalogue of the Very Magnificent and Extraordinary Collection of Egyptian Antiquities ... of Giovanni d'Athanasī* (Leigh Sotheby, March 13, 1837), no. 288; *Exhibition Catalogue of Giovanni d'Athanasī's Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* [c. 1836], no. 537.

<sup>12</sup> J. Bonomi, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Museum of Hartwell House* (1858), no. 591.

<sup>13</sup> *Sotheby Sale Catalogue* June 13–17, 1921, no. 209.

<sup>14</sup> MSS. 2.332–4.

<sup>15</sup> Numbered iii.80, at the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The rubbings are, curiously, marked 'The four sides of a Pyramid. B.M.', and Williams must have been mistaken in his description (he also made a number of rubbings in the British Museum). See W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*<sup>2</sup> (London, 1972), 308, and R. Moss, *JEA* 27 (1941), 7–11.

sandstone' (Bonomi). It is 14 in. (= 35.6 cm) high according to d'Athanasī's catalogue and Bonomi; the latter also gives its width as 14 in. These indications are supported by Williams' rubbings. The monument has lost its summit and the corners at the base.

On all sides, the tomb-owner, facing right, is shown kneeling on one knee in adoration. The texts start in a vertical column on the right, continue horizontally from right to left at the top, and end in another vertical column on the left. They contain 'praising' (*dwꜣ*) of 'Re when he rises' and 'sets' (East and West), and 'adoration' (*rdjt jꜣw*) of Osiris (North) and Hathor 'presiding over Thebes' (*hrjt-tp Wꜣst*) (South). The title *sdm-ꜣš m St-mꜣꜣt* shows that the pyramidion comes from Deir el-Medīna. The goddess Hathor is only very infrequently mentioned in the texts of pyramidia.<sup>16</sup> The monument dates to the late Eighteenth or, more likely, the early Nineteenth Dynasty (wig, kilt).

3. *The monument of Bekenamun (Rammant-Peeters, p. 101 [1]). Fig. 3.*

The author's reference to item 593 of the Lee collection is confused. This is not the naos of Amenemhab,<sup>17</sup> Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt. Æ.I.N. 1555. The monument was described by Bonomi as follows: 'Pyramid, whose sides are not flat, but which have an irregular entasis. On one side is a square niche, as if representing the entrance of the tomb, in which stands the figure of a female child with a lock of hair proceeding out of the right side of the head. Purchased at the sale of Sig. Athanasī'.<sup>18</sup> According to d'Athanasī's exhibition catalogue,<sup>19</sup> it was 'a small Pyramid, with a figure of Horus standing in a Sanctuary, with a line of Hieroglyphics on either side'. The inscribed side of the monument was recorded by J. Williams.<sup>20</sup> The piece is 15 in. (= 38.1 cm) high according to d'Athanasī's exhibition catalogue; the side recorded on Williams' rubbing measures 35.2 cm. The crude and poorly oriented text invokes Osiris 'lord of Busiris' on behalf of a certain *Bꜣk-n-ꜣmn*, and the name points to the New Kingdom as the likely date of the monument. The description of the figure in the niche found in d'Athanasī's catalogue is broadly confirmed by Williams' note 'fig(ure of) Horus'. This is at odds with the representations of adoring figures in the niches of pyramidia.

The suggested connection between pyramidia and stelae with a triangular summit may be further strengthened by the rare occurrence of triangular stelae,<sup>21</sup> of which the monument of Bekenamun may be an example. It is not impossible that in poor tombs which did not have a pyramid with its pyramidion, such stelae fulfilled the role of both. Further work at Saqqāra may prove or disprove this theory. There is, however, nothing to suggest that the monument of Bekenamun is of Memphite origin.

JAROMIR MALEK

<sup>16</sup> Rammant-Peeters, op. cit. 142.

<sup>17</sup> O. Koefoed-Petersen, in *Miscellanea Gregoriana* (1941), 119-27, ills. It can be equated with Amherst 210, but there is no evidence that it ever was in the Lee collection.

<sup>18</sup> Op. cit. no. 593.

<sup>19</sup> No. 533. This is no. 138 of the *Sotheby Catalogue*.

<sup>20</sup> Numbered iii.78: 'In the possession of Dr. Lee'.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. Florence 2537, from Saqqāra, S. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno* (Rome, 1965), 41-2 [34] with pl.; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 712-13. This monument belongs to Ankh-ptah, and Ptahmosi, the famous High Priest of Memphis of the reign of Amenophis III, appears as the man's superior.



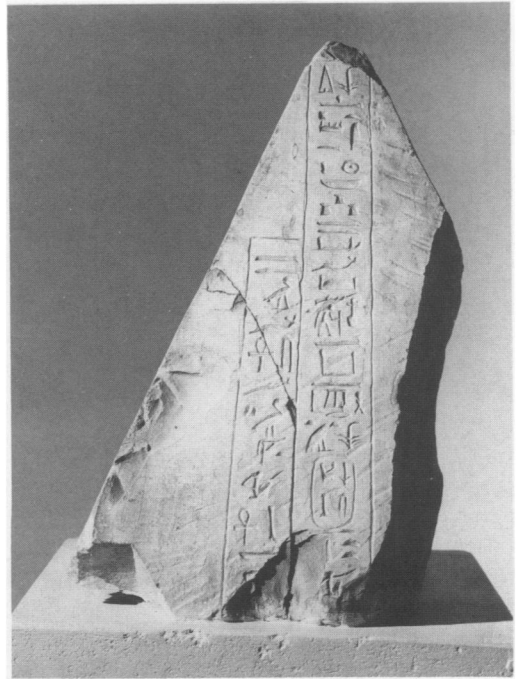
1. East face



2. West face



3. North face



4. South face

The pyramidion of Teti, in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1896-1908 E.3926  
*(courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum)*

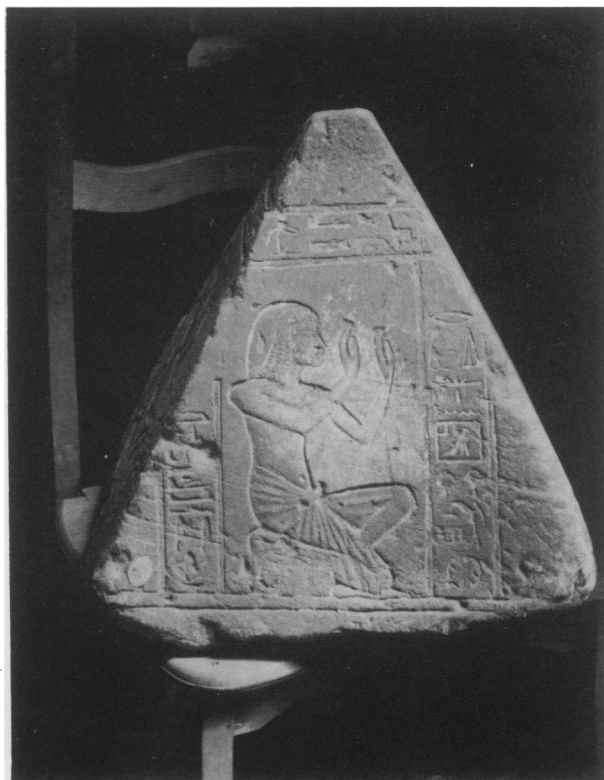




1. East face



2. North face



3. South face

The pyramidion of Huy, Černý MSS. 2.332-4 (*courtesy of the Griffith Institute*)

### Egyptian core glass vessels from Sinai

The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, has 976 fragments of Egyptian core glass vessels registered as from Petrie's expedition to Sinai in 1904–5. Then can be attributed more specifically to Serabit el-Khadem, and constitute the largest collection of Egyptian core glass found outside Egypt. This strengthens the parallels between Serabit el-Khadem and the recently published site of Timna, and the similarity of the two raises interesting points about the distribution of 'high status' glass vessels.

THIS note is based on the preliminary study of a large collection of Egyptian core glass vessel fragments (976 pieces) held in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (E. 4486).<sup>1</sup> The glass was registered retrospectively as originating from Petrie's 1904–5 expedition to Sinai, and it was assumed that the pieces must have come from the mining site of Serabit el-Khadem, more specifically from the Hathor temple there. The other site on which Petrie worked at this time, Wadi Maghareh, dates to the Old Kingdom and is hence too early for the presence of core glass vessels. Petrie, however, made no mention of glass at Serabit el-Khadem either in his *Researches In Sinai* (London, 1906), or in his field notes, a peculiar omission for an archaeologist who had earlier laid the foundations of our understanding of Egyptian core glass with his excavations at Amarna.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, this glass is almost certainly from Serabit el-Khadem. Six vessel fragments from the site, currently held in the Petrie Museum, London, prove that Petrie did recover core glass from there despite his failure to mention it.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, earlier work at the site by Major C. K. MacDonald resulted in the donation of 63 pieces to the British Museum,<sup>4</sup> and it is perhaps significant that these are similar to those held in the Ashmolean in terms of condition, typology and the range of colours and decoration employed. Unlike most glass from Egypt, which is well preserved by the arid environment, the glass under discussion is mostly in poor condition, with either a white deposit of salts, or a distinctive, reddish-brown deposit obscuring some or all of the surface on most pieces. This reddish-brown deposit is typical of contact with the Red Nubian sandstone-derived matrix at Serabit el-Khadem. A similar deposit was apparently found by Cooney on MacDonald's glass,<sup>5</sup> and is also regularly encountered on faience from the site. The range of shapes and decoration, suggestive of a later Eighteenth–Nineteenth Dynasty date,<sup>6</sup> coincides with a period of re-building of the temple under Amenophis III and Ramses II, but as most Egyptian core glass dates to this period, this is not, by itself, proof of a link with the site. Similarly, a relatively high number of fragments with turquoise backgrounds may indicate some connection with turquoise mining at Serabit el-Khadem, but as comparative data on the incidence of background colours from other sites is lacking, this too must remain speculative. Significantly, however, the similar, contemporaneous site of Timna, with its mining complex and associated temple to Hathor, has also yielded core glass fragments.<sup>7</sup> Thus, for several reasons, it seems reasonable to accept the attribution of the Ashmolean fragments to the site of Serabit el-Khadem.

As at other sites,<sup>8</sup> Petrie seems to have published only a partial account of the finds from Serabit el-Khadem, omitting not only the glass but also much faience. It also seems probable that the incomplete recording, as shown by his sketchy field notes, was exacerbated by the breakdown in his relationship with the E.E.F. at this time, and the inhospitable working conditions in Sinai.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it should not be entirely surprising that Petrie failed to document glass recovered from Serabit el-Khadem.

<sup>1</sup> This note is published by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The author would also like to thank Dr P. R. S. Moorey and Dr H. Whitehouse of the Ashmolean Museum for their co-operation, and Dr E. J. Peltenburg, University of Edinburgh, for his guidance in preparing this note.

<sup>2</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), 25–7.

<sup>3</sup> B. Adams, personal communication.

<sup>4</sup> J. D. Cooney, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum*, IV: *Glass* (London, 1976), 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Following B. Nolte, *Die Glasgefäße in alten Aegypten* (Berlin, 1968).

<sup>7</sup> B. Rothenberg, *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna* (London, 1988), 212–17.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. B. Adams, *Ancient Hierakonpolis* (Warminster, 1974).

<sup>9</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Seventy Years in Archaeology* (London, 1931), 194–7.

The recent full publication of Timna (n.7 above) has provided valuable evidence of the best parallel site for Serabit el-Khadem. There are broad typological parallels between the core glass from the two sites (bowls, krateriskoi, and pomegranate vessels), and high proportions of turquoise coloured fragments. What is most intriguing is why core glass vessels, which have a restricted distribution, should occur on these remote mining sites. Further study of this significant assemblage of core glass vessel fragments is currently in hand.

P. SIMPSON

### Two minor monuments of Sety I\*

Publication of a stela depicting Sety I offering to Hathor of *Bhdt* (Edinburgh RMS 1907.632), and of a faience shabti of the same king (Ashmolean 1952.445).

ALTHOUGH the reign of Sety I is justly famous for its great and well-known monuments, it is always worthwhile to add to knowledge of the minor works of his reign. Two such items are currently displayed in museums in the United Kingdom, the first in Edinburgh and the second in Oxford.

#### 1. *Stela: Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, 1907.632 (pl. XX, 1)*

This sandstone stela is of unknown provenance. It is *c.* 42.5 cm in height and *c.* 34.6 cm wide, and is round-topped. The upper part includes four columns of inscription while the lower has two standing figures of approximately equal stature, depicting Sety I on the left and Hathor on the right. Between the two is a short column of text. Sety I, wearing the bag-wig and royal kilt, presents two *nw*-vases to Hathor, in human form and wearing a long dress, with horns and sun-disc on her head. She holds the *was*-sceptre in her outstretched right hand and the *ꜥnh*-sign in her left hand, extended downwards. The texts (fig. 1) read: '(1) The good god, Menmaetre, (2) Son of Re, Sety beloved of Ptah, (3) given life, (4) beloved of Hathor who resides in Behdet. (5) Making libation'.

Several ancient sites shared the toponym *Bhdt*, which provides the only clue to the provenance of the stela.<sup>1</sup> Of these, the most important are Edfu in Upper Egypt and Tell el-Balamun in Lower Egypt. The dedication to Hathor narrows the field. Most of the sites may be excluded either because of uncertainty over their existence, or through difficulties of identification, or because we lack any reason for locating a cult of Hathor there.<sup>2</sup> Tell el-Balamun ((*P*)-*iw-n-Imn*, 'the Island of Amun') should be discounted as Amun was worshipped there—but with no trace of Hathor.<sup>3</sup>

Edfu seems the most probable candidate because Hathor is known to have been a major deity there by the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>4</sup> and to have played an important part in the festivals of Edfu as the consort of the local god Horus.<sup>5</sup>

Two other points are noteworthy. The prenomen of Sety I is written in a very detailed orthography, rather than with the short writing found on most of this king's monuments.<sup>6</sup> From the religious viewpoint, the rite of *irt-qbhꜣw*, 'offering libation', is part of the Heliopolitan liturgy

\*I would like to thank the authorities of the Royal Museum of Scotland for their kind permission to publish the stela, and for the photograph, and Prof. K. A. Kitchen for his kind assistance and guidance.

<sup>1</sup> See A. H. Gardiner, *AEO*, II, 6\*-7\*, 319; H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, II, 27-9 (eleven *Bhdt*s!); *LÄ* I, 683 (four *Bhdt*s).

<sup>2</sup> F. Gomaà, *LÄ* IV, 107 and V, 946; Gauthier, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1443.18; Gauthier, op. cit. I, 178; J. Malek, *LÄ* VI, 319-21.

<sup>4</sup> P. Vernus, *LÄ* VI, 326.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. on annual visits of Hathor to Edfu, H. W. Fairman, *Worship and Festivals in an Egyptian Temple* (Manchester, 1954), 196-200.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *KRI* I, passim: e.g. 243.5, 244.11, 260.5, 274.8, 369.12, all in hieratic and with added book-roll and plural strokes. The spelling on our stela is very unusual in hieroglyphic.

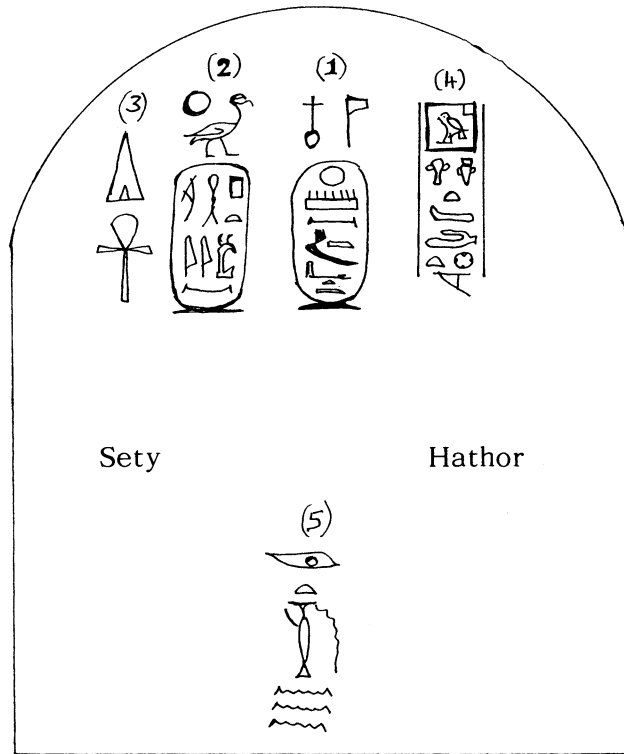


FIG. 1.

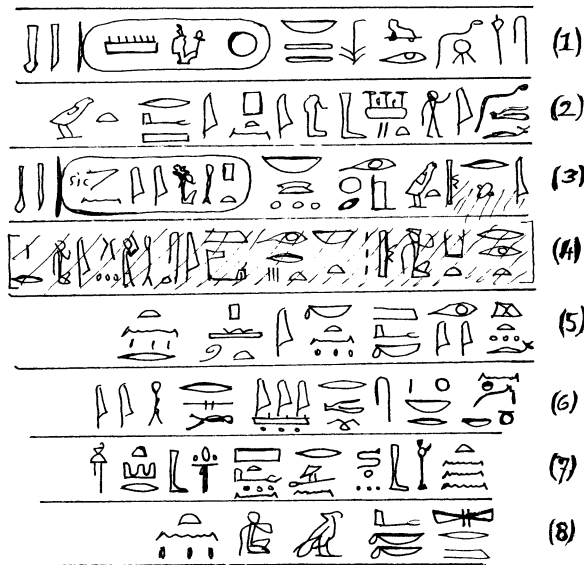


FIG. 2.

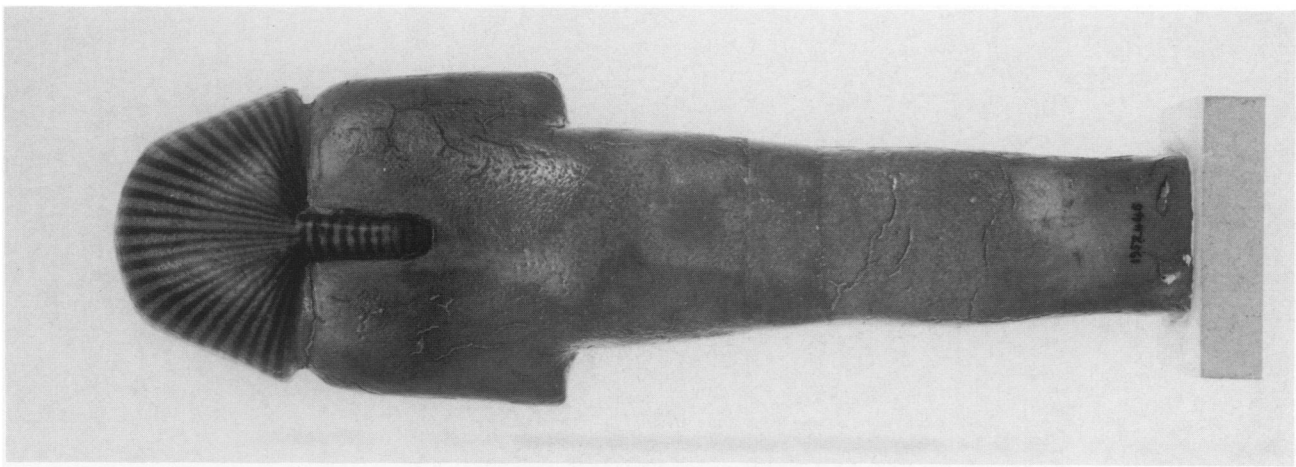


1. Edinburgh, Royal Museum of Scotland 1907.632



2.

Ashmolean Museum 1952.445



3.

(often used for sprinkling the live or dead king with water, for example<sup>7</sup>). Here, it seems more likely that the king is simply presenting a normal offering to the goddess, in expectation of receiving a suitable corresponding benefit for himself and Egypt.

ii. *Shabti-figure: Ashmolean Museum, 1952.445 (pl. XX, 2)*<sup>8</sup>

Among the shabti-figures of Sety I in the Ashmolean, there is a striking piece in blue-glazed faience. It is mummiform, and in two parts, with a modern join. The upper part is bright blue, the lower pale blue, so that the piece might conceivably be a composite of two different shabtis. The head is covered with an incised *nemes*-wig, and the arms are crossed with hands shown. A bracelet is painted on each wrist and a hoe in each hand. The back is plain except for the rear details of the wig. All details are painted in black. The figure's present height is 27.8 cm; it was given to the museum by Sir A. H. Gardiner in 1952. The spell runs in eight lines (fig. 2):-

'(1) The illumined one(?), the Osiris, Lord of the Two Lands, Menmaetre, justified. (2) He says: "O this shabti—if you are summoned, (3) if you are reckoned, even the Osiris, Son of Re, Lord of Diadems, Sety beloved of Ptah, justified, (4) [to perform all labours that are to be done in the Netherworld—but obstacles are set here (as) a man at] (5) his duties—I shall do (it), see, you, (if) you are counted at (6) any time, any day, to cultivate the fields, to irrigate the (7) river-banks, and to transport sand from East to West, (8) and vice versa. See, (I am here), you will say".<sup>9</sup>

The text is the classical BD 6, although the order of the phrases is unusual. The missing fourth line is restored from the shabtis of Sety I in Leiden.<sup>10</sup>

HASSAN M. EL-SAADY

### The ox and the donkey

A parallel from the medieval Arabic *The Thousand and One Nights* is adduced to throw light on a Late Egyptian letter in which a workman contrasts the kindly treatment accorded the ox with the burdens heaped on the donkey.

IN an indignant letter to his superior, the draughtsman Parahotep complains of the humiliating treatment he has been receiving and announces his intention to quit his job.<sup>1</sup> He moans that he is treated just like a donkey: 'whenever there is work, the donkey is fetched, but whenever there is food, the ox is fetched'. This sounds like the sort of proverbial utterance that may have its origin in some popular tale. Animal stories are not uncommon in pharaonic literature, but (as far as I am aware) there is no such tale in either Egyptian or Coptic. There is, however, a story about an ox and a donkey in the medieval Arabic collection known as *The Thousand and One Nights* which may throw some light on the statement of Parahotep.<sup>2</sup> It occurs in the preface, where the indefatigable narrator of the stories, Sheherazade, is urging her father, the vizier, to marry her to the king. Since this autocrat has cultivated the eccentric and distinctly anti-social habit of murdering his wives once he has become bored with them, the vizier is naturally concerned for the safety of his daughter and points out that she may have cause to regret her decision, just as the donkey

<sup>7</sup> E.g. A. R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos (c. 1300 BC)* (Warminster, 1973), 102.

<sup>8</sup> My thanks go to Dr H. Whitehouse, Keeper of the Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum for her collaboration and permission to publish this piece.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago, 1974), 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), II, 32-4, nos. 3.I.O.1-16.

<sup>1</sup> J. Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non-littéraires de Deir el Médineh*, IV (Cairo, 1939), pl. 18 no. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Alf Layla wa Layla*, ed. Muhsin Mahdi (Leiden, 1984), 67 ff. This is by far the most convenient and best edition of the Arabic text.

regretted his decision to offer advice to the ox. He then relates how a certain wealthy merchant counted among his possessions a donkey and an ox. Since Allah had endowed him with the faculty of understanding the speech of animals and birds, he was able to eavesdrop while they conversed. One day he overheard the ox complaining to the donkey about the work he was compelled to do every day 'at the plough and the mill'. He was envious of the donkey, who was well-housed and well-fed in return for the relatively simple duty of providing transport for the merchant on his infrequent business trips. The donkey advised his companion to fake illness in order to avoid the arduous labour required of him. The ox was only too happy to fall in with this suggestion. Deprived of the services of the ox, the merchant quite naturally put the donkey to work in its place. Thus the roles were reversed: the ox was able to enjoy a life of ease with plenty of good food, while the wretched donkey was obliged to toil from morning to night in the fields.

ANTHONY ALCOCK

### A new look at the Adoption Papyrus (reconsidered)

The suggestion put forward by E. Cruz-Uribe, *JEA* 74 (1988), 220-3, that the stable-master Nebnufer was alive throughout the proceedings recorded in the Adoption Papyrus, is to be rejected because the resulting procedure is, in several important respects, alien to what is known of Egyptian legal practice in the disposal of property. A new reading of the name of one of the witnesses is also proposed.

IN *JEA* 74 (1988), 220-3, E. Cruz-Uribe 'discovered one glaring inconsistency not addressed by any scholar ... (that) has caused the mistaken view that a deceased person could be party to a legal contract in ancient Egypt'. As far as I know, however, no commentator on the legal proceedings inherent in the Adoption Papyrus has ever expressed such a view.

The text of this document is materially one, forming a continuous ensemble and evidently written at one sitting, the hand-writing being throughout of the same scribe. Most of it emanates from one person, Rennufer, the wife of the stable-master Nebnufer. The language of this 'provincial' document (from the Middle-Egyptian town of Spermeru) is 'barbarous, the composition execrable', as Gardiner put it in the *editio princeps* (*JEA* 26 (1940), 23 ff.). 'None the less, the sense is clear and there is hardly a sentence that cannot be readily translated'. The papyrus is manifestly divided into two parts, each beginning with a date. In the first (*rt.* 1-12), which consists of narrative of past events and forms a distinct block, the woman relates her adoption by her husband some sixteen years earlier. The second part, which is supposed to be the continuation of her speech, begins, however, by a common declaration (together with her husband) mentioning their previous joint purchase of a slave-woman; there follows a rather lengthy declaration by the woman who again is speaking alone. The anomalous occurrence of the common declaration within the apparently connected deposition of the woman is a matter on which scholars are not quite in agreement.

Gardiner did not hesitate in the assumption that the widow alone speaks throughout the second part of the papyrus. To him, the entire narrative read like a single continuous utterance, and he was unable to grasp the *raison d'être* for a joint declaration. He speculated, therefore, that it may have been due to 'a desire on the part of the widow to associate her late husband in the purport of her own testamentary dispositions', or that it is simply due to 'the extreme clumsiness' of recording by the scribe. This clumsiness is well seen in the first part of the document, where narration by the woman (in the first person singular) abruptly gives place to quotation from words spoken by her husband at an earlier date (*rt.* 5-7, 11-12); cf. A. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 12 (1965), 105 ff. De Zulueta, who added a legal commentary to the *editio princeps*, thought that the joint declaration must have occurred at some time. His view was subsequently shared by E. Seidl (*ZDMG* 107 (1957), 278 f.) who, however, thought the papyrus included excerpts of other records with different dates. For him, the joint declaration (dating from year 18) is an extract from an earlier document,

in which the purchase of the slave had been recorded; the following text (*rt.* 17 ff.) then represents the real act stipulated by the woman, at a date later than year 18.

While all the scholars in this debate agree that the husband was dead when his wife made her deposition, Cruz-Uribe argues that he was still alive. To his mind, the joint declaration shows the stable-master *and* his wife acting in concert to care for the children of the slave-woman. This view leads him to a different rendering of some passages in the second section of the papyrus. His understanding and rendering cannot, however, be borne out if the papyrus is read attentively and its data interpreted in the light of our present knowledge of Egyptian common law.

According to Cruz-Uribe, directly after the joint declaration the husband speaks (instead of the woman, as in Gardiner's translation), stating, 'I took them [sc. the children of the slave-woman, S.A.], I nourished them, and I caused them to grow up. I have reached today with them. They have not done evil against me ...' (*rt.* 17-*vs.* 1). Unlike languages in which the pronoun of the first person singular refers to either sex, Egyptian writing differentiates the feminine from the masculine. It is true that the scribe of this papyrus was not consistent, so that more often than not he carelessly omitted the characteristic dot which distinguishes the feminine form from the masculine in hieratic (e.g. in *rt.* 3-4 and *vs.* 2 ff, where the apparently masculine suffix-pronoun refers quite unambiguously to the speaking lady; cf. the masculine determinative accompanying her name in *rt.* 4, 6, 11, and the words *sn. t.* 'sister', in *rt.* 21 and *hm. t.* 'wife', in *rt.* 15 and *vs.* 6). But in the above-quoted passage, immediately following the joint declaration, he was careful to write properly the pronoun of the first person feminine, thus indicating unmistakably the gender of the speaker. The feminine suffix-pronoun in this particular passage is written out correctly four times in succession, obviously deliberately. Afterwards, however, the scribe reverted to his slapdash way, as the identity of the speaker was clear: of some 16 first person singular feminine suffix-pronouns in the following passages, only one (*vs.* 7) reveals a correct orthography.

In support of his argument, Cruz-Uribe takes a sentence in the woman's speech as having prospective meaning (*vs.* 9-11): 'As for these matters of which I have spoken in their entirety, they are passed on (handed over) to Padiu, this my son, that good might be done for me, when I am (become) a widow, when my husband is dead'. Assuming the woman is acting here in company with her husband, it is highly improbable that she, in such a situation, would be so awkward as to speak explicitly of her husband's death; the new translation implies, moreover, that she publicly expects her husband to die first. To my mind, Gardiner's translation of this sentence with past meaning is more coherent and convincing: 'As for these matters of which I have spoken, they are entrusted in their entirety to Padiu, this son of mine who dealt well with me when I was a widow and when my husband had died'.

Following Cruz-Uribe, both the stable-master Nebnufer and his wife Rennufer were acting throughout the second section of the papyrus: upon his 'declaring someone as his heir', she gave consent. This was necessary because her adoption, stipulated by him some sixteen years earlier, gave her claims upon his property which meant that no transfer thereof could legally be made without her agreement. Such an interpretation amounts, in my eyes, to the presumption that the stable-master went back on the earlier arrangement whereby he had bequeathed all his property to his wife. Of course anyone can retract a statement made in inheritance matters, but, if that were the case here, I do not see why the stable-master did not take back his earlier arrangement altogether and go ahead with his new decision. To an Egyptian, this would be easier and more practical than to modify an old arrangement (cf. P. Kahun VII, 1, where a man conveying his property to his children withdrew a document he had earlier established for his wife; F. Ll. Griffith, *Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, pl. 11 and p. 29; P. W. Pestman, in *Essays on Oriental Laws of Succession*, ed. J. Brugman *et al.* (1969), 63; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 19 (1972), 129 ff.). What we know of Egyptian practice suggests that a husband desiring to enrich both wife and children with his property would rather make a title in favour of his wife and further stipulate that the property in question should pass on to the children or to any of them she wills (cf. P. Kahun I, 1: Griffith, *op. cit.*, pl. 12 and p. 32; stela Cairo CG 34016 = *Urk.* IV, 1065 ff.; Théodoridès, *RIDA* 17 (1970), 148 ff. and A. Spalinger, *Festschrift Westendorf*, 631 ff.).

In admitting the rendering propounded by Cruz-Uribe, the reader has to conceive the second part of our papyrus as two distinct declarations, one made by the stable-master (*rt.* 17-*vs.* 1) and the other by his wife (*vs.* 1-11). Since they began by stating concurrently, 'We purchased the



female slave D. and she gave birth to these three children' (rt. 16), I wonder why they did not carry on in the same style, using first person plural pronouns, especially as they both lived through all these events. (For a case where two brothers concomitantly make statements using throughout the first person plural pronoun, and thus agree to an arrangement made by their father in the presence of the vizier, see P. Turin 2021, p. 3, 8–10; Černý/Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. 14 and p. 32). Instead, the entire discourse following the joint declaration has as grammatical subject the first person singular. This conspicuous change clearly indicates that only one of the two spouses took the slave-children, nourished them and brought them up; the other spouse, the husband, was consequently absent for good.

Furthermore, if the stable-master is really speaking in the second section of the papyrus (rt. 17–vs. 1), one would expect him, in accordance with Egyptian procedure, to mention the property he would like to bequeath, since the devolution of the property is the objective of the whole act. It would be extremely strange and unusual if he expressly confined himself to emancipating one slave-child and adopting (his?) brother, whereas his wife emancipated all the slave-children and specified the items of property to be inherited by all adoptive children and further appointed an executor for the testamentary dispositions—oddly enough, without any mention of her husband, save in the phrase 'when my husband is dead' (for a case where a man, who had wife and children, presumably appointed a trustee for the administration of his inheritance, see P. Berlin 9010: K. Sethe, *ZÄS* 61 (1926), 67 ff. and H. Goedicke, *ZÄS* 101 (1974), 90 ff.).

In sum, the new translation put forward by Cruz-Urbe might offer at a quick glance 'a possible solution'. In fact, it gives rise to a whole series of unnecessary problems of a social and legal nature as well as to many a contradiction in the events narrated in the papyrus.

I take the opportunity to suggest a new reading for the name of one of the witnesses named in the papyrus, rt. 8–9, read by Gardiner as *Bn-iry-r-dw-nfr*. This was subsequently questioned by H. Ranke, *PN* 11, 277, 3. In regarding the hieratic version I read now: '*Bn-iry*, son of (the woman) *Dw-nfr*'. The hieratic sign in question recurs in the following line, denoting the filiation of the next witness. If my suggestion is acceptable, *Bn-iry*'s paternity was not noted. This might have been the reason why Gardiner took the whole for one name without filiation.

S. ALLAM

### On the transliteration of the name Osiris\*

Hitherto, Erman's transliteration of the name of Osiris as *Ws-ir* has remained unchallenged. Evidence presented here indicates that *ss-ir*, not *Ws-ir*, should be read.

THE multiple readings of the throne-sign  $\text{𓏏}$  have long been acknowledged by Egyptologists. According to Gardiner's sign-list,<sup>1</sup> this sign has four different values as follows: (1) *s*, in *s.t.*, 'seat'; (2) *ws*, in *Ws-ir*, 'Osiris'; (3) *ss*, in *ss.t.*, 'Isis'; (4) *htm*, in *htmt*, 'chair'.

The values *s*, *ss* and *htm* have been confirmed by occurrences of the requisite consonantal complements, but the reading *ws* has never been inscriptionally corroborated. What is more, 'Osiris' is the *only* case where the throne-sign has been read as *ws*.<sup>2</sup> Why, then, should  $\text{𓏏}$  be read as \**Ws-ir*?

The reading \**Ws-ir* was first advocated by Erman and has been unanimously followed by Egyptologists ever since, on the basis of Coptic, Greek and Aramaic forms of the name of Osiris

\*I wish to thank Prof. K. A. Kitchen for his help and advice, and Dr D. T. Tsumura for his helpful remarks.

<sup>1</sup> *EG*<sup>3</sup>, 500, Q 1.

<sup>2</sup> The seat-sign  $\text{𓏏}$ , which is also used for writing the name of Osiris, is normally read as *s.t.*, but as *ws* only for Osiris.

and late phonetic writings of 'Osiris':<sup>3</sup> (1) Coptic  $\text{OYCIPI}$  (constr. form,  $\text{OYCEP-}$ ); (2) Greek  $\text{'Ooi\rho i s}$  (constr. form,  $\text{'Oo\rho o-}$ ); (3) Aramaic  $\text{'WSRY}$  or  $\text{'SRY}$ ; (4) phonetic writings  $\text{ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ}$ ,  $\text{ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ}$ .

From the above forms, and without paying much attention to the Aramaic *'aleph*, Erman concluded that all forms indicated the reading *\*Ws-ir*. However, since Coptic and Greek have no means of indicating (by alphabetic sign) the initial *'aleph*, these forms are essentially irrelevant in deducing the original reading of any word which had initial *'aleph* or *'ayn*. Furthermore, Erman's treatment of Aramaic forms is unsatisfactory. He considered that the initial *'aleph* of  $\text{'WSRY}$  does not retain its consonantal value, because the *'aleph* is not written in such compound forms as  $\text{PTWSRY}$ ,  $\text{PTWSYRY}$ . It is true that the *'aleph* does not commonly occur within compound names, yet this does not prove that the *'aleph* does not function as a consonant in initial position. It is more natural to assume that medial *'aleph* is elided in the compound names, probably because it is followed by a long vowel [ $\bar{u}$ ]: *\*pete'ūsiri*, *petūsiri*, cf. *r'e'ās rā(')š rās*.<sup>4</sup>

Comparison with the Aramaic forms of the name 'Isis'  $\text{ⲓⲥⲓⲥ}$ , written with the same throne-sign as 'Osiris', is instructive. 'Isis' (*is. t*) is rendered by 'S or 'SY in Aramaic, yet in the compound names the *'aleph* is often elided, as in  $\text{PTS Y}$ ,  $\text{NPS Y}$  and  $\text{PTYS Y}$ . It is universally recognized that the name 'Isis' in Egyptian has initial  $\text{ⲓ}$ . Therefore, the attested absence of this *'aleph* within the compound forms does not prove that there was no consonantal *'aleph* at the beginning of the name 'Isis' in Egyptian. When Osiris appears in Aramaic as  $\text{'WSRY}$  as well as  $\text{'SR}$ , then surely the initial *'aleph* in the fuller spelling should be taken as a consonant followed by *w* as a *mater lectionis*.<sup>5</sup> It is impossible, in West-Semitic usage, to consider both *'aleph* and *w* to be vowel letters together, as Erman did.<sup>6</sup>

Erman also pointed out that Egyptian  $\text{ⲓ}$  and  $\text{ⲓ}$  are hardly represented by Coptic  $\text{OY}$ , which normally reflects Egyptian *w*. However,  $\text{OY}$  can represent earlier Egyptian  $\text{ⲓ}$  and  $\text{ⲓ}$ :  $\text{OY(ε)IN/AYEIN}$ , 'water-channel' (?)—*iwny/iwyn* (Černý, *CED*, 14);  $\text{OYP}$ , 'bean'—*iwryt* (Černý, *CED*, 215);  $\text{OYC}$ , 'bald person'—*is* (Černý, *CED*, 216);  $\text{OYTE}$ , 'between'—*iwd* (Černý, *CED*, 218). Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that  $\text{OYCIPI}$  also derives from a form that originally began with Egyptian  $\text{ⲓ}$ . The Coptic and Greek forms might also be explained differently, as deriving from a later Egyptian form of the Greek period and later (see below).

The final evidence brought forward by Erman is what he called 'phonetic' writings:  $\text{ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ}$  and  $\text{ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ}$ . As far as the *sh-t*-sign is concerned, there is no evidence that this sign is to be read as *w*, except in the name of Osiris.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, this sign cannot itself provide independent phonetic evidence. Related signs indicate the values *s*, *is* and *is*.<sup>8</sup>  $\text{ⲉⲓⲥⲓⲣⲓ}$  is, no doubt, a phonetic writing, appearing to indicate a writing of *\*Ws-ir*. But we must bear in mind that this writing is only attested from the Greek period, and that the Greek and Coptic forms of 'Osiris' may reflect merely the vocalization of those periods, when *'aleph* and *'ayn* went out of use.

We turn now more fully to the Aramaic evidence. 'Osiris' and 'Isis' are both written with the throne-sign ( $\text{ⲓ}$ ), yet are transliterated differently without adequate reason. It is profitable to examine Aramaic renderings of the names of Osiris and Isis, which are as follows:<sup>9</sup>

<sup>3</sup> A. Erman, *ZÄS* 46 (1909), 92-5.

<sup>4</sup> W. Gesenius, ed. E. Kautzsch, trans. A. E. Cowley, *Hebrew Grammar* (Oxford, 1976), §23.2—"aleph is in general retained as a strong consonant whenever it begins a syllable ... Even in such cases the consonantal power of *'aleph* may be entirely lost when it would stand with a long vowel in the middle of a word after *šewa mobile*. The long vowel is then occasionally thrown back into the place of the *šewa*."

<sup>5</sup> The Aramaic form of Egyptian *ip. t-t-šd. t* is another good example:  $\text{'WPTŠTW}$  (J. B. Segal, *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra* (London, 1983), 13, no. 1: 3, 8), in which the initial *'aleph* is followed by a vowel letter.

<sup>6</sup> Erman, *op. cit.* 92.

<sup>7</sup> See also François Daumas, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*, 1 (Montpellier, 1988), 419 f.

<sup>8</sup> The sign Gardiner M 21, which is read as *is*, *is*, in the Greek period and as *sm* in the Middle Kingdom, perhaps merged with the *sh-t*-sign, because the *sh-t*-sign is read as *sm* in the Greek period. Therefore it is possible that the *sh-t*-sign was read as *is* or *is* in the Greek period.

<sup>9</sup> For these Aramaic names, cf. conveniently W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Ägypten* (Vienna, 1978).

	Osiris—* <i>Ws-ir</i>	Isis— <i>is.t</i>
Divine name	' <i>SRY</i> ' <i>WSRY</i> ' <i>WSY[R]</i> <i>WSRY</i> <sup>a</sup>	' <i>S</i> ' <i>SY</i>
Personal name (initial)	' <i>SRWNPR</i> ' <i>SRṬYS</i>	' <i>SWṬYS</i> ' <i>SWRY</i> ' <i>SRṢWT</i> ' <i>SRṢṬ</i>
Personal name (medial)	<i>PṬWSRY</i> <i>PṬSRY</i> <i>PṬSWRY</i> <sup>b</sup> <i>PṬ'SR</i> <sup>c</sup> <i>PṬWSRY</i> <i>PṢRY</i> <i>TṬWSRY</i> <i>TṬSRY</i>	<i>ḤRSY</i> <i>MN'S</i> <i>NPSY</i> <i>PṬ'SY</i> <i>PṬYSY</i> <i>PṬN'SY</i> <i>PṬSY</i> <i>PṢY</i> ' <i>BDSY</i>
a. Preceded by the preposition <i>L</i> . b. Perhaps a misspelling of <i>PṬWSRY</i> . c. Reading doubtful.		

The value of the throne-sign is constantly represented by 'S in initial position, with the sole exception of *WSRY*. However, since this is preceded by the preposition *L*, it is no longer strictly initial in the word-group. In the medial position, the 'aleph is often elided because a vowel after 'aleph can be supported by a preceding consonant (*PṬSRY*, *PṬSY*, etc.). The vowel-letters *W/Y* then replace the 'aleph (*PṬWSRY*, *PṬYSY*). The parallel treatment of the throne-sign in 'Osiris' and 'Isis' indicates that Aramaic scribes felt no necessity to record its value differently in the two cases. Therefore, if we admit that 'Isis' begins with an 'aleph, there are no grounds for dismissing the initial 'aleph of 'WSRY as simply a vowel letter. 'Osiris' also then begins with 'aleph.

When we consider the Phoenician transcription of the name of Osiris, the proof is virtually conclusive, because Phoenician scribes also render it with initial 'aleph, 'SR:<sup>10</sup>

Divine name	' <i>S[R]</i>
Personal name (initial)	' <i>SRGN</i> ' <i>SRṢMR</i> ' <i>SRTNY</i>
Personal name (medial)	' <i>BD'SR</i> ' <i>MT'SR</i>

Because of the rigid consonantal system in Phoenician, the above forms strongly support the inference that the name 'Osiris' starts with an 'aleph. Phoenician scribes never fail to catch the

<sup>10</sup> For the Phoenician names, cf. likewise F. L. Benz, *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions* (Rome, 1972).

initial *'aleph*. Another line of proof comes from an Old South Arabian transcription:<sup>11</sup> *'tr-hf* = \**Wsr-hp* (really *sr-hp*), the dead Apis.<sup>12</sup> All these Semitic forms together indicate that the Egyptian spelling of 'Osiris' must also begin with *ʾ*, *'aleph*, not with *w*.<sup>13</sup> The form *sr-ir* shows a close parallel with 'Isis', *ʾs. t*.

A theoretical objection might be raised on the Semitic side. It is a common feature of Semitic languages that an initial *'aleph* may be prefixed to indicate or 'protect' a following vowel. Thus, the *'* of *'SRY* could be a prothetic *'aleph* indicating [*ū*]. However, the name 'Osiris' is the sole case where the throne-sign *ʾs* might—anomalously—be read as \**ws*, and Egyptian *w* is normally represented by Phoenician and Aramaic *w*—compare Aramaic and Phoenician *WHPR* (Eg. *Wih-ib-r*), and Aramaic *WHPR**'MHY* (Eg. *Wih-ib-r-m-šht*), *WNPR* (Eg. *Wnn-nfr.w*), *WRŠNP* (Eg. *Wrs-nfr*). Therefore, if 'Osiris' were \**Ws-ir*, the normal Semitic form should be \**WSR*.

It might also be wondered whether Egyptian *ʾ* could be represented by Semitic *'aleph* in the Late Period. Besides the clear case of 'Isis', *ʾs. t* = 'S', there is another striking example of this correspondence in Egyptian and Aramaic in the fifth century BC, namely *'BWT* = *ʾbdw*, 'Abydos'. Therefore, there is no doubt that the Egyptian form of the name of Osiris should be transliterated as *ʾs-ir*, the initial *'aleph* being preserved into the Late Period. Only from the Hellenistic period onwards was the *'aleph* dropped. This corrected reading will eliminate one false value from our sign-list—the throne- and seat-signs will stand only for *ʾs*, *s* (and *štm*), and the *šht*-sign for *šht*, *sm*, *s*, not \**w(s)*.

YOSHI MUCHIKI

### A Late Period block statuette from Saft el-Henna

Publication of a limestone block statuette, formerly in the MacGregor collection and now in the Wellcome Museum, University of Swansea. The statuette, which can be dated to the mid-seventh century BC, was dedicated by a priest Aba, son of Ramose. Priestly titles link the family to Saft el-Henna.

THE Wellcome Museum of the Department of Classics in University College, Swansea, contains a limestone block statuette of the Late Period (W 921) which was formerly in the MacGregor collection, no. 1627 (pls. XXI–XXII, fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> It was briefly described in the catalogue of the sale at which the collection was dispersed. Since, on internal evidence, the statuette is one of the very small number of pieces extant from Saft el-Henna, a fuller publication seems desirable.<sup>2</sup> Its present height is 35 cm, its width 17.3 cm and its depth 19 cm. The surface is much chipped and some parts—the nose, the mouth, the lower legs and base—have been restored in modern times. The man wears a wide bag wig which ends just below shoulder level. Eyebrows and cosmetic lines are

<sup>11</sup> A. F. Beeston, *Sabaic Grammar* (Manchester, 1984), 59 (Minean dialect); reference kindly brought to my notice by Prof. Kitchen.

<sup>12</sup> *Wb.* III, 70, 3; cf. Aramaic *'WSRYHPY*, in *CIS*, II, 123, 1/2, 3/4.

<sup>13</sup> A Hebrew personal name *'SYR* (I Chronicles 6: 7, 8, 22) might be the Egyptian name \**Ws-ir.w* (H. Ranke, *PN* I, 85, 5; see N. Avigad, *IEJ* 4 (1954), 238). If this were so, then Hebrew would provide further evidence that the initial consonant was *ʾ*.

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of the MacGregor Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (London, 1922), 212. For access to the statue and permission to publish it, I am indebted to Dr Kate Bosse-Griffiths, Curator of the Wellcome Collection.

<sup>2</sup> See PM IV, 10–11, 13, Two of the statues listed there as in Cairo are now elsewhere. CG 535 is in Jerusalem, Israel Museum 67.30 (R. Giveon, *JARCE* 12 (1975), 19–21), and CG 894 has passed through the art market, most recently Christie's Sale Catalogue, 30 April–1 May 1974, no. 353 with pl. 23. See also M. Thirion, *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 105 n. 47; V. Laurent, *RdE* 35 (1984), 151 n. j; P-M. Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque* (Antony, 1985), doc. 51.

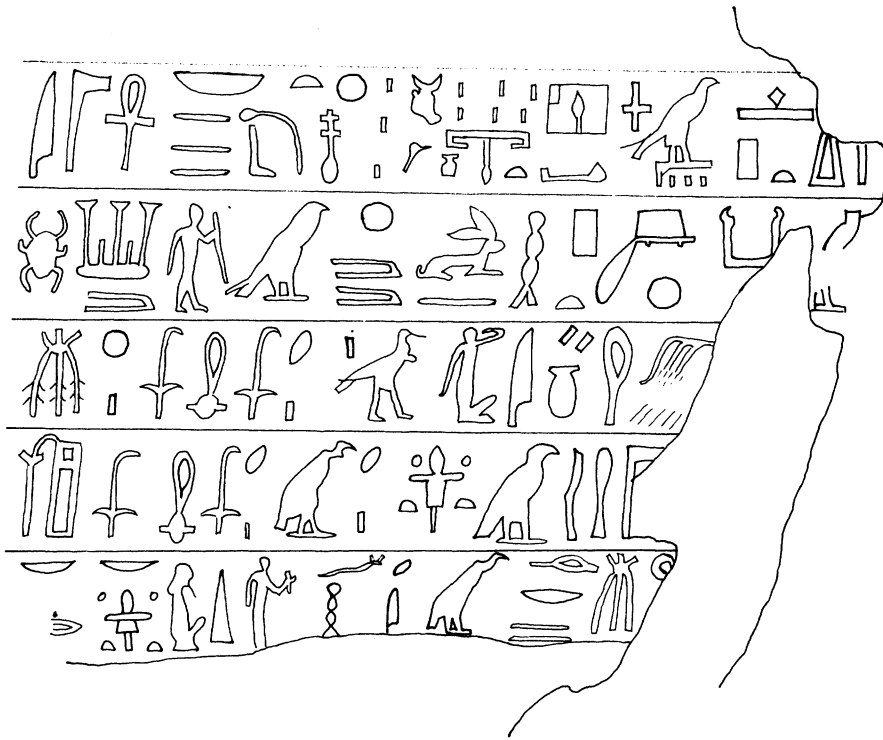


FIG. 1.

indicated plastically. The chin is slightly lifted, the beard jutting forward, and the angle of the gaze is slightly above the horizontal.<sup>3</sup> The arms are fully freed with the right crossed over the left, and both hands resting flat, palm down. The lower legs are also exposed. The man wears a kilt from waist to shins, leaving the upper torso bare. There is no back pillar. The whole piece is slightly askew.

The inscription is confined to five lines on the front of the man's garment, which read: 'An offering which the king gives to the gods who are in Hutnebes,<sup>a</sup> that they<sup>b</sup> may give invocation offerings of bread and beer, meat and fowl, everything good and pure on which a god lives (for) the *ka* of the *pth wn*,<sup>c</sup> nurse<sup>d</sup> of Horus *wr šꜣꜣ n ḥpr*,<sup>e</sup> [prophet of *Hnsyt* ?]<sup>f</sup> of the second phyle *Aba*,<sup>g</sup> son of the *mi nn* *Ramose*, [son of] the *whm*-priest of Horus of the East, *Simut*, son of the *mi nn* scribe ... *Ramose* ...<sup>h</sup> his mother, *ihyt* of *Sopdu*, Lord of the East, *Neb* ...'

(a) The *ntrw imy(w) Hwt-nbs* are invoked on a statue from Saft el-Henna published by R. Weill, *RT* 36 (1914), 96-7. *Hwt-nbs* is a name for both the sanctuary of *Pr-Spdw*, and for the town itself, F. Gomaà, *LÀ* v, 351-2.

(b) Evidently the reading must be *di. sn*, but the six vertical strokes are puzzling. If the explanation is not misinterpretation of a cursive original, the influence of *snwt*, 'the festival of the sixth day of the lunar month' or *snwt*, 'guild', 'association', seems likely.

(c) 'Creator of light', a divine epithet transmuted into a priestly title, is most often associated with the cult of *Sopdu* at Saft el-Henna, cf. J. Yoyotte, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 103; Giveon, *JARCE* 12, 21 n. 4.

(d) See Laurent, *RdE* 35, 152-6, for male bearers of the title *hnm(ty)*, attached to cults of child-gods, among which various forms of *Horus* are naturally prominent.

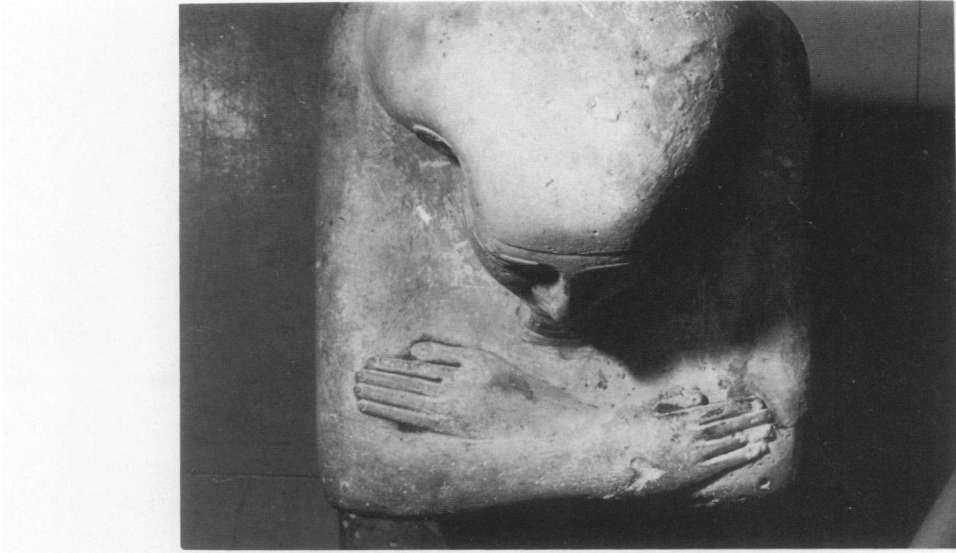
(e) On other monuments from Saft el-Henna, the epithet of this local form of the god is written (*wr*) *m šꜣꜣ ḥpr*, cf. Laurent, op. cit. 150-1 j, k, with n. 70.

<sup>3</sup> For the deviation from the horizontal, cf. B. V. Bothmer, *Kêmi* 20 (1970), 37-48.



Wellcome Museum, University College Swansea, W 921

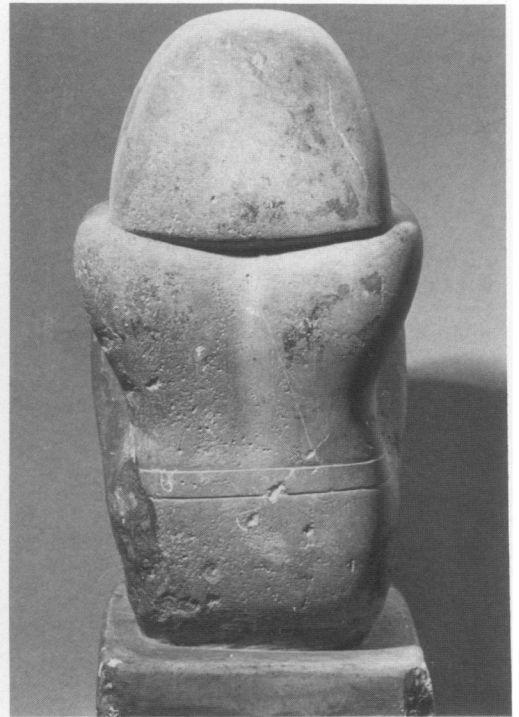
A LATE PERIOD BLOCK STATUETTE FROM SAFT EL-HENNA (pp. 194-6)



1.



2.



3.

Wellcome Museum, University College Swansea, W 921  
(*photographs from the Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture*)

A LATE PERIOD BLOCK STATUETTE FROM SAFT EL-HENNA (pp. 194-6)

(f) Given the assumed provenance of the statue, the most likely significance of the lock of hair hieroglyph, is that it is a determinative of *Hnsyt*, the goddess who was both a personification of the headgear of Sopdu and his consort, cf. Giveon, *JARCE* 12, 21 n.6; Thirion, *RdE* 34, 105. There is room for *hm-ntr* or some other comparably compact title before the divine name.

(g) This is an old name revived in Saite times, as noted by H. de Meulenaere, *BiOr* 38 (1981), 254. It occurs on another statue from Saft el-Henna, ex-Cairo CG 894 (n. 2 above).

(h) The significance of this group is unclear to me. It might be the end of the name, of which *Rc-ms* would then be only part, but I can extract no likely reading from the signs, nor find a parallel. One might envisage a miswriting of *ir(t) nb(t) pr*, introducing the mother's name, but that seems excluded by the following *mwt.f*.

(i) The identity of the second sign, and hence the reading of the name, is uncertain.

Sopdu and Khensit are well-known as the divine pair of Saft el-Henna. The interesting point to emerge here (n.d above) is that Horus *wr šꜣꜣ n hꜣꜣr* was envisaged as a child-god, and so was presumably the third member of the local triad. On another monument from the site, Khensit is called *wrt mwt ntr*, the standard epithets of the maternal Isis.<sup>4</sup>

As to date, the fully-freed arms and legs, the bare upper torso, and the absence of dorsal column together have good parallels in the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> [*Postscript*: This statuette is known only indirectly and inaccurately to I. W. Schumacher, *Der Gott Sopdu, der Herr der Fremdländer* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1988), 220 n. 10, 234.]

ANTHONY LEAHY

### The names Psammetichus and Takheta

The name Psammetichus is discussed in the light of Greek, Carian, and Near-Eastern evidence, and an original vocalization proposed. Takheta, name of the mother of Psammetichus III, suggests an Anatolian connection; this is best seen in the light of Pharaoh Amasis' foreign policy. The story of Ladike of Cyrene, recorded by Herodotus, is relevant here.

THE name *Psmṯk* (Psammetichus) is characteristic of Late-Period Egypt, and, because of the cosmopolitan nature of the eastern Mediterranean during this time, it soon spread beyond the borders of Egypt proper. However, in spite of its associations with Egypt, and contrary to folk etymologies, this name is almost certainly not Egyptian. The most useful recent discussion can be found in H. de Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie* (Leuven, 1951), 16–21, and it is worth recalling his arguments. Psammetichus I was the son of Necho I of Sais and an unknown mother (this fact in itself makes it difficult to know where the name originated). Earlier Egyptologists tended to favour a Nubian origin for the dynasty: Petrie, for example, in his *History of Egypt* (III, 320–1) suggested that the name meant 'son of the *ṯm*-lion', the latter supposedly being a Nubian or Upper-Egyptian concept, while H. R. Hall (*JEA* 17 (1931), 11–12) published the shabti of an individual named Psammetichus with alleged Nubian characteristics. This is not convincing (see the arguments of W. Helck, *PW* XXIII/2, 1306), and most Egyptologists are now inclined to accept a Libyan origin for the name. Here it is probably best to leave it, but not before noting that there is now more evidence to be considered.

The principal point is the existence of the name in Carian inscriptions from Egypt. Since the first Carians entered the country as mercenaries of Psammetichus I, it is not surprising that the name continued among them for generations, until the Persian conquest apparently put it out of business. In the better vocalized Carian texts the name appears as *Pesmašk*, or its variant *Pesmašk* (see my discussion in *Kadmos* 29 (1990)). These writings are interesting evidence for the true

<sup>4</sup> G. Daressy, *ASAE* 20 (1920), 127–8.

<sup>5</sup> For all these points, see Bothmer's comments on Brussels E. 7526 in *ESLP*, 37–8, and on Cairo JE 37150 in *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 81 with pl. 10.



pronunciation of the word. The variation in the spellings may well be due to an attempt to express the Egyptian sound *t̥*, which was probably foreign to Carian; on the other hand, the vowel *a* which appears in the middle of the name was probably original, as is shown by the Doric form *Ψαμματιχος* in the well-known Greek inscription at Abu Simbel. The Ionic form *Ψαμμητιχος* has *eta* instead of *alpha*, as is to be expected, while the doubling of the *mu* is probably a 'soundalike' influenced by the word *ψάμμος*, 'sand' (cf. the similar example in *JEA* 72 (1986), 150-1). Aspiration of the *kappa* is also not unusual, especially in a Delta dialect. The remaining problem lies with the opening syllable, since the Carian evidence contradicts the Greek at this point. Now the prefix *Pes-* is common in Carian names, and is rendered by *Πισ-* in the Greek transcriptions from the Carian mainland (*Kadmos* 29 (1990)). It is at least worth asking whether the name *Psm̥tk* was not originally Anatolian. This would add an interesting dimension to our knowledge of Psammetichus I and his foreign connections, but on balance it is better to see the name as an Egyptian or North-African one which has been assimilated to a pattern which was familiar in the language of its Carian borrowers. Such things are not uncommon when proper names cross from one language to another. It therefore looks as if the name was pronounced something like \**Psam̥t̥ek* by contemporary Egyptians, and that the Carians produced a comfortable approximation to this when they took it over. A complicating factor here is the Assyrian rendering of the name as *Pišam̥ilki* (H. Ranke, *PN* II, 358 on 136, 8). This at first sight bears out the Carian evidence for the first syllable, but the rendering as a whole is rather loose (the final element *-m̥tk* has been assimilated to the Semitic root meaning 'rule'; the Neo-Babylonian *Pisam̥iski* is an improvement). Presumably in a syllabic script such as cuneiform it would be necessary to express initial \**Psa-* with a vowel after the *p*. In short, the Assyrian vocalization does not support the Carian strongly enough to outweigh the evidence from Greek sources, although it is always possible that a secondary form \**Pesm̥t̥ek* formed itself within Egyptian, where unaccented short vowels were normally preferred in closed syllables.

Where does this leave the demotic evidence? This was discussed many years ago by W. Spiegelberg (*OLZ* 8 (1905), 559-62 and *ASAE* 6 (1905), 225 n. 1; cf. F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III (Manchester, 1909), 201 n. 3, and W. Max Müller, *OLZ* 16 (1913), 49-52). From this it is clear that the Egyptians had chosen to assimilate the name to their own expression *p̥ s-n-m̥tk*, 'the mixed-wine seller'; however, no hieroglyphic evidence exists to support this etymology, which must be a popular one. On the other hand, the story told in Herodotus II, 151, about the king using his helmet for a libation of wine, is good evidence that the etymology was current in the middle of the fifth century BC. It may well even be contemporary with the earliest appearances of the name. What is interesting here is that the expression *p̥ s-n-m̥tk* is to be vocalized \**Psamm̥t̥ek* or \**Psamm̥t̥ek*, which is extremely close, not so much to the original form of the name, but to the Ionic version. Either the etymology grew up in reply to questioning from Greeks, or both vocalizations have influenced each other.

Popular etymologies or otherwise, the name was well on its way to being naturalized in Egypt, as is shown by the feminine formation *Tsm̥tk*. G. Ebers, *ZÄS* 19 (1881), 68, used the existence of this form to argue that Psammetichus was a genuine Egyptian name, but K. Piehl, *PSBA* 13 (1891), 235-45, showed that this was not so. Variant spellings remain common in hieroglyphic, a fact which suggests that the Egyptians continued to have problems with it. Certainly, they were not above simplifying the pronunciation (see, for example, J. Padró i Parcerisa, *Egyptian-type Documents* II (Leiden, 1983), 82, 95, and J. Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants du mobilier funéraire carthaginois* (Paris, 1945), 206 ff. Note in passing J. Capart, *CdÉ* 16 (1941), 100, which gives an apparent variant *Pym̥tk*; but this is presumably to be read *Psm̥tk*, as usual). This abbreviation may have been particularly true when the word appeared in compounds, as is shown by the Aramaic form *Psm̥snyt* quoted below. In Egyptian Aramaic the name is well attested in the form *Psm̥šk*, which recalls the Carian difficulties with the sound *t̥* (W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica aramaica aus Ägypten* (Vienna, 1978), 91-2, who also quotes the compound forms *Psm̥snyt*, *Psm̥škhsy* and *Psm̥škm[hy]*). Nevertheless, whatever its origin, the name Psammetichus qualifies as an Egyptian name through its use by the Pharaohs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and its spread to the population at large. From Egypt the name passed to Greece and the Near East. In Egypt itself it was still common in the Hellenistic period. Such complications at least show the cosmopolitan nature of Late-Period Egypt.



The name Takheta is less well attested; in fact, apart from one obscure reference (*PN* 1, 367.6), it is unique. Queen Takheta was one of the wives of Amasis, and became the mother of Psammetichus III. This is made clear in one of the stelae from the Serapeum (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 798, first noted by E. Revillout, *Rev. Ég.* 2 (1882), 96 n. 3; see also the bibliography in G. Vittmann, *Orientalia* 44 (1975), 381). The name *Ti-nt-Ht* is very unusual for the Late Period, since it appears to mean 'she of the Hatti-land' or even 'the female Hittite'. Hittites as such had disappeared in the reign of Ramesses III, although the name clung for some centuries to the weak successor states in Cilicia and north Syria. What, however, is a 'Hittite' in the context of the sixth century BC? There have been several suggestions. J. Vercoutter, in his publication of the relevant text from the Serapeum (*Textes biographiques du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1963), 37 and 39 n. C), proposed that she was the daughter of a Syrian who had come to Egypt in the aftermath of Necho II's campaigns. A. Spalinger, *Orientalia* 47 (1978), 26, hazards that she was Lydian, or that she was 'the daughter of a prominent Hellene residing in Egypt'. None of these ideas can be ruled out completely, but it is worth taking a closer look at the queen's father, who is expressly named on the Serapeum stela along with his daughter. He is identified as *it-ntr hm-ntr Pth stm hrp šndyt nb Pꜣ-di-Nit*, 'divine father, prophet of Ptah and controller of vestments, Petineith'. The name *Pꜣ-di-Nit* is typical of the over-compensating kind adopted by foreign immigrants into Egypt, but it would be unusual for a non-Egyptian to rise so high in the cult of a national god such as Ptah, unless the king had intervened specifically on his behalf. The most likely way that such a foreigner could have gained the king's gratitude would have been through the army, and at first sight this points in the direction of the Ionians and Carians, who had migrated in considerable numbers into Egypt in the previous century.

In this context it is worth recalling the name Kittim or Chittim, regularly used in Hebrew for inhabitants of the Aegean, and which is now attested in the sixth-century Arad ostraca as a designation for mercenaries, possibly Greek (Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem, 1981), 12-13). *Ht* may be a reflection of this usage, by a false etymology; of the other words for Greeks which were used in Egypt, one—*Wynn* ('Ionians')—was probably too vernacular, and the other—*Hrw-nbw*—had doubtless acquired bad connotations during the events of the early years of Amasis' reign. However, there were other mercenaries in the Egyptian army of this period, especially Aramaic-speaking contingents from the Near East, and it is not impossible that Takheta's father arose from one of these. It is therefore difficult to locate the ethnic origin of Takheta's family more closely; all we can conclude is that she was the descendant of a military family, perhaps from Anatolia or north Syria, which had doubtless been of use to Amasis in his anti-Babylonian foreign policy.

The only other Late-Period reference to *Ht* which survives is unhelpful. This is from the gateway of Ptolemy III before the Montu temple at Karnak, the Bab el-'Abd (K. Sethe and O. Firchow, *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Berlin, 1957), 27 text 31e). Here the *Ht* is said to fall at the sight of the king, in an entirely conventional way. If this means anything, it could refer to the king's victories over the Seleucids in the Laodicean or Syrian War, but it is impossible to be sure of this. However, it is at least clear that Takheta was foreign or partly so, and that consequently Psammetichus III was partly foreign too. This is a point worth remembering, since several Pharaohs may have had foreign blood in their veins, but few admit to this in inscriptions.

The mention of a foreign wife of Amasis brings to mind the lady Ladike of Cyrene, who according to Herodotus (II, 181) contracted a marriage with the same king (for this episode in general, see A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary, 99-182* (Leiden, 1988), 233-5). Because of the elements of comedy and folklore in Herodotus' account some commentators, such as De Meulenaere, have dismissed the whole story as a fabrication, but in view of the existence of Takheta there is no reason to rule out a Greek marriage for Amasis *a priori*. An early alliance with Cyrene is, in fact, almost certain, in view of E. Edel's identification of the Babylonian *Putuiaman* with this state (see his arguments in *GM* 29 (1978), 15-16). Unfortunately, it is not possible to go to the other extreme and identify Takheta with Ladike; the latter, according to the tale, is the daughter of the ruler of Cyrene, Battus (II), whereas we have already met the father of Takheta. It is also

impossible to imagine Herodotus missing the point that Psammetichus III was half Greek, if he had really been so. Therefore Takheta is not Ladike, and it is also most unlikely that Takheta was of Greek origin, although her family may possibly have been Carian or Lydian. There is another queen of Amasis named *Nht-Bstt-r.w*, mother of two of the king's sons (on the whole family see H. De Meulenaere, *JEA* 54 (1968), 183-7). This could perhaps be Ladike in Egyptian disguise. Alternatively, the Cyrenaean lady may have left no trace in the inscriptions, but there is no good reason to doubt that she existed, and, like Takheta, was part of Amasis' policy of building up alliances against the Babylonian threat to Egypt.

J. D. RAY

### A naophorous statue in the British Museum (EA 41517)

Publication of British Museum EA 41517, a statue of a Saite official, Amenhotep, son of Wahibremerneith and Tasherienese, which can be dated on the basis of costume and naophorous type to the early Persian Period.

AMONG the rich collection of Egyptian sculptures in the British Museum is a fine and interesting schist statue, no. EA 41517, of a standing man holding a naos (pls. XXIII-XXV). It has been noted several times in the literature,<sup>1</sup> but has never been fully published.<sup>2</sup> It was purchased by the museum in 1905, having once been in the collection of Samuel Rogers. Although it has no recorded provenance, its inscriptions indicate that it came originally from Sais.

The figure is damaged in several places. The bottom of the piece, the man's left arm, most of his right arm and nose, and parts of the shrine are lost. Some of these areas have been restored in modern times. The height of the figure (as restored) is 41 cm, its maximum surviving depth is about 16 cm and its width about 9 cm.

The subject is shown wearing the *khat* or bag-wig, its rounded ends resting on the shoulders and its rear partially concealed by the top of the back-pillar. It leaves uncovered the man's large and fully detailed ears. There is a degree of realism in the treatment of the face, which has a serious expression. The man has high cheekbones and a small mouth with thick lips and a fleshy chin. There is a distinct depression between the mouth and the chin. Of the nose only a section of the left nostril survives together with the bridge of the nose, which is slightly concave. The philtrum underneath the nose is present. The eyes are conventionally represented, the eyeball slightly protruding and the upper eyelids rendered by a raised rim. The eyebrows are naturalistic. There is asymmetry in the face: the man's right eye is wider than his left, while his left ear is higher than his right. There is also a slight slope in the line of the mouth. Beneath the head, the raised lines of the clavicle have been indicated.

The figure is represented in a long garment which covers the chest and would probably have reached down to the ankles. It has two folds at the top. The first, conical in form, is represented on the left side of the chest; the second, rectangular in form, covers the right side with its ends reaching to the top of the naos, which is rectangular and supported by a standard. Inside it, a figure of the goddess Neith has been carved half in the round, standing on a shallow pedestal. She is shown wearing the red crown, a collar and a long tight-fitting dress. She holds the *ankh* in her right hand and the *was*-sceptre in her left.

<sup>1</sup>S. Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and other Sources*, 1 (London, 1837), pl. 33c; E. Naville, *ZAS* 18 (1880), 27; R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (Cairo, 1975), 147 (f) and (j), 152 n. 2 and 242 (c).

<sup>2</sup>For permission to publish the statue, I am grateful to W. V. Davies, Keeper of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum. The copies of the texts were kindly inked by Richard Parkinson.



*Translation of texts (figs. 1-2, pl. XXIV)*

The texts are incised within framing-lines on the front of the naos (A-B), on the supporting standard (C-D) and on the dorsal pillar (E-F).

(A) The revered before Neith, mistress of Sais, administrator of palaces,<sup>a</sup> Amenhotep, son of the prophet of Horus, son of Neith,<sup>b</sup> Wahibremeryneith.<sup>c</sup> (B) The praised before Osir[is]...<sup>d</sup> [administrator] of palaces, Amenhotep, born of the lady of the house Tasherienese.

(C) It is his beloved son who has acted for him to cause [his name]<sup>e</sup> to live, (D) the administrator of palaces, prophet of the Great Mansion of the temple of Neith<sup>f</sup> ...

(E) O local god<sup>g</sup> of the revered before Neith, mistress of Sais,<sup>h</sup> administrator of palaces Amenhotep, son of the prophet of Horus, son of Neith, Wahibremeryneith, born of [the lady of the house, sistrum-player]<sup>i</sup> (F) of Neith, mistress of Sais, Tasherienese: place yourself behind him<sup>j</sup> while his *ka* is before him. His feet shall not be opposed and his wish shall not be frustrated [for he is] a 'Iwny.

*Notes*

(a) In full, 'administrator of the palaces of Neith', cf. el-Sayed, op. cit. 111-12.

(b) This rare title is also found on two other monuments belonging to the same family, Stockholm 83 and Ashmolean 1131, for which see el-Sayed, op. cit. 147-8 (j); cf. E. Bresciani, *OrAnt* 9 (1970), 214-15 (f).

(c) For the name see el-Sayed, op. cit. 148 (k).

(d) A likely restoration is *hry-ib Srw*, an epithet of the Saite form of Osiris well known in the Late Period, cf. el-Sayed, op. cit. 115 (c).

(e) *rn.f* is to be restored after *snh*.

(f) Reading [*hm*] *ntr Hwt-wrt n Hwt-Nt*; cf. el-Sayed, op. cit. 242 for a different interpretation.

(g) *ntr niwty* marks the beginning of the 'Saitic' formula, on which see most recently J. van Dijk, *OMRO* 64 (1983), 56-7.

(h) For the alphabetic writing of *Srw*, cf. H. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 41.

(i) I suggest *nbt pr ihyt* as the most likely restoration. There is no room for the title *hndt Rsnt* which Tasherienese bears on Ashmolean 1131, el-Sayed, op. cit. 147 (e).

(j) The suffix *.f* probably refers to the deceased, as suggested by E. Otto, *Or* 17 (1948), 448 ff.; cf. P. Vernus, *Athribis* (Cairo, 1978), 91 n. 1.

*Commentary*

Standing naophorous statues of the Late Period can be classified in two groups.<sup>3</sup> In the first, the naos is supported by a standard; in the second, the figure holds the naos without support. The first type is known from the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty down to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. In the early examples, the standard has the form  $\overline{\text{H}}$ ,<sup>4</sup> whereas, at the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and early in the Twenty-seventh, the rectangular naos and support combined resemble the *hrp/shm* hieroglyph.<sup>5</sup> In the Thirtieth Dynasty, the supporting standard tends to merge into the garment.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See the fundamental remarks of B. V. Bothmer, *ESLP*, 149.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, III (Berlin, 1930), no. 736; H. De Meulenaere and P. Mackay, *Mendes*, II (Warminster, 1976), pl. 19a-c, no. 47.

<sup>5</sup> El-Sayed, op. cit. 129-35 (Florence, 1784); G. Vittmann, *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 143-6 (Berlin 10192); A. Leahy, *GM* 70 (1984), 45-58 (Louvre A.93); H. De Meulenaere, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 135-40; G. Posener, *La première domination perse en Égypte* (Cairo, 1936), 1-26 (Vatican 169); D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I (Munich, 1969), 79-83 (Berlin 14765); W. K. Simpson, *Kémi* 21 (1971), 30-3; *ESLP*, 74-7 nos. 63-4.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *ESLP*, 89-90 no. 72; G. Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian Sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore, 1946), 62 no. 177.



1.



2.

A NAOPHOUS STATUETTE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (EA 41517) (pp. 199-202)

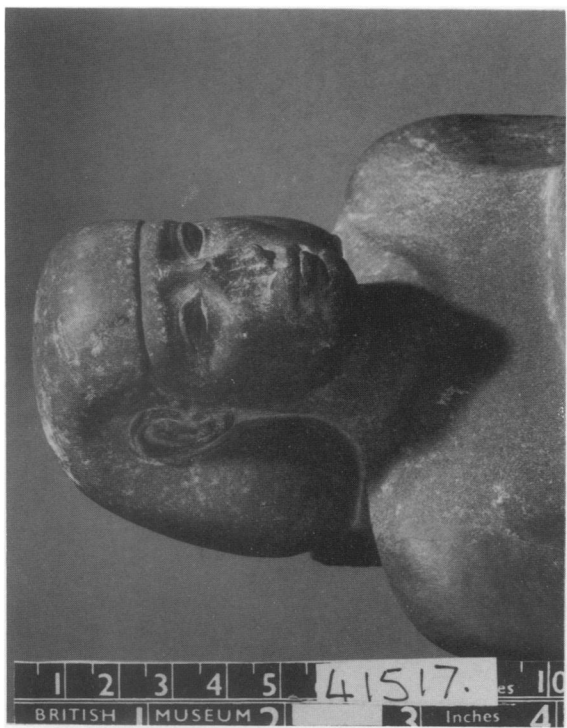


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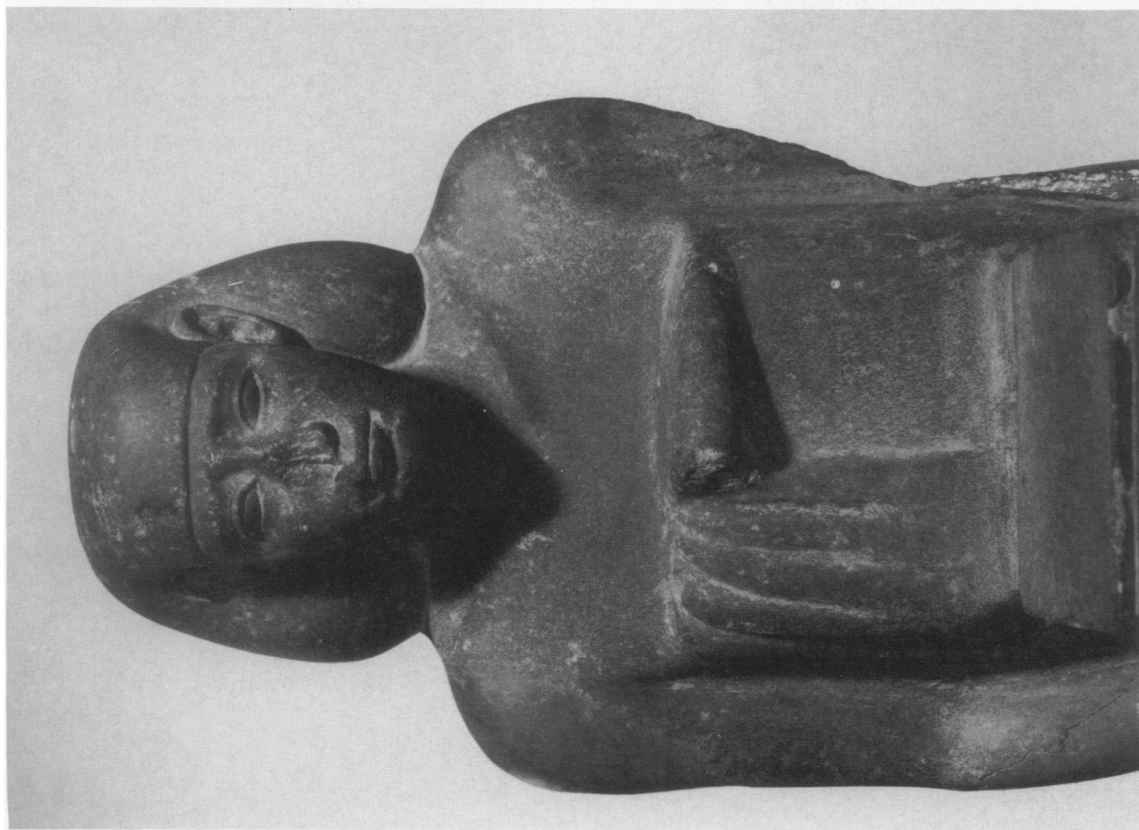
A NAOPHOUS STATUETTE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (EA 41517) (pp. 199-202)



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A NAOPHOUS STATUETTE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (EA 41517) (pp. 199-202)



The second type is also attested from the start of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period, but the position of the naos changes. From the reign of Psammetichus I to that of Apries, the naos rests on the base of the statue while the owner holds it at the top.<sup>7</sup> From the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty onwards, the figure carries the naos between his hands without any support.<sup>8</sup> In the reign of Nectanebo II and later, a variant type shows the naos resting on the hands.<sup>9</sup>

The statue discussed here illustrates the later form of the first type. The man's garment, which covers the body from chest to ankles and is held in place by two folds on the chest, is known from the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty<sup>10</sup> into the Persian period and down to Ptolemaic times. The precise form of the folds—the left in high relief running horizontally along the top of the garment, the right with three vertical incisions dropping to the top of the naos—closely resembles the arrangement on Brooklyn 37.353, the well-known statue of Ptahhotep, which is datable to the early Persian period,<sup>11</sup> and this suggests a similar date for the British Museum statue.

HASSAN SELIM

### Two objects inscribed for Djedhor

A Ptolemaic votive mirror (Brooklyn Museum 52.73) and a Ptolemaic statue of Thoth (Seattle Art Museum 55.164) are incised with the same dedicatory inscription of Djedhor, son of Nesdjehuty. An epigraphic and iconographic comparison suggests that the mirror inscription was copied from the Seattle statue and that the decoration in the centre of the mirror is derived from a modern publication.

WHILE examining a statuette of Thoth in the collection of the Seattle Art Museum, I noted that it was inscribed with a name that also appears upon a mirror in the Brooklyn Museum. Closer comparison showed that the texts were identical. Although it is not inconceivable that an individual might have commissioned several pieces in honour of the god Thoth and had each incised with the same inscription, the epigraphic similarities and dissimilarities in the inscriptions seemed to warrant a careful look at both pieces for indications of modern copying from one object to another.<sup>1</sup>

*Seattle Art Museum no. 55.164 (pls. XXVI–XXVII)*

Height: 19.1 cm. No known provenance. Ptolemaic period. Bibliography: E. Teeter, *Egyptian Art in the Collection of the Seattle Art Museum* (Seattle, 1988), no. 10.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. Baltimore WAG 22.159, Cairo CG 807, Louvre E. 11895 and Turin 3026, all discussed in *ESLP*, 47, to which may be added the unpublished statue British Museum EA 2288.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *ESLP*, 149. One example, Cairo JE 37993 (PM II<sup>2</sup>, 160) dates to the end of the Twenty-sixth or early Twenty-seventh Dynasty. Most are of the fourth century or Ptolemaic period, e.g. Borchardt, *op. cit.* nos. 617, 673 and 722; H. De Meulenaere, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 230–3 (Berlin 21596), id. *BIFAO* 61 (1962), 28–42 (Bayonne 498); K. Bosse, *Die menschliche Figur in der Rundplastik der ägyptischen Spätzeit* (Glückstadt–Hamburg, 1936), 42, no. 100 (British Museum EA 289); British Museum EA 65443 (unpublished).

<sup>9</sup> *ESLP*, 149. Other examples: Borchardt, *op. cit.* no. 715; el-Sayed, *Bulletin du centenaire IFAO* (Cairo, 1981), 313–23 (Cairo CG 688).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Berlin 10192 and Louvre A.93 (n.5 above); E. Bresciani, *SCO* 16 (1967), 273–9 (Cairo T. 27.11.58.8); H. De Meulenaere, in *Artibus Aegypti*, ed. H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme (Brussels, 1983), 35–43 (British Museum EA 511).

<sup>11</sup> *ESLP*, 76–7 no. 64.

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Mr Richard Fazzini, Curator of the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art at the Brooklyn Museum, and Ms Gail Joice, Registrar, Seattle Art Museum, for supplying photographs of the objects and for their respective permission to publish them here.

Description: Bronze statuette of Thoth, seated on a throne, his feet resting on a footstool. The god wears an *atef*-crown, a kilt and a *wsh*-collar, armlets and wide bracelets. His clenched fists are pierced to hold a staff or emblem. The throne is decorated with feather patterns on the sides and back. The representation of the fabric cover over its back is decorated with lotus patterns. All four sides of the base are chased with hieroglyphs.<sup>2</sup> Two depressions and holes before the god's footstool allowed for the attachment of another figure, most likely a small figure of a devotee. Such compositions which depict a petitioner before Thoth<sup>3</sup> are perhaps to be related to the role Thoth plays as the recorder at the weighing of the heart.<sup>4</sup>

Inscription: (front) *dd mdw in Dhwtw rwy nb Hmnw di* (right) *nh wdj snb hrw qrw irw r nfr (n) iry-r n Dhwtw rwy nb Hmnw Dd-* (back) *hr s3 hry rwy s2-3-nw* (left) *n Dhwtw rwy nb Hmnw Ns-Dhwtw ir (n) nb (t) pr 'Irt-irw*.

'Words said by Thoth, Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis; "May life, prosperity and health, a long life and a good and great old age be given (to) the doorkeeper of Thoth, Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis, Djedhor, son of the Overseer of the Doors of the Third Phyle of Thoth, Twice Great, Lord of Hermopolis, Nesdjehuty, born of Irtiru"'.<sup>5</sup>

*Brooklyn Museum no. 52.73 (pl. XXXVIII, 1)*

Height: 36.5 cm. Width of disk: 19.4 cm; height of disk: 17.5 cm. Provenance: reportedly Tuna el Gebel. Bibliography: J. Cooney, *Five Years of Collecting Egyptian Art* (Brooklyn, 1956), no. 58, pls. 80-1; P. Munro, *ZAS* 95 (1969), 107, no. 76; *ILN* 10 (1953), 562; N. Katan, *Hieroglyphs: The Writing of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1982), 11.

Description: Bronze votive mirror attached to a wooden handle which is decorated with a representation of the head of Hathor. The disk is incised with a depiction of Thoth facing Maat. Thoth is dressed in a kilt with a bull's tail. He offers a *nb*-basket topped with an *nh* flanked by *wss*-signs to the goddess. Maat wears her characteristic single feather and a tight-fitting dress. She holds a flower-topped staff in her right hand while her left hand, grasping an *nh*, is at her side. Both figures stand on a base line, below which the disk is undecorated. The inscription incised around the margin of the disk is the same as that on the base of the Seattle statuette.

The arrangement of the text upon the mirror and statuette provides the first clue as to their relationship. The text on the statuette base begins on the front with the words *dd mdw in*. The recitation continues on the remaining three surfaces of the base, running in a logical progression from one to the next. This allows the name of the deity to be placed directly at the centre of the front, where it functions as a caption for the god to whom the inscription refers.<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to this conventional arrangement, the placement of the text on the mirror has no precedent. Inscriptions on most Late Period mirrors appear as two horizontal lines written right to left below the representation in the centre of the disk.<sup>6</sup> This text area in the lower quadrant of the

<sup>2</sup>I would like to thank Mrs Patricia Tuttle-Leavengood of Art Conservation Services, Seattle, for determining the technique employed for incising the inscription.

<sup>3</sup>For other examples of Ptolemaic bronzes composed of a petitioner before the god, see D. Wildung, S. Schoske *et al.* *Entdeckungen: Ägyptische Kunst in Süddeutschland* (Mainz, 1985), no. 113. For an example from the Late Period, Kestner-Museum, no. 1957.83, in E. Brunner-Traut, H. Brunner and J. Zick-Nissen, *Osiris Kreuz und Halbmond* (Mainz, 1984), no. 20. This genre of petitioner before Thoth may be derived from the vignette of BD Spell 183. A related type of statue depicts a seated scribe before Thoth: cf. W. H. Peck, *JEA* 64 (1978), pls. xii, xiii and C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1951), no. 138.

<sup>4</sup>P. Boylan, *Thoth: The Hermes of Egypt* (London, 1922), 57 no. 2, 136-41; C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1976), 147-54.

<sup>5</sup>For other such examples, Bernard Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period* (Brooklyn, 1960), fig. 89; and *idem*, 69 for the placement of the name of the person who commissioned the statue.

<sup>6</sup>An example from Dendera (Cairo JE46374, unpublished) is inscribed in four short vertical registers which are placed to the left of the central decorative motif.

disk is demarcated by the base line of the representation.<sup>7</sup> In contrast, on the Brooklyn example this lower quadrant is blank, and the inscription is incised around the outer margin of the mirror.

The Brooklyn inscription starts, not with the recitation of Thoth, but with the second element (*hr*) of the personal name Djedhor. The last signs of the text are *Dd*, thereby splitting the name between what was apparently perceived as the beginning and end of the inscription. The phrase *dd mdw in*, conventionally the beginning of a dedication inscription, is on the upper left of the mirror's arc in the middle of the text. Although one might argue that the opening lines of Thoth's recitation were so placed to be in more direct relationship to his representation, the division of the personal name Djedhor between the beginning and end of the text is most unusual. Both features suggest that the artisan had no understanding of the meaning of the inscription.

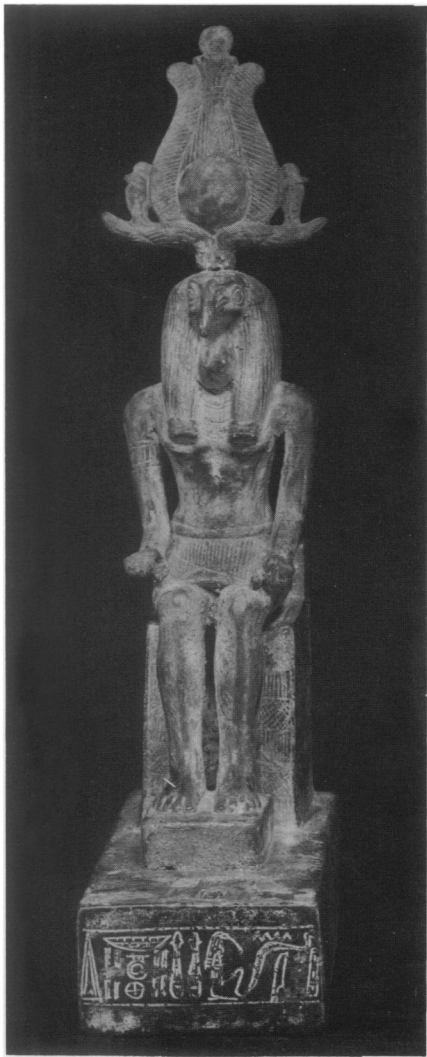
The incongruous position of the mirror text can be explained by the fact that the *hr*-sign of Djedhor, which begins the Brooklyn inscription, is the first sign on the back of the Seattle statuette. Apparently, the inscription on the mirror was copied from the Seattle object, starting from the back! The epigraphic evidence supports the suggestion that the mirror inscription was copied from the Thoth statuette. The Seattle text consistently displays more detail in the form of the signs. For example, the door-leaves in the title *hry rwy* are incised with the representation of wooden planks, while the mirror shows only the bare outline. The writing of *Dhwty* on the Thoth statue is well-formed and detailed, whereas on the mirror it is poorly proportioned. So too, the different treatment of the head and facial features of the female determinative following the personal name Irtiru, the cross-hatching on the *nb*-baskets and the detail of the flail on the determinative for *Ns-Dhwty* all indicate an awareness of what objects the signs on the Seattle statuette represented.

The text on the mirror, on the other hand, contains mistakes which must be attributed to a complete lack of understanding of the form of certain signs. This is clearest in the non-differentiation of similar-shaped signs, such as *hr* in the personal name *Dd-hr*, and *s* in 'phyle'. On the mirror, the two signs are indistinguishable, while on the Seattle piece, the *hr* clearly has facial features and is followed by a stroke determinative. Tall tapered signs on the mirror tend to assume similar forms. The *mdw* in *dd mdw* is represented with spurious spikes and a flattened top more like the second *r* in the following title *rwy nb Hmnw*, rather than the characteristic inverted teardrop shape found on the statuette. On the Seattle object, the door bolt *s*-sign in the personal name *Ns-Dhwty* is quite recognizable. On the mirror, the indication of the bolt is missing from the bottom of the sign, and the hieroglyph assumes the form of a truncated *htp* rather than the alphabetic *s*.

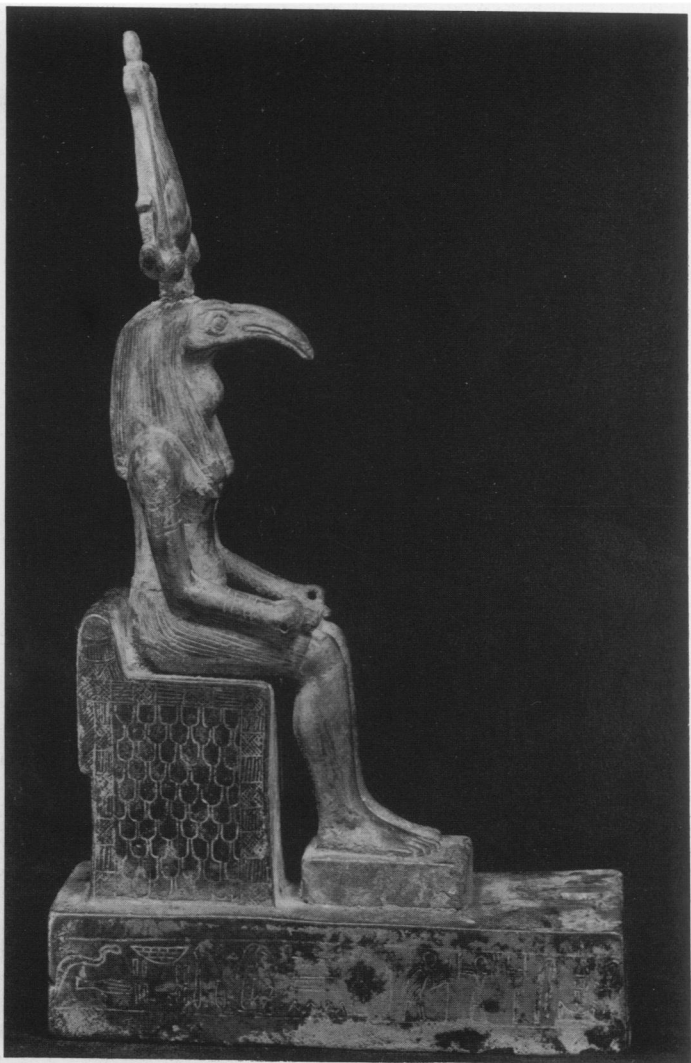
Additional suspicions regarding the antiquity of the Brooklyn text are raised by its reproduction of epigraphic irregularities on the statuette. For example, the determinative of the personal name Irtiru occurs on both items in a block shape, decorated identically with an unusual motif of two crossed lines and dots. However, the statuette shows considerably more detail in the form of the woman's face and headband. Two variations in the writing of *nb Hmnw* on the statuette occur in exactly the same form and order on the mirror. So, too, the transposition of *Dhwty* and the genitive *n* in the title *hry rwy s-3-nw n Dhwty rwy* is seen in both versions of the inscription, while the title of Djedhor, *iry-r n Dhwty* is written in both without transposition.

A comparison of the iconography of the statuette and its relationship to the shared text also casts suspicion upon the authenticity of the mirror's decoration. As noted, socket holes before the figure of Thoth indicate that the statuette may have originally included a small figure of Djedhor before the god. Such an arrangement would create a reasonable correspondence between the inscription and the form of the object. The composition would depict the dedicator before the god, who intones wishes for his health and long life. Thoth may once have held emblems for 'life' in his clenched hands. In contrast, the text of the mirror does not correspond in any way to the scene it accompanies. The appearance of Maat in the representation is especially inappropriate since the

<sup>7</sup> See Munro, *ZAS* 95, pls. ii-ix wherein all the inscribed examples from the *Catalogue générale* (G. Bénédite, *Miroirs CG 44001-44102* (Cairo, 1907) are reproduced. For other examples of mirrors, cf. J. Vandier, *Catalogue des objets de toilette égyptiens* (Paris, 1972), 167 ff.; C. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors* (Munich, 1979); *Egypt's Golden Age* (Boston, 1982), 184-92.



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2.

Seattle Art Museum 55.164

TWO OBJECTS INSCRIBED FOR DJEDHOR (pp. 202-5)



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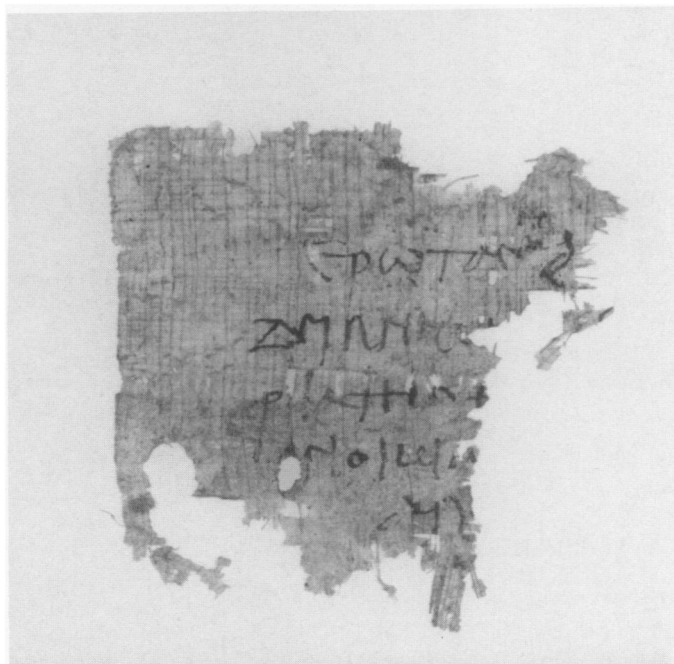
2.

Seattle Art Museum 55.164

TWO OBJECTS INSCRIBED FOR DJEDHOR (pp. 202-5)



1. Brooklyn Museum 52.73 (*courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum*)  
TWO OBJECTS INSCRIBED FOR DJEDHOR (pp. 202-5)



2. P. Land. Inv. 3078

P. LOND. INV. 3078 REAPPRAISED (pp. 206-7)

text contains no reference to her, and she is not traditionally associated with mirrors.<sup>8</sup> Although Maat and Thoth are associated with each other in various contexts, most notably the judgement of the deceased,<sup>9</sup> a representation of Thoth offering to Maat presents theological difficulties. The primary function of offering scenes is to demonstrate the piety of the donor toward the recipient. Thus, with few exceptions,<sup>10</sup> offering scenes are composed of the king or a private individual who offers to divine recipients.

One exception occurs in the funerary context with the interaction of the gods and the deceased associated with Osiris. In this divine form, the deceased as Osiris serves as the recipient of provisions or boons offered by deities. Hence, 'I (Thoth) have come to you (Osiris), bearing the amulet which is in my hand, my protection for the daily course. Protection and life are about him, namely this god who guards his *ka*'.<sup>11</sup> The vignette of spell 183 in P.BM 9901/2 (Book of the Dead of Hunefer) is remarkably similar to the figure of Thoth on the mirror.<sup>12</sup> In both cases Thoth holds a *nb* which supports *ws*- and *nh*-signs. However, only in the context of the Book of the Dead does the representation make sense, for there Thoth may offer life and dominion to the deceased as Osiris. The composition of Thoth offering life and dominion to Maat has no such theological basis.

This suggests that the Thoth-Maat scene may be a modern pastiche. The similarity of the form of Thoth to the vignette in Hunefer's Book of the Dead raises the possibility that the god's representation is based upon a publication which reproduced that figure. Indeed, although this type of representation of Thoth is not common, the vignette from the papyrus of Hunefer has been reproduced several times, giving the impression that it is a common theme.<sup>13</sup> A very likely source of the representation of Thoth is Budge's *Gods of the Egyptians*, which is one of the most widely available books with illustrations of Egyptian deities.<sup>14</sup> That publication has three full-page depictions of Thoth,<sup>15</sup> one of which is a reproduction from the papyrus of Hunefer closely corresponding to the Brooklyn representation. The figure of Maat may also have been copied from the same publication, for the single plate of Maat in Budge's book very closely resembles the goddess' representation on the mirror.<sup>16</sup>

Why was Maat paired with Thoth? I suspect that the artist who incised the face of the mirror took his inspiration from the Seattle statuette. As shown by the holes in the platform before Thoth, a second figure is missing from the object. Thoth in bird form is not uncommonly paired with Maat or with figures wearing Maat feathers, who are depicted seated on the platform below the god.<sup>17</sup> What was not apparent to the artist, however, is that this type of statue has nothing to do with offering, but rather reflects the theological association between the two deities. In summary, it is highly probable that the decoration and text of the Brooklyn mirror is a modern pastiche which has gone undetected for three decades.

EMILY TEETER

<sup>8</sup> See the comments of Munro, *ZÄS* 95, 106-7, for the association of Hathor and Mut with mirrors. Note also his suggestion that Maat's role in the composition is related to fertility.

<sup>9</sup> For this association in the New Kingdom, Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 139-54; Boylan, *Thoth*, 136-41; C. J. Bleeker, *Hathor and Thoth* (Leiden, 1973), 145-50.

<sup>10</sup> E. Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, 1 (London, 1895), pl. v, where Re-Horakhty offers life to Amon.

<sup>11</sup> Spell 182. Translation from R. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1985), 181.

<sup>12</sup> Most conveniently, Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 178.

<sup>13</sup> See for example the cover of Boylan, *Thoth*.

<sup>14</sup> E. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, originally published in 1904 in Chicago and London.

<sup>15</sup> Opposite p. 400, Thoth seated on a throne; opposite p. 408, Thoth standing as he offers *nb* with *nh* flanked by *ws*. The third plate appears at the end of volume 2 and is a vignette of Spell 125.

<sup>16</sup> Budge, *Gods*, pl. opp. p. 419. The figure has been reversed to face Thoth.

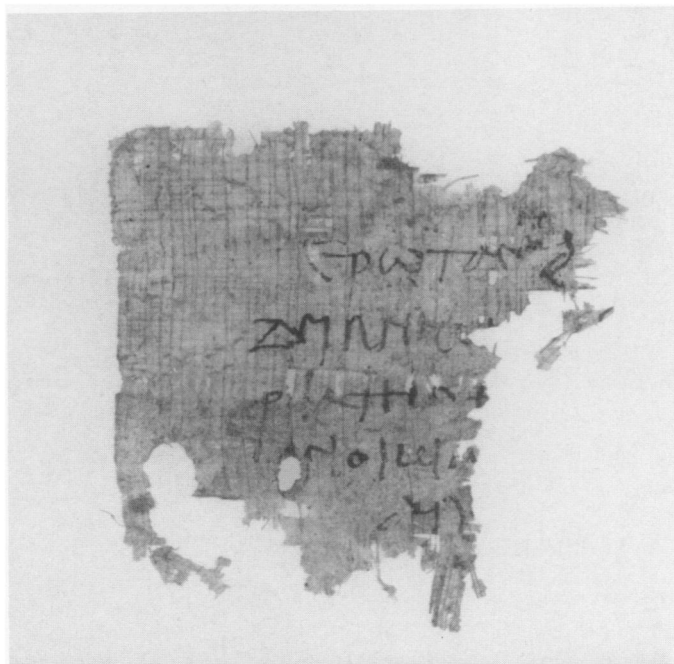
<sup>17</sup> G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewecke* (Glückstadt, 1937), pls. 37a,b,c; Kestner-Museum, Hannover no. 1957.83 in Brunner-Traut *et al.*, *Osiris Kreuz und Halbmond*, no. 20.







1. Brooklyn Museum 52.73 (*courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum*)  
TWO OBJECTS INSCRIBED FOR DJEDHOR (pp. 202-5)



2. P. Land. Inv. 3078

P. LOND. INV. 3078 REAPPRAISED (pp. 206-7)

*Θεραπευτήρια* was just such a liminal event for girls. P.Lond.Inv. 3078 would, I believe, make much more sense if *Θεραπευτήρια* was restored in the gap at the end of line 2. The Therapeuteria was definitely a festival for girls and could take place in a private home, whereas there is no evidence that either was true of the *Μελλοκούρια*.

DOMINIC MONTSERRAT

### **Black pigment from the Hall of Barques in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos: additional comments**

An amplification and a correction to the presentation of the black pigment in *JEA* 75 (1989), 13–30. The material is probably not as unusual as was claimed there.

IN the previous issue of this journal, the results of the analysis of a black pigment from the Hall of Barques in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos were presented and discussed.<sup>1</sup> The identification of the pigmenting phases was based mainly upon the ferruginous nature (determined by X-ray fluorescence analysis, XRF) and upon the results of X-ray diffraction (XRD) analysis. The XRD results were not definitive, but nevertheless goethite, iron spinel, greigite and an amphibole of the glaucophane/riebeckite group—presented in the article mainly in terms of their chemical formulae rather than by name—were suggested as possible pigmenting phases. It was also noted that carbon might, at least in part, have been responsible for the black colour. Following upon comments by E. J. W. Whittaker,<sup>2</sup> the analytical data have been re-examined, and in the light of this further consideration some clarification and amplification of the original report is appropriate.

As was originally implied, the identification of the black pigment was uncertain; in particular, the identification of an amphibole would not be compatible with the reported amorphous nature of the pigment and is not fully supported by the data. Furthermore, when crushed, amphibole minerals normally break down into prismatic/fibrous particles, as observed for example by Profi *et al.* in the examination of blue pigments, identified as glaucophane, from Knossos.<sup>3</sup> Prismatic particles were not observed on the samples from the Hall of Barques, and it seems that an amphibole such as glaucophane/riebeckite was *not* present. Rather, the black colour is probably attributable to carbon black; as noted in the original report, carbon was in fact detected by energy-dispersive X-ray analysis using an ultra-thin window (in this test Na, an essential component of riebeckite, was not detected). An admixture of iron oxide is entirely possible. Therefore the black pigment, like the others used in the Hall of Barques, would after all appear to be fairly commonplace. It may be only in part a natural mineral. The source of the iron oxide remains uncertain, and the reason for the loss of adhesion of the underlying thin plaster layer bearing the black pigment has not been established.

It follows from what is said here that the original discussion of the possible significance of a rare black pigment in the temple, for which the parallel of the use of orpiment and realgar was cited, is in all probability largely invalid. Although the paintings in the Hall of Barques are unusual in their range of colours and in the provisional nature of their execution in preparation for later carving, the pigments themselves seem to give no special clue to their status as works of art.

JOHN BAINES, JULIAN HENDERSON *and* ANDREW MIDDLETON

<sup>1</sup> J. Baines, with R. L. Jaeschke and J. Henderson, *JEA* 75 (1989), 13–30, esp. pp. 24, 29–30.

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication with the authors, for which we are most grateful.

<sup>3</sup> S. Profi, L. Weir and S. E. Filippakis, *Studies in Conservation* 21 (1976), 34–9.

## REVIEWS

*Grundzüge einer Geschichte der altägyptischen Literatur.* By HELLMUT BRUNNER. 4th, revised and enlarged edition. Grundzüge 8. 215 × 135 mm. Pp. xi + 116. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986. ISBN 3 534 04100 3; ISSN 0533 344X. Price DM 29.

This is a new version of one of the most useful surveys of Egyptian literature. The text has been thoroughly revised and the author takes into account both recent discussion and newly published texts, such as G. Posener, *Le papyrus Vandier* (Cairo, 1985). Because of the continuing extension of the corpus of literary texts and the recovery of more and more categories and genres, it becomes increasingly difficult to survey the material within the available space. Brunner succeeds in including a remarkable range of texts, particularly from the New Kingdom, but there is little discussion of the definition of literature, and finds like that of the Ramesseum papyri, which favour an extended understanding of the type he implicitly adopts, are not cited. In general, the position and function of literature in society are not analysed.

Brunner considers that genres are not sufficiently understood for a survey to be organized around them; instead he reviews the material by period, in chapters on the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom, and Late Period. The chapter on the New Kingdom is the widest ranging and the most generally useful, although the problem of evaluation (see below) clouds some discussions. Perhaps because the text is addressed to a general public as well as those in the field, several 'firsts' in world literature are mentioned. These leave the Egyptologist rather uneasy, because most genres of Egyptian literature must cede primacy to Mesopotamia, and in any case, chronological priority has little significance.

The results of the book's revision are rather uneven, because new ideas and material are incorporated within a scheme which is not greatly modified. The author aims to provide a personal conspectus of well-established ideas, but much of the framework for understanding and classifying Egyptian literature is in dispute, and it would have been advantageous to reflect such disputes more fully. The possibility that there might be no *belles-lettres* from the Old Kingdom is only alluded to, and even the 'Memphite Theology', which is now generally thought to be a later composition, is discussed, with reservations, in the Old Kingdom chapter. Proposed later dates for many texts ascribed to the First Intermediate Period are dismissed in a footnote.

Brunner adopts the reading of Egyptian texts in 'thought couplets' proposed by John L. Foster, but does not quite follow the consequences of this through. In particular, he discusses some works as 'prose' and others as 'verse', although there is little formally different between them; it is as if 'verse' were an evaluative term. There is no mention of Gerhard Fecht's theory of Egyptian metre, which has been widely accepted, can encompass Foster's approach, and produces more unified readings of texts between passages Brunner characterizes as alternating 'prose' and 'verse'. Here, the book is not fully consistent, because New Kingdom hymns are said to require analysis of metre, a feature which is not otherwise mentioned.

The lack of theoretical discussion means that evaluations, which Brunner gives for many works, lack methodological underpinning and at times appear almost snobbish, implying that products of 'high culture' are intrinsically superior to others. Is a text good simply because the author likes it? It may be nearly impossible or meaningless to make more disciplined evaluations, but what Brunner offers is limited by their absence to being the assessment of a highly experienced and knowledgeable reader, not something open to discussion. All Egyptian literature derives from the elite, as is shown by its being written down for the small group of the literate. If there are none the less 'folk' elements or texts, these must be assessed within the elite context. Brunner also seems to use tacit criteria of 'good taste': texts and episodes with sexually deviant content, such as the homosexual episode in 'Horus and Seth' and the story of Neckerkare and Sisene, are not

mentioned; in the former case, this involves omitting from the discussion the motif's attestation in the Pyramid Texts.

A difficulty with presentation in a book of this sort is that much space is taken up with summarizing texts. This is extremely well done, with summary and interpretation going hand in hand, but a more eloquent method would be to give the texts themselves and a commentary on them. The three volumes of Miriam Lichtheim's *Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Berkeley etc., 1973-80) do this, and contain as much literary discussion in their introductions as Brunner's work, while incorporating a rather more sophisticated literary perspective and remaining accessible to non-specialists (Brunner refers throughout to Lichtheim). His book contains some remarkably sensitive readings of texts and is useful in particular for the very wide range of material reviewed, but, as the author is well aware, a reading of it is no substitute for contact with the texts themselves. Within its small compass, however, it is a most valuable introduction; this thoroughly revised edition ensures that it will serve in this way for many years.

JOHN BAINES

*Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books. A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History.* By DONALD B. REDFORD. SSEA Publication IV. Pp. xxii + 352. Mississauga, Benben Publications, 1986. Price not stated.

Ce livre me semble important; il contient de très nombreuses et précieuses informations et de fines discussions sur des problèmes essentiels de l'histoire d'Égypte; en bref: des faits et des idées. Le livre est triple bien que les neuf chapitres se suivent sans hiérarchie apparente. Dans les trois premiers chapitres, l'auteur étudie les divers documents par lesquels les Égyptiens conservaient trace de leur histoire: listes royales, annales (*gnwt*) et journaux (au sens ancien du mot: 'day-book', *hrwyt*); les chapitres 4-6 correspondent au sous-titre: l'étude du sens historique des Égyptiens aux diverses époques de leur histoire, sens dont l'évolution se perçoit notamment dans le type de document créé à chaque période et dans la nature de ceux que chaque époque avait à sa disposition. Comme Manéthon est assurément le plus important témoin de la dernière 'école' historique égyptienne, l'auteur, après avoir examiné son rôle, ses sources et ses méthodes à la fin de cette deuxième partie, consacre les trois derniers chapitres à analyser les trois livres des *Aegyptiaca* du prêtre égyptien, dans la mesure où on peut s'en faire une idée d'après ses lecteurs antiques. Le tout se termine par de brèves conclusions (pp. 333-7), trop brèves pour donner une juste idée du livre et dont le schématisme dogmatique déçoit après 332 pages d'un exposé si riche et nuancé.

L'auteur a une longue expérience du sujet (rappelons son *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* de 1967), ce qui se révèle par une grande maîtrise de la documentation et de la bibliographie pour toutes les périodes de l'histoire et par une étourdissante érudition. On lui reprochera toutefois de citer abondamment des ouvrages de valeur très inégale sans avertir le lecteur que certains de ces écrits sont très bons et d'autres franchement mauvais, voire dangereux. La première partie m'a paru la plus directement utile et sans doute la plus solide; l'auteur y rassemble et décrit toutes les 'listes royales' possibles, même si elles ne comportent que trois ou quatre noms; l'énumération, qui se veut exhaustive, surprend par la quantité. On connaît habituellement les grandes listes d'Abydos et de Saqqara, le Papyrus de Turin, quelques tombes thébaines; mais l'auteur aligne ici une soixantaine de monuments. Au seul Papyrus de Turin il consacre 17 pages! Pour l'usage des *gnwt*, 'annales', il donne 114 attestations. Pour chaque catégorie de documents, il cherche la définition et le terme ancien exact. Comme il l'explique clairement dans son introduction (p. xiii), Redford ne s'occupe pas ici de l'histoire d'Égypte telle que nous souhaiterions l'écrire aujourd'hui, mais de celle que les Égyptiens eux-mêmes avaient commencé à écrire; il traite donc du type de documents qu'ils établissaient pour conserver leur passé et même leur présent, des raisons de leur choix et de leurs méthodes, et de leur prise de conscience de la notion d'histoire et de passé à ne pas oublier; il aborde aussi les 'idées fixes' qui faussent à notre point de vue leur façon de rédiger l'histoire. Cette réflexion sur la naissance et l'évolution du sens historique constitue donc en fait la 2e partie du livre, passionnante, mais moins

sûre que la première puisqu'elle tente de reconstituer les *intentions* des anciens. La 3e partie est la plus hypothétique: l'auteur veut retrouver le Manéthon originel, et expliquer les nombreuses obscurités des versions qui nous en conservent le reflet. Les suggestions de l'auteur, généralement indémonstrables, sont souvent peu satisfaisantes, mais il n'est pas le premier à s'être embourbé dans ce dossier malgré tout précieux.

Il est inutile d'aller plus loin dans l'analyse du livre, car, malgré la dernière remarque, tout m'y semble important. Toutefois, le chercheur qui voudra s'en faire une idée plus précise devra tout lire. La table des matières, en effet, réduite aux titres des neuf chapitres, est ridiculement insuffisante: elle aurait dû être analytique et donner non seulement les divisions des chapitres, mais aussi la liste des principaux documents étudiés, le tout aurait demandé au moins 6 pages. Cette liste de documents dans l'ordre de leur étude était d'autant plus nécessaire qu'il n'y a pas d'index des sources citées, ce que ne compensent pas les index—non exhaustifs—des sujets (comprenant notamment les noms propres de personnages et de sites), des mots égyptiens, démotiques, grecs et accadiens. Autres aspects négatifs: si la langue de l'auteur m'a paru riche et châtiée, avec un curieux mélange d'archaïsmes et de néologismes, il y a eu par ailleurs une certaine négligence dans la correction des épreuves et trop de fautes d'orthographe dans les mots *en langue étrangère*—français, allemand, grec—dans la liste des abréviations (cf. par exemple p. x: *MDAIK*), la bibliographie ou même les notes; écrire 14 fois 'résumée' pour 'résumé' témoigne d'une belle conviction; p. 139, *Urk.* 1, 131: c'est 'au temps d'Isès' et non de Sahouré, qu'il faut lire; p. 142 n.60, il faut lire p. 24 et non 28, etc.

Toutefois, la complexité du livre et son intérêt considérable invitent à l'indulgence. L'auteur a un remarquable esprit de synthèse, maîtrise bien cette immense documentation; à tout moment, son but est de *comprendre* la pensée historique des anciens et il le fait avec finesse et bonheur. C'est un livre qui restera longtemps essentiel.

CLAUDE VANDERSLEYEN

*The Birds of Ancient Egypt.* By PATRICK F. HOULIHAN, with the collaboration of STEVEN M. GOODMAN. 310 × 210 mm. Pp. xxx + 191, figs. 199, 1 colour pl. Warminster, Aris and Phillips Ltd., 1986. ISBN 0 85668 283 7. Price £35.

A reference work on the birds of ancient Egypt has long been needed and so the appearance of this book is extremely welcome. The stated aim is to provide a systematic study of birds as depicted in ancient Egypt, which includes examining their role in Egyptian life and trying to establish their distribution in antiquity.

The main portion is taken up with a catalogue of birds identified by the authors from representational art, both relief and painting, and from hieroglyphs, and it deals with each species individually. 73 'birds' are covered (no. 73 is in fact a bat, which the ancient Egyptians seem to have regarded as a type of bird). Two appendices provide a list of species identified from mummified remains and a checklist of birds seen in modern Egypt. The book is provided with many illustrations and is relatively easy to use. Two indexes are provided, one using scientific names and one using English names. A third index devoted to subjects would have been appreciated, since several entries contain interesting references, for example, to trapping techniques or the use of a bird's eggs. More systematic cross-referencing between the catalogue of ancient birds and the checklist of modern ones might also have been useful. Each entry in the catalogue gives the name of the bird in English with its scientific name in parentheses. This is followed by an identification section and distribution notes describing the regions in which the bird has been found, with notes on any changes since antiquity and, in the case of a species now extinct in Egypt, the date of the last sightings of the bird. Then follows a section of comments on the various representations with remarks about the contexts in which they appear.

The identification section of each entry describes features of a particular representation which allow it to be identified as the species in question, rather than all the diagnostic features of the bird in question. One of the most noticeable examples is the glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*) (no. 14); the

identification features given are the 'immediately apparent long slender sickle-shaped bill, the long legs and slightly curved neck, and the diagnostic delineation of the iridescent gloss on the "shoulder" (upper back and upper wing coverts)'. However, it does not include the feature which most strikingly differentiates it from the sacred ibis, namely, its very dark brownish-green, almost black, colour. The reason for this is that the identification features given are those of the first depiction dealt with in this entry, which is an unpainted hieroglyph from the mastaba of Kagemni (fig. 32). It might have been helpful in each case to provide an illustration of the bird in nature, either photograph or drawing, so that one could compare this with the Egyptian representations.

The comments section of each entry generally begins with a discussion of a characteristic depiction, which can sometimes lead to chronological confusion. For example, the entry on the green-winged teal (*Anas crecca*) (no. 35) deals firstly with an Eighteenth Dynasty depiction from the tomb of Kenamun (TT 93); this is followed by a discussion of the Twelfth Dynasty examples from the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Beni Hasan. The section generally contains some very interesting remarks about the contexts in which they appear. The observation that modern Egyptian fowling in the Delta were, certainly in the early part of this century, using live herons as decoys, and the quotation from Markham's book on fowling methods on p. 15, lend very strong weight to the suggestion that herons, as well as other birds, were used in this way in ancient times. The illustration of the bittern tethered to a post, in fig. 25, is extremely illuminating in this respect.


In general the illustrations are good, and it is unfortunate that the labels for figs. 102 and 103 on p. 73 have been reversed. A more minor problem with a figure, this time a problem of interpretation, is in the understanding of a scene from the tomb of Nakht, fig. 110 on p. 78, 'showing ducks being plucked, drawn and hung up to dry before they are placed in the tall jars'. In fact, the amphorae are almost certainly not intended to represent the future storage of the ducks, since it would be virtually impossible to retrieve the birds without breaking the jars. More difficult to accept is the poor reproduction of the photographs of the birds depicted in Baket's tomb at Beni Hassan. In several cases it is virtually impossible to see the bird, for example, fig. 23 of the night heron (*Nycticorax nycticorax*) and particularly fig. 142 of the avocet (*Recurvirostra avosetta*). Surely it would have been better to use line drawings here, since these representations are extremely important in the identification of birds in ancient Egyptian art. In the case of the black stork (*Ciconia nigra*) (no. 11) it is extremely unfortunate that the illustration is not clearer, since this is the only evidence the authors provide for its existence in ancient Egypt. However, the book as a whole is well illustrated, particularly in view of the cost of reproducing photographs, a problem familiar to Egyptologists.

Since it is beyond the limitations of space to give a critique of each of the 73 entries in the book, a selection, intended to be representative, will be considered individually. The bird which springs most readily to mind in connection with ancient Egypt is the sacred ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopicus*), dealt with in no. 15. It begins with a consideration of a very lifelike representation of the bird from the tomb of Khnumhotep III at Beni Hasan. This is followed by a discussion of earlier depictions of the species, the earliest identified being a Fourth Dynasty hieroglyph. This is combined with a brief habitat description. The entry continues by describing the bird's association with the god Thoth and the numerous examples of statuary of different sizes deriving from the veneration of the sacred ibis. The development of this veneration into the phenomenon of mass mummification and burial of ibises in the sacred animal necropoleis in Egypt is discussed and an interesting feature of this is brought out, namely, that not only the sacred ibis, but also the glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*), was treated in this way. Whether this suggests that the ancient Egyptians did not differentiate between the two, or whether it simply reflects a lack of care on their part, is not discussed. The entry concludes with a description of the breeding of birds, including ibises, in captivity and an examination of the possibility of the disappearance of the sacred ibis as a result of the mass burials of birds sacred to Thoth. In this context, it may be worth reporting that the sacred ibis was sighted in Middle Egypt by a Royal Society for the Protection of Birds group in June 1987.

The god Horus appears so frequently in depictions as a species of raptor that the identification of this species has for a long time been a vexed question. No. 25 deals with the 'Horus Falcon' and, as may be guessed from this, the author has not been able to provide any more specific identification. After listing the various proposals suggested by previous authors on the subject, it is


concluded that 'it is not possible to specify which species of falcon the bird of Horus was derived from, as it was probably influenced by several varieties of large falcon occurring in Egypt'. The entry continues with an overview of different representations of the 'Horus Falcon', including the earliest depictions from Predynastic slate palettes and mace-heads. This is followed by a description of the mummification and burial of falcons in a similar fashion to ibises. It would have been instructive to include here a discussion of the species identified from falcon mummies, since this might have shed some light on which falcon the ancient Egyptians most closely associated with the god Horus. In fact, it appears from the comments section of the previous entry that the kestrel appeared most frequently in falcon burials. This suggests that the distinction between nos. 24 (lesser kestrel or kestrel) and 25 ('Horus Falcon') is problematic. The final suggestion that 'there is some evidence, though very limited, for the practice of falconry in ancient Egypt' is rather tantalizing, and a discussion of this subject would have been helpful.

One of the best entries is that on the red junglefowl (*Gallus gallus*) (no. 40). This starts with the first unequivocal evidence for the presence of this bird in Egypt, a figured ostrakon from the Valley of the Kings, and currently believed to date to the Nineteenth Dynasty. Evidence that the junglefowl may have been known in Egypt before that date (a graffito from Medamud attributed by its excavator to the Middle Kingdom, and a reference from the Annals of Tuthmosis III to birds which lay daily), is treated sceptically. The date of the graffito is certainly open to question and the species of bird referred to in the Annals is not clear; yet both need not be dismissed out of hand simply because the junglefowl is not certainly depicted before the Nineteenth Dynasty, especially since Houlihan notes that it appears from textual references that this bird was known in Ur seven centuries before it was first shown in representations there. The entry continues with a chronological study of depictions of the junglefowl with some very well reproduced illustrations. It is noted that the first indication that the bird itself was eaten comes from the Ptolemaic period. It concludes with a well made comparison between Diodorus' account of artificial incubation of eggs and Lane's description of the hatcheries found in Egypt in the eighteenth century.

From the point of view of ease of use, this book is perhaps not as good as one could wish, especially as Egyptologists will probably turn to it as a standard reference work. To illustrate this, one might take a specific case. The hieroglyph  (Gardiner, Sign List G29) is probably known to most Egyptologists as the 'Jabiru'. However, if one consults the list of Contents on p. v, this bird does not appear to have been included in the Catalogue. Turning to the index, one finds a reference to p. 177. Unfortunately, this is the second page of notes to the whole Catalogue and it takes a few minutes to locate the word 'Jabiru' which occurs in n. 119, following which it takes even more time to discover that n. 119 is used in no. 12, the saddlebill stork (*Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*). In fact, the note informs one that the term 'Jabiru' is outdated and this particular species is now called the saddlebill stork. It would surely have been helpful to include this information somewhere in the text of the entry itself, perhaps even in the heading along the lines of '12. Saddlebill Stork (*Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*) (formerly called Jabiru)', particularly since the authors acknowledge in n. 119 that 'Throughout much of the Egyptological literature, the Saddlebill Stork is referred to by an archaic vernacular name "Jabiru".' If the notes had been included in the text as footnotes, rather than endnotes, the index would have referred directly to this page.

The order in which the species are dealt with is somewhat strange. Although the authors admit that the 'systematic order we have adopted is somewhat eclectic' (p. 142), it would have been helpful to explain why it was chosen. Indeed, given the aims of the book as stated in the first paragraph of this review, something in the nature of an introduction would have been welcome, including perhaps a discussion of the contexts in which depictions of birds are found in ancient Egypt, namely hieroglyphs, scenic representations, etc., and a specific discussion of particular important collections of birds, such as Baket III's tomb at Beni Hassan and the 'Botanical Garden' reliefs at Karnak. A good description of the unusual nature of the birds in Baket's tomb is given in the entry for no. 9, the night heron, but it becomes annoying to refer back to this entry rather than a particular section devoted to this subject. It would also have been appreciated if there were a section concerned with the style of depiction of birds by the ancient artists; for example, it is surely instructive that depictions otherwise conforming very well to a particular species are given the wrong colour legs in the case of the spoonbill (*Platalea leucorodia*) (no. 17) and the avocet

(*Recurvirostra avosetta*), and a small spur on the lower part of the legs in the cases of many of the birds depicted in the tomb of Baket III. Another interesting feature is the way in which the artists generally depicted the spoonbill with its head in profile but the beak viewed from above.

The major problem with a work largely concerned with the identification of things from representational art in ancient Egypt is that one must be aware of the dangers inherent in interpreting such depictions too literally. It is imperative to remember that the birds, in this case, depicted in tombs and temples were created by artists, albeit with a keen eye for detail, and not by ancient ornithologists. In drawing the hieroglyph , the Egyptian scribe or artist was concerned to show the letter *m*, rather than to produce an accurate representation of a barn owl or short-eared owl. Perhaps regional differences explain why different birds are chosen for the same hieroglyph. It is clear that the Horus 'falcon' cannot be positively identified as one particular species. It is also clear that the ancient Egyptians did not distinguish between, in this case, individual species of falcon, and similarly perhaps in the case of ibises.

This book, then, is a most welcome and useful reference work in regard to the initial identification of species. However, a little more thought might have been given to layout and presentation, and it seems to the reviewer that a more in-depth study of the role of birds in ancient Egypt is still to be written. The publication of the accompanying lexicographical study (referred to on p. xii) is keenly awaited.

HELEN M. STRUDWICK

*Patterns of Queenship in ancient Egyptian Myth and History.* By LANA TROY. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 14. 265 × 186 mm. Pp. xiv + 236, figs. 104. Uppsala, 1986. ISBN 91 554 1919 4. No price stated.

The mythology of kingship in ancient Egypt has long been a topic for major research. By contrast, studies concerning royal women have tended to concentrate on single themes, such as the position of individual women, the significance of queens' titles or the intricacies of family relationships. There has been no real synthesis of the material concerning royal women in order to define their roles and the underlying concept of queenship, which could then provide a coherent framework for the study of individual aspects of the subject. It is precisely this gap that the author sets out to fill. Her aim is to study the mythological basis underpinning the idea of queenship, in order to give validity and significance to the roles of royal women.

The starting point is the world view of the Egyptians, which conceives the universe in dualistic terms modelled on the relationship between male and female, so that its working can be explained by symbols derived from sexual generation; Troy shows how this pattern of thought is illustrated in Egyptian myths. Within the pre-creation state of chaos both potential male and female exist. The creator god is androgynous but by the act of creation separates male and female, and the subsequent interaction of these two principles represents the generative properties of the cosmos.

The kingship, as a manifestation of the androgynous creator, combines both male and female elements. The female, however, also becomes represented in the role of the royal women, who are thus human counterparts of the feminine aspect of the creator, as much of their iconography and titularies reflect. In myth, the feminine aspect of the creator is identified with Hathor, and there is a close connection between Hathor and royal women; in the Old Kingdom the latter were often priestesses of Hathor. Just as Hathor has a multigenerational relationship with Re as mother, consort and daughter, and as the divine powers of renewal are expressed in the concept of the Kamutef, so the royal women have a multigenerational relationship with the king, as mother, wife and daughter. Cosmically, the process of divine renewal is symbolized by the transition from the role of parent to that of child, the two together forming a sequential duality. Similarly, the duality of mother and daughter is important in the cyclical renewal of kingship. Thus, the concept of queenship is combined in the different generations of royal women, who jointly represent the feminine aspect of kingship and its means of renewal.

There can be no doubt that Troy achieves her aim and provides a convincing mythological framework for the understanding of queenship which must now form the basis for any more



detailed studies. It is a bonus for the reader that she handles the large volume of material with ease, setting out her arguments with extreme clarity. The reader is guided section by section through the often complex concepts involved and, if there is some repetition, this is to be preferred to obscurity. While Troy is to be praised for her approach, by its very nature her study must be general since it utilizes material drawn from a span of almost 3000 years, and it leaves scope for further treatment of individual aspects of queenship and of its changing manifestations at different periods. The same mythological prototype may underlie the queenship from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period, but the forms in which it is expressed change. In many cases, this may parallel changes in the expression and concepts of kingship, and such a possibility still needs to be explored. For instance, increased solarization of the kingship and emphasis on its divine aspect in the Eighteenth Dynasty seem to be reflected in changes in the queen's insignia and role.

A quick survey of queens' titles as listed by Troy (pp. 180-97) shows clear changes in their forms. In the Old Kingdom common titles are *smꜣwt mrꜣj Nbtj*, *ḥt wr*, *ḥt Hr*, *tjst Hr*, *smrt Hr (mrt.f)*, *mꜣst Hr Stš*, but after that period they become rare. The title *ḥnmt nfr ḥdt* comes into use in the Middle Kingdom and dies out with the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Titles which refer to the sistrum or the *šwtj* are not found earlier than the titularies of Nefertiti. Titles of relationship + (n) *nb trwj* come into vogue in the Twenty-first Dynasty. Ptolemaic queens are referred to as *ḥqt*. Royal women who are priestesses of Hathor are common from the Old Kingdom to the Eleventh Dynasty but rare later. In the Old Kingdom royal women are also priestesses in other cults. From the Twelfth Dynasty to the New Kingdom few titles of priestess are found for royal women. By the Third Intermediate Period, however, titles occur relating to the cults of Mut, Amun, Khonsu and Horus, including that of priestess. During the New Kingdom, when royal women are rarely priestess, a number are god's wife (of Amun), a priestly office which, especially in the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, had great significance. In the Twenty-second through Twenty-sixth Dynasties, this office again became important, but now the holder was always the daughter of a king who appointed her successor by adoption.

With regard to insignia, the double feathers were not introduced until the Thirteenth Dynasty, the double uraeus in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the sundisk and horns in the reign of Amenhotpe III, while from the Eighteenth Dynasty increasingly complex combinations of insignia developed. Tiye is the first royal woman to be shown actively shaking the sistrum, rather than just carrying it. In the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the uraeus was worn by king's daughters, and Hatshepsut's daughter, Nefrute, is also shown wearing one in almost all representations of her. From the second half of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, the uraeus ceased to be part of the insignia of *syt nsw*, being confined to *ḥmt nsw wrt* and *mwt nsw*, until it was taken over by the divine adoratrices of the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties with their adoption of queenly insignia. Changes such as these now need to be studied in the light of Troy's research.

In addition, once the mythological framework is understood, it is necessary to try to comprehend the actual working of the system in political and historical terms. Because the sources usually record only what fits the Egyptian world view, this may seem an impossible task, but there is enough evidence to suggest, for instance, the occurrence of 'harim' conspiracies relating to the succession. It is known, too, that kings could marry women of non-royal birth, and one cannot help wondering what this meant in terms of political power for their families (Robins, *Wepwawet 2* (Summer, 1986), 13). It is also necessary not to lose sight of the realities of the Egyptian social structure. The exercise of political power was unquestionably in the hands of men, and no amount of stressing the feminine prototype in myth and the part played by women in creation, rebirth and regeneration can hide this fact. Thus, on an ideological level one can in theory justify a female king within the framework that Troy has demonstrated (pp. 139-43), but in reality examples of female rule are few and plainly abnormal. I would argue that the androgyny of the creator manifested in the kingship did not in practice make the kingship accessible to women other than in exceptional circumstances. Egyptian society and its administration was dominated by men and this was true also of the office of king. The campaign against Hatshepsut and her monuments after her death may have been precisely because it was not felt right for a woman to be king.

Troy demonstrates the importance of the generational roles of the different female members of the royal family which reflect the female prototype, and rightly stresses that this is something separate from blood relationship, although the two may coincide (p. 109). It is interesting and important to note that these generational roles are not indicated by 'fictitious' titles of relationship;

in other words, titles of relationship for female members of the royal family indicate actual kinship and are not given to accord with their mythical role. This can easily be demonstrated for the Eighteenth Dynasty by an examination of the individual titles *mwꜣt nsw*, *sꜣt nsw* and *snt nsw*. The nine kings from Ahmose to Akhenaton are associated with ten women who have the title *mwꜣt nsw*; of these one is Tetisheri, whom we know from textual evidence was the grandmother of Ahmose and *mwꜣt nsw* of his father. This indicates that the title was given only to the actual mother of the king and not to other women who might be regarded as standing in a maternal relationship to him, as is neatly illustrated by the stela of Thutmose II, where queen Ahmose appears with the king and his *hꜣmt nsw wrꜥt* Hatshepsut (18.12/3). Although she is the 'senior' queen, being the *hꜣmt nsw wrꜥt* of the deceased Thutmose I, she is not the mother of Thutmose II and she is not *mwꜣt nsw*; her titulary is *hꜣmt nsw wrꜥt snt nsw*. *snt nsw* was later altered to *mwꜣt nsw*, presumably when her physical daughter Hatshepsut took the titles of king (Wildung, *Festschrift Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 255–7).

Of the queens of the Eighteenth Dynasty, some are *sꜣt nsw* and some are not; among the latter are Sitioh and Tiye, who are known to be of non-royal parentage. The simplest explanation for this usage is that those who are *sꜣt nsw* are the daughters (or granddaughters?) of kings, while those who lack the title are not. Similarly, some queens are *snt nsw* and some are not. Of those who are, all but one are also *sꜣt nsw*. Clearly *snt nsw* is not the equivalent of *hꜣmt nsw*, since there are some *hꜣmt nsw* who are never *snt nsw*. It is simplest to take this title as literally meaning 'sister of a king', and as a sister of a king would normally also be a daughter of a king, it is not surprising that the two titles go together. In this interpretation of the title, *snt* is understood as 'sister' rather than in the broader meaning of 'collateral', which it has as a free kinship term. This restriction is imposed by the material; if *snt nsw* simply meant a collateral of a king, the title would be much more widely attested.

The one queen who is *snt nsw* but not *sꜣt nsw* is Ahmose *hꜣmt nsw wrꜥt* of Thutmose I (p. 136). Since *snt nsw* is not the equivalent of *hꜣmt nsw*, it is simplest to accept that here it also means 'king's sister'. The lack of the title *sꜣt nsw* rules out a relationship with Amenhotpe I, either as his daughter or as the daughter of king Ahmose. However, if Thutmose himself was of non-royal birth (his mother is not *hꜣmt nsw*) and was appointed as heir by Amenhotpe I, any sister of his would be *snt nsw* but not *sꜣt nsw* (B. Schmitz, *CdE* 53 (1978), 216–18). A working hypothesis would be that, as a private person, Thutmose I was married to Mutnofret, the mother of Amenmose (?), Wadjmose, in whose mortuary chapel her statues were found, and of Thutmose II. He was then appointed to succeed Amenhotpe I and to stress his elevation to the royal sphere, he underwent a kingly type of marriage with his (half-)sister not usually practised by private people. This understanding of *sꜣt nsw* and *snt nsw* requires the *nsw* to refer to different kings, in which case Iaret cannot be both *sꜣt nsw (wrꜥt)* and *snt nsw* in relation to Thutmose IV (pp. 108 and 165). She is likely, therefore, to have been a daughter of Amenhotpe II and a sister of Thutmose IV.

In her work, Troy avoids any real attempt to define what she means by titles and epithets in the context of her material, perhaps because to produce meaningful definitions would be difficult. Theoretically, one might distinguish between 'titles of rank' (e.g. *?jꜣjt-pꜣt*), 'titles of office' (e.g. *hꜣmt nsw wrꜥt*; *hꜣmt nꜣr*) and epithets which describe attributes of queens (e.g. *mꜣht ꜥꜣ m nꜣꜣꜣw*; *wꜣb ꜣwꜣj*; *ꜣnt m ꜣꜣwꜣj*). Since, however, we lack knowledge both of the mechanism used to bestow titles on queens and of the precise significance of many of the units used in their titularies, to attempt to divide these into categories would not only be hard, but could also lead to mistaken assumptions.

On the other hand, the Egyptians' own usage divides these units into two groups: those which can stand alone before a queen's name and those which can only be used in conjunction with other units. In the Eighteenth Dynasty only a small group are commonly used alone, comprising the titles of relationship together with *hꜣmt nꜣr*, *mwꜣt nꜣr* and *nbt ꜣꜣwꜣj*. These titles also form the basic part of a titulary, that is, a string of two or more units, and only exceptionally do queens' titularies lack a title of relationship. Other units are placed before the titles of relationship when they are introduced by *jꜣjt-pꜣt*, or after, when *jꜣjt-pꜣt* is not present. They are seldom placed both before and after. *jꜣjt-pꜣt* introduces units which are often called epithets: *wꜣrꜥt/nbt ꜣꜣꜣꜣwꜣt*; *wꜣrꜥt/nbt jꜣꜣꜣt*; *bnꜣrꜥt/nꜣꜣꜣꜣt/mꜣꜣꜣꜣwꜣt*; *wꜣrꜥt/nbt bnꜣrꜥt*, etc. Clearly, *wꜣrꜥt ꜣꜣꜣꜣwꜣt* and *wꜣrꜥt jꜣꜣꜣt*, the latter first written out in full in the Thirteenth Dynasty, have developed from the Old Kingdom titles *wꜣrꜥt ꜣꜣꜣꜣ(wꜣ)t* and *wꜣrꜥt ꜣꜣꜣꜣt* (pp. 83–8), when the former title is not so frequent as the latter, which it usually follows; in the Eighteenth Dynasty the usual order is *wꜣrꜥt ꜣꜣꜣꜣwꜣt wrꜥt jꜣꜣꜣt*, with *wꜣrꜥt ꜣꜣꜣꜣwꜣt* being the more frequent.

Titles or epithets of this kind are often considered to describe the feminine attributes of the queen, and Troy suggests that *bnrt mrwt* describes the royal women in the 'role of sexual partner of the king' (p. 180). However, we already find units of this type referring to Middle Kingdom officials, where their reference is masculine: *ꜥꜣ/wr/bnr/wšh/nb mrwt*; *nb/ꜥꜣ jmst*; *mn/ꜥꜣ/wr ḥswt* (J. Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie vóór het nieuwe Rijk*, 1, *passim*). Similar groups continue to be used by Eighteenth Dynasty officials (e.g. *Urk.* IV, 438, 8; 993, 13-14; 1428, 12; 1438, 14; 1507, 17). They also occur with kings (e.g. Sinuhe B 65-6; *Urk.* IV, 16, 17; 20, 3; 167, 7; 1540, 12; 1694, 9; 1743), male and female deities (e.g. *Urk.* IV, 482, 6; 580, 16; Cairo CG 20119) and occasionally private women (Cairo CG 20313; 20342, Berlin inv. no. 2297, *Aeg. Inschr.*, II, 6). All the examples show a close connection between the concepts of *ḥswt*, *jmst*, *mrwt* and *bnrt*. Since such groups are not unique to queens but are also used by deities, kings and officials, their meaning with reference to queens should be sought as part of this whole group and not in isolation. They are not exclusively feminine, although some of the attributes as usually translated might seem so to us, and the terms should be regarded as neutral from the point of view of sex. The translations of these titles/epithets present problems because the areas of reference of the concepts *ḥswt*, *jmst*, *mrwt* and *bnrt* have not been generally defined and this is surely something that needs to be explored in the future. However, because they seem to belong together, one may question whether Troy is right to understand *wrt jmst* with reference to royal women as 'great one of the *jmst* sceptre' on the model of *wrt ḥts*, 'great one of the *ḥts* sceptre' (p. 189, B3/9), since it would be hard to reconcile this with the wider use of *jmst*.

The following further comments may be made:

p. 2. I find it odd that Troy regards Sander-Hansen's work as 'a standard reference in this area', since it is in many ways outdated. Apart from subscribing whole-heartedly to the 'heiress' theory, he lists some women as *ḥmt ntr* who did not in fact have the title, while omitting others who we now know used it. Surely the works to consult are those of Gitton, Leclant and Graefe listed in Troy's bibliography (esp. Gitton and Leclant, *LÄ* II, 792-812).

p. 64b. Another scene which might be relevant occurs on a scarab of Amenhotpe III and Tiye (Petrie, *Historical Scarabs*, 1309) and shows the king holding a prisoner by the hair while Tiye stands behind him. Although the king is not actually smiting, this is probably due to lack of space.

p. 85b. With regard to the analogy between the *ankh* and the sistrum, it is interesting to note that although private people rarely hold the *ankh* (Fischer, *ZÄS* 100 (1974), 22-7, esp. p. 26), private women frequently hold the loop sistrum by the loop at the side of their body in the manner of an *ankh*. Royal women, however, are capable of holding the *ankh* itself in this manner, and it is less common for them to hold the loop sistrum.

pp. 97-9. In her section on the *ḥmt ntr*, Troy seems to link the office of *ḥmt ntr* to the role of the *mwꜣt nsw* in the cycle showing the divine birth of the king. This was a view widely held at one time, being simultaneously linked to the 'heiress' theory, which Troy rightly rejects (pp. 103-4). However, in connecting the birth cycle and the *ḥmt ntr* there is a problem: in the two surviving versions of the birth cycle, at Deir el-Bahari and Luxor, neither *mwꜣt nsw* has the title *ḥmt ntr*. Further, the mother of the king, and therefore in this context the consort of Amun, can only be known for certain after her son has succeeded to the throne. Because of the presumably high rate of child mortality, no one could be sure of the succession until it had happened. Certainly, the son of Ahmose and Ahmose Nofretary, shown on the Donation Stela, never ascended the throne.

pp. 97-8. The Donation Stela discussed by Troy in relation to the role of *ḥmt ntr* is of especial interest because it is one of the very few representations in the Eighteenth Dynasty of a *sꜣ nsw* in a ritual context. Otherwise, *sꜣ nsw* appear only on private monuments, either of their own or those belonging to officials. By contrast, *sꜣt nsw* may appear in ritual contexts.

p. 98b. Mutemwiya is not in fact attested with the title *ḥmt ntr*, and the title is correctly not listed for her on p. 165 under 18.33.

p. 107a. Another elaboration of *mwꜣt nsw* occurs in a scene at Deir el-Bahari (Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, I, pl. 13). Here Senisonb, mother of Thutmose I, is given a titulary which clearly ends with a column consisting of the title *ḥnwꜣt trwꜣj* followed by her cartouche. There is a parallel column in front which is damaged. However, the first group consists of the *mwꜣt*-vulture, before which stood *nsw*, the top being just visible as a green stroke. This is clearly followed by the bee of

*bjtj*; the last sign(s) has almost completely vanished. However, one may suggest an original title along the lines of *mwt nsw mwt(?) bjtj*. A similar title may also have been used by Ahmose (Naville, op. cit. II, pl. 48). The first group is somewhat damaged but may have been 'mwt nsw'; it is clearly followed by *mwt bjtj*. On this same page, Troy cites Ahmose as *mwt nsw n nsw bjtj* (C1/4). However, the only reference under C1/4 is to Tuya of the Nineteenth Dynasty, while a reference to Ahmose is found under C1/3 *mwt nsw bjtj*, which indeed occurs on Naville, op. cit. II, pl. 48. pp. 116 and 183. A3/2: *smrwt/yt Nbty mry/t*. Fischer, *JEA* 60 (1974), 94-9, discusses this title and comes to the conclusion that in the Old Kingdom *smrwt mrjj Nbtj* should be translated 'she who joins him who is beloved of the Two Ladies'. The feminine form *mrjtt* does not appear in examples of this date, but only in the Middle Kingdom, and this change suggests a reinterpretation of the title.

p. 126b. Although the double falcon feathers worn by queens and gods and the double ostrich feathers of the king's *stf* crown are distinguished iconographically in the Eighteenth Dynasty, there is written evidence that both may have been called *šwtj*. For instance, in the parallel passages from the two sphinx stelae of Amenhotpe II listing the various crowns of the king, *šwtj* is determined on one by the double ostrich feathers and on the other by the double falcon feathers (*Urk* IV, 1277,20 and 1286,16). The full name of the crown is *šwtj wrjt*, and elsewhere Amun is called *nb šwtj wrjt* (*Urk* IV, 111, 8), yet by the Eighteenth Dynasty the feathers of Amun and those of the king are distinguished in representation.

p. 126b. While the use of the double feathers by Ahmose and not by Hatshepsut on the stela of Thutmose may in part rank the two queens, one should note that on the Qasr Ibrim stela of Amenhotpe I (18.3/5), both Ahmose Nofretary and Meritamun, the senior and junior queens, wear the double feathers. In the case of Hatshepsut it may also be a matter of space, as there would not be room both for her string of four titles and the double feathers. Maybe the former were considered more important than the latter.

p. 128b. The double feathers were not part of the costume of the *hmt ntr* in the Eighteenth Dynasty. As Gitton has shown, this consisted of a short wig and a fillet (*BSFE* 75 (March, 1976), 31-46). Queens who are *hmt ntr* use the title even when they wear queenly insignia, but the functioning *hmt ntr* does not wear the double feathers. The later divine adoratrices adopt queenly insignia *in toto*, and this includes the double feathers; no doubt their connection with Amun made them particularly suitable for these women.

pp. 134b and 144. The use of *nbt trwj* in the Eighteenth Dynasty deserves a separate study. Unlike other 'geographical' titles, *nbt trwj* is normally placed directly before the queen's cartouche, perhaps in imitation of the king's usage of *nb trwj* before his prenomen. It is not uncommon in titularies of the reigns of Ahmose to Amenhotpe III but is rarely used as a sole title. The exception is Hatshepsut as regent for Thutmose III, when there can be little doubt that she was using it as the feminine counterpart of the king's title to indicate her position as ruler; indeed, in several places where she uses it, one would normally expect a word referring to the king. In the reign of Akhenaton, *nbt trwj* becomes the most frequently used 'geographical' title of Nefertiti, both in titularies and alone. It is used before her cartouche when it is placed beside those of the king and plainly imitates the king's use of *nb trwj*, surely indicating a change in the queen's status. Tiye in the reign of Amenhotpe III is not a forerunner of this usage, which can be taken as an Amarna innovation and an indication of the concepts of queenship at this time.

p. 136a. I can find no reference to Ahmose's use of *snt nsw* in Černý 1954. He tentatively suggested that the use of *snt* for 'wife' arose as a result of the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, whom he thought were probably half-brother and sister.

p. 136b. Also on the throne showing the bound female prisoners, Tiye appears as a trampling sphinx (The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pls. 49, 52A).

p. 138b. Although, as Troy says, the double cartouche for the *hmt ntr* is first attested for Ahmose Nofretary, it should be made clear that this does not occur until the Nineteenth Dynasty and is not found on contemporary material.

p. 162. 18.8.1: Stela of Ahmose, Kestner Museum 1935.200.209. Having seen this piece, I feel serious doubts concerning its authenticity. The winged sundisk is a poor affair, with an unsatisfactory space left unfilled within its curve. The overall composition makes a bad use of space, so that the area around the head and feathers of Amun is left blank. The feathers of both

Amun and the king are a curious shape being very narrow and tapering markedly from the width at the base to the tip. Not only is the grouping of the figures in the date unusual, but one would expect a dated stela to have a 'historical' text, that is, one that included some event that the king was commemorating. For a well-balanced royal stela, compare that of Thutmose II (18.12/3); note also the contrast between the shape of Thutmose's crown and that of Ahmose.

p. 162. 18.3. The list of titles for Ahmose Nofretary does not clearly distinguish between those which are contemporary with the queen and those which are posthumous. This is misleading since the form of queens' titles changed during the New Kingdom. Ahmose Nofretary's posthumous titles copied later usages which did not occur in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

p. 164. 18.16.3. The statuette of Mutnofret at Karnak, PM II<sup>2</sup>, 176-7, is joined to the right side of a colossus of Thutmose II situated at the south face of the eighth pylon. The figure is almost completely destroyed, except for the feet, and the identifying text is damaged, but there is no doubt that it must be restored  $\text{[s}t\text{ nsw] [snt] nsw [mrj]t.f}$  ( $Mwtnfrt \lambda mrt hrw$ ). The titles of relationship attested for Mutnofret, mother of Thutmose II, are  $hmt\text{ nsw } mwt\text{ nsw}$ ; she is neither  $sst\text{ nsw}$  nor  $snt\text{ nsw}$ . This, together with the absence of  $hmt\text{ nsw } mwt\text{ nsw}$  from the Karnak statuette, suggest that the latter does not represent Thutmose II's mother. Possibly, this second Mutnofret was a daughter of Thutmose I and sister of Thutmose II. However, a restoration text dating to year 42 of Thutmose III shows that this latter king worked on the statue and Mutnofret's text could date to this period, in which case she might be a daughter of Thutmose II and sister of Thutmose III. In any case,  $sst\text{ nsw } snt\text{ nsw } mrj]t.f$  should be removed from the list of titles belonging to the mother of Thutmose II.

p. 164. 18.17.5 = 18.15/8 (erroneously given as 18.14/8). The stela Cairo CG 34015 which shows Thutmose III followed by a royal woman secondarily called Ese is unlikely to have originally named Nefrure. Traces of a sundisk from the earlier name can clearly be seen. Of the royal women associated with Thutmose III, only Nefrure and Meritre Hatshepsut have names including the element  $r$ . However, the disk is not centred at the top of the vertical cartouche, as it always is in Nefrure's name, but it is placed off-centre. This position for the sundisk is sometimes found when Meritre Hatshepsut's name is written in full (e.g. Davies, *Tomb of Ken-Amun*, pl. 16). Further, the original titles seem to have been  $hmt\text{ nsw } wrt\text{ mrj]t.f } hnwz\text{ sm}^c w\text{ mh}w$ ; Nefrure is nowhere attested as  $hmt\text{ nsw } wrt$ .

p. 164. 18.18. It would be better to omit the title of  $hmt\text{ ntr}$  for Sitioh, since it is only attested for her on the stela Cairo CG 34013 (18.18/6 = 18.15/9 erroneously given as 18.14/9), where Sitioh's name is not original.

p. 164. 18.19. It might be worth adding that Meritre Hatshepsut is probably the daughter of the  $dwt\text{ ntr } Hwjj$ , see Robins, *GM* 56 (1982), 82-3 and Gitton, *Les divines épouses de la 18e. dynastie*, 79-82.

p. 166. 18.39. It is not certain that the  $sst\text{ nsw}$  Baketaton is the daughter of Amenhotpe III and Tiye. No filiation is given with her name, in contrast to the children of Nefertiti who are constantly filiated to their mother. This omission may indicate that Tiye is not Baketaton's real mother, although the two appear together at Amarna. As pure speculation, one could suggest as an alternative that Baketaton was the child of one of the daughters of Tiye who married their father Amenhotpe III.

p. 166. After 18.40 Nebetnehet, add Henut. See PM I<sup>2</sup>, 840 for a faience vase of this queen, and Legrain *ASAE* 4, 138 no. 1 for an alabaster canopic jar from the same find as the fragments of canopic jars belonging to Nebetnehet.

p. 182. A1/29. Troy reads one of Tiye's titles in the tomb of Kheruef as  $hnmt\text{ nsw } hr\text{ m } šw$ , 'the one who is united with the king who appears as Shu', but does it not rather relate to Amenhotpe III's Horus name  $hrj\text{ m } mrt$ ?

p. 185. A6/1:  $pt\text{ n } mwt\text{ nsw } bjtj$ : Troy cites two examples of this title. However, the form in 4.15/2 is not  $mwt\text{ nsw } bjtj$  but  $mwt\text{ nsw } mwt\text{ bjtj}$ . Further, the  $n$  is puzzling, as one would surely expect  $pt\text{ nt}$ , if not a direct genitive. Also, the cartouche two columns to the right appears immediately below a  $pt$ -sign. On the statue of Tiaa (Cairo CG 1167), 18.27/4, the relevant column of text consists of the  $pt$ -sign followed by  $mwt\text{ nsw } hmt\text{ nsw } wrt$  ( $Tj\text{ } \lambda\text{ } nh. tj$ ). There is no  $n$  or  $bjtj$ . It might be asked whether the  $pt$ -sign is to be read as part of the titulary or whether it merely introduces the column. For a parallel see the statue of Tiye, R. David, *The Macclesfield Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*,

H 10 and p. 59. The *pt*-sign simply heads the column, *pace* David, and the titulary is the normal *jrjt-pt wrt ḥswt ḥmt nsw wrt* (Tj)λ.

p. 186. B1/11: *špst*. This appears on a funerary cone of Bengay (Davies and MacAdam, *Egyptian Funerary Cones*, no. 527) who is called ʿ n pr n t: *šps(t) nhrjn*, and presumably refers to a Mitannian princess, possibly Giluḥepa. The same man on another cone (ibid. no. 260) is called *jmj-r: pr n ḥnwt m pt*, which may refer to the same lady and should be added to A6.

p. 191. B4/11: *wrt ḥswt*. The plural form is already occasionally attested in the Old Kingdom (e.g. Dunham and Simpson, *Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, fig. 7 right).

p. 191. B4/15 and 16: *ḥsjt nt ntr nfr* and *ḥsjj(t) n(t) nb trwj*. One may question whether these really mean 'singer' and are not simply the feminine form of *ḥsjj n ntr nfr/nb trwj* found as a common epithet of officials.

p. 192 ff. C1/2; C2/3, 6, 8; C4/2, 4, 11, 13. Does the addition of *mrjt.f* to a title of relationship have any value or is it no more than a space-filler?

p. 195. Why is C4/11 translated 'great daughter of the king', while C4/10, 12, 13 are translated 'eldest daughter'?

p. 195. D1/4. Instead of *rsj*, 'south', one should read *šmꜣw*, 'Upper Egypt'.

Minor corrections:

pp. 13 and 14: ying and yang should be yin and yang.

p. 110b: 18.12/6 should read 18.12/3.

p. 163: 18.12/7: Naville 1896, pl. 97, pl. 98, pl. 99 should read pl. 47, pl. 48, pl. 49.

p. 164: 18.19/5 = 18.18/5, not 18.17/5.

p. 165: 18.24/1 = 18.19/4, not 18.18/4.

p. 188: B2/27: *ḥmt ntr n pr Ḳmn* is cited as a title of 18.3 but is omitted from the list on p. 162.

p. 194: C2/11: *ḥmt nsw wrt n nsw bjty/nb trwj*. Delete 'first' from the translation.

p. 194: C2/12: *snt-ḥmt nsw bjty/n s: rꜥ. nsw bjty* is omitted from the hieroglyphs and the translation.

p. 194: C3/3: *snt nsw n s: rꜥ. nsw* is omitted from the translation.

In conclusion, one may say that Troy brilliantly achieves her aim to synthesize the manifestations of queenship at all periods. She explains how the underlying mythology gives queenship its form and justifies the roles of the royal women. It was plainly not within her scope to study individual themes in any detail, but I hope that such research will now be undertaken within the framework of her findings. Certainly, no future work concerning royal women can afford to ignore this stimulating and important study, which is additionally enhanced by clarity of expression, lucidity of argument and an abundance of illustrations. It is one of the most exciting books that I have read for a long time.

GAY ROBINS

*The British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* Part 11. Edited by M. L. BIERBRIER. 334 × 216 mm. Pp. 50, pls. 96. London, published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications Limited, 1987. ISBN 0 7141 0935 5. Price £70.00.

Following his publication of New Kingdom stelae in the British Museum (*Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part 10) M. L. Bierbrier has now completed another volume, dealing with material which belongs mainly to the later phases of Egyptian history. The seventy-eight wooden funerary stelae presented in this new catalogue range in date from the Seventeenth Dynasty to the Roman Period, but the vast majority belong to the period from the Twenty-first Dynasty to the Ptolemaic era. Several of the later stelae have already been described and illustrated in P. Munro's *Die spätägyptischen*

*Totenstelen*, but a large proportion have never been published before, apart from brief references in earlier museum guidebooks. An exception is EA 8485, already fully published in *HT* 10, p. 36, pl. 83, but included in the present work so as to bring all the Museum's wooden stelae together in one volume. The author has taken the opportunity to revise his original dating of this piece which is now assigned to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The catalogue entries are arranged in a broadly chronological sequence. Each description is headed by the owner's name and a note of the date, provenance, date of acquisition and source (if known), material and dimensions. The accurate identification of the wood by laboratory analysis is a welcome feature. Following the conventions of previous volumes in this series, each stela is illustrated in a photograph, and a facsimile of the inscriptions appears alongside or on the facing page. The photographs, which are on a large scale, are of very high quality, enabling the scenes and texts to be studied in detail, and it is gratifying to find that all the decorated surfaces are illustrated, whether inscribed or not. The facsimiles, in standardised hand-copies, are reliable and contain only a couple of minor errors: the sign  $\text{𓏏}$  is omitted on pl. 1, and on pl. 47, 1 the  $\text{𓏏}$  in the first line of the main text is incomplete.

The emphasis of the publication is, of course, on the texts but the author has provided very full descriptions of the decoration too. The colouring of the stelae is described in exhaustive detail; this is particularly welcome because the colours used and the manner of their application can often be of assistance in determining the date or provenance of a piece or in the identification of items from the same workshop, and yet this information is frequently presented in a very incomplete manner or even omitted entirely in publications. Where stelae have deteriorated since their discovery, the author has had recourse to early copies by Birch and others and to facsimiles made by Alessandro Ricci. These latter are particularly fine and are reproduced in the plates on the same scale as the photographs, to which they form a useful complement. In general the author's attention to detail is meticulous, though one misses references to parallels, and a fuller stylistic commentary would have been helpful—the striking archaizing characteristics of EA 65354, for example, surely deserve a mention. A few other pertinent details have been missed; it should, for instance, be pointed out that the side-frames on EA 8450, 35622 and 27332 are door-leaves.<sup>1</sup>

The dating of the stelae is based mainly on stylistic grounds since very few can be firmly dated on inscriptional evidence. Bierbrier takes into account Munro's dates for some of the stelae but does not always accept these uncritically and the material published here highlights occasional inconsistencies in Munro's work (p. 24, EA 8475). In most of the commentaries Bierbrier cautiously assigns only broad dates such as 'New Kingdom', 'Third Intermediate Period' or 'Saite Period'—a pity, as in some instances greater precision is possible. Two examples will suffice: the spelling of the name of Osiris with the pennant determinative on EA 8449 indicates that the stela does not predate the reign of Piye,<sup>2</sup> while the drawing of the figures and the 'Old Kingdom' type of offering table shown are characteristic of the earlier phases of 'archaism' in the late eighth–early seventh centuries BC, before Theban painters settled down to the rather lifeless style of drawing usual in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Again, stela EA 8457 (described simply as 'Saite'), which came from the tomb of the Chief Steward of the God's Wife Ankh-hor at Thebes, cannot be earlier in date than the beginning of the sixth century since Ankh-hor himself did not obtain high office until c. 594 BC and his tomb is unlikely to have been ready for use earlier.

The texts receive little commentary since they are mostly standard funerary formulae but Bierbrier does discuss the genealogical information which several of the inscriptions provide. Three of the stelae belonged to members of the notoriously complex Besenmut family, which was firmly entrenched at Thebes throughout the seventh century. Unfortunately the owners' relationships to the main branches of the family are not entirely clear, so that precise dating is difficult. Harsiese, owner of EA 66421, belonged to the Nebneteru family, of which Harkhebi (EA 66424) was perhaps also a member, but the prosopographical data on their stelae is insufficient to place them accurately on the family trees published in Bierbrier's *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, 73–8. More intriguing is the stela EA 66422, of Ikhonsusedef, son of a Fourth Prophet of Amun Nakhtefmut. For several years scholars have suspected the existence of a Fourth Prophet of this name who lived at a later date than the well attested Nakhtefmuts A and B. As evidence for such a

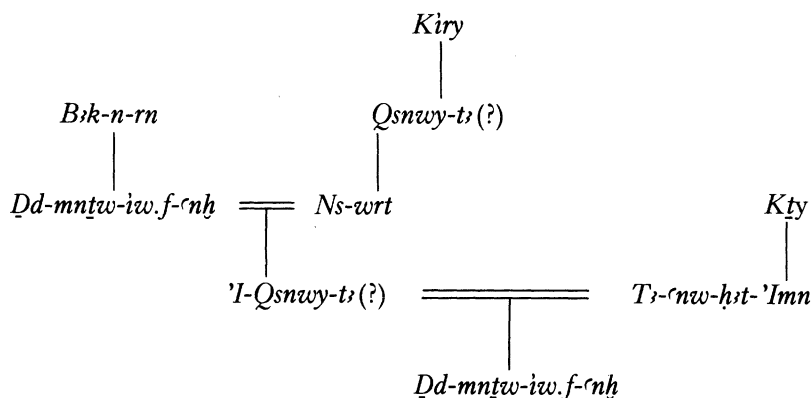
<sup>1</sup> Munro, *Totenstelen*, 24 and n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> A. Leahy, *SAK* 7 (1979), 142–9; D. A. Aston and J. H. Taylor (forthcoming).

hypothesis Vittmann cited statue Cairo JE 37862, which belonged to a man whose grandfather was a Fourth Prophet Nakhtefmut.<sup>3</sup> If it is correctly dated to the late Twenty-fifth/early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, this document would suggest that the Nakhtefmut in question lived at the end of the eighth century and was distinct from Nakhtefmuts A and B, both of whom flourished at earlier periods. The British Museum stela (which, like those of Harsiese and Harkhebi, came from the Zouche Collection) lends support to this hypothesis; the division of the field into scene and text, the representation of Re-Harakhty as a standing mummiform figure, the costume of the deceased and the use of repetition to denote the plurals of the words *htp* and *ntr* (archaism?) all point to a date in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The Fourth Prophet Nakhtefmut named here may thus be identical with the man mentioned on Cairo JE 37862 and could moreover be the same person as the Fourth Prophet Nakhtefmut who was the grandfather of Neskhons ii of the Besenmut Family.<sup>4</sup>

One of the useful by-products of publishing a catalogue such as this is the identification of objects which either belonged to an individual named on one of the stelae or even came from the same tomb-group. Several of the commentaries contain references to such related objects, now located in museums around the world. Often the items were dispersed in the early days of excavation in Egypt and their relationship has remained unknown until now. Four of the British Museum stelae (EA 8456, 8462, 8461 and 8467), formerly in the Salt Collection, derive from the early Ptolemaic burials in the tomb of the Chief Steward of the God's Wife Ankh-hor at Thebes, which was exploited in the early nineteenth century. On pp. 37-8 Bierbrier lists a number of items now in various museums, which belonged to persons buried in this tomb. To this list should be added several other pieces in the British Museum, acquired by Henry Salt and the Earl of Belmore: EA 6945-6, two corner posts from the rectangular coffin of Pediamennebnesttawy, son of Neskhons (owner of stela EA 8462);<sup>5</sup> EA 8531-3, sepulchral boxes of Mutirdis, daughter of Pediamennebnesttawy,<sup>6</sup> Istemkheb, daughter of Montemhat and Taqerert,<sup>7</sup> and Pediamennebnesttawy, son of Pedias and Istemkheb.<sup>8</sup>

The two Twenty-fifth Dynasty stelae EA 69520 and 69521, belonging to a Doorkeeper of the Estate of Amun Kesenuita (?) and his wife Taanuhatumun, apparently formed part of another tomb-group dispersed before 1850. The stelae are recorded as having been in private hands as early as 1845, but the coffin of Djedmontefankh, son of Ikesenuita (sic)<sup>9</sup> and Taanhatamun, did not surface until 1894, when it entered the British Museum (EA 25256). Since the volume here under review went to press, Dr Gottfried Hamernik has drawn attention to the existence of the coffin of the Doorkeeper Kesenuita in the Narodni Muzej, Ljubljana, where it has been since 1846. The texts on the four monuments make possible the reconstruction of five generations of this interesting family:



<sup>3</sup> G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Vienna, 1978), 96.

<sup>4</sup> Vittmann, *op. cit.* 7, Tab. iii.

<sup>5</sup> M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer. *Das Grab des Anch-hor*, II (Vienna, 1982), 274 (G.67).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 277 (G.87).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 268 (G.10).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 275 (G.71).

<sup>9</sup> PM 1,<sup>2</sup> 829 translates the name erroneously.



On the whole the book is remarkably free from textual errors. A few minor slips may be pointed out:

- p. 10: the first reference in the bibliography of EA 22917 should read: Legrain, *Rec. Trav.* 14 (1893), 61 (No. 91).
- p. 12: footnote 1 is omitted in the text.
- p. 16: in the bibliography of EA 27332 the reference to James, *Egyptian Painting*, should be to p. 67.
- p. 23: EA 8457, n. 1: for '8456' read '8457'.
- p. 36: EA 8462: insert 'of' after 'stela' in heading.
- p. 41: EA 8468: in the bibliography the reference to Budge, *The Mummy*, should be to pl. xxxiii.
- pl. 78-9: EA 8461: on the plates the object is incorrectly numbered 8462.

To sum up, this is a well-produced volume, which will be welcomed by all who are interested in the funerary iconography of the Third Intermediate and Late Periods; students of prosopography will be equally grateful for the new textual material which is presented here in such an accessible form.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

*Egyptian scarabs and seals from Acco from the Collection of the Israel Departement [sic] of Antiquities and Museums.* By RAPHAEL GIVEON and TRUDE KERTESZ. 230 × 155 mm. Pp. 48, pls. 20. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag, 1986. ISBN 3 7278 0371 1. Price not stated.

This volume catalogues 176 scarabs and related material from the site of Acco (Tell el-Fukkhâr). The objects were found before the official excavations in the area, and are a valuable addition to the documentation of the ancient site. Part of the collection belonged to A. Lefkowitz, and was subsequently purchased by the Israel Department of Antiquities. The remainder belongs to two citizens of Haifa, A. Beter and Z. Goldmann. The authors provide succinct catalogue entries for each piece, and cite parallels where appropriate. Line drawings of bases, backs, and profiles are arranged opposite the catalogue entries on a scale of 1.3:1, so that it is easy to check the information given. At the end of the book are photographs on a scale of 2:1 illustrating the base of each specimen, thus providing a control on the drawings, which are not always exact facsimiles. One could hardly wish for more, and all in all the work is a useful addition to the growing bibliography of scarabs found outside the Nile Valley.

The following occurred to the reviewer: Cat. 2: Date Second Intermediate Period, especially if the rectangular element shown in the line drawing at the base of the scarab is the stringing hole modelled in relief. 3: Second Intermediate Period rather than Twelfth Dynasty? 5: Read 'Seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Overseer of the Treasury Har'. 30: Crudely-drawn winged sun-disk above lion's back? 36: Read 'Menkare'? 58: Late Period. 65: I doubt that this scarab is a fake. 72: Late Period? 107: Early Twelfth Dynasty rather than Late Period? 115: Read 'chick'.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

*Mummy-cases and Inscribed Funerary Cones in the Petrie Collection.* By H. M. STEWART. 230 × 158 mm. Pp. x + 84, pls. 25. Warminster, Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1986. ISBN 0 85668 312 4. Price £15.00.

This book, which continues the publication of the Petrie Collection at University College, London, deals with two important classes of funerary artifact: coffins (and related material), and the pottery cones and stamped bricks which formed part of the external decoration of private tomb chapels in the Theban necropolis. Owing to the losses and damage which the collection suffered

during the Second World War, uncertainty still exists over the location and identification of a number of objects. Others are still in urgent need of conservation and are too fragile to be subjected to the handling which a full publication would necessitate. The present catalogue, therefore, is not exhaustive, and is best regarded as a preliminary publication.

The entries in the first section of the book include notes of the material, dimensions, provenance and date of the objects, followed by a concise description and a brief bibliography. Every item is illustrated, either in facsimile line-drawing or in a photograph, but rarely by both. Although entitled 'Mummy-Cases' this section of the catalogue contains only two complete coffins; the other seventeen items are mummy masks, fragments of coffins and cartonnage cases, shabti boxes and the lid of a canopic chest. The provenances of several pieces are known and, in the case of some of the cartonnage fragments, attribution to specific tomb chapels at the Ramesseum is possible. The material ranges in date from the Eleventh Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, but it must be said that none of it is of first-rate importance. The most interesting specimen from the stylistic and prosopographical viewpoint is the inner coffin of *Nr-irt-ist-nfrt* (UC 14230). Its shape and decoration place it in the transitional phase of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (parallels include British Museum EA 6691, Heidelberg 1015, Milan E. 1013 and Vienna KHM A. 1999) and the inscriptions provide the names and titles of several otherwise unknown Theban priests. Most of the cartonnage fragments are parts of polychrome mummy-cases of the Libyan Period decorated with the common 'Two Falcons' design.<sup>1</sup> The four fragments numbered UC 38038, however, belonging to a God's Father, Beloved of the God *Pr-di-'Imn-(nb-)nswt-trwy*, are the remains of a more unusual case, the decoration of which was incised on a plain white ground, on which the designs and inscriptions had first been sketched in red ink (although rare, this technique is not without parallel; a cartonnage footboard of approximately the same period, British Museum EA 36378, has a figure of the deified Amenhotep I executed in a similar style).

The descriptions, though brief, are quite comprehensive and most of the important features of the coffins' decoration are mentioned. There are, however, a number of errors and omissions. The description of UC 14230 makes no mention of the signs for *tpy-dw.f* which are painted at the shoulders on the back<sup>2</sup> but are omitted from the line-drawing, pl. 14. Also missing from both text and plates is a *dmḏ*-hieroglyph painted in the hollow area of the foot inside the lid. References to Petrie, *Funeral Furniture* should be added to the bibliographies of UC 29809 and UC 38038.<sup>3</sup> It should also be noted that a very close parallel to UC 31377 (or perhaps the identical mask) is published in Petrie and Brunton, *Sedment*, 1 (London, 1924), pl. xiii, 14 (536) and p. 6, where it is stated to be in University College.

The transliteration and translation of the inscriptions is on the whole reliable. On UC 16403, however, the name of the owner's mother should probably be read as *Ty-šrit-ihy*,<sup>4</sup> not *Ty-šrit-ih*. The name incompletely preserved on the cartonnage fragment UC 38040 is undoubtedly a writing of *Ty-di-ty-nbt-hn*, and the lady in question may well be identical with the owner of stela Manchester 1898.<sup>5</sup>

It is gratifying to find that all the decorated surfaces of the objects are illustrated, in contrast to the long-prevalent tendency to publish only the texts. The line-drawings are clean and crisp but consequently the draughtsman has produced an unwarrantably 'correct' rendering of scenes and inscriptions, which conveys little of the true character of the painting (a point which has drawn adverse criticism from reviewers of other volumes in the series).<sup>6</sup> More photographs would therefore have been helpful.

The second part of the catalogue consists of 161 entries on funerary cones and stamped bricks. Each entry comprises a brief description, a note of the provenance (if known) and date, a translation of the inscription and a selective bibliography. Attributions to numbered tomb chapels

<sup>1</sup> Taylor in S. D'Auria, P. Lacovara and C. H. Roehrig (eds.), *Mummies & Magic* (Boston, 1988), 167.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Petrie, *Funeral Furniture*, 22 (530).

<sup>3</sup> Respectively, 23 (532) and 21 (505).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Pr-šr-ihy*, *Demotisches Namenbuch*, 1, 227.

<sup>5</sup> Taylor, *JEA* 74 (1988), 231.

<sup>6</sup> P. Spencer, *JEA* 71, *Supplement* (1985), 8; A. Leahy, *JEA* 72 (1986), 228.

in the Theban necropolis are given and an index of these is provided. The types are arranged alphabetically by name of owner (in translation), so that the different types of cone belonging to a single individual may be grouped together. Many of the types recorded here are represented by only one example. A notable exception is no. 160 (Wesy), whose sixty-four cones and four bricks were probably found at the site of his unidentified tomb; sadly, there is no record of the exact place of discovery. Otherwise, the catalogue adds little to what is already known on this subject, although it is useful to have details of the completeness or otherwise of individual pieces.<sup>7</sup> All of the types listed can be found illustrated in Davies and Macadam's *Corpus of... Funerary Cones* (1957) and it is presumably for this reason and for economy of space that only two of the UC examples are illustrated in the present work: no. 8, which makes possible the restoration of signs missing from Davies' example, and no. 161, a piece of questionable authenticity. The catalogue concludes with a concordance of the Davies-Macadam numbers and those of the present work.

A couple of routine statements in the text raise interesting points. First, in describing the figures of the Sons of Horus on UC 38038 (probably early Twenty-second Dynasty rather than 'Late Period') Stewart notes that 'the names of Hepy and Duamutef have been transposed by the scribe' (p. 14). In fact, there is nothing strange in this. Study of the iconography of the Sons of Horus on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period demonstrates quite clearly that such departures from the familiar New Kingdom tradition (where Imsety = man, Hapy = baboon, Duamutef = jackal and Qebhsennuf = falcon) became the norm after the Twenty-first Dynasty. At least six different matchings of the names with the zoomorphic heads are attested during the Libyan Period, by far the most frequent being: Imsety = man, Hapy = baboon, Duamutef = falcon and Qebhsennuf = jackal. This breakdown of the older iconographic tradition, whatever its underlying significance, probably accounts for similar inconsistencies in the inscribing of canopic jars and statuettes of the Sons of Horus at the same period. The evidence from coffins indicates that the New Kingdom nomenclature was revived (at least at Thebes) during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, although isolated instances of the 'Libyan' schemes persisted into the second half of the seventh century BC.

Another point which requires comment is the dating of UC 36213 as 'Ptolemaic (?)'. This piece is the lid of a mummiform coffin of a type familiar from cemeteries in the Memphite area and Middle Egypt.<sup>8</sup> The widespread tendency to date such coffins to the Ptolemaic or Roman periods seems to rest mainly on two circumstances: that they are often of mediocre quality with poorly proportioned features, and that the inscription (usually an offering formula) is frequently corrupt or nonsensical. Both arguments are unsound. There is no reason why poor workmanship and garbled texts should not predate the Ptolemaic Period. In fact, the closest parallels to the decoration and iconography of these coffins (and to a still greater extent that of their associated cartonnages)<sup>9</sup> are to be found among Theban specimens of the Twenty-second Dynasty. This is the dating assigned to the UC lid by Bourriau<sup>10</sup> and it is almost certainly correct.

Despite the reservations expressed above, this book constitutes a useful addition to the steadily increasing body of published material relating to Egyptian funerary archaeology. A particularly pleasing aspect is the inclusion of small inscribed fragments; such pieces are all too often neglected, yet their importance for stylistic and prosopographical studies is often out of proportion to their modest appearance.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

<sup>7</sup> Cf. D. Ryan, *VA* 4 (1988), 169.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. examples from Lahun: Oxford, Ashmolean 1889.1037, 1889.1038, 1889.1041a; Bolton 7.92.2. Analogous specimens from el-Hibeh are published in G. Botti, *Le Casse di mummie e i sarcofagi da El Hibeh* (Florence, 1958), pls. xxxii-xxxiv, xlvi.

<sup>9</sup> Naville, *Ahnas el Medineh* (London, 1894), pl. vii, viii.

<sup>10</sup> *JEA* 72 (1986), 182.

*Elephantine VIII. Der Tempel der Satet. Die Funde der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches.* By GUNTHER DREYER. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 39. 350 × 250 mm. Pp. 153, pls. 63, figs 64. Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1986. ISBN 3 8053 0501 X. Price DM198.

The excavation of the temple of Satet at Elephantine has shown that the sanctuary of the goddess was rebuilt many times on the same spot, the original focal point being a niche between the granite boulders of the bedrock itself. A stratified sequence of deposits was created by the successive building phases, rising to a height of almost four metres from the level of the Archaic shrine to the floor of the Eighteenth-Dynasty temple. A brief summary of the development of the temple is given at the beginning of the volume, but the detailed architectural history of the monument will be considered in three separate publications. The present book is concerned with the objects of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom date found in the excavation. These items are so similar to the contents of the problematic deposits of *ex-votos* from the early temple sites of Hierakonpolis and Abydos that they are crucial to the interpretation of those discoveries. This being the case, the author has included in this volume a detailed account of the Hierakonpolis and Abydos deposits, with full lists of the objects found. Parallel material of less well-documented provenance, now in various collections, is also listed. In this way, all the essential information for research into these deposits of surplus temple material has been gathered together in a most convenient manner.

The careful attention given to the stratigraphy during the excavation of the Satet temple has made it possible to provide dates for the deposition of the objects at Elephantine, and consequently to suggest ranges of dates for the objects themselves. By comparison with this stratified sequence, certain of the objects from the less precisely excavated Hierakonpolis and Abydos caches can now be dated with greater accuracy. In particular, it has become possible to distinguish some of the Early Dynastic pieces from those of the Old Kingdom. At Elephantine, the quantity of items actually from levels dated prior to the Fifth Dynasty was fairly small by comparison with the very large number of objects deposited during the Fifth Dynasty itself (over 350 objects). Additional dumps of *ex-votos* in substantial quantities were created in the Sixth Dynasty, all in the same general area within the rock-niche sanctuary. The manner in which the material was discarded at periodic intervals means that older and more recent objects could be buried together in a single deposit, and without some means of dating the individual pieces, only a range of date can be suggested. With large groups of items of a single type (for example, the faience baboon-figures), stylistic comparisons with objects of known early date from deeper levels, or from dated contexts at other sites, have permitted the distinction of the earlier from the later objects. In this way it has proved feasible to identify some of the material in the Fifth-Dynasty deposit as Early Dynastic. The range of the material includes human and animal figures, models of boats, model vessels, beads, gaming-pieces, tiles, and, from the Sixth-Dynasty levels, plaques with inscriptions of Pepi I and Pepi II. By far the majority of these objects are made of faience. Of stone items, there are flint implements, drill-stones and vessels. The objects are presented in a first-class catalogue accompanied by clear text-figures and fine photographs. A particularly useful feature is the inclusion in each catalogue entry of a reference to the page number where the discussion of the class of object may be found. The discussion section itself is very complete and includes commentaries on types of object found only in the Hierakonpolis or Abydos deposits, as well as those represented at Elephantine.

To summarize, this publication must rank as a contribution of great value to the study of the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, providing as it does such a well-contexted group of finds which have shed new light on earlier discoveries. The book bears witness to the meticulous excavation of the Satet temple, accompanied by excellent scholarship in the analysis and presentation of the objects found.

*Balat I. Le Mastaba de Medou-Nefer.* By MICHEL VALLOGGIA. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, XXXI/1 (text) and XXXI/2 (plates). 318 × 250 mm. Pp. xv + 239, figs. 24. Cairo, 1986. ISBN 2 7247 0037 6. Price not stated.

This is the final report on the excavation of a large, mud brick mastaba, the owner of which is identified in various inscriptions as being Medou-Nefer, a governor of the [Dakhleh] oasis. The mastaba, the northernmost of a group of five, was discovered by Ahmed Fakhry in the late 1960s. The site is in the Dakhleh Oasis, at Kila el-Debba, which is in the vicinity of the important eastern town, Balat. The conjunction of an important cemetery and the associated living site is a rare enough occurrence, and it is to the very great credit of the French Institute that both sites are receiving equal attention. This report is the first of a series, entitled *Balat*, which is intended to include the work of all the various excavators engaged at this important Old Kingdom site.

The volume is logically organized, commencing with an introduction by Professor J. Vercoutter. The text then describes the site and its position within the region, and continues with a full exposition of the tomb structure—its architecture, construction history and its decoration—and a chapter about a number of secondary tombs, including two for dogs. Then follow chapters on the various archaeological finds: inscribed objects, including fragments of a wooden coffin; jewellery; stone objects, mostly vessels, but also including palettes and head rests; copper objects, principally toilet articles; the ceramics. After a discussion of the dating of the whole assemblage, there are three appendices, on the human remains by T. Dzierżykray-Rogalski, on the dog skeletons by L. Chaix and C. Olive, and on the analysis of a number of copper objects by M. Wuttmann.

The introduction contains a detailed exposition of the history of the Balat project, within the context of the general program of the I.F.A.O., and a general discussion of the importance and place of the Balat sites in our understanding of the ancient Egyptians. Vercoutter's assertions of the potential of the Balat sites, particularly 'Ain Aseel, to produce the data for a reconstruction of the oasis environment in late Old Kingdom times are perhaps over-simplified. For example, Vercoutter cites the finding of *malenoides* (sic) *tuberculata* in Old Kingdom contexts as evidence that the area was climatically different from today in the late Old Kingdom. However, Churcher has reported the recovery of live specimens of the species from Dakhleh (*JSSSEA* 13 (1983), 179), a fact that could equally be used to demonstrate a similarity of conditions; the need of the species, however, is simply for running water.

Beginning in 1977, seven excavation seasons were devoted to the systematic exposure of this large burial structure. The overall size of the mastaba is impressive, over 35 × 22.8 m, with a reconstructed height of about 4 m above ground. The depth of the subterranean part of the complex reaches 6.5 m. The construction is in mud-brick and the plan is one of a set of four parallel rooms at the west end of the superstructure, attained through a series of courts, corridors and doorways. Three of these four chambers are entered from a single north-south corridor and it is this part of the tomb that bears evidence of original decoration. There are wall paintings, now in an unfortunate state of disrepair, which were executed directly onto a rather coarse plaster. While much has been lost through time, enough remains to demonstrate that normal Pharaonic style, canon and techniques were used, and in all probability the executing artists were trained at a traditional centre.

The dating of the burial is convincingly placed near the end of the Sixth Dynasty, in the reign of Pepi II. Inscriptions bear both the names Pepi and Neferkare. Valloggia's analysis of the various classes of objects and other evidence serves both to confirm this dating and to place the assemblage well within the traditions of the Nile Valley. What has not been possible, with the internal evidence of Medou-Nefer's mastaba, is its placement in the sequence implied in the group of major tombs of these oasis governors.

Valloggia's careful excavation and study of this complicated structure, coupled with the usual excellent production of text and illustrations for which the I.F.A.O. is known, have resulted in a most interesting and important first volume concerning this fascinating site. With Vercoutter, we hope that '*Balat I, le Mastaba de Medou-Nefer* ne soit que le premier d'une longue et fructueuse serie'.

*Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects.* By WILLIAM A. WARD. Pp. xvii + 198, figs. 11. Beirut, Lebanon, 1986. Price \$30.00.

The problem of the social status of women in ancient Egypt has received more attention lately than in previous years. But there are still many open questions, and much remains to be done. Every study regarding the rank and status of women will therefore be warmly welcomed. This book of W. A. Ward can be called a continuation of his *Index of Egyptian administrative and religious titles of the Middle Kingdom* (cited here as *Index*),<sup>1</sup> specializing in female titles and their interpretation. Unfortunately, it suffers from the same disadvantages already pointed out concerning his *Index*. The book consists of seven chapters:

Chapter I contains a catalogue of non-royal female titles, all of them already included in the *Index*, but with some additional sources. His comments on some of the titles are important. Although the list includes 69 entries, the titles can be divided into three main categories. Ward's division (p. 20 ff.) is a little misleading, because there are no really administrative (government) titles of women (the single instance of female *hrp kst*, discussed by Fischer, *Varia* 1 (New York, 1976), 61 ff., fig. 1, pl. xvii, being, perhaps, the exception). All other so-called 'administrative' titles can be grouped under a rubric 'female servants/employees of a household'. So we have three types of titles in the main:

- I. Female household attendants, including Ward's 'minor professions and servants'. Some of the women had supervising tasks: 'Overseer of the Storehouse', 'Hall-keeper', 'Scribe' and 'Treasurer'. All these women were working either for private households, temples, i.e. divine households ('Stewardess of the Storehouse', 'Controller of Works'), or the royal court ('Servant of the Ruler'). Some of them are simply descriptions of specific tasks, and most of them are of low social rank. Excluding mere variants, we can classify under this heading about 27 different professions.
- II. Religious titles and music. Under this heading I would like to gather the different 'Priestesses' (*w'bt*, *hmt-ntr*, *hmt-kꜣ*), but also the 'Dancers', 'Singers' and so on, including the *hnrw/jjt*-ladies.
- III. Titles designating a rank or assigning a social status. Here we have the titles of the higher aristocracy and female courtiers (*jrjt-pꜣt*, *hꜣtjt-ꜣ*, *hkrw(.t)-njswt(wꜣtjt)*), and also *nbt-pr*, *nmhꜣjt*, *hmt-hꜣꜣ*. The so-called 'filiation-titles' also describe social status: 'Son/Daughter of a Count'.

Adding the 27 professions of category I, the 11 different titles from categories II, and 11 from III, we have 49 different fields of female activity (including some which describe only rank).

For some titles there is only a single reference, so that they may not be of significant value; some are mere variations or exceptions to the rule. But Ward's conclusions are surely correct: the ancient Egyptian administration was predominantly male, with all the leading ranks and offices occupied by men. This was the rule in the household, private, royal or divine, too.

Some of the titles need comment:-

*ftyt*: add Louvre C 18 (ANOC 52).

*qyt*: on Cairo CG 20279 read 'watchman, policeman' (*zꜣ-pr*).

*w'bt nt gs-jꜣby*: pKahun, pl. ix, 3; the same woman is called on pl. ix, 17, 28, *st nt gs-jꜣby*. Perhaps, like *nmhyt (nt nꜣt)*, a designation of a woman not attached to a specific person, but to a group, collective or entity. On pKahun, pl. xii, 8, it is the designation of a priest's wife, meaning perhaps that she belongs to the group of people from the eastern Delta. On the 'eastern half' in connection with the god Sopdu, see Vernus, *RdE* 22 (1970), 165 ff., and Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 146 f.

*nmhyt (nt nꜣt)*: add stela Cortona no. 348 (Cat. G. Botti, no. 348, pl. xi, upper middle). This term designates a woman belonging to a group or collective: stone-masons, a region or town (*Index*, nos.

<sup>1</sup> American University of Beirut, 1982. Reviews: D. Franke, *GM* 83 (1984), 103 ff.; W. K. Simpson, *JNES* 45 (1986), 70 ff.; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian titles of the Middle Kingdom. A supplement to Wm. Ward's INDEX* (New York, 1985).

830-2; cf. also the case of a female servant, owned by the 'people of Elephantine' in pBerlin 10470 = *JEA* 34 (1948), 31 ff.<sup>2</sup>

The titles *bꜣkt nt ꜥt ḥqꜣ* and *ꜣḥt nt ꜥt* must be eliminated, as well as the proposed title *ḥmt-ntr Nt*, correctly read in *Index*, no. 952 as *ḥmt-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥrw nbt mfkꜣt*.

*ꜣꜣt-ḥꜣtj-ꜣ*: add now the ushebti from Tell Basta published in Newsletter *ARCE* 128 (Winter, 1984), 34, fig. 3. There is no reason to doubt that this title designates only real daughters of a Count. For the title 'Carpenter of/ in Hieraconpolis' (*mdḥ-nḥn*, p. 15 f., 116) add Louvre C 177 (Gayet, *Stèles de la XII<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, pl. 32, second register). These men seem to be attached to a temple.

One misses in the catalogue all designations for female collectives, i.e. groups of women belonging to a temple or the king: *špswt*, *ḥrdwt* (*nfrwt*), *nfrwt*, *mrwt*, *ḥkrw*. Also missing are some social terms which should be included: *mtḥnt*, *ḥnmst*, *jwnt(t)*. The female title of rank *ḥt-njswt* is omitted intentionally, but recorded on BM 1658 (*JEA* 23 (1937), 165, pl. xx). Further, I would like to add the titles *jwꜣjt* (pBerlin 10016, 10019, 10021, 10030 A, 10042, 10067, 10081; cf. the remarks of Fischer, *Varia* 1, 115); *šmswt* (Cairo CG 70036: Roeder, *Naos*, § 445, second row, c); *ꜣmt* (*Index*, no. 590) and its Nubian counterpart *nḥꜣjt* (Cairo CG 1481 from Dahshur; pBerlin 3027, 2, 8 = Eрман, *Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind* (Berlin, 1901), 14).

The following discussion in Chapter II of the social status of married women with the titles 'Daughter of the Count', 'Sole Lady-in-waiting' and 'Lady-in-waiting' and their combination is heavily biased, because Ward underestimates to a great extent the dimension of time. Thus, his conclusion, that there is a difference in status between the title 'Sole Lady-in-waiting' and the simple 'Lady-in-waiting', is meaningless, because the titles are recorded at different times. 'Sole Lady-in-waiting' is—like 'Daughter of the Count'—a title which originally belonged to the higher aristocracy; therefore, these ladies sometimes also have the title of 'Priestess of Hathor'. This sequence was in vogue in the First Intermediate Period and the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. There are only two exceptions to this rule known to me: stela Louvre C 190 (Gayet, pl. 49) and Tübingen no. 462 (formerly Stuttgart no. 12; ANOC 60) from the Thirteenth Dynasty. On the other hand, the title 'Lady-in-waiting' (perhaps to be read better *ḥkrw-njswt* because of the frequent writing as  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \\ \text{𓆐} \end{smallmatrix} / \begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆑} \\ \text{𓆒} \\ \text{𓆓} \end{smallmatrix}$  or  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \\ \text{𓆐} \end{smallmatrix} \begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆑} \\ \text{𓆒} \\ \text{𓆓} \end{smallmatrix}$  on stela Cairo JE 37507 (*RT* 24 (1902), 213) is recorded for the Thirteenth Dynasty in the main and designates the wives of courtiers. The title 'Lady-in-waiting' is only rarely attested for the First Intermediate Period (e.g. Cairo CG 1626, 1639). 'Lady-in-waiting' was used for the ladies of the royal court in the Thirteenth Dynasty, while 'Sole Lady-in-waiting' was reserved for women of the higher aristocracy of the provinces in the First Intermediate Period. This is the only difference that remains. Ward's lists B, C and D (p. 37 f.) show convincingly that the 'Ladies-in-waiting' and the female 'Servant of the Ruler' (which can only be the king!) belong to the same social stratum: the people of the king's court and administration.

Chapter III is somewhat out of date since the publication of B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel Šꜣ-Njswt "Königssohn"* (Bonn, 1976). It seems clear that the title 'King's Son' always designates a true king's son, at least in the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties (the stela *Abydos*, 1, pl. 57, is from the Seventeenth Dynasty!). In the Thirteenth and Seventeenth Dynasties it was possible to designate military officers as 'King's Sons' to attach them to the king. The female counterpart, 'King's Daughter', was always reserved for true king's daughters in the Middle Kingdom, but in the Twelfth Dynasty it is also used for the king's sisters. It was never conferred on female commoners.

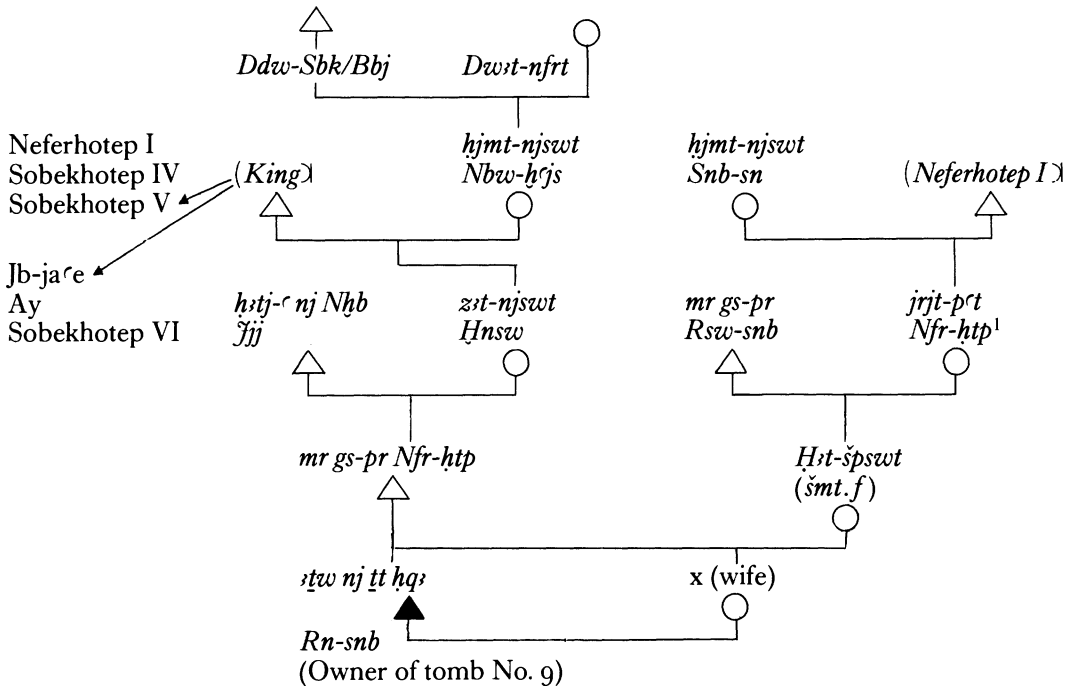
The title *jrꜣt-pꜣt* is included here, because in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties it obviously also designates non-royal women. But as a rule, this title was used by king's mothers, sisters and daughters.

On p. 49 ff., Ward offers us another reconstruction of the genealogy on the entrance-door of tomb No. 9 at El-Kab. This is not very convincing, because he relies too much on Helck's restorations of the text, which were corrected by Helck himself in the second edition of his book,

<sup>2</sup> See also pBoulaq 18, XLI, 15: *st nꜣt pr ...; st nꜣt qnbt(?)*, who were members of the Madjoi-delegation (cf. A. Spalinger, *SAK* 12 (1985), 221 n. 70); pBerlin 10160 + 10162, vs. 15: *st nꜣt ḥnrꜣw* (U. Luft, *Oikumene* 3 (1982), 149, fig. 60).

*Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1983). The only published source is still LD, III, pl. 62a, and the title in line 3, middle right, should perhaps read as *stw nj tt hqꜣ* from the fragmentary signs published by Lepsius. This means that there is only one Renseneb with this title. Perhaps the note of A. Spalinger (*LA* v, 1047 n.42, collation of K. Baer) gives us the key for the problematic relation of the woman with the name Hatshepsut to Renseneb: she was not his second wife, but his mother-in-law. This gives the 'King's Wife' Seneb-sen a position in the same generation as the 'King's Wife' Nubkhas, which is not impossible. For all the connected problems and additional sources, see the discussion of A. Spalinger, *RdE* 32 (1980), 95–116.

For convenience, I add here my corrected genealogy in simplified version:



<sup>1</sup> Perhaps affiliated to her mother through the indirect genitive: *jrjt-pꜣt Nfr-htp njt hjmt-njswt Snb-sn*; this type of filiation is known mainly from the Eleventh Dynasty: *JEA* 51 (1965), pl. x, 2, and p. 22(1); *JEA* 37 (1951), 52; a later instance perhaps Martin, *Seals*, no. 1140 = Vernus, *RdE* 22 (1970), 158 n.4, 159 n.2.

Chapters IV and V deal with the subject of the existence of a so-called harem and harem-women in ancient Egypt. It was already published in an abridged version by Ward in *Berytus*, 31 (1983), 67–74. Ward's treatment of the related terms is refreshingly new and needs some comment. Although in his list of sources recording the term *nḥt* there are still some gaps, he is probably right in arguing for a translation 'young, living one', i.e. 'attendant' or the like. Berlev's suggestion 'concubine'—though based on broader evidence—is not quite convincing, especially when we realize that some of these women were married, and also that goddesses were called *nḥt* (Hathor: Cairo CG 20016/ANOC 11; Renenutet in the temple at Medinet Madi). One should consult Berlev, *RdE* 23 (1971), 24–6, 42, and his lengthy discussion of Louvre E.25485.<sup>3</sup>

The sole 'attendant' title is not attested very often (two times in the tomb of a nomarch, on the three stelae of ANOC-group 32, perhaps on Louvre E.25485, and as *nḥsjt nḥt* on Cairo CG 1481 from Dahshur). The fuller title of *nḥt njt tpjt-njswt* is attested on seven stelae and one seal (p. 62/64, 150). The reading *tpjt-njswt* is derived from its occurrence on Cairo CG 20743 (p. 64 n.26);

<sup>3</sup> O. D. Berlev, *Trudovoe naselenie Egipta v epochu srednego carstva* (Moscow, 1972), 51 ff. The reading of the term on the Louvre monument is very uncertain. The *t* restored in *nḥ [t]* (*Revue du Louvre*, 13.1 (1963), 6, fig. 5, line 2) is invisible and perhaps a hole in the stone, as can be seen on the original.



from the original publication by Maspero, *ZÄS* 20 (1882), 122 f., § XXII,A, it is clear that stelae Cairo CG 20743 and 20481 once belonged together, and that on the latter the full version of the title was recorded. The 'King's First' is perhaps a designation for a king's favourite, but on the above-discussed stela it may be only an abbreviation for the full title. The reading as *ḥnt njt tpjt-njswt* is supported by the parallels *ḥkrw-njswt-wrtjt* and *ḥjmt-njswt-wrt*, written with the same honorific transposition of *njswt*. All these ladies seem to have the same rank as the 'King's Ornaments' or the 'Servants of the Ruler' and were attached to the residence, either at Memphis or Thebes. Ward's argument is very fruitful here, but it must be emphasized again, that there is no evidence for the title *ḥnt njt nrt* before the Seventeenth Dynasty (Ward's no. 13 (p. 64) is perhaps from the Eighteenth Dynasty; no. 14 is a personal name; no. 15 clearly designates a man).

The part on the term *ḥbswt* is the first comprehensive study of this designation for a wife. Nothing indicates a relation of concubinage. This is stressed by the translated part of the Hekanakhte papers (p. 66). That *ḥbswt*-women were the second wives of their husbands is a plausible suggestion. I would like to add two instances of this term on stelae: on Cairo CG 20649 (MK) and Toulouse no. 1175 (Varille, *Kêmi* 3 (1930-5), 39 ff., pl. i: NK). By contrast, the section on the *ḥnrw(t)* offers no advance on the studies of Edel, *Das Akazienhaus*; Nord, *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan*, 137-45; Bryan, *BES* 4 (1982), 35-54; Green, *The Ancient World* 6 (1983), 1-4. No one will seriously retain the old translation 'harem-woman' for *ḥnrw(t)*. This term designates women attached as musical-performers to temples and/or the palace.

Chapter V deals with the *jpt-njswt*, and it must be stressed that there was nothing in ancient Egypt—at least in the Old and Middle Kingdoms—corresponding to the harem in the Islamic world. But Ward goes one step too far, relying too much on Lorton's weak arguments in favour of a translation 'Royal counting-house' (Lorton, *JARCE* 11 (1974), 98-101). There was no need for such an institution at the well-organized Egyptian court. But as can be deduced from some inscriptional sources (especially Iha from el-Bersheh, and the Story of Sinuhe) and the published architectural plans of so-called harems, there was something like private quarters at the king's court, where the king, his wife, mother, siblings, and children lived. This part of the palace was closed to the public, but open to some officials and servants, e.g. the 'attendant of the private quarters' (*ḥnt njt jpt*: stela Geneva D 51 and *JEA* 51 (1965), 27(6), pl. xii, 1).

I am still not convinced that the variations of the *jpt*-sign should hinder us from reading consistently 'private quarters' of the palace. This translation is not out of place in any context so far published. There is a certain development of the hieroglyphic sign, because it was derived from an archaic building, perhaps no longer in use in dynastic times. But still it reminds us of the domed ceilings of ancient Egyptian living-rooms (cf. the reconstruction of the ceilings of the so-called 'palace' at Medinet Habu: *Excavations at Medinet Habu*, III, pl. 8). In his Appendix C (p. 95 ff.) Ward discusses the supposed hieratic sign for *jpt*. Indeed, his evidence shows that there was no real hieratic sign for this word; the Egyptians, rather, sketched roughly the hieroglyphic sign  $\text{𓆏}$ . This can be seen by a comparison of  $\text{𓆏}$  on Cairo CG 20418 (ANOC 68.2, pl. 33)<sup>4</sup> with the hieratic sign in Sinuhe R3 on the Ashmolean ostracon, line 2. On stela Geneva D 51 we have a semi-hieroglyph resembling the hieratic *nst*. Indeed,  $\text{𓆏}$  and  $\text{𓆏}$  could be very easily confused when drawn quickly.

Chapter VI deals with the so-called harem of Mentuhotep II, the ladies of the six chapels in his Deir el-Bahari temple. I think everyone will agree that their function was primarily religious. This is fully demonstrated by the list of their titles published by L. Kuchman (*JSSSEA* 9 (1978-9), 21-5). It should be stressed that Neferu was *not* a 'King's Chief Wife'; this is an old misreading deriving from Gabet, already corrected by O. Perdu (*RdE* 29 (1977), 85n.116) and Kuchman (op. cit. 23n.5). It seems possible to me that Neferu was a real sister of Mentuhotep, Tem being his chief wife. Neferu had some extraordinary titles: for instance, she was perhaps the first lady to bear the title 'Mistress of the household' (*nbt-pr jmsḥt Nfrw*, which occurs on an unpublished block from her tomb: New York, MMA 26.3.353 K, cf. Lilyquist, *Ancient Egyptian Mirrors* (Munich, 1979), 36n.401 (I owe this information to Dr Lilyquist). This title was then used by the wives of the

<sup>4</sup>The reading *jpt* seems to be proved by the sign in the same title of the same man on the seal BM 28241 (Martin, *Seals*, no. 1191 = pl. 39: 11).

nomarchs and later (from the end of Amenemhet II?) also by commoners. Edel's earlier evidence, *Beiträge zu den ägyptischen Sinaiinschriften* (Göttingen, 1983), 160, 166 n. 10, is very doubtful.

Chapter VII contains some notes on the male titles which have been mentioned. Two notes seem to be enough. The 'table' (*tt*) does not *mean* 'table', but is a term for 'staff, group, troupe', attached to the king (the 'ruler'). This term was used for the military escort of the king, but does not designate members of the household. The interpretation of RILN no. 72 (p. 124) is clearly wrong. The title on Louvre C 15 is 'Overseer of horned animals', as can be seen on the published photograph in *RdE* 1 (1933), pl. ix.

The later additions of Ward (pp. 150-4, notably his criticism of Bryan's (1982) suggestions) are clearly not enough. There are many shortcomings and interpretations which require comment. But one has to consider that Ward had already completed the manuscript for this study in 1983 (p. 2), and, of course, the surroundings of Beirut are not very comfortable for scientific research. Ward's study is a good stimulus to further work. He has collected a mass of sources and his book will be a reference-work for everybody studying the social position of women in ancient Egypt.

DETLEF FRANKE

*Chariots and Related Equipment from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn.* By M. A. LITTAUER and J. H. CROUWEL. Tut'ankhamūn's Tomb Series, VIII. 285 × 225 mm. Pp. xi + 118, pls. 78. Oxford, The Griffith Institute, 1985. ISBN 0 900416 39 4. Price £45.00.

During his clearance of the tomb of Tutankhamun between 1922 and 1931, Howard Carter recovered—and to a greater or lesser extent documented in his excavation notes—the component parts of six chariots, together with associated bridle elements and fragments of harness. The significance of this material for the study of chariots and warfare in Egypt and in the ancient Near East generally can hardly be exaggerated, and yet here, as so often in Egyptology, the student has been hampered by incomplete and selective publication and by the inaccessibility to detailed examination of much of the original material. Thanks to the labours of M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, however, this situation has been amply remedied: in a single volume we are presented with a full, definitive and well-organized catalogue of the Tutankhamun chariot equipment which not only incorporates the surviving excavation records, but is based upon a close, detailed and, above all, informed examination of the objects themselves.

The book opens with a brief survey of the manuscript source materials upon which the catalogue has been based (pp. 1-3), and a useful glossary of technical terms (pp. 4-7, derived from Littauer and Crouwel, *Wheeled Vehicles and Ridden Animals in the Ancient Near East* [Leiden/Cologne, 1979]). The catalogue itself is divided into three parts: the first (pp. 9-53) deals with the four chariots and elements of chariot equipment recovered from the Antechamber, the second (pp. 53-63) with the two chariots and related equipment from the Treasury, and the third (p. 63) with two stray pieces found in the Annexe. The catalogue is followed by a commentary (pp. 67-91), incorporating a listing of comparative material from elsewhere in Egypt, a chapter on materials and construction techniques (pp. 92-5), and, finally, the authors' concluding remarks (pp. 96-104). An important appendix (pp. 105-8) discusses in some detail—for the first time—the chariot recovered from an unknown private tomb at Thebes by the Champollion-Rosellini expedition in 1829, and now preserved in Florence.

It emerges from this study that Tutankhamun's six chariots, though basically similar in construction, differ markedly in points of detail and had clearly been individually designed. These differences, according to Littauer and Crouwel, 'must stem from the different purposes for which they were intended' (p. 99). The Tutankhamun chariots are classified by the authors as follows: A1 and A2, Carter's 'state chariots', highly embellished and primarily intended for parade and ceremonial use; A3, only slightly less elaborate but also 'sumptuous enough to have been used for parade purposes' (p. 100); A4, an undecorated and more practical vehicle which 'might have been used as a travelling chariot on campaign' (*ibid.*), and the gilded vehicles A5 and A6, which Carter regarded as hunting chariots (*cf. ibid.*).

We learn that the actual proportions and physical properties of Tutankhamun's chariots are quite different from what might otherwise have been inferred from a study of the two-dimensional evidence alone. They show that, in fact, the Egyptian chariot was a broad vehicle with widely tracked wheels, open at the back and displaying great technical sophistication. The use of bent wood and leather, together with thong-mesh flooring and elaborately constructed wheels, made for great lightness with no attendant sacrifice of strength. The choice of materials for the component parts of such chariots was clearly intentional, with, for example, elm, notable for its strength and for its susceptibility to heat bending, being frequently used for the frame of the body (see further below) and birch bark, with its water-proofing qualities, as a protective covering for those areas which had been glued and bound with rawhide (wheel naves, felloe joints, etc.).

One regrettable feature of the Tutankhamun assemblage is the poor preservation of the leather bridle elements, of which, on the whole, only the gold coverings survived (see further below). Similarly, there were no bits in evidence at the time of the discovery; such items, of solid metal, had perhaps proved too great a temptation for the tomb's plunderers. Other elements of chariot equipment were recovered, however, and their firm identification will prove of great assistance to those archaeologists and museum curators who might be faced with classifying the otherwise indeterminate remnants of this sort of material.

Criticisms of this book are few. The following notes and comments may, however, be ventured.

P. 15. The dimensions given for the sections of the linch pins must be wrong:  $0.17 \times 0.18$  is presumably to be corrected to  $0.017 \times 0.018$ .

Pp. 34f. These gold-foil harness appliqués are apparently not now to be found—in which case, for example, the reading of G58 will remain a problem, and nothing will ever be known of the rest of the text on the fragments of G72.

P. 68, 4b. These leather harness fragments were excavated not by Carter, as might otherwise be inferred, but by Harry Burton during the course of his work in the West Valley in 1912 (rather than the alternative dates of 1905 and 1914 suggested by Carter, *MSS*, I.A.124(6): cf. *Rapport sur la marche du Service des Antiquités 1912* (Cairo, 1913), 26); see Carter *MSS*, I.A.138(10). Other, perhaps related, fragments of a similar nature were discovered by Émile Chassinat in 1905 among the 'éclats de calcaire provenant... du creusement le l'hypogée d'Aménôthès III': cf. *EEF Archaeological Report 1905-6* (London, 1906), 82.

P. 68, n. 2. Despite the authors' reservations, I would still maintain (cf. *GM* 46 (1981), 11-19; *GM* 53 (1982), 33-5) that the material discovered by Harold Jones within KV 58 came from a single burial: that of Ay within WV 23. This is not to deny that certain elements from the KV 58 assemblage may have been intended originally for the burial of Tutankhamun—as, indeed, certain objects found in Tutankhamun's tomb clearly had been intended for the respective burials of Amenophis IV and Nefernefruaten/'Smenkhkare'; but the evidence for the employment of any of the KV 58 harness within KV 62 must be considered very doubtful indeed.

P. 69. To the scattered New-Kingdom chariot remains cited by Littauer and Crouwel may be added the following pieces in the collections of the British Museum:-

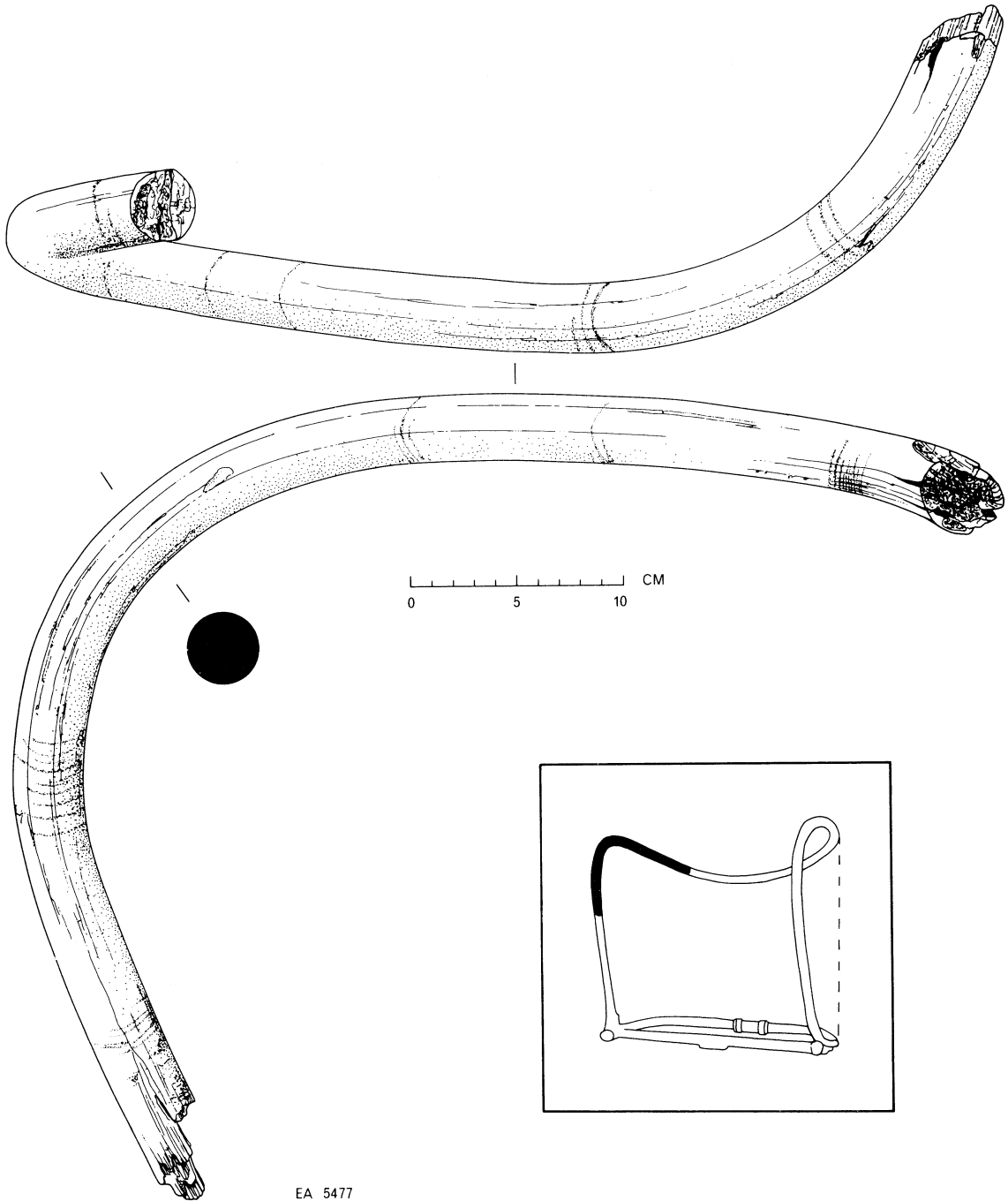
(i) EA 5477, part of the wooden top rail from a chariot body, recently re-identified (Birch, characteristically, had recognized its true nature a century or more ago) among fragments from the Salt collection of 1823. Provenance unrecorded, but presumably from the Valley of the Kings. Samples taken from this rail, examined by Paula Rudell of the Jodrell Laboratory, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, match Kew's reference material of *Ulmus sp.* (elm), and confirm Chalk's earlier identification of the wood from the frame of Tutankhamun chariot A6. Cf. fig. 1.

(ii) EA 55095, calcite yoke finial, from el-Amarna (EES). Fig. 2.

(iii) EA 58510, calcite yoke finial, from el-Amarna (EES). Fig. 2.

(iv) EA 22606, calcite yoke-saddle finial, from Gebelein (Greville Chester). Fig. 2.

(v) EA 48638, limestone yoke-saddle finial, from Tell el-Yahudiya (Greville Chester). Fig. 2.



EA 5477

FIG. 1. Drawn by Christine Barratt

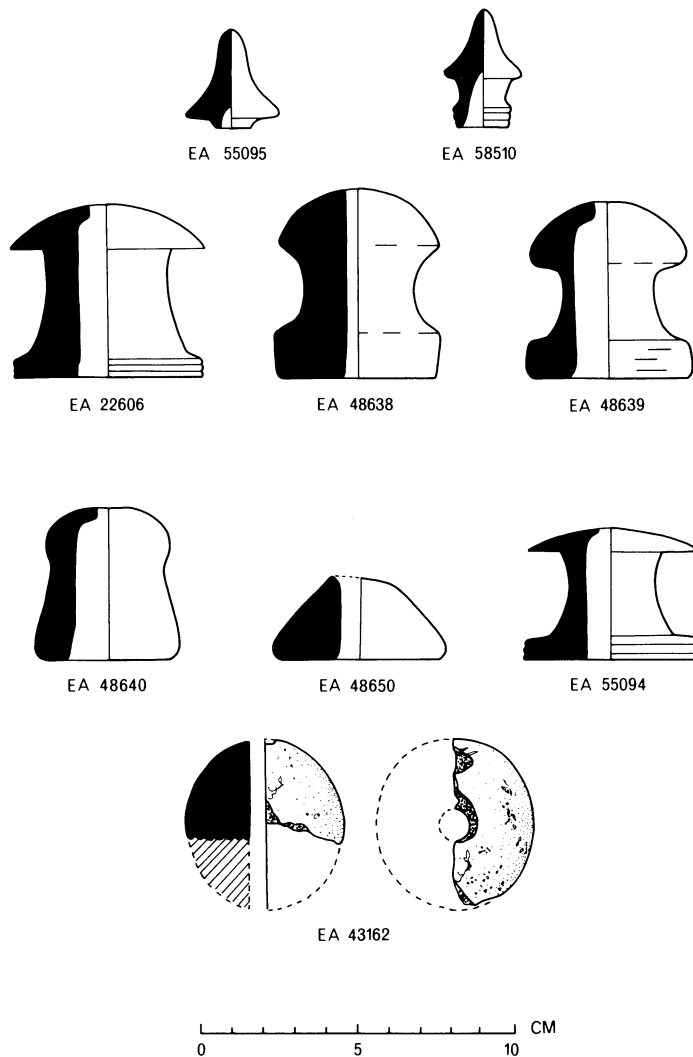


FIG. 2. Drawn by Christine Barratt

(vi) EA 48639, calcite yoke-saddle finial, from Tell el-Yahudiya (Greville Chester). Fig. 2.

(vii) EA 48640, limestone yoke-saddle finial, from Benha (Greville Chester). Fig. 2.

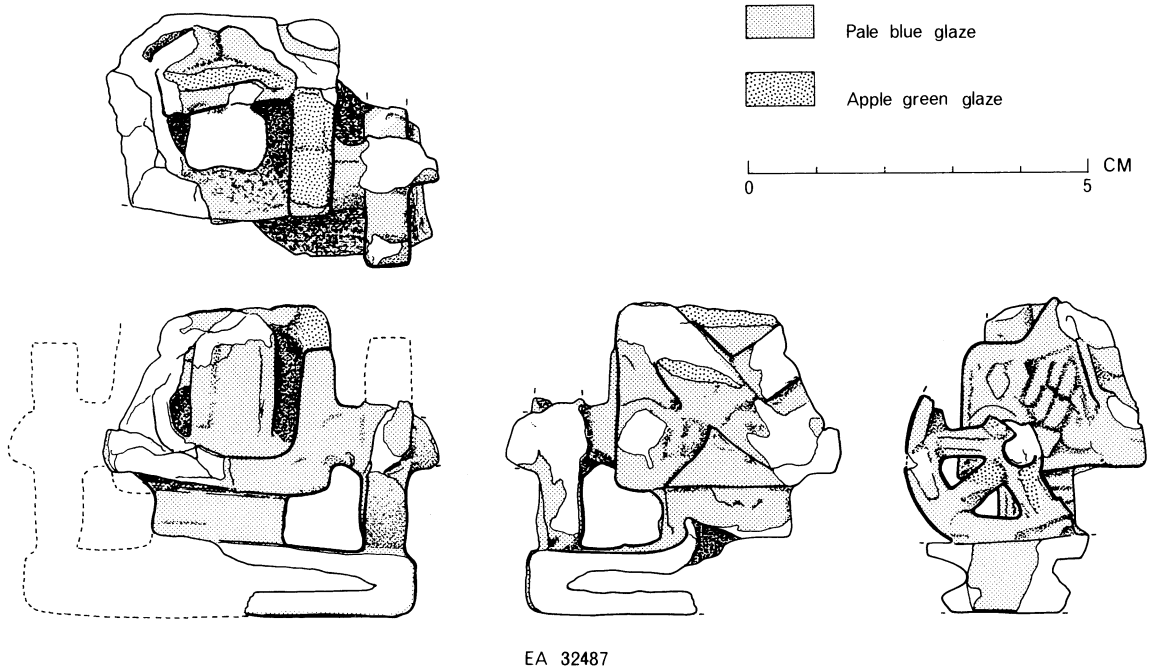
(viii) EA 48650, limestone yoke-saddle finial(?), provenance unrecorded (Greville Chester). Fig. 2.

(ix) EA 55094, calcite yoke-saddle finial, from el-Amarna (EES). Fig. 2.

(x) EA 43162, yellow faience whip-stock knob(?), from el-Amarna (EES). Fig. 2.

Note also:

(xi) EA 32487, fragmentary model chariot in blue-glazed faience picked out in green, 'found under a Column of the Temple at Der el-Bahari'. Although its authenticity was at one time considered doubtful, the surviving characteristics of this piece (so far as they can be made out)—rectangular body frame, position of axle—suggest a date in the late first millennium BC or after: cf. Littauer and Crowel, *Wheeled Vehicles*, 145 ff. Presented by Somers Clarke. Fig. 3.



EA 32487

FIG. 3. Drawn by Christine Barratt

(xii) I owe to Mavis Bimson of the British Museum Research Laboratory knowledge of a letter, dated 21 October 1951, from A. Stoppelaere, Chef de la Section des Restaurations of the Service des Antiquités in Cairo, to Étienne Drioton, Directeur-Général, concerning the restoration of 'un harnais de cheval de la XVIIIe. Dynastie que le Musée du Caire vient d'acheter' from a Cairo dealer. Samples of this harness, together with a copy of the letter, were sent to the British Museum Research Laboratory, where they were retained, for advice as to possible conservation treatment. The Cairo harness is otherwise unknown to me, and its precise nature and subsequent fate perhaps merit further investigation.

P. 88. It may perhaps be questioned whether the fragmentary linen housing H2 from the Treasury is 'without material parallels'. Certainly, there would seem to be no insurmountable difficulty in seeing the embroidered linen 'robe' fragments recovered by Carter from the tomb of Tuthmosis IV (KV 43) (H. Carter and P. E. Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV* (Westminster, 1904), 143-4) as originally having formed part of a similar housing.

Pp. 89-90, n. 6. The two spheres, British Museum EA 37500 and EA 63779 (imprecisely described by J. D. Cooney, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, 4. Glass* (London, 1976), 156-7, nos. 1823-4) were intended originally to be solid, i.e. with the holes at either end stopped up, and so cannot be the knobs of whip-stocks as suggested. They are more likely to be elaborate toys—rattles—of the type represented in a less sophisticated form by British Museum EA 46709-12 (illustrated in Miriam Stead, *Egyptian Life* (London, 1986), fig. 85, far left and far right).

P. 90. A recent article by R. K. Ritner, *GM* 94 (1986), 53-6, proposes that the 'dagger-shaped objects' K1-4 are to be recognized as linch-pins—though the identification is not without its difficulties, as Littauer and Crowel have now stressed: *GM* 100 (1987), 57-61.

All in all, Littauer and Crowel have produced a stimulating reference work of lasting importance, an impressive addition to a fine series. They are fully deserving of our thanks.

C. N. REEVES

*The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I.* By the EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY. Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak, Volume 4 (= Oriental Institute Publications, Volume 107). 490 × 384 mm; text-fascicle, 273 × 201 mm. Pp. xxiv + 166, figs. 2, key-plan, pls. 50. Chicago, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Illinois, 1986. ISBN 0 918986 42 7. Price \$125.

The issue of a new volume by the Chicago Epigraphic Survey is always an Egyptological event—especially so, when it involves such famous material as the Karnak war-scenes engraved by order of Sethos I. These have been well-known (after a fashion) through the venerable works of Champollion, Rosellini, Lepsius and, latterly, Wreszinski; but the present work must rank as the definitive publication of these reliefs. Study of these reliefs raises so many issues, that the major editor of this work (W. J. Murnane) found it necessary to publish a separate monograph (*The Road to Kadesh*, Chicago, 1985), to deal with wider historical issues.

Here, the edition of the numerous label-texts to the scenes replaces all others; a fair number of corrections affect this reviewer's *Ramesside Inscriptions*, I, 6–32, for example (to be taken up in VII.f). Most of these are matters of fine detail; one or two are of greater interest. Thus, the shadowy 'prince' Neb-en-khast-neb (once thought to be Sethos I's elder son, elder brother of Ramesses II, who had perhaps even eliminated him) is finally banished from these walls and from history. For the princely figure in pl. 6 (:28–34) of Ramesses II replaces not a prince but an unnamed official (perhaps already altered to another officer, the mysterious Mehy(?); cf. pp. 19–20). A sequence of one official carved over another—again Mehy—and then restored to a fanbearer(?) occurs in pl. 10. Elsewhere on these walls, we now have an official's figure several times recut to represent Ramesses II as prince (pl. 12, p. 37; pls. 23/25, p. 81: Mehy; and pl. 29/30, pp. 92–4, two figures, one also Mehy). The presence of this Mehy, a 'mere' troop-leader (so, rather than the meaningless phrase, 'group-marshaller') in the scenes has caused some wonderment (e.g., Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*, 163 ff.). However, we should perhaps view it in a wider context. Thus, Kamose's famous second stela has the official Neshi clearly portrayed at its foot, as he was responsible for its execution on the king's order; in Nubia, viceroys can be seen to act similarly. And Hatshepsut included named high officials in her audience-scene on the Punt-expedition in the reliefs in her Deir el-Bahari temple. So, Mehy probably was inserted into these scenes simply because he had served Sethos I in some special way in the Levant campaigns (cf. Amenemhab cutting off an elephant's trunk to safeguard Tuthmosis III). Also, the new line of pharaohs was initially prepared to interact more openly with commoners; cf. Ramesses II's encouragement to his workforce on the Manshiet el-Sadr stela, for example. In turn, it is reasonable to suggest that Ramesses II as a growing boy was taken on at least some of these campaigns; later, after all the reliefs were long finished, he insisted that *his* figure (as heir) should replace that of the commoner (perhaps already dead). Nothing more sinister need be assumed here. One may note in passing (re. p. 92 and n. 7) that *sw tpy*, 'first king's son', does not mean the king's firstborn son: it means simply the eldest living king's son by a particular wife (cf. the evidence cited in *JEA* 68 (1982), 121 point 1, especially on Meryatum, sixteenth son of Ramesses II with this title, as eldest-surviving son of Nefertari when he bore it). Thus Ramesses II may still have been junior to a brother who died in infancy.

In the label-texts, it is important to notice that the supposed goddess Menhyt now disappears; instead, we have (pl. 3) Sethos I beloved of Montu and Astarte, adding thus a fresh attestation for this colourful lady in Egypt as patron of war and the warring king (cf. pp. 7–8, note *h*). This fits her role perfectly: on her and Anath, see W. F. Albright, *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*,<sup>3</sup> 1953. Again, the reading *ḥsi Ht*, 'vile chief of Hatti', is now (against, e.g. *KRI* 1, 17:10, and Wreszinski) to be replaced by *ṭṭ ḥsi Ht*, 'the vile land of Hatti', with less historical impact.

On the wider interpretation of scenes (and in series), the Chicago editors hesitate over the location of the receipt of tribute (pl. 4) in the Year 1 sequence of the Shasu campaign from Egypt to Gaza (pp. 1, 3). That the topic is placed here merely 'to avoid monotony' (p. 3) seems very unlikely; that factor never seemed to worry the designers of ritual-scenes in temples. The episode in pl. 4 happens not at a simple fort, but at a settlement (*dmi*) on the route to Gaza, whose name is now lost. Why not at Raphia (Egyptian *Rph*)? Learning of the king's triumphal approach to Canaan, scattering all opposition, a body of Canaanite petty rulers comes out to [Raphia?] to meet him and show their loyalty in the acid test of offering gifts and tribute. For the sequence of scenes on the East side wall, note the arrows ←•→, in the diagram, *KRI* 1, 6; this 'split' orientation is

beyond all doubt in scenes of Ramesses II at Abydos and some of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, and fits very well here.

The photograph (pl. 22) of part of the topmost of three scenes on the West wall (abutting on the North face of Pylon II), all masked by Twenty-second Dynasty masonry, is frustratingly tantalising rather than informative. One can only hope against hope that (some day) the Egyptian authorities can find resource and opportunity to remove (even if temporarily) these masking blocks and allow the recording of these hidden scenes. They may not contribute much historically, but could do so; after barely 350 years' exposure (rather than over three thousand) they should be gratifyingly well preserved, perhaps with much of their original colour. Conversely, after all the work at Karnak, it is sad that no worthwhile trace has ever yet been found of the missing top register of the Sethos I war-scenes on the North and East walls; the Chicago team did succeed in finding enough fragments to reconstitute the friezes above, but not for these long-lost scenes.

On the historical and topographical plane, there are gleanings to be garnered both from within this volume and from outside it. The long series of forts and wells shown along the North-Sinai route in the Karnak reliefs can now be compared with actual remains found in recent excavations; witness the remains and plans of actual forts and pools (with associated installations) uncovered at Bir el-'Abd, Haruba and Deir el-Balah, and yielding the name of Sethos I as builder: see (with references) the reports by E. D. Oren and T. Dothan in A. F. Rainey (ed.), *Egypt, Israel and Sinai* (Tel Aviv, 1987), 69 ff., 121 ff.

A matter of distinct historical importance has been the establishment of the fact that the formal Nubian names (borrowed from Tuthmosis III's lists) to be found in the topographic lists of the twin triumph-scenes had been surcharged with Asiatic names that actually reflect the campaigning done by Sethos I himself. Of course, the listing of such names of places genuinely subject to Sethos I does *not* imply that they were all destroyed by him (in the way that Palestinian archaeologists tend too readily to assume, when names occur in such lists). These 'original' toponyms (cf. pp. 56/57, 65) can usefully be compared with what we find on the two Qurneh sphinxes, the short Abydos lists and from other sources. We can then distinguish the following groups.

A. North-central Jordan valley/Jezreel: Paḥil, Hammat, Beth-Shan and nearby Yeno'am; the *Dmt* of the Qurneh sphinxes appears to be a graphic error for *Hmt*—this group reflects the actions reported on the first Beth-Shan stela, Year 1; curiously, Rehob from that source fails to appear in the Sethos lists.

B. Key-points, coastal and inland, going north: Qumidi is the inland administrative centre in the Biqa' (at Kamid el-Loz), while Accho, Ullaza and Tyre-with-Uṣu line the coast into Phoenicia (Sethos I left a stela at Tyre, *KRI* 1, 117). The enigmatic *Qmhm* belongs in this general group.

C. Beth-'Anath (in Galilee?), and the obscure *Qrmm*; traces of four more names, Qurneh South sphinx.

D. A mixed group: *Qdr* is the *Qdr* in land of *Hnm*, associated with chiefs of Lebanon in the Karnak scenes. *Qrt-rs* (not *Qrts*, as on p. 65:63) might be an abbreviated form for Transjordanian (Qiriath)-Ashteroth-(Qarnaim); cf. Tell Shihab stela of Sethos I in that region (*KRI* 1, 17); Hazor is in Galilee, and Raphia on the road back from Gaza to Egypt.

E. The *Qrt-nb* of Abydos does not occur at Karnak or Qurneh; none of the names on the second Beth-Shan stela occur in any list. Qadesh, which occurs in the 'traditional' parts of the lists, was, of course, taken by Sethos I (Karnak scene; Tell Nebi Mend stela, *KRI* 1, 25), even if not retained by him.

In closing, two infinitesimally small grouses: Wreszinski is consistently misspelled with a final *y*—and why use the obscure term *Flickstein* (unexplained until p. 95), when 'stone patch' or 'patching stone' would do? Otherwise, it is an immense pleasure to commend this splendid work to all users.



*Ramses III. in den Gräbern seiner Söhne.* By FRIEDRICH ABITZ. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, 72. 236 × 162 mm. Pp. 148, figs. 31. Freiburg, Schweiz, Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1986. ISBN 3 7278 0369 X (Freiburg); ISBN 3 525 53701 8 (Göttingen). Price SF 38.

Already known for his earlier works on tomb-shafts, function of enshrined statuettes, and scenes of kings and gods in New-Kingdom royal tombs, Dr Abitz here considers the rich decoration of the tombs of the sons of Ramesses III in the royal valleys, and Ramesses III's role in that decoration.

This work is in four main parts. In the first, Abitz gives a very precise description of the decoration in each tomb, with excellent key-plans, of tombs QV 44 (Khaemwase), 55 (Amenhirkhopshef), 53 (Ramesses), 43 (Sethirkhopshef), 42 (Prehirwonmef), and KV 3 (name lost). In the second part, Abitz then studies the role of Ramesses III in these tombs, that of the princes themselves (vastly more modest than the king's role), linked with the Sons of Horus, and that of the various gods. In the third part, he makes summary comparisons between the decoration of these tombs, that of Queen Tyti (QV 52), and that of Ramesses III (KV 11). From this detail, he draws the following conclusions (pp. 100–8). (1) The princely tombs were constructed for real sons of Ramesses III in their and his lifetimes. (2) The princes were here identified with the Sons of Horus. (3) No chronological sequence can be established for the order of construction of these tombs. (4) The king is more important in these tombs than are his sons; much of the decoration is drawn from that found in the king's own tomb. On the one hand, these tombs were actually intended for the princes who owed their rank in any case to their exalted father; but on the other hand, it is possible (as Abitz suggests) that Ramesses III designed their decoration to serve as a substitute-set of ritual scenes for his *own* hereafter, in case some later ruler usurped his tomb in the way that he had expunged Tewosret in hers, in favour of his father Setnakht—and as Ramesses VI did to Ramesses V a decade later, one may add. Abitz's suggestion cannot be formally proved, but seems reasonable.

In the fourth part, the author turns to data on the offspring of Ramesses III as attested on monuments beyond these tombs, giving a careful survey of the usual, much discussed sources (e.g. the Medinet Habu processions of princes). Within the princely tombs, Abitz would discount entirely the titles *sꜣ nsw smsw* [with which *sꜣ smsw n Hr-šty* in QV 43 (p. 123), should not be confused—K. A. K] and *sꜣ nsw tpy* as applying to the hereafter, not to the princes' roles in this life—hence of no evidential value for the latter. This could be so, if taken in isolation. But these very titles also belong to princes in the Nineteenth Dynasty, well outside of tombs! There, the usage is very clearly 'Senior King's Son' [heir-apparent] and 'Eldest [surviving] King's Son' [by a specific wife], respectively (for evidence, see *JEA* 68 (1982), 121 point 1). Thus, it remains an open question whether one should dismiss these titles quite so easily as Abitz does; their non-appearance in the Medinet Habu princely processions proves absolutely nothing. At any rate, Abitz agrees that Ramesses [IV] and VI in the Medinet Habu procession are sons of Ramesses III, as are the other princes there named (i.e. Ramesses VIII and the non-kings). He also agrees that the existing princely tombs do not prove whether their owners predeceased or survived Ramesses IV as heir to Ramesses III. The choice here depends on whether or not one accepts Abitz's dismissal of any earthly role for the titles *sꜣ nsw smsw* and *sꜣ nsw tpy*; if so, the question remains open, but if not (in the light of the Nineteenth Dynasty examples), then one must concede that these princes, who bear such titles, predeceased Ramesses IV. That Meryatum was a younger son of Ramesses III (p. 141, c), still active as high priest in Heliopolis under Ramesses IV and V, is no problem. If (as is likely) he died under either Ramesses V, VI, VII or VIII, then he would not have been available to succeed the latter. Instead, Ramesses IX Khaemwase, probable nephew of Ramesses VIII (if the son of Montuhirkhopshef, son of Ramesses III) succeeded. There was also plenty of time for Khaemwase son of Ramesses III to receive his sarcophagus under Ramesses IV, and die thereafter under Ramesses IV–VIII but before Ramesses VIII—and for any alterations to his already-finished tomb. So, Abitz's doubts here are wholly groundless, and appeal to von Beckerath needless. One may doubt whether too much stress should be laid on the title *iry-pt* (without qualification) attributed to Ramesses [IV] and VI in the Medinet Habu processions. Ramesses VI might have borne it as heir under Ramesses V, who appears to have died without leaving any son

of his own. It seems most unlikely that the Amenhirkhopshef (no. 9 in the Medinet Habu processions) is Ramesses VI, when he so blatantly appears at nos. 2 + 3. Far simpler to take no. 9 as another prince who died early (whether of QV 55 or not), cf. also Abitz, p. 142 top. That the simple form of Ramesses III's cartouches so popular in QV (Abitz's type 1 + 2) *does* occur early in the reign is beyond all doubt (used by the vizier Hori in a chapel associated with both Setnakht and Ramesses III), but we do not know how long this form continued in use. It surely did not take thirty years to dig to, and decorate, Ramesses III's burial-chamber in KV 11. The doubts expressed about the originality of the names of princes in the Year 22 epigraph at Karnak seem exaggerated to this reviewer.

In short, Dr Abitz has given us a very compact and highly useful study of these familiar, but not too well understood, princely tombs; historically proven changes (at least since this writer's work) are very small—any substantial change in the historical picture must come from future discoveries of fresh data.

K. A. KITCHEN

*Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*. Tome II (Nos XVIII–XXXIV). By JAROSLAV ČERNÝ, catalogue completed and edited by YVAN KOENIG. Documents de fouilles, XXII. 320 × 245 mm. Pp. i + 7, 24 pls. transcription, 23 pls. photographs. Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1986. Price not stated.

In 1978 the late Professor Posener published the Černý transcriptions of the first seventeen IFAO papyri from Deir el-Medina, with selective translations and a full complement of photographs. In this volume the same format, without translations, is applied by Koenig to Černý's work on a further seventeen papyri from the same site. Photographs are given for all but pDeM 32, the label for three fragments transcribed by Černý but presently unlocated.

No future work on the IFAO Deir el-Medina papyri can ignore the link made by Posener with the Chester Beatty archive, in his introduction to the first volume. His comments were taken up by Pestman in a searching exploration of the complete archive, under the title "Who were the owners, in the 'Community of Workmen', of the Chester Beatty Papyri" in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina*, eds. R. J. Demarée and Jac. J. Janssen (Leiden, 1982), 155–72. Pestman established as the core of the archive the literary collection of Qenherkhepshef, passing first to his wife Naunakhte and then to her children by Khaemnun. Legal documents and letters joined the archive before its final deposition between a pyramid and tomb-chapel to the south of Deir el-Medina tomb-chapel no. 1166. Upon discovery in 1928, the papyri ironically parted much as they had come together, the literary pieces, legal papers and letters going their separate ways. The present volume supplies not only the known items from the Naunakhte conveyance, but also at least one other letter, pDeM 18. That letter was sent by the scribe of the temple of Hathor, Lady of Hut-sekhem, Amenmose to the craftsman Maanakhtef. Curiously, Amenmose addresses not Maanakhtef himself but an unidentified lady, presumably in his household. As Koenig points out, this letter has the same interested parties and same topic, a commission for furniture, as pDeM 8 in the first volume. Amenmose asks the lady to send the furniture when Nakhtmin, presumably his messenger, arrives. It would be nice to associate the temple of Hathor in this letter with the official sanctuary of the goddess at Deir el-Medina, but the place specified seems to be Hut-sekhem, that is Hu in the seventh Upper Egyptian nome.

For pDeM 28, 30 and 31, Černý notes as the provenance a 'gd. trouvaille mars 1940', implying the discovery of a second major collection of papyri and perhaps other items after the 1928 find of the Chester Beatty archive. It is difficult to pinpoint this 'major find' in the publication of the 1940 excavation, Bernard Bruyère *Rapports sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935–1940)* (IFAO XX) 1er fasc. (1948), 2e fasc. (1952). If any one passage in the report justifies the description 'major find', it comes perhaps on p. 110 of the first fascicle. There Bruyère is relating the finds from cellar no. 1437, northeast of the group 1400–1401–1402; 'derrière le mur ouest de la première salle voûtée,

entre la paroi de briques et la paroi de roche, on a découvert une grande quantité de fragments de papyrus hiératiques de la XXe dynastie (lettres, comptabilité, listes de *Kenbet*, etc.), un pectoral en belle faïence bleue en forme de déesse ailée (333), un poids en *deben*, fait d'un rognon de silex, un bouchon d'amphore en argile avec sceau illisible, des débris d'une sellette d'offrandes en papyrus et roseaux et un morceau de filet de tenderie'. The 'comptabilité' might conceivably be pDeM 30, though the *qenbet* lists remain a mystery. It must be conceded that the greatest similarity between the papyri of Černý's 'major find' and those in the report lies simply in their exclusively civil character. While pDeM 30 contains the heading of an apportionment in a year 6, pDeM 31 bears a tattered letter concerning sandals, and pDeM 28 is an original letter from the vizier Neferrpenpet to the foremen of the tomb, one of whose names survives as Nekhemmut. The vizier and foreman date the find, whatever its precise provenance, to the immediate successors of Ramesses III.

On p. 105 of his 1935-40 report, Bruyère mentions another find of hieratic papyri fragments, in crypt no. 1436 under the naos of chapel B in the same part of the site, northeast of the village proper; 'cette caverne avec descente dans un puit de briques contenait de nombreux fragments de papyrus hiératiques et un bel ostrakon hiératique à double face (compte de journées de travail et de chômage par le scribe Kenherkhepeshef). Ce sont des oublis des voleurs employés aux fouilles italiennes'. This background to the excavations sets severe limits on our ability to resurrect the lost context of the IFAO papyri. However, some options can be ruled out by notes in Černý's transcription book. He recorded the date of his copy in the margin of some, unfortunately not all, transcriptions, and these may be summarised here:

20/10.34	pDeM 8
11/11.34	pDeM 6, 7, 15
13/11.34	pDeM 24
14/11.34	pDeM 13, 16, 17
30/7.35	pDeM 4.

This batch of dates, inconclusive in itself, tends to reinforce the homogeneity of the papyri in the first volume, pDeM 1-17, and it may be taken to associate pDeM 24 with the same archive. In pDeM 24 a list of goods is recorded as the delivery for year 3, month 4 of Inundation, day 10, to the workmen in the presence of the vizier Neferrpenpet and other notables, including the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht. The workmen include Nakhtmin, Amennakht and Khaemnun. Names and date, of a close successor of Ramesses III, strengthen the association with the Chester Beatty and Naunakhte archive. It seems possible, then, to tie in the greater part of this second volume with two discoveries of papyri dating to the mid-Twentieth Dynasty; the 1928 find encompasses the Chester Beatty, Naunakhte and IFAO (first volume) papyri and now pDeM 18 and 24 as well, while the 1940 discovery covers at present pDeM 28, 30 and 31. Another letter, pDeM 29, mentions correspondence with the vizier and is addressed in part to Nekhemmutef, who could provide a link with either the 1928 or the 1940 finds. The remaining items either contain no personal names (letters pDeM 20, 22, 34) or attest to people without a role in the 1928 and 1940 groups (pDeM 19 where Černý suggested in his notebook [𓆎 𓆏 𓆐 𓆑] as the doorkeeper's name in lines 6-7; pDeM 21 referring to Userhatmes; pDeM 32 journal fragments with Kes son of ʿAapehty; and pDeM 33 a letter from the *sh wdhw*, 'scribe of offerings', Paherypedjet).

This leaves pDeM 27, the report on an adultery dispute involving Merysekhmet, the son of Menna. The scribe in the case was Amennakht, but his name does not lead us to the Chester Beatty-Naunakhte archive, because Černý notes the date of discovery as not 1928, but 1938/39. His notebook also records 'une partie volée par Shamsheddine', recalling an entry in Bruyère's report: 'no. 222 fragment d'un papyrus hiératique roulé. (L'autre partie de ce papyrus fut volée mais a pu être retrouvée en 1950 au Caire)' (2e fasc., p. 53). Whether or not this is the papyrus in question, the entry indicates the discovery of isolated pieces as well as groups of papyri, in case we should be tempted to ascribe every item in the IFAO volumes automatically to a major find.

Although some items in this volume may strike the reader as lamentably broken and slight, even disconnected shreds such as pDeM 20 and 22 add to our stock of sources for the language and material existence of the Theban royal tombmakers. From its origin in temporary labour (perhaps attested in the title *hry hꜣyw n Mꜣꜣt*, 'commander of corvée-workers of Truth (i.e. the necropolis?)', on the early Eighteenth Dynasty stela Florence 2499 = S. Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno*

(Rome, 1965), 25–6, no. 17, pl. 15, to its dispersal in the Twenty-first Dynasty, attested in yet another abundant archive, that of Butehamun, the community of the royal tombmakers must have enjoyed a focal position in the state. The letter pDeM 28, directly from a vizier to the community foremen, illustrates the attention paid by the state at the highest level to this crucial body of workmen. The editor of this volume deserves gratitude and praise for bringing into print Černý's work on invaluable primary material.

Occasional minutiae scarcely warrant note, e.g. pDeM 19, line 5 where Černý restores  $\overline{\text{A}}$  rather than  $\overline{\text{A}}$ , or pDeM 30, line 1 where Černý reads  $\overline{\text{L}}$ , as clearly in the photograph, not  $\overline{\text{L}}$ . I am indebted to Dr Jaromir Malek for access to the Černý notebooks in the Griffith Institute, Oxford.

STEPHEN QUIRKE

*Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose, intendant du domaine d'Amon sous le pontificat de Pinedjem II.* By JEAN-MARIE KRUCHTEN. Monographies Reine Elisabeth, 5. 280 × 220 mm. Pp. viii + 400, pls. 5, 1 folding pl. Bruxelles, Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1986. Price BF 2,200.

Die große Inschrift aus der Zeit *Pj-ndms* II. aus der späten 21. Dynastie, in der der Intendant der Amundomäne *Dhwtj-msjw*, Sohn des *Sw(-m)-rwj-ḫmn* von angeblichen Unregelmäßigkeiten während seiner Amtsführung durch mehrere Orakel des Amun freigesprochen und im Amt bestätigt wird, ist schon vor mehr als hundert Jahren von Naville unter dem gleich mehrfach irreführenden Titel *Inscription historique de Pinodjem III* (Paris, 1883) zum ersten Mal veröffentlicht worden. Sie steht auf der Außenseite der Ostwand des Hofes des 10. Pylons in Karnak und war schon zur Zeit ihrer Entdeckung (1882) schwer beschädigt, besonders in der unteren Partie. Diese Textlücken, sowie ein gewisses Mißtrauen gegen Navilles Kopie, hatten bis heute eine weitere Beschäftigung mit dem wichtigen Text als ganzes verhindert. Nur der obere rechte Teil der Inschrift (Kruchtens Text A) ist mehrfach übersetzt und kommentiert worden. 1905 hat auch K. Sethe die ganze Inschrift für das *Wörterbuch* kopiert. Da der Text seit Naville und Sethe weitere großflächige Beschädigungen erlitten hat, sind diese beiden älteren Kopien für bestimmte Teile nach wie vor unverzichtbar. Die Neuausgabe des Verfassers, der natürlich alle älteren Abschriften herangezogen und den verbleibenden Textbestand gründlich kollationiert hat, macht die Inschrift jetzt endlich in einer zuverlässigen Abschrift wissenschaftlich nutzbar.

Der Verfasser beschreibt zunächst das zur Inschrift gehörige Relief und den architektonischen Kontext (Kapitel 1), sodann den früheren und jetzigen Zustand der Inschrift, die älteren Abschriften, Übersetzungen usw.<sup>1</sup> und die Struktur des Textes (Kapitel 2). Um den eigentlichen philologischen Kommentar zu entlasten, bespricht er schon in diesem Kapitel die verschiedenen Phrasen (Datierungen, Erscheinen des Gottes, Anrede an den Gott, Zustimmung des Gottes, Schlußformeln), die, in gleicher oder ähnlicher Form, wiederholt im Text vorkommen.

Das dritte Kapitel, die abschnittsweise Wiedergabe des kollationierten Textes samt Übersetzung und ausführlichem Kommentar, ist das eigentliche Kernstück des Buches. Kruchten hat dafür nahezu dieselbe Form gewählt wie bei seiner Edition des Haremhabdekrets.<sup>2</sup> Die Präsentation des Textes und der 'kritische Apparat' sind sicher der schwächste Teil des Buches. Es gibt hier zahlreiche Abweichungen gegenüber der Ausklapptafel am Schluß des Buches, wo der Text im Zusammenhang geboten wird. Allerdings handelt es sich dabei ausschließlich um Kleinigkeiten, die Lesung selbst wird, soweit ich gesehen habe, nie davon berührt. Durchweg hat wohl die Ausklapptafel den besseren Text.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nicht erwähnt wird die—allerdings unpublizierte—Dissertation von H.-M. Schenke, *Die Orakel im alten Ägypten*, Berlin (DDR), 1960. Schenke übersetzt dort die Inschrift in Teil 2, 25–34 (Nr. 41), in Teil 1 wird sie vor allem auf den Seiten 5–50 herangezogen.

<sup>2</sup> *Le décret d'Horemheb* (Brüssel, 1981).

<sup>3</sup> Diese Tafel unterscheidet—wie bei Kruchtens Haremhabdekret (s.o.)—die Zustände der Textüberlieferung (vorhanden/früher vorhanden/ergänzt) durch verschiedene Farben. Zumindest für Leute, die auf Xerokopien angewiesen sind, ist das kein besonders freundliches Verfahren. Konsequenterweise durchgeführt ist es überdies nur für den eigentlichen Text: Vom Relief wird bei weitem nicht alles angegeben, was noch Navilles alte Publikation hatte.

Der 'kritische Apparat' gibt einerseits an, worauf die Textwiedergabe beruht (eigene Kollation, bei Naville oder Sethe erhalten, ergänzt), andererseits werden bestimmte Lesungen und Schwierigkeiten diskutiert. Die erste Aufgabe erfüllt dieser Apparat aber nur sehr unvollkommen: Wo etwa nur einzelne Hieroglyphen ergänzt bzw. übernommen werden, ist dies häufig nur der Klapptafel zu entnehmen. Es wäre besser gewesen, sich hier auf die Diskussion der Lesungen zu beschränken und darüber hinaus nur das anzugeben, was nicht schon aus der Faltpfand hervorgeht (z.B. wo Naville und Sethe unterschiedliche Lesungen haben). Auf den Text folgt jeweils die handschriftlich angefertigte Übersetzung mit einer ebenfalls handschriftlichen Interlineartranskription. Wenn sich der Verfasser entschlossen hätte, auf die bei diesem Text doch sicherlich überflüssige Transkription zu verzichten, hätte sich die Übersetzung in Druckschrift wesentlich übersichtlicher gestalten lassen.

Der philologische Kommentar ist sehr breit angelegt und erörtert nahezu alle tatsächlichen oder möglichen Schwierigkeiten. Sprachliche und sachliche Probleme werden dabei mit gleicher Gründlichkeit und Kompetenz behandelt, so daß man sich in den weitaus meisten Fällen Kruchens Analyse und Verständnis des Textes ohne weiteres anschließen kann.

Um einen Überblick über den gesamten Text zu erleichtern, folgt als 4. Kapitel eine zusammenhängende Übersetzung und danach eine Schilderung des chronologischen Ablaufs der Ereignisse (Kapitel 5; nicht unwichtig deshalb, weil sich die Orakelsitzungen über mehrere Jahre erstrecken und erst eine sorgfältige Analyse des Textes die zeitlichen Verhältnisse klärt). Einige Exkurse über Ort und Gelegenheit der Orakelsitzungen (Kapitel 6), die Kultstatuen der Orakel (Kapitel 7), prosopographische Bemerkungen zu den beteiligten Personen (Kapitel 8) sowie ausführliche Indizes beschließen den Band. Die photographische Dokumentation (Planches I-V) umfaßt nur einen kleinen Teil der dem Verfasser zur Verfügung stehenden Aufnahmen.

Wichtige Ergebnisse der Arbeit sind vor allem die Sicherung des Verlaufs und der Datierung der Ereignisse, die Erkenntnis, daß es eine Art 'Orakelfest' gab, d.h. planmäßig stattfindende, sich über viele Tage erstreckende Orakelsitzungen und schließlich weitere Aufschlüsse zur Orakeltechnik.

Um den Ablauf der Ereignisse zu verstehen, muß zunächst die Gliederung des Textes klar sein: Die obere Hälfte der Inschrift, in senkrechten Kolumnen, ist nichts anderes als die, wenn auch sehr ausführliche, Beischrift zum Relief, in der das für *Dhwtj-msjw* entscheidende Ereignis festgehalten ist: Sein 'Freispruch' durch das Amunorakel. In der Beischrift A (rechts oben) wird dieses Ereignis detailliert geschildert. Kruchten ist es gelungen, daß Datum dieser Sitzung zu rekonstruieren: Es dürfte im Jahr 2 (König unsicher), 4. Monat *3ht*, Tag 23 stattgefunden haben.<sup>4</sup>

Die 18 Zeilen der unteren Inschrift (D) sind dagegen (sehr knappe) Vermerke über mehrere Orakelsitzungen in aufeinanderfolgenden Jahren. Die in D, 1-6 geschilderten Vorgänge beziehen sich noch auf dasselbe Datum wie A: Es werden verschiedene 'Affären' des *Dhwtj-msjw* aufgezählt, die untersucht werden sollen. Der im Relief dargestellte 'Freispruch' ist dann der Schlußpunkt dieser Untersuchung. Die weiteren mindestens sieben Sitzungen aber haben später stattgefunden, in den Jahren 2, 3 und 5. Sie erklären sich dadurch, daß offenbar eine Gruppe von Leuten trotz alledem hartnäckig versuchte, *Dhwtj-msjw* aus seinem Amt zu verdrängen. Deshalb bestätigt Amun in diesen späteren Sitzungen noch einmal sein Urteil, indem er *Dhwtj-msjw* von jeder Strafverfolgung freistellt, ihm ein Schutzdekret ausstellt<sup>5</sup> und schließlich sogar erklärt, daß er auch jeden zukünftigen Appell der Konkurrenten an das Orakel unbeachtet lassen werde.

Die Orakel fanden z.T. in Luxor während des Opetfestes statt, die meisten aber in Karnak und zwar in einer 'Fest des *ph-ntr*' genannten Zeremonie, die sich über viele Tage erstreckte und dazu diente, den Gott 'über den Zustand des Landes zu informieren' (Text A, 6-7). Dieses nur in der 21. Dynastie belegte 'Fest' ist also eine Art 'Kabinettsitzung' des Amun als dem Regenten des 'Gottesstaates'.

Zur Frage der Orakeltechnik betont Kruchten zweifellos zu Recht, daß es mehrere Möglichkeiten gab. Die hier im Relief dargestellte scheint eine Art 'Losverfahren' gewesen zu sein,

<sup>4</sup> Mein Einwand unten gegen die Übersetzung von A, 7-8 ändert daran nichts: Es bleibt ja die Zeitspanne von 65 Tagen zu *n shntj. n. f r 3pt m hb. f n 3pt m rnpt tn*, was sich—wie immer es zu verstehen ist—auf den Anfang des Opetfestes beziehen muß.

<sup>5</sup> Diese Interpretation nicht ganz sicher.

wobei der von einem Priester getragene Naos<sup>6</sup> wohl als Losbehälter diente. Das genaue Verfahren bleibt aber dennoch unklar.<sup>7</sup>

Einige Einzelbemerkungen:

—A, 7–8 (Kruchten, p. 67–72):

𓂏𓂐 hier doch zweifellos für *špt*, 'Ärger' (*Wb.* IV, 454), *wj r špt* also 'in Ärger geraten'. Das folgende Verb würde ich *n šntj. n.* lesen; die Schreibung 𓂏 für 𓂐 ist gerade in dieser Zeit gang und gäbe. In der Lücke von Z. 7 könnte ein *jw* gestanden haben. Das ergäbe: '... als der große Gott in Ärger geraten war, weil(?) er nicht nach Luxor fahren lassen konnte ...'. Was immer das bedeuten mag, Kruchens Übersetzung von *wjw r hpt* und seine Beziehung auf die Unterweltfahrt des Sonnengottes scheinen mir ganz unmöglich zu sein.

—A, 12 (Kruchten, p. 76–7):

Ebenfalls für unmöglich halte ich es, *hr* hier als 'fallen' zu verstehen: der Gott bzw. die Barke 'fiel' und markierte dadurch die zu bestrafenden Personen. Schon das Determinativ weist darauf hin, daß hier die Übersetzung des *Wörterbuchs* (III, 321, 5) 'zu Fall bringen' ohne Zweifel das Richtige trifft.

—A, 16:

Kruchten versteht das wiederholte *tw. tw (hr) dd* als 'man sagt' im Sinne von 'die Leute sagen, es gibt ein Gerücht' (p. 106–7). Das hieße aber, daß Amun letztlich nur darüber entscheiden würde, ob 'man' sagte, daß es irgendeine Unregelmäßigkeit mit *Dhwtj-msjw* gebe, die man untersuchen müsse, nicht über die Tatsache selbst. Dies wäre zudem überflüssig, denn die Tatsache, daß eine Orakelentscheidung stattfand, beweist ja, daß es irgendwelche Hinweise gab. *tw. tw (hr) dd* dürfte sich vielmehr auf den Gott beziehen; *tw* 'man' kann ja nicht selten auch eine Umschreibung für den König oder den Gott sein.

—D, 5 (Kruchten, p. 162–3):

Die 𓂏𓂐𓂏 geschriebene Form hier sicher kein 2. Tempus, was nicht in den Zusammenhang paßt, sondern wohl das 'initial prospective' *sdm.f.*<sup>8</sup> Das *pj nb jdd jmn* in derselben Zeile (vgl. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 222) wäre eine Anmerkung wert gewesen.

—D, 11 (Kruchten, p. 218–9):

Navilles Text (p. 219, n. 2), dem Kruchten hier keinen Sinn abgewinnt, läßt sich folgendermaßen verstehen: *jry bsk jmn-R' wdjw*, 'möge (Fut. III) der Diener des Amun-Re (mit Voranstellung aus Respekt) entlastet sein', was sich gut an das Vorhergehende anschliesse.

—D, 12 (Kruchten, p. 237–9):

Sicher nicht *tj hmt rt* ..., sondern *tj gjt (Wb. V, 150) rt šps(t) jmn*, gerade in dieser Verbindung häufiger in der 'Priesterannalen' von Karnak (Legrain, *RT* 22 (1900), 51 ff.) belegt: Nr. 7, Z. 4 (eig. Koll.), Nr. 23, Z. 2; Nr. 29, Z. 5.

—D, 12–13:

Die merkwürdige Verwechslung der Personen, die der Verfasser annimmt (er übersetzt *pj. k bsk wdjw m-bsh. k* mit '... mon serviteur soit quitte à mes yeux') erübrigt sich, wenn man davon ausgeht, daß die zitierte Rede des Amun durch Namen und Vatersnamen abgeschlossen ist. Mit *pj. k bsk* ... redet dann wieder der Hohepriester den Gott an, daher die 2. Person.

Diese Kleinigkeiten sollen aber nicht das Bild eines rundum gelungenen Werkes beeinträchtigen, das die sachliche Kompetenz des Verfassers eindrucksvoll bestätigt.

K. JANSEN-WINKELN

<sup>6</sup> In einer anderen Orakeldarstellung (*BIFAO* 75 (1975), pl. 13) als Naos der Maat bezeichnet.

<sup>7</sup> Vielleicht entnahm ein Priester die verschlossenen 'Lose' und legte sie dem Gott vor, der dann zustimmen oder 'zurückweichen' konnte.

Das Losverfahren bei diesem Orakel schon von Volten, *OLZ* 46 (1943), 206 vermutet.

<sup>8</sup> Zur Schreibung des Stammes von (*r*) *dj* bei Antritt des Elements .*tw* s. P. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System*, 27–30.

- Les Noms royaux dans l'Égypte de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire.* By MARIE-ANGE BONHÊME. Bibliothèque d'Étude, XCVIII. 275×200 mm. Pp. xix+299. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1987. ISBN 2 7247 0045 7. Price not stated.
- Le Livre des Rois de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire I. XXIe Dynastie.* By MARIE-ANGE BONHÊME. Bibliothèque d'Étude, XCIX. 275×200 mm. Pp. xxx+138. Cairo, Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1987. ISBN 2 7247 0046 5. Price not stated.

The recent upsurge in studies of the Third Intermediate Period, as it is now widely known, has rendered the basic reference tools for this period, notably Gauthier's *Livre des Rois*, obsolete. The author has endeavoured to fill this gap with a new and detailed king-list of this period coupled with an exhaustive examination of the royal titularies of that time. This latter study is a valuable addition to the growing literature on this era of Egyptian history. After an initial chapter on the development of the royal protocol, the author sets out in detail the titularies of the various monarchs of Dynasties 21–24. The first and last dynasties are studied chronologically, but the rulers of Dynasties 22–23 are grouped under personal names. Under each ruler, each of his five names is given in hieroglyphs, transliteration, and translation followed by a discussion of the salient features. The hieroglyphic variants of the personal name are often given in full. The volume ends with a detailed analysis of the epithets and prenomina of the rulers. The author draws attention to the preponderant influence of the nomenclature of the New Kingdom in royal titulary until the end of the period, when epithets borrowed from the Old and Middle Kingdoms appear. The nostalgia for these ancient glories can now be seen to have begun before the arrival of the Kushites. The study also shows that the rulers of Dynasty 21 were much more original in their use of new or recycled prenomina than the rulers who followed, with the notable exception of Osorkon I.

The author has naturally been unable to take advantage of recent discoveries and reinterpretations as the volume concludes with literature from 1978, with a few notable exceptions. The discovery of stelae of Osorkon III at Akoris (M. Suzuki, *Preliminary Report Second Season of the Excavations at the Site of Akoris, Egypt 1982* (Kyoto, 1983), 13–14, 19) and Ashmunein (A. J. Spencer, D. M. Bailey, and A. Burnett, *Ashmunein (1982)* (London, 1983), 8, 12–13, pl. 6a) shows that the conclusions drawn on the style of his Nebty and Golden Horus names from the temple of Osiris Heqa-Djet need to be revised. The Ashmunein stela exhibits the same Horus name, but those of the Nebty and Golden Horus differ from the examples of Karnak. The Nebty name, *wš nsy t mi R<sup>c</sup> m pt*, is copied directly from Psusennes I. The full Nebty name is not preserved on the Ashmunein stela, but the first sign is a forearm with a stick, possibly *hw* and so clearly modelled on the standard phrase *hw p<sub>d</sub>w t g* or the like. The Ashmunein stela is dated to year 15, while the decoration at Karnak must have been carried out after year 23 when Takelot III became co-regent. Thus the changeover in style of titulary from New Kingdom to Old/Middle Kingdom models may be closely dated, at least in the case of Osorkon III. The Akoris stela complicates the situation by according Osorkon III the title of high priest of Amun and so reopens the problem of his identification with the well-known high priest of Amun, Osorkon, son of Takelot II. The Akoris stela appears to use the variant epithet *stp-n-'Imn-R<sup>c</sup>* in the prenominal unless this is just a mistake on the part of the carver.

The unique Horus name of the kinglet Thutemhat has now been shown to be a misreading (P. A. and A. J. Spencer, *JEA* 72 (1986), 198–9). The correct Horus name *h<sup>r</sup> m Wn(t)* is also unique but based on the well-known and well-used Horus name *h<sup>r</sup> m Wst* latterly attested with Osorkon III and Shoshenk V. As this kinglet did not control Thebes, he had to make do with a lesser locality in his Horus name. The lack of Horus and Nebty names for the many kinglets of this period, supposing that they existed in the first place, makes comparisons difficult. The likelihood that the epithets *s<sub>1</sub> st* and *s<sub>1</sub> Bstt* in the royal cartouches may be linked to geographical locations (Thebes and the Delta) might well be used to define the extent of the territories ruled by later kinglets of the period whose cartouches only exhibit the one epithet, such as Osorkon III. However, this approach should be used with caution.

The second volume by this author consists of the first part of the new king-list of the Third Intermediate Period covering the 'reign' of Herihor. The author has indicated the desire to be as exhaustive as possible, and every occurrence of the royal name and titles is given in handcopy with

details on location and bibliography. The author has grouped the names by location rather than by date, a system which works well with Herihor but will perhaps be more complicated with later well-dated reigns. Unfortunately, the exhaustiveness of the survey is confined largely to published works, and not all material, sometimes readily to hand, has been used. The cartouches on BM 10541, the papyrus of Nodjmet, are not cited in Doc 21 H301, although there are variants from those in the Louvre portion of the papyrus which are published, as can clearly be seen in *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum* (London, 1909), pl. I, where part of BM 10541 is published. The epithets there read:



The rest of the papyrus, which has not yet been published in full, contains only simple cartouches without epithets. Doc 21 H271, an object in Berlin, is cited as unedited when surely a photograph or handcopy of the text could have been obtained if the piece is still in existence. It is perhaps unfortunate that this first volume duplicates much of the material from the recently published Khonsu temple, but no doubt later volumes will reflect more accurately the diverse material used by the author. A complete listing of all royal titularies from the Third Intermediate Period would be a major achievement, but recent discoveries at Heracleopolis Magna suggest that the author should be prepared for more additions to the corpus of Dynasty 22 and 23 royal names and titles.

M. L. BIERBRIER

*Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum. Volume III: The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507.* By M. SMITH. 311 × 248 mm. Pp. 216, pls. 11. London, British Museum Publications, 1987. ISBN 0 7141 0937 1. Price £95.

The Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the British Museum has hitherto comprised two volumes: the corpus of documentary texts known generally as the Soter Archive, and the publication of the wisdom text which goes under the title of the Instructions of Onkhsheshonqy (P.BM 10508). Both volumes were the work of S. R. K. Glanville, and the second was published in 1955. It is therefore fitting that the third volume of the Catalogue, which we owe to Dr Mark Smith, should be devoted to a companion-papyrus of the Instructions of Onkhsheshonqy. This is BM 10507, which was acquired, together with the Instructions, by Budge at Akhmim early in 1896. The two texts share the same provenance, and are also palaeographically close, as the editor easily demonstrates (p. 19). But BM 10507 seems to be the later of the two, and is entirely funerary in character. It is essentially a compendium of three different texts: an address to Osiris by the widowed Isis, glorifying him and emphasising his well-being in the next world (this covers the whole of the first column), a lament which is said to be recited as part of the opening-of-the-mouth ceremony for the dead man, one Haremhab son of Petemin (columns two and three), and finally a lengthy composition, occupying the remaining nine columns, designed to protect the deceased against all the dangers of the netherworld. The last is divided into twelve sections, one for each of the hours of the night. There are certain inconsistencies between the texts—such as the age ascribed to the dead man—which strongly suggest separate histories for the three compositions (the editor is probably wise not to attempt much source-criticism). Some of the variants in the palaeography are no doubt explicable in this light. But the text is clearly written, and the existence of partial parallels in a text such as P. Harkness, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, is a considerable help in establishing the text. This the editor has done in an able fashion.

Demotic is normally believed to be a medium for ephemeral, documentary texts, but the corpus of religious literature in the script is in fact substantial. Much of this is written in a kind of *Katharevousa* in which obsolete forms of grammar and syntax are preserved: possessive suffix pronouns, for example, are used much more commonly, archaic forms such as *nn sdm.f* and some 'Middle Egyptian' participles are retained, and possibly the passive *sdm.f* appears as well. Such writings often contain useful clues to the earlier language, or at least to the Egyptians' theories



about their own language, and should be studied much more carefully than they have been. Conversely, rare words are often written in forms derived from words that are more current.

The editor gives the text by columns, with translation and a very full commentary; the practice of commenting by the individual lines is well suited to a text of this sort, where the lines are short, and it avoids cluttering the text with small letters or other symbols. Well-argued footnotes consign a series of authorities to deserved oblivion. There follows a full bibliography, a model of its kind, and two extremely clear glossaries, one for the text itself and one to incorporate words discussed in the commentary; here too one sees standards which future publications would do well to imitate. The plates are clear and helpful, but since expense has not been spared elsewhere, it might have been better to make them fold out, or to have them separately; as it is, someone wishing to control the text from the plates really needs two copies. The present publication is, of course, far from being unique in this respect.

The editor's introduction is concise and clear, and there is little that need be added. In his discussion of the term *sḥw* ('glorifications') it is worth mentioning that the mentality behind the idiom—a wish so piously felt that it is represented as already having taken place—is common to languages such as Arabic, where the perfect tense can be so used, and may well underlie the so-called concomitant use of the *sdm.n.f* in addresses by the god in temple scenes. The use of *sḥ* in the inscriptions of Hepdjefa also deserves recalling. One wonders, too, whether the burial practices in Inaros and related texts are automatically to be related to earlier customs; here it is at least possible that Greek hero-cults may have had an influence. The author's discussion of the important phrase *grḥ grst* gains much valuable ground, but then, to this reviewer's mind, loses most of this by translating it as 'night of mummification'. The section of the text in question is intended as an 'opening-of-the-mouth' ritual, and the opening of the mouth is essentially a transitional rite, regularly shown as part of, or even the culmination of, the funeral ceremonies. A better translation would be 'eve of burial'; an obvious parallel is with the night before the new year, when a temple is renewed for divine occupation. This is a theme which could be developed further, especially in view of the writings of *ḥt*, 'body', as if it were *ḥwt*, 'mansion', which the author himself rightly emphasises (pp. 97–8).

The commentary on the text is extremely rich and informative, and will hold its own for many years to come. On the question of transliteration (which in general is a very tedious one) the reviewer wonders whether forms such as *tī*, *d*, and *q* for *dī*, *ḏ*, and *qy* are an improvement. Since the Chicago Dictionary will probably make these forms better known, it may be worth saying that they increase ambiguity, and conflict with the development of the script (the *d* of *ḏ*, for example, is 'present' in the demotic group used for this word). If phonetic resemblance is thought important, we may as well return to the system used by Griffith and Thompson, or something like it. But this is for others to decide.

Some observations on the individual notes: (p. 35) it is worth commenting on the use of *r* in the opening phrase *md3 ir.n 3st r Wsir*. Similar uses of *r* before a person or place occur in the stele Aswan 1057 (*JEA* 73 (1987), 172). In the same column (1.5), the spelling *whm* is interesting; does it represent an Akhmimic final vowel (note also *ḥpṛt* in col. V/1)? In col. III 16 (p. 38) the form *m.k* is taken, no doubt rightly, as *mi.k*, although the use of *mi* with a suffix is exceptional. From the photograph a reading *mw(t).k* is possible, corresponding to a form **MOY** plus **κ**. Evidence for the late pronunciation of *mi* as \**mu* comes from hieroglyphic writings such as *Tḥ-Hp-mi* for *Tḥy-Hp-im.w* (PM III<sup>2</sup>, 823) and the formula *3st wrt mi-ntr* for *mw-t-ntr* (coffin seen at Saqqâra by reviewer in October 1981); in demotic, *mw* is well attested (p. 60). On the lunar aspect of Osiris see also R. A. Parker, *Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1950), 80, n. 23 (p. 62). The idea of physical beauty as a divine attribute is brought out well in *UPZ* 78, 29–32, a dream of Zopyros of Rhodes (*BIFAO* 12 (1916), 142–3, pl. 5) where the deceased avers *ir.i rnpy 106 ph.i iw[.] nty iw.i im.f iw.i sw(r) wnm iw.i msc iw.i nw .. iw.i wsd[.] n(i) rw-prw iw.i ir n(i) mdwt nty mr rmt (?)*, 'I spent 106 years, and reached the place where I am, drinking, eating, walking, seeing, worshipping [the gods] in the temples and doing the things which men love'. This has something of the Greek Anthology about it, as well as traditional Egyptian thinking. (p. 73) It is worth noting that the Michaelides text 'The Cruel Father' is now BM 10845. (p. 75 ff.) The author's discussion of *Wsir n NN* is extremely interesting. A similar phenomenon seems to occur in the Valley of the Kings, where (for example,

in the tomb of Merneptah) the phrase *Wsir nsu* plus prenominal is regularly written with the hieroglyph *n* before *nsu*. This is unlikely to be a variant writing of *nsu* alone, and one suspects that *Wsir n nsu* is what is meant. The difference between *Wsir n NN* and *Wsir NN* (which is surely not a direct genitive, as the author rightly concludes) may lie in the need to emphasise the divine, transcendental, form assumed by the deceased, especially at a time when *Wsir NN* could often mean little more than 'the late so-and-so'; but this is difficult ground, and the author is right to show caution. (p. 80) The author reads *rsrs* in O. Hor 12A/4 on the basis of the present text. He may well be correct, but the third sign of the Hor example is difficult to explain; however, the proposed sense is good. (p. 84) I suspect that *tp-rd*, which is proposed as the etymology of *tbt*, 'ceremony', is really the origin of Coptic  $\alpha\pi\rho\eta\tau\epsilon$ , with initial  $\tau$  taken as the article. If this is so, the proposed history of the word is difficult to follow. (p. 92) The key text for the interaction of heart and tongue is of course the Memphite Theology, to which a reference should have been made. (p. 98) On the interchange of *idn* and *wdn* see now Aswan 1057 (JEA 73 (1987), 172 n.s.). (p. 106) A fine example of a rhetorical question in demotic is on the Buchis pebble, lines 9-10 (G. Mattha in R. Mond and O. Myers, *The Buchis*, II, 56). (p. 107) The form *ndty.f* after a negative is presumably future *sdmty.fy*, not present. (p. 113) For quotations from the Magical Papyri in general, see now H. D. Betz, *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation* (Chicago, 1986). (p. 114) For pairs of serpents, identified with Isis and Serapis, see F. Dunand, *BIFAO* 67 (1969), 9-48, pls. 1-4. The word *sy*, applied to a serpent, is presumably the older *sty*, 'engendering', as the discussion implies; this could be made explicit. (p. 114, n. 569) To describe a convention (transliterating the second person of the first present as *ir.k* rather than *iw.k*, to avoid confusion with the circumstantial) as a misreading is surely to overstate things. It is hard to suggest a proper reading for this form; perhaps *i.k?* (p. 116, n. 581) It is doubtful whether *rs-inb.f* was really pronounced like  $\alpha\rho\iota\kappa\alpha\alpha\eta$ ; presumably, the pun is less direct than this. (p. 131) The name *Ta-ni-wrww* presumably means 'Ta-ni-wrww is great', the first element being a goddess or perhaps a sacred animal; cf. names like *Ta-'Imn-iw* (*Enchoria* 14 (1986), 91 n.g.). In general, the excellent commentary owes something to the files of the Chicago Demotic Dictionary, on which the author has been a tireless collaborator. It would have done no harm to acknowledge this.

The author identifies many new words which are not in Erichsen's *Glossar*. A list (by no means exhaustive) runs as follows: *ir-r-nby* for *rc nb* (p. 56); negative *nn* (57); *Tšy* for *Tš-šy* 'Fayyûm' (58); *sh* for *hr* (58, 161); *hmw* 'attackers' (59); *psdt* for *psd* 'back' (59); *mh* 'see' (59-60); *sty* 'sovereign' with snake determinative (61); *q* as causative (64-5); *nyst* for *niwt* (171); an unusual writing of *s* 'man' (67, is the determinative correct?); new writings of *grg* (67); *yrb* corresponding to *bw* 'impurity' (69); *phrt* in embalming contexts (70); new writings of *sms* (71); *m* 'behold' (72); *sdmt* 'hearing' (74) *swty* read *qnbt* 'magistrate' (80-2); the place names *Pr-nb-wt* (82) and *zlbh* (100); *tbt* 'rite' (84-5); *sy* 'praise' (86); *m(y)s* 'garland' (87); *sntme* = *sndm* (89); *tky* 'perish' (90; is this really  $\tau\alpha\kappa\omicron$ ?); *hm*, *šm* 'approach' (91-2); *wdr* 'discriminate' (92); the meaning of *sšt* and *idmyt* (93); *snsn* as causative (97); *ht* as *hwt* (97-8, see above p. 247); *ihrw* read as *hrw-ntr* (98); *šdh* (99); *hne* 'friend, intimate' (103); *rpy* as causative (104); *hm* 'grant' (104-5, though probably unconnected with *hmy* 'would that') *nnm* 'stray' (107); *y* as causative *sdm.f* (110), writings of *imyw* (117-18) and *šw* (121); and *hty* 'prow-ropes' (126). Perhaps future demotic publications should list their additions to Erichsen as a matter of course.

It will be clear that the author's achievement is considerable, but a reviewer is bound to have two reservations about the presentation of such a volume. One question—not confined to this publication—is that of expense. A point may be reached where students can no longer afford expensive volumes, and where librarians increasingly, if they buy such publications, find excuses for locking them away. This point has now been reached. The other reservation is more subjective: it is doubtful to the present reviewer whether a text such as BM 10507, in isolation, should bear the weight of commentary which has been given to it here. A corpus of demotic funerary literature is surely the place for much of it, and the author is clearly the person to attempt this. Nevertheless, the British Museum was right to revive its catalogue of demotic papyri, and it is hoped that the project will maintain the standard set here. It is also hoped that the comments in this review will be seen as a measure of the interest which this volume has inspired.

*Egypt after the Pharaohs*. 332 BC-AD 642, from Alexander to the Arab Conquest. By A. BOWMAN. 240 × 175 mm. Pp. 264, pls. 144, figs. 4. London, British Museum Publications, 1986. ISBN 0 7141 0942 8. Price £14.95.

In this attractive book, A. Bowman presents to the general reader a survey of one thousand years of Egypt's history on the basis of a wide range of ancient sources: archaeological remains, coins, ancient literary texts, inscriptions, and, above all, papyri (Greek, demotic, Latin and Coptic). In contrast with its predecessor, H. I. Bell's *Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* of 1956, the work is richly illustrated (144 plates for 234 pages). It puts less emphasis on Greek papyri and Hellenistic authors and consciously uses recently published material to illustrate the exposition.

A brief general introduction on the land of Egypt ('the gift of the Nile'), its resources and its population in antiquity is followed by five chapters on general history (2), administration and law (3), social and economic history (4 and 5) and religion (6). A separate chapter is devoted to Alexandria. There is a map (p. 10), a short index (pp. 259-64) and a useful appendix on measures, prices and wages (pp. 237-9). Footnotes (pp. 240-9) are kept short and the bibliography (pp. 249-58) is mainly confined to works in English (the absence of the name of U. Wilcken, of Pestman's *Chronologie égyptienne* and Thissen's *Demotische Literaturübersicht* are typical in this respect).

In a mere 30 pages the author compresses a thousand years of political and military history, from the invasion of Alexander the Great to that of 'Amr ibn al-'Asi (chapter 1). His account is spiced by a healthy dose of significant anecdotes. When the Ptolemaic monarchy, 'a typical family affair', has given way to Roman dominion, Egypt loses its political independence, but remains largely cut off from the rest of the Empire until the early Byzantine period (Bowman puts the transition in 312 rather than in 284). After Chalkedon 'the end is persecution and war until the arrival of the Arabs in 641'.

The second chapter deals with administration, army and taxes. There are some constants here for a millennium: a central administration in far-away Alexandria (kings, prefects and patriarchs); Greek as the language of all official documents; the important role of the old Egyptian nomes with their metropoleis, which after AD 200 receive the status of Greek city-states; administration and jurisdiction in the same hands; the role of Egypt as grain producer for Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople. But there are remarkable developments as well: the entrance of Roman law and Roman officials at the highest level; the growth of the liturgical system and of private land-ownership; the reforms of Diocletian subdividing Egypt into several provinces and integrating it into the Eastern empire.

The economy of Graeco-Roman Egypt was dominated by agriculture. The main products were wheat, barley and vines (now supplanted by sugar cane and cotton). Life was determined by the rise and fall of the Nile. Private ownership gradually increased until in the Byzantine period most land was owned by the church and by rich land-owners. Industry and commerce were largely based on agricultural output. In the towns highly specialized craftsmen were often grouped in guilds. In contrast with the pharaonic period, the economy was thoroughly monetarized: taxes were paid in money as well as in kind and banks were present in all major centres. Government impact on the economy was manifold: manipulation of the currency (with periods of high inflation), price control, state ownership of natural resources and land, taxes. In the course of ten centuries we may perhaps follow the gradual disappearance of the well-to-do middle class and a widening rift between the very rich and the have-nots.

The fifth chapter deals not only with Greeks and Egyptians, but with the population of Egypt in general, including Jews and Romans, with the role of towns and villages, with daily life from cradle to grave and with cultural patterns, such as education and literacy.

In the sixth chapter the author describes the wide range of beliefs and cults that were superimposed one upon the other during a millennium: the old pharaonic religion in and around the temples, with its sacred animals and mummification of the dead; the Greek and Roman cults including the royal and imperial cult; the Jews and the Christians with their many sects. Sometimes the distinctions are clear, as between Egyptian, Greek and Christian clergy and their respective forms of worship, but often they are blended, as in the cult of Sarapis, the mummy portraits and magical practices.

Alexandria, the unruly capital 'near Egypt' rather than in Egypt, deserves a separate chapter: after a short description of the city and its international population, attention is drawn to its pivotal role in the economy and culture of the Eastern Mediterranean.

The book makes easy reading thanks to a fluent style and a well-balanced variation of texts, citations and illustrations. Some chapters have a clear chronological or thematic structure, but often the reader is led on by what seem to be associative patterns, in the narrative style of the ancient ethnographers. Some overlapping between different chapters was no doubt unavoidable. Only in chapters 4 and 5 the categories rich and poor, town and country, Greek and Egyptian may be too closely intertwined to have been kept separate successfully.

Colleagues may disagree on points of detail, but the author was right, I think, in avoiding scholarly discussion and preferring a straightforward narrative. Specialists will easily recognize hotly debated issues, where Bowman has usually made a sane choice. I would doubt, for instance, that a poll-tax between 16 and 40 drachmae a year is 'fairly low' (p. 94), when a workman earned no more than 20 drachmae a month (p. 239) and had to pay lots of other taxes as well. *Pastophoroi* did not carry the image of the god in procession (p. 182), but a *πάστος*, some kind of shrine (p. 182), and many will dispute that a church hierarchy with bishops at the apex existed from the earliest period (p. 194) or that monks (laymen!) had much in common with the pagan Egyptian priests (a hereditary upper class group) (p. 197). The divinization of the rulers as 'Benefactor Gods' took place in the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, not in that of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (p. 25). The strange mention of a pro-Persian Ptolemy (p. 57) has now been eliminated by a new reading of the demotic text (K.-Th. Zauzich, *Enchoria* 12 (1984), 193), and the Greek rendering of the name of the native pharaoh is Chaonnophris, not Charonnophris (p. 30). But these are trifles, and the overall picture is both entertaining and convincing.

The only place where some real errors have crept in are the captions to the numerous plates. I can only give a few examples here: pl. 11, at the same time the cover plate (where the scenes can be recognized), is only very imperfectly and partly wrongly described; pl. 14: Arsinoe is not veiled on this coin; pl. 17: the coin represents Ptolemy I Soter, not Ptolemy III; pl. 18: the goddesses are rendered in purely Egyptian style without any Greek influence; pl. 19: the Rosetta stone does not deal with the coronation ceremonies of Ptolemy V; pl. 21: the caption does not agree at all with the plate; pl. 25: the temple at Esnah is dedicated to Chnum and Neith (not Chonsou) and the name of the emperor is given on the plate as Trajan (not Titus); pl. 28: only one of the colossi was called Memmon in antiquity (the statue on the right; the ancient restorations are still clearly visible on its shoulder); pl. 43: the text is in Latin, not in Greek; very typically Egyptian is the sidelock of youth; pl. 46: Horus is represented not as a Roman soldier, but as an imperator (in his traditional role of king-god); pl. 72: Isidoros' age was not 26 years, but, as shown by the Greek inscription, 25 years, 1 month and 8 days (compare for this p. 138); pl. 116 is not the stela of the lady Taimouthes, but a New Kingdom monument of an Egyptian priest called *Itw*, son of *Mch*. Sometimes one gets the impression that the author selected the plates (there are some interesting groups, such as those from Alexandria, Karanis, the monastery of Aswan and the sketches of Roberts and Wilkinson), but that he did not have time to write all the captions himself. Maybe their texts should be revised in a later edition. They are not unimportant, as quite often the reader starts looking at the plates before reading the main text, and many a layman will perhaps only read the captions and never get through the book as a whole.

W. CLARYSSE

*Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*. By E. G. TURNER. Second edition, revised and enlarged, edited by P. J. PARSONS. 1987. 280 × 210 mm. Pp. xvi + 174, pls. 61. University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, *Bulletin Supplement*, 46. ISBN 900587 48 2. Price £30.

The first edition of this book was published by Turner in 1971 and was reviewed by me in this journal, *JEA* 59 (1973) 270-1. It was clear from the start that this was a major work of scholarship,

on which I commented 'not only is this a book which breaks new ground, it also brings fresh light to bear on old problems'. Yet Turner was never content to rest on his laurels. He was constantly exploring new avenues and looking to ways to improve on old views, both his own and those of others. At the time of his death in 1983 Turner had for some time been planning a revised version and had collected a number of plates to be added. Also among his papers was a sheaf of addenda and corrigenda, and his own copy of *GMAW* was liberally glossed with marginal notes. It is never easy to interpret another's intentions and the task of reducing Turner's notes to order and incorporating them into a revised edition must have been a daunting one. We are fortunate indeed that this task was entrusted to a scholar as capable and knowledgeable as Peter Parsons, who was prepared to put into it the enormous amount of work which must have been necessary. We may be confident that the revision has been carried out as near perfectly as could be.

The changes from the first edition are clearly set out on p. ix. In the Introduction the text has been retained virtually unaltered but the footnotes have been greatly expanded. However, the text has been reset, which has of course affected the pagination. As the new form of the introduction took up less space and as it was essential to retain the existing page numbering for the next section (the plates), this left four pages spare which have been used for illustrations of writers and readers and their materials. The next section, pls. 1-73, has been left virtually unchanged; this has the minor drawback that references to the Introduction use the *old* page numbers (indicated in the margin of the present edition). Figures added in the margins to these plates are to the extensive *Addenda & corrigenda* (159 items) on pp. 148-52. There follow the new plates (74-88), selected by Turner but for the most part not commented on by him; comments are mostly by Parsons, based wherever possible on Turner's known views (this was made easier by the fact that Turner himself published nos. 79, 81, 85, 86 and 88). To this has been added a most useful bibliography (on ancient books and palaeography), a chronological table of manuscripts, and an index of papyri cited or discussed.

One obvious advance on the older edition is that the new version takes much more account of Herculaneum papyri (one example is reproduced in pl. 78); there are also more references to the evidence of Byzantine manuscripts. Among the new points to be found in the Introduction, note in particular the remarks on reading-desks and writing-stands (n. 17), enlarged initial letters (n. 25), change of speaker in dramatic texts (n. 33), apostrophe (n. 50), and stichometry (nn. 93-4). In the strictly palaeographical discussion (pp. 19-23) an additional criterion for the classification of different hands has been added: '(c) the skill of execution'. Note also the inclusion of the evidence of dated documents for the long history of the so-called 'decorated' style (p. 21; one of these documents is reproduced as pl. 87) and for the early occurrence of contrast between broad and narrow letters (n. 114).

The new plates include two examples of illustrated manuscripts (80-1: the Ambrosian Iliad and a papyrus), an early parchment codex (82), and the now famous Mani codex (83). Naturally, most examples are of material not known to Turner when he composed the first edition. Also included is an illustration of the construction of a sheet of papyrus according to the method suggested by I. Hendriks (77), with an important introduction; it must be stressed that the debate on this subject is far from closed. Among the *Addenda & corrigenda*, I would draw attention to 16 and 48, which are important for the dates of pls. 12 and 27 respectively, to 74-5 on Coptic Uncial, and to 102 on palimpsests.

An attempt has clearly been made to keep down the cost of the new edition and this has had one or two unfortunate consequences. The Greek font is grossly inferior to that used in the first edition; but while this is aesthetically displeasing, it does not seem likely to cause any real confusion. More seriously the plates are paler than those in the first edition. Very occasionally this leads to an improvement (e.g. 42 and 52; note too that an extra bit has been added to 26 and that 51 and 56 are now reproduced at their actual size and not in a reduced format), but more often the new version's plates are inferior (notably 12, 21, 47, 54). The reader fortunate enough to possess both editions will wish to continue to use the first edition for the better quality of most of the plates.

*Greek and Latin Papyrology*. By ITALO GALLO. Pp. xii + 153, pls. 16. University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Classical Handbook 1. London, 1986. ISBN 900587 50 4. Price £9.00.

Italo Gallo, known for his contributions to literary papyrology and particularly to the biographical papyri, aimed to offer a handbook 'for students and scholars alike'; the Institute of Classical Studies, we are told by J. P. Barron, sponsored the English version of an 'indispensable' work 'with the needs of graduate students in mind'. The reader acquainted with Eric Turner's *Greek Papyri* may wonder why this volume is needed for an anglophone audience: according to Gallo, Turner 'differs in outlook from the present handbook, which is more broadly based'. This appears to mean that Turner did not give undue attention to the Herculeum papyri. It certainly does not prevent Gallo from distilling whole chapters (see p. 101, n. 1) from Turner.

The volume offers nine chapters, with 97 pages of text and 28 of notes, followed by bibliography, indices and plates. Documents get only 15 pages of text (and derisory notes), while literary papyri occupy 31 pages (chapters 4-5), with more copious notes. The remaining chapters treat definitions, writing materials, the history of papyrology, dating and palaeography, editorial procedures, and the future.

The book's programme is predominantly literary. From the first chapter (straw-man polemic against Wilcken and others), through the chapter on dating (one insubstantial paragraph on documents, seven pages on literary texts), to the plates (12 of 16 literary), emphasis is consistent. This is natural enough, for Gallo actually knows something about literary papyri; the rest is potted scholarship, full of errors and omissions. A book which claims to be 'more broadly based' has no excuse for such a lack of balance. It is truly bizarre to read the gloomy portrait (pp. 79-81) of the disorderly state of documentary papyrology, surely the best-organized discipline of classical antiquity! The reader should also be warned that the blatant nationalism of the author (p. 31) permeates much more than his survey of papyrology by nation in chapter 3. The index of modern authors, for example, gives more citations for the trio of Cavallo, Gigante, and Montevicchi than to the combination of Preisigke, Wilcken, Grenfell, Hunt, Youtie and Schubart. In a primer for Italian undergraduates, this makes some sense; in a textbook for English-speaking graduate students, it makes none.

Twenty years ago I had my first instruction in papyrology (from a gifted trio of teachers, of whom Eric Turner was one) beginning with *Greek Papyri*, and for many years that book has introduced my own students to the field as it did me. It has its shortcomings, as any introductory book is bound to, but it also has originality, grace, substance, and balance, like its wide-ranging author. Gallo's primer, condensed and unbalanced as it is, cannot be a respectable substitute. Nor is it a satisfactory reference manual. For that the student wants Montevicchi's *La papirologia*, which despite some faults has demonstrated its usefulness abundantly by now, and of which a new, corrected, and expanded version is expected imminently. What need Gallo's book in English will fill, I cannot see.

ROGER S. BAGNALL

*Le camp romain de Louqsor (avec une étude des graffites gréco-romains du temple d'Amon)*. By M. EL-SAGHIR, J.-C. GOLVIN, M. REDDÉ, E. HEGAZY, G. WAGNER. Pp. viii + 122, figs. 71, pls. 22. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 83. Cairo 1986. Price not stated.

In this book our knowledge of the Roman military establishment in Upper Egypt in the late empire is enlarged by the results of work done under the aegis of the French Institute in Cairo. The report of the investigation of the military fort at Luxor is a collaborative one. After a preface by J. Leclant, there are sections on the history of excavations, a description of the remains, and the installation of the military at Thebes, all unsigned but apparently by Golvin; on the place of the camp in Roman military architecture (Reddé), the end of military occupation (Wagner), the reused Pharaonic blocks (El-Saghir, Hegazy), and the graffiti (Wagner). Excavation by the team was

limited to two three-week seasons, and the observations are otherwise based on remains *in situ* above ground.

After a long history as a temple of the first rank, the sanctuary apparently fell out of use in the mid-third century AD; at a later date (under Diocletian, Golvin argues on the basis of the inscriptions on the *tetrakionia* inside two of the gates), the Roman army constructed an almost trapezoidal fort in which the temple ran from one end to the other, not quite centred but in perfect alignment with the walls. First interpreted as city walls, these were recognized as military and late imperial by Monneret de Villard, who spotted the representation of the tetrarchs on the wall of a reused room in the temple. The usable area (apart from the temple) was about 3.72 ha, which Golvin thinks could have held in barracks only about 1500 men.

The date rests on imperial dedications on the *tetrakionia*; the earlier is (if the various dating criteria are all correct) of December, 301, the later around 308. Golvin argues that since that inside gates I and II is aligned both with them and with the streets linked to them, it must come from the same time as they do. Logically, of course, it could only follow them, since it seems designed to fit them; but there seems no reason to suppose much lapse of time. The gates were built of stone reused from Pharaonic buildings, the circuit walls, with their horseshoe-shaped towers, of unbaked bricks. Golvin rejects the hypothesis (repeated most recently as fact by W. A. MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, II (New Haven, 1986), 88) that the western *tetrakionion* 'was located at the intersection of two colonnaded streets'; there is no evidence of such colonnades. The second, eastern, *tetrakionion* is at a plaza in front of gate V where streets meet. Otherwise, the surviving or photographed remains inside the walls are of very diverse eras and one cannot reconstruct the plan with confidence even from aerial photographs; extensive excavations would be needed.

Though this is not a long work, it is rich in interest and particularly in illustration. Collaboration has here and there not been joined to coordination (Wagner's discussion of the late evidence for the camp is well-informed and seemingly unknown to Golvin in his history of military occupation, for example). But the treatment is in general clear, easy to follow on plans and photographs, and sensible.

The final section (by Wagner) publishes or republishes the 'inscriptions et graffiti grecs du Temple de Louqsor'. Its rich photographic documentation is welcome, though occasionally a plate is virtually unusable. But as has already been pointed out by J. Bingen (*CdE* 61 (1986), 330-4), almost none of these texts has anything to do with the Roman military camp; most date from a period when Amun was still venerated here. Wagner tries to make a case for assigning 37-39 and 50-52 (the latter group all Latin) to the period of military occupation, but 37 certainly dates to a period when the temple was still functioning and hence (despite the mention of a cohort) has nothing to do with the Diocletianic camp. Nor is there anything in 38 and 39 to warrant so late a date. And while 50 may be tetrarchic, 51 and 52 are both certainly considerably earlier. On the other hand, the Coptic 49 (where Wagner omits two crosses visible in the lower inscription) and the certainly Christian 40 (*εἰς θεός*) must belong to a later period, when a church was constructed in part of the temple.

Regrettably, there is much deficient about this publication, apart from its unclear *raison d'être*. Many of the inscriptions were published before by H. Riad. Wagner gives a list of them in his introduction but no references in the editions of the texts and, with one exception, no reference to any places where his readings differ from those of Riad, not to mention those of J. Bingen in his review of Riad in *CdE* 45 (1970), 405-6. An example: 38 is a graffito by one *Ἀμερῦς Ἀθαιούτος*, according to Wagner. Now Bingen had proposed *Ἀραούτος* for the patronymic, but this suggestion is not mentioned here. It is, in fact, clearly impossible, as one can see from the plate. But, as Wagner admits, the name *Ἀθαιούς* is otherwise unknown. On the plate, it seems to me that *Λολούτος*, an extremely common name at Thebes, would be satisfactory; the stroke crossing the first lambda is not as straight as those of the other alphas in this hand, and Riad in fact read it as lambda. The cross-strokes in the next two letters can be seen to be parts of damage to the surface. Wagner has also omitted two inscriptions included by Riad which could not be relocated, making the present edition fall short of a complete publication of the building's inscriptions (Riad's no. 18 (p. 290) is described as 'tout près' to Wagner's 45; since the latter is not illustrated, the reader cannot judge how close.) More remarks of detail could be offered (cf. Bingen's review for several),

but one will have to suffice here. In **26** there appears Heron, son of Ammonios, *Ἀρσινόεῖτης*. Wagner comments, 'On ne peut savoir de quelle Arsinoé il s'agit, mais le patronyme indique une origine égyptienne et la plus connue des villes de ce nom est Crocodilopolis-Arsinoé, la métropole de l'Arsinoite'. On the contrary, only the Arsinoite can be meant, for the ethnic of cities named Arsinoe is always *Ἀρσινόεύς*.

ROGER S. BAGNALL

*Les ostraca grecs de Douch (O. Douch)*, Fascicule I (1-57). Ed. H. CUVIGNY and G. WAGNER. Pp. xi + 47, pls. 8. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Documents de fouilles, 24. Cairo, 1986. Price not stated.

The first fascicle of Greek ostraka from Dush contains the publishable items from the excavations of 1976; those of the three seasons carried out in 1978-81 are yet to come. Since the finds of the various seasons overlap considerably, it is not clear that it was a good idea to publish them in separate fascicles. The reader is repeatedly irritated by cross-references to texts which cannot be consulted. The texts are given in order of inventory numbers (with the unnumbered ones at the start); this is a very bad idea, as it separates similar texts in favour of an arbitrary numbering. The explanation that a chronological or thematic sequence was impossible because new finds continue is silly; each fascicle (if they must be so published) could at least have its own coherence. Despite the title, we are given snippets of three Coptic ostraka, but only the opening lines in each case; for **44** and **49** there are plates, and for **49** we have a translation of the rest but no text! This procedure is indefensible. The concordance is given in the order publication-inventory rather than the logical reversed order and is thus useless. The photographic documentation is substantial once one gets to the texts with inventory numbers, covering **28**, **30-9**, **41-3**, **45-57**, but of the N. N. ostraka, only **19B** and **27** are illustrated; no explanation is given. Were no photographs available to the editors? A fascicle of this size is hardly so large that a few more plates would make it too big. [A valuable set of addenda and corrigenda to this fascicle, the work of H. Cuvigny, appears now in fascicle 2, along with the welcome information that ostraka **1-27** have now been found again and photographed. Cuvigny has been able to make significant improvements in the texts of these ostraka. Fascicle 2 also remedies many of the defects of organization mentioned above.]

The ostraka all come from the interior of the late Roman fortress at the ancient Kysis, in the large oasis, and they will eventually have a great deal to contribute to our understanding of military life in the later fourth and early fifth century (the editors' date for the material). There is abundant evidence for military posts and ranks, for the onomastics of the garrison (later survival of some common Theban names than the ostraka from Thebes attest), for the foodstuffs and other items needed and supplied, and for language and formulas.

On details, I limit myself to one text, **54**, described as 'Compte en espèces' by the editors, who resolve a  $\chi$ -shaped symbol as that for talents. In line 2, the number read as nu (50) is in fact upsilon (400). Line 5 is the sum of 2 and 3. Lines 6 and 7 are apparently further additions, leading up to a sum in line 8 (where for *ὄμο(ίως)* read *ὄμοῦ*, as Klaas Worp points out to me) of 1,900. The talents in previous lines, however, add up to 1,800, plus 16 and 9 *νοῦμ(μοι)* in lines 5 and 7. I cannot see when 25 *nummi* could have equalled the missing 100 talents; if the *nummus* after 350 was worth a myriad of *denarii*, it was worth  $6\frac{2}{3}$  talents, not 4 talents. Line 10 appears to offer a meat price of 5 lbs. for 750 talents, a price which would point to gold at about 1,382,400 talents/lb. and to the time from the 350s to the 370s (cf. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth Century Egypt* (Atlanta, 1985), 4, 46-7). I must record some uneasiness about the symbol resolved as talent, as it does not resemble the usual form; an interpretation as *ξέστης*, *sextarius*, however, does not seem to lead to any viable results.

This is an interesting collection of documents and will eventually be an important one. I look forward to further instalments.

ROGER S. BAGNALL



*Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus.* By H. J. POLOTSKY. American Studies in Papyrology 28. 235 × 160 mm. Pp. xii + 168. Decatur, Georgia, Scholars Press, 1987. ISBN 1 55540 076 0. Price \$35.95.

This book, the first part of an exhaustive study of Coptic sentence structure, consists of three main sections preceded by an introduction. The first section (I, §§ 1–56) describes the operative principles governing the ‘Nominalsatz’—the category of sentence termed traditionally ‘non-verbal sentence with nominal predicate’. The second section (II, §§ 1–120) describes the principles according to which verbal sentences can be converted to function as either an adjective or a substantive equivalent. The third (III, §§ 1–45) deals with the Coptic causative patterns, devoting particular attention both to their historical origins and to the explanation of certain semantic idiosyncrasies traditionally associated with them. The conceptual core of this book is contained in part II, §§ 121–36. These sections represent a restatement, within the context of the Coptic verbal system, of Polotsky’s concept of nominalized verbal conversions and contain both a clear definition of the respective roles in Coptic of the substantival and adjectival conversions, and clarification of how he uses certain linguistic terms. I have the impression that the book was built around these sections and initial reading of them will greatly aid readers in grasping the finer nuances of Polotsky’s argument.

The concepts propounded by Polotsky are richly illustrated by examples drawn not only from Sahidic but also from other dialects whenever the author deemed it appropriate for corroboration of his line of argument. Frequently, the Sahidic, Bohairic and Greek versions of the same scriptural passage are contrasted with one another. Shenoute is also quoted extensively. As a general rule, the examples are not translated. Non-literary material of all categories is excluded completely, presumably because of the uncontrollability of the individual element in such material. The exclusive use of Shenoute and scriptural sources enables the question of evolution of Coptic grammar to be avoided (except in the case of topics selected by the author for special consideration, such as the discussion in II, §§ 19–20 of the distribution in older Coptic of a relative perfect participle expressed by *er-*) [the transliteration of Coptic here follows the practice of the book under review].

Before proceeding to the substance of the present book, it is well to stress the continuity of thought linking it with the same writer’s 1944 book, *Etudes de syntaxe copte*, in which the concept (revolutionary as far as Egyptian and Coptic studies were concerned) of *verbal nominalization* was introduced. Since then it has been restated and refined at regular intervals by him. In the present book Polotsky appears to use the term ‘nominalization’ to denote the process of converting a nexus into a mere sentence part. Prior to this, the most recent restatement of his nominalization theory was a paper in *IOS* 5 (1976), 1–50, which described the principles according to which classical Egyptian converts verbal sentences into nominalized statements. The present book—along with its promised second part—is the obvious sequel, being the application to Coptic of the methodology, terminology and conceptual framework elaborated by Polotsky for classical Egyptian.

The introduction makes it clear that Polotsky assumes implicitly the validity of a universal distinction between adverb, adjective and substantive. It is on this basis that he goes on, in the introduction, to propose a category of converted verb forms. My own understanding of the term ‘adverb’ is that it is a ‘verb qualifying’ element, while ‘adjective’ is an element which is ‘noun qualifying’. Polotsky defines nowhere what the terms ‘adjective’ and ‘adverb’ mean in the context of Coptic, and one might query whether it has been demonstrated that this is a relevant distinction within the Coptic verbal system. It is, moreover, important to note that Polotsky understands ‘Nomen’ as a category subsuming both the substantive and the adjective (II, § 7). It is also important to note his use of the word ‘predicate’. This term can simply designate ‘what is said of the subject’ and, in English grammar, I have found this term to be associated traditionally with non-verbal statements involving the copula ‘is’. Although nowhere spelt out unequivocally, it seems to me that for Polotsky ‘predicate’ denotes the focal point of a given sentence. In I, § 17 he states that the terms ‘subject’ and ‘predicate’ refer to a grammatical relationship in which a verb is involved.

Because the bulk of the book is devoted to the Coptic nominal sentence, Polotsky thought it appropriate and necessary to devote I, §§ 1–14 to a critical account of how the terms ‘nominal

sentence' and 'nominal'/'pronominal' subject have been defined and understood in previous grammatical studies of Egyptian and Coptic. I, §§ 15–55 is devoted to an analysis of the nature of the Coptic nominal sentence which, according to Polotsky, (a) is purely (pro)nominal, containing absolutely no element of a verbal nature and (b) has inherently 'present' sense. Due to the verbal connotations which the terms 'subject' and 'predicate' have for him, he searches for alternative classificatory terms from amongst the often equivocal jargon of structural linguistics and settles on 'A' and 'Z': the former for 'Ausgang', apparently in the sense of 'starting point', and the latter for 'Ziel', apparently in the sense of 'end point' or 'objective'. Polotsky's 'A' might be termed elsewhere 'subject', 'theme' or 'topic', his 'Z' 'rheme', 'comment', 'focus', 'predicate' or 'vedette'. Indeed, he also uses some of the above terms in this book in place of 'A' and 'Z'. In particular, he makes relatively frequent use of the terms 'subject' and 'predicate' despite having disqualified them as inappropriate at an early stage in the book. In addition to 'A' and 'Z', Polotsky also uses 'a' to denote 'weakened A' and 'c' for the copula.

Part I is concerned primarily with the rules for establishing what is 'A' and what is 'Z' in two- and three-element nominal sentences. For two-element sentences there exist the patterns 'A-Z' and 'Z-A'. The basic rule of thumb which emerges is that the weak form (e.g. *ang-* or *pe*) is 'A' while the commutable form (or 'lexeme') is 'Z'. Thus, in statements like *ang-pek-hmhal* or *pek-hmhal pe*, *pek-hmhal* would be the 'Z'. In a statement such as *anok pe ...*, 'c'est moi', it is the strong form of the pronoun which is 'Z'. The three-element nominal sentence belongs fundamentally to the pattern 'A-c-Z'. In such sentences the *pe* element is stated by Polotsky to have lost its original subject character and to function merely as an axis around which the sentence turns. Along with the pattern 'A-c-Z' the three-element nominal sentence may also occur as either 'Z-a-A' or as 'A-Z-a'. Whenever *pe/te/ne* comes at the end of such a sentence, the noun which precedes it immediately is always the 'Z' (further rules for identifying 'A' and 'Z' in three-element sentences are supplied in I, § 46).

Along with the large number of sentence types, conversion is probably the most characteristic feature of Egyptian and Coptic grammar. By a variety of devices various categories of sentence are converted so as to function as either a substantive, an adjective, or an adverb equivalent. In effect, the sentence so converted becomes merely a grammatical unit in another sentence. Whereas classical Egyptian converted sentences to sentence parts primarily by means of specially inflected verb forms, Coptic does this by restructuring the sentence in an analytic way. Part II deals with the conversion of Coptic verb forms into either adjective or substantive equivalents. II, §§ 1–119 covers the adjectival conversion, the conversion of verbal statements into what used to be known as participles and relative forms. The converters employed are: *et-*, *ent-*, *ete-* and *e-* and they are placed before the statement to be converted. A pronominal antecedent of the *p/t/n* family preceding the converter is used to express gender/number. It is obvious that such constructions can function, depending on context, either as a qualification (=adjective) of the antecedent statement or as a noun equivalent. II, §§ 22–3 illustrates the adjectival conversion for each of the five forms of the nominal sentence defined in part I. Lacking a reference pronoun, the existential construction can be converted only through use of *kata the* (II, § 34). II, § 38 deals with the adjectivization of the elements *ntoot=* and *nta=* in expressions of possession. II, §§ 40–5 deals with 'have' and the extended uses of 'have' in expressions of debt or obligation. As I understand it, Polotsky claims here that the Bohairic form of 'have' corresponds to the original Late Egyptian prototype while in Sahidic 'nta- und der Besitzgegenstand haben ihre Stellung getauscht' (p. 73). However, the Late Egyptian norm is *wn m-di* + possessor + object possessed—which corresponds to the form preserved in Sahidic. II, §§ 51–2 applies the framework already established in order to explain how adjectival sentences are used to express generalizations. II, §§ 63–7 deals with the use of adjectival sentences to express appositional/explicative/parenthetical meaning. II, §§ 68–73 describes those situations in which, with adjectival conversions, the converter can be separated from the converted verbal form by another element (as, e.g. in the conditional protasis *e=f-šan-sôtm*). II, §§ 74–9 covers those cases of adjectival sentences (such as *pet-nanou=f*) in which the entire expression comes to have the force of an undefined, generalizing noun and can therefore be qualified by the definite article.

II, §§ 88–120 deals with the functions of what Polotsky identifies as the Coptic equivalent of the French adjectival Cleft Sentence (as in, e.g. '*c'est lui qui rougit*'). Polotsky defines the Cleft Sentence

as consisting of a change of role between the sentence components, resulting in the elevation of a non-predicative component to predicate status (and therefore the core of the sentence) while the verbal component is downgraded through use of a converter to being merely part of the subject. Whether one does or does not accept this explanation of the mechanics of the Cleft Sentence, transfer of focus from the verbal activity to a (pro)nominal or adverbial sentence element is the function of the French and English Cleft Sentence pattern, to which Polotsky's Coptic Cleft Sentence patterns do indeed correspond functionally.

II, §§ 92–100 is a rather important section of the book. It deals with the nature of what is normally assumed to be the determinator pronoun at the head of patterns such as *p-enta=f...* in the adjectival conversion. Polotsky argues at length for regarding this element as the *pe/te/ne* element which effects the nexus in the nominal sentence, with assimilation of the *e-* to the *e-* of the following converter. The effect of this is to remove the pronominal antecedent for such adjectival conversions and for this Polotsky cites parallels in the French and English Cleft Sentence.

II, §§ 121–36 deals with the substantival Cleft Sentence (the Second Tense conversions), which have the sole purpose of expressing the 'A' in that category of Cleft Sentence in which an adverbial expression is raised to the level of a 'Z' ('predicate'). Polotsky claims both formal and functional identity between the French Cleft Sentence and what he claims to be its Coptic equivalent. Thus, his adjectival Cleft Sentence corresponds to French '*c'est... qui...*' while the Second Tense conversion corresponds to French '*c'est... que...*': 'Die Zweiten Tempora sind *substantivisch*, weil sich in ihnen die Nominalisierung auf den Verbalbegriff als Kern des Satzinhaltes konzentriert; die "Relativformen" sind *adjektivisch*, weil sich in ihnen die Nominalisierung auf ein pronominales Satzglied konzentriert, dem der Satzinhalt attribuiert wird' (p. 129). The adjectival nature of the relative forms is, of course, obvious but I am less convinced by the argument for an intrinsically substantival nature of the Second Tenses. Central to this is the discussion in II, § 116 of Second Tense negation. Polotsky distinguishes a main and a secondary nexus. The main nexus is that between 'A' and 'Z' and is effected by (*n*) ... *an*. The secondary nexus is the negation of the 'A', the sentence downgraded to the status of a sentence part, which is effected by placing the converter before the appropriate negation for the verbal pattern involved. The negation of this subnexus leaves the main nexus affirmative. I do feel that use of (*n*) ... *an* to negate the main nexus is not of itself conclusive proof of the substantival nature of the Second Tenses, as this is the negation of non-verbal nexus in general, rather than a specific indication that a particular sentence component is a substantive.

II, §§ 128–30 supplies examples of verbal statements reiterated in the following statements by Second Tenses. The verbal statement focuses on the activity concerned, while the following Second Tense serves to transfer the focus of attention to the adverbial complement. II, § 133 supplies examples of variation between Polotsky's adjectival and substantival Cleft Sentences. My understanding of variations such as that between *nta=tetn-aa=s na=i* and *anok p-enta=tetn-aa=s na=i* is that the former serves to transfer focus from the verbal activity to the *na=i* while the latter transfers focus from the verbal activity to the *anok*.

Part III begins by discussing the properties of the causative verbs in the light of their origins in a form of Egyptian *rdi*, 'give', + prospective *sdm.f*. The causative infinitive, *mare*, *etre*, *tare*, *hm ptre* and *mnnsa tre* are then dealt with in a similar way. Statements such as *a=f t-re=f sôt m* are explained as consisting of the conjugated infinitive *t* of 'give' + the auxiliary verb *-re=*, 'do', which shows flexion according to number and person + *-sôt m* as the grammatical object of 'do'. The *ma-* of *mare* is the imperative form of 'give'. The apparent lack of causative nuance in many (etymologically causative) *etre* statements is investigated in III, §§ 23–6 and explained as being due to the subordination of the literal sense of the *-t-* in *etre* to its grammatical function which is, according to Polotsky, to serve as a bridge between the preposition *e-* and the *-re-* element and (p. 153) to express 'Wiedergabe der persönlichen prospektiven Unterordnung'. The lack of any discernible causative nuance in statements with *hm ptre* or *mnnsa tre* is explained in III, §§ 28–9 as due to 'ihrer späten Entstehung'. Regarding *tare*, III, §§ 37–40 reiterates the explanation of the form proposed in *Etudes*: that it expresses result in the form of an undertaking/promise by the speaker, it is derived from a combination of the 1.p.s. of the prospective *sdm.f* of 'give' combined with the auxiliary 'do' (which is why the form has no 1.p.s. in the Bible translations), and its lack of a negative form is due to its fossilized and vestigial nature. Various studies of Late Egyptian and Demotic are cited in

support. However, the examples adduced as *tare* prototypes in these studies are (a) very few in number, (b) in my opinion equivocal, mostly from literary texts and, in the case of the Late Egyptian examples, occurring in contexts in which one would normally expect the conjunctive (thus possibly archaisms) and (c) all scraped up by scholars whose express objective was to corroborate Polotsky's original theory from *Etudes*. It is at least as likely that *tare* is, like *hm ptre* and *mnnsa tre*, merely a secondary creation of Coptic. If so, the best chance of establishing its properties precisely lies with examination of the very standardized contexts in which it is most frequently attested—Coptic legal and business documents. For those who *must* have an Egyptian etymology for *tare*, and taking into account what I have noted as the form's special association in Coptic with legalistic pronouncements, one might consider as prototype that passive *sḏm.f* form of 'give' which is employed in Late Egyptian only in impersonal statements in juridical contexts (good collection of examples in Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*, 2.3.10.2.1–2).

To summarize, the present book is very much a conceptual work which is preaching to the converted rather than aiming at the uninitiated. In this sense it is complementary both to the recently published teaching grammar of Lambdin and to Vergote's 1973 two-part study of Coptic morphology and phonology. The book is the end-product of a lifetime devoted to the study of how the Egyptian and Coptic verbal systems functioned. Perhaps it is for this reason that the book has much of the flavour of a final statement. It is, however, a concise balance-taking which revises and renounces previously published views of the author where he felt it to be necessary. The entire content of this book is both thought-provoking and of fundamental relevance. Within the space constraints imposed by a review, I make no claim to have established the correct balance between description of the book's conceptual content and a sequential account of the actual grammatical topics dealt with.

M. GREEN

## Other books received

1. *Lingua Sapientissima*. Edited by J. D. RAY. 210 × 148 mm. Pp. iv + 80. Cambridge, Faculty of Oriental Studies, 1987. ISBN 1 870954 009. Price not stated.
2. *Coptic Egypt*. By BARBARA WATTERSON. 223 × 140 mm. Pp. x + 189, 2 maps, 1 fig. Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press, 1988. ISBN 0 7073 0556 X. Price £10.95.
3. *Egypte's historie in een Notedop*. By WILLEM J. DE JONG. Serie 'Schijnwerpers op Oud-Egypte. Deel 1'. 206 × 142 mm. Pp. 140, pls. 60. 'Djehoetimes', Amsterdam, 1987. ISBN 90 9001 799 2. Price not stated.
4. 'Working with No Data'. *Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin*. Edited by DAVID M. GOLOMB. 235 × 155 mm. Pp. xiv + 264. Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake In., 1987. ISBN 0 931 464 35 8. Price \$28.50.
5. *Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne*. By NICOLAS GRIMAL. 155 × 235 mm. Pp. 593, figs. 167. Fayard, Paris, 1988. Price FF 195.
6. *Blue Guide Egypt*. By VERONICA SETON-WILLIAMS and PETER STOCKS. 194 × 103 mm. Pp. 743, illus., numerous maps and plans. A and C Black (Publishers) Ltd., London, 1988. ISBN 0 7136 2838 3. Price £14.95.
7. *A Dictionary of Ancient Near Eastern Architecture*. By GWENDOLYN LEICK. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. xx + 261, illus. London, Routledge, 1988. ISBN 0 415 00240 0. Price £35.
8. *The Road to El-Aguzein*. By M. V. SETON-WILLIAMS. 240 × 160 mm. Pp. vi + 160. London, Kegan Paul International, 1988. ISBN 0 7103 02856 X. Price £18.
9. *Labor in the ancient Near East*. Edited by MARVIN A. POWELL. American Oriental Series. Volume 68. 260 × 180 mm. Pp. xiv + 289. New Haven, Connecticut, American Oriental Society, 1987. ISBN 0 940490 684. Price \$32.
10. *Bronze-working Centres of Western Asia c. 1000-539 B.C.* Edited by JOHN CURTIS. 240 × 150 mm. Pp. 342, pls. 183. London, Kegan Paul International, 1988. ISBN 0 7103 0274 6. Price not stated.
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14. *Das hörende Herz*. By HELMUT BRUNNER. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 80. 230 × 150 mm. Pp. x + 433. Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag and Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1988. ISBN 3 728 0567 6 and 3 525 53209 3. Price DM 145.
15. *Die Kunst des alten Ägyptens*. By DIETRICH WILDUNG. 243 × 225 mm. Pp. 252, pls. 95, figs. 81. Freiburg, Herder, 1988. ISBN 3 451 21301. Price DM 68.
16. *The Story of King Kheops and the Magicians*. By A. M. BLACKMAN. 298 × 210 mm. Pp. v + 34, pls. 12. Reading, J. V. Books, 1988. ISBN 0 9509602 33. Price £16.
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19. *Gli Animali da trasporto nell'Egitto Greco, Romano e Bizantino*. By AURORA LEONE. Papyrologica Castroctaviana 12. 210 × 160 mm. Pp. 102. Roma Editrice Pontificio, Istituto Biblico, 1988. Price not stated.
20. *Der Gott Sopdu der Herr der Fremdländer*. By INKE W. SCHUMACHER. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 79. 230 × 155 mm. Pp. xiv + 352, pls. 5. Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag and Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1988. ISBN 3 7278 0566 8 and 3 525 537085. Price DM 138.
21. *An Index to English Periodical Literature on the Old Testament and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. Volume II*. By WILLIAM G. HUPPER. ATLA Bibliography Series, No. 21. 220 × 140 mm.

- Pp. xxxviii + 502. Metuclen, NJ, The American Theological Library Association and the Scarecrow Press Inc., 1988. ISBN 0 8108 2126 5. Price £33.75.
22. *Late antique Nubia*. By L. TÖRÖK. Antaeus Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 16. 235 × 160 mm. Pp. 279, pls. 189. Budapest, Archaeological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1988. ISBN 0238 0218. Price not stated.
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  24. *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*. By CYRIL ALDRED. 260 × 180 mm. Pp. 320, pls. 77, figs. 29. London, Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1988. ISBN 0 500 0504 8 1. Price £24.
  25. *The Duties of the Vizier*. By G. P. F. VAN DEN BOORN. 240 × 155 mm. Pp. xx + 399, pls. 7. London, Kegan Paul International, 1988. ISBN 0 7 103 0330 0. Price £45.
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  27. *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs (TT77, 175 and 249)*. By LISE MANNICHE. 300 × 215 mm. CN Publications. Copenhagen, The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, 1988. ISBN 87 7289 036 3. Price not stated.
  28. *Cahiers de Karnak VIII 1982-1985*. By the Centre Franco-Egyptien d'Etudes des Temples de Karnak. 245 × 210 mm. Pp. 407 + 25 (Arabic), illus. Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987. ISBN 2 86538 172 2. Price FF 270.
  29. *Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amulette*. By CLAUDIA MÜLLER-WINKLER. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis. Series Archaeologica 5. 325 × 240 mm. Pp. 540, pls. 40. Freiburg Schweiz, Universitätsverlag, 1987. ISBN 3 72 78 0551 X. Price DM 296.

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