THE JOURNAL OF Egyptian Archaeology

VOLUME 77

1991

PUBLISHED BY

THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

ISSN 0307-5133

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Prospective contributors should submit three copies of their manuscript, which must be on A4 paper, double spaced throughout, and with ample margins. They should include an abstract (maximum 150 words) at the beginning of the article. Footnotes should be on separate pages, also double spaced. Abbreviations should be those of the *AEB* or *LÄ*, although *ad hoc* abbreviations may be used for titles cited frequently in individual articles. Accepted forms for standard reference works may also be used. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*, should be cited as PM (not italicized). Citations should take the form:

A. B. Lloyd, *JEA* 68 (1982), 57.
B. J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports*, 1 (London, 1983), 57.

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Any of the accepted systems of transliteration may be used (but *q* for *ḳ*). 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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Printed in Great Britain
Typeset by Unicus Graphics Ltd, Horsham, West Sussex
and printed by Whitstable Litho, Whitstable, Kent
Coptic and hieroglyphs typeset at Oxford University Computing Service

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THE Society has had three expeditions in the field this year. Accounts of the work at Saqqara and Memphis appear on pp. 1–21 below, while Mr Kemp reports on the season at Amarna as follows:

The director and part of the team arrived in Cairo on February 24th, and travelled to the site on the 28th. Work at Kom el-Nana ran between March 4th and April 18th, and at the Small Aten Temple between March 8th and April 11th. The expedition formally ended on April 27th. The staff comprised Barry Kemp (field director), Susan Cole, Imogen Grundon, Wendy Horton, Christopher Kirby (site supervisors), Michael Mallinson, Edmund Wilson (Small Aten Temple architects), Gavin Kitchingham (registrar), Margaret Serpico (stones registrar), Paul Nicholson, Jane Faiers, Catherine Powell (pottery), Ian Mathieson (remote sensing), and Gwilym Owen (photographer). The inspectors of antiquities were Adel Makari Zikri and Eiman Mohammed Sadiq el-Hakim, whose enthusiastic assistance we would like to acknowledge. The expedition is most grateful to the Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, Dr Mohammed Bakr, and to his colleagues in Cairo, Dr Aly Hassan, Kamal Fahmy, and the members of the Permanent Committee, for granting permission for the work to take place, and for assisting in the import of essential equipment from Britain; and in Minia and Mallawi to Mahmoud Hamza, Adel Hassan, and Yahia Zakaria and their colleagues for facilitating the smooth running of the expedition.

Much valuable help was provided by the British Council in Cairo, and by Mrs Rosalind Haddon and the Cairo Friends of the E.E.S., and by Alfred Baxendale. The expedition received generous support in the form of grants and donations of equipment from diverse bodies: the British Academy, the McDonald Foundation, the Leverhulme Trust, Scottish and Newcastle Breweries, George Brown, Cementone Beaver (sack truck, paint and safety equipment), Coal Products (conveyor belt), Rapid Racking (magazine shelving), Giraffe Access (photographic tower), Chillington Manufacturing and Crossley Builders Merchants (wheelbarrows), J. P. McDougall and Co. (ladders), Lotus Water Garden Products (submersible pumps), Fraser Trailers (vehicle trailer), Forbes Plastics (water storage tanks). The costs of transporting the equipment to Egypt in a container were borne by Cementone Beaver.

Kom el-Nana. The 1991 season saw the completion of the excavation of two brick buildings begun in previous years, the Central Platform and the South House, as well as deeper soundings at selected points around both of them in order to investigate stratigraphic relationships. In the case of the former it was already evident that, whereas in the east the platform was subdivided into a number of rooms, the western part was primarily a single hall, its roof supported on columns. In the newly exposed part, areas of brick floor were well preserved, containing neat circular cuts where the stone column bases had originally been inserted. The hall did not extend all the way to the western side of the building, however, but was separated from it by an elongated space with walls of its own, now eroded to below floor level. At the juncture of the two parts, and on the east-west axis of the building, the pattern of bricks implies the presence of an internal stairway, or of steps leading to a dais. Its size and construction match the foundations of two similar constructions on the north and south sides. All three can readily be interpreted as daises reached by steps, and the whole building, with its side ramps, resembles artistic portrayals of New Kingdom buildings which contained a Window of Appearance. Such a window (or windows) would have been inserted into the high wall which we now know, from the pattern of collapsed rubble found this year, surrounded the platform.

Before Kom el-Nana was abandoned the decision had been made to remove the Central Platform and to spread the surrounding mud floor over the site it had occupied, the two tasks being

done simultaneously. More evidence for this was uncovered this year on the north and west, showing again the meticulous plastering of the surrounding floor right up to the line of demolition, whether it be part-way through the thickness of a wall or a cut into the gravel fill of the platform.

Excavation of the remainder of the South House has established that the whole building was symmetrical about both its east-west and north-south axes, excepting that the stepped entrance on the south discovered last year was not repeated on the north. The overall design was as follows: the central feature was a square hall of four columns which could be approached from three directions, each preceded by a stepped entrance projecting outside the building, on the south, west and east. On the west and east one passed first around an open court containing a sunken garden, and then via a little portico into a columned vestibule. The western garden was excavated last year; this year it was the turn of the corresponding eastern garden. As was the case with the former, the fill of the pit contained a large quantity of reconstructable sherds from pottery vessels, but, unlike its equivalent, also a deposit of rubble from deliberate demolition of part of the building. Mixed in with broken bricks and earth were many small pieces from a painted gypsum floor, probably similar to that found at Maru-Aten. The rubble also produced a number of small finds, including a length of bronze or copper rod sheathed in gold. In the northern and western parts of the Kom el-Nana enclosure Ian Mathieson completed his remote sensing survey using proton magnetometer and resisitivity meter.

Small Aten Temple. The programme of clearance, planning, and limited repair to walls was continued. The rear part of the temple is encumbered to a much greater extent than others with old spoil heaps, which cover a good part of the ground outside the limits of the stone Sanctuary. To improve the efficiency of dump removal a 50-metre long conveyor belt was imported, and proved to be of enormous help in removing one of the major dumps in the Sancturary court. Much pottery and many stone fragments were recovered, most of the latter being of standstone and derived from large papyrus-bud columns which must have stood at the front of the Sanctuary. At the same time a second dump was removed from the south side of the second court using wheelbarrows. Two areas were selected for detailed survey: the north-west corner of the temple enclosure wall, and the north-west part of the Sanctuary court. In the first area a stretch of the northern enclosure wall eastwards from the north-west corner of the temple was cleared of sand and recorded in plan and elevation. The foundation trench and lowest courses of bricks represent a wall much narrower than the one finally built, but on present evidence it would still seem that we have here a record of the wall having been widened during the course of construction rather than the remains of two separate phases of enclosure wall. The lower courses were built from reused bricks from a whitewashed construction, presumably of Phase I.

The clearance of sand from around the outside of the wall was also extended northwards in the form of a trench, but it was found that erosion has removed most of the original surface of the street at this, its western end. Across from the temple lies the King's House, and the opportunity was taken to open a single five-metre square over its south-western corner. On both Petrie's and Pendlebury's plans the corner area is shown to be quite blank, but this is not the case in reality. Inside the corner lie more than one floor and the stump of an early-phase narrow wall running north-south, whilst more substantial walls extend outwards from the south wall. It is possible that they belong to a ramped entrance.

The architectural recording in the Sanctuary focused on the part where a series of brick walls had been integrated with the original stonework, and where some of the walls still stand several courses high. Close examination of the floors revealed a series of post holes, and, of considerable significance, a length of Phase I wall running beneath one of the floors. The stratigraphic context is very clear and the whole assemblage of walls and floors provides a valuable key to the sequence of building in this part of the temple, where, as elsewhere, two distinct and separate phases of building are visible. It has also been noticed that the old dumps lying to the north cover the remains of a building or court of mud brick not previously recorded.

The repairs to brickwork were limited to the western stretch of the north enclosure wall. Where it had been completely destroyed it was replaced, using newly made bricks, to the level of the fourth course, the same as that of the surviving wall on each side. A final protective capping of mortar with brick impressions hammered into it was then added.

As a further preparation for the final publication of the Society's work at the North Palace in the 1920s, the field director spent three weeks during September 1990 on a fresh survey of the building, concentrating on the north-eastern corner. In addition to the routine recording of material from the excavation, further progress was made in the study of the late Roman pottery from Kom el-Nana (Jane Faiers), of the sources and properties of clays used in the Amarna Period (Dr Paul Nicholson and Catherine Powell), and of the decorated stonework from Kom el-Nana (Margaret Serpico and Gavin Kitchingham).

In the spring of this year, a first season of excavation was carried out at Tell el-Balamun in the Delta by Dr A. J. and Dr P. A. Spencer, under the auspices of the British Museum. Since sites in the Delta are increasingly seriously threatened by building projects, and since we still know far less about that part of the country than about Upper Egypt, this is a very welcome development. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Society too will find the resources to undertake work in the Delta in the near future.

In July, *Egyptian Archaeology: The Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society* was launched under the editorship of Mr Mike Murphy, whose rare combination of journalistic expertise and Egyptological knowledge makes him ideally suited to the *Bulletin's* aim of providing for the Society's large lay membership a lively and accessible account of current developments in Egyptology. While it will naturally concentrate on the Society's own expeditions, readers will also find news of other work of importance. Recent discoveries such as the Minoan-style wall paintings at Tell el-Dab'a, Khufu's pyramid town at Giza and the tomb of Tutankhamun's tutor at Akhmim are timely reminders of how much remains to be recovered from ancient Egypt. The warm reception already accorded its first volume suggests a long and successful future for *Egyptian Archaeology* as an exciting complement to this *Journal.*

A high point of 1991 has been the opening at the British Museum in July of the new gallery dedicated to Nubia, 'Egypt and Africa'. This brings to public attention an aspect of ancient Egypt not previously well represented in the Museum's display. Many of the objects on show have been donated over the years by the Society from our excavations in Nubia, including the continuing work at Qasr Ibrim. A volume of essays, also entitled 'Egypt and Africa', is being published jointly by the Society and British Museum Press to commemorate the opening. This year has also seen the founding of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society, in response to a widely perceived need for a scholarly body which could devote itself specifically to the cultures of the Sudan, both past and present. We greatly welcome this initiative and look forward to cooperation with the new body in the future. Interested parties should contact The Acting Secretary, Sudan Archaeological Research Society, c/o British Museum, London, WC1B 3DG.

The appointment of two more young scholars to permanent positions on the curatorial staff of the British Museum gives cause for celebration. Dr John Taylor, an adviser to the exhibition, 'Gold of the Pharaohs', in Edinburgh in 1988, has recently devoted much of his time to the preparation of the Nubian gallery, publishing a valuable general survey, *Egypt and Nubia.* He is also known for his expertise in coffins of the Third Intermediate Period, and we look forward to his work on the Museum's important collection of such coffins. Dr Richard Parkinson, as well as being an outstanding draughtsman, is a specialist in Middle Kingdom literary texts. He has published this year a fine volume of translations, *Voices from Ancient Egypt,* and the first full edition of the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant.* In Cambridge, Janine Bourriau has left her post of Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum after many years to pursue her research interests. Many readers will

remember with pleasure the exhibition 'Pharaohs and Mortals' which she organised in Cambridge and Liverpool in 1988. The catalogue which accompanied that exhibition is a superb introduction to the culture of the Middle Kingdom. Janine will continue her close and long-standing involvement in the Society's fieldwork as youthful doyenne of ceramic studies. The new Keeper is Dr Eleni Vassilika author of a pioneering work on late Egyptian temples entitled *Ptolemaic Philae* (1989). Under her care the tradition of an annual lecture and colloquium in memory of S. R. K. Glanville has continued to flourish in Cambridge, the distinguished guest this year being Professor Jean Vercoutter, who spoke on 'Egypt and Africa'.

Change has also occurred in Liverpool, where, in July 1991, Professor A. F. 'Peter' Shore retired from the Brunner chair in Egyptology. Mr T. G. H. James and Professor K. A. Kitchen contribute the following appreciation:

Peter Shore began his academic career at the British Museum in 1956. As a pupil of S. R. K. Glanville, he carried back to the Museum skills in reading demotic which had been absent for twenty years; with a special sympathy for the Copts and their language, he took responsibility for important categories of material which had previously been less than adequately served. As a devoted visitor to the staff canteen, he got to know a great many colleagues in other departments, forging fruitful interdisciplinary links which occasionally led to the discovery of Egyptian objects lurking unexpectedly and unloved in alien surroundings. As a good listener, he did well by the enquiring public, and could be found attending to the craziest question with a kind of encouraging seriousness, which led inevitably to authoritative, but courteous, dismissal. But he was always — perhaps still is — nervous of scarabs. He shouldered more than his share of adminstrative duties without complaint, and probably devoted more time to matters like photographic orders than was suitable for someone who should have been labouring at his demotic catalogue (now in press). In 1974, Peter Shore moved to Liverpool to succeed H. W. Fairman. Since then, with urbanity and dry good humour, he had guided both the School of Archaeology and Oriental Studies and the Department of Oriental Studies through difficult times to their incorporation into the present School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies. He particularly encouraged Liverpool's return to fieldwork in Egypt. Within the Department, he has been a source of reassurance and good sense for colleagues and students alike, and will be much missed.

Many students at other universities have cause to remember with gratitude Professor Shore's rigorous examination and kindly encouragement. Despite his onerous university duties, he has given generously of his time and counsel to the Society. Before he became Chairman in January 1990, he had been a long-standing and valued member of the Committee and various sub-committees. It is a matter of great regret that Professor Shore is not to be replaced directly at Liverpool. Dr Steven Snape, a graduate of that university and author of a valuable Delta survey, has been appointed to a lectureship for one year in the first instance. It must be hoped that this position will be made permanent, so that Liverpool's long contribution to Egyptological studies in this country can continue undiminished.

The society has suffered a sad loss in the last year, through the death on 12 April 1991 of Mrs Hazel Smith. Mrs Smith had for many years been an active member of expeditions, notably at Buhen and Saqqara, with her husband, Professor H. S. Smith. In addition to shouldering the vital but often undervalued burden of the commissariat, she had taken charge of photography. We extend our deepest sympathy to Professor Smith in his bereavement. Cyril Aldred, who died at 77 on 23 June 1991, was a member of the Society for over 50 years, and a Committee member from 1959–76. His career was devoted to the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh, where he built up the Egyptian collection and

where he was Keeper of the Department of Art and Archaeology from 1961 until his retirement in 1974. An art historian by inclination and training, he produced in *Egyptian Art* (1980) an excellent introduction to the subject which distilled many years' close study. His extensive writings on the Amarna period culminated in *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (1988), and he was also the author of a standard work on *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (1971). A commemorative volume of essays is in press, and an obituary will appear in next year's *Journal*.

Professor H.-W. Muller, who died on 6 February 1991 at the age of 83, was also blessed with a perceptive eye, and will be remembered for, among many other things, his contribution to the art of photographing ancient Egyptian objects. His range of interests was extraordinarily wide and he wrote tellingly on subjects as diverse as the predynastic cultures of the Delta and the sculpture of the Late Period. He played a vital part in the growth of the collection of Egyptian antiquities in Munich, and the number of his former students who are today distinguished scholars is ample testimony to his inspiring qualities as a teacher.

Another great loss has been the death of Professor H.-J. Polotsky on 8 August 1991. His contributions to the study of ancient Egyptian have dominated syntactical analysis of the language for the last 40 years. Beginning with the *Etudes de syntaxe copte* (1944), Polotsky developed a theory of 'transpositions', which he refined over the years in a series of unfailingly stimulating articles. Although Middle Egyptian increasingly became the focus of debate, Polotsky always insisted on the importance of Coptic, with its crucial evidence for vocalization, as the key to advances in understanding of earlier stages of the language.

Two prominent Egyptian colleagues have also passed on. Dr Ahmed Kadry, who died on 4 October 1990, was a former Chairman of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization. Dr Sayed Tawfik was still the incumbent of that demanding post when he died on 20 December 1990. Dr Mohammed Bakr, previously of the University of Zagazig, has assumed their mantle, and we look forward to many years of fruitful cooperation with him and his colleagues.

Finally, the Editor has been asked to announce the third edition of *Who Was Who in Egyptology*. This is now being prepared by Dr M. L. Bierbrier, of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum, who would be glad to receive corrections to the second edition, and any additional information for inclusion in the new one. It is planned to keep the text on disc so that future editions can be prepared with minimum difficulty.

MEMPHIS, 1990

By LISA L. GIDDY *and* D. G. JEFFREYS

The Society's Survey of Memphis programme continued at Mit Rahina, running from mid-September to mid-December 1990. There were several interrelated field projects: excavation at Kom Rabi'a, where the water table was reached towards the end of the season at the level of late Twelfth-Dynasty occupation; the processing and study of small finds, bones and environmental material from earlier work at the site; drill cores made in the cultivation to the north-west of the ruin field; and resistivity meter survey at the site of the 'Siamun building' on Kom Qal'a.

STAFF arrived for the 1990 season from 15 September onwards, and formal excavation lasted from 1 October to 15 November. The geophysical projects (drill cores and resistivity survey) ran from 16–27 November and 1–10 December respectively, while post-excavation work took place concurrently and lasted until 17 December, when the season closed. Staff members were Janine Bourriau, Andrew Boyce, Sarah Buckingham, Nicholas Fieller, Peter French, Barbara Ghaleb, Lisa Giddy, Colin Hope, David Jeffreys, Christopher Kirby, Fiona Macalister, Ian Mathieson, Mary Anne Murray, Paul Nicholson, Ted Phelps, William Schenck, Karin Sowada, Sally Swain, Ana Tavares, and Dagmar Winzer. As always, our work proceeded with the permission and cooperation of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, to whom we are grateful, in particular to Chairman †Dr Said Tawfiq, Directors Dr Ali el-Khouli and Dr Ali Hassan, Secretary Mr Ahmed Moussa and his assistant Mme Samia in the Secretariat; at Saqqara Dr Zahi Hawwas, Director of Giza and Saqqara, Mr Mahmoud Abu'l-Wafa, Director of Saqqara, and Mr Ahmed Farghali, Chief Inspector of Mit Rahina. Special thanks are due to our EAO representative this year, Mr Adil Mohammed, Inspector of Mit Rahina, for his cheerful and sympathetic cooperation at all times. Among our sponsors we thank the University of Sydney for sending this year's Australian student Karin Sowada; Mr P. V. Mayes of Wong and Mayes (Chartered Accountants), Sydney, for a financial contribution; Memphis State University for their annual dollar contribution and for selecting Ted Phelps as the Memphis student for the season; the Institut français d'archéologie oriental, Cairo, for occasional use of facilities.

Kom Rabi'a (excavation site RAT)

Removal of backfill from the 1988 season, and cleaning of exposed surfaces took only three days, after which excavation continued in two areas: in the south-west corner of the original 500 sq. m exposure, and along the north side, where a trench 25 × 3–4 m was excavated.

South-west corner. Here it was still hoped to recover pottery of early Eighteenth-Dynasty date within the curious foundation trench cut through the Middle Kingdom deposits.[1] A few days' work revealed, however, that all contexts were producing Middle

[1] *JEA* 75 (1989), 7, 10, fig. 5.

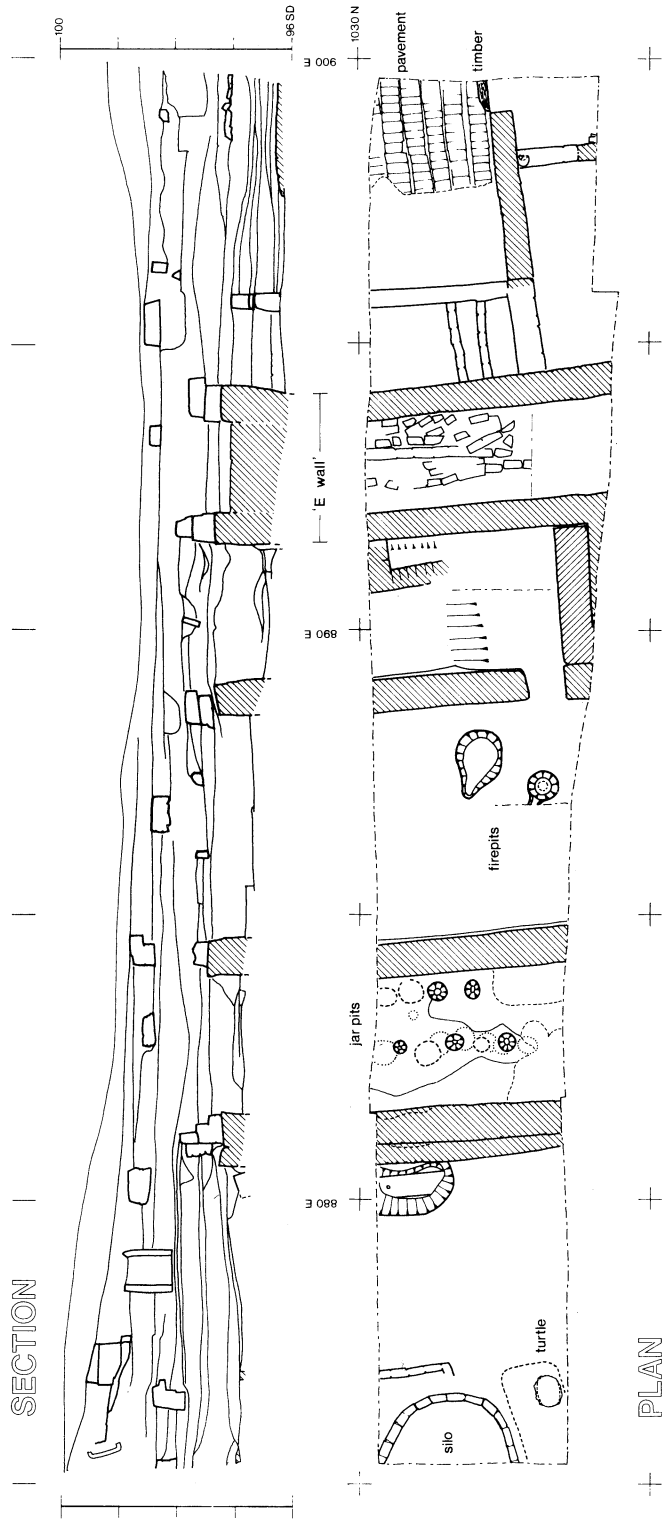


FIG. 1. Plan and north section of excavation at end of 1990 season (Level VIIb).

Kingdom material, suggesting that the earliest cutting predated the Second Intermediate Period, so work here was suspended to concentrate on the north side.

North side (fig. 1). Here the existing north section was continued downwards. A series of late Twelfth-Dynasty rebuildings (Level VIIa) was recognized, but the underlying architecture (Level VIIb) still contained material of a similar date, and broadly speaking follows the same layout as the rebuild, despite evidence of intensive activity sandwiched between the two building phases. The ground plan divides the site naturally into three zones (west, central, and east), following the arrangements of the main terraces at this level.

The *north-west area* had for some time been an open yard, and the removal of its east (Level VIIa) wall showed that it was the first of a series of terraces that raised floor levels to the west: the terraced effect across the site, so marked at the end of Level VI (late Thirteenth Dynasty),[2] was barely discernible once the fills behind this wall had been removed. Internal features appeared again beneath these fills, including a very deflated silo against the west section and, at a slightly later horizon, an oblong pit containing a near-intact carapace of a turtle (see p. 5 below). This is not part of a deliberate human burial like the turtle ('tortoise') found by Z. Y. Saad at Helwan (tomb 264 H2),[3] but is almost certainly associated with the local working of turtle shell for the production of tools or ornaments.[4] Beneath the silo more levelling fills were revealed which lie between successive construction phases to the east.

The *north-central area* comprised three rooms which are comparable in size and orientation in all Middle-Kingdom levels. The rebuilding is most clearly distinguished in this area and is contemporary throughout. Of the three, the central room showed the most elaborate series of pittings, at a stage between buildings when the whole central area was perhaps also a large open court. Some of the larger pits were for the disposal of domestic waste, while other smaller ones were shallow depressions, probably to receive the round-based storage jars of which sherds occurred in quantity. At least one pit had held an upright post (possibly a roof support), centrally placed between the walls of the room, and retained its original packing of sherds and stones with traces of the post-pipe beneath, and a ring of postholes around the earliest of the refuse pits clearly has some structural significance as well. At the earliest level reached here a pair of circular firepits, with vents/stokeholes on the west side, was revealed. Although traces of copper slag had been found in the vicinity, the pits are not sufficiently preserved to be certain that they were used for metalworking. In the room to the west another series of circular hollows was embedded in an intricate series of laminated dense clay surfaces, suggesting that the jars kept here were for liquid storage. The easternmost room, immediately inside the 'boundary wall', contained a curious sequence of fills dipping sharply to the north and possibly reflecting the slope of the 'ramp' on the other side of the boundary wall (see below).

The *north-central area* comprised three rooms which are comparable in size and orientation in all Middle-Kingdom levels. The rebuilding is most clearly distinguished

[2] *JEA* 74 (1988), 17, 20, fig. 3.
[3] *CASAE* 3 (1947), 108–9, pl. xlvii.
[4] One piece of worked/decorated(?) shell was also found, a fragment of similar turtle carapace from a pit in the north-central area (which does not correspond to the missing plate in this example); and part of a tortoise shell was found in the adjoining room (see below, p. 5). For the use of Nile turtle shell for implements, see H. G. Fischer, *LÄ* v, 627–8 and *Ancient Egyptian Representations of Turtles* (New York, 1968).

Kingdom occupation, and separates two very different patterns of usage to east and west. On the east side (i.e. outside) the wall, we encountered standing walls for the first time, beneath dumped layers of brick rubble containing concentrations of butchered animal bone and body sherds of large storage vessels. The walls were at first of a very inferior quality, and may have been constructional: one wall parallel to the east side of the boundary wall contained a mass of sherds sloping down to the north and was probably a temporary ramp. Beneath these ephemeral features lay far more substantial architecture, still contemporary with the Level VIIb internal rooms but with a dramatic drop in level. A regular brick pavement laid on a sand bed was contained by walls with limestone door sockets, all still on the familiar Middle-Kingdom alignment.[5] In mid-November the ground water table rose to the level of this pavement: to our surprise, the survival of organic deposits here was unusually good, with an intact timber (threshold?) beam found lying in one doorway directly on the brick pavement.

Finds from the site this season have tended to be more numerous and show greater variety than in the Thirteenth-Dynasty levels removed in 1986–8. Three scarabs of late Twelfth-/early Thirteenth-Dynasty date were found, as well as numerous broken seal impressions in clay. Among the mainly flint pieces, some are of good quality, including one particularly fine knife blade. Although flint is still by far the commonest surviving material for tools, there has been a greater proportion of metal (copper alloy) objects, whose condition has generally been good: items of interest revealed after cleaning include a well-finished fishhook. In addition, a greater variety of semiprecious stone objects have been found in the late Twelfth-Dynasty levels.

Other projects

Conservation (Fiona Macalister). Work this season was chiefly on the copper alloy fragments and objects discovered during the 1990 excavation season. Twenty-eight of the fifty-nine metal fragments were recognizable, mostly as pins, rods, and tools, including a fishhook and two needles. Among the remaining unidentified fragments there were some pieces of slag and other waste from copper working and kiln fuel. All the copper alloy, which was cleaned mechanically using a scalpel or vibrotool, was very corroded; most objects were totally mineralized, and many were coated in a thick layer of the pale green sampleite identified in earlier seasons. In addition, twenty-one faience pieces, mostly beads, were cleaned and consolidated, and a few stone objects were treated. Several days were spent cleaning and consolidating the turtle carapace.

Ceramics (Janine Bourriau). During excavation, the Middle-Kingdom pottery from the 200 finished (completely excavated) contexts was sorted into fabrics and wares, and dated and weighed, and diagnostic sherds selected for later recording. New-Kingdom pottery from previous seasons was also studied, with new types being recorded and progress being made on fabric analysis, particularly using the new thin-sectioning equipment.

Zooarchaeology (Barbara Ghaleb). Animal remains were recovered this season primarily from Middle-Kingdom contexts, either during excavation or from the wet sieving and

[5] This is the first time since the Nineteenth-Dynasty levels that such brick pavements have been noted, and in those cases they were all similarly located on the east of the same wall line, although there can be no question of the wall having survived throughout this time.

processing of bulk samples. The main work was the processing and initial sorting of animal remains of New- and Middle-Kingdom date from both the 1988 and 1990 seasons: preliminary study continues to indicate that a range of domestic animals from both periods, which includes cow, sheep, goat and pig, as well as birds and fish (predominantly Nile species, with some sea fish), contributed to the diet. Of particular interest was the discovery this season of a near-complete carapace measuring 50 × 40 cm, and one small (worked) plate fragment, of a Nile turtle (*Trionyx* sp., probably *T. triunguis*) and part of the carapace of a small land tortoise (*Testudo* sp.), all from Middle-Kingdom contexts. A large accumulation of animal bone from one particular context in the north-east corner of the site includes cow, pig, and fish, and many of these bones show signs of butchery.

Archaeobotany (Mary Anne Murray). Ninety-five 1990 contexts, all but two of which are Middle-Kingdom, have been sampled for the recovery of ancient plant remains and processed, with the emphasis being on the analysis of the twenty-three New-Kingdom samples recovered during 1988 and 1990. Species identified so far include emmer wheat (*Triticum dicoccum*), hulled barley (*Hordeum sativum*), lentil (*Lens culinaris*), grape (*Vitis vinifera*), edible sedge tubers and nutlet kernels (*Cyperus* sp.), rye grass (*Lolium* sp.), canary grass (*Phalaris* sp.), mallow (*Malva* sp.), amaranth (*Amaranthus* sp.), club rush (*Scirpus tuberosis*), dock (*Rumex* sp.), and genera from the families of Caryophyllacae (*Sagina* sp. and *Gypsophila* sp.), Leguminosae (*Lathyrus sativus*, *Vicia* sp., *Coronilla* sp., *Trifolium* sp., *Trigonella* sp., *Scorpiurus* sp., *Medicago* sp., and *Melilotus* sp.), Graminae and Compositae. Preliminary investigation of the Middle-Kingdom samples show that they include all the above species as well as olive (*Olea europaea*), chick pea (*Cicer arietium*), date (*Phoenix dactylifera*), sycamore fig (*Ficus sycamorus*), pistacio (*Pistacia terebinthus* or *P. palestina*), persea (*Mimusops schimperi*), and acacia pods and seeds (*Acacia* sp.). Additional weed species include brome grass (*Bromus* sp.), knotweed (*Polygonum* sp.), wild barley (*Hordeum* sp.), bindweed (*Convolvulus* sp.), *Schoenoplectus* sp. and members of the families Campanulacae, Compositae and Chenopodiacae. It is interesting that several of the well-stratified late Twelfth-Dynasty contexts contain olive, since evidence of this species is rare before the Eighteenth Dynasty. Most of the plant material appears to be waste fractions from crop-cleaning residues, which were commonly used as fuel for domestic fires and ovens. These include straw and chaff, seeds from weeds of crops, etc., and may have been put to other uses such as fodder, temper in pottery and brick, and stable litter. There is good evidence in one or two of the Middle-Kingdom contexts that dung was also used as fuel. Certain samples contain predominantly leguminous forage foods (especially those of the Leguminosae family) and barley, which may be further evidence of dung used as fuel. Many of these plants were probably cultivated for use as animal fodder. Much of the food was probably grown locally (though it is possible that the olive, grape and pistacio were imported, perhaps from outside Egypt), and it is very likely that some wild foods, such as the sedge tubers, continued to be part of the diet at Memphis. In general, the Kom Rabi'a site seems to have been well placed to satisfy most requirements for food, building materials, fuel and fodder.

Drill cores (David Jeffreys). Three pilot cores taken from the region to the north-west of the ruin field, around the curious topographical feature known today as the *khalig/tir'it al-raml*, showed that the distinctive stiff black clay layer was present at a depth of 4 m (approximately 16 m above sea level), similar to the 1989 findings east of the Mariyutiya

Canal.[6] This suggests that the scouring to be expected by a shift in the Bahr Libeini has not seriously affected the underlying stratigraphy at this depth. The seventy cores taken so far show that this ridge of clay, representing the ground surface at the time of the Early-Dynastic occupation of Memphis, is confined to the west of the existing ruin field and rises and opens out to the north-west. This still seems to be the most reasonable place to expect the nucleus of Early-Dynastic settlement, lying on the valley floor directly between the First and Second Dynasty cemeteries of North Saqqara on the west and Helwan/Ma'asara ('Ezbet el-Walda) on the east (fig. 1), and we hope to continue drilling within this 'corridor' in the near future.

Resistivity survey (Ian Mathieson). Work was concentrated on the anomaly discovered in 1989,[7] east-south-east of the colossal limestone statue of Ramesses II ('Abu'l-hol') and EAO museum and offices, where Petrie found a standing column of King Siamun of the Twenty-first Dynasty beneath the courtyard of his expedition house. The anomaly was relocated and an intensive one-metre grid of profiles laid over it in an attempt to define the shape of the structure with greater precision. Further profiles ran across the perimeter fence of the museum garden to locate the alignment of the Ptah temple enclosure-wall or adjacent structures. A proton-magnetometer was used to confirm the existence of structures identified by resistivity, and results from both methods are currently being analysed.

[6] *JEA* 76 (1990), 12–13.
[7] *JEA* 76, 13–14.

THE TOMB OF MAYA AND MERYT: PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE SAQQARA EXCAVATIONS, 1990–1

By HANS D. SCHNEIDER, GEOFFREY T. MARTIN, BARBARA GREENE ASTON, JACOBUS VAN DIJK, RUTGER PERIZONIUS *and* EUGEN STROUHAL

This report outlines the results obtained by the joint EES-Leiden Expedition in the tomb of Maya at Saqqara during the 1990 and 1991 seasons. A series of intrusive shafts associated with the main tomb were excavated, and much contexted funerary material and skeletal remains were found. Inscriptions provide evidence of interments dating to the Ramesside Period, the Late Period, and the early Ptolemaic era. Work was advanced on pottery, skeletal remains, and objects deriving from these and previous seasons. Full-scale drawings of reliefs and texts from the substructure of Maya's tomb, with the exception of Room H, were completed for publication. An epigraphic record was also made of Old Kingdom blocks found re-used in the masonry of the tomb, as well as reliefs and fragments from the decoration of the tomb of Horemheb and the Tias, retrieved from subsidiary shafts inside and outside the Maya complex. The mud-brick architecture of Maya's tomb was extensively restored, and preparations were made for the re-erection of the lintels over the pylon entrance.

THE 1990 season lasted from 11 January to 14 March. The EES staff consisted of Professor G. T. Martin, Dr D. A. Aston, Dr B. G. Aston, Dr J. van Dijk, and Miss E. Cladakis. Miss J. Dinsmore (British Museum) joined the expedition for part of the season to advise on matters of conservation. Leiden was represented by Professor H. D. Schneider, Dr W. R. K. Perizonius, Mr P.-J. Bomhof, Miss A. de Kemp and Mr M. Marée. The excavation and study season in 1991 lasted from 3 January to 18 March. The EES was represented by Professor Martin, Mr K. J. Frazer, Dr B. G. Aston, and Dr E. Strouhal. Dr D. A. Aston was with the expedition for two weeks to assist in the recording of the pottery. The Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden, was represented by Professor Schneider. Mr Fawzy Abd el-Halim Omar and Mr Khaled Abdallah Daoud (Egyptian Antiquities Organization) worked with the joint expedition during both seasons.

The excavations, seasons 1990–1 (H. D. Schneider)

After the clearance of the burial chambers of Maya and Meryt in 1988, the excavation of a number of subsidiary tomb shafts, discovered during earlier seasons in the superstructure,[1] and the completion of the investigation of the tomb of Ramose,[2] had still to be carried out. Both projects were brought to a conclusion in the seasons 1990 and 1991.

The subsidiary shafts

Not unlike the majority of tombs excavated so far in the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis, the tomb of Maya and Meryt contains a number of shaft complexes which were constructed and used in periods not contemporary with those distinguished tomb-

[1] Martin, *JEA* 74 (1988), 6.
[2] Martin, *JEA* 73 (1987), 6; Raven, *JEA* 74, 3.

owners. The upper parts of some of these shafts had been cut into the thicknesses of the mud-brick walls of chapels A and B as well as in those of the outer court. Others had been dug out directly in the gravel and soft limestone (*tafl*) strata under the pavement of both the outer court and the forecourt. Thirteen shaft complexes, numbered iii–xv,[3] were excavated and investigated (see plan in fig. 1). Shaft complexes iii and iv had to be abandoned due to the insecure condition of the gravel stratum and the *tafl*-rock below the mud-brick chapel walls. The excavation of shaft complexes v and viii was completed in the 1991 season.

From the architectural features and layout, as well as the (thoroughly plundered) contents, two type-groups of shaft complexes can be distinguished. Group A comprises shaft complexes iii, iv, vii, x, xii, xiii and xv. Each of these consists of a shaft 4 m deep at the maximum, which gives access to two or three burial chambers. These shaft complexes date from the New Kingdom. Group B consists of complexes formed by a shaft 7–9 m deep, leading to a single chamber with four or five niche-chambers cut into the sides. The architectural features point to an Old Kingdom date, the contents to re-use in the Late Period. This group comprises shaft complexes v, vi (shaft only), viii, ix, xi and xiv.

Shaft complexes of group A

Shaft complex iii is cut into the wall thickness between chapel B and the inner court of the main tomb. Its excavation had to be abandoned, as noted above. The shaft is 1.50 m deep, its rim measuring 1.35 × 1 m. The sides are plastered with a thin layer of mud. There is one chamber in the bedrock running south-west under the pavement of the inner court and under the west wall of chapel B. Apart from fragments of a wooden coffin and cartonnage, the upper parts of faience and much weathered alabaster shabtis, as well as sherds of a blue frit bowl, all of New Kingdom date, the sand fill also contained traces of Late Period use, witnessed by a faience shabti fragment inscribed for a certain Djed-djehuty-iuf (*sic*), son of Mer-neith. The skeletal remains of at least four individuals, including one non-adult, could be distinguished. The complex can be dated to the Ramesside Period but was clearly re-used in the Late Period.

Shaft complex iv is cut through the north wall of chapel B and gives access to two small rooms on the east and west, *c.* 1.20 m under the pavement of the chapel and cut into the stratum of gravel and bedrock. The clearance of these too had to be abandoned. A great quantity of linen mummy bandages, fragments of limestone relief and a few skeletal remains were found in the sand and rubble fill of the shaft. The complex can be dated to the Ramesside Period. It was possibly re-used during the Late Period.

Shaft complex vii is situated in the outer court. The rim of the shaft (pl. II, 1) measures 1.77 × 1.50 m and consists of three courses of limestone blocks, three of which are inscribed. The latter are part of the architrave blocks of the portico in Maya's outer court. The depth of the shaft is 3.80 m, its base measures 1.60 × 0.90 m. There are two rooms. Room A in the north could not be investigated due to a collapse of the ceiling caused by the weight of the north wall of the outer court. Remains of a wooden coffin and fragments of reed matting, all presumably of the late New Kingdom, were found at the entrance. Room B (width 2.35 m, depth 2.30 m, height 1 m) in the south is very roughly cut in the bedrock and its contents were severely plundered. In the fill of almost clean sand, several large fragments of a terracotta slipper coffin and the remains of a wooden coffin were found. Other finds bear witness to the reasonably high quality of the original funerary equipment: beads and pendants of faience and glass, all parts of a colourful *usekh*-collar, fragments of blue glazed shabtis, the lower part of a limestone shabti with black painted inscription for the mistress of the house Mehy, as well as a white ware potsherd with a hieratic docket giving

[3] The numbering was given in former seasons. No. i is the main shaft of the tomb of Maya and Meryt giving access to the burial chambers of the owners. No. ii is the fragmentary lowest course of blocks of a dwelling or shelter of late date, and is not in reality a shaft.

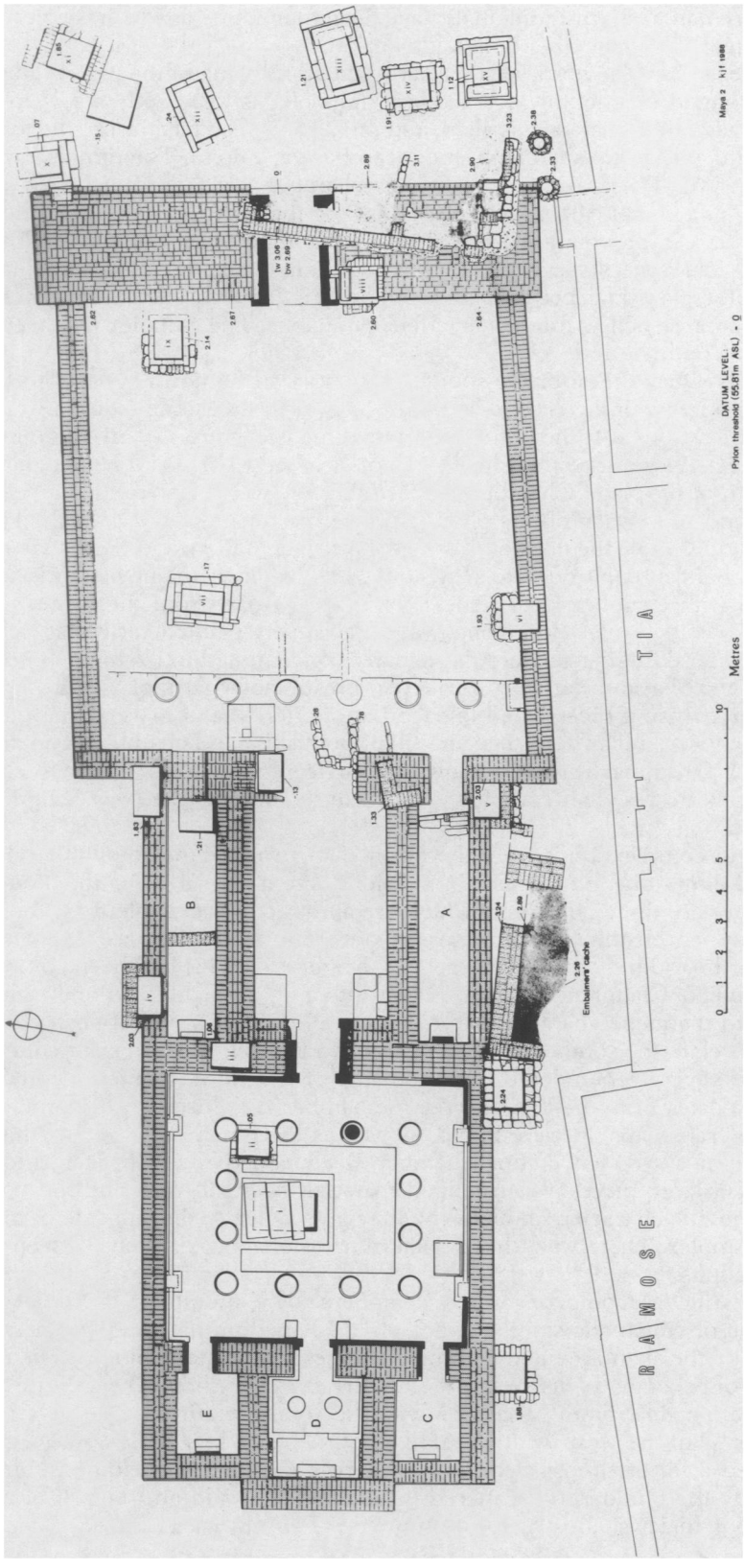


FIG. 1. Tomb of Maya and Meryt. Plan showing subsidiary shaft complexes.

the number 20. The remains of four individuals have been found, one of which is a non-adult. Both architecture and contents date from the Ramesside Period.

Shaft complex x lies east of the north-east corner of the north wing of the pylon. The shaft has a revetment of seven courses of smoothly dressed limestone blocks to a depth of 1.85 m. One of the blocks on the south side of the shaft is inscribed, and must have been taken from the tomb of Maya and Meryt. The total depth of the shaft from mouth to base is 2.80 m. The dimensions at bottom level are 1.45 m × 0.75 m. There are two chambers: chamber A on the north side of the shaft (width 2.05 m, depth 3 m, height 0.85 m) and chamber B on the south (width 1.75 m, depth 2.15 m, height 0.85 m). They are both roughly dressed and contain remnants of thoroughly disturbed burials of Ramesside date: the skeletal remains of five individuals, including two non-adults, a fragment of a small blue-glazed faience stela and a sherd of a fine alabaster vessel. There were also objects of Late Period date, such as fragments of faience shabtis. The complex had been re-used as a dwelling during the Coptic Period.

Shaft complex xii is situated east of the south-east corner of the north wing of the pylon. The sides of the shaft are lined with three courses of finely dressed limestone blocks. From mouth to base the shaft measures 3.85 m. At the bottom level its dimensions are 1.95 m × 1.20 m. There are two chambers: chamber A (width 1.45 m, depth 3.10 m, height 0.70 m) is in the east, its floor being 1 m above the bottom of the shaft. Chamber B is in the west (width 2.50 m, depth 3.20 m, height 1.60 m). The south and west walls of this chamber have one niche-chamber each. The floors of these niches are *c.* 0.90 m above the floor of chamber B. Both chambers and niches are roughly cut. Chamber A has a robbers' breakthrough to shaft complex x, whereas the niche in the south wall of chamber B is linked with chamber C of shaft complex xiii. Apart from the niches, which were empty, complex xii contained many fragments of an elaborately painted cartonnage coffin of late New Kingdom date. These fragments were particularly concentrated in chamber B, together with the remains of reed matting and dark brown leaves, presumably parts of a mummy wreath. In addition to the upper part of a blue-glazed faience Late Period shabti of very fine quality, and a fragmentary faience cup of similar date, the sand fill of both shaft and chambers contained a mass of skeletal material. A preliminary analysis shows that sixteen individuals at least, including three non-adults, were buried in this shaft complex, which can be dated to the New Kingdom with re-use in the Late Period.

The shaft leading to complex xiii, east of the north-east corner of the south wing of the pylon, has four courses of limestone blocks lining its sides. Its depth is 3 m, the floor measures 1.95 m × 0.95 m. There are three chambers, which are all directly accessible from the shaft. Parts of the rock mass between chamber A in the east (width 2 m, depth 2.20 m, height 0.80 m) and chamber B in the north (width 2.05 m, depth 2.35 m, height *c.* 0.80 m) had been cut away, so that both chambers are linked. Chamber C in the west (width 1.95 m, depth 3.10 m, height *c.* 0.80 m) has a breakthrough to the niche-chamber in the south wall of chamber C of shaft complex xii, *c.* 0.90 m above floor level. In the south-east corner there is a breakthrough to shaft complex xiv. All chambers have been severely plundered. The remains of the burial contents contain material which predominantly dates from the Late Period. In chamber A a dozen faience amulet-statuettes and shabtis of crude craftsmanship were found, as well as the remains of reed matting, basketry and small fragments of a wooden coffin. Chamber B contained much broken and dislocated skeletal remains and a large piece of mummified material. A small fragment of white bleached papyrus with bold demotic characters in black ink may give a clue to the late date of the last interments in this shaft complex. There were the skeletal remains of approximately thirteen individuals, including eight non-adults.

Shaft complex xv (fig. 2) comprises three chambers. The mouth of the shaft consists of limestone blocks, one of which shows relief work of Old Kingdom date and another of the New Kingdom. The sides of the shaft are lined with nine courses of limestone blocks. The depth of the shaft is 3.80 m, the dimensions of its base are 1.20 m × 0.65 m. Chamber A in the east (width 1.80 m, depth 2.35 m, height 0.65 m), chamber B in the south (width 1 m, depth 1.10 m, height 0.80 m) and chamber C in the west (width 2.40 m, depth 2.65 m, height 1.15 m) are roughly cut. Chamber B contained a fill of almost clean sand, whereas chamber C yielded a number of fine objects overlooked by the plunderers. Scattered throughout the sand and *tafl*-fill of chambers A and C there were four intact shabtis (h. 13.6 cm) and a fragment of a fifth specimen of a man

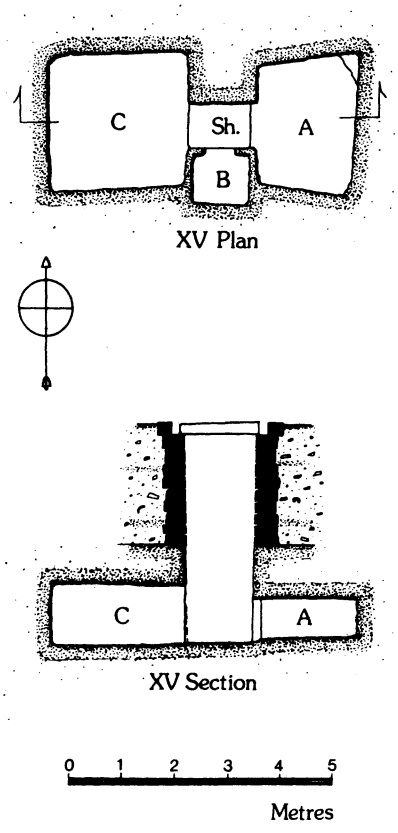


FIG. 2. Plan and section of shaft complex xv (Ramesside Period).

named Inenay, two complete (h. 14 cm) and two fragmentary statuettes of a man called Neferabu (partly written in hieratic) and one of a *wab*-priest Huy (h. 14 cm), all of bright blue-glazed faience and dating from the Ramesside Period (pl. III, 1–3). Other finds of note are a fine red glass *tyet*-amulet inscribed with the name of a man Meruseger, two green-glazed steatite scarabs with New Kingdom designs, some tiny fragments of a Book of the Dead papyrus, possibly with the name of the same Inenay mentioned above, an ornamental piece of wood in the shape of a bouquet of lotus flowers, a feather-shaped object of wood, and, last but not least, a white ware wine amphora, practically intact, with a hieratic docket mentioning a year 40 (see below). Fragments of a fine black glass amphoriskos with grey and blue wavy band decorations were scattered in the sand fill of chamber A. In chambers A and C much skeletal material was found, together with reed stalks, wooden logs with holes and many fragments of linen mummy bandages. The remains of at least twenty-two individuals, including seven non-adults, could be distinguished. Both architecture and contents date from the New Kingdom.

Shaft complexes of group B

Shaft complex v in the thickness of the south wall of chapel A has a depth of 9.10 m. The rim measures 1.10 × 0.95 m. The shaft gives access to one large chamber in the east (width 4.70 m, depth 3.05 m, height 1.80 m). There are three niche-chambers, two in the south wall, one in the north wall. In the north-west corner of the room a robbers' breakthrough leads to a labyrinth of rooms and passages which all seem to belong to the subterranean parts of several Old Kingdom mastabas situated under the superstructures of both the tomb of Maya and Meryt and the tomb of the Tias. Two relief blocks from the tomb of Horemheb were discovered in the sand fill of the shaft, one of which shows a finely carved and painted head of the general adorned with the uraeus.

This relief appears to be part of the limestone relief decoration on the south wall of the offering-chapel of Horemheb. The burial chamber itself was filled with a 0.80 m layer of *tafl* containing a small number of objects, all dating from the Late Period. The fill in the robbers' passage contained sherds of fine stone vessels and an intact limestone dummy vase, all from the Old Kingdom. The complex is in fact the substructure of an Old Kingdom mastaba, its contents pointing to re-use exclusively during the Late Period.

Shaft complex ix (fig. 3) is situated in the north-east corner of the outer court of Maya and Meryt. The shaft is 6.75 m deep, its mouth measuring 1 × 1 m. There are two chambers. Chamber A (width 0.90 m, depth 2.20 m, height 0.90 m) is on the east. The entrance is 0.90 m above the floor level of the shaft. Chamber B to the west is of irregular shape and very roughly cut. The entrance wall is 2.50 m wide, the width of the south wall is 8.50 m, that of the west wall 3.25 m, and of the north wall 7.25 m. There are two niche-chambers in the south wall, one of which is subdivided by two mud-brick walls into three compartments. The west wall has two niches and the north wall one. In three of the niche-chambers sarcophagus-shaped loculi are cut in the floor. Several of the covering slabs of these loculi were still in place. The structure of both shaft and chambers seems to be of Old Kingdom date, whereas the mud-brick walls in the niche-chamber were added in the Late Period. Chamber A was found to be empty. Fragments of Old Kingdom alabaster, limestone and breccia vessels were scattered over the floor of chamber B under a fill of sand and *tafl*. Chamber B and its adjoining niche-chambers still contained a large number of objects of Late Period date, apart from two relief slabs from the tomb of the Tias, which may have been used for blocking the niches or for covering the sarcophagus loculi (pl. II, 2). The chamber was filled with almost clean sand on top of a 0.50–0.75 m layer of *tafl*. In the fill were numerous skeletal remains. Two bodies were *in situ* on the floor. The burials of thirty-six individuals, including eleven non-adults, could be attested. The mummified body of a woman was found in the sarcophagus loculus in the niche-chamber in the north wall. Several hundred faience beads, parts of a bead net, lay scattered over the legs. Conspicuous for the burials in the main chamber were numerous faience statuettes of Toueris and Shu, some of which are of fine quality. At least ten Bes-vases and several fine quality Late Period pots could be reconstructed. Hundreds of blue-green glazed faience shabtis of a late type, many of which are inscribed with the name of Hetep-bastet, son of Mer-sekhmet (max. h. 8.4 cm), were found dispersed all over and within the *tafl* fill (pl. III, 5). Several torches of coarse red ware were found lying along the chamber walls. One of these is inscribed with bold black-painted hieroglyphs, giving the name of a certain Wahibre.

Shaft complex xi. The top part of the shaft is cut into the thick layer of *tafl* which covered this part of the terrain—east of the pylon—during the Late Period. The shaft is 7.20 m deep. The dimensions of the rim are 1.35 × 1.10 m. There is one chamber to the south (width 2.75 m, depth 4.75 m, height 1.65 m). Each of the long sides has two niche-chambers (width *c.* 1.50 m, depth *c.* 2 m, height *c.* 0.85 m), some 0.75 m above the floor of the chamber. All niche-chamber walls as well as the south wall of the main chamber have small lamp niches. The fill of the main chamber consisted of a layer of clean sand *c.* 0.75 m thick, deposited on top of a layer of *tafl c.* 0.50 m deep. Skeletal material was abundant. Several bodies, one of which was mummified, were found *in situ*. Hundreds of crude pale green-glazed faience shabtis (height *c.* 8 cm), some of which are inscribed with the *šḏ Wsir* formula without mentioning the name of the shabti owner, as well as a few faience amulet-statuettes of Toueris and Shu, were found with the skeletons. Other finds in the *tafl* fill are the lid of a canopic jar of yellow limestone in the shape of Duamutef, a fine slate double feather-amulet, and a set of three rectangular miniature tablets in alabaster. The complex itself dates from the Old Kingdom. The burials all date from the Late Period.

Shaft complex xiv. As regards plan and finish, this complex is identical with complex xi. The lip of the shaft (1 × 1 m) is built of limestone blocks. The depth of the shaft is 6.60 m. There is one room to the north (width 3 m, depth 4.65 m, height 1.40 m). Each side has two niche-chambers (width *c.* 1.25 m, depth *c.* 2.25 m, height *c.* 0.85 m), some 0.90 m above the floor of the main chamber. Both shaft and room were filled with sand, mixed with chippings of limestone. Only a few potsherds and fragments of skeletons were recovered. Two poorly mummified bodies were found *in situ* on the floor. Several blocks were piled up in the entrances to the niche-chambers. All the material can be dated to the Late Period, including fragments of a wooden coffin, two red-ware

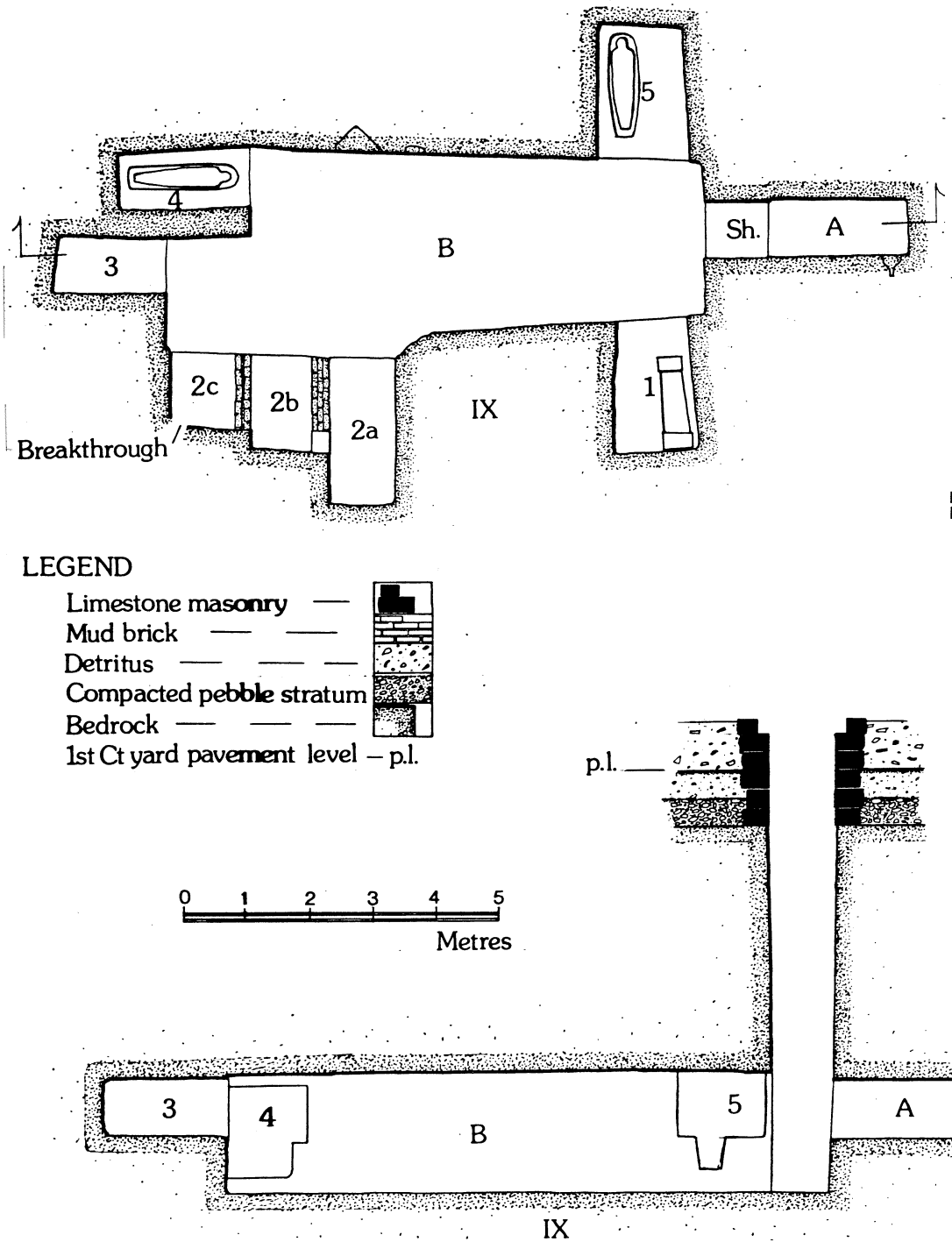


FIG. 3. Plan and section of shaft complex ix (Late Period).

torches and some very crude faience shabtis of a very late type. The architecture of this complex dates from the Old Kingdom.

Shaft vi has a depth of 6.25 m. The lip measures 1.27 × 0.90 m. The upper part of the shaft is cut into the thickness of the south wall of the outer court. It is lined with mud-bricks to a depth of 1.15 m below the pavement of the court. The lower part in the bedrock dates from the Old Kingdom. The fill consisted of clean sand in which were fragments of linen mummy bandages, a fragment of a New Kingdom column panel and chippings of limestone. There are no side chambers.

Shaft complex viii. The upper part of the shaft was cut into the core of the south wing of the pylon. The sides are lined with a casing of mud-bricks taken from the pylon. The depth of the shaft is 6.75 m, measured at pavement level of the outer court. The lip of the shaft is 1.20 m wide and 0.90 m deep. There is one chamber (width 2.75 m, depth 4.60 m, height approximately 1.70 m). As regards plan and structure, as well as the rough craftsmanship, this complex is similar to shaft complex ix. The northern niche-chamber in the west side of the chamber contains a sarcophagus-shaped depression cut out in the floor. Several of its covering slabs were found still in place. A narrow niche for the emplacement of torches and other objects used at the entombment of the bodies is cut into the central part of the north side of the main chamber, approximately 1.20 m above the floor of the latter. The chamber had a fill of *tafl*, *c.* 0.75 m thick and covered with a layer of sand. In the *tafl* layer, heaped up against the south side of the chamber, masses of shabtis were found. These are all very crude and can be dated to the early Ptolemaic Period. They are made of faience with a dull blue glaze, which on many specimens had turned to a brownish-green hue. There are at least four different sizes, the maximum height being 8.5 cm. The total number of statuettes is 1156. Only one is inscribed, giving the name of 'The Osiris Hety-neith'. Fragments of wood found in the debris nearby may have been parts of the boxes in which the shabtis had been stored. Among the skeletal remains and fragments of mummified material several sherds were found of what could be a mummy label of terracotta. The beginning of seven or eight lines in demotic are still visible. Several holes drilled along the edges may have served for attaching the object to one of the bodies buried in the main chamber or niche-chambers. The pottery found in this complex is all from the Late Period, and includes two complete torches and fragments of several others. Parts of two limestone relief slabs, taken from the superstructure of the tomb of the Tias, were found lying loose in the sand fill. One is inscribed with an offering formula mentioning one of Tia's titles: 'The royal scribe, the great overseer of the cattle (of Amun-Re, King of the Gods)'. The complex dates from the Old Kingdom. Its heavily disturbed contents are the remains of burials which may be dated to the last centuries before the present era.

The main shaft and burial complex of Ramose (fig. 4)

The shaft which gives access to the burial chamber of Ramose was re-opened on 17 February 1990. The excavation of the substructure of the tomb was carried out during the 1990 season. The surveying of this impressive complex was carried out by Mr K. J. Frazer during the 1991 season.

The main shaft has a depth of 9.80 m. In its southern side two entrances on different levels lead to the burial complex of Ramose. On the first level, 6.85 m below the rim of the shaft, a vestibule (A) is encountered. This is linked to a lofty broad staircase hall (B) below by a rectangular opening or pit in the floor. The entrance to the staircase hall is on the same level as the bottom of the shaft. A flight of seventeen steps leads in a southward direction to a small rectangular platform from whence another flight of seven steps descends in an easterly direction towards the entrance of an antechamber (C), the floor of which is 15.83 m below the pavement of the superstructure. The dimensions of the antechamber are: width 3.15 m, depth 4 m, height 1.60 m. A second or inner shaft, cut into the floor at the east end of the antechamber, leads to the burial chamber (D). The dimensions of the inner shaft are: depth 4.50 m, length 1.65 m, width 1.30 m. The entrance to the burial chamber is in the west side of the shaft, 20.55 m below the pavement of the superstructure. The burial chamber (width 4.50 m, depth 3.40 m, height 1.90 m) seems to be unfinished. The west wall is lined with undecorated limestone slabs. The middle part of this revetment has been broken away by robbers. A number of slab fragments and lumps of *tafl*-rock were found piled up in the north-east corner of the chamber and on the bottom of the inner shaft. The other walls are dressed

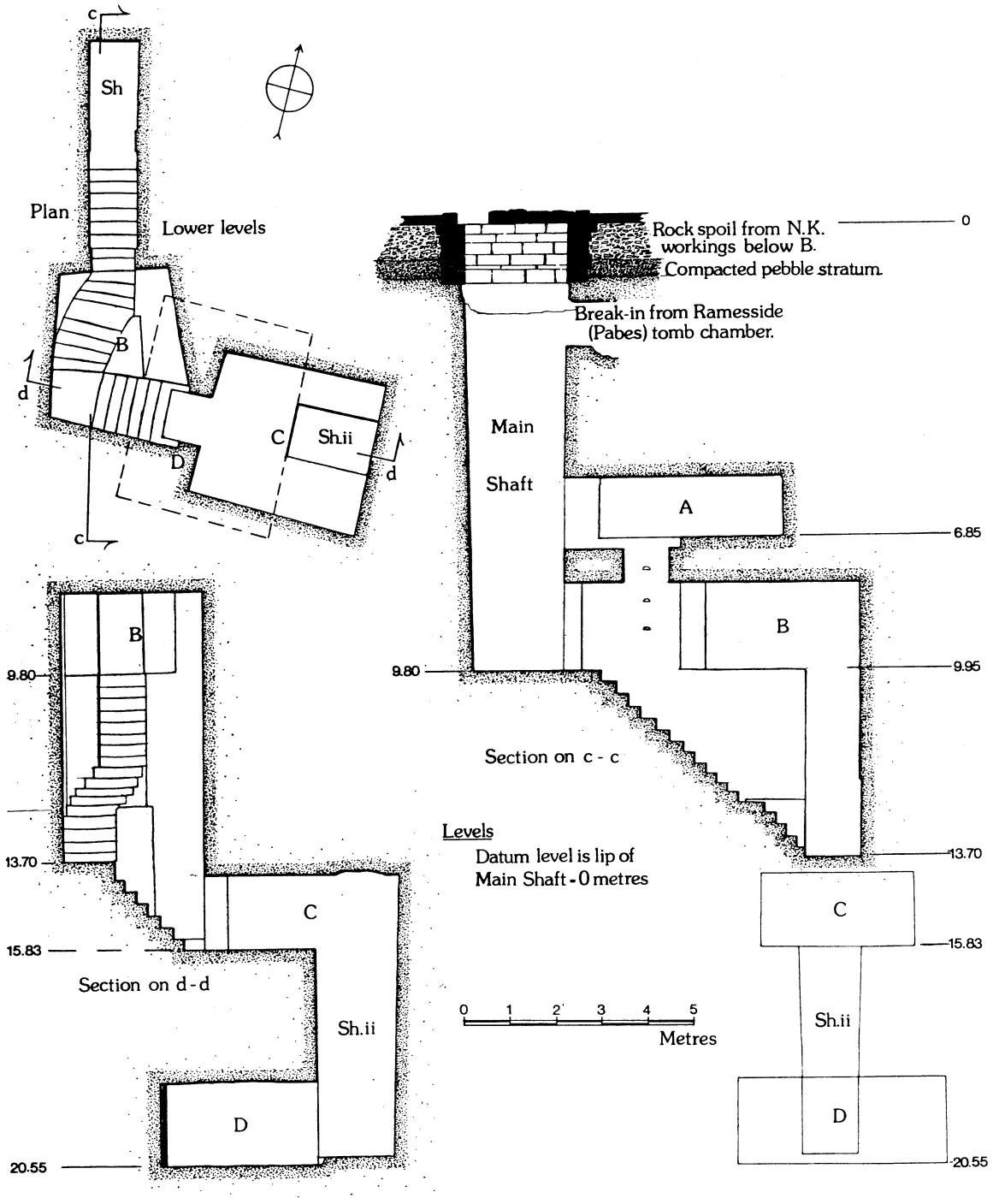


FIG. 4. Tomb of Ramose. Plan and section of main shaft and substructure with burial chamber.

and covered with a thin layer of yellowish plaster. Sherds of several large pottery jars were lying in the debris. Of Ramose's funerary equipment there were no traces left in the burial chamber itself. However, on the bottom of the inner shaft, at its rim in the antechamber, and in the staircase hall, several fragments of faience shabtis and one complete specimen were collected from the sand and *tafl* fill. The blue glaze on all the statuettes had turned purple-brown. The shabtis are inscribed with one column of black hieroglyphs on the front reading: 'The *sḥḏ* Osiris, the prophet Ramose, justified (pl. III, 4: h. 10.4 cm). A small fragment of an inscribed yellow limestone canopic jar, on which the *ms*-sign of Ramose's name is still visible, was picked up in the debris on the stairs. Both vestibule and staircase hall were filled with sand mixed with strikingly large amounts of Coptic potsherds. A very small number of artifacts of the New Kingdom were detected here, such as fragments of a red terracotta slipper coffin and red terracotta shabtis, all of the Ramesside Period. Human remains were very scarce.

The large-scale, continuous plundering of all tombs in the area was once more emphasized by the finding of two relief fragments from the tomb of Horemheb in the debris on the stairs leading to Ramose's antechamber. Another remarkable example of the dislocation of objects and the shifting of debris from one tomb to another was the discovery of a Mycenaean stirrup jar sherd on the bottom of the inner shaft. This fragment was found to join a vessel which had been excavated two years previously in the tomb of Maya and Meryt.

The architecture of the substructure of the tomb of Ramose is still being studied.

Epigraphy (G. T. Martin)

Apart from the recording of stray blocks from the tomb of the Tias, found re-used in subsidiary shafts within the Maya complex, much of the 1990 season was spent in making facsimile tracings of re-used Old Kingdom fragments, mostly deriving from the causeway of the pyramid of Unas. The corpus of material found so far was substantially increased when paving blocks in the statue-room of Maya's tomb were lifted and examined. Quite a number were found to date to the Old Kingdom.

In 1991 efforts were concentrated on the recording of the reliefs and texts in rooms K and O of the substructure of the tomb of Maya. Many of the shattered blocks were removed from these locations in 1990 to a specially built studio on the surface above for cleaning and conservation. Reliefs that were substantially intact, or which were too fragile to detach from the wall, were left *in situ*. In 1991 the blocks in the studio were reconstituted into complete scenes, and all this material, together with the reliefs and fragments remaining below, was copied in full-scale tracings.

The reliefs and inscriptions in room H, which functioned as an anteroom leading to the burial chambers, are substantially intact, and these will be dealt with in 1992. All the documentation will then be to hand to prepare the tomb of Maya and Meryt for publication.

Inscriptions (J. van Dijk)

Careful study of the reliefs in the first decorated room (H) in the deepest level of the substructure of the tomb of Maya revealed that a number of changes had been made while the reliefs were being carved in antiquity. The most significant of these are the following:

(1) The sceptres of the various goddesses depicted in the reliefs (Nut, Isis, Nephthys) were originally *wꜣs*-sceptres; these were subsequently changed to papyrus sceptres, obviously because these were thought to be more suitable for female deities. The original *wꜣs*-sceptre tips and ends were plastered over and recarved.

(2) The inscriptions, mainly consisting of captions identifying the various deities shown in the reliefs, were probably carved by artists different from those who executed the figures themselves. Unlike the latter, they show a surprising number of mistakes and inaccuracies. In some cases the mistakes go back to the stage of the (black) outline drawing of the texts; in one instance in particular, the sculptor realized that the outline drawing was wrong only after he had already carved half of the text, making the resulting mixture of mistaken and correct parts of the text incomprehensible.

(3) The wall containing the doorway which gives access to the corridor leading to the second decorated chamber (K) received a completely new decoration. Originally, the wall seems to have been designed as a single large scene showing Maya adoring the falcon-headed god Sokar who was seated on a throne under an elaborate baldaquin; behind the god stood Isis. At some stage this was altered to accommodate the doorway mentioned above; the figure of Sokar was roughly plastered over and replaced by an image of Anubis on his shrine, above which are shown the usual double *udjat*-eyes and other common lintel decorations. The original scene was only partly obliterated, which results in a curiously hybrid depiction in which, for example, the *udjat*-eyes appear to be supported by the two columns originally supporting the roof of Sokar's baldaquin. These changes tend to confirm our earlier speculation that the original plan of the tomb included a series of chambers to be cut in an easterly direction, beginning with what is now the undecorated room R; in this original plan, the first decorated room (H) was designed as a self-contained side-chamber. Only after the original plan had been abandoned, possibly because of some failure in the bedrock in room R, was H taken as the starting point of a series of chambers, necessitating the addition of a doorway to one of its walls.

In one of the shafts cut in the area east of the pylon of Maya (shaft xv), the remains of a New Kingdom burial were found. Among the objects excavated here was a large, nearly intact amphora inscribed on its shoulder with an hieratic docket in two lines (pl. III, 6). The text reads as follows: 'Year 40. Wine from the vineyard of the Temple of a Million Years of Ramessu-meryamun in the Domain of Re which is on the western side of the Water of Pre. Delivered by the chief vintner Ibager(?)'. The year 40 mentioned in the text (obviously of Ramesses II) dates the burial to the second half of the reign of that king, a date which is in agreement with the shabtis found in the same shaft.

A large decorated block from the tomb of Horemheb was found re-used as a blocking stone at the bottom of a Late Period intrusive shaft sunk into the south wall of the tomb of Maya. The block is unique in that it is the only one found so far which is decorated on both sides. It adjoins the small unplaced fragment no. [48] in the publication of G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-chief of Tutʿankhamūn*, I, 49–50 with pl. 44. It derives from the southern 'screen wall' which divided the central chapel of the tomb of Horemheb in two sections. The front (pl. II, 3) (obverse) shows Horemheb purifying an image of Osiris. Eight columns of text give part of the purification text, enumerating various names of Osiris, and the speech of the goddess Isis, who therefore must have been depicted standing behind Osiris on the adjacent block. A horizontal line of text identifies Horemheb. As in some other reliefs in the tomb, the royal uraeus was added to his forehead after he became king. The other (pl. II, 4) (reverse) side of the block

shows two offering-bearers facing right and presumably forming part of a scene showing a procession of offering-bearers on the walls of the rear part of the chapel, moving in the direction of the central stela. A *khekher*-frieze is shown on both sides of the block, but on the reverse this frieze is lower down than on the obverse, thus showing beyond doubt that the ceiling of the rear part of the central chapel was lower than that of the front part, as expected in a structure which in effect approximates to a miniature temple.

Pottery (Barbara G. Aston)

The presence of Coptic sherds in the fill down to the very bottom of each subsidiary shaft indicates that all the secondary shaft complexes excavated in the last two seasons were open and accessible as late as the Coptic Period (or even beyond). Nevertheless, the pottery recovered from the individual chambers was in most cases primarily of one date. The chambers off shafts vii and xv yielded predominantly New Kingdom pottery, while the pottery from shaft complexes viii, ix, xi, xii, xiii, and xiv was 75–95 per cent Late Period in date. The remaining percentage consisted of weathered and fragmentary sherds from Coptic, New Kingdom and Old Kingdom times. Undoubtedly, surface debris spilled into the rooms in the shaft fill from the bottom of the shafts. Very little pottery remained in the chamber of shaft v which could have belonged to a burial deposit, but that small quantity was Late Period in date. The shaft x complex contained thoroughly mixed debris of the New Kingdom to Coptic Period.

The New Kingdom pottery from shaft xv, chamber C, is of particular interest as it includes a marl clay amphora with an hieratic inscription noting the contents to be wine from a vineyard in the Delta, dated to year 40 (see above). The six Late Period burial assemblages will provide an interesting contrast to the numerous contemporary embalmers' caches previously uncovered in shallow surface pits scattered over the entire area of the New Kingdom necropolis excavated so far by this expedition. Some of the same vessel shapes occur in both the tombs and the caches, as for example red-slipped restricted bowls and red-slipped bottles with neck ridges and 'collars'. Shaft ix (chamber B) contained the largest, most varied, and least disturbed group of Late Period pottery. The unusual and interesting vessels recovered from this chamber include a Hellenistic Red Glazed bottle, an Egyptian imitation of a Greek vessel with a spout incorporated in one of its handles, two inscribed Phoenician amphorae, and ten small marl clay jars with faces of the god Bes modelled on one side. Numerous conical 'torches' (blackened inside and often still containing charcoal) were reconstructed from the Late Period material in many of the shafts. In shaft xiv, chamber A, two torches were found leaning up against the wall just inside the doorway, while one torch from shaft ix, chamber B, was inscribed with the name *Wꜣḥ-ib-rꜥ* (not enclosed in a cartouche). As a private name, *Wꜣḥ-ib-rꜥ* is attested from the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period, though the Late Period pottery groups found in these shafts can be dated through foreign interconnections to the fifth century BC.[4]

[4] Phoenician amphorae from the Saqqara tombs are of a type which occurs from the late-sixth to mid-fourth centuries BC, see A. G. Sagona, 'Levantine storage jars of the 13th to 4th century B.C.', *Opuscula Atheniensia* 14 (1982), 80–2, Type 6; P. W. Lapp, 'The pottery of Palestine in the Persian Period'. In *Archäologie und Altes Testament: Festschrift für Kurt Galling* (1970), 182–3, 'orange ware jars'. Egyptian-made Bes jars of the type with ring base, ledge rim, applied eyes, nose, mouth, ears and eyebrows, and incised moustache have been found in fifth century BC contexts in Palestine and Syria, see J. A. Blakely and F. L. Horton, Jr., 'South Palestine Bes vessels of the Persian Period', *Levant* 28 (1986), 116–18, Type IIIB; E. Stern, 'Bes vases from Palestine and Syria', *Israel Exploration Journal* 26 (1976), 184–5.

In the substructure of the tomb of Ramose, the uppermost level (chamber A) contained mixed surface debris. The pottery from chamber B and its entrance-way was approximately 95 per cent Coptic, suggesting that it derived from a Coptic dump, perhaps here in a secondary position. The pottery from the burial chamber of Ramose (chamber D) was exclusively New Kingdom in date, undoubtedly remnants of the original burial furnishings. Two Canaanite jars, one local marl clay amphora, a 'meat' jar, and three large storage jars (unusual in being of marl clay rather than silt) were among the types recorded. One sherd of a Mycenaean stirrup jar from Ramose's burial chamber joined the top of a stirrup jar found in the surface debris over the pylon of the tomb of Maya, indicating once again the disturbed nature of the contexts with which we are dealing.

Palaeo-anthropological research, 1990 (W. R. K. Perizonius)

A four-fold programme was carried out, as follows:

Excavation of human skeletal remains

As soon as skeletal remains came to light during the excavations, the expertise of the palaeo-anthropologist was called into play to ascertain whether or not the remains were still in anatomical order, and thus undisturbed since the decomposition of the body. Some twenty-two skeletons, mainly in subsidiary shafts ix and xi, were found to be in their anatomical position, a high proportion compared to discoveries in past seasons. All these skeletons were uncovered and lifted by the palaeo-anthropologist himself, and *in situ* photographs were taken. Disturbed or mixed skeletal remains were also collected. Special 'bone concentration numbers' were introduced (see table below) instead of burial numbers, which often have to be re-adjusted later. At the end of the season all the skeletal material was transferred to shaft ix, room B, where it is stored in the sequence of bone concentration numbers to await further study.

Osteological estimation of the number of individuals

In respect of some shafts (e.g. shaft ix, exclusively of the Late Period, and shaft xv, of New Kingdom date), an attempt was made to assess the number of individuals represented by counting

TABLE 1.

Bone concentration no.	Shaft	Individuals (including non-adults)	Non-adults
1, 2, 3, 3a	vii	4	1
4, 5	vi	—	—
6–38 (there are no nos. 26 or 29)	ix	36	11
39, 40, 41	x	5	2
42–5, 48, 49	xii	16	3
46, 47, 50–3, 59	xiii	13	8
54, 55, 68–74, 77–80	xiv	—	—
56, 57, 58, 60–7	xv	22	7
75, 76, 81, 83–98, 101	xi	—	—
82	i	1	—
99	v	—	—
100	iii	4	1
102	iv	—	—

the occurrence of four different skeletal parts. At the same time, a preliminary impression of the number of non-adults was obtained. Some results are presented in the table above.

Dental research

During the 1989 season, a dental investigation on 67 skeletons from the tomb-chambers of Iurudef was carried out (*Temporal and Spatial Distribution of Dental Disease in Ancient Egypt*, 1). The data were worked out later in the Netherlands. During the 1990 season most of the manuscript was written, the opportunity being taken to check certain facts against the original material.

Skeletal remains from the substructure of Maya's tomb

The identification of bone fragments from the tomb-chambers of Maya and Meryt (rooms K and O) was continued.

Palaeo-anthropological research, 1991 (E. Strouhal)

The priorities this season were as follows:

Tomb of Maya and Meryt, original burials

Several hundred fragments of bones, mostly very small, were found completely broken and scattered throughout the lower level of shaft i. Since there was no later intrusive archaeological material excavated at that level, everything found is regarded as contemporary, dating to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The bones were dispersed not only in the two burial chambers but also in adjoining rooms and corridors. Thus the minimum number of buried individuals was determined taking the material as a whole, irrespective of find-spot.

After distinguishing human from animal bones (the latter representing burial offerings), the anatomical method was used, based on the identification of characteristic skeletal features. The number of adult individuals did not surpass four, in respect of any of the features examined. The remains of an 11–13 year old child were easily differentiated from the fragments representing adults. According to secondary sexual features, as well as size and robusticity of the fragments, two adult males and two adult females were identified. One of the males was more robustly built than the other. Concerning their age, only some slight indications were present, suggesting maturity for both males. While one of the females appears to have been a young adult, the other was mature to senile. A more precise age determination will be attempted later by using the histomorphometric method. The determination of the blood groups will aim at checking the correctness of the results.

We may tentatively conclude that these remains represent with great probability Maya, owner of the tomb, Meryt his wife, and his stepmother Henutiunu. The identification of the second male is more problematic. A possible candidate is Maya's younger brother Nahuher, who was no doubt responsible for Maya's burial arrangements. The child was most probably that of Maya and Meryt. Identification of these persons appears easier in respect of the two females. More than half of the identified fragments of the older one were found in the innermost burial chamber O, which, supposing Henutiunu to have died first, would have been hers. About half of the identified fragments of the young female came from the second and better decorated chamber K, where Meryt could have been placed together with her husband. Which of the two males was Maya is not possible to determine until a more exact age is arrived at, because about one-third of the bone fragments of *each* male were found in burial chamber K. Almost half the child's skeletal fragments came from the unfinished burial chamber R.

Burials in the superstructure

Five wholly or partially preserved secondary burials were excavated in the forecourt, the first courtyard, and the east part of chapel A (originally called the south magazine). Two of the burials are dated to the Twenty-first to Twenty-second Dynasty, the other three are undated. They consist of a 35–45 year old female, a 12–13 year old child, a 40–50 year old female, a 30–40 year

old male, and a 35–45 year old female. The first three were mummified using resin, but their brains were not removed. The other two did not show any traces of resin or brain removal. Pathological changes were absent, except in dentition.

Bone deposits in caches

In three different locations in the tomb greatly disturbed deposits of partly well-preserved, partly broken human bones without any anatomical continuity were discovered. Chapel D contained cache no. 1, chapel A cache no. 2, and the rooms, corridors and niches of the upper level of shaft i cache no. 3. These caches were deposited at different times from the late New Kingdom to the Late Period.

These bones could only be studied by the anatomical method, without the possibility of reconstructing individuals. The aims of the study were the determination of the number of buried individuals, the discrimination of immatures and adults, the distinction of sexes in adults and the observation of pathological changes. The minimum number of individuals was determined according to the bone most often encountered (in pair bones taking left and right bones separately), the maximum number by matching pair bones of the same individuals and adding unmatched bones of the two sides to them.

In cache no. 1, the minimum number of individuals was 24 (8 adult males, 7 adult females, 9 immatures), their maximum number 35 (14 adult males, 12 adult females, 9 immatures). In cache no. 2, at a minimum 18 individuals (10 males, 5 females, 3 immatures), at a maximum 21 individuals (11 males, 7 females, 3 immatures) were represented. Cache no. 3 consisted of the remains of a minimum of 84 people (44 males, 23 females, 17 immatures), a maximum of 106 people (53 males, 33 females, and 20 immatures).

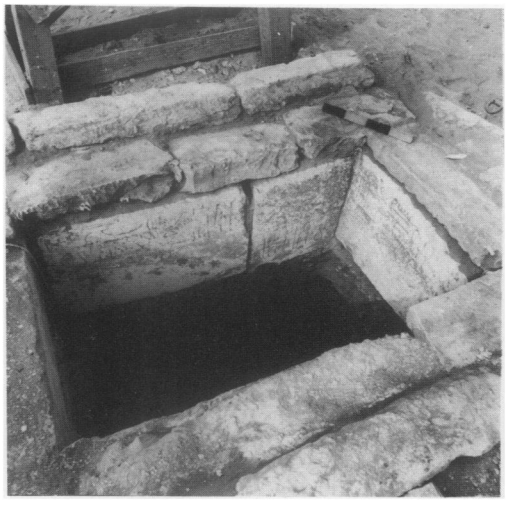
The demographic composition of the individual caches does not reflect the conditions of natural populations because of the excess of males over females and adults over immatures. This finding can be only partially explained by the differential resistence of bones of males, females and immatures. We may suppose that the cemetery from which these cached bones came was used for males and adults preferentially.

About half of the individuals from cache no. 1 were mummified using resin, and three-quarters of eight extant skulls showed evidence of brain removal. Material from cache no. 2 mostly bore no traces of resin, and in no skulls were signs of brain removal found. By contrast, the majority of bones from cache no. 3 preserved remnants of resinous patches, and three-quarters of fifty-five extant skulls bore features of excerebration. According to these findings, we may conclude that in caches nos. 1 and 3 members of a well-to-do social stratum were deposited, while in cache no. 2 the remains belonged to common people.

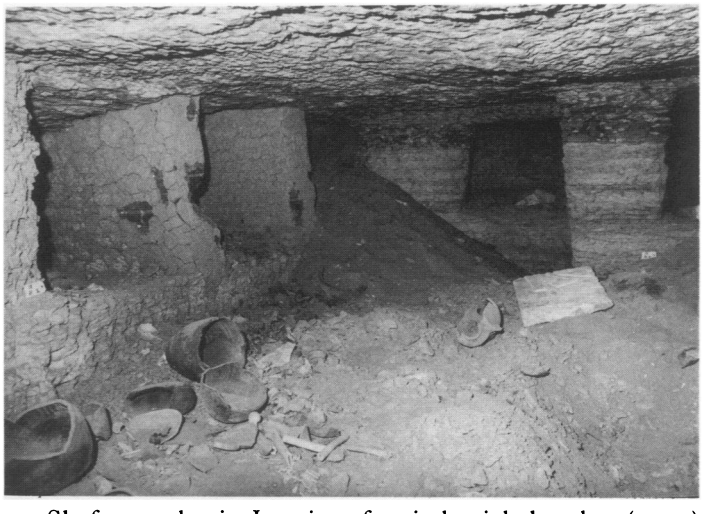
A striking feature of the three deposits was the paucity of pathological changes. A few traumas, osteomas, cribra orbitalia, congenital changes and dental pathology only were noted.

Palaeopathological cases from the tomb of Iurudef

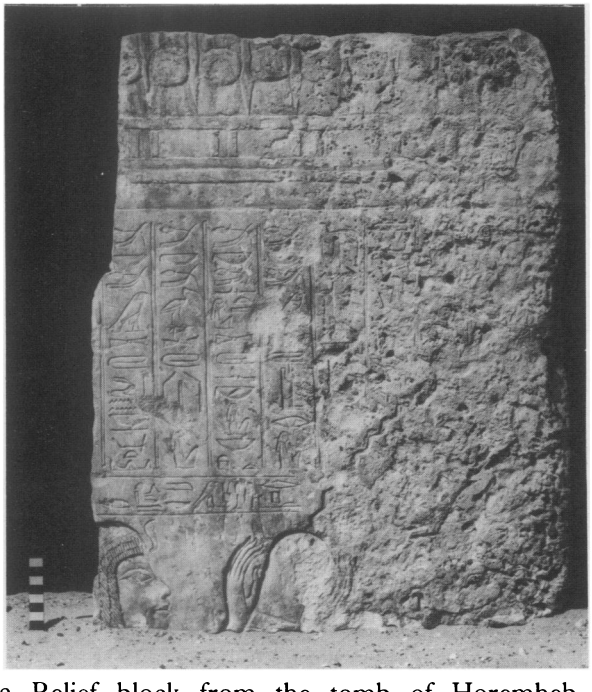
From the human remains excavated in the tomb-shaft of Iurudef, and partially studied previously, eight cases with uncommon palaeopathological findings were re-examined from the medical point of view, using X-rays and, where necessary, histology. They comprised cases of generalized periostitis, a malignant and a benign tumour, an arteriosclerosis, Pott's disease (vertebral tuberculosis), two complicated traumas, and erosive foci on the cranial convexity of an infant whose diagnosis has not yet been concluded.



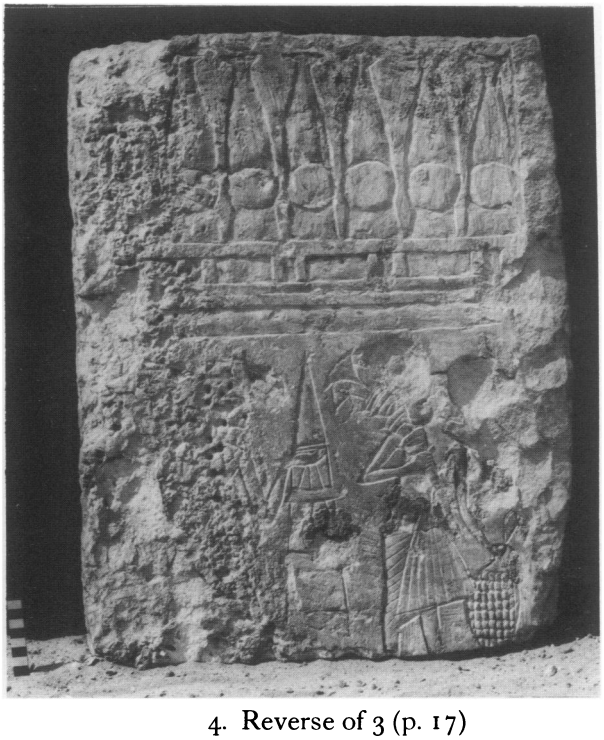
1. Rim of Shaft complex vii, showing re-used inscribed blocks from the tomb of Maya and Meryt (p. 8)



2. Shaft complex ix. Interior of main burial chamber (p. 12)



3. Relief block from the tomb of Horemheb (p. 17)

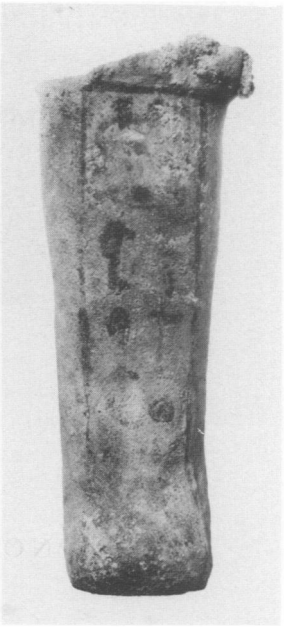


4. Reverse of 3 (p. 17)

1. Shabti of Inenay (p. 11)

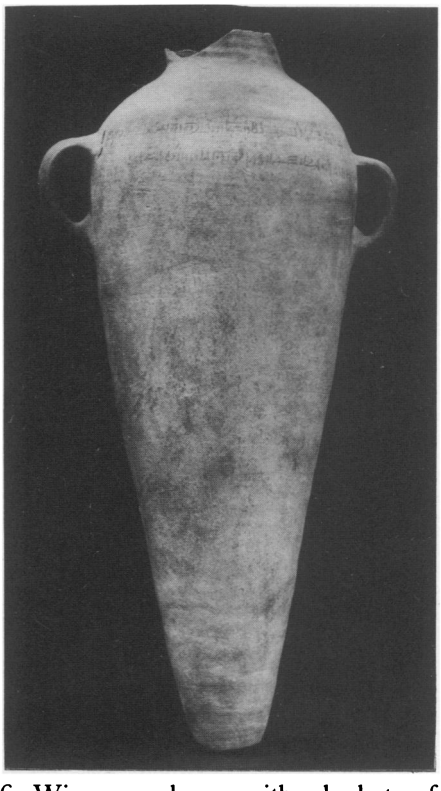
2. Shabti of Neferabu (p. 11)

3. Shabti of Huy (p. 11)



4. Shabti of Ramose (p. 16)

5. Shabtis of Hetepbastet (p. 12)



6. Wine amphora with docket of year 40 (p. 17)

THE RELATIVE CLAUSE AND THE VERB IN MIDDLE EGYPTIAN*

By MARK COLLIER

It is argued that the proposed reanalysis of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* as the unconverted/non-transposed forms of the simple suffix conjugation, i.e. as verbal verb-forms, permits a satisfactory account of the occurrence of these forms in 'virtual' relative clauses. Within this framework, a unified account of the relative clause in Middle Egyptian, covering both the 'real' relative clause (better termed the 'converted relative clause') and the 'virtual' relative clause (better termed the 'unconverted relative clause'), is presented. The majority of the properties of these clauses are derived from the interaction of general properties of clause form, unbounded dependency and pronoun omission in Middle Egyptian.

THE 'virtual' relative clause[1] has been somewhat neglected in recent work on Middle Egyptian grammar.[2] However, this construction is not without importance for the study of Middle Egyptian, particularly for the theory of the verb and its syntax. The suffix conjugation verb-forms which occur in (positive) 'virtual' relative clauses are the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)* and *sḏm.n(.f)*. The most influential view concerning the nature of these forms is that of H. J. Polotsky. In Polotskyan terms, the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* are to be analyzed as adverbial 'transpositions', or conversions, of the verb; that is to say, they are considered to be verbal expressions which behave adverbially, occurring in environments where they exhibit a substitutional (paradigmatic) relationship with simple adverbial expressions such as prepositional phrases.[3] This contrasts with an alternative analysis in which the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* are viewed simply as the non-transposed/unconverted forms of the simple suffix conjugation, i.e. as verbal verb-forms.[4] In this paper, it is argued that the verbal analysis provides a more cogent characterization of the occurrence of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* in 'virtual' relative clauses within a general, unified account of the relative clause in Middle Egyptian.[5]

*For comments and encouragement in the preparation of this paper, I am grateful to Antonio Loprieno, John Ray, Stephen Quirke and Harry Smith. The research for this paper was supported by post-doctoral research fellowships from the British Academy and Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

[1] The term is due to A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3] (Oxford, 1957) (*EG*[3]), §195–6 (cf. §182) and is retained here because of its familiarity. As will become clear, it is something of a misnomer (and is hence framed in quotes), due (partially) to the traditional analysis of relative clauses as adjectival clauses.

[2] For example, the 'virtual' relative clause is given but a passing mention in the otherwise valuable studies of H. Satzinger, in *Festschrift W. Westendorf. Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens*, 1, ed. F. Junge (Göttingen, 1984), 125–56, and, for Late Egyptian, J. F. Borghouts, *JNES* 40 (1981), 99–117 (brief version in *GM* 31 (1979), 9–18).

[3] The analysis was first presented in H. J. Polotsky, 'Egyptian Tenses', conveniently in *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem, 1971), 71–96, particularly §§8–9 on substitution with simple adverbial expressions, and elaborated in id., 'Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique', *Israel Oriental Studies* 6 (1976), 1–50 ('Transpositions'), particularly section 3.

[4] M. A. Collier, *JEA* 76 (1990), 73–85; id., in *Middle Kingdom Studies*, ed. S. J. Quirke (London, 1991). These papers extend work originally presented in a 1989 University of London PhD thesis, a revised version of which will appear as *Verbal Syntax in Middle Egyptian* (London, forthcoming).

[5] The exemplification in this paper focuses on material from the literary corpus of Middle Egyptian. However, other examples are occasionally drawn from *EG*[3].

Relative clauses are clauses used to modify nominal expressions.[6] Consider the following example of a 'real' relative clause:[7]

(1) Sin. B166: *nḏ.i ḥrt ḥnwt-tꜣ ntt ϕ m ꜥḥ.f*[8]
May I greet the mistress of the land who is in his palace.

There are three basic properties of the relative clause.[9] Firstly, the clause in (1) clearly modifies the nominal expression *ḥnwt-tꜣ*. Secondly, there is a relationship between the antecedent (the nominal expression which the relative clause modifies) and some element within the relative clause which can be said to 'resume' the antecedent within the relative clause, allowing the antecedent to play a role in the predication exhibited by the relative clause (here, the 'mistress of the land', although a member of the main clause, is also understood as the subject of 'being in his palace').[10] In Middle Egyptian this resumptive element can be either overt or non-overt. Thirdly, there is also a relationship between the antecedent and the relative clause which determines the form of the latter (in this case, the antecedent is definite and requires an adjectivally converted clause, here with the converter *ntt* which agrees with the antecedent in number and gender).

It is well known that Middle Egyptian displays two separate types of relative clause, 'real' and 'virtual'.[11] 'Real' relative clauses, exemplified in (1) above, display forms specific to relative clauses, i.e. forms which do not occur in other usages.[12] 'Real' relative clauses headed by verbs display special verb-forms (participles and relative forms as adjectival 'transpositions' or conversions of the verb),[13] whereas 'real' relative clauses with sentences with adverbial predicates display a converter, either *nty* or a form of the auxiliary verb *wnn*:[14]

(a) verbal sentences
(2) Sin. B223: *ỉs wꜥrt tn ỉrt.n ϕ bꜣk n ḫmt(.ỉ) s(y)*
Now this flight which the servant made, I did not plan it.

(b) sentence with adverbial predicate (cf. (1) for example with nty)
(3) Peas. B1,256: *n rḫ.n.tw wnnt ϕ m ỉb*
One does not know that which is in the heart.

[6] A convenient general discussion is E. L. Keenan, 'Relative clauses', *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, ed. T. Shopen (Cambridge, 1985), II, ch. 3.

[7] The term 'real' relative clause is used (with 'real' in quotes, cf. n. 1) to indicate the adjectivally converted relative clauses introduced by the converters *nty* and *wn(n)* and by the participle and relative form verb-forms.

[8] *ϕ* is the symbol conventionally used to indicate the position of a non-overt expression, for which see below.

[9] The discussion in this and the following paragraphs is intended merely to orientate the reader. The properties of relative clauses are discussed in more detail below.

[10] In 'real' relatives, the relationship is mediated by agreement which has a profound effect on the syntax of the clause, not least licensing independent 'real' relatives without (overt) antecedent. In these cases, either there is a non-overt nominal antecedent or agreement behaves pronominally, supplying the necessary antecedent.

[11] Cf. *EG*[3], ch. XVI.

[12] However, these adjectival forms display a close similarity with nominal (or substantival) forms, cf. Polotsky, 'Transpositions', section 2.1.

[13] Cf. *EG*[3], §§353, 380 and Polotsky, 'Transpositions', section 2.1. In certain cases the verb itself is unable to undergo adjectival transposition (e.g. after the negation *n*) and conversion with *nty* is required (*EG*[3], §201). Cf. exx. (45), (48) and (49) below.

[14] *EG*[3], §§199, 200, 396, cf. Polotsky, 'Transpositions', section 3.4.

'Real' relative clauses exhibit: adjectival agreement between the head of the construction (whether converter or converted verb) and the antecedent (e.g. the feminine agreement *-t* in (1), (2) and (3));[15] the ability to stand independently without (overt) antecedent (e.g. (3));[16] a strict, specialized strategy concerning whether the resumptive expression is (mandatorily) overt or non-overt (non-overt in (1), (2) and (3)).[17]

In contrast, 'virtual' relative clauses do not exhibit adjectival agreement with the antecedent and do not display a specialized strategy concerning whether the resumptive element is (mandatorily) overt or non-overt. Indeed, the resumptive element is (generally) overt:[18]

(a) verbal: circumstantial sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)[19] *and n sḏm.n(.f)/n sḏm(.f)*

(4) Eb. 91,3 (*EG*[3], §196): *kt nt msḏr dỉ.f mw ḥwꜣ*
Another (remedy) for an ear which gives off foul water.

(5) Peas. B1,231–2: *m ꜥwn ḫwrw ḥr ḫt.f fn rḫ.n.k sw*
Do not rob a poor man of his possessions, a feeble man whom you know.

(6) Peas. B1,173–4: *mk tw m ḥry šnꜥw n rdỉ.n.f swꜣ šw ḥr-ꜥ*
See, you are as a chief of the storehouse who does not let one who is lacking pass in arrears/immediately.[20]

(b) bare sentence with adverbial predicate/bare pseudo-verbal construction[21]

(7) Eb. 51,19–20 (*EG*[3], §196): *ỉr mꜣ.f s stwt m nḫbt.f*
If you see a man on whose neck are swellings.

(8) Meri. 5,4: *m smꜣ s ỉw.k rḫ.tỉ ꜣḫw.f*
Don't kill a man whose worth you know.

(c) existential nn construction

(9) Sin. B47: *nṯr pw grt nn snw.f*
Moreover, he is a god who has no equal.

Moreover, 'virtual' relative clauses display a form which is not specialized merely for relative clause usage. All the forms above are identical (excepting the mandatory presence of the antecedent-resumption relation—see below) with forms used as general adjuncts:[22]

[15] See *EG*[3], §§199, 354, 380 for the morphology of agreement. Participles can also be used in an invariable standard form as adjectival predicates and in the particpial statement (*EG*[3], §§374, 373).

[16] *EG*[3], §§195, 353, 381.

[17] *EG*[3], §§200–1, 328, 353, 376–7, 379, 382–5.

[18] This paper focuses on the 'virtual' relative clause use of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, the sentence with adverbial predicate and the pseudo-verbal construction. Cf. *EG*[3], §196 for proposed examples of 'virtual' relative clause usage of the sentence with nominal predicate and sentence with adjectival predicate patterns.

[19] The identification of these forms as the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* is uncontroversial—they are certainly neither that-forms, relative forms nor prospective forms. Morphological evidence is scarce (but cf. *dỉ.f* in (4)), but the syntactic parallelism with the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and bare pseudo-verbal construction, and negation by *n sḏm.n(.f)/n sḏm(.f)* confirm this analysis.

[20] The translation of *ḥr-ꜥ* is unclear.

[21] The term 'bare' is intended to indicate the lack of a converter. With pronominal subjects both patterns, of course, exhibit *ỉw*-support (*EG*[3], §117, 323). However, *ỉw* is clearly present to support the pronominal subject and not to act as a syntactic converter. Hence, the terminology can be extended innocently in this sense to cover pronominal examples with *ỉw*.

[22] It is thus often difficult to distinguish formally between 'virtual' relative clause usage and adjunct/coordination uses of these patterns. This merely depends on whether we take the clause as the modifier of a single noun phrase or of the entire predication. It will be suggested below that this is a genuine ambiguity, since both usages exhibit the same form and a similar function (unconverted adjunct to a noun or to an entire clause).

(a) circumstantial sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f) and n sḏm.n(.f)/n sḏm(.f)

(10) Sh.S. 14–15: *ỉḫ wšb.k wšd.t(w).k*
Then you will answer when you are addressed.

(11) Sin. R15–16: *tỉ sw ḥm ỉy.f ỉn.n.f sqr(w)-ꜥnḫ(w) n ṯḥnw*
Now, he, in fact, he was returning, having brought away living captives of the *ṯḥnw*-people.

(12) Ptah. 5,8–9: *nḏnḏ r.k ḥnꜥ ḥm mỉ rḫ n ỉn.tw ḏrw ḥmt*
Confer with the ignorant as well as the learned, because the limit of skill has not been attained.

(b) bare sentence with adverbial predicate/bare pseudo-verbal construction

(13) Fish. B4,5–6: *ḥꜣ.ỉ r š sṯsw ḥr rmn ꜥ.ỉ ꜥw.ỉ r sꜣ.ỉ*
I will go down to the lake, with the staves on the shoulders of my arms and my rods at my back.

(14) Sin. B1–2: *sḏm.n.ỉ [ḫr]w.f ỉw.f ḫr mdt*[23]
(And) I heard his voice as he was speaking.

(c) existential nn construction

(15) Meri. 12,9: *ỉḫ pḥ.k wỉ nn srḫy.k*
Then you will reach me without there being your accuser.

The distribution of 'real' and 'virtual' relative clauses seems to be connected with definiteness: 'real' relative clauses occur with definite antecedents, 'virtual' relative clauses with indefinite antecedents.[24]

However, although their grammatical properties are well known, 'virtual' relative clauses are difficult to analyze within the currently dominant 'transpositional' approach to syntax introduced by Polotsky. As noted above, the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* are, for Polotsky, adverbial transpositions of the verb behaving as the substitutes for simple adverbial expressions such as prepositional phrases. A similar reasoning can readily be applied to the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal construction, which are to be treated as the ('inherent') adverbial clause forms of their respective patterns.[25] However, an immediate question arises as to why adverbial forms are the forms used in 'virtual' relative clauses. There can be no less appropriate use of the traditional term 'adverbial' than for the function of modifying a noun. The term 'adverbial', then, must be taken in its substitutional sense: i.e. the forms exhibited in 'virtual' relative clauses are to be classified as adverbial on the basis of substitution with the diagnostic adverbial element, the prepositional phrase.[26]

[23] *ḫrw* is clear in the variants.

[24] That is to say there is a definiteness effect, cf. *The Representation of (In)definiteness*, ed. E. J. Reuland and A. G. B. ter Meulen (Cambridge, Mass., 1987) for some recent cross-linguistic discussion. As noted in *EG*[3], §§198–9, and J. G. Griffiths, *JEA* 54 (1968), 60–6, there are some (apparent, see Griffiths, ibid. 66) exceptions especially with generic antecedents. However, the precise articulation of the opposition awaits a study of the interplay between definiteness, referentiality, specificity and quantification in Middle Egyptian and so the traditional definite-indefinite distinction is retained for expository convenience. Unfortunately, the issue is difficult to study in Middle Egyptian, since there is no regularly exhibited determiner which formally indicates (in)definiteness.

[25] Polotsky has restricted his attention to verb-forms. However, the extension to the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and bare pseudo-verbal construction is uncontroversial and has been adopted in much subsequent research. Indeed, this is a necessary step if the transpositional approach is to have any general application.

[26] This would seem to be the approach, within a transformational perspective, in F. Junge, *Syntax der Mittelägyptischen Literatursprache* (Mainz, 1978), 3.2.3.1 (cf. 3.1.1.3). Junge brackets together the nominal antecedent (as subject) and the 'virtual' relative clause (as adverbial predicate) to form an 'Adverbialsatz' within the overall nominal phrase headed by the antecedent (see his tree diagram 3–9). Aside from the

However, to modify a noun, the preposition usually takes on a special morphological form, the nisbe, which displays certain adjectival properties.[27] In particular, the nisbe agrees with its head noun:

(16) Peas. B1,9–10 = R60–1: *ḫr.n mḥ.n wr m nꜣ n ꜥꜣ r.f m bꜣt nt šmʿ*
Then one of these donkeys filled its mouth with a wisp of *šmʿ*-barley.

Importantly, it would seem that nisbes (like simple adjectives) can occur with both definite and indefinite antecedents (in (16)) the nisbe 'indirect genitive' marker *nt* occurs with an indefinite antecedent newly introduced into the discourse). Where simple (i.e. non-transposed) prepositional phrases do occur as the modifiers of simple nouns,[28] the secure examples from the literary corpus, with the exception of certain idiomatic uses and fixed expressions,[29] are expressions which quantify the noun they modify:[30]

(17) Meri. 8,2: *šḫtp.n.i imntt mi qd.s*
(And) I pacified the entire West.

Interestingly, prepositional phrase quantifiers are not exhibited with nisbe forms in literary Middle Egyptian. Thus, there are no examples which exhibit nisbe endings or adjectival agreement (in the quoted example, the feminine antecedent would require *-t* agreement). Hence, prepositionally-based modifiers of nouns do not exhibit the particular definiteness effect noted above for 'real' and 'virtual' relative clauses. Although many details remain to be studied in relation to definiteness and quantification in the noun phrase, the behaviour of prepositions and their nisbe correlates would not seem to provide the secure paradigmatic environment required for an analysis of 'virtual' relative clauses as adverbial forms according to the strict substitutional relationship required by the Polotskyan tradition.

This problem is exacerbated when Polotsky's basic outline of the transpositional system is considered. Polotsky motivated the nominal (i.e. substantival and adjectival) transpositions of the verb by reference to the nominalization of differing members of a verbal 'phrase sous-jacente' or 'presupposée' consisting of the verb, its subject and object (and, one presumes, adjuncts).[31] Nominalization of the underlying or presupposed verb produces the substantival transpositions of the verb (i.e. the that-form and the infinitive),

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problems with adverbial substitution noted in the text below, it seems to me that Junge confuses simple sentence constructions (with subject-predicate relations) with unbounded dependency constructions (with antecedent-resumptive relations, cf. below in the text). Equally, his analysis contravenes the X-bar theory of phrase construction widely accepted within current generative grammar where phrases, and, indeed, any intervening mother nodes/brackets, are projected from and display the same category as the head of the phrase (see e.g. G. Horrocks, *Generative Grammar* (Harlow, 1987), 62–8 and cf. the Head Feature Convention of G. Gazdar, E. Klein, G. K. Pullum and I. A. Sag, *Generalized Phrase Structure Grammar* (Oxford, 1985), 50–2). As Junge recognizes, the antecedent is the head ('Kern') of the nominal phrase, whereas the 'virtual' relative clause is its dependent ('Satellit'). According to X-bar theory, all mother nodes must also be nominal (and indeed phrasal as opposed to clausal) and there can be no clausal-node (S) dominating both the antecedent and the 'virtual' relative clause at any grammatical level.

[27] *EG*[3], §79. For a recent analysis of the nisbes as adjectivally transposed prepositions, see H. Satzinger, *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 141–53.

[28] As opposed to nouns derived from verbal expressions. Such nouns allow just those prepositional phrases which can co-occur with the related verb as modifiers.

[29] *EG*[3], §158. For discussion see W. Schenkel, *JEA* 52 (1966), 53–8.

[30] *EG*[3], §100.

[31] Polotsky, 'Transpositions', section 2.1.

whereas nominalization of the dependents of the verb produces the adjectival transpositions of the verb (nominalization on the subject produces the participle and nominalization on the object—and presumably objects of prepositional phrase adjuncts—the relative form). For present concerns, the major effect of this transpositional activity is that the adjectival transpositions of the verb carry an agreement element which reflects the nominalized member of the underlying verbal expression. For the 'real' relative clause, this offers the foundation for something of an account of the properties noted above: the entire clause behaves adjectivally, exhibiting adjectival conversion. Adjectival conversion introduces adjectival agreement, which indicates the nominalization of the underlying member, thus linking the antecedent with the appropriate position within the relative clause.[32]

When we turn to adverbial transpositions, no such motivation is presented in 'Transpositions' or the subsequent literature. Consider the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/ sḏm.n(.f)*. In dealing with normal adjunct usage of these forms, there may well be a temptation to invoke, by analogy, an adverbialization of the verb in the verbal 'phrase sous-jacente', allowing the verbal expression to behave adverbially in relation to other expressions (indeed, there would be little sense otherwise in the promised 'syncategorisation' of the verb with adverbial parts of speech in 'Transpositions', Section 1.1). Turning to the 'virtual' relative clause, the analogy with 'real' relative clauses suggests an adverbialization of the dependents of the underlying verbal 'phrase sous-jacente'. In effect, this would introduce an unmarked adverbialized pronominal element onto the head of the 'virtual' relative clause to ensure the antecedent-resumptive relations. For the verb-form, this would result in an unmarked adverbial transposition of the verb. However, such an analysis would seem somewhat contorted and poorly motivated, relying solely on the proposed intimate relationship between the antecedent-resumptive dependency and conversion. This highlights the central problem for a transpositional analysis of the 'virtual' relative clause: why is the verb adverbialized, rather than adjectivalized, to appear in 'virtual' relative clauses? This issue is of crucial importance, since the strict correlation between form and function, based on substitution with simple parts of speech, is a fundamental pivot of the Polotskyan approach to grammar.[33] This requires that the distribution of the relative clause can be reduced to that of a simple part of speech. The traditional definition of a relative clause is as a clause which behaves like an adjective.[34] This is enshrined in the transpositional analysis of the 'real' relative clause, where such a clause should be adjectival by form under the strict correlation of form and function.

[32] Such an analysis is developed in Satzinger, *Festschrift Westendorf*, 125–56.

[33] See 'Transpositions', section 1.1 and particularly the following quote from id. in *Lingua Sapientissima*, ed. J. D. Ray (Cambridge, 1987), 18: 'Now a system of syntactic analysis, originally devised 150 years ago by a group of German grammarians, looks upon subordinate clauses as equivalents of the three non-verbal parts of speech ... These are precisely the three categories to which the three Egyptian verb-forms correspond in function. Noun clause, adjective clause and adverb clause mean exactly the same as *that*-clause, relative clause and clause of circumstance—but the former terms have the advantage of simplifying the terminology by reducing it to the basic categories.'

[34] Compare Gardiner's remarks (*EG*[3], §195): 'Relative clause, or Adjective clause, is the name given to that kind of subordinate clause (§182) which is equivalent to an adjective.' However, Gardiner did not invoke a strict form-function correlation and so, for him, a clause could behave adjectivally (i.e. as a modifier of a noun) without exhibiting an adjectival form. This, of course, is the sense of his notion of a 'virtual' relative clause.

This approach presents considerable problems for a transpositional characterization of the 'virtual' relative clause as an adverbial clause.[35] As we shall see below, the 'virtual' relative clause lacks only one essential feature which the 'real' relative clause possesses—adjectival conversion/transposition and hence, adjectival agreement and its attendant effects. However, why should the lack of adjectival conversion mean that an adverbial form is used as the 'virtual' relative clause? In other words, why is it that a relative clause which lacks adjectival conversion exhibits an adverbial form?

The traditional definition of the relative clause as an adjectival clause has dogged the study of the 'virtual' relative clause, which, as the very term suggests, is often treated as something less than a proper relative clause or even simply omitted from the discussion of relative clauses. When examined, there seems to be little motivation for the traditional analysis. The two core properties by which to identify a relative clause, leaving aside notions of adjectival conversion for the moment, are: (a) the ability restrictively to modify a noun; and (b) the presence of the antecedent-resumption relation.[36] It is clear that neither is dependent on any adjectival property of the clause, which is therefore to be treated as a contingent, not a necessary, property in terms of the proper characterization of the relative clause.

Thus, 'virtual' relatives can restrictively modify nouns:[37]

(18) =(5) Peas. B1,231–2.

(19) Sin. B159–60: *ptr wrt r ꜥbt ḫꜣt.ỉ m tꜣ ms.kwỉ ỉm.f*
What is that which is greater than burying my body in a land in which I was born.

(20) Adm. 7,1: *mtn ỉs ỉr ḫt n pꜣ.ϕ ḫpr*
See, now, things have been done which did not use to come into being.

In these examples, the noun modified by the 'virtual' relative clause is not just any such noun, nor indeed a particular but otherwise unspecified noun. Rather, the interpretation of the noun is restricted to the domain provided by the 'virtual' relative clause. That is to say, the reference of 'a feeble man' in (18) is restricted to a particular feeble man known to the hearer (i.e. the peasant);[38] that of 'a land' in (19) to a land which has the property of 'I' (Sinuhe) having been born in it (i.e. Egypt); that of 'things' in (20) to those which have happened before. Treating the 'virtual' relative clause as extraneous additional information in these cases (as in 'and you know him' in (18) gives a poor interpretation of

[35] The temptation would either be to deny that the 'virtual' relative clause is a relative clause at all (but see below in the text), leaving the 'virtual' relative clause in limbo (since it does not have traditional adverbial usage). Or to attempt a recourse to substitution with prepositional phrase modifiers of nouns (dealt with above), which would hardly support a traditional account of relativization.

[36] Cf. Keenan, op. cit. 141–2, 146. Keenan avoids any mention of adjectival properties in his cross-linguistic characterization of the relative clause.

[37] As noted by Junge, op. cit. 3.2.3.2. However, there is a morass of complicating semantic/pragmatic issues here of which to be wary. Thus, singular referential indefinite antecedents often prefer a non-restrictive 'and'-type reading of their modifier. This is clearly a consequence of the dynamics of the novel introduction of a specific indefinite entity into a discourse, information about which is often treated as finding out more about this entity rather than restricting its original specification. Such examples are sometimes better understood with a reading as non-restrictive general adjuncts or as conjunct clauses (e.g. Sh.S. 120–1, Sin. B286–8, West. 6,26–7,6) and have been omitted from consideration in this paper.

[38] There is also an intended alternative reading with generic interpretation.

these examples.[39] Thus, the ability restrictively to modify nouns is not confined to clauses which are adjectival by form, and hence is not to be characterized in terms of adjectival properties. The only difference between 'real' and 'virtual' relative clauses in terms of function would seem to be the requirement for a definite and indefinite antecedent respectively.

The second basic property of relative clauses is the mandatory relationship between the antecedent and the resumptive expression: the antecedent (whether overt or non-overt) is strictly coindexed with some resumptive expression (itself overt or non-overt) within the relative clause and is thus represented in some sense within the relative clause. It is recognized in current generative grammar that the property of mandatorily linking an antecedent outside (or on the periphery of) an expression (usually a clause) with a position within that expression (which usually exhibits a gap or a resumptive pronoun) is a general grammatical property shared by a number of constructions.[40] It is now well known that this dependency between the antecedent and the resumptive expression is theoretically unbounded, i.e. it can operate, subject to certain constraints, over any number of clauses and can relate an antecedent with a wide range of positions within the clause.[41] For this reason, such dependencies are often termed 'unbounded dependency constructions' (UDCs).[42] Of course, in practice, examples tend to be more common the

[39] Often a plausible (although in (18)–(20) contextually less satisfactory) restrictive general adjunct reading is also available (as in 'Don't rob ... a feeble man, when you know him', i.e. as a restrictive circumstance). In the present analysis, this is considered to be a genuine ambiguity (see below). There is a cross-linguistic relationship between the forms of relative clauses and traditional adverbial clauses, cf. S. A. Thompson and R. E. Longacre in *Language Typology*, ed. T. Shopen, II, ch. 4.

[40] This dependency thus differs from normal pronominal relations where coindexing is optional rather than mandatory beyond the clause domain, being dependent on context. Equally, the dependency differs from 'control', where the pronominal or non-overt subject of a predicative expression is either locally controlled by an antecedent or has arbitrary interpretation:

(FN1) Sin. B6–7: *n kꜣ(.i) spr r ḫnw pn*
I did not plan to approach this residence.

(FN2) Peas. B1,201–2: *ḥḏ šmt m grḥ sby m hrw*
Perished is going by night and travelling by day.

In (FN1), the referent of 'I' (Sinuhe) is 'shared' by the main verb and the complement infinitive, whereas in (FN2) the 'goer' and the 'traveller' have 'arbitrary' reference.

[41] The literature is far too extensive to cite here, although N. Chomsky's, 'On WH-movement', in *Formal Syntax*, eds. P. W. Culicover *et al.* (New York, 1977), 71–132, was a highly influential paper in the move away from construction-specific analyses.

[42] As for the unbounded nature of this dependency in the Middle Egyptian constructions discussed below, the following are examples of antecedent-resumptive relations passing over one clausal boundary. The likelihood of finding any more complex examples in the corpus is slim (cf. next note):

(a) 'real' relative clause

(FN3) Sin. B237–8: *fnd.k pw šps mrrw Mntw nb Wꜣst ꜥnḫ.f ḏt*
It is your august nose which Montu lord of Thebes wishes that it live forever.

(b) 'virtual' relative clause

(FN4) Eb. 91,2 (*EG*[3], §196): *ḥꜣt-ꜥ m pḥrt nt msḏr nḏs sḏm(.f)*
Beginning of the remedy for an ear whose hearing is poor (lit. 'an ear which that it hears is poor').

This passage exemplifies a standard 'subjacency violation' commonly found in languages which utilize overt resumptive pronouns in UDCs. The presence of the resumptive pronoun licenses an unbounded dependency with the subject position within a clause which is itself the subject of the adjectival predicate or verb *nḏs*. As the literal English gloss indicates, this is unacceptable in languages such as English which do not make extensive use of the resumptive strategy (this unacceptability is also augmented by the infelicity of

closer the antecedent-resumptive relation.[43] On the basis of cross-linguistic study, the following four UDCs may be suggested for Middle Egyptian:[44]

(a) topicalization

(21) Adm. 7,7: *mtn tꜣ ṯs. n.f ḫr smꜥy(w) qn ḥsy ḫr nḫm[ḫt].f*
See, the land, it has knotted up with confederates; the brave, the coward takes away his property.

(b) purpose infinitives[45]

(22) Ba. 123–5: *iw.ϕ šw m ʿq-ib inn. tw m ḥmm r srḫt n.f*
There is a lack of intimate friends. It is to a stranger that one has recourse to complain.

(c) relative clauses (both 'real' and 'virtual')

(23) Kha. 8: *win. i n.f ꜥtpw nty ϕ ḫr psd. i*
So that I may shift to it [my heart] the load which is on my back.

(24) Peas. B1,171–3: *mk tw m ⟨m⟩ḫnty ḏꜣ nb ḥmt ʿqꜥy ʿqꜣ.ffdqw*
See, you are the ferryman who (only) ferries the possessor of the fare, a straight man whose straightness is splintered.

(d) indirect genitival clauses (cf. EG[3]*, §191.2, 305, 442.5, 452.5)*[46]

(25) Ptah. 19,7–8: *it. n. i rnpt 110 m ʿnḫ n dd n. i ϕ nsw*
(And) I took 110 years in life which the king gave to me (lit. of that the king gave (it) to me).

(26) Bersh. ii.21.4 (*EG*[3]*, §305*): *s iqr n wbꜣ n.f ib*
An excellent man to confide in (lit. of opening the heart to him).

For the 'virtual' relative clause, the following examples of differing antecedent-resumptive

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'poor' taking a clausal subject in this usage). A methodical search through the Coffin and Medical Texts may reveal a more orthodox example utilizing the forms considered here (one can certainly imagine *fnd mr Mntw ʿnḫ.f*, 'a nose which Montu wishes that it live', in comparison to (FN4) above).

(c) topicalization

(FN5) Meri. 5,7–8: *ḏꜣḏꜣt rsy wḏʿ sꜥryw rḫ. n. k tm. sn sfn hrw pf n wḏʿ mꜥir*
The southern court which judges the poor, you know that they are not lenient on the day of judging the poor.

[43] Cf. the suggested psycholinguistic basis to the accessibility hierarchy and its attendant hierarchy constraints in E. L. Keenan and B. Comrie, 'Noun Phrase Accessibility and Universal Grammar', *Linguistic Inquiry* 8 (1977), 63–99. The increasingly contorted nature of lengthening UDCs render the likelihood of being able to demonstrate the unbounded nature of these constructions in Middle Egyptian slim. Cf. last note.

[44] Questions for specification are a common cross-linguistic source of UDCs. However, in Middle Egyptian, question words are usually treated as the *in situ* predicate or focus of an appropriate construction, rather than linked in a UDC from a clause peripheral position. One example of a fronted question phrase is:

(FN6) Adm. 14,14: *mi m ir.f s nb ḫr sm(ꜣ) sn.f*
Why, as for it, is everyone killing his brother/fellow?

Notice that the rest of the construction does not exhibit the usual that-form to play the role of subject/topic to the adverbial question phrase.

[45] Purpose infinitives and indirect genitival clauses are the least secure of the UDCs suggested here. Whatever the case, the particular coindexing of the pronoun exhibited in the examples in the text must be accounted for. Equally, both these constructions seem to exhibit UDC, 'fronted' time phrase and ordinary usage just like the patterns found in 'virtual' relative clauses and with topicalization, see below in the text.

[46] Direct genitival clauses seem to be restricted to expressions of time and place, see B. Gunn, *JEA* 35 (1949), 21–4. These are probably to be related to general properties of 'fronted' time phrases which display an affinity with UDCs but seemingly without the resumptive dependency. Hence, such constructions are not treated here.

relations within the domain clause may be noted:[47]

(a) subject

(27) Eb. 102,3–4 (*EG*[3], §196): *ḥbs ỉb.f pw mỉ s wnm.n.f kꜣw nw nht*
It means that his heart is covered like a man who has eaten the unripe fruit of the sycamore.

(b) object

(28) Eb. 102,1–2: *wnn ỉb.f pw tꜣ ḥr ḥwtwt mỉ s smt.n sw ḫnws*
This means that his heart is hot because of embers like a man whom a stinging insect has tormented.

(c) object of preposition

(29) =(19)

(d) possessor of noun

(30) =(8)

It would seem then that the antecedent-resumptive dependency is not unique to 'real' relative clauses; it is a general property of Middle Egyptian in common with other languages. In particular, the antecedent-resumptive relation is not integrally linked to adjectival conversion or agreement—it occurs in 'virtual' relative clauses and in other UDC constructions lacking such adjectival properties. Thus, the property of adjectival conversion and agreement in 'real' relative clauses is, as suggested above, a contingent property from the perspective of general properties of UDCs. Adjectival agreement, although important in mediating the relationship between the antecedent and the resumptive expression in constructions where it occurs (particularly in terms of whether the resumptive expression is overt or non-overt, see below), is not the defining characteristic of that relationship. It would therefore seem incorrect to analyze the link between the antecedent and the resumptive in terms of the transposition (nominalization) of an underlying dependent of a 'phrase sous-jacente' and to attempt any *ad hoc* extension to 'virtual' relative clauses.

Neither of the core properties of relative clauses is dependent on adjectival conversion. We must, then, be careful not to confuse relativization with adjectivalization. More generally, we should avoid conflating form and function into a strict correlation. It may be said that 'virtual' relative clauses behave adjectivally in that they function as restrictive modifiers of nouns.[48] However, this does not require that they be adjectival by form—the form of the relative clause is a separate issue which seems to be tied up with definiteness. It must be concluded that 'virtual' relative clauses, although they lack an adjective agreement-carrying element, are every bit as much a true relative clause as 'real' relative clauses. It is thus a misnomer to term the 'virtual' relative clause virtual. All this

[47] For the 'real' relative clause, cf. Polotsky, 'Transpositions', 10–13, and Satzinger, op. cit. The capacity to relativize just about any member of a 'virtual' relative clause (and indeed 'real' relative clause) is entirely in accord with the Keenan–Comrie accessibility hierarchy, for they note that what would otherwise be 'difficult' examples are allowed in languages where resumptive expressions are often overt (Keenan and Comrie, op. cit. 92; cf. n.41).

[48] Equally, in their adjunct usage, it may be said that these patterns behave adverbially. However, this does not necessitate that they be adverbial by form or restricted to adverbial environments (cf. the references in n.4 for extensive discussion). Strictly speaking, it would be wiser not to confuse the terminology for form and function. The term adjective/adjectival should be used in discussions of form and a term such as modifier (or adjunct or attribute) in discussions of function (adjectives, of course, are not restricted to modifier function in Middle Egyptian—they can also function as predicates).

really means is that this particular kind of relative clause lacks adjectival conversion and an adjectival agreement-carrying element. The lack of adjectival conversion and agreement does have a profound effect on the syntax of 'virtual' relative clauses (we shall see below that this accounts for most of the differences between 'real' and 'virtual' relative clauses); however, the lack of adjectival conversion does not deny its status as a relative clause.

Unlike the transpositional system of analysis, the alternative approach noted at the beginning of this paper allows a ready account of the 'virtual' relative clause. In this framework the circumstantial *sḏm.(f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal construction are analyzed as the basic forms of their respective patterns; that is to say, by form, they are treated as non-transposed/unconverted formations. These are the forms which co-occur with converters/transposers, initial particles and auxiliaries.[49] This can be seen most clearly with the sentence with adverbial predicate (and similarly the pseudo-verbal construction):

(31)

	aux/prt/conv	unconverted clause
main clause	*iw/mk*	*sr m pr*
'adverbial' clause		*sr m pr*
true adverbial clause	*ḫr-ntt*	*sr m pr*
nominal clause	*ntt/wnt*	*sr m pr*
adjectival clause	*nty/wn(n)*	*sr im.f*

Here the form traditionally analyzed as the 'adverbial' clause form is analysed as an unconverted form, the basic form found throughout the various patterns exhibited above. Equally, if we accept Polotsky's conversion/transpositional analysis of the that-form and the relative form, where the verb itself has undergone transposition, then we can suggest the following schema for the simple suffix conjugation:

(32)

	aux/prt/conv	unconverted clause
main clause	*iw/mk*	circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*
'adverbial' clause		circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*
true adverbial clause	*ḫr-ntt*	circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*
nominal clause	that-form *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*	
adjectival clause	relative form *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*	

Once again, the form traditionally analyzed as the 'adverbial' form (the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*) is analyzed as the unconverted/non-transposed form of the simple suffix conjugation—as a verbal verb-form.

Separating out form and function, we can say that the circumstantial or verbal *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal construction are, by form, the unconverted clauses of their respective patterns which can behave as non-initial main clauses (after initial particles, auxiliaries and in coordination) and as general adjuncts and *en vedette*. That is to say, the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal

[49] These individual constructions have particular properties of their own, which are amenable to analysis within this framework (see the references in n. 4), but it is the general approach which is at issue here.

construction are to be found in a wide variety of environments where a specialized converted/transposed form of their respective patterns is not required.[50]

This provides a satisfactory framework for an analysis of the form of the 'virtual' relative clause. 'Virtual' relative clauses are not required to undergo adjectival conversion/transposition (which would seem to be linked to the requirement for an indefinite antecedent). Deprived of adjectival transposition/conversion, the form of the 'virtual' relative clause must be the basic pattern for the simple suffix conjugation, the sentence with adverbial predicate and the pseudo-verbal construction: i.e. the unconverted clause form of these patterns. The unconverted/non-transposed forms of these patterns are respectively the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* (the verbal, i.e. unconverted, verb-form), the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and bare pseudo-verbal construction. There is no need to invoke adverbial substitution and adverbial transpositions with the attendant problems noted above. Equally, that 'virtual' relative clauses do not occur in a strict substitutional paradigm with prepositional phrases is of no importance, for substitution with prepositional phrases is not the defining syntactic criterion for the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)* in the verbal analysis but is merely one available option. Although not converted into a specialized adjectival form, the 'virtual' relative clause can still exhibit the two core properties of relativization—restrictive modification of nouns and the antecedent-resumptive dependency—since, as we have seen, neither of these properties is necessarily connected with adjectivalization. Hence, in this framework, the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, an unconverted verbal verb-form, can function as the head of a clause modifying a noun (i.e. behaving 'adjectivally') and exhibiting an antecedent-resumptive relation. A more appropriate term, then, for the 'virtual' relative clause would be the unconverted (paratactic or juxtaposed) relative clause.

Equally, there is a ready explanation for the wider distribution of the forms found in 'virtual' relative clauses in other usages, in contrast with the specialization of the forms found in 'real' relative clauses. In this framework, as noted above, the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*, the bare sentence with adverbial predicate and the bare pseudo-verbal construction, as unconverted forms, can occur in other environments where their respective patterns do not require specialized conversion/transposition. One such environment is adjunct clause usage; hence, the similarity between adjunct clauses and 'virtual' relative clauses noted above is readily described.[51] Indeed, having removed any

[50] In this analysis, unconverted verbal expressions, the unconverted prepositionally-headed sentence with adverbial predicate and unconverted prepositional phrases are inherently non-nominal and can share (under appropriate conditions) a similar distribution, contrasting with substantival and adjectival expressions. In this approach, non-nominality is a sub-feature of the analysis of basic parts of speech inherently shared by non-nominally headed expressions, not a super-category subsuming both non-nominalized verbal expressions and prepositional phrases as is the case with the notion 'adverbial' in the transpositional system. Specialized adverbial conversion is thus not required, see Collier, *JEA* 76 (1990), section 5, for brief discussion. Notice that in this approach, the ability to occur in a substitutional paradigm with simple prepositional phrases in certain environments is merely one available option, not the defining characteristic (as in the transpositional approach) for the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)/sḏm.n(.f)*. This is clearly of advantage where this form occurs in environments which do not exhibit a substitutional paradigm with simple prepositional phrases, cf. the references in n. 4.

[51] Indeed, since the antecedent-resumptive dependency is a general property of UDCs we might expect a more subtle effect, where unconverted clauses occur as adjuncts of nouns but without exhibiting relativization. Such may well be the case:

(FN7) Fish. A2,1: *hrw nfr iw.n m ḥꜣt r šꜣ*
A good day for us to go down to the marsh.

necessary form-function correspondence between relative clauses and adjectival expressions and (by analogy) between adjuncts and adverbial expressions, an even closer relationship between relative (whether 'real' or 'virtual') and adjunct clauses can be stated, in that relative clauses (whether 'real' or 'virtual') can be analyzed as adjuncts within noun phrases (exhibiting unbounded dependency),[52] while 'ordinary' adjuncts can be analyzed as adjuncts within clauses (without unbounded dependency in Middle Egyptian). Within the class of adjunct clauses, 'virtual' relative clauses, lacking specialized conversion, exhibit the same form as general adjuncts. In contrast, with definite nominal antecedents, a converted ('adjectivalized') adjunct clause is required. Since this pattern exhibits adjectival form and (in attributive usage) adjectival agreement, such a clause can only occur where its adjectival form satisfies grammatical requirements and so is effectively banned from non-adjectival environments.[53]

So far I have concentrated on the form of the relative clause, particularly the verb-form which occurs in 'virtual' relative clauses, and its relationship with the general antecedent-resumptive property of relative clauses and their role as restrictive modifier to nouns. These properties of the relative clause have been derived from general grammatical properties of Middle Egyptian.[54] However, for the foregoing account to be acceptable a unified discussion of the distribution of overt and non-overt resumptive expressions in relative clauses is required. It has been common for relative clauses to be divided up into numerous sub-sets according to the overt or non-overt status of the resumptive expression. Even where unified analyses are attempted, these have been restricted to 'real' relative clauses and involve numerous construction-specific rules.[55] Moreover, omission in relative clauses has been treated separately from omission elsewhere. Here I wish to propose an account based on general properties of pronoun omission. Such an approach has certain advantages which allow a satisfactory account for otherwise problematic omissions/resumptions in relative clauses.

In current unification-based generative grammar, UDCs, wherever they occur, are decomposed into local sections: the top, the middle and the bottom.[56] The top section is concerned with the introduction of the unbounded dependency (i.e. that there is a

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However, there is here the complicating factor of the relationship with examples of fronted time phrases which, as noted above (n. 46), equally exhibit no antecedent-resumptive relationship. Cf. the examples of indirect genitive clauses without unbounded dependency below (62) and (63).

[52] This is the standard treatment of relative clauses in generative grammar, cf. C. J. Pollard and I. A. Sag, *Information-based Syntax and Semantics, Volume 1: Fundamentals* (Stanford, 1987), section 6.3.

[53] As with ordinary adjectives, the 'real' relative clause can stand independently. It is beyond the scope of the present paper to provide a proper analysis of this, but two options present themselves, as noted in n. 10: either a non-overt (but definite) antecedent is present or agreement behaves pronominally and supplies the necessary antecedent. In either case, the inability of the 'virtual' relative clause to stand independently follows without comment, since this pattern lacks agreement and eschews definite antecedents.

[54] This paper focuses on the 'virtual' relative clause with the aim of providing a unified overview of relative clauses. Hence, not every idiosyncracy has been examined. There are certain interesting properties of 'real' relative clauses which have not been discussed here: non-coindexed object resumption with passive participles (*EG*^{3}, §377), which is linked to passivization; negative 'real' relatives with *iwty* (*EG*^{3}, §§202–3), although the discussion here clearly extends to *iwty*; extraposition of relative clauses; the behaviour of the quantifier *nb*, which belongs to a general discussion of second position clitics; the *sḏm.ty.fy* form (*EG*^{3}, §§363–4), the endings of which behave as agreement markers, not as pronouns.

[55] As, for example, in the treatments of Satzinger and Borghouts (n. 2).

[56] The informal account here follows the unification tradition in generative grammar, where UDCs involve the local unification of information along the link between antecedent and resumptive. Most importantly, no transformations (whether old-fashioned clause fusion or modern movement transformations) and no derivationally-linked underlying structures are involved. I would like to thank Professor Ivan Sag for

resumptive expression coindexed with the antecedent to be found within the relative clause), whereas the middle section is simply the transmission of the relation between antecedent and coindexed pronoun, which can be of unbounded length. The bottom section is concerned with the resolution of the UDC and is the local environment in which the form of the resumptive element is determined; that is to say, the form of the resumptive expression is entirely locally determined at the position in which it is found. It is clear from the form of overt resumptive elements that resumptives behave locally as pro-forms and abide by the grammatical conditions on pro-forms, such as whether a suffix or dependent pronoun appears.[57] It would seem reasonable, then, that the form of resumptive pronouns should abide by general properties of pronoun omission. Although there has been little detailed discussion, pronoun-omission is a well-recognized property of Middle Egyptian,[58] in which there are two general strategies for pronoun omission: omission under relevance and omission under agreement, both of which are locally determined.

Omission under relevance is optional and occurs in a wide range of positions, for example, in the object position of suffix conjugation verbs:[59]

(33) Fish. A2,3: *dỉ. n ϕ ḥr ḫt n Sbk nb š*
We shall put (something) on the fire for Sobek, lord of the lake.

and in subject position:

(34) Meri. C4,3–4: *mk sp ḫsy ḫpr m hꜣw. ỉ ... ḫpr. n. ϕ n-ỉs m ỉrt. n. ỉ*[60]
See a wretched incident happened in my time ... that (it) came about was not through what I had done.

Omission under relevance is sensitive to certain semantic/pragmatic factors. Firstly, the less relevant the role of the pronoun in contributing to the establishment of a context for the interpretation of the sentence (i.e. the less its contextual effect), the more likely it is to be omitted where licensed (in (33)) the reference of the object of the verb is non-specific

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supplying me with a copy of the draft of chapter 4 of C. J. Pollard and I. A. Sag, *Information-based Syntax and Semantics, Volume 2: Topics in Binding and Control* (Stanford, forthcoming) which has influenced the discussion in this paper. Pollard and Sag's head-driven phrase structure grammar (HPSG) would seem to provide a congenial framework for more formally orientated research into the grammatical properties of Middle Egyptian. Indeed, the account presented in this paper can be taken as a prologomenon to such an HPSG account of Middle Egyptian relative clauses (cf. n. 62).

[57] Although the resumptive is usually a pronoun, the proper generalization is pro-form for the 'pro-adverb' *ỉm* can also occur as the resumptive element with *bw* as antecedent:

(FN8) West. 11,9–10: *wḏꜣ pw ỉr. n. sn r bw ỉỉ. n. sn ỉm*
It was a travelling which they did to the place which they had come from.

However, I shall restrict myself to pronouns in the text for expository convenience.

[58] *EG*[3], §§ 123, 141, 145, 422.1, 486, 506, 5.

[59] The local licensing of pronoun omission is usually treated in generative grammar by some correlate of the Empty Category Principle (for which see N. Chomsky, *Lectures on Government and Binding* (Dordrecht, 1981), 250 ff., 300 ff.). In Middle Egyptian, omission under relevance is licensed, for example, for subjects in general and for objects of suffix-conjugation verbs, as noted in the text above, but not for objects of prepositions (and thus interacts with the incorporation and cliticization properties of pronouns noted in n. 62). In omission under agreement, the presence of agreement licenses omission. For the sake of simplicity, licensing is not discussed further here. Cf. nn. 72 and 77.

[60] Adopting the reading of P. Carlsberg VI (= P. Leningrad 1116A 10, 14–15), see W. Helck, *Die Lehre für König Merikare* (Wiesbaden, 1977), section 42.

and in (34) the reference of the subject of the verb is contextually obvious).[61] Secondly, this optional omission strategy is sensitive to animacy: pronouns with inanimate/impersonal reference are more likely to be omitted than personal pronouns. Personal pronouns thus show a marked tendency to appear overt.

Omission under agreement occurs when a pronoun coindexed with the agreement carried by some other expression occurs locally to (in Middle Egyptian, immediately following in spoken order) the agreement carrier.[62] The interesting property about omission under agreement is that neither overt coindexed pronouns nor full nouns can appear as the immediately-following local dependent of an agreement carrier.[63] That is to say, when agreement appears, there must be no local overt dependents coindexed with the agreement-carrier. Outside adjectival environments, such agreement behaviour is rare. The only verb-form which (regularly) exhibits agreement is the stative, but this agrees with a preceding nominal and in the relevant sense agreement is not local to the coindexed element as indicated by the ability of full nouns to appear coindexed with agreement:

(35) Peas. B1,275–6: *iw grt ḫt.i mḥ.t(i) ib.i ꜥtp*
Moreover, my belly is full and my heart is loaded.

However, one example outside adjectival environments is provided by the so-called prepositional adverbs whose character was divined by Edel some thirty years ago.[64] The prepositional adverb, or inflected preposition, displays a special inflection element (*-y* > *-w*) which seems to be invariable for person, number and gender.[65] This ending is in complementary distribution with pronoun and noun dependents of prepositions: i.e. the ending only occurs when the preposition appears without pronominal or noun dependent. This holds over to the affix *-n* in the *sḏm.n(.f)*, which is perhaps an original prepositional affix on the verb:[66]

[61] For this notion of relevance, see D. Sperber and D. Wilson, *Relevance: Communication and Cognition* (Oxford, 1986), ch. 3.

[62] The precise treatment of this locality depends upon the treatment of incorporated (suffix) and clitic (dependent) pronouns in Middle Egyptian, an area in need of detailed discussion. The syntax of pronouns in 'ordinary', control, unbounded dependency and coordination environments is the subject of my post-doctoral project for the British Academy entitled 'A generative grammar of pronominals and anaphors in Middle Egyptian'. A more rigorous formulation is reserved for the completion of this research.

[63] Cf. the discussion of the null argument parameter in J. McCloskey and K. Hale, 'On the Syntax of Person-Number Inflection in Modern Irish', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 1 (1984), 487–533.

[64] E. Edel, *ZÄS* 84 (1959), 17–38.

[65] Whilst showing a marked preference for 3p. pl. common, Edel suggested that the inflected preposition can be used for all persons, numbers and genders. Cf. the discussion of inflected prepositions in Irish in McCloskey and Hale op. cit.

[66] An alternative analysis of the inflected preposition as an 'adverbial transpositor' has recently been suggested in F. Kammerzell, *GM* 102 (1988), 41–58. A proper discussion must await Kammerzell's fuller study announced in his bibliography. However, there do seem to be both theoretical and empirical problems with his proposal as outlined so far. Theoretically, we might ask why a preposition, the very diagnostic of adverbial behaviour for the transpositional tradition, requires an adverbial transpositor at all, especially one which only appears when the preposition lacks a pronominal or nominal dependent. Empirically, the parallelism with *ḫpr.n* in (36) (recognized by all recent treatments of the passage, e.g. Polotsky 'Transpositions', 22–3) indicates in the strongest possible terms that *ꜥm.ny* exhibits the same form as *ḫpr.n*, i.e. a that-form in a second tense. However, in the transpositional tradition, a that-form is a nominal not an adverbial transposition of the verb.

(36) Sh.S. 130–1: *ḫpr.n.ϕ r.s nn wi ḥnʿ(y).ϕ ꜣm.ny.ϕ nn wi m-ḫr-ib.sn*
It happened *that I was not with (them)*. They burned up *with me not being in their midst*.[67]

Armed with this general discussion of pronoun omission, we may return to the relative clause.[68] The 'real' relative clause exhibits agreement. Hence, if the coindexed (i.e. the resumptive) pronoun is local to the agreement-carrier (whether converter or verb-form), then it must be mandatorily omitted. So (coindexed) subjects of participles and of *nty/wn(n)* clauses are omitted:

(37) Ba. 78–80: *mḥy.i ḥr msw.s sdw ϕ m swḥt mꜣw ϕ ḥr n ḫnty n-ʿnḫt.sn*
I shall grieve for her children who have been broken in the egg, who have seen the face of the crocodile god before they have lived.
(38) Sh.S. 170–1: *ʿḥʿ.n.i ḥr iwš n mšʿ nty ϕ m dpt tn*
Then I called out to the crew who were in this boat.

In both cases, the subject immediately follows the agreement-carrier.[69] Equally, coindexed objects of relative forms are mandatorily omitted since they occur immediately following the agreement-carrying verb-form:[70]

(39) Sh.S. 119–21: *iw dpt r ỉit m ḫnw sqdw im.s rḫ.n.k ϕ*
A boat will come from the residence with sailors in it whom you know.

However, if the resumptive element is not local to the agreement carrier, then the pronoun is only open to omission under relevance. Once again, this is a purely local strategy: omission under relevance is optional and shows a marked preference for retaining pronouns with specific and/or personal reference. The result is that the resumptive pronoun will generally appear as an overt pronoun outside the scope of agreement:

(40) Sin. B188: *mꜣ.k ḫnw ḫpr.n.k im.f*
You will see the residence in which you grew up.
(41) Sin. B173–4: *ist r.f ḏd.ϕ n ḥm⟨n⟩nsw-bity Ḫpr-kꜣ-Rʿ mꜣʿ-ḫrw ḥr sšm pn nty wi ḫr.f*
Now, as for this, the person of the *nsw-bity* Kheperkare *mꜣʿ-ḫrw* was told concerning this condition which I was in (lit. which I was under it).

As the object of a preposition, the resumptive pronoun is clearly outside the scope of agreement and is overt.[71] Equally, in more complex examples where the prepositional

[67] For the translation of the complement clause of *ḫpr.n* in (36) as an English 'that-clause' (*pace* Polotsky, 'Transpositions', 22), see M. A. Collier, *Wepwawet* 3 (1987), 1–10.

[68] A rewarding parallel is to be found in C. Georgopoulos, 'Variables in Palauan syntax', *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3 (1985), 59–94, written in terms of Government-Binding theory (the modern descendant of traditional Transformational Grammar).

[69] The locality is enhanced by the incorporation and cliticization properties of pronouns in Middle Egyptian noted in n. 62.

[70] The standard word order in Middle Egyptian places *n* + pronoun before dependent pronouns (*EG*[3], §66). Presumably this is also the case with non-overt resumptive pronouns:

(FN9) Sin. B77: *nfr irrt.i n.k ϕ*
What I shall do for you is good.

However, both *n.k* and *ϕ* are clitics which attach to the word in front (here the agreement carrying verb-form *irrt.i*) and so the required locality is preserved (cf. n. 62).

[71] Indeed, licensing also has an effect here in that uninflected prepositions cannot license pronoun omission in Middle Egyptian (cf. n. 62), forcing the resumptive pronoun to be mandatorily overt.

phrase is embedded deeper in the relative clause:

(42) West. 11,10–11: *pty nꜣ ntt n ỉy.wyn r.s*
What is this which we have come about?

(43) Meri. 5,4–5: *m smꜣ s ỉw.k rḫ.tỉ ꜥḫw.f pꜣ.n.k ḥs sš(w) ḥnᶜ.f*
Don't kill a man whose worth you know, one with whom you used to recite writings.

If an object resumptive occurs beyond the local scope of agreement, then it too will tend to be overt:

(44) Sin. B144–5: *kꜣt.n.f ỉrt.st r.ỉ ỉr.n.ỉ st r.f*
That which he had planned to do to me, I did it to him.[72]

The resumptive pronoun appears as the object of the infinitive which is itself the object of the relative form. The resumptive pronoun is non-local to agreement and can be overt.

Even subjects, when placed outside the local scope of agreement, tend to be overt:[73]

(45) Peas. B2,80: *m pḥ nty n pḥ.f tw*
Do not attack one who has not attacked you.

(46) Sh.S. 51–2: *nn ntt nn st m-ḫnw.f*
There was nothing which was not in it.

In both these examples Middle Egyptian word order dictates that the negation precede the suffix conjugation verb-form and the subject of the adverbial predicate respectively. Hence the resumptive pronoun is not local to the agreement carrier and does not fall within the domain of omission under agreement. So the resumptive pronoun is capable of appearing as an overt pronoun.

An interesting example of the success of the local approach is supplied by:

(47) Adm. 5,8: *in ỉw.ϕ m šms.n ϕ ḫnty ḥnᶜ wḏᶜ.f*
Is it as one whom the crocodile has followed and split?

The first resumptive pronoun is local to the agreement on the relative form and is (mandatorily) omitted. The second, however, is not local to an agreement carrier, but is rather the object of the preposition *ḥnᶜ*. It can thus be overt.

[72] An interesting exception, beyond the scope of the present corpus, may be provided by:

(FN10) Les. 70,17–18: ... *r smnḫ bw.f štꜣ m ḏᶜm dỉ.n.f ỉnt ϕ ḥm.ỉ m-ḫnt Tꜣ-sty*
... to make potent his secret image in the electrum which he had caused that my person bring back from *Tꜣ-sty*.

Borghouts' discussion of similar examples in Late Egyptian (*GM* 31 (1979), 15 with n.24) suggests that object omission in the complement clause of the causative verb *rdỉ* may well be mandatory. Compare relative forms from lexical causatives with *s-* which mandatorily omit coindexed objects. Such a relationship between lexical and syntactic causatives is descriptively well known. Cf. M. C. Baker, *Incorporation: A Theory of Grammatical Function Changing* (Chicago, 1988), ch. 4 for a recent discussion of syntactic causatives within Government-Binding theory which presents a wide range of empirical data.

[73] The analysis of examples (45) and (46) should be compared with the proposal in Satzinger, op. cit. 130–2. Satzinger claims that the structure of these examples is [*nty ϕ* [$_{ADV}$*n pḥ.f tw*]] and [*ntt ϕ*[$_{ADV}$*nn st m-ḫnw.f*]] respectively. This bizarre analysis is a consequence of his non-local approach in which he claims that all coindexed subjects must be omitted by rule (p. 126); he is thus unable to differentiate between subjects local to the agreement-carrier and subjects non-local to the agreement-carrier. On p. 134 he notes that these very same clausal patterns are not found following an explicit subject after *nty*. Clearly, this is because the overt coindexed expression is indeed the subject within the *nty* clause in examples (45) and (46) and so these patterns cannot occur with some extra preceding subject.

However, it is, of course, possible to omit under relevance once outside the local range of agreement. Contrast the following examples with (45) and (46):

(48) Nef. 26: *n sr. n. i ntt n iy. φ*
I do not foretell that which does not come about.
(49) Peas. B1,271–2: *m wꜣ n ntt n-ỉit. φ m ḥꜥw n ntt n-ḫprt. φ*
Do not brood on what has not yet come, do not rejoice on what has not yet happened.

Because the resumptive pronoun is outside the local domain of agreement, it is not subject to omission under agreement, but it can be optionally omitted under relevance, hence the parallel between (48) and (45). And finally contrast (44) with:

(50) Adm. 4,6–7: *pw-t(r)i nty tw r irt. φ*[74]
What can one do? (lit. That which one can do is what?).

Once again, the resumptive pronoun is outside the domain of agreement and hence is susceptible to optional omission under relevance, giving the parallel between (44) and (50).

Since 'virtual' relative clauses do not exhibit an adjectival agreement-carrying element, 'virtual' relative clauses do not exhibit mandatory omission under agreement. Hence the resumptive pronoun tends to be overt wherever it occurs. Compare the examples quoted throughout the text above and the following classified by position of the resumptive expression:

(a) subject
(51) =(4) Eb. 91,3.
(52) =(27) Eb. 102,3–4.
(53) Sh.S. 61–2: *gm. n. i ḥfꜣw pw iw. f m ỉit*
(And) I found that it was a snake which was coming.

Equally, when the subject occurs at a further distance from the antecedent:

(54) =(6) Peas. B1,173–4

(b) object
(55) Sh.S. 147–8: *mỉ irrt n nṯr mrr rmṯ m tꜣ wꜣ n rḫ sw rmṯ*
As is done for a god whom men love in a far land which they do not know.[75]

Notice that the pronoun is overt despite the fact that its reference is contextually clear.[76]

(c) prepositional object
(56) =(19) Sin. B159.

(d) possessor of noun
(57) =(24) Peas. B1,171–3.

[74] The use of *tw* before a pseudo-verbal predicate (cf. *EG*[3], §333 and P. Vernus, in *Crossroad*, eds. G. Englund and P. Frandsen (Copenhagen, 1986), 377 with nn. 10 and 11) and the masculine gender of the 'neuter' (cf. *EG*[3], §511,4) testify to the late date of the language of (at least some parts of) the extant version of 'Admonitions'.

[75] For the analysis of *mrr* as a relative form (with generic antecedent), see D. B. Redford, *JEA* 67 (1981), 174–5.

[76] This seems to be sensitive to the same general lexical preferences for omission under relevance exhibited in 'ordinary' object omission. Thus, the verb *rḫ* does not readily omit its object in main clauses.

However, omission under relevance can occur:

(58) Adm. 7,1: *mtn ỉs ỉr ḫt n pȝ.* ϕ *ḫpr*
See, now, things have been done which never used to happen.

An array of examples with different overt versus non-overt resumptive pronoun requirements can thus be given a unified treatment using general grammatical properties of pronoun omission in Middle Egyptian (omission under relevance and omission under agreement).[77]

The major properties of relative clauses in Middle Egyptian can thus be reduced to the interaction of general grammatical properties of Middle Egyptian concerning the basic sentence and clause type used in the relative clause (whether the sentence is verbal or has an adverbial predicate, whether the clause is converted or not), general UDC properties (required in other unbounded dependency constructions such as topicalization), and general strategies of pronoun omission. The only construction-specific statement required is that definite antecedents take converted ('real') relative clauses with adjectival agreement, whereas indefinite antecedents take unconverted ('virtual') relative clauses. There is no need to invoke a long list of different relative clause types or construction-specific rules, clause fusion or movement transformations, transpositions of members of a 'phrase sous-jacente' or 'presupposée'. Rather, the different 'types' of relative clauses simply display different configurations of the properties involved in basic sentence type, conversion, UDCs, agreement and pronoun omission.

This account can be extended to the other unbounded dependency constructions noted above. Indirect genitival constructions also display some agreement effects, apparently exhibiting mandatory object omission with suffix conjugation verbs.[78] Beyond the scope of agreement, resumption is overt, subject only to omission under relevance.

[77] A more subtle effect is supplied by the direct negation of the relative form with *tm*:

(FN11) Sis. Bii15: [*ḫm*]*.n.k tmt.n.k sḏm* ϕ
You are ignorant of that which you have not heard.

and by indirect genitive clauses:

(FN12) Sin. B187: *wȝḥ.k špss(w) n dd.sn n.k* ϕ
You will pile up the riches of their giving to you.

Although examples are rather sparse, it would seem that such object omission is mandatory. The proper treatment of these examples requires a more precise treatment of the issues discussed here and must await another occasion. In particular, it would seem to be related to the licensing abilities of suffix conjugation verb-forms, to pronominal properties (notice that cliticization of the pronoun would bring the resumptive into local contact with the agreement-carrier in (FN12) and, for *tm*, to the extremely close relationship between the negative verb and the negative complement (*EG*[3], §343, cf. n.72 above for a similar non-local dependency), which allow a longer distance dependency between agreement and a mandatorily omitted pronoun.

Alternatively, these problems may point to a different account of mandatory omission privileging the object position of suffix conjugation verb-forms, which would break the strict word order locality discussed here. To preserve some notion of locality without utilizing transformationally-related derivational levels of structure, such an account would need to be a more lexically-orientated account and would require that *nty/wn(n)*-relatives with (apparent) non-overt subject resumption and participles be treated as phrasal forms without non-overt subjects. Also, the general account of pronoun omission presented here would have to be recast. Although such an analysis is worth pursuing, the account presented here is in better accord with current understanding of Middle Egyptian grammar. In the present state of our knowledge, I suggest that this local account is to be preferred.

[78] Cf. *EG*[3], §191.2, 442,5 and 452,5 and last note.

Clauses following a topicalized expression and clauses with purpose infinitives, in contrast, clearly do not exhibit adjectival agreement on the head of the clause.[79] The resumptive pronoun is therefore generally overt wherever it occurs in such constructions, being liable only to omission under relevance. Equally, as with the patterns found in 'virtual' relative clauses, the patterns found in topicalization constructions, purpose infinitives and indirect genitival constructions can all occur without unbounded antecedent-resumptive relations, either with fronted/'antecedent' time phrases or, as in the following examples, simply as the basic construction type:

(a) *mk+sḏm.n(.f)*/pseudo-verbal construction (cf. [*mtn* + TOPIC + circumstantial *sḏm.n(.f)*] and [TOPIC + pseudo-verbal construction] in coordinate usage (example 21):

(59) Sh.S. 2–3: *mk pḥ.n.n ḫnw*[80]
See, we have reached home.

(60) Peas. B1,97–8: *mk mꜣꜥt ꜣ[t?]ḫ.s ḫr.k nš.t(i) m st.s srw ḥr irt iyt tp-ḥsb n mdt ḥr rdit ḥr gs*
See, *mꜣꜥt* has fled from you, being expelled from its place, nobles are doing wrong and the norms of speech are giving on the side (i.e. are biased).

(b) *purpose clauses:*

(61) Sh.S. 157: *ḫꜥ.n šm.kwi r smit.st*
Then I went to report it.

(c) *indirect genitive clauses:*

(62) Sin. B124: *m ḥr(yt) nt mḥꜣ.f sw*
Through fear of his equalling him (lit. of that he equals him).

(63) Eb. 52,3 (*EG*[3], §305): *n gm.n.s wꜣt nt prt*
(And) it does not find a way of going.

The treatment of 'virtual' relative clauses presented here can be integrated into a general account of a range of Middle Egyptian grammatical properties in terms of the form of the clause, its role as a nominal modifier, the antecedent-resumptive relation and the particular form of the resumptive pronoun (whether overt or non-overt). The foundation of this account is the analysis of 'virtual' relative clauses as unconverted clauses, an analysis which requires the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)*/*sḏm.n(.f)* to be treated as unconverted forms of the verb, i.e. as verbal verb-forms. This proposal contrasts with transpositional accounts which face severe problems in dealing with 'virtual' relative clauses. In particular, the source of these problems can be identified as the analysis of the circumstantial *sḏm(.f)*/*sḏm.n(.f)* as adverbial transpositions of the verb founded on a substitutional approach to grammar which depends on a strict form-function correlation.

[79] Agreement can occur on inflected prepositions or *sḏm.ny* forms, in which case omission is mandatory:

(FN13) Ba. 104: *ḫnmsw nw min n mr.ny.ϕ*
The friends of today, they do not love (anymore).

[80] For discussion of this construction and this particular example, see Collier, *JEA* 76, 76–7 with ex. 13).

AN OBJECTIVE COLOUR-MEASURING SYSTEM FOR THE RECORDING OF EGYPTIAN TOMB PAINTINGS*

By NIGEL STRUDWICK

The standard of documentation of the colours used in the relief and painting of Egyptian monuments has not been as satisfactory as that of the documentation of the decoration itself. Recent approaches have involved the use of colour charts as a resolution of this problem. There is a certain lack of objectivity in this, as well as many practical difficulties. A Minolta CR-221 colorimeter has been taken into the field to attempt a more objective approach. This paper is concerned with the theoretical and practical aspects of using a colorimeter to document colours; it concludes that the instrument is of great value if properly used.

I. The problem

SINCE 1984, the Christ's College Theban Tomb Project has been working in the Theban Necropolis. The purpose of this expedition is to record and publish some of the so-called 'Tombs of the Nobles', which are threatened with destruction from a number of sources.[1] The work has two aspects, the documentation of the wall-paintings and reliefs in the funerary chapels, and the clearance and recording of the underground burial chambers. It is with the first problem that this paper is concerned.

The principal subjects of work between 1984 and 1990 have been three tombs in el-Khokha, those of Amenhotep (TT 294), Khnummose (TT 253), and Amenmose (TT 254).[2] All date to the Eighteenth Dynasty, respectively to the reigns of Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, and Ay. Significant amounts of colour are found in the chapels of Khnummose and Amenmose. These paintings and reliefs are recorded by means of full-size facsimile drawings (reduced for publication) and photographs.[3] Such techniques permit the accurate documentation of most aspects of this decoration, with one glaring exception, that of the colours. All tombs were originally painted, or intended to be painted, whether as the basic method or as the final decorative touch to the relief, but an

*My thanks are due firstly to Minolta Corporation both in Japan and the USA. In particular, John McCasland of Minolta USA supported the original proposal and helped with the actual acquisition of the CR-221; his assistant, Suzanne, gave invaluable assistance with the details of the transaction. Approval to the proposal was given at Minolta Japan by Mr Y. Kada, and my thanks are due to him. Tracey Walker of Minolta (UK) Ltd. provided the photograph of the instrument reproduced as pl. IV, 1.

My greatest single debt is to those colour scientists who have kindly helped a scientifically illiterate Egyptologist through the colour maze. Max Saltzman (UCLA) has given me much of his time since seeing a first draft of this paper, and has suggested the approach taken in this article. Nick Hale of Hale Color Consultants, Inc., has read drafts of this paper and given his advice and help freely. Both have saved me from many errors; those which remain are my own responsibility.

Barry Kemp and Colin Shell helped to put the instrument through some initial proving in the University of Cambridge. I should also like to thank John Baines for offering many useful comments on a draft of this manuscript.

[1] See my article 'A Mortifying Case of Rising Damp', *The Geographical Magazine* (November, 1988), 44–8.

[2] The results are to be published by the Griffith Institute in the series *Private Tombs at Thebes.*

[3] The best general discussion of the problems of epigraphy in Egypt is by Caminos in Henry G. Fischer and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Ancient Egyptian Paleography and Epigraphy* (New York, 1976), 1–25.

entirely satisfactory solution to the problem of documenting the colours has yet to be found. In the days of Norman de Garis Davies, the most prolific and finest publisher of these tombs, it was normal to note the colours in the text by 'red', 'green', etc., often with corresponding 'R' and 'G' on the drawings;[4] in addition, Davies and his wife Nina produced superb colour facsimiles of many of the most beautiful scenes.[5] The writing of colour abbreviations on drawings has largely fallen out of use, but colour facsimiles are still in many ways the ideal means of publishing a painted tomb; unfortunately, it requires an artist of unusual ability and makes a publication prohibitively expensive. The use of colour photography has become common in recent years, but standards of reproduction vary and there is often insufficient checking (by the publisher/printer) of the printed colours against the original.[6]

Colour charts have been employed for many years by archaeologists as a method for recording the coloration of soils and ceramics. The first such use in Egyptology known to me dates from the 1930s, when the Ostwald Colour Album was employed to describe the colour of Predynastic sherds found in excavations at Armant.[7] Today, the preferred method is the use of Munsell Soil Charts. It is only more recently, particularly with reference to the revival of interest in publishing Theban tombs since the 1970s, that colour charts have begun to be used in epigraphy; the results, at least in terms of a recognition of the need for documentation, have been encouraging.[8] The favoured standard in use is the Munsell *Book of Color*.[9]

However, there are two major problems with the use of colour charts, namely, inconsistency of the illuminant at different times of measurement in the same tomb, and inconsistency of the observer. To the latter should be added the natural variation between individual perceptions of colour. The consistency of the observer is not helped by the laborious nature of working through a colour chart in order to find the best match, often in less than ideal circumstances; one tires very easily and it is easy for one's judgement to be impaired.

Having suffered these problems ourselves, I resolved to try and find an electronic measuring system, which should have the advantages of objectivity and consistency, and be appropriate to the field environment; a necessary feature should be that it has its own light source so that all readings can be taken under the same circumstances. From the work of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization/Getty Conservation Institute (EAO/GCI) in the tomb of Nefertari, it became clear that such a device was made by the Minolta Corporation; it is there being used successfully to document the deterioration of colour.[10] An approach was made to Minolta for assistance with our project, and a CR-221 colorimeter was made available to us on very favourable terms.

[4] Such as Nina de Garis Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (Oxford, 1963), pl. i.

[5] For example, Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Paintings*, I-III (Chicago, 1936).

[6] See my comments in a review in *JEA* 74 (1988), 273–4. Cf. Caminos, op. cit. 12–13.

[7] J. Scott Taylor in Sir Robert Mond and Oliver H. Myers, *Cemeteries of Armant*, I (London, 1937), 186–7.

[8] Notably in the publications of the German Archaeological Institute, such as Artur und Annelise Brack, *Das Grab des Haremheb* (Mainz, 1980) and *Das Grab des Tjanuni* (Mainz, 1977).

[9] In particular, Munsell Corporation, *Book of Color: Glossy Finish Collection* (Baltimore, 1976).

[10] See F. Preusser and M. Schilling, 'Color Measurements', in Egyptian Antiquities Organization and the Getty Conservation Institute, *Wall Paintings from the Tomb of Nefertari: Scientific Studies for their Conservation* (Cairo/Los Angeles, 1987), 70–81; this paper will henceforth be referred to as *Nefertari*. It is important to emphasize that the EAO/GCI project is less concerned with absolute colour than with changes which may take place over time. My work intends to document the present colours. [Since writing this paper, I have learnt that a Minolta CR-200 was used to document the cleaning of the frescoes in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican.]

It should be noted that no matter how sophisticated the instrument, one can only record the colours *as they are at the time of measurement*; differences of preservation, environment and re-use of the tombs can make what was originally the same colour appear different in two tombs, or even in the same monument. This, along with the difficulties outlined above, has sometimes caused the validity of colour measurement to be questioned.[11] However, it would seem wrong to reject any attempt at measurement, since an objective record of the state of the tombs today is better than no record at all. §III below considers some of the further theoretical and practical problems of the measurement of colour in these tombs.

II. The CR-221

1. *Description of the instrument*

The Minolta CR-221 (pl. IV, 1) is a two-part instrument, consisting of a measuring device and a data processor. The measuring device has a flat baseplate to which the holder for the measuring head is attached and kept in tension by a spring. The head itself contains a pulsed xenon arc lamp arranged at an angle of 45° to the subject for the purposes of illumination, and the reflected light is received by six silicon photocells. The output from these photocells is then passed via a cable and an RS232 link to the data processor.[12] The area to be measured should be at least 3 mm in diameter.

This data processor is effectively a small hand-held computer. It can store up to 300 measurements in its memory, and can perform various statistical operations on data. It incorporates a small thermal printer to create hard-copy output of the results. The measurements made by the measuring device can be represented in five colour notations: Yxy, L*a*b*, L*C*H°, Munsell, and DxDyDz (the latter is a measure of colorimetric density). Readings are displayed in the chosen notation on a small liquid-crystal display. Additionally, it can measure colour differences against preset values in four notations. Statistical functions available are maximum, minimum, mean and standard deviation of a range of values. It is possible to control many of the different options offered, for example, whether automatic printing is turned on, whether single or multiple (three) measurements of the sample are made, and the specification of the light source. One extremely useful feature is the existence of an RS232 output port so that the processor can be connected to a computer and the stored data transmitted instantaneously elsewhere (but see §II.2 below). Whenever data is listed, it goes to this output port as well as to the printer. The instrument is accompanied by generally adequate documentation.

Power for the instrument can be supplied from mains current or from batteries. A small transformer supplied with the unit can be used to provide 9v from a regular mains supply, or six AA type 1.5v batteries can be used. In the field, batteries will generally be the preferred method; we used rechargeable NiCad cells.

A note is in order on the conversion between the colour notations offered by the CR-221. Data from the measuring head is always converted into the Yxy system when the reading is made, and the readings in the other notations are mathematical conversions, often complex, from this; the only exception to this is the Munsell readings, which also

[11] E.g., C. Beinlich-Seeber and Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56)* (Mainz, 1987), 121–2.

[12] RS232 is an 'industry standard' interface for serial communication between devices. The dimensions of the measuring head are 100 × 81 × 243 mm; weight 1225 g. The data processor measures 50 × 220 × 200 mm; weight 1300 g without batteries.

employ a look-up table. While it is possible to print measurements in all colour notations one by one as they are taken, they are stored in the memory only in the one notation currently chosen. An extra option I would like to see added to the instrument would be the ability to convert stored readings to any of the other notations, so that one could, for example, print a list of readings firstly in Munsell and then in Yxy notation.

2. Use of the CR-221

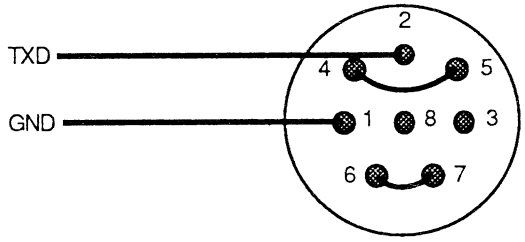
The instrument is very simple to use. It must first be calibrated using a white reference tile supplied with the unit. To maintain accuracy, it is advisable to recalibrate the instrument frequently.[13] The preferred colour notation should then be chosen, along with setting the various indexes regarding printing, single/multiple measurement and so on. A suitable area should then be selected for measurement and a 'measure' button pressed, either that on the measuring head or that on the data processor.

The instrument was generally very straightforward to use in the field. Batteries last for between 200 and 300 readings, an adequate number for a day's work, particularly since the maximum capacity of the memory is 300 readings. With simultaneous printing of results in all colour notations, one reading can be made every ten seconds or so; without printing it is much faster. We printed in all notations, since it was desired to keep as complete a record of the measurements as possible and because the instrument can only store data in one colour notation. One minor difficulty is that the thermal printer has low paper traction and will only feed the paper through when the data processor is horizontal; it had been hoped to carry the processor vertically in a small shoulder bag leaving one hand free for other purposes, but in actuality the processor either had to be held in the measurer's hand or placed on a table.

An Apple Macintosh Plus computer was to be taken into the field for a variety of purposes during the season, and it was logical that the CR-221 be linked to it. Our only technical problem arose when attempting to link the instrument to the computer, since despite wiring the cables in the conventional way according to the data supplied by the manufacturers, it was not possible to make the instruments communicate. After examination of the port with an oscilloscope, it was found that the various pins of the RS232 port on the CR-221 needed to be wired in a somewhat unusual fashion. Specifically, the RTS and CTS pins are active high, whereas normally they would be expected to be low. The diagram below shows that only two wires are necessary at the CR-221 end.[14] Once activated, this link worked very successfully and saved a great deal of time. Data was transferred into a text file which was then read into cards of a Hypercard stack. Notes were then added to this database concerning the location and colour of the original. These notes were made in the field with a hand-held cassette tape recorder as a more rapid alternative to writing. Analysis of the data is being undertaken with the aid of the database program Reflex Plus and the spreadsheet Wingz.

[13] The instrument's manual recommends recalibration at the beginning of each measuring session; I have tried to recalibrate when moving from one scene to another in the tombs, perhaps on average every twenty to thirty readings. For future work Nick Hale has recommended that the instrument be calibrated against a reference tile visually close to each colour to be measured.

[14] I am indebted to Graham Louth (Statistical Laboratory, University of Cambridge) for his help in solving this particular problem.



3. Modifications

The design of the CR-221 is such that the measuring unit is attached to a baseplate, the purpose of which is to facilitate correct alignment of the measuring head with the sample. The optical head must be at right-angles to the specimen surface so that the incident light does not escape and sufficient light reflected from the colour reaches the sensors. However, the presence of this baseplate creates two problems when the device is used on a tomb wall: (1) it is highly undesirable that such a metal plate come into direct contact with the painted plaster or rock; (2) given that Egyptian tomb walls are usually far from perfectly flat, the rather large baseplate sometimes prevents the measuring head being as close to the subject as one would like. Ideally, the baseplate should be removed, but with the CR-221 this is not practical. The obvious solution to (1) is to provide a soft surface of some type between the baseplate and the wall. (2) can only be solved by careful selection of subject areas, although it is to be hoped that Minolta will enable the baseplate to be removed from future versions.

A layer of transparent plastic acetate was used for the protective surface, a material easily available as it is the same as used for making facsimile drawings. Since providing this protective surface for the wall increases the distance between subject and measuring head, the optical conditions vary slightly from the design condition and some measurement error may result. I examined the effect of this on the CR-221 before going into the field and found that the presence of the acetate does not have a serious effect on the readings.[15] As reference colours, a British Standards Institution colour chart which we had been using in the field before turning to the CR-221 was employed.[16] Readings were taken on seventy-five randomly chosen colours, one without the padding and one with; the readings were made in Yxy colour spaces, so that any calculation of the differences could be easily quantified. The following presents the results in the summary form of the maximum and minimum differences and also the standard deviation for the range of values:

	Y	x	y
Max	1.88	0.04	0.01
Min	−0.64	0.00	0.00
Standard deviation	0.40	0.01	0.00

[15] A study of the effect of the addition of a protective cushion on the CR-121 carried out by the GCI reached a similar conclusion. Their approach was different in that the baseplate of the CR-121 could be easily removed, and a padding was only needed immediately around the measuring head (*Nefertari*, 70–2). The problems are, however, essentially the same.

[16] *Framework for colour co-ordination for building purposes* (BS 5252: 1976).

From these figures, it will be apparent that the difference is indeed minimal and can safely be disregarded. Putting it in the visual terms of the Munsell *Book of Color* as given by the CR-221, I give below three typical examples:

Book of Color	CR-221 unmodified	CR-221 modified
5B 7/8	5.1B 7.0/7.4	5.0B 7.0/7.4
10R 4/6	10.0R 4.0/6.1	10.0R 4.0/6.1
2.5Y 8/6	1.7Y 8.0/4.7	1.7Y 7.9/4.3

These measurements should be considered in the light of the following discussion of the relationship of the systems. However, it shows that the difference produced by the modification has an inconsequential effect on the Munsell colour space.

III. Systems and problems of colour measurement

I think it is safe to say that, although the basis on which colour is being measured in Egyptological fieldwork is improving, Egyptologists have undertaken this work without really understanding the basic theoretical issues and problems involved. We were equally guilty in our first season in the field with the CR-221. Of the available literature, the introduction I would recommend to readers is Fred W. Billmeyer, Jr. and Max Saltzman, *Principles of Color Technology*[2] (New York, 1981).

It is important to begin by understanding the component elements of what is called colour, whether it be seen by the human eye and brain or measured by an instrument. These elements are three in number: the light source under which the coloured object is viewed, the coloured object itself, and the response of the observer. These are more technically known respectively as the Spectral Power Distribution of the light source, the Spectral Reflectance of the object, and the Spectral Response of the observer. If the wavelengths of the three components are multiplied together, the resulting product (the perceived colour) can be termed the Stimulus for Colour.[17] Therefore, it can be seen that the variability of the light source and the observer can make crucial differences to the perceived colour, even with the same sample. Most readers of this paper will have had the disconcerting experience of finding that two items, such as clothes, which match under artificial light, do not match in daylight. This phenomenon is known as 'metamerism', and two such colours as a 'metameric pair', and is due to the fact that the spectral reflectance of the two objects is different, but that the product of the calculation described above happens to be the same for a particular light source and observer.[18] Metamerism is a potential problem when colour charts are used to quantify colour. Even when using an instrument with its implicit objectivity and consistency, the light source must remain constant for the readings to have any meaning. The CR-221 solves this by having its own in-built source which is powerful enough to overcome the influence of the local light source.

An extremely important issue is the question of the colour standard to be used when referring to colours in the publication, given the ability of the CR-221 to measure in a

[17] See the figure in Billmeyer and Saltzman, op. cit. 17.

[18] Illustrated in ibid. 54–5, there using the calculation of CIE Tristimulus values. See ibid. 44–7 for an explanation of this term and its calculation.

number of colour spaces. The instrument makes two types of colour space available, numerical and visual, the former being typified by the Yxy system (the base system of the CR-221) and the latter by the Munsell *Book of Color*.

Each has its advantages and disadvantages, which may be summarized as follows:

Numerical (Yxy)

Advantages:

1. It is possible to obtain a reading for all colours.
2. For the same reason, it is possible to quantify arithmetically the difference between colours, and also to perform statistical calculations.[19]
3. In the present context, a numerical system lends itself to measurement by instrument.

Disadvantages:

1. It is impossible to illustrate the colour concerned without reference to a visual standard, such as Munsell.

Visual (Munsell)

Advantages:

1. A rapid method for seeing what colour the reading represents.
2. The visual nature of the system is more accessible and perhaps more likely to gain initial acceptance.

Disadvantages:

1. It is impossible to represent visually all possible colours, since the colour chips in the *Book of Color* are but a subset of all possible colours.
2. Spectral reflectance was noted above as one of the three important elements of colour. Therefore, it is only correct to compare a glossy colour, such as in the Glossy Finish Edition of the *Book of Color*, the usual set of Munsell charts taken into the field, with the rougher, more matte finish of tomb painting when the gloss is deflected from the eyes of the observer. Metamerism will also be a problem as outlined above, especially since the Munsell charts are designed to be matched using the CIE (*Commission Internationale de l'Eclairage*) illuminant C, which approximates to average north daylight, and CIE 2 degree Standard Observer;[20] neither of these is likely to be precisely what obtains in a Theban tomb.
3. It is difficult to relate the hue components except within the confines of the same chart, since although Munsell space is three-dimensional, and can be represented as a solid, the charts are two-dimensional, and show the value and chroma for a set hue.

The choice between the two is difficult, since it seems that numerical systems are inherently more accurate, and yet visual systems are far more likely to gain acceptance in

[19] This is the purpose of the EAO/GCI investigation, where the variation of the colour is more important than the actual visual hue.

[20] These standards are explained in Billmeyer and Saltzman, op. cit. 34–44.

the context of why an Egyptologist should want to study the colours of tomb paintings. I will describe in §IV a solution which uses aspects of both.

If the Munsell system is to be used with the CR-221, it is necessary that users know how accurate the instrument is relative to the *Book of Color*. As pointed out above, the Munsell reading from the CR-221 is made via a conversion process from the Yxy system. At the time of the first use of our instrument in the field, we had no independent information on the reliability of this conversion. However, since that time, I have learnt that the instrument is not 100 per cent accurate in this respect; the internal conversion from Yxy to Munsell is performed by looking up the values in a table, and certain corners have been cut to enable this process to be fitted into the storage of the CR-221. As described at the end of this section, I have now obtained corrected Munsell readings.

However, the question of what degree of error is acceptable is a very important one for the archaeologist. The instrument, and much of the colour technology being discussed, is emphatically not designed with the circumstances of the archaeologist in mind, but rather for colour measurement and matching under more ideal, almost laboratory, conditions. So many potential secondary factors are likely to creep in while in the field that aiming for total accuracy is unfeasible, and thus, the innate error factor is, for our purposes, not a major problem.

To be able to make comparisons, we were most fortunate to have the loan of a copy of the *Book of Color: Glossy Finish Collection* while in Luxor in late 1988.[21] The introduction to this publication should be consulted for an explanation of the Munsell system; it is assumed in this paper that readers are familiar with its basic tenets.

Three sets of tests were carried out with the aid of this publication. Firstly, some CR-221 readings were made of the colour chips and then compared.[22] This showed that the readings were, with some differences, substantially accurate. This view was subsequently confirmed by Max Saltzman and Nick Hale, with the proviso, as noted above, that any errors innate to the machine would not really be significant given the less than ideal conditions in which the instrument was to be used.

The second was in circumstances more relevant to our purpose, namely, a rather rapid initial test in Theban tomb 178, with the cooperation of Eva Hoffmann of the Ägyptologisches Institut Heidelberg. The results were compared with her estimations from the Munsell *Book of Color*. The results were very variable, and the two following examples show typical difference and agreement.

Book of Color	CR-221	Colour
10BG 6/4	1.9BG 6.3/2.0	Turquoise
2.5YR 7/6	2.7YR 6.8/4.3	Pink

This variability can be partly attributed to the unavoidable rapidity with which this test was carried out, but there are also two other important factors. Firstly, some of the colours are faded or dirty. Although the human eye and brain may take much longer than

[21] I am indebted to Karl Seyfried, Field Director of the University of Heidelberg 'Ramessidischer Beamtengräber in Theben' project for the loan.

[22] It should be pointed out that the chips in the *Book of Color* are the closest possible approximation to the colour described within the tolerances accorded that publication *at the time it was produced*. By the time the book has been in use for a few years the chips may have changed slightly. None of this is critical to the practical use in the field where tolerances are large, but theoretically it is of the highest importance.

an instrument to make readings, and be much less consistent, it can more easily take a sample on a much smaller area than the CR-221.[23] Secondly, the angle of measurement is critical. The CR-221, being designed more for laboratory conditions than anything else, has problems with an uneven surface. The above readings were made with the baseplate in place, the purpose of which is to ensure that the head is held at the correct perpendicular angle to the sample; given the large size of the baseplate, it is possible for an uneven surface to distance the sample from the wall slightly (as with the protective modification, see §II.3), or to change the measuring angle.

The important lesson learnt from this test was clearly that it is necessary to select one's sample with great care, choosing an area that is sufficiently large, clean and level. This was applied in our third and major test of the instrument, in the tombs which I am publishing. The tomb of Amenmose (TT 254) is the best preserved of the three, and also has the freshest colours. We hoped that it would thus be a good test of the CR-221.

We began by taking a number of readings and comparing each with our opinion of the colour by use of the *Book of Color*. Areas were selected following the criteria discussed above. An initial rounding up or down was made of the reading to the nearest *Book of Color* chip, which was then compared with the wall, under lighting conditions which were a combination of daylight and tungsten bulbs. We worked from this first approximation until the best Munsell match was found. It will be seen that the CR-221 was usually extremely close to the reading decided visually with the *Book of Color*, although this is not really an unbiased test, in that our *Book of Color* starting point was defined for us. Ten typical results are given below:

Reading	Colour and subject	*Book of Color*	Munsell from CR-221 in the field	More accurate Munsell
1	Yellow—Background to text on border of stela	10YR 7/6	8.3YR 7.0/6.2	8.57YR 6.95/6.32
2	Green—Face of god Osiris	7.5G 6/2	7.2G 6.3/1.5	7.24G 6.19/1.47
3	Blue—Blue area on the throne of god Osiris	7.5B 6/2	7.1B 6.3/1.9	7.19B 6.22/2.10
4	White—White crown of god Osiris	10YR 9/1	9.3YR 8.9/1.1	8.87YR 8.86/1.11
5	Red-brown—Stomach of Amenmose	10R 6/6	0.9YR 5.7/5.5	1.11YR 5.63/5.69
6	Pink—White kilt over the red legs of Amenmose	2.5YR 7/4	2.2YR 7.3/3.8	2.43YR 7.23/4.08
7	Yellow-brown—Round loaves among offerings	5YR 6/6	4.7YR 6.3/6.5	4.84YR 6.26/6.77
8	Yellow (very light)—Female skin colour	10YR 8/4	9.1YR 7.8/3.2	9.09YR 7.74/3.24
9	Green—Block border to right of stela	5GY 8/2	5.1GY 7.2/2.2	5.02GY 7.14/1.99
10	Red (dark)—Pot held up by serving woman	10R 5/6	8.4R 4.7/6.1	8.42R 4.70/6.10

[23] Or rather, it *thinks* it can take such a measurement. The human observer merely believes he can, but is liable to be heavily influenced by the surrounding colours. Therefore, his result is almost certainly going to more inaccurate than the 'objective' reading of the instrument, whatever the problems involved in measuring. Likewise, the observer may think he can make allowances for the dirt on a colour sample when choosing his chip, but this is again improbable.

It was indicated above that the internal conversion of the CR-221 from its native Yxy readings to Munsell was slightly inaccurate. The original Yxy data has been converted to more accurate Munsell readings using a computer program developed at Teeside Polytechnic:[24] this data is presented in the fourth column above.

Overall the results are very satisfactory, provided suitable care is taken in choosing the locations for the readings. After these initial tests, a total of 273 readings was made. The CR-221 was recalibrated regularly, and periodic comparisons were made with the *Book of Color*. The accuracy remained good, only certain colours showing occasional differences. These were most noticeably blues and greens; the former may perhaps be attributed to the tendency of Egyptian blues to discolour and decay.

The tests just described were performed purely for our own satisfaction as to the instrument's behaviour. Given the likely variability of the human observer, the light source and the problem outlined above with regard to the different reflective characteristics of the tomb walls and the *Book of Color*, there is very little objective value in these comparisons, but we hope that they will help to convince Egyptologists of the trustworthiness of the CR-221.

IV. Presentation and evaluation of results

In the course of our 1988–9 and 1989–90 seasons a total of 360 measurements was made of the colours in the group of tombs under study. Much thought has subsequently been given to how the results should be presented in the publication and to possible analyses of the data. The former is the more important at the present moment, since the production of adequate documentation of the tombs is our primary concern.

The two principal systems of measurement for our purposes are the Munsell and Yxy colour spaces, and the data was recorded using both systems; the advantages and disadvantages of both have been discussed in §III. Because of the requirement to be able to compare our readings with other published accounts, which use the Munsell system, it seems desirable to present the basic data in that format. The first problem is whether our readings should be corrected to the nearest colour chips in the *Book of Color*. As noted, that publication can only represent 1,500 or so of the millions of colours which can be distinguished by the human eye, and it will have already been apparent to the reader that our readings fall between those neat divisions. Correcting the hue and chroma to the nearest whole values is visually not difficult, particularly since they appear on the same page of the *Book of Color*, but attempting to interpolate the hue, except in the context of the colour solid, is not so easy. Also, too direct a comparison with the *Book of Color* makes no allowance for the different reflective characteristics of those colours and those in the tombs. It was thus decided to leave the CR-221 readings (corrected as described in §III) as they stand, permitting readers to make their own approximations.

How should the data be arranged? There are two basic possibilities—arrangement by location or grouping by colour. Given the need to be able to find quickly the colour of a particular item in the visual documentation of the paintings, it seems that arrangement by

[24] These programs have been developed by T. W. A. Whitfield and Neville S. Smith, and I am indebted to them for making these conversions for me. A detailed description of the program has been published in *Color Research and Application* (December, 1990).

location, wall by wall, tomb by tomb, is the best, and it is my intention, publisher permitting, to give a list of the 360 measurements.

It is important, nonetheless, to be able to group together readings of like colour so that the range of colour can be realized. Immediately, the problem of how to define verbally the general coloration of a sample arises. The subjectivity of individual descriptions has already been alluded to above; in the context of Egyptian wall-paintings, one person's 'dark red' is another's 'red-brown'. There are several ways in which this difficulty may be handled, of which I shall consider three. In all cases, detailed discussion of the results will be reserved for the final publication.

1. *Categories of objects*

The coloration of similar categorites of objects can be studied: good examples of this would be comparison of the male or female skin colours, each of which might be expected to be reasonably consistent.

There will, of course, be some variation within the Munsell readings assigned to a particular object category. This is not easy to visualize except within the context of the Munsell colour solid, and very difficult to quantify, since the Munsell system, being principally visual, does not lend itself easily to other methods of representation. This is where the readings in the Yxy system become useful, in that colour, as described in the CIE system from which the Yxy notation is derived, can be plotted on a two-dimensional graph or *chromaticity diagram* using the x and y components of that notation.[25] Chromaticity diagrams are a very good way of visually representing the spread of any particular grouping of colour readings. By plotting two or more sets of values on one

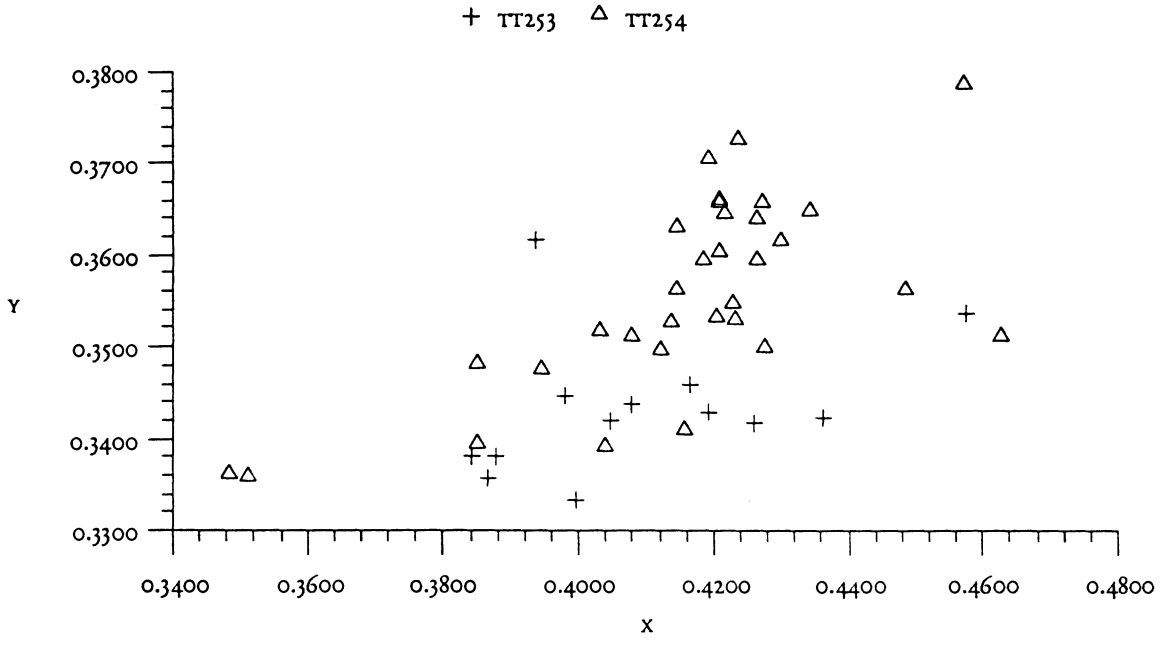


FIG. 1. Chromaticity diagram of readings of the male skin colour in TT 253 and 254.

[25] For more detail see Billmeyer and Saltzman, op. cit., in particular 47–52. The spread of the names of the principal colour divisions over a chromaticity diagram is illustrated in the figure on their p. 50.

graph it is possible to compare how the same groupings of data vary between tombs. For example, fig. 1 shows the distribution of the measurements of male skin colour from both TT 253 and TT 254. More detailed discussion of the implications of this will be reserved for the published report of these tombs, although it will be immediately clear that although there is quite a wide degree of variation in the same tomb, the two chapels are using distinctly similar versions of the same intended colour.

2. Systematic use of colour names

The very wide range of Munsell colours can be reduced by the use of a systematically organized range of colour names. On the advice of Max Saltzman, I have used the scheme put forward by Kelly and Judd in their 1976 National Bureau of Standards (NBS) publication *Color: Universal Language and Dictionary of Names*, specifically the charts on pp. 15–34.[26] In this publication, the Munsell colour space is divided into 267 colours, named according to a fixed set of conventions. Munsell colours can be given their appropriate colour name either by using the charts, or else by the use of a purpose-built computer program. For example, the NBS colour name 'greyish reddish orange' covers Munsell readings in the hue range 8.1R–3YR and the value/chroma range 4.59/5.29–6.37/5.85, and also the following ten verbal descriptions given by myself at the time of taking measurements:

Brown	Red (dark)
Pale reddish-brown	Red-brown
Red	Red-pink
Brownish-red	Reddish-brown
Pink	Yellow-brown

This variation can be illustrated by the chromaticity diagram in fig. 2.

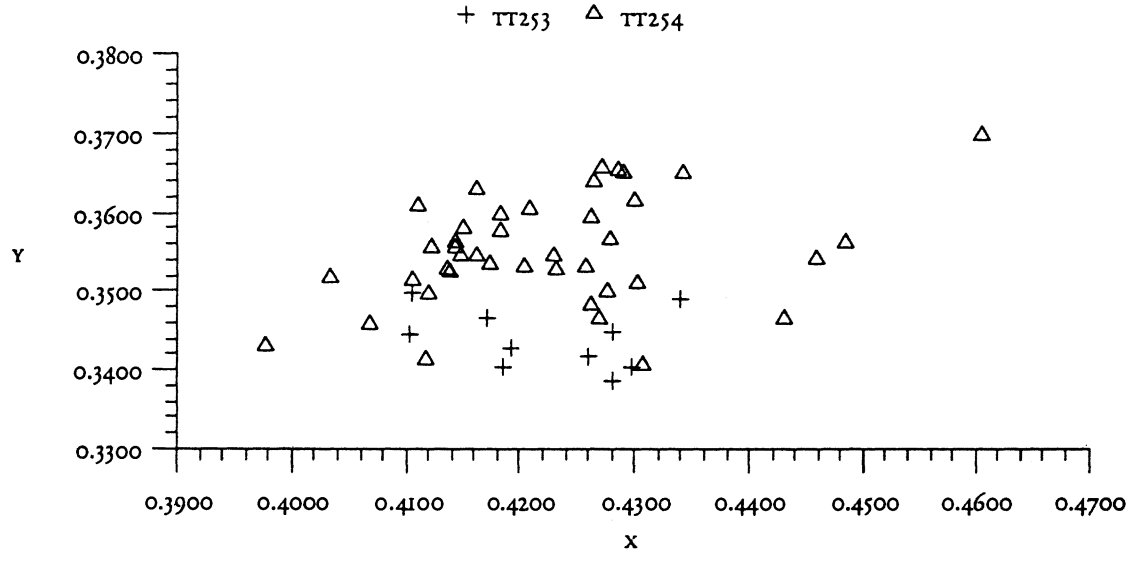


FIG. 2. Chromaticity diagram of NBS colour 'greyish reddish orange' in TT 253 and 254.

[26] Six levels into which colours can be grouped are summarized in the table in Billmeyer and Saltzman, op. cit. 32.

This method has a disadvantage insofar as fine differences between colours can be obscured in the grouping. This might be a serious objection when working under ideal (laboratory) conditions, but given that some inaccuracy can creep in when working in the field (as described above), such grouping can actually have the advantage of permitting some leeway in the observations and preventing one from becoming convinced by what may be a misleading degree of accuracy.

In connection with these figures, the reader may wish to see how the range of readings used for fig. 1 were described at the time of recording (column 1 in table below) and in terms of the NBS standard colours (column 2):

Colour description	NBS colour name
Brownish red	Greyish reddish orange
Pink	Greyish yellowish pink
	Light reddish brown
	Moderate yellowish pink
Pinkish-red	Moderate yellowish pink
Red	Greyish reddish orange
	Moderate reddish orange
Red-brown	Brownish orange
	Greyish reddish orange
	Greyish reddish orange/Light brown
	Greyish reddish orange/Moderate reddish orange
	Light brown
Red-brown	Light reddish brown
	Moderate reddish brown
	Moderate reddish brown/Light reddish brown
	Moderate reddish orange
	Moderate yellowish pink
Yellow red-brown	Light brown

Both tables illustrate the variability of one's terminology when faced with colours in a tomb, although it does also show the range of shades of colour which can be disguised by one standardized term. Then again, the first table effectively reveals a bias in the observer—for the most part the male skin colour is characterized by Egyptologists as a reddish-brown, and thus that is the colour noted by myself when taking a reading on a normal example. Yet, as can be seen from the selection of colour names corresponding to 'red-brown' above, there is far more variation in the male skin colour than the observer realizes without reference to some more objective method.

3. General aspects

The colours can be referred to in the broadest terms, such as the five basic hues of the Munsell system: red, yellow, green, blue, and purple. More relevant to Theban tombs might be a division using the broad divisions of the New Kingdom palette, defined most recently by Baines as black, white, red, green, yellow, strong blue, light blue, grey, brown, and pink.[27] This method has the disadvantage of adding an element of subjectivity, insofar as it is necessary to make visual and verbal classifications of even these broad

[27] *American Anthropologist* 87 (1985), 287.

divisions. For many colours, this should not present a problem; however, the variation between blue and green and also between brown and red is such that objectivity is very difficult. Using a careful combination of these subjective approaches with those outlined in Sections I and II above, it should be possible to collect readings for each of Baines' ten colours, and thus produce a characterization of the colours of a particular tomb.

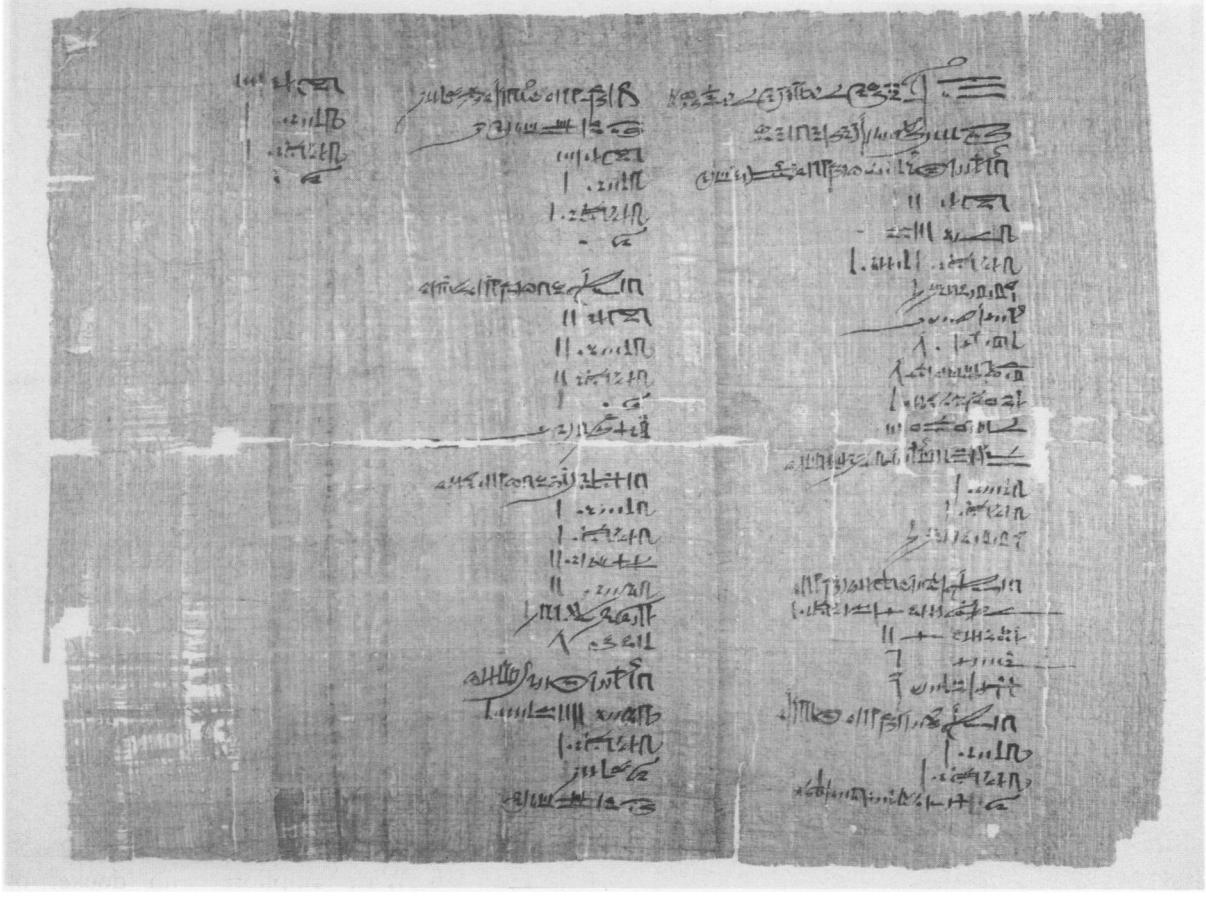
V. Conclusion

This paper has tried to show the advantages and disadvantages of an instrument such as the CR-221 over methods currently in use in Theban tombs. The increases in speed and objectivity vastly outweigh some small practical difficulties, and if the instrument is used carefully, it can greatly improve our ability to document coloured scenes. With careful consideration of the nature of the data, it is possible to present it in such a way that more complete documentation can be offered than is currently the case, and, if a computer is used in conjunction with the CR-221, a wider range of possibilities is available for analyzing the results.

It has always been my intention to make this equipment available to colleagues who might wish to experiment with it on their own colour recording problems. I should be interested to hear from anyone who might wish to use the instrument.

1. The Minolta CR-221 Colourimeter
(*courtesy of Minolta (UK) Ltd.*)

AN OBJECTIVE COLOUR-MEASURING SYSTEM (pp. 43–56)



2. P. BM 10401

REQUISITIONS FROM UPPER EGYPTIAN TEMPLES (pp. 79–94)

THE CHRONOLOGY OF *THE REPORT OF WENAMUN*

By A. EGBERTS

A reconstruction of the chronology of *The Report of Wenamun* is proposed, which, in contrast to previous reconstructions, is not based on emendations of the text. Special attention is devoted to the mention of the migratory birds in *Wenamun* 2, 65–6. *qbḥw*, named as the destination of the birds, is argued to designate the regions north of Egypt. It is concluded that the events described in *Wenamun* cover a period of about two years.

> 'Die Daten machen freilich den Eindruck, flüchtig nach dem Gedächtnis gegeben sein und nur approximativen Wert zu besitzen. Aber dafür gehört ja der Schreiber dem liebenswürdig liederlichen Ägyptervolk an. Das Itinerarium eines Babyloniers oder Palästinäers hätte vielleicht anders ausgesehen, mit genaueren Daten und Distanzen u.s.w. Unser Verfasser hat aber gewiss darin seines Bestes gethan; mehr kann man von einem ächten Ägypter kaum erwarten.'
>
> W. M. Müller

FOR nearly a century, *The Report of Wenamun* has ranked among the foremost gems of ancient Egyptian literature. Ever since 1897, when Golénischeff published a partial transcription of the only extant version of the text, contained in a hieratic papyrus from el-Hiba belonging to his private collection, *Wenamun* has attracted much scholarly attention.[1]

The authenticity of the report is a matter of considerable debate.[2] I will not venture an opinion on this score. As long as the arguments for and against the fictitious nature of the report can only be based on the text itself and no external evidence comes to hand, I hold the issue fundamentally irresolvable. This is not to say that *Wenamun* cannot be relied upon as a historical source.[3] We have no reason to doubt that Wenamun's portrayal of the political and economic relations between Egypt and Byblos at the close of the New Kingdom conforms to reality.[4] Nor are we entitled to question the veracity of the

[1] V. Golenishchev, in *Sbornik statey uchenikov professora Barona Viktora Romanovicha Rozena ko dnyu dvadtsatipyatiletiya ego pervoy lektsii 13-go noyabrya 1872–1897* (Saint Petersburg, 1897), 45–52, with a Russian translation. Two years later, the same author published a complete transcription with a French translation: W. Golénischeff, *RT* 21 (1899), 74–102. Golénischeff's transcription has been superseded by that of A. H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932), 61–76 (hereafter *LES*). Photographs of the papyrus, which is now kept in the A. S. Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, are available in M. A. Korostovtsev, *Puteshestviye Un-Amuna v Bibl. Egipetskiy iyeraticheskiy papirus n° 120 Gosudarstvennogo muzeya izobrazitel'nykh iskusstv im. A. S. Pushkina v Moskve* (Moscow, 1960), which includes a Russian translation and an extensive commentary. An English translation with commentary is found in H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore, 1975). A translation of *Wenamun* belongs to the stock inventory of nearly all anthologies of ancient Egyptian literature.

[2] The discussion is summarized by G. S. Greig, in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, ed. S. Israelit-Groll (Jerusalem, 1990), I, 336–42.

[3] It is exploited as such by e.g. J. Černý, in *CAH*³, II/2, 635–43; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*² (Warminster, 1986), 250–2 (hereafter *TIP*).

[4] J. Leclant, in *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, ed. W. A. Ward (Beirut, 1986), 9–31; G. Bunnens, *Rivista di Studi Fenici* 6 (1978), 1–16.

geographical data contained in the report.[5] The same must apply to its chronological setting.

The report starts with the mention of the date on which Wenamun departed on his mission. This date is situated in a year 5 which Kees has shown to refer to the 'Renaissance Era' (*wḥm msw.t*), corresponding to year 23 of the reign of Ramses XI.[6] Later in the report, other dates are mentioned. Moreover, the text provides information about the relative chronology of the events narrated by Wenamun. Whether these events really happened, they are obviously true to life. It follows that the time spans between them must be considered realistic.

In principle, the report contains sufficient information to establish the chronology of Wenamun's vicissitudes. In practice, however, there are considerable difficulties. The main problem lies in the three dates mentioned at the beginning of the report. Since Gardiner published his transcription of *Wenamun*, which improved on Golénischeff's readings of the dates,[7] it has generally been assumed that the dates are irreconcilable and result from an error of the author of the report or the scribe who copied it.[8] This supposition induced Lefebvre to emend two of the three dates in question.[9] Goedicke has suggested a different translation of the passages containing the last two dates, but he had to have recourse to emendations as well.[10] As a matter of principle, emendations should be avoided as much as possible. For this reason, any interpretation of the beginning of *Wenamun* that entails no emendations of the dates and yet remains within the bounds of credibility is preferable to those of Lefebvre and Goedicke. In what follows, I will attempt to demonstrate that such an interpretation is feasible.

The first date occurs in the initial sentence of the report (1, 1–2):[11]

ḥsb.t 5 ꜣbd 4 šmw sw 16 hrw n wḏ ỉ.ỉr smsw ḥry.t Wn-'Imn n pr 'Imn nb ns.w.t tꜣ.wy, 'Year 5, month 4 of *šmw*, day 16: the day of departure of Wenamun, the elder of the portal of the temple of Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands'.

Year 5 of the 'Renaissance Era' corresponds to 1076/5 BC on the assumptions that Ramses II acceded to the throne in 1279 BC and that the reign of Ramses X lasted nine years.[12] Since I will be mainly concerned with the relative chronology of *Wenamun* and

[5] A radical reinterpretation of these data has been propounded by A. Nibbi, *Wenamun and Alashiya Reconsidered* (Oxford, 1985).

[6] H. Kees, *Herihor und die Aufrichtung des thebanischen Gottesstaates* (Göttingen, 1936), 3–4; 14. See Kitchen, *TIP*, 248–54, for the 'Renaissance Era'.

[7] See above, n. 1.

[8] W. M. Müller, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 5/1 (1900), 29, arrived at this conclusion as early as 1900, long before the appearance of Gardiner's transcription. His verdict to that effect serves as motto for this article. The same opinion has been expressed in less vivid terms by Gardiner, *LES*, 61a, and many others after him.

[9] G. Lefebvre, *CdE* 11 (1936), 97–9.

[10] Goedicke, *Report*, 17–18 (a); 24–5 (h); 27 (k).

[11] *LES*, 61, 1–2.

[12] The accession date 1279 BC is preferred to the alternatives 1290 BC and 1304 BC, by W. Helck, E. Hornung and K. Kitchen in their contributions to *High, Middle or Low? Acts of an International Colloquium on Absolute Chronology Held at the University of Gothenburg 20th–22nd August 1987*, ed. P. Åström, 1 (Gothenburg, 1987). L. W. Casperson, *JNES* 47 (1988), 181–4, arrives at the same date on astronomical grounds. A slight preference for 1304 BC is expressed by C. Leitz, *Studien zur ägyptischen Astronomie* (Wiesbaden, 1989), 93–7. A length of nine years for the reign of Ramses X is assumed by R. Parker, *RdE* 11 (1957), 163–4 and M. Bierbrier, *JEA* 61 (1975), 251. This view has been challenged by W. Helck, *GM* 70 (1984), 31–2 and R. Krauss, *Sothis- und Monddaten. Studien zur astronomischen und technischen Chronologie Altägyptens* (Hildesheim, 1985), 151–4, who argue for a reign of three years.

the position of the events within the natural year, it does not really matter here whether these assumptions are justified or not.[13] If they are correct, the date with which the report opens corresponds to 19 April 1076 BC in the Gregorian calendar.[14]

According to the report, Wenamun left for Tanis. On his arrival there, he handed the dispatches of Amun to Smendes and Tentamun, the *de facto* rulers of Lower Egypt, who expressed their willingness to comply with the request of Amun. At this point the report continues as follows (1, 6–8):[15]

iw=i ir šsp ꜣbd 4 šmw iw=i m-ḫnw Ḏpr n.t iw Ns-sw-Bꜣ-nb-Ḏd Tꜣ-n.t-'Imn wḏ=i irm ḥry mnš Mngbt iw=i hꜣ r pꜣ ym ḫꜣ n Ḫr m ꜣbd 1 šmw sw 1, 'I stayed from month 4 of *šmw* in Tanis. Smendes and Tentamun sent me off with captain Mengebet, and I went down to the great sea of Khor in month 1 of *šmw*, day 1'.

The crux of this passage lies in the preposition *šsp*. Hitherto, it has always been regarded as an abbreviation of *r-šsp*, 'until'.[16] This view has led to unsurmountable difficulties in trying to understand the chronology of the first part of Wenamun's journey. If he left for Tanis in month 4 of *šmw*, how could he stay there until that very same month? And if he stayed in Tanis until month 4 of *šmw*, how could he leave it for the Mediterranean in month 1 of *šmw*? Lefebvre has sought to overcome the dilemma by emending 'month 4 of *šmw*' in the first date to 'month 2 of *šmw*' and 'month 1 of *šmw*' in the third date to 'month 1 of *ꜣḫ.t*'.[17] In my opinion, there is a better solution.

The preposition *šsp* need not be an abbreviation of *r-šsp*, 'until', for it is also found as a variant of *šsp-m*, 'from'.[18] Moreover, *šsp*, 'from', is sometimes attested as head of the direct object of the verb *irì* in its meaning 'to spend (time)'.[19] If we are prepared to translate this word as 'from' in the passage from *Wenamun*, the need for emendations disappears. The report simply states that Wenamun left for Tanis in month 4 of *šmw* and arrived there in the same month, after which he had to wait eight months before being able to pursue his travels in month 1 of *šmw*, day 1, which corresponds to 4 January 1075 BC.

Since Wenamun left on day 16, it took him fifteen days at most to reach Tanis. The report does not say where Wenamun was stationed, but common opinion has it that he came from Thebes. A duration of fifteen days or less for the journey from Thebes to

[13] Supposing that both assumptions are wrong, the first date of the report would fall in 1107 BC, in which case eight days at most should be added to the calendar dates I have computed.

[14] My conversions are based on the tables in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medîna*, ed. R. J. Demarée and J. J. Janssen (Leiden, 1982), xiii, and R. Parker, *The Calendars of Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1950), 8.

[15] *LES*, 61, 7–11.

[16] The only exception is Goedicke, *Report*, 24–5 (h), who takes *šsp* as a verb construed with the auxiliary verb *irì* and considers *šmw* a meaningless addition. This yields the translation: 'I began the fourth month'. A similar solution is adopted for the second date contained in this passage. According to Goedicke, the adverbial phrase in which this date occurs does not belong to what precedes but to what follows. This results in the translation: 'Within the month I reached Dor' (op. cit. 27 (k)).

[17] Lefebvre, *CdE* 11, 97–9.

[18] Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels, 1939), 47, 10 (P. BM 10375, *vs.* 8); Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, I (Oxford, 1941), pl. 54 (*vs.* B 7, 24); pl. 56 (*vs.* B 9, 11); A. M. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-First Dynasty* (Cairo, 1970), pl. 29 (P. Anastasi VIII, *rt.* 2, 10); Černý, *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*, I (Cairo, 1978), pl. 21 (P. DeM V, *rt.* 3). Cf. *r-šsp* < *r-šsp-m*, 'from', in *KRI* VI, 368, 10 (P. Turin 1923, *rt.* 5). The basic ambiguity of the preposition *šsp* is pointed out by Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 174.

[19] Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography*, pl. 29 (P. Anastasi VIII, *rt.* 2, 10): *iw=i r ir šsp ꜣbd 2 ꜣḫ.t sw 8 r sw 10 im*, 'I will stay there from month 2 of *ꜣḫ.t*, day 8 to day 10'. Similarly in Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 47, 10 (P. BM 10375, *vs.* 8). Other examples of *šsp-m* as head of a nominal phrase are *Urk.* IV, 648, 6 and *Medinet Habu*, I (Chicago, 1930), pl. 46, 16 (cf. E. Edel, in *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar* (Cairo, 1985), I, 226–8).

Tanis seems exceedingly short, especially given the fact that Wenamun sailed in April, when the water of the Nile was low.[20] It is not improbable, however, that Wenamun set out from el-Hiba, the northern outpost of the Egyptian territory controlled by Wenamun's superior Herihor and the site where the only copy of the report has been recovered.[21]

Wenamun's detention of eight months in Tanis is an intriguing piece of information to be added to the catalogue of misfortunes in his report. Does it mean that Smendes and Tentamun were not as helpful as they had promised to be? Was the ship of captain Mengebet the first vessel headed for Byblos during Wenamun's stay at Tanis? Or had there been other captains before Mengebet who had refused to take Wenamun aboard? These questions are of historical import, but unfortunately the text does not give the answers. The fact that Mengebet and his crew sailed the Mediterranean in January is also likely to raise the historian's interest. In classical antiquity sailing was reduced to the absolute minimum during late autumn and winter.[22] Wenamun's report suggests that the Phoenician seafarers were less concerned about the dangers of a winter voyage.

After an eventful journey, Wenamun arrived at his destination, the city of Byblos. He had to wait twenty-nine days in the harbour before Zekerbaal, the prince of Byblos, condescended to give him audience. The first words exchanged between the Phoenician monarch and his Egyptian visitor are cited in the report (1, 50–1):[23]

iw=f ḏd n=i wr r pꜣ hrw m-ḏr iw=k m pꜣ nty 'Imn im iw=i ḏd n=f 5 ꜥbd hrw r pꜣy, 'He said to me: "How long is it until today since you came from where Amun is?" I said to him: "About[24] five months till now"'.

In previous reconstructions of the chronology of *Wenamun* it has been assumed that the place 'where Amun is' refers to Thebes.[25] Even if it is granted that Wenamun started his journey from Thebes and not from el-Hiba, this identification is impossible. As we have seen, his sojourn in Tanis lasted eight months, which means that the total of his travelling time, including his stay at Tanis, cannot have been a mere five months. It follows that the place 'where Amun is' must refer to Egypt.

Since Wenamun embarked on the Mediterranean on 4 January 1075 BC, his meeting with Zekerbaal must have taken place in the beginning of June. His arrival at Byblos had occurred nearly one month before, in the beginning of May. A duration of four months for the voyage from Tanis to Byblos seems excessive, but we must bear in mind that Wenamun had to cope with many reverses. In the harbour of Dor his valuables were stolen, after which he waited nine days in vain for Beder, the prince of Dor, to catch the

[20] See W. J. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh* (Chicago, 1985), 145–50, for a survey of ancient and modern Egyptian timings of travel.

[21] At most, 25 years separate Herihor's rule and the earliest archaeological evidence of Theban control over el-Hiba, consisting of the stamped bricks of the High Priest of Amun Pinudjem I (Kitchen, *TIP*, 61). It is conceivable that el-Hiba had acquired its prominent status in the Theban administration under Herihor (op. cit. 248 n. 32). Thus far, there is no archaeological confirmation of this supposition, although there are traces of settlement at el-Hiba prior to the Twenty-first Dynasty, see R. J. Wenke, *Archaeological Investigations at el-Hiba 1980. Preliminary Report* (Malibu, 1984), 7.

[22] L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton, 1971), 270–3.

[23] *LES*, 66, 6–8.

[24] I prefer the interpretation of Goedicke, *Report*, 60–1 (aq) to the traditional reading *5 ꜥbd hrw*, 'five whole months'.

[25] Lefebvre, *CdE* 11, 99; Goedicke, *Report*, 60–1 (aq).

thief.[26] Wenamun's stay at this port may have lasted much longer, for it is not certain whether he continued his journey on board the ship of captain Mengebet. If he did not, he had to find himself some other means of transport, which may have been a time-consuming operation. The section of the report relating the journey from Dor to Byblos bristles with lacunae, but enough has been preserved to show that Wenamun halted at Tyre for an unknown span of time.[27] Nor can we exclude the possibility that he also stopped at Sidon.[28]

The eloquence displayed by Wenamun during his audience was not wasted on Zekerbaal, who, despite his initial disinclination to meet Wenamun's demand for timber, sent a messenger to Smendes, together with seven pieces of timber for the river bark of Amun. This gesture was acknowledged by Smendes, for the messenger brought all kinds of Egyptian produce with him on his return to Byblos. The report specifies the period in which this happened (2, 39):[29]

iw pȝy=f ỉpwty šm r Km.t ỉỉ n=ỉ r Ḫr m ȝbd 1 pr.t, 'His messenger who had gone to Egypt returned to me in Khor in month 1 of *pr.t*'.

The month mentioned in this passage corresponds to the period of 6 September to 5 October inclusive, 1075 BC. Consequently, it took the messenger three to four months to sail from Byblos to Tanis and back again. Given the probability that the procuring and loading of the Egyptian goods demanded a good deal of time, the duration of the mission need not surprise us.[30]

Satisfied with the gifts of Smendes, Zekerbaal supplied men and oxen to fell trees in the mountains of the Lebanon. On this point, the report once again supplies a precious piece of chronological information (2, 43–4):[31]

iw=w šʿd=w iw=w ỉr pr.t ỉm ḥrʿ ỉr ȝbd 3 šmw iw=w ỉtḥ=w sp.t pȝ ym, 'They (i.e. the trees) were felled and lay there during the winter (literally, "spent the winter lying there").[32] In month 3 of *šmw* they were dragged to the shore of the sea'.

The fact that the felled trees were left in the Lebanon for the winter has been explained as an instance of air seasoning.[33] Alternatively, it may have to do with the rain and snow characteristic of the winter season, which would have made the transport of the trees then

[26] 1, 21 (*LES*, 63, 3).

[27] 1, 28 (*LES*, 63, 12–64, 1).

[28] In 1, 59–2, 1 (*LES*, 67, 6) Zekerbaal calls Sidon 'the other (place) you have passed'. An indication that Wenamun at least intended to visit Sidon may be contained in 1, 16–17 (*LES*, 62, 9–11). There it is said that the valuables Wenamun had brought with him were destined for Beder (the prince of Dor), Weret, Mekmer, and Zekerbaal (the prince of Byblos). With Goedicke, *Report*, 32–4 (s), I consider it likely that Weret and Mekmer were the princes of two major ports between Dor and Byblos, namely, Tyre and Sidon. See M. Green, *ZÄS* 113 (1986), 115–19, for a different interpretation.

[29] *LES*, 70, 16–71, 1.

[30] Lefebvre, *CdE* 11, 99, and Goedicke, *Report*, 95–6 (cg), arrive at a shorter duration: fifty to eighty days and less than thirty days, respectively.

[31] *LES*, 71, 8–9.

[32] G. Maspero, *RT* 28 (1906), 18–19, was the first to understand this passage correctly. Note that *pr.t* refers here to the natural season, and not to the second season of the Egyptian calendar year.

[33] Maspero, *RT* 28, 18; J. A. Wilson, in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton, 1950), 28 n. 31; Nibbi, *Wenamun*, 112 n. 29. Contrary to what is suggested by Goedicke, *Report*, 141 n. 143, air seasoning does not require a dry climate.

a cumbersome affair.[34] In month 3 of *šmw*, during which the trees were dragged to the shore, winter made way for spring. This month corresponds to the period 5 March to 4 April inclusive, 1074 BC.

Once all the timber had been stacked on the sea-shore, Zekerbaal told Wenamun to arrange the transport overseas by himself. Hardly recovered from this fresh stroke of ill luck, Wenamun descried eleven ships at sea, which belonged to the Tjeker. They wanted Zekerbaal to imprison Wenamun, who had apparently robbed them in an attempt to compensate his own losses incurred at the harbour of Dor. Quite understandably, Wenamun burst into tears. Asked by the scribe of Zekerbaal what was the matter, Wenamun retorted in the following manner (2, 65–6):[35]

ỉn bw ỉr=k ptr nꜣ gꜣš.w ỉ.ỉr ỉr sp 2 n hꜣ r Km.t ptr st ỉw=w nˁ r qbḥw, 'Can't you see the migratory birds[36] that have gone down twice to Egypt? Look at them travelling to *qbḥw*'.

Most commentators agree that the toponym *qbḥw* is a designation of the Delta marshes.[37] Consequently, they regard 'going down to Egypt' and 'travelling to *qbḥw*' as two different ways of referring to the southward migration of the birds in autumn.[38] Yet this view is untenable, since it ignores the fact that the conversation between Wenamun and the scribe of Zekerbaal took place in spring.[39] In my opinion, it is only the first part of Wenamun's speech ('going down to Egypt') that pertains to the autumn passage of the migratory birds, whereas the second part ('travelling to *qbḥw*') hints at their northward migration in spring. I have two arguments to offer in support of this thesis.

The first is based on the grammar used by Wenamun. The negative aorist *bw ỉr=k ptr* and the imperative *ptr* denote present time. This means that the migratory birds were actually visible at the moment Wenamun uttered his lamentation. The active participle *ỉ.ỉr ỉr* denotes past time.[40] This means that the autumn migration occurred prior to

[34] This could shed some light on the cryptic passage 2, 13–14 (*LES*, 68, 8–10), where Zekerbaal boasts: 'I will shout aloud to the Lebanon. It is only when the trees are lying here on the shore of the sea, that the sky will open'. I surmise that the 'opening of the sky' is a poetic description of the rain and snow falling in winter. If so, Zekerbaal did not keep his promise.

[35] *LES*, 73, 15–16.

[36] See O. Goelet, *BES* 5 (1983), 50–2 and G. Roquet, in *L'animal, l'homme, le dieu dans le Proche-Orient ancien* (Louvain, 1985), 111–30 for *gꜣš.w*, 'migratory birds'. According to Edel, in *LÄ* VI, 1424, the term denotes a distinct species of migratory bird.

[37] E.g. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der 'Weltkammer' aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre*, II (Göttingen, 1963), 105–11; Goedicke, *Report*, 120 (do); Roquet, in *L'animal*, 121. According to Goelet, *BES* 5, 60, *qbḥw* may be translated as 'poultry farm'. V. Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns of the Ramesside Period* (Munich, 1978), 29, suggests that the passage under discussion contains an occurrence of *qbḥw*, 'First Cataract region' (see K. Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 240–1, and F. Gomaà, *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*, I (Wiesbaden, 1986), 12–13 for this toponym). The only one who situates *qbḥw* north of Egypt is D. van der Plas, *L'hymne à la crue du Nil* (Leiden, 1986), I, 136–7, but he does not consider the implications of this interpretation.

[38] A notable exception is Müller, *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 5/1, 25, who translates the last part of the passage as: 'Sie kommen her, Kühlung zu suchen' and adds in a note: 'D.h. zum Sommeraufenthalt' (ibid. n. 1).

[39] J. Lieblein, *Sphinx* 6 (1903), 30–5; Goedicke, *Report*, 100 (cl); 119–20 (dn); Nibbi, *Wenamun*, 89–93, suppose that the conversation was held in autumn, but nothing in the text permits the inference that a substantial period of time had elapsed between the transport of the timber to the sea-shore and the conversation. R. Weill, *Bases, méthodes et résultats de la chronologie égyptienne* (Paris, 1926), 110–11, and Lefebvre, *CdE* 11, 99, conclude that Wenamun's mention of the migratory birds is a 'phrase de comparaison poétique' without chronological relevance, but this conclusion is based on false premisses.

[40] See J. F. Borghouts, *JNES* 40 (1981), 107, for the active participle as the phrase level equivalent of the perfect *sḏm=f*. Most translators render *ỉ.ỉr ỉr* as a present tense, including J. Černý and S. Groll, *A Late*

Wenamun's speech. The adjunct *iw.w nᶜ r qbḥw* is a circumstantial present. Consequently, the flight of the birds to *qbḥw* was concomitant with their observation by Wenamun and the scribe of Zekerbaal. Since the dialogue between these two took place in spring, 'travelling to *qbḥw*' can only refer to the spring migration. It follows that *qbḥw* has to be situated north of Egypt.

Here my second argument comes into play. An examination of the occurrences of *qbḥw* in association with birds[41] has led me to the conviction that each and every example refers to the regions north of Egypt from which the migratory birds came (i.e. Europe and northern Asia). As for the etymology of this toponym, which is usually translated 'marshes (of the Delta)', I propose to derive it from the verb *qbḥ*, 'to be cool'.[42] This yields the meaning 'cool region'.

The most important occurrence of *qbḥw* as the abode of migratory birds is found in a legend to the famous representation of Nut in the Osireion at Abydos.[43] Three columns of text before the head of the goddess read as follows:

kkw smꜣw qbḥw nṯr.w bw iw.t ꜥpd.w im iw nn m gs=s mḥty imnty r-mn-m gs=s mḥty iꜣbty wbꜣ n dwꜣ.t ntt m gs=s mḥty pḥ=s m iꜣbt.t tp=s m imnt.t, 'Deep darkness, *qbḥw* of the gods, the place where the birds come from. These are from her north-west side to her north-east side,[44] opening on the *dwꜣ.t* which is on her north side. Her hind-part is in the east, her head in the west'.

Between the three text columns and the head of Nut two ovals are represented. Inside one of them, three birds are depicted. The accompanying legend contains the following phrase:

sš.w imy.w qbḥw, 'The nests that are in *qbḥw*'.

In the first legend *qbḥw* is associated with *kkw smꜣw*, 'deep darkness'. From P. Carlsberg I[45] it transpires that *kkw smꜣw* was thought to be all around and beyond heaven.[46] It is presumably for this reason that Edel situates *qbḥw* all around heaven, just like *kkw smꜣw*.[47] However, as far as the texts are concerned, *qbḥw* is only connected with the north. In the cosmology underlying the image of Nut, heaven and earth are surrounded by the *dwꜣ.t*, which in its turn is surrounded by *kkw smꜣw*. The northern

Egyptian Grammar[3] (Rome, 1984), §48.3.6, ex. 1313. The remark of Goedicke, *Report*, 144 n. 178, that '*i.ir ir* has to be concomitant with the observation and not a completed action because of the time schedule' is quite revealing. It goes without saying that the time schedule should be adapted to the grammar and not the other way round.

[41] *Wb.* v, 29, 7.

[42] *Wb.* v, 26, 5–12.

[43] H. Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, II (London, 1933), pl. 81. The legend has been reproduced and commented on in P. Carlsberg I, 4, 26–34, see H. O. Lange and O. Neugebauer, *Papyrus Carlsberg no. I. Ein hieratisch-demotischer kosmologischer Text* (Copenhagen, 1940), 40; Neugebauer and Parker, *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*, I (London, 1960), 66–7. An extensive discussion of the legend is found in Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, II, 105–10.

[44] P. Carlsberg I has 'south-east side', but this must be a mistake, as demonstrated by Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, II, 107–9.

[45] 2, 19–35 (Lange and Neugebauer, op. cit. 26–7; Neugebauer and Parker, op. cit. I, 52–4).

[46] Cf. E. Hornung, *ZÄS* 81 (1956), 28–32; id., *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, II (Wiesbaden, 1963), 7–8; id., *Studium Generale* 18 (1965), 73–83. *kkw smꜣw* is frequently named as the northernmost limit of the cosmos (*Wb.* v, 143, 7; add *Edfou*, v, 145, 8; vii, 85, 17), whereas it is the southernmost limit in *Dendara*, iv, 54, 13–14. Cf. G. Posener, *Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des points cardinaux chez les Egyptiens* (Göttingen, 1965), 75.

[47] Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, II, 109.

region of *kkw smꜣw* is called *qbḥw*. This is the place where the migratory birds come from in autumn, Egypt being their destination.[48]

The two examples of *qbḥw* from the Osireion seem to be the only ones where the heaven-determinative is employed in the spelling of the word, thus suggesting its identity with *qbḥw*, 'heaven'.[49] In most attestations of the term, the determinative is used. This is one of the reasons why the conventional identification of *qbḥw* with the Delta marshes is questionable, for in that case one must assume that every spelling of this kind has been influenced by *qbḥw*, 'First Cataract region'.

In the first example from the Osireion, *qbḥw* is said to be 'the place where the birds come from'. The expression *iwi m qbḥw*, 'to come from *qbḥw*', as a description of the movements of the migratory birds, can be paralleled elsewhere.[50] Other verbs with similar meaning are also attested in combination with *qbḥw*.[51] Frequently, birds are said to be 'in', 'from', or 'of' *qbḥw*, the connection being expressed by means of the preposition *m* or the genitive.[52]

In the second example from the Osireion, *qbḥw* is associated with birds' nests. That the Egyptians considered this region a breeding ground is also shown by a scene from the Unas causeway at Saqqara belonging to the genre of the season reliefs, also known from the decoration of the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurab.[53] This scene depicts activities characterizing spring,[54] which include the brooding of birds. Four kinds of birds are represented: a heron, a tern, and two falcons belonging to different species. The falcons are called *bik* and *ṯnḥr*. Their legends explain further that they are 'brooding (in) the Egyptian Delta' (*ms(.t) mḥw*).[55] The heron and the tern, on the other hand, are said to be 'brooding (in) *qbḥw*' (*ms(.t) qbḥw*).[56] The heron is called *nwr*.[57] In all probability, this

[48] In the glosses on the birds in P. Carlsberg I, 4, 24; 4, 27; 4, 28 (Lange and Neugebauer, op. cit. 40; Neugebauer and Parker, op. cit. I, 66), they are called *nꜣ ꜣpd.w nty ii r Km.t*, 'the birds that come to Egypt'. The association of *qbḥw* with 'gods' (*nṯr.w*), and the fact that another legend to the representation of Nut describes the birds as being partly human before their arrival in Egypt, are both intriguing, but will not be considered here, since they are irrelevant for establishing the location of *qbḥw*.

[49] *Wb.* V, 30, 1–6.

[50] *Edfou*, IV, 392, 1; VI, 237, 2; VIII, 37, 15–16.

[51] *pri m*, 'to come from': *Edfou*, I, 565, 10; III, 142, 14; IV, 120, 5; *Dendara*, IV, 211, 10. *hꜣi m*, 'to descend from': *Medinet Habu*, III, pl. 138, 47; E. Suys, *La sagesse d'Ani* (Rome, 1935), 101 (10, 5); *Edfou*, VII, 81, 15. *thm m*, 'to dash from': *Edfou*, I, 470, 4–5; III, 142, 12; *Urk.* VIII, no. 34d; cf. *Edfou*, VIII, 38, 10–11 (*qbḥw* is the subject of *thm*); *Kom Ombos*, I, no. 99 (*thm* with causative meaning and birds as direct object). *fqꜣ m*, 'to leap from': *Edfou*, IV, 392, 5–6; cf. *Edfou*, IV, 360, 10 for *fqꜣ* (*Wb.* I, 579, 11–12) > ϥⲱϭⲉ (S) with the meaning 'to leap'.

[52] Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), 22, 16 (P. Anastasi III, 3, 1); *KRI* I, 49, 3 (Nauri decree, 19); *Medinet Habu*, V, pl. 339, 15; Condon, *Seven Royal Hymns*, 11, 8; *LD* IV, 2a; *Edfou*, IV, 194, 8; VII, 242, 9; *Edfou Mam.*, 107, 1; *Dendara*, VII, 69, 15; 127, 11.

[53] S. Hassan, *ZÄS* 80 (1955), 138; pl. xii, 2.

[54] See Edel and S. Wenig, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-User-Re. Tafelband* (Berlin, 1974), 10, for the presence of two seasons in the reliefs, namely, spring (*šmw*) and autumn (*ꜣḫ.t*).

[55] Perhaps one of the two falcons is a kestrel (*Falco tinnunculus*), nowadays a fairly common breeding resident in the Nile Delta (*The Birds of Egypt*, ed. S. M. Goodman and P. L. Meininger (Oxford, 1989), 200–2). Other species of falcon are scarce breeding residents or breeding migrants in the Delta (op. cit. 199–211). Another representation of a brooding *ṯnḥr*-falcon is found in Edel and Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl. 11 (254).

[56] The configuration of the birds in this scene suggests that the legends *ms(.t) mḥw* and *ms(.t) qbḥw* in the upper register pertain to the birds in the lower register as well.

[57] See Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, II, 209; *ALex.* II, 78.2014 for the spelling of *nwr*. A very clear example is the legend to a representation of a heron in P. F. Houlihan, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1986), 14, fig. 15.

term designates the grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*).[58] In his commentary on the scene from the Unas causeway, Edel has argued that *qbḥw* must refer to the Delta waters, since it occurs parallel to *mḥw*, 'Delta'.[59] This view implies that *qbḥw* and *mḥw* denote two different types of environment within the Delta.[60] I prefer to regard them as toponyms denoting two different regions. This interpretation derives some support from the present-day breeding behaviour of the grey heron.[61] As a matter of fact, there is only one documented nesting of this species in Egypt, although it is a fairly common migrant and winter visitor to the country.[62] For this reason, I deem it likely that the heron in the scene from the Unas causeway is brooding in the regions north of Egypt.[63] The same goes for the tern (*ḥꜣ.t*)[64] in this scene, which is, like the heron, said to be brooding in *qbḥw*. Nowadays, the little tern (*Sterna albifrons*) is a fairly common migrant breeder along the Mediterranean coast of Egypt.[65] All other species of tern are passage visitors, the common tern (*Sterna hirundo*) being the most frequent.[66] The brooding tern in the scene under discussion is presumably a representative of one of these species.

The season reliefs of the Unas causeway contain another instance of *qbḥw*, this time in connection with autumn. It occurs in a legend to a representation of flying birds, which reads as follows:[67]

qbḥw šm r rsy gnw, '*qbḥw*, going to the south, golden oriole'.

In all probability, *qbḥw* denotes the point of departure of the golden oriole (*Oriolus oriolus*) on its flight to the regions south of Egypt. The legend accords with the actual behaviour of the golden oriole, which is a fairly common passage visitor to Egypt when migrating from Europe to Central Africa.[68] A similar legend is found in the season reliefs of the sun temple of Niuserre. Unfortunately, only the words *qbḥw* and *šm* are preserved, while too little is left of the representation to identify the birds.[69]

[58] Houlihan, *Birds*, 13.

[59] Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 233–4.

[60] This view is explicitly expressed by Roquet, in *L'animal*, 121.

[61] The validity of this argument is limited by the fact that the distribution of a species may change over time. A good example is the sacred ibis (*Theskiornis aethiopicus*), which has nowadays disappeared from Egypt, see Houlihan, *Birds*, 28–30.

[62] *Birds of Egypt*, 140–1. Cf. J. Hancock and J. Kushlan, *The Herons Handbook* (London, 1984), 44: 'The breeding range of nominate *cinerea* extends from Ireland, Britain, Spain and occasionally North Africa east across Eurasia to Sakhalin and Manchuria'.

[63] Admittedly, my case seems to be weakened by the representations of herons nesting in the papyrus bushes of the Delta, which are occasionally found in Egyptian tombs (Houlihan, *Birds*, 15 and n.83). It should, however, be borne in mind that the ornithological knowledge of the average Egyptian artist may have derived from pattern books rather than from personal observation. If the artist was at liberty to combine birds and nests, biological inaccuracies could result. See Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, II, 194–8 for a similar case.

[64] Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 238–9. The tern is not treated in Houlihan, *Birds*, but Edel's identification is undoubtedly correct.

[65] *Birds of Egypt*, 297–9. The discovery of the little tern in Egypt postdates 1930 and is probably due to better exploration (op. cit. 105).

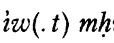
[66] *Birds of Egypt*, 287–302.

[67] Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 225.

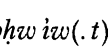
[68] *Birds of Egypt*, 441. Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 225, admits the possibility that the present instance of *qbḥw* refers to the area north of Egypt. In his opinion, all the other occurrences of *qbḥw* in the season reliefs pertain to the Delta.

[69] Edel and Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl. 18 (705); Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 226.

In another scene of the season reliefs of Niuserre relating to autumn, a representation of a flight of birds is accompanied by the following text:[70]

 *qbḥw iw(.t) mḥw*, '*qbḥw*, coming (to) the Delta'.

Again, *qbḥw* designates the place where the migratory birds come from in autumn.[71] The same legend is attested elsewhere in the season reliefs of Niuserre in a similar context:[72]

 *qbḥw iw(.t) mḥw*, '*qbḥw*, coming (to) the Delta'.

With Edel, I deem it likely that and have been transposed.[73] Yet we cannot exclude the possibility that is a spelling of *mḥty*, 'northern', in which case the migratory birds are supposed to come from 'northern *qbḥw*'. This interpretation may derive some support from the fact that a few texts from the Graeco-Roman period actually distinguish 'northern *qbḥw*' and 'southern *qbḥw*'. The most telling example is the following:[74]

gnw nhp=f m qbḥw rsy sdf3.ti m ḫd.w sr.w p3.w wb3=sn m qbḥw mḥty, 'The golden oriole jumps from southern *qbḥw*,[75] which is well provided with *ḫd*-birds. *Sr*-geese and *p3*-birds break forth from northern *qbḥw*'.[76]

As I have stated above, the golden oriole is a passage visitor to Egypt, which winters in Central Africa. It might therefore be surmised that 'southern *qbḥw*' denotes the area south of Egypt, while 'northern *qbḥw*' refers to the area north of Egypt. The problem with this supposition is that the first part of the passage under discussion would pertain to the spring migration, whereas the second part would refer to the autumn migration. For this reason I prefer a different interpretation, in which both 'northern *qbḥw*' and 'southern *qbḥw*' are located north of Egypt. By way of hypothesis, I suggest that the Egyptians had developed a theory about the migratory birds according to which the passage visitors came from 'southern *qbḥw*' and the winter visitors, which stayed in Egypt, from 'northern *qbḥw*'. This theory would have been based on the assumption that all migratory birds travelled more or less the same distance.

[70] Edel and Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl. 9 (255); Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 223. Edel's interpretation differs from mine in that he takes *qbḥw* as an adjunct of the preceding *ḥ3m*, 'to catch fish'. My interpretation proceeds from the parallellism with the legend to be discussed next, where *qbḥw* likewise precedes *iw.t mḥw*. The frequent ellipsis of prepositions in the legends to the season reliefs severely hampers our understanding of these texts.

[71] The reversal of may be a graphic indication that *qbḥw* is the point of departure. The same reversal is found in the fragmentary inscription mentioned above, n. 69.

[72] Edel and Wenig, *Jahreszeitenreliefs*, pl. 9 (256).

[73] Edel, *Zu den Inschriften*, I, 223–4.

[74] *Kom Ombos*, I, no. 52. An improved transcription is given by J. Dittmar, *Welt des Orients* 14 (1983), 76, 19–20.

[75] The jumping (*nhp*) of the golden oriole is also mentioned in C. M. Zivie, *Le temple de Deir Chelouit*, III (Cairo, 1986), no. 102, 2. In the 'Chronicle of Osorkon', the bustle of the army is likened to a swarm of migratory birds, 'when it jumps in the season of autumn' (*nhp=f nw n 3ḫ.t*), see *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, III (Chicago, 1954), pl. 21, 14; R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), 97.

[76] Cf. *Edfou*, V, 122, 10 for the use of *wb3* in connection with birds: *sr.w=f tp tr=sn n wb3 ḫnt*, 'its *sr*-geese at their time of opening the south' (i.e. the autumn migration).

There is another occurrence of the terms 'northern *qbḥw*' and 'southern *qbḥw*' that deserves our attention. Two identically structured passages from geographical processions speak of:[77]

qbḥw mḥty ḫr šw.t=f, 'northern *qbḥw* with its fowl', and *qbḥw rsy ḫr ḫnty.w=f*, 'southern *qbḥw* with its *ḫnty.w*'.

I know no other attestation of *ḫnty.w* as a designation of birds. The etymology of this rare word poses no problems, for it is obviously related to *ḫnt*, 'south'. Consequently, this passage provides a second example of the association between 'southern *qbḥw*' and migratory birds passing Egypt.[78]

From the review of the relevant evidence, it transpires that there are several occurrences of *qbḥw* in association with birds that suggest a location north of Egypt, while none forces us to situate it in the Nile Delta. The conclusion must be that *qbḥw* is the Egyptian designation of the cool regions north of Egypt, where the migratory birds abide in summer. Accordingly, the migratory birds are called *qbḥ.w*, 'those of *qbḥw*'.[79]

Returning to the passage from *Wenamun* that gave rise to the preceding discussion, it should be stressed that Wenamun did not envy the migratory birds their visit to Egypt, but their return home. The fact that *qbḥw*, the home of the migratory birds, lies outside Egypt, the home of Wenamun, is irrelevant to the purpose of his comparison.

The chronology of Wenamun's travels is summarized in the following scheme:

Year 5, IV *šmw* 16 = 19 April 1076 BC: Departure (presumably from el-Hiba). Arrival at Tanis within fifteen days.

(Year 5), I *šmw* 1 = 4 January 1075 BC: Departure from Tanis. Arrival at Byblos in the beginning of May 1075 BC. Audience by Zekerbaal in the beginning of June 1075 BC.

(Year 6),[80] I *pr.t* = 6 September to 5 October inclusive, 1075 BC: Return of Zekerbaal's messenger to Byblos. Felling of trees in the Lebanon.

(Year 6/7), III *šmw* = 5 March to 4 April inclusive, 1074 BC: Transport of trees to the seashore.

According to the reconstruction here proposed, *The Report of Wenamun* covers a period of about two years. Since the text breaks off after Wenamun's arrival at Alashiya, his wanderings may have lasted much longer. Let us hope, out of shear compassion for poor Wenamun, that his report is fiction and not fact.

[77] *Edfou*, IV, 39, 1; V, 26, 14.

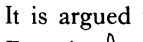
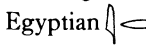
[78] A third occurrence of 'southern *qbḥw*' and 'northern *qbḥw*' is found in E. Drioton, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud (1925). Les inscriptions* (Cairo, 1926), 54, no. 122, 7, but it has no bearing on the location of these regions.

[79] *Wb.* V, 30, 8; Goelet, *BES* 5, 52–60. I disagree with Edel, *LÄ* VI, 1424, n. 1, who holds that the primary meaning of *qbḥ.w* is 'water-fowl'.

[80] The change of the regnal year fell between III *šmw* 17 and 24, see Helck, in *Studia biblica et orientalia*, III (Rome, 1959), 128–9.

LATE EGYPTIAN *'INN*, 'IF', AND THE CONDITIONAL CLAUSE IN EGYPTIAN*

By LEO DEPUYDT

It is argued that Late Egyptian  *inn*, 'if', is the etymological and functional descendant of Middle Egyptian  *jr wn(n)* but not the predecessor of Demotic  *jn-nꜣ*.

One of the remarkable similarities between Late Egyptian *inn* and Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* to emerge from the discussion of the etymology is that both occur often in private correspondence. Certain syntactic properties of clauses headed by *inn* and *jr wn(n)* may provide an explanation for this phenomenon. Conditional clauses can be classified, throughout the history of Egyptian, into two main groups called here Type A and Type B on the basis of the following empirical criteria: (1) in the protasis of Type A, only a single verb form is used, in the protasis of Type B a range of verb forms expressing all the tenses; (2) the apodosis of Type A tolerates the Aorist, that of Type B does not. Type B clauses headed by *inn* and *jr wn(n)* are therefore 'deictic' in the sense that different tenses are used in them relating the contents of the clause to the time of speaking or writing. It seems reasonable to assume that conditions mentioned in letters will, more often than those appearing in such genres as medical and wisdom texts, be relevant to the temporal situation of the writer.

A. Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* as predecessor of Late Egyptian *inn*

AS late as 1933, when the second edition of Adolf Erman's *Neuägyptische Grammatik* appeared, Late Egyptian *inn* was still generally interpreted as an interjection meaning something like English 'oh'.[1] In Erman's chapter on the conditional clause the particle *jr*, 'if', still reigns supreme. This comes as no surprise as *jr* mainly occurs in literary texts, which at that time made up the corpus of Late Egyptian grammar. But Late Egyptian grammar was soon to change. In the 'twenties and 'thirties, non-literary Late Egyptian texts began emerging *en masse*, many of them letters, and *inn* was seen everywhere. It was soon discovered that *inn* is, like *jr*, an equivalent of English 'if'.[2]

Shortly after that, Jaroslav Černý's principle that only non-literary texts are appropriate for the description of Late Egyptian began to find widespread acceptance. Černý held that Late Egyptian grammar should be based exclusively on the contemporary spoken language of the New Kingdom: since New Kingdom literary texts are often blatantly archaizing, they should be excluded from the grammatical description of Late Egyptian proper and studied in their own right.

*An abridged version of this study was read at Yale University as a Near Eastern Department lecture on 26 November 1990. I am grateful to Bentley Layton, Wolfgang Schenkel, William Kelly Simpson, and two anonymous *JEA* referees for their comments on earlier drafts which greatly improved this paper. Naturally, it is I who remain responsible for its shortcomings.

[1] *Neuägyptische Grammatik*[2] (Leipzig, 1933), §688.

[2] J. Černý, *JEA* 27 (1941), 106–12; cf. also earlier T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), 164 n. 55, following a suggestion by Černý (see *JEA* 27, 106).

Černý's point is well taken and has been adopted in recent works on Late Egyptian grammar.[3] The examples found in them are in principle derived from non-literary texts as 'the nearest alternative to the spoken language', 'since the very purpose of their existence is to communicate and inform native speakers about practical matters concerning them'.[4]

Since *inn* appears almost exclusively in non-literary texts, a remarkable change has occurred in Late Egyptian grammars: it is now *inn* that dominates the chapter on conditional clauses while *jr* receives only marginal mention.[5]

As regards etymology, Late Egyptian *inn* 'if' is commonly traced back to **jn wn*.[6] More recently, objections have been raised against this derivation: for instance, the postulated **jn wn* is not attested as an equivalent of 'if' at the head of conditional clauses.[7] In what follows, the possibility of deriving Late Egyptian *inn* from Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* will be examined.[8]

Four arguments favour an etymological connection between Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* and Late Egyptian *inn*.

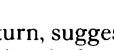
(1) *jr wnn* and *inn* are both typically found in the same genre of text—non-literary texts, especially private correspondence. On the other hand, both are rare in literary texts.[9] Vicissitudes of survival among written sources have obscured this affinity. On the one hand, very few of the sources in which *jr wnn* often occurs, namely letters from the late Old Kingdom, the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, are preserved.[10] As a consequence, *jr wnn* was only identified as a distinct pattern as late as 1942.[11] Although enjoying increased attention in recent years,[12] it has never been treated in Middle Egyptian grammars on an equal footing with the pattern *jr sḏm.f*.[13] On the other hand, *inn* is very prominent in Late Egyptian grammars, because much more private correspondence is preserved than in Middle Egyptian,[14] and because non-literary texts,

[3] P. J. Frandsen, *An Outline of the Late Egyptian Verbal System* (Copenhagen, 1974); J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1975).

[4] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar,* iv.

[5] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar,* 560–7, ch. 62; Frandsen, *Outline,* 227–32, §115. M. Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du néo-égyptien* (Moscow, 1973), discusses *jr* under the conditional clause (§§489–90) and *inn* with the particles (§173), but he mentions the meaning 'if' for *inn*.

[6] Following Černý, *JEA* 27, 111.

[7] J. Osing, *SÄK* 1 (1974), 167–73, who, in turn, suggests that  is a variant writing for  .

[8] According to Frandsen, *Outline,* 230, who declares the question 'utterly obscure', 'the search for the origin of *inn* is more likely to be connected with problems concerning the converter *wnn*', and he refers to Middle Egyptian examples of *jr wnn* in the Heqanakhte letters; cf. T. G. H. James, *The Ḥeḳanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York, 1962), 41 (no. 40) and 104.

[9] For examples of *jr wnn* in literary texts, see H. Grapow, *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 60 no. 9 (*Urk.* I, 218, 8); M. Malaise, *CdÉ* 60 (1985), 166 (*CT* V, 203g); P. Vernus, *RdÉ* 39 (1988), 149 nn. 7–8 (*CT* III, 111b; G. Posener, *L'Enseignement loyaliste* (Geneva, 1976), 143). Grapow's nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 13, 14, and 15 are dated to the New Kingdom and are therefore to be treated with caution.

[10] R. A. Caminos, LÄ I, 857 with nn. 28–37; see now also E. F. Wente, in *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, ed. E. S. Meltzer (Atlanta, 1990).

[11] Grapow, *ZÄS* 77, 57–62; cf. A. H. Gardiner, *JEA* 32 (1946), 104–5.

[12] Malaise, *CdÉ* 60, 152–67 at 158–67; Vernus, *RdÉ* 39, 147–54 at 149–50; L. Depuydt, *RdÉ* 39 (1988), 204–8.

[13] According to Malaise, op. cit. the *sḏm.f* following *jr* is the substantival prospective *sḏm(w).f*; cf. J. P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), 158 §265E, 160 §268. The form has also been interpreted as circumstantial; one expects a nominal form after *jr*, but A. Shisha-Halevy, *JEA* 62 (1976), 134–8, adduces evidence in later forms of Egyptian for the nominal use of circumstantial clauses.

[14] Caminos, *LÄ* I, 857 with n. 38; A. M. Bakir, *Egyptian Epistolography from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Dynasty* (Cairo, 1970).

of which letters and related missives are the principal component, constitute the corpus of Late Egyptian grammars. A brief comparison of Middle Egyptian and Late Egyptian grammar books might therefore leave one with the false impression that Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* was succeeded by Late Egyptian *inn*. But in fact, *jr wnn* and *inn* are equally common in private correspondence. The frequent occurrence of *inn* in Late Egyptian letters is obvious from a glance at a contemporary Late Egyptian grammar (n. 5 above). What requires demonstration is that *jr wnn* appears often in Middle Egyptian private correspondence, if one takes into consideration the paucity of surviving Middle Egyptian letters.

Most Middle Egyptian letters belong to one of four groups. The *first group* consists of late Old Kingdom letters. Their language does not differ significantly from Middle Egyptian, and the differences that do exist are not relevant to the present purpose. Of the six letters and some fragments listed by Caminos,[15] *jr wnn* is found in only one, a letter from Elephantine in which it occurs twice.[16] But then, it needs to be added that the others do not contain any conditional clauses at all.

- *jr wnn ḥꜣb js sš.k n sn.k-jm dj sš.k* . . . 'If you (lit. your scribe) send me (lit. your servant there) a letter so that you might cause . . .' (pBerlin 8869, 4).
- *jr swt wnn jrr*[17] *js sš.k nn r sḏ* . . . 'But if you (lit. your scribe) do this to break . . .' (pBerlin 8869, 5–6).

The *second group* is the well-known Heqanakhte archive of the Eleventh Dynasty in which three examples occur.

- *jr grt wnn šd.n.sn šnʿt* . . . 'Now if they have collected the value . . .' (James, *Ḥeḳanakhte Papers*, I, 4–5, pls. 1, 1A).
- *jr wnn rdj.n.k jn.t(w) n.j jt-mḥ js r* . . . 'If you have sent me the old barley to . . .' (op. cit. I, *vs.* 3, pls. 3, 3A).
- *jr grt wnn Mr-Snfrw ḥr mrt wnn m-sꜣ nꜣ n kꜣ* . . . 'If *Mr-Snfrw* wants to be in charge of those bulls . . .' (op. cit. II, 35–6, pls. 6, 6A).[18]

The *third group* is the Kahun archive from El-Lahun.

- *jr wnn nfr pw ḏddt nbt r.s kꜣ tꜣtj ḥꜣb.f* . . . 'If all that has been said about it is good, then the vizier will send . . .' (pKahun ed. F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob* (London, 1898), pl. 22, 7).
- *jr grt wnn ʿḥʿ pꜣ ḥsb* 11 ʿꜣ . . . 'If the eleven workmen stand here . . .' (ibid. pl. 31, 3–4).
- *jr wnn.f r rdjt st* . . . 'If he will give this . . .' (ibid. pl. 36, 13).

A conditional sentence of which only the beginning, *jr wnn* [---], is preserved occurs in pBerlin 10023, 3.[19] An uncertain and fragmentary example is *jr wnt* in pKahun ed.

[15] *LÄ* I, 857, nn. 28–31.

[16] pBerlin 8869, ed. P. C. Smither, *JEA* 28 (1942), 16–19; see also *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* Heft 9 (= III, 1), ed. G. Möller (Leipzig, 1906), pls. ii–iii.

[17] Malaise, *CdÉ* 60, 165 (with n. 6) reads  (as did Möller, *Hieratische Papyrus*, pl. ii) and transcribes *jr*. Smither, op. cit. and E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §889, read and transcribe *jrr*. In the hieratic original, the bottom sign is smaller than the top sign and the same size as all other instances of *r* on the same sheet. The reading is therefore preferable. A substantival *sḏm.f* (*mrr.f*) is appropriate since *r sḏ* seems stressed (in contrast to the final clause *dj sš.k* . . . in line 4), but contradicts Malaise's assumption that the verb forms following *jr wnn* are adverbial.

[18] For the interpretation of this example, see Vernus, *RdÉ* 39, 149 n. 8 and Depuydt, ibid. 205 with n. 5.

[19] A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 59 (1924), 27–8 and pl. 2; collated with a photograph (courtesy W. K. Simpson).

Griffith, op. cit. pl. 22, 1. pBerlin 10024, 10, reported by Vernus,[20] seems to contain *wnn wn* of existence.

The *fourth group* consists of 'Letters to the Dead' dating to the late Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom. The spelling is *jr wn* in the following examples from the Berlin Bowl:[21]

- *jr wn jrr.t(w) nn sqrw m rḫ.t* . . . 'If it is with your knowledge that these wounds have been inflicted . . .' (line 1).
- *jr wn jrr.t(w) m msḏḏ.t* . . . 'If they have been inflicted in spite of you . . .' (line 2).

In other groups of letters, for instance, the Semnah dispatches,[22] *jr wnn* is not found, but then again, no conditional clauses occur in those texts.

(2) The second argument in favour of tracing *ỉnn* back to *jr wnn* is syntactic and pertains to the verb forms appearing in the apodosis or 'then'-clause. Middle Egyptian *jr wnn* and Late Egyptian *ỉnn* have in common that they cannot be followed by an Aorist in the apodosis.

More precisely, Middle Egyptian *jr wnn* cannot be followed in the apodosis by the contingent Aorist *sḏm.ḫr.f*,[23] and Late Egyptian *bw jr.f sḏm*, the negative Aorist, does not occur in the apodosis of *ỉnn*.[24] It needs to be noted that the Late Egyptian affirmative Aorist (*tw.j ḫr sḏm*, 'I hear') is not distinct in form from the present tense (*tw.j ḫr sḏm*, 'I am hearing').

Conversely, Middle Egyptian *sḏm.ḫr.f* is extremely common in the apodosis of the pattern *jr sḏm.f*. Significantly, a rare and often quoted example of Late Egyptian *jr sḏm.f*, *LRL* 1, 11–12, 1, is followed by the negative Aorist in the apodosis.[25]

(3) The third argument is also syntactic and concerns the verb forms in the protasis or 'if'-clause of *jr wnn* and *ỉnn*. Both Middle Egyptian *jr wnn* and Late Egyptian *ỉnn* are followed by a complete paradigm of tenses in the protasis.[26] In this, they are markedly distinct from the Middle and Late Egyptian pattern *jr sḏm.f*, which only features a single tense.

(4) But perhaps the strongest evidence for the proposed derivation of *ỉnn* from *jr wnn* is found in the 'Legend of Astarte'. This contains two examples of a transitional construction forming a link between the patterns *jr wn(n)* + Middle Egyptian tenses and *ỉnn* + Late Egyptian tenses: the construction consists of Middle Egyptian *jr wn* + the Late Egyptian First Present.[27]

[20] *RdÉ* 39, 149 (from an unpublished transcription by E. Dévaud); collated with a photograph (courtesy W. K. Simpson).

[21] A. H. Gardiner and K. Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead* (London, 1928), pl. 5. Gunn, *JEA* 16 (1930), 152 n. 2, notes 'the curious use of *wn* . . . [in] *jr wn* followed by *sḏm.f*'. For a different interpretation of these two examples, see Malaise, *CdÉ* 60, 164–5 (following Sethe).

[22] pBerlin 10470, ed. Smither, *JEA* 34 (1948), 31–4.

[23] Depuydt, *RdÉ* 39, 204–8 at 205. For the contingent tenses, see id., *Orientalia* 58 (1989), 1–27. For Coptic ϣⲁⲣⲉϥⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, see M. Green, *The Coptic* Share *Pattern and Its Ancient Egyptian Ancestors* (Warminster, 1987).

[24] Frandsen, *Outline*, 228–9.

[25] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar,* ex. 1605; Frandsen, *Outline,* 230.

[26] For *ỉnn*, see Frandsen, *Outline,* 228–9.

[27] Quoted by Gardiner in a Postscript to Černý's article in *JEA* 27 (1941), when *jr wnn* had not yet been recognized as a distinct pattern (see n. 11). Perhaps another example is pCairo 58059, 5, *jr wn jw.k r jrt* [---], quoted by H. Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien: Die Partikel* jr. *Das Tempussystem* (Vienna, 1976), 74; cf. Bakir, *Epistolography,* pls. 6 and ix.

jr wn tw.t [---] *jr wn tw.t m qd jrjj.j nḥ*[*s.t*], 'If you are [awake, . . .] But if you are asleep, I will awa[ken you]' ('Astarte' 2, x + 5–6 = *LES* 78, 5–7).[28] *wn* is followed by the First Present; it is not the preterite converter, for which one would expect *wn.j m qd*, 'I was sleeping'.[29]

Like many instances of Middle Egyptian *jr wnn* and Late Egyptian *ỉnn*, the two examples above belong to a letter, or at least a missive. The 'Legend of Astarte' is very fragmentary but the context preceding the examples is fairly well preserved:[30] 'Thereupon [Ernutet] said [to one of the] birds: Hear what I have to say. You are not to depart . . . another. Hurry up and go to Astarte . . . [and fly to] her house and cry out beneath [the window of the room where] she is sleeping and tell her (*ḥnꜥ ntk ḏd n.s*): . . .'

Since Middle Egyptian *jr wn* followed by the Late Egyptian First Present is a transitional construction, the Legend of Astarte, in which the construction appears, must be a specimen of *early* Late Egyptian. This is strikingly confirmed by the fact that the two instances of *jr wn* are immediately preceded by an instance of a well-known transitional form, *ḥnꜥ ntk sḏm*. In a famous study,[31] Gardiner established the etymology of the conjunctive by demonstrating that *ḥnꜥ ntk sḏm* is an early Late Egyptian writing of *mtw.f sḏm*.

B. Late Egyptian *ỉnn* and Demotic *jn-nꜣ*

Among Demotic conditional particles[32] there is one whose sound pattern bears remarkable resemblance to that of Late Egyptian *ỉnn*, namely *jn-nꜣ*. But syntactic and other properties of *jn-nꜣ* show it to be diametrically opposed to Late Egyptian *ỉnn*, as the following comparison illustrates:

(1) Unlike Demotic *jn-nꜣ*, the protasis of Late Egyptian contains a complete range of tenses expressing past, present, future, and aorist (cf. A(3) above).[33]
(2) The apodosis of Demotic *jn-nꜣ* tolerates the Aorist (e.g. Papyrus Insinger 4, 21; 14, 11; 17, 12; 17, 13; 17, 14; 19, 7); that of Late Egyptian *ỉnn* does not (cf. A(2) above).
(3) The negation *tm* is used in conditional clauses after Demotic *jn-nꜣ*, but not after Late Egyptian *ỉnn*.[34]
(4) Demotic *jn-nꜣ* is very frequent in wisdom literature ('Onchsheshonqy, Papyrus Insinger); Late Egyptian *ỉnn* is entirely absent from it.

[28] Cf. P. E. Newberry, *The Amherst Papyri* (London, 1899), pl. xx, fragments II and IV. Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien,* 55 (with n. 11 at 274, referring to 1.4.1.1.10 n. 1 at 281) interprets *jr wn tw.t* as a writing of *jr wnn.t*.

[29] But in Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar,* ex. 1616, *wn* follows *ỉnn* and is the preterite converter (Coptic ⲛⲉ): *ỉnn wn bw jr A jr.w m sš jw.j* (*r*) *jr.t.w* ⟨*m*⟩ *sš*, 'If it is the case that A did not use to do them well (or, would not do them well), I will do them well' (pBerlin 10497, *rt.* 23–*vs.* 1).

[30] Following Wente's translation in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. K. Simpson *et al.* (New Haven, 1973), 134.

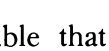
[31] *JEA* 14 (1928), 86–96. The Astarte examples are not quoted since Gardiner only published the text in 1932.

[32] For a detailed description, see J. H. Johnson, *Serapis* 2 (1970), 22–8; id., *JNES* 32 (1973), 167–9; id., *The Demotic Verbal System* (Chicago, 1976), 234–70.

[33] Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 250–1.

[34] Johnson, op. cit. 264–5.

(5) Late Egyptian *inn* begins with a prothetic aleph  , whereas the first component of Demotic *jn-n*ꜣ is palaeographically clearly the morpheme  (hence its transcription with a hyphen).

As these differences make it improbable that Demotic *jn-n*ꜣ derives from Late Egyptian *inn*, a proposal made by Wilhelm Spiegelberg several decades ago regarding the etymology of *jn-n*ꜣ needs to be reconsidered. Spiegelberg suggested that *jn-n*ꜣ derives from the question particle  *jn-jw* (Coptic ϵNϵ).[35] Indeed, the fact that conditional *jn-n*ꜣ is written exactly like the question particle *jn-n*ꜣ strongly supports this etymology.

C. Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* and Late Egyptian *inn* in Letters

An important query was left unaddressed in the discussion of the etymology of Late Egyptian *inn*. On the one hand, it was observed that both Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* and Late Egyptian *inn* frequently occur in private correspondence (see A(1) above). On the other hand, it appeared that conditional clauses headed by *jr wn(n)* and those headed by *inn* behave identically with regard to the paradigms of verb forms found in the protasis and the apodosis (A(2), (3) above). The obvious question arises whether these two empirical data can be harmonized. In other words, can the use of specific paradigms of verb forms in protasis and apodosis shed light on the frequent appearance of *jr wn(n)* and *inn* in letters and vice versa?

Before tackling this question, it is worth pointing out that conditional clauses of all stages of Egyptian—excluding those expressing contrary-to-fact conditions—can be classified into two distinct groups called here Type A and Type B according to the paradigms of verb forms used in the protasis and the apodosis: in the protasis of Type A, only a single verb form is used, in that of Type B a range of verb forms expressing all the tenses; the apodosis of Type A tolerates the Aorist, that of Type B does not. The following catalogue of forms shows how the distinction between Type A and Type B can be traced through the history of the Egyptian language. Middle Egyptian *jr wn(n)* and Late Egyptian *inn* belong to Type B.

(1) Middle Egyptian

In Middle Egyptian Type A is represented by *jr sḏm.f*,[36] Type B by *jr* + *wnn* + *sḏm.f*/*sḏm.n.f*/*ḥr sḏm*/*r sḏm*.[37]

On a cautionary note, it is not always obvious whether a conditional clause headed by *jr wnn* belongs to Type B. There can be no doubt with regard to *jr wnn sḏm.f* and *jr wnn sḏm.n.f*: the presence of *wnn* distinguishes them from Type A *jr sḏm.f*. Different in construction are *jr wnn.f ḥr sḏm* and *jr wnn.f r sḏm* since *wnn* takes a suffix pronoun when

[35] 'Diese Kondizionalpartikel *'n-n*ꜣ ist natürlich mit der gleichlautenden Fragepartikel identisch' (*Demotische Grammatik* (Heidelberg, 1925), §498 *Anm.*). Spiegelberg also illustrates how a question particle can develop into a conditional particle. Cf. op. cit. 226 top (§497).

[36] For *jr sḏm.n.f*, which seems to express unfulfilled conditions, see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3], §151 (the interpretation of the passage is controversial). The other stages of Egyptian possess distinct particles for expressing contrary-to-fact conditions.

[37] According to Malaise, *CdÉ* 60, 166, the prospective can also follow *jr wnn*.

the actor is pronominal; but in all probability they too are instances of Type B because, together with *jr wnn sḏm.f* and *jr wnn sḏm.n.f*, they form a complete set of tenses: past, present, future and Aorist.

A real difficulty arises with conditional clauses containing adverbial and nominal sentences and predications of existence. For instance, if *jr wnn jb.f r ḥ3 jm ḏd.f*, 'If he desires to fight, let him say' (Sinuhe B 125), is interpreted as an instance of Type B, i.e. *jr wnn* followed by an adverbial sentence *jb.f r ḥ3*, it can be justifiably asked, from the point of view of the system, what the corresponding Type A construction is, since **jr jb.f r ḥ3* does not exist.[38] The same question can be asked about examples containing the predication of existence, namely *jr wnn wn* or *jr wn*, 'if there exists'.[39] The contrast between Types A and B can only work when there are two distinct constructions.

(2) Late Egyptian

Clauses headed by the particle *inn* are the Late Egyptian representative of Type B. For Type A, Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* continued in Late Egyptian, retaining the same function.[40]

Since *jr sḏm.f* is rare in non-literary texts[41] and frequent in literary texts, it may be tempting to assume that *jr sḏm.f* is merely a Middle Egyptian archaism and not a genuine Late Egyptian pattern. On the other hand, it should come as no surprise that Late Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* is rare in non-literary texts if one considers that Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* is also rare in that type of text. However, the rare occurrence of Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* in non-literary texts and hence also the continuity between it and Late Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* are obscured by the fact that so little Middle Egyptian correspondence remains. As was seen above, the paucity of surviving Middle Egyptian letters has also obscured the relationship between Middle Egyptian *jr wnn* and Late Egyptian *inn*.

Another Type A pattern in Late Egyptian is the conditional clause headed by *jr jw*, since its protasis can only contain a single kind of verb form.[42]

(3) Demotic

Demotic conditional clauses can be headed by *jn-n3*, *jw=* (*ijr=*), *r-jre* or *jw.f ḫpr*.[43]

The particle *jn-n3*, almost exclusively used with noun subjects,[44] can be followed by the Aorist in the apodosis and is hence to be classified under Type A. Conditional clauses headed by *jw=* (*ijr=*) and *r-jre* know no opposition of tenses in the protasis and therefore also belong to Type A. Note that *jw=* (*ijr=*) with suffix pronominal subjects is in complementary distribution with *jn-n3* followed by nouns as subjects.

[38] Another example is Berlin Bowl 2: *jr wn srḫ m ḥt.ṯ smḫ sw*, 'If (the) accusation is in your body, forget it'; see Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead,* pl. 5.

[39] See also Depuydt, *RdÉ* 39, 207–8.

[40] According to Malaise, *CdÉ* 60, 157 n. 1 (referring to Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*, 107–8, 118), *inn* + Third Future can also be equivalent to Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f*.

[41] Černý and Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar*, 561 §62.4; Frandsen, *Outline*, 230 §115.3(2)(b); Wente *apud* Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 251 n. 65.

[42] Cf. Satzinger, *Neuägyptische Studien*, 73–84.

[43] Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 235–9, 233–40, 240–1 and 241–2 respectively. For *jw.f ḫpr*, see also Shisha-Halevy, *Orientalia* 58 (1989), 53.

[44] Johnson, *Serapis* 2, 22–8, and *Demotic Verbal System,* 235–9.

On the other hand, conditional clauses headed by *jw.f ḫpr* can be followed by several different tenses, including the past tense, and are therefore instances of Type B. But when followed by the conjunctive, which is not a tense, *jw.f ḫpr* seems to belong to Type A: indeed, Janet Johnson lists an example in which *jw.f ḫpr* + conjunctive is followed by an Aorist in the apodosis.[45]

(4) Coptic (and Greek)

In Coptic, Type A is expressed by a clause conjugation of its own, ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄, the so-called Conditional.[46] Type B is headed by the particle ⲉϣϫⲉ. H. J. Polotsky has pointed out the parallelism between Coptic ⲉⲣϣⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ and ⲉϣϫⲉ and a similar pair in Greek by juxtaposing the two following New Testament passages:[47]

ⲉϣϫⲉ . . . = *εἰ . . . σκανδαλίζει* (Matthew 18:9)
Conditional . . . = *ἐὰν . . . σκανδαλίζῃ* (Mark 9:47)

The most striking characteristic of Type B, in relation to Type A, is that the protasis makes use of a complete set of verb forms expressing past, present, future, and Aorist, whereas Type A does not. Type B can therefore be regarded as *deictic*. 'Deictic' is a term widely used in linguistics to describe elements such as 'I', 'you', 'here', 'yesterday', and the tenses of the verb.[48] Deictic elements relate a statement to the point of view of the speaker or writer (the 'first person') and of the person who by hearing or reading that statement automatically assumes the speaker's or writer's point of view (the 'second person'). The referents of deictic elements change from speaker to speaker or as the speaker changes his or her point of view: I am 'I' and you are 'you' when I am speaking, but I am 'you' and you are 'I' when you are speaking; 'will be tomorrow' becomes 'was yesterday' as the speaker changes his or her viewpoint by aging two days.

It follows from this that conditional clauses of Type B are anchored in the world of the speaker: through the use of tense, they are anterior to, posterior to, or simultaneous with the time of speaking—or all three together in the case of the Aorist or zero-tense.[49] Type A, on the other hand, is tenseless and non-deictic: only a single verb form is used, no contrast between different tenses is possible, and the category of tense is therefore absent. An example of Type A is *jr jqr.k grg.k pr.k*, 'When you are well-to-do, you establish your house' (Ptahhotep 325); *jr jqr.k*, 'When you are well-to-do', is universal and has no relation to the time of speaking.

This theory could account for the fact that Type B is frequently found in letters since it is reasonable to expect that conditions formulated in missives sent from one person to another will tend to be relevant to the temporal situation of the writer and of the person assuming the point of view of the writer by reading the text, the addressee. Obviously, Type B is not limited to letters, but is likely to occur in all sorts of similar writer-addressee situations, as, for instance, in *Urk.* I, 218, 8 *jr wn mrjj.ṯn . . . ḥq.ṯn*, 'If you want to

[45] Johnson, op. cit. 241 (E407b).

[46] For the role of ⲉϣⲱⲡⲉ in Coptic, see D. W. Young, *JNES* 21 (1962), 175–85. I have not seen D. K. Hutter, *Conditional Sentences in Coptic* (diss. Brandeis University, 1962).

[47] *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem, 1971), 270*b* = *OLZ* 57 (1962), 479*b*. See also W.-P. Funk's study on the semantic typology of conditional sentences in *Folio Linguistica* 19 (1985), 365–413 (for Coptic, see 397–9).

[48] For a definition of deixis see, for instance, J. Lyons, *Language and Linguistics: An Introduction* (Cambridge, 1981), 170.

[49] Similarly, Vernus, *RdÉ* 39, 149 n. 8, on the distinction between *jr wnn N ḥr mrt* and *jr mr.f*.

. . . , enter', an invitation staring at visitors from a tomb wall: the condition 'if you want to' is not universal or tenseless in the sense of 'when(ever) you want to' (Type A) but is related to the moment of speaking ('if it is the case that you want').

Neither Type A nor Type B is exclusively connected to any genre of text. Their frequency varies with the need to link conditions to the time of speaking. In the Sahidic New Testament, for instance, ϵϣϫϵ, a Coptic representative of Type B, occurs nearly twice as often in the Pauline and Catholic Epistles as in the Gospels, Acts, and Revelation together,[50] a body of text more than one and a half times as long: ϵϣϫϵ is hence at least three times as frequent in letters. Type B will also often occur in other genres featuring dialogue situations, for instance, homiletic literature. In medicine and wisdom texts, on the other hand, Type A (for instance, Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f*) is very frequent and Type B virtually absent: 'scientific' statements and proverbs have universal validity and are therefore not anchored in the time frame of the speaker or any ancient or modern reader implicitly assuming the same viewpoint by reading the text.

Instances of Type B have often been associated with concepts such as reality and truth. Hermann Grapow, for instance, maintained that the use of Middle Egyptian *jr wnn* implies the speaker's belief in the truth of the statement in the protasis and *jr wnn* is translated by him as 'ist es so, dass . . .'.[51] Pascal Vernus renders *jr wnn* by 's'il est vrai que . . .'.[52] Michel Malaise uses the terms 'hypothèse réelle' for Type B and 'éventuel du futur' for Type A.[53] Wolf-Peter Funk maintains that Coptic ϵϣϫϵ, the equivalent of Middle Egyptian *jr wnn*, is the 'unambiguous equivalent of "it is true that"'.[54] Hellenistic Greek ἐάν is translated by Funk as 'if it comes to pass that', εἰ as 'if it is true that'.[55] It is argued here that what makes conditional clauses of Type B appear more 'real' or 'true' is precisely that the tenses used in them relate the contents of the conditional clause to the time of speaking and hence to the world of the speaker. The condition appears more real to the speaker or writer and the person who assumes the viewpoint of the speaker or writer by hearing or reading the text, because the action involves them directly in the following respect: it has a place in the time frame at the centre of which they stand. The notions of reality and truth commonly associated with Type B can therefore be regarded as a side effect of the deictic character of Type B. Conditional clauses of Type A are after all no less true or real than those of Type B. But it needs to be added that expressions often used to translate instances of Type B, such as 'if it is true that' and 's'il est vrai que', remain—in some idiomatic sense of the word 'true'—adequate translations of Type B.

As regards the translation of Type A and Type B into English, a strong affinity seems to exist between Type A and English 'when' followed by the Simple Present—at least in the affirmative—and between Type B and English 'if'. This means that the difference between Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f* and *jr wnn* is comparable to that between 'I do not go

[50] Cf. Michel Wilmet, *Concordance du Nouveau Testament sahidique. II. Les mots autochtones. 1.* (CSCO 173 Subsidia 11; Louvain, 1957), s.v. ϵϣϫϵ.

[51] The protasis introduced by *jr wnn* expresses '[eine] gewisse Tatsache' (*ZÄS* 77, 62; cf. also Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, §899: 'wenn es der Fall ist, dass . . .'). 'Grapow arrives at the conclusion that the *wnn* (or *wn*) here introduced implies the speaker's belief in the truth of the proposition embedded in the protasis, and he therefore translates in every case "Ist es so, dass . . ." (*Is it the case that . . .*)' (Gardiner, *JEA* 32, 104–5; cf. also id., *JEA* 27, 112).

[52] *RdÉ* 39, 147.

[53] *CdÉ* 60, 167.

[54] *Folio Linguistica* 19, 398.

[55] Op. cit. 395–6.

out when it rains' (Type A, cf. Middle Egyptian *jr sḏm.f*) and 'If it's raining, I'm not going out' (Type B, cf. Middle Egyptian *jr wnn.f ḥr sḏm*). In Coptic, Type A ⲉⲫⲁⲛⲥⲱⲧⲙ̄ can almost always be rendered by 'when(ever)' followed by the Simple Present,[56] as in, '*When* they cease (ⲉⲩⲫⲁⲛⲁⲟ) the battle, they spend all winter fixing their weapons, looking forward to the spring so that, *when* (ⲉⲣⲫⲁⲛ) their enemies attack them again, they might fight them without being disorganized' (Morgan M592, f. 17r *b* (unpublished)).

Before concluding, a subtle but crucial difference between Type A and the Aorist in Type B needs to be discussed. Whereas the Aorist in Type B indicates that a condition applies at all times, including the time before, during, and after the moment of speaking, Type A is totally independent from the moment of speaking. In other words, neither Type A nor the Aorist in Type B specify any given time (past, present, or future), but Type B lacks specification of time while being anchored to the viewpoint of the speaker. As regards translation, Type A can be translated by 'when', whereas Type B cannot. Examples are:

- (Middle Egyptian) *jr wnn ḏdjj ꜥḥꜥ n ḫpr tp tꜣ ḥr jrt swt mnw n nṯrw tw.j r wḥm mswt mjtt 'Iꜥḥ*,[57] 'If it is true that the time of dwelling on earth endures (as a general rule) on account of raising monuments for the gods, then I will be reborn like the Moon' (*Urk.* IV, 2161, 4–6).[58] '*When* the time of dwelling on earth endures', a translation of **jr ḏdjj ꜥḥꜥ n ḫpr tp tꜣ*, would make little sense in the present context, if at all.
- For an example of Late Egyptian *inn* + (preterite) Aorist, see n. 29 above.
- For an example of Demotic *jw.f ḫpr* + Aorist, see Johnson, *Demotic Verbal System*, 242 (E408C).
- (Coptic) ⲉⲫⲭⲉ ⲫⲁⲣⲉ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲃⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ, 'If (it is true that) people are circumcised on the Sabbath' (John 7:23). '*When(ever)* people are circumcised on the Sabbath' would be a translation of *ⲉⲣⲫⲁⲛ ⲣⲱⲙⲉ ϫⲓ ⲥⲃⲃⲉ ϩⲙ ⲡⲥⲁⲃⲃⲁⲧⲟⲛ.

In conclusion, the contrast between Type A and Type B conditional clauses may be illustrated by examples of both types from a single Old Kingdom archive originating from Elephantine and containing some of the oldest written documents of Pharaonic Egypt. It is typical that the examples of Type B are found in a letter (pBerlin 8869, 4 and 5–6, quoted in A(1) above), whereas an example of Type A is found in a legal document belonging to the same archive (pBerlin 9010):[59]

- *jr jn Sbk-ḥtp pn jrw jqrw* 3 . . . , 'When this *Sbk-ḥtp* will bring three excellent witnesses ...' (pBerlin 9010, 4). The negative counterpart follows in line 7: *jr nfr n jnn.f jrw* 3.

[56] Note that Johnson, *Denotic Verbal System,* 245–6, also suggests translating Demotic *jn-nꜣ*, a representative of Type A, by 'when'. The relation between English 'when' and 'if' is also similar to that between French *quand* and *si*.

[57] Cf. J.-M. Kruchten, *Le Décret de Horemheb* (Brussels, 1981), 186–9; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3], §474, 1. Thomas Ritter kindly provided me with a comprehensive list of *jr* syntagms from Eighteenth Dynasty monuments.

[58] Translated thus by S. Morenz (see Kruchten, *Décret de Horemheb*, 189 n. 637). For *ḥr* as a full-fledged preposition ('on account of', etc.) with the infinitive, see Vernus, *Future at Issue* (New Haven, 1990), 164–5.

[59] Sethe, *ZÄS* 61 (1926), 67–79.

REQUISITIONS FROM UPPER EGYPTIAN TEMPLES (P. BM 10401)

By JAC. J. JANSSEN

First publication, with full commentary, of P. BM 10401, which comes from Thebes and probably dates to the late Twentieth Dynasty. It lists metals, garments, cattle, vegetable and other commodities collected from temples and priests between Elephantine and Esna by the 'Chief Taxing-Master'. Although it is not clear where the goods were taken, nor what they represent, various possibilities are considered in the context of what is known from other New Kingdom sources.

THE papyrus here published (pl. IV, 2) came to the British Museum as part of the first Salt Collection.[1] Although in a perfect state and legible down to the last sign, it has never received much attention[2]—not even from Gardiner, which is surprising since in the first line the *ꜥ-n-št* is mentioned, an official to whom he devoted remarks in several of his publications (see n.b below). Only Černý, who made a transcription for his private use (Notebook 50, 54–6) has quoted the text.[3] By kind permission of the staff of the Griffith Institute, Oxford, I have been able to use a photocopy of these pages.

The papyrus, light brown in colour, is of good quality. The fibres on the recto run $\frac{H}{V}$. It measures 58 cm in width by 44.5 cm in height, and consists of two full sheets each of 24 cm width, plus at the left-hand side half a sheet of 12 cm.[4] The sheets overlap right over left for *c.* 1 cm. At the right-hand edge a strip of approximately 7.5 cm breadth was left blank, probably as a protective band. The verso is blank. The papyrus had been folded horizontally through the centre, at about 22.5 cm down from the top. This led to a break between lines 12 and 13 of col. I, and just below line 12 of col. II. Since the bottom of the blank left-hand side is the most damaged part, the papyrus has probably been preserved folded with the lower half at the outside; that is, so that when opened the third column became visible instead of the beginning of the text.

The ink is deep black, at present faded in only a few areas. In six places red ink was used to record the number of cattle ('one' throughout). The text itself consists of three columns, the first of 25 lines, the second of 24, while the third one has only 4. Since the rest of the left-hand side is blank, it is clear that the text as it stands is complete. The length of the lines varies considerably, the first ones of the columns measuring respectively 17.5, 12, and 5.5 cm. Within the columns the scribe 'skipped a line' in some

[1] On its frame, before it was recently remounted, was written 'Salt 110'. It is published here by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

[2] Kitchen did not include it in his *Ramesside Inscriptions.*

[3] In *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 1973). According to a note on top of p. 54 of Notebook 50, Černý made the transcription on 17.9.53. It is from this that the reference to the text in *LÄ* IV, 692 (D9) was derived. The papyrus is not recorded in the catalogue of Madeleine Bellion.

[4] The scribe needed some of this extra room for his col. III, which runs over the join. Possibly he had started with a full third sheet, and cut it afterwards, when the text was complete, leaving a wide margin at the left-hand side.

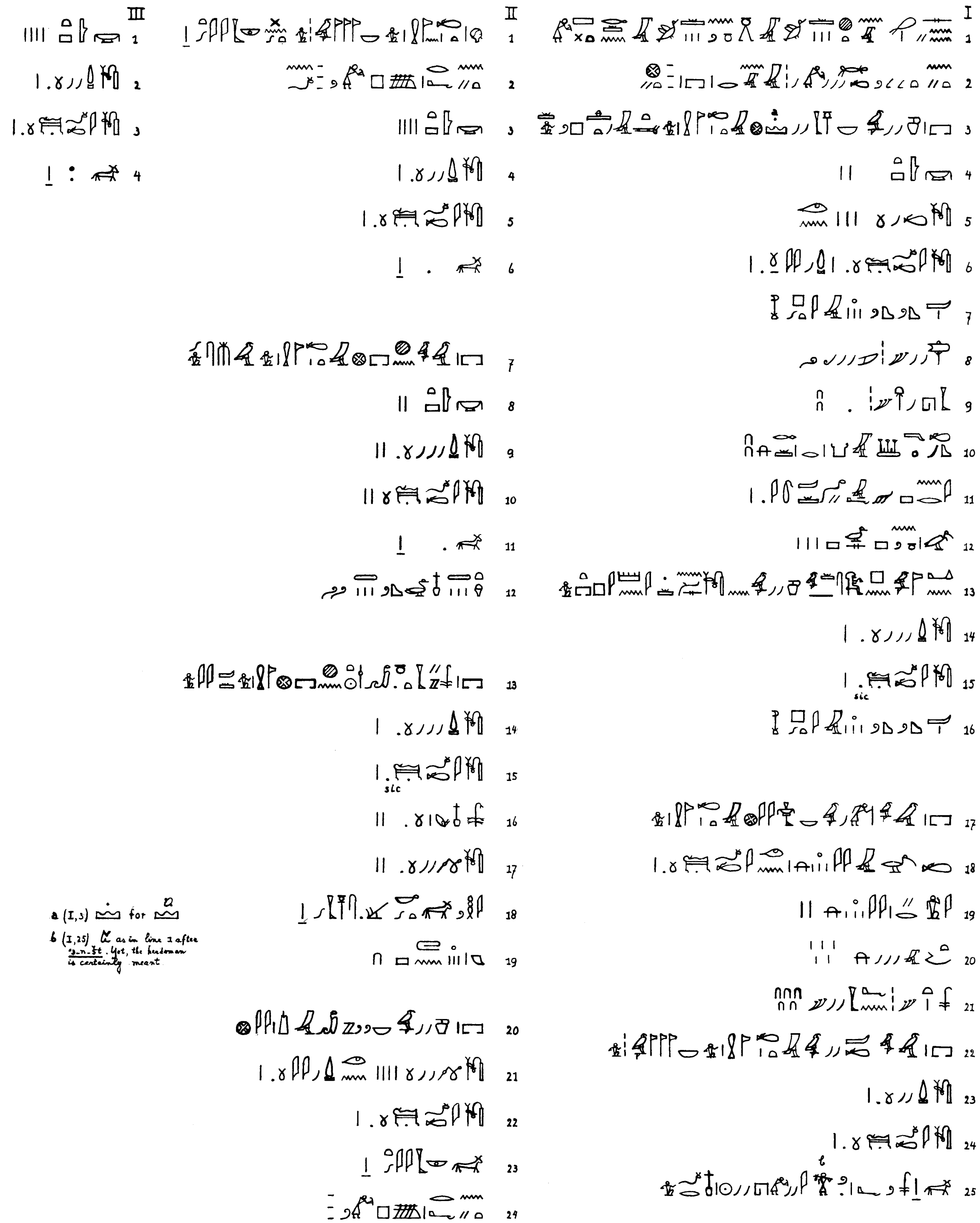


FIG. 1. Transcription of P. BM 10401.

places, leaving a blank space: in col. I between lines 16 and 17,[5] in col. II between lines 6 and 7, 12 and 13, and 19 and 20. From the translation it is apparent that these blank lines are functional: they separate the sections devoted to different temples. This practice shows that the present papyrus is a fair copy, probably made using a draft. The very clear writing points to the same conclusion.

Since there is no adequate palaeographic study of the hieratic of the New Kingdom administrative papyri,[6] it is difficult to date the text from its writing. All I can state is that it resembles that of some Late Ramesside Letters, which suggests that it is a record from the later reigns of the Twentieth Dynasty, perhaps from the very last, that of Ramesses XI. Below (p. 90) we will see that at least the occurrence of one name seems to confirm this impression.

Translation

I

1. List[a] of the objects, (being) what the Chief Taxing-Master[b] brought,[c]
2. which were taken from[d] the temples.[e]
3. The House of Khnum, Lord of Elephantine, by the hand of the prophet Atumhotep:
4. gold, *kite* 2;
5. smooth cloth, *ḏ3w*-garments[f] 3, makes[g] (*sic*);
6. smooth cloth, sheet[h] 1, and *ḏ3ḏ*-garment[i] 1;
7. *ḥqq*-fruits[j] in *oipe*-measures 1000;
8. palm-leaves[k], *mrw*-bundles 100;
9. fans[l] 20;
10. date-flour[m], *škr*-baskets 20;
11. red stone[n], mortar[o] 1;
12. millstones with its grinding stone[p] 3.
13. What[q] this august[r] god Khnum had given to the scribe Nesamenope:
14. smooth cloth, *ḏ3ḏ*-garment 1;
15. smooth cloth, sheet 1;
16. *ḥqq*-fruits in *oipe*-measures 1000.

17. The House of Haroeris, Lord of Kom Ombo, by the hand of the prophet:
18. ricinus fruits,[s] *khar* 1, makes 1 sheet;[t]
19. beans,[u] *khar* 2;
20. mats 5;

[5] Not between lines 21 and 22, although a new temple does occur there. Also not between I, 12 and 13, but there the following lines still refer to the same temple.

[6] G. Möller's *Hieratische Paläographie*, II (Leipzig, 1927), is insufficient for this purpose. For instance, for his sign 517 he quotes examples from P. Harris I and P. Abbott in which it was made in two parts, with a break in the middle, and only for the *Nḏmt*-papyrus an instance where it was made in one movement. A quick glance at the facsimile of P. Lansing shows that there too most examples (exceptions are 6, 30 and 10, 9) were made without a break. The scribe of our text also wrote the sign without lifting his brush from the sheet (see I, 2).

The distinction made by Y. Koenig (*Hommages à Serge Sauneron* (Cairo, 1979), I, 188) between forms of the *gm*-bird with a sharp point at the left-hand side and those with a rounded end (as in P. Abbott) is not that pronounced if one includes all instances in the latter papyrus (see, e.g. 2, 12, with a sharp point). In some cases the beak is rendered by a vertical stroke, which in others is omitted. In our text this stroke is present in the word *dgmy* (I, 18), but it seems to me unwarranted to draw conclusions as regards the date from such details. They depend largely on the personal style of a scribe, to a lesser extent on the type of text (quick note, draft, fair copy, etc.), more than on the period.

21. *swt*-reed and halfa-grass[v] 50 (measures).
22. The House of Horus Behdety, by the hand of the prophet Nebnetjeru:
23. smooth cloth, *ḏry*-garment 1;
24. smooth cloth, sheet 1;
25. ox[w] *1*; it was given in the hands[x] of the herdsman Herunofre.

II

1. Head-tax (?)[y] of the prophet Nebnetjeru: mixed[z] festival cow[aa] 1;
2. which was their receipt for him;[bb]
3. gold, *kite* 4;
4. smooth cloth, *ḏry*-garment 1;
5. smooth cloth, sheet 1;
6. ox *1*.

7. The House of Horus of Nekhen,[cc] by the hand of the prophet Harmose:
8. gold, *kite* 2;
9. smooth cloth, *ḏry*-garments 2;
10. smooth cloth, sheets 2;
11. ox *1*;
12. fine bread, loaves 200.

13. The House of Nekhbet, the White One of Nekhen,[dd] ⟨by the hand of⟩ the prophet Huy:
14. smooth cloth, *ḏry*-garment 1;
15. smooth cloth, sheet 1;
16. fine thin cloth, *ỉdg*-garments[ee] 2;
17. smooth cloth, *rwḏw*-garments[ff] 2;
18. female[gg] head of cattle, dappled[hh] plough-animal[ii] *1*;
19. copper, *deben* 10.

20. The House of Khnum and Nebu at Esna:[jj]
21. smooth cloth, *rwḏw*-garments 4, makes 1 *ḏry*-garment;[kk]
22. smooth cloth, sheet 1;
23. festival cow *1*;
24. which was their receipt;

III

1. gold, *kite* 4;[ll]
2. smooth cloth, *ḏry*-garment 1;
3. smooth cloth, sheet 1;
4. ox *1*.

Notes

(a) *snny*. This administrative term, also written *snn* (cf. L. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (Berkeley/Providence, 1982–90), III, 63), occurs frequently at the beginning of texts, on papyri as well as on ostraca. It has been translated in various ways. In a few instances 'copy' seems to suit the context (e.g., A. H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes* (Leipzig, 1905), 22, n. 69), but in others this is impossible (e.g., P. Sallier I, 9, 8: 'and you shall cause one to bring us a copy [*mỉtt*] of whatever you shall do in the form of [*m*] a *snn ỉpw*'[7]). There is obviously a distinction between *mỉtt*, 'copy', and *snn*, as also illustrated by their combined use in P. Bulaq

[7] The meaning of the words that follow (*ḫry ỉnbw*) is obscure; see R. A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 328. Their rendering by A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II (London, 1948), 78, as 'incontestable' is a pure guess, as he himself admits.

18 (see S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom* (New Malden, 1990), 23 and n. 46).

In the present case 'copy' would make little sense, although this does not imply that the text was not in fact copied from a draft (see above). Kaplony's rendering 'original' (*ZÄS* 110 (1983), 169) seems to be incorrect, although he rightly stresses the difference between *mitt* and *snn*. The best translation may be either 'record' (so W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde* (Berlin, 1974), 131: 'Protokoll'), or, less specifically, 'list', or even 'document'.

(b) *ꜥ-n-št*. The title (for some references, see Lesko, *Dict. Late Eg.*, III, 169) was repeatedly discussed by Gardiner (e.g., *HPBM*, Third Series, I, 48 n. 8; *JEA* 27 (1941), 66–7; *AEO* I, 25 and 34*; *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 57; 71 n. 1; 150 [§200]), who initially conceived the collective noun *št* to be a designation of the tax-gatherers, later on of the body of taxpayers.

Recent discussions (taking account of new text publications) by S. Allam (*ASAE* 71 (1987), 21) and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Miscellanea Aegyptologica* (Hamburg, 1989), 43–6, have broadly corroborated Gardiner's ideas, particularly that the combination of the function of *ꜥ-n-št* with that of 'steward' was common. For this aspect, see also W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 388, fig. 243: the Book of the Dead of the *imy-r pr* and *ꜥ-n-št* Sethnakhte.

However, neither the origin of the word *št* nor the exact position and the duties of the *ꜥ-n-št* are clear.[8] Caminos (*LEM*, 287–8) seems to connect the noun with the verb *šdi* (see below, n. d), as did Gardiner in *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 71 n. 1. This seems unlikely, for the verb is never written with a *t*, nor the noun with a *d* (cf. Lesko, *Dict. Late Eg.* III, 169 and 171). We have to accept that, for the time being, the derivation of the word remains obscure.

As regards the duties of the *ꜥ-n-št*, Allam, in his publication of P. Cairo CG 58055, quoted above, described him as 'un fonctionnaire à la tête d'un service chargé d'approvisionner l'unité militaire en fournitures nécessaires'. That now seems too specific, although the description of the man's activities as recorded in this letter seems to be correct. In P. Bibl. Nat. 199, 2 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels, 1939), 53, 8–9), however, he had to do with men who were assigned to him, not with goods. Yet it is not quite certain whether this was part of his official duties; it could be a private matter, as in P. Bibl. Nat. 199, 1 (*LRL*, 53, 4).

Evidently, it is still unclear what *št* actually means. In P. Anastasi VI, 24ff., a letter about a quarrel over personnel, two army scribes are summoned, *nty ḥr iṯꜣ pꜣ št*. Although *št* is here written with the sitting man plus plural strokes, Gardiner (*The Wilbour Papyrus*, II, 71 n. 1), and, following him, Caminos (*LEM*, 281), translated 'who take the assessment'. Why the verb *iṯꜣ*, 'to take away, to remove', is used they leave unexplained. One expects *št* in this sentence to designate what was removed; not the 'assessment', but concrete objects, 'taxes' *in natura*. Of course, Gardiner was influenced in his interpretation by the use of *št* in the section headings of P. Wilbour A. But was there the assessment indeed indicated, or rather the collection of grain, as W. F. Edgerton suggested (*JAOS* 70 (1950), 300)? The latter would suit Gardiner's own translation of *ꜥ-n-št* as 'Chief Taxing-Master', not 'Chief Tax Assessor'.[9]

In the present text it is apparent that the functionary was responsible for the collection of the goods listed, not for the assessment. Whether one should call them 'taxes' largely depends on the interpretation of the term. Proceeding from the Egyptian concept of the temple as part of the state—and not a 'church'—and, therefore, fully under the authority of Pharaoh as head and representative of the state, the transfer of goods from temples to other state institutions is hardly covered by our term 'taxes'. Only in a wider sense could such a transfer, as those by individuals to state organizations—as we will see, the Egyptians did not make a clear distinction in this matter—be indicated with the word 'tax'. That in P. Cairo CG 58055 the subject seems to be the (re)distribution of such goods by an *ꜥ-n-št* agrees with the

[8] That the title is to be connected with *ꜥ-n-št* in the Gebel el-Silsila stela of Amenophis IV (*Urk.* IV, 1962, 18), as W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden-Cologne, 1958), 145, has suggested, seems unlikely. *št* will there be a spelling for *šꜥd* (see line 15).

[9] If indeed *št* in section headings of P. Wilbour means 'assessment', it would not be logical to suggest that the *ꜥ-n-št* was a tax-*collector*, nor that *št* as collective noun designates the tax-*payers*. To be assessed is not the same as to pay taxes. Yet languages are not always logical!

structure of the Egyptian economy. Whether the same official also drew up the assessment is less certain.

The *ꜣ-n-št* of P. BM 10401 is not named. Several of these officials are known from the Twentieth Dynasty (see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 144f.), but whether any of them could be our man depends on the precise date of the text, which is unknown. Moreover, it is far from certain whether there was at one time only a single Chief Taxing-Master in the entire country; on the contrary, the title seems to occur with various contemporaneous officials. In the Hammamat Inscription no. 12 of the time of Ramesses IV, for instance, a Theban Mayor and an Overseer of Cattle of the Medinet Habu temple bear the title side-by-side (L.-A. Christophe, *BIFAO* 48 (1949), 1 ff.). Any suggestion of the name of our present *ꜣ-n-št* would therefore be pure speculation.

In summary, we have to admit that P. BM 10401 does not add substantially to our knowledge concerning the activities of the *ꜣ-n-št*. For the solution of this problem more material is required.

(c) *pꜣ inw*. Probably *inw* is the perfective participle, used descriptively as against *nty twtw šdw* in the next line, which is restrictive. I therefore conceive *pꜣ inw* as an adjunct to *nꜣ ꜣḫt*. *inw* could hardly be a substantive, for then *pꜣ ꜣ-n-št* would require an introductory *n*, 'of'. Moreover, what could the *inw* of the *ꜣ-n-št* mean? Recently, Renate Müller-Wollermann has argued that *inw* has to be understood as irregular, voluntary presents (*GM* 66 (1983), 81–91), while E. Bleiberg (*JARCE* 21 (1984), 155–67) attempted to demonstrate that they were gifts to the King. Whether the goods listed in our text were indeed intended for Pharaoh and his court is unknown. Moreover, both authors take as their point of departure an opposition between obligatory taxes and free gifts which is not always apparent. Gift-giving usually involves some social obligation.

Anyhow, the Egyptians did not use such words as *inw* in a well circumscribed, technical sense, with sharply defined meanings. They always kept in mind their original value, in this case 'that what is brought', without any implication of why or under what conditions the goods were brought. In a particular context it may be helpful for the reader to render *inw* as 'present' or 'gift', but this is the translator's interpretation. Since in the papyrus here published the reason for the delivery is not clear, I prefer the literal rendering.

(d) *šd.w m*. Literally, *šdi* means 'to take away', 'to remove'. Used in connection with taxes and suchlike it may be rendered as 'to exact', 'to collect', but—as in the preceding note with *inw*—this is an interpretation.

The verb is construed with *m-dì* (in earlier texts with *m-ꜥ*) when followed by a person, with *m* before a building or an institution.[10] In the latter case, which occurs in our text (*m nꜣ rw-prw*), it is not clear whether it is simply recorded that the goods are 'removed', or whether they are 'exacted, collected' from the institution, being taxes. The concrete thinking of the Egyptians does not distinguish between these two notions. In P. Turin 2000, 1–2 (= Pleyte and Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, 158), for instance, quoted by Gardiner (*JEA* 27 (1941), 50, with n. 1), grain is stated to be *šd m dmi Mꜣḏy*, 'taken in the town of Madi'. This may literally mean that it would be 'removed' from the place, but the context strongly suggests that it was an obligatory payment which was 'exacted' from the town. On the other hand, in O. Berlin 10632, 4 (= *Hier. Pap. Berlin*, III, 40) we read that 1000 (pieces of) wood are to be *šd m tꜣ šnwt* by a woodcutter. This, and similar entries according to which, for example, lamps are 'taken' from storerooms, demonstrate that the notion 'exacted' is by no means always implied.

In our text it is difficult to make a choice. The goods are certainly taken 'in' the temples, but on what grounds? All we can state is that the mention of the Chief Taxing-Master may point to an obligation, that is, to 'taxes'. Yet, even if we accept that they are payments taken in the temples, it is not clear whether the institutions were responsible, or individual priests. Probably both, as will appear below.

(e) *rw-prw*. The determinative (written  instead of ⊗) points to the temples with their precincts, including storerooms, workshops, etc. According to Patricia Spencer (*The Egyptian*

[10] In P. Ramesseum III, *vs.* 77 (cf. J. W. B. Barns, *Five Ramesseum Papyri* (Oxford, 1956), pl. 25) before a ship.

Temple. A Lexicographical Study (London, 1984), 37ff.) *r-pr* and *ḥwt-nṯr* are almost fully interchangeable, Gardiner's idea that *r-pr* indicated a sanctuary of secondary rank or a provincial temple (see, i.a., *JEA* 27 (1941), 70, n. 1) being apparently untenable. Nevertheless, in this text all temples do seem to be of secondary rank.

(f) *dꜣw.* For this common type of garment, probably a 'skirt' or 'kilt', see my *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 265ff. It was more often made of *šmʿ*, 'thin cloth', than of *nʿʿ*, 'smooth cloth', as it is here. Despite the translation, the latter is the cheaper, ordinary material.

(g) *ir.n.* In two entries (I, 18 and II, 21) the value of a commodity is converted into that of a piece of textile. Evidently, the latter was the norm, but the requisite garment was not available in the storeroom and, therefore, replaced by something else. That may have happened here too, but the scribe never completed the entry.

(h) *ỉfd.* See *Commodity Prices*, 291ff. The translation 'sheet' suggests that it was merely intended for a bed. That may not have been the case. An *ỉfd* could as well serve as a cloak.

(i) *ḏsr(t).* Although usually, as in the present text, written without the final *t*, the word was certainly feminine. It seems to designate a 'cloak' or 'mantle' (*Commodity Prices*, 278ff.). It was mostly made of 'thin cloth', but here the cheaper *nʿʿ* was probably meant.

The determinative here – nowhere else in the papyrus—appears to be  . The same writing occurs in some other instances, e.g. O. Cairo 25258, 3 (where Černý, Notebook 101, p. 34, saw  and ); P. Cairo 52002, 4 (Paule Posener, *RdE* 33 (1981), pl. 3: as det. of *nwt*); P. Mayer B, 13 and 14 (T. E. Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A and B* (London, 1920), n. m to this text, hesitates between  and ). A similar writing may occur in P. Ch. Beatty V, 8, 3, where Gardiner (*HPBM* Third Series, pl. 26, n. *c* to 8, 3) suggested × rather than . In our present text × looks highly improbable.

(j) *ḥqq.* Unidentified fruit or tuber; see Helck, *Materialien* v, 756f., and G. Charpentier, *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique* (Paris, 1981), no. 780. The word occurs fairly frequently in ostraca and account papyri, which proves that it designates a common constituent of the diet. Its occurrence in P. Turin 1903, *vs.* 2 (=K*RI* VII, 396, 16)[11] and in P. Koller 4, 2 (=Gardiner, *LEM*, 119, 8) amongst Nubian products suggests its foreign origin. Perhaps it was the fruit or seed of the argun palm. Dr Renate Germer has kindly informed me (private letter of 22.4.86) that this is an acceptable interpretation, although by no means certain.

Usually *ḥqq* are measured in *oipe*, as they are here (also in line 16), or in *gꜣbw* (?'armfuls'); in some cases, however, they are recorded by the piece. The high numbers suggest a rather small object.

(k) *ṯrw.* Whether this is the correct reading, or *nfw*, or something else, is uncertain; see the discussion by Charpentier, op. cit., no. 1415. The meaning 'palm-leaf' seems certain. Usually the material is measured in *ps*-packs (e.g., P. Harris I, 74, 6) or, more frequently, in *mrw*-bundles. In the list on the verso of P. Turin 1903 (=K*RI* VII, 396–7) it is recorded together with *ḥqqw*, *dqw* and *bhw* (all three also in the present text) as part of the yearly *ḫtrỉ* of Kush. In P. Turin 1887, 2, 6 (*RAD* 76, 11) it occurs, preceded by *ḥqq*, among the baksheesh handed over by a priest of Elephantine, while in our papyrus it was delivered by (or from) the Khnum temple. All this strongly suggests that *ṯrw* was a Nubian product imported through Elephantine.

(l) *bh(t).* According to P. Turin 1903, *vs.* 5 (see the preceding note) fans could be made of palm-leaves. The plant determinative suggests that this was also the case here. In P. Harris I, 21a, 2, *bhwt* are stated to consist of young branches and to be adorned with flowers; in P. Koller 4, 6 (=Gardiner, *LEM*, 119, 4) they are said to be of gold, but that may merely refer to the handles.

Surviving fans, although their shapes may be palmiform, mostly consist of ostrich feathers, and in most representations the same materials seems to be indicated (see H. G. Fischer, *LÄ*

[11] Kitchen, following Černý, calls it the recto, on what grounds I do not know. I see no reason to think that the longer text (thirty-one lines) was secondary to the shorter one (eight lines). In Egyptology, the position of the fibres is generally not the criterion for designating the sides 'recto' and 'verso'; this is defined by the text.

II, 81). I know of not a single actual fan made of palm-leaves.[12] Whether the fans depicted in the top as well as in the bottom register of the chapel in the tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82; see N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London, 1915), pl. 26) are made of this material is not quite clear. In the bottom scene a servant is fanning wine-jars. Although the object used for that appears similar to that with which the man playing *senet* in the top register is fanned, it seems likely that the household object was of a simpler nature (see, e.g., J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1894), pl. iii, second register, right-hand side).

The Old Kingdom name of such a simple fan was *mnqb* (Fischer, *LÄ* II, 83), but during the New Kingdom all such objects seem to have been termed *bht*, whatever their nature and use; with the exception of the fire fan, made of basketry or cowhide and called in the Middle Kingdom *nft* (G. Jéquier, *Les frises d'objets* (Cairo, 1921), 296f.), which was always thought to be a different object.

In P. Turin 1903 as well as in our text it was probably not the simple household fan that was meant, but a ceremonial object, perhaps one like that shown in Amenemhet's tomb.

(m) *dqw.* Not a spelling for the generic word for fruit, *dqr* (also written *dgr*), but the name of a specific vegetal product. It also occurs in P. Turin 1903, *vs.* 4 (see preceding notes) as a Nubian product. Perhaps 'date-flour' is meant; see I. Wallert, *Die Palmen im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1962), 43: 'vielleicht die zu Mehl zerriebenen Kerne' (of dates). This would accord well with the frequent occurrence of *dqw t' ḥḏ*, 'white bread made of date-flour'. For references, see Helck, *Materialien, Indices* by Inge Hofmann (Mainz, 1970), 192.

The *dqw* is here measured in *škr*-baskets (for these, see *Commodity Prices*, 139); in P. Turin 1903 it was contained in *rq*-baskets or -sacks (ibid. 151f.). If *rq* indeed means 'sack', it becomes even more likely that flour was meant.

(n) *inr*  . Černý suggested a reading of the latter sign as *dšr*, 'red', since in later texts this word is determined by the hair-sign.

(o) *mḏḥt.* 'mortar'; cf. Černý, *JEA* 31 (1945), 38, and *Commodity Prices*, 326f.

(p) *bnw(t)* + *s'.s.* Cf. Černý, op. cit. 39.

(q) *dì.n.* Usually such entries begin with  , or, more rarely, with *rdyt.n*, while the omission of the *t* is common.  , however, is unusual, but see *Hier. Ostr.* 56, 2, 1 (). A few more instances are listed in my *Commodity Prices*, 502 n. 38. It seems that the formula bears a definite past meaning: 'what X had given previously'.

(r) The stroke under the determinative of *šps* is purely graphic.

(s) *dgmy.* 'Ricinus fruits'; cf. L. Keimer, *Kêmi* 2 (1929), 100–04; *Wb. der Drogennamen*, 584; Charpentier, op. cit., no. 1467.

(t) The value of an *ifd* in Deir el-Medîna was from 8 to 10 *deben* of copper (see *Commodity Prices*, 292); that of a *dgmy* is unknown. For the equation, see n.g above, and n.kk below.

(u) *i(w)ry(t),* 'Lubya beans' (*Vigna sinensis Endl*), a common constituent of the Egyptian diet, also used in pharmacopoeia. It is not, as has been suggested, a word for *Vicia faba*, the modern *fūl*, for that is *pr* () =φελ. See now Renate Germer, *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten* (Mainz, 1985), 80f. *iwryt* are usually measured in *khar*, as here.

(v) *swt* + *nb. nb* is the name for 'halfa-grass', a common material for baskets and mats (cf. Keimer, *OLZ* 30 (1929), 146ff.). *swt*, according to the determinative also a plant, is certainly to be distinguished from *swt*, 'grain'. It indicates an as yet unidentified kind of reed or rushes. The word occurs in some ostraca, e.g.: O. Turin 57366, 4; O. Berlin 12398 (*MDAIK* 37 (1981), 11). For other references, see Charpentier, op. cit. 921. Helck's remark (*Materialien* v, 814) that it is only found in Spiegelberg's *Rechnungen* is not correct.

I conceive the entry as meaning that *swt* and *nb* together totalled 50 (measures). What measure was meant is obscure. However, *nb* can also designate a container (e.g., P. Harris I, 19a, 4; O. Or. Inst. Chicago 17005, *vs.* 9 [unpubl.]). So it would be possible to translate: '50 *nb*(-baskets) (filled with) *swt*'. However, although the last sign of *nb* is not clear, it is certainly not  , whereas  is just possible.

[12] V. Loret (*Sphinx* 6 (1903), 110–11) mentions two fans from the tomb of the Amun priests at Deir el-Bahari made of palm-leaves, but the article by Daressy to which he refers records neither the shape nor the material.

(w) *kꜣ*(?). How to read the bull-sign is unclear; it may be *kꜣ* or *iḫw* (e.g., *BIFAO* 85 (1985), 37–40). Nor is it certain how we should translate it. Perhaps the generic 'ox' would be the best solution here. In II, 18, we come across the explicit entry *iḫw ḥmt*, 'female head of cattle', which can be taken as an indication that elsewhere in the text (II, 6; II, 11; II, 23; III, 4) a male animal was meant. That *ḥbyt* (II, 1 and 23) always designates a female is not quite certain.

In all instances the number of the oxen—'one' throughout—is written in red ink, the only use of this colour in our papyrus. The reason for it is obscure. Another mysterious detail is the clear point that occurs after the bull-sign, here in I, 25 probably, in II,m 6; II, 11; and III, 4 clearly. In the last instance there is even a red point over a black one. In II, 18, where *iḫw* is fully written out, such a point is absent; nor does it occur in II, 23, where the bull-sign is followed by *ḥbyt*. I fail to see whether these points have any significance.

(x) *sw [r-]ʿw(y)*. Cf. *rdit n.f r-ʿw mniw* in O. DeM. 66, 2[13] and *iw.i ḥr dit n.f . . . r-ʿ mniw* in O. Černý 16 (= *Hier. Ostr.* 68, 3), 3–4. In both instances the delivery of a donkey to a herdsman is recorded.

(y) *tp-ḏrt*. The exact meaning and the implications of this curious technical and administrative term (lit. 'head-hand') are still obscure. Our main source for it is P. Turin 1874 *rt.*—the papyrus that bears on the verso the Royal Canon—where it occurs in several entries. It seems there to refer throughout to officials (*ḥꜣty-ʿ, idnw, sš, imy-r . . .*, *rwḏw*), and to designate special deliveries of silver (II, 5), gold (III, 6), oxen (III, 6), and garments. The *tp-ḏrt* is distinguished from the other taxes which are called *šꜣyt* (III, 4; IV, 20) or *šdy* (III, 5), probably also *ḥtri* (VIII, x + 7). Unfortunately, the fragmentary state of the papyrus prevents us from drawing definite conclusions as to the nature of *tp-ḏrt* (for an attempt to translate the text, see Helck, *Materialien* III, 468–72).

Helck's interpretation of the term as 'Abgaben, die fest mit bestimmten Ämtern verbunden sind, indem die Inhaber dieser Ämter aus ihren Einnahmen an die vorgesetzte Dienststelle zahlen, um dieser zusätzliche Einnahmen zukommen zu lassen' (*Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 248), or, abbreviated, 'eine am Amt hängende Abgabe' (*LÄ* I, 5) is hardly more than an intelligent guess.

A second text in which the term is found is one of the inscriptions of the high-priest Amenhotep (G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929), 63ff.; see also Helck, *MIO* 4 (1956), 162), where we read, after the statement that Amenhotep took care of the *šmw*, the *šꜣyt*, and the *bꜣkw rmṯ* for the Amun temple: *ḥr m-dì nꜣw inw tpw-ḏrwt, pꜣ ʿnḫw n* Amenrasonther (which you caused to be brought to Pharaoh). Further on in the inscription (line 21 of text D; Helck, op. cit. 170) we again meet the term in the sentence *pꜣ inw tpw-ḏrwt, ʿnḫw i.di.k in.tw r nꜣ wsḫw pr-nsw*. Whether Helck's translation of these sentences is quite correct is not clear, but so much is evident, that *tp-ḏrt* here indicates some type of tax, consisting of food (*ʿnḫw*) and brought to Pharaoh or to the *wsḫw* of his palace.

The earliest mention of *tp-ḏrt* is that in the tomb of Rekhmire (N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rēʿ* (New York, 1943), pl. lx). The text columns at the right-hand side, beside the scene of fashioning statues and an offering table, begin with the words *tp-ḏrt m ḫrt-nṯr*. What follows is lacunary, and Sethe's restoration (*Urk.* IV, 1153, 16) is possibly not quite correct. *tp-ḏrt* also occurs in the caption to the scene of polishing the offering table. Whether there is any direct connection between these cases and those discussed above remains obscure. The essential characteristic of *tp-ḏrt* in the Turin papyrus, namely delivery by officials, seems here to be absent.

I know of two more instances of *tp-ḏrt*. One occurs in the (unnumbered) IFAO papyrus published by Koenig in *Hommages Sauneron*, I, 185ff. In fragment A1, line 11 (pl. 34) we read: *msdmt*, 15 *dbn*, *m tp-ḏrt ꜣ-n-ḫꜣst Knr*, 'galena, 15 *deben*, being the *tp-ḏrt* of the Chief of the Ghebel Kener'. This seems to accord with the idea that the term designates a sort of poll-tax for officials.

[13] Černý's transcription  (i.e. *sꜣw*?) is perhaps not correct. The first sign is very similar to that in *Hier. Ostr.* 68, 3, 4, and that in the present text, both transcribed by Černý as  .

The last instance, generally overlooked, is Gurob Fragment G (*RAD*, 20), lines 3–4, which run: *šdyt m wḏ› n pr pn, r p› tp-ḏrt n wpt-rnpt*, 'taken from the storeroom of this House, for the *tp-ḏrt* of the New Year's Festival'. Gardiner transcribed  for what I read as *ḏrt*, adding 'pr(obably)', and a facsimile. A study of the original in University College, London, has convinced me that there is a  instead of Gardiner's  . Moreover, the phrase which Gardiner transcribed is unknown elsewhere and looks decidedly odd.

To summarize, the idea of Helck (followed by Koenig, op. cit. 216) that *tp-ḏrt* designates a 'tax' paid for the execution of an office seems to suit most occurrences, or at least not to be contradicted by them, with the exception of those in Rekhmire's tomb. Such a tax is not uncommon in other civilizations.[14] Whether it was paid once, at the time of the functionary's appointment, or regularly during his term of office—the mention of *wpt-rnpt* in the last example may suggest that—is a secondary matter.

In Ptolemaic Egypt a tax paid by priests on their installation did exist (see, e.g., Walter Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1905), I, 212; Claire Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (Brussels, 1939), 403f.). Spiegelberg has suggested that P. dem. Berlin 13621 verso bears a record of such a tax (*Aus einer ägyptischen Zivilprozessordnung der Ptolemäerzeit*, Abh. Bayer. Akad. der Wiss., Phil.-hist Abt., NF 1, 1929, 16–22). Therefore, it seems quite possible that something similar already existed in Pharaonic times. However, possible is not the same as proved. At present we can conclude no more than that our text does not contradict the suggestion.

(z) *šbnt*. A word used in connection with cattle and evidently derived from the verb *šbn*, 'to mix'. However, it cannot mean 'various types of oxen' here, since the number is 'one'. The word, determined by the bull-sign, occurs in O. Berlin 12337 (= *Hier. Pap. Berlin* III, 31), 7 (after *rnn i(wꜣ)*), and frequently in P. Harris I. In some cases (20a, 6; 36b, 11) it is clearly not used in apposition, but designates a special type of cattle. Whether 'mixed' points to the colour or the race of the animals is not clear. The word is not recorded by Stork in his list of denotations of cattle (*LÄ* V, 258).

(aa) *ḥbyt*. This is a fairly frequent designation of a festival bull/cow, destined to be sacrificed in the temple (see Gardiner, *AEO* I, 22). It occurs e.g. in Gurob Fragment F (*RAD*, 19), 3 and 5, and in a list of cattle in P. BM 9997, IV, 11 (*KRI* VII, 392, 15).

As well as a 'food-offering' in general (see W. F. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1936), 58, n. 36b) *ḥbyt* also means an offering-ox in particular.

(bb) *nty r-ᶜ-šsp. w n.f*. The same phrase, but without *n.f*, also in line 22. It seems improbable that *r-ᶜ* is here the compound preposition, which is usually followed by a name or a title (see D. Valbelle, *BIFAO* 77 (1977), 129–31). More likely we have here an example of a compound noun, *r-ᶜ-šsp* meaning 'receipt'. Cf., e.g. *r-ᶜ-šd* in P. BM 10068, *vs.* 1, 25, which T. E. Peet (*The Great Tomb Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), 101, n. 37) rendered as 'levied' (lit. 'in a levied state'). For such nouns, see A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*[2] (Leipzig, 1933), §439. So far as I know, no other instance of such a construction with *šsp* is known.

It is not clear to whom . *w* refers. In fact, the entire expression is mysterious. In both cases, it seems that the words separate what precedes from what follows. Since the former is in both cases the word *ḥbyt*, it could be that it tells us something about the animal. More probably, it is an introduction to the following entries, which are identical. Perhaps the expression states that what followed had already been received before, as in I, 13.

(cc) *ḫn*. For this spelling of *Nḫn* = Hierakonpolis, see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* (Cairo, 1925–31), III, 99. The writing without the initial *n* is not mentioned by Gardiner, *AEO* II, 7*.

(dd) *pr Nḫbt Ḥḏt Ḫn*. Despite the spelling  Nekhbet, the goddess of el-Kab, is certainly meant. For the epithet 'The White One of Nekhen', see *Wb.* II, 309, 8, with references.

(ee) *ỉdg*. Possibly a kerchief; see *Commodity Prices*, 282. The garments are stated to be made of *šmᶜ nfr*, 'fine thin cloth', which also occurs elsewhere as their material. In some instances one

[14] See, e.g. Lucy Mair, *African Kingdoms* (Oxford, 1977), 102–4; Jack Goody (ed.), *Succession to High Office* (Cambridge, 1966), 155.

finds *šmʿ* alone, in others *šmʿ nfr nfr*, 'very fine thin cloth' (e.g. *RAD* 20, 12); seldom, however, the ordinary cloth *nʿʿ*.

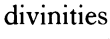
(ff) *rwḏw*. A common piece of dress (cf. *Commodity Prices*, 284ff.), the nature of which is as yet uncertain. Its material is here, as in many other cases, the ordinary quality of cloth (*nʿʿ*). However, instances of *šmʿ*, 'thin cloth', are not infrequent. Since *rwḏw* are once recorded as having been distributed among female slaves (P. Bibl. Nat. 209, II A = Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen*, pl. x), it can hardly be a luxurious type of garment. Perhaps it was a sash or shawl, as I have suggested (loc. cit.), but I am no longer sure about this.

For the equation 4 *rwḏw* = 1 *ḏ-ryt*(*t*) in line 21, the Deir el-Medina prices present real possibilities. A *rwḏw* cost 5 to 15 *deben*, when made of *nʿʿ* usually 5 to 10, while a *ḏ-ryt* cost 20 to 50 *deben*.

(gg) *iḫw*  . The latter group designates a female animal (cf. e.g. Gardiner, *AEO* II, 258*ff.), but the reading is less clear. Despite Gardiner's doubts I believe that it is equivalent to  , *ḥmt*, which as a suffix is appended to *st*, 'woman', but also to names of female animals and individuals (see R. O. Faulkner, *JEA* 58 (1972), 300). *iḫw* itself can be used for a male as well as for a female animal; cf. e.g. P. Turin 2094, 1 and 2: *pꜣ iḫw*, with line 3: *tꜣ iḫw* (*KRI* VI, 865–6).

(hh) *sꜣb*. 'Dappled'. See *Wb.* IV, 17, 13, and R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 210. Dappled oxen occur in the list of animals in P. BM 9997 (quoted above, n.aa) IV, 6 and 10, where the word is written  .

(ii)  . The sign (U 13) suggests that a plough-ox is meant, or, in a wider sense, a draught-ox. In the list of P. BM 9997, quoted in the preceding note, the word occurs in line 1 as  , elsewhere as . Whether it has to be read as *ḥb* is not certain. Note that it is explicitly said to be a cow, not a male ox, although used for ploughing.

(jj) *Ḫnm Nb*(*t*)*-ww m ʾIwnyt*. For the goddess Nebu or Nebet-uu, see *LÄ* IV, 363f. The two divinities also occur in P. Turin 1895+2006, 3, 11 (= *RAD* 39, 8); see Gardiner's commentary in *JEA* 27 (1941), 31. More about Esna and its gods can be found in Gardiner, *AEO* II, 10*ff., where he i.a. refers to the statue group Cairo CG 549, of the *imy-r pr wr* and *imy-r šnwt n ʾImn* Dhutmose, son of a mayor of Esna, whose mother was chantress of  .

(kk) That 4 *rwḏw* replace here 1 *ḏ-ryt*(*t*) strongly suggests that one *ḏ-ryt*(*t*), which occurs in almost every section, belonged to the model delivery, as did also 1 *ifd* (in I, 18, replaced by *ḥqqw*; see n.t). Whether these replacements took place at an unfavourable rate is not clear; see above, n.ff.

(ll) The entries of col. III are exactly the same as in II, 3–6. The latter were probably delivered by the prophet Nebnetjeru, so these may well be due to an (unmentioned) prophet of Esna. One would expect something like *tp-ḏrt*, as in II, 1, but that is absent here.

Commentary

Four points require a more extensive discussion, namely:

A. The persons mentioned in the text;
B. The temples;
C. The goods that are recorded;
D. The overall meaning of the papyrus and its implications for the economic history of the Twentieth Dynasty.

A. All those recorded by name in the papyrus[15] are prophets (*ḥmw-nṯr*), except the herdsman Herunofre (I, 25) and the scribe Nesamenope (I, 13). The latter occurs in an entry the explanation of which presents difficulties. Although line 13 is not visibly

[15] The *ḥmw-nṯr* of Kom Ombo (I, 17) and Esna (II, 20) remain nameless; in the latter case even the title is absent.

separated from the preceding ones, it seems to be the beginning of a new section. The three entries that follow list a *ḏ3y(t)*, an *ỉfd*, and *ḥqqw*, all of which are also recorded before (lines 6 and 7).

The section comprising lines 13 to 16 is said to be a recording of the deliveries of 'this august god Khnum', whereas the first part of the text contains those of the House of Khnum, Lord of Elephantine (I, 3). The former looks decidedly to be an abbreviation of the latter. Therefore, the real difference between the two groups of commodities is to be sought in the words *dỉ.n ... n sš Ns-'Imn-ỉpt*, 'what had (previously) been given to N.'. The first series of goods was brought by the *ꜥ-n-št*, *ergo*: Nesamenope is *not* the *ꜥ-n-št*. Whether he represented some branch of the same administration we do not know. It is also not clear why it should be mentioned that these goods had already been delivered.

Nesamenope may be, as Černý has suggested (*Workmen*, 214), the scribe of the necropolis who is known to us from the correspondence of the late Twentieth Dynasty (*LRL* 55, 3; 57, 2; 63, 7).[16] He also occurs in P. Turin 1895 + 2006 (The Turin Taxation Papyrus; *RAD* 37, 9 and 38, 13),[17] as well as in one of the Tomb Robbery Papyri (P. BM 10052, 1, 19; 5, 17 and 21). If this was indeed the same person, a date for our text during the reign of Ramesses XI becomes more certain (see above, p. 81). However, Nesamenope was a common name in those days. In one of the letters quoted above, P. BM 10412, of which Nesamenope was the author, an *ꜥ-n-št* is mentioned (*vs.* 3 = *LRL* 56, 3),[18] but even that is, of course, no proof of the identity of our Nesamenope, which remains no more than plausible.

Unfortunately, the names of the prophets in our text (Nebnetjeru, Harmose, Huy) are too common to allow for identification. Only Atumhotep, the prophet of Elephantine (I, 3), bears a rare name, but I know of no other occurrence of it for a *ḥm-nṯr* of Khnum from the late New Kingdom. Note that these men, 'by whose hand' the goods were delivered, are no high-priests of their temples; they seem to be of lower rank. One can hardly expect such people to appear in inscriptions. At el-Kab we know of a *ḥm-nṯr tpy* Setau from the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty (PM V, 181–2), but the Huy of our papyrus (II, 13) was merely a simple *ḥm-nṯr*.

The omission in two cases, for Kom Ombo and Esna, of a prophet's name suggests that they were not of vital importance for the record. That could mean (n.d above) that the deliveries in general came from the temple storerooms, and that the prophets acted merely as administrators. The section of the *tp-ḏrt* of Nebnetjeru (II, 1–6), and perhaps also that of col. III, are exceptions. These seem to be personal deliveries.

B. The temples in our text are listed, according to the Egyptian custom, from south to north, that is, from Elephantine to Esna. The series constitutes a striking contrast to that of the smaller temples in P. Harris I, where, among the sanctuaries upon which Ramesses III bestowed his favour, not one of those here mentioned occurs.[19] That none of them are

[16] The first one, P. BM. 10412, despite the word 'Valentia' on its frame (see J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (Brussels, 1939), xii), probably belonged to the Salt Collection (op. cit. xvi), as do the other letters from the correspondence now in the British Museum. Since the present papyrus was also part of this collection it seems not too wild a guess to suggest that it originally belonged to the same find, although the reason why it entered this 'archive' is obscure.

[17] Written *Ns-sw-'Imn-m-ỉpt*.

[18] Wood had to be cut for him. There is no indication that this was done for a Chief Taxing-Master as an obligatory service; it could as well be a private matter.

[19] See H. D. Schaedel, *Die Listen des grossen Papyrus Harris* (Glückstadt, 1936), 41 ff.

found in the Wilbour Papyrus is not surprising; it may only mean that these temples did not possess land so far north, and does not imply that they were insignificant, although they certainly were of lesser rank than the major ones at Thebes, Heliopolis and Memphis.

It is conspicuous that the list (Elephantine—Kom Ombo—Edfu—Hierakonpolis—el-Kab—Esna) agrees so well with what we would expect. Only the presence of Horus of Nekhen is not self-evident.[20] The reason that the series does not reach further north than Esna, thus excluding Armant, was possibly that only sanctuaries south of the Theban province were covered.

C. The products requisitioned from the temples, and probably from some individual members of the clergy too, can be divided into four categories (see fig. 2), the loaves delivered by Hierakonpolis being exceptional. Noticeable is the presence of garments in every section except that of Kom Ombo; this temple handed over vegetable products instead. Cattle came only from the more northerly sanctuaries, beginning at Edfu. Why not from Elephantine or Kom Ombo is unknown. These two temples delivered manufactured objects and vegetable products. Was that (partly?) to make up for the absence of animals? One hardly ventures to suggest that the greater distance from Thebes was the reason, for the transportation of cattle along the Nile was certainly easy and quite common.

There seems also to be no obvious reason why Kom Ombo and Edfu as well as el-Kab did not deliver gold. That they were poorer in that period than, for instance, the temple of Hierakonpolis we would hardly expect. It may be that the 10 *deben* of copper from el-Kab replaced the gold, although its value at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty was definitely less than 1 *kite* of gold.

The largest amounts of gold formed part of what are probably the payments of two individuals (II, 3 and III, 1). As stated above, their 'taxes' were exactly the same, consisting of 4 *kite* of gold, 1 *ḏ3y(t)*, 1 *ỉfd*, and 1 ox. Whether the festival cow recorded in the preceding lines and separated from it by the mysterious words *nty r-ʿ-šspw* (*n.f*) also belonged to their delivery is not clear (see n.bb). Although only in the first instance the entries are introduced by *tp-ḏrt*, I would suggest that materially the second group belongs to the same category of requisitions.

The presence of vegetable products among the deliveries of Elephantine and Kom Ombo is in itself explicable. The *ḥqqw* are known to have come from Nubia (see n.j), as well as the *ṯ3w* and *dqw*, and probably also the fans. That a mortar of red stone, probably granite, is found among Elephantine's deliveries is not surprising. On the other hand, halfa-grass (and *swt*?) as well as mats are suitable products of the plain of Kom Ombo.

It is also not surprising that almost every temple handed over some garments. From various sources we know that many, if not all, temples possessed workshops producing textiles, and that these were not only woven there but also tailored, for they 'sold' garments.[21] That they also possessed gold we know from the inscriptions of several royal donations, from Tuthmosis III onwards. Redford once wrote that the temples functioned

[20] For the lack of evidence for priests of Horus of Hierakonpolis during the late Twentieth Dynasty, see D. Förster, *GM* 111 (1989), 49. PM v, 191, mentions a sandstone architrave of Tuthmosis III from there. In *LÄ* II, 1182ff., some finds from the same reign are listed, but also a few from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties which at least attest to the existence of the temple during the entire New Kingdom.

[21] E.g. P. Turin 2008 + 2016 (J. J. Janssen, *Two Ancient Egyptian Ship's Logs* (Leiden, 1961), 85 and *passim*).

		I, 3–12	I, 13–16	I, 17–21	I, 22–25	II, 1–6		II, 7–12	II, 13–19	II, 20–III, 4	
		Temple of Elephantine	The god Khnum	Temple of Kom Ombo	Temple of Edfu	*tp-ḏrt*	*r-ʿ-šsp. w*	Temple of Hierakonpolis	Temple of el-Kab	Temple of Esna	*r-ʿ-šsp. w*
Metals	gold (in *kite*)	2					4	2			4
	copper (in *deben*)								10		
Garments	*ḏry*[*t*] (of *nʿʿ*)	1	1		1		1	2	1	a[1]	1
	ifd (of *nʿʿ*)	1	1	b[1]	1		1	2	1	1	1
	dsiw (of *nʿʿ*)	3c									
	idg (of *šmʿ nfr*)								2		
	rwḏw (of *nʿʿ*)								2	4	
Cattle					1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Vegetable products	*ḥqq* (in *oipe*)	1000	1000								
	ṯrw (in *mrw*)	100									
	dqw (in *škrʿ*)	20									
	dgmy (in *khar*)			1							
	iwry (in *khar*)			2							
	ʿnbw+swt (in ?)			50							
Manufactured articles	fans	20								a. Replaced by 4 *rwḏw*.	
	mortar (of red stone)	1								b. Replaced by 1 *khar* of *dgmy*.	
	millstone + grinding stone	3									
	mats		5								
Bread	*t nfr*							200		c. Make ... ?	

FIG. 2. Goods requisitioned from temples in P. BM 10401.

as a 'repository for the revenues of the empire'.[22] The state, so we have to understand, could freely dispose of the wealth deposited in their storerooms, and that is what seems to happen in our text.

D. The goods listed in the papyrus are stated to be 'taken from' the temples by the *ꜥ-n-šṯ*.[23] Where they went to is not recorded. The papyrus was certainly found at Thebes, probably on the West Bank, as were virtually all papyri from the first Salt Collection. There are even several links with the Late Ramesside Letters, although it remains uncertain whether it was found together with them. This may perhaps suggest a relation to the scribes of the necropolis, and we have seen above that Nesamenope (I, 13) may have been one of them. During the last reigns of the Twentieth Dynasty the necropolis workmen seem to have been more under the supervision of the High Priest of Amun than of the King, who resided in the north. We might therefore suggest that the requisitions were destined for the Amun temple and its higher clergy, rather than the court.

One of the unexpected elements of the text is the combination in one record of deliveries by the temples and those by individual members of the temple personnel, the prophet Nebnetjeru (II, 1–6) and an unnamed priest of Esna (II, 23?; III, 1–4). The first group of goods is explicitly called *tp-ḏrt*, and delivered by the same man who, according to I, 22, was responsible for the payment by the Edfu temple. In the case of Esna, the text nowhere quotes a name. Even if our suggestion that the 'tax' was paid for the right to function as a priest is correct (see n.y), it is conspicuous that the entry was not separated from the sanctuary's own obligations.

The private 'tax' may remind us of the record of the *šrmt* (*šlmt*) levied from a number of individuals as registered in P. BM 10068, *vs.* 1. This is not the place to discuss the text fully,[24] but it is clear that it was some kind of tax. A 'normal' delivery for one person seems there to consist of ½ *kite* of gold, ½ *kite* of silver, 2 *deben* of copper, and a *rwḏw*-garment made of *nꜥ*-cloth, but several persons, for unknown reasons, pay less, or even slightly more. As in our text, the tax comprised metals and garments (no cattle), and there are instances where one item was replaced by a different one, as in our papyrus. That taxes in earlier times were already paid in these materials appears evident from an inscription in the tomb of Tutu at el-Amarna, where a *šryt* is stated to consist of silver, gold, garments, and copper objects.[25]

There seems to exist a clear distinction between this kind of taxes and those paid in grain and other agricultural products, as recorded, for example, on the Bilgai stela.[26] Whether this is a principle is not clear. The private persons (*nmḥw*) of P. Valencay I, *vs.* 2,[27] are stated to have paid to the Treasury in gold, probably for their rights on fields. That seems at first glance to disprove the argument. However, whether there precious metal was indeed handed over, or whether 'gold' means merely 'money', 'payment'—as 'silver' sometimes does[28]—is not certain.

[22] *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, ed. R. W. Smith and D. B. Redford (Warminster, 1976), 123. Redford was discussing particularly the Theban temples, but I do not think that this interpretation should be restricted to them.

[23] Except for those of I, 13–16, which are products said to be given (by Khnum) to the scribe Nesamenope on an earlier occasion.

[24] See my study 'A New Kingdom Settlement' (forthcoming).

[25] See N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna*, VI (London, 1908), pl. 17 = *Urk.* IV, 2009.

[26] A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 49–57.

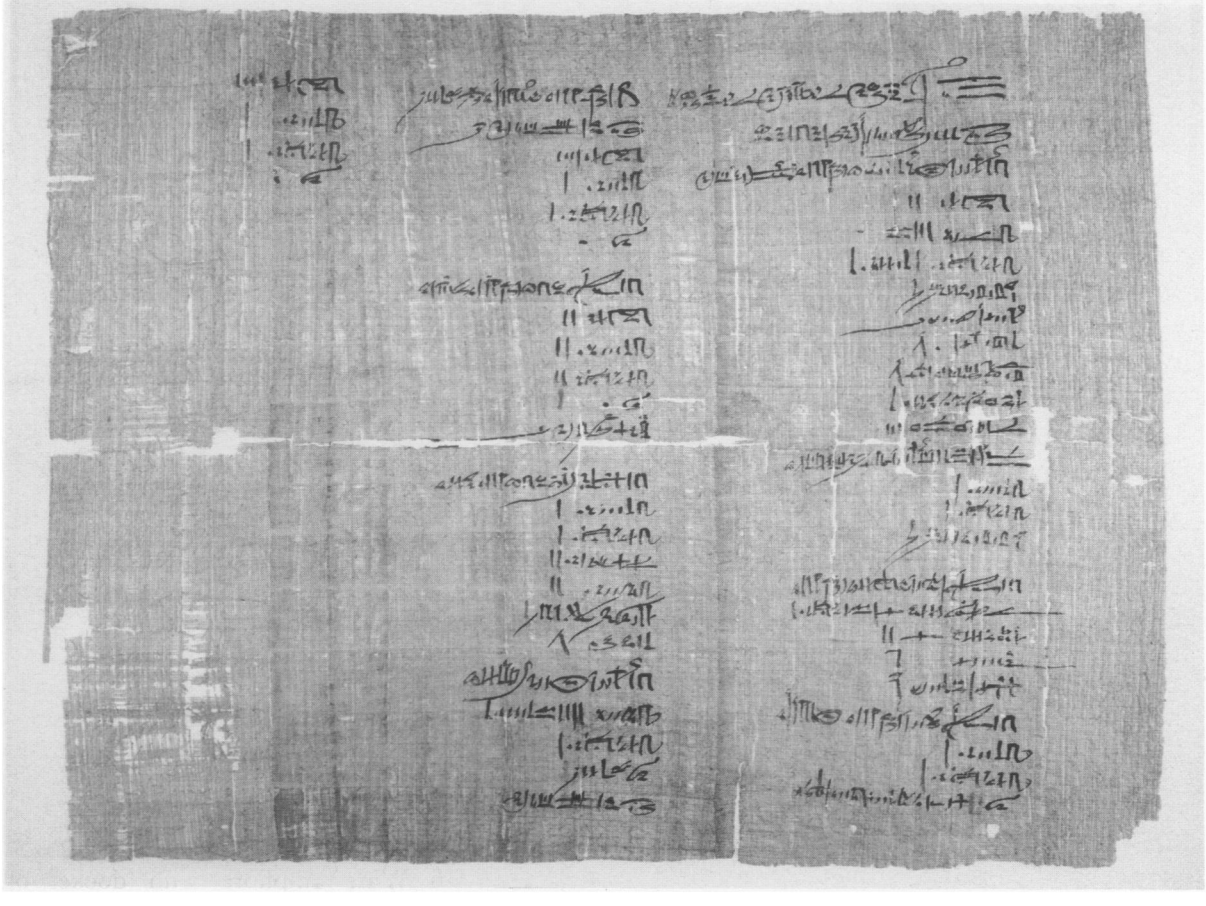
[27] Gardiner, *RdE* 6 (1951), 116–24.

[28] See, e.g. *Commodity Prices*, 499f.

Summarizing, the text lists taxes exacted from temples and from individuals. Whether they should be called 'taxes' depends on the extent of the term. If, as I surmise, they went from Upper Egyptian sanctuaries to the Karnak temple, they could hardly be designated by this term in its modern sense. The German word 'Abgabe', roughly equivalent with 'delivery', would be a better indication. In any case, the papyrus shows us an aspect of the complicated state of public finances at the end of the New Kingdom, a subject that as yet holds many mysteries.

1. The Minolta CR-221 Colourimeter
(*courtesy of Minolta (UK) Ltd.*)

AN OBJECTIVE COLOUR-MEASURING SYSTEM (pp. 43–56)



2. P. BM 10401

REQUISITIONS FROM UPPER EGYPTIAN TEMPLES (pp. 79–94)

TWO OSIRIS FIGURES OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

By D. A. ASTON

Publication of two Osiris figures of the Third Intermediate Period preserved in the British Museum, EA 69672, a converted shabti of Ramesses II, and EA 22913, belonging to the Overseer of the city and Vizier, Pami. A possible implication of EA 69672 for the restoration of some of the tomb groups found in the 'Royal Cache' is discussed, and a chronology for all Third Intermediate Period Osiris figures proposed.

THE main subjects of this article are two Third Intermediate Period Osiris figures preserved in the British Museum, EA 69672 and EA 22913,[1] both of which have been mentioned in print, but in such summary fashion as to be easily overlooked.[2] They deserve a full publication since the first is possibly unique, and the second is of a type not found in Raven's fundamental typology of Osiris figures.[3] It is my purpose to publish the two figures in question, to discuss the possible implications of EA 69672 for the history of the 'Royal Cache', to define the type represented by EA 22913 and to provide a revised chronology for the development of Third Intermediate Period Osiris figures in general.

1. Osiris figure EA 69672 (pls. V–VI)

This Osiris figure was originally a wooden shabti which formed part of Ramesses II's funerary furniture. Later the inscription was filled in with coarse plaster and the shabti mounted on a block of wood, given an ostrich feather crown, now lost, and covered in black varnish in deliberate imitation of a typical black-varnished Osiris figure of the Twenty-first Dynasty. It was presented to the British Museum by Rogers Bey in 1883, when the ostrich feather crown ('black plumes and disk') was still extant. As preserved, the figure stands 34.6 cm high, and the block to which it is affixed is 24.5 cm long × 7.5 wide × 5.7 tall. The plinth is somewhat chipped and the shabti figure has lost its feet and suffered some damage to the back of its head, shoulder and legs. The black varnish is not well preserved: scarcely any remains on the front of the figure and one wonders whether it was deliberately scraped off at some point, perhaps to make the text more easily readable. The shabti is mummiform, without beard, holds a hoe in both hands, which are crossed over the chest, and has a basket slung over its left shoulder. It can thus be correlated with Schneider's type VB.3[4] although, as befits its royal status, it wears a *nemes*-headdress. The text (fig. 1), which is written in seven lines from right to left, comprises the typical shabti formula, Chapter VI of the *Book of the Dead.*

[1] I would like to thank Dr C. N. Reeves and Dr J. H. Taylor for bringing these figures to my attention, and Mr W. V. Davies and the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish them.

[2] EA 69672: C. N. Reeves, *The Valley of the Kings. Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 100 n. 45. EA 22913: G. Legrain, *RT* 14 (1892), 65, no. 115. EA 69672 may be the 'mutilated wooden example' mentioned by P. A. Clayton, *JEA* 58 (1972), 171.

[3] M. J. Raven, *OMRO* 59–60 (1978–9), 259–96.

[4] H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), I, 185.

FIG. 1.

There are three possibilities for the date of the conversion of this shabti into an Osiris figure:

(1) It was created in the Twenty-first Dynasty by a private individual who reworked the by-then ancient shabti for his own use.

(2) It was converted in the nineteenth century AD by a dealer who added a plinth and ostrich feather crown to a wooden shabti and black-varnished the whole to make the object more interesting. A royal shabti figure, however, is likely to be sufficiently interesting to a collector in its own right and a dealer would have no need to 'enhance' such merchandise.

(3) It was deliberately made for Ramesses II some time during the Twenty-first Dynasty. From the time of Ramesses XI onwards, it had been the custom of the High Priests of Amun to rewrap and rebury the bodies of New Kingdom pharaohs and their families. While this was carried out singly at first, the practice of moving two or three bodies to one place seems to have grown,[5] until, by the time of the High Priest Menkheperre A, cache burials were being made.[6] This process culminated in the creation of the large caches examplified by the 'Royal' and 'Second' Caches around the middle of the tenth century BC.[7] This sequence of events is well documented, but what has not been emphasized hitherto is that not only were the mummies rewrapped, but their accompanying grave goods were restored at the same time. Some of the tomb groups found in the 'Royal Cache' show a surprising mix of 'antique' (i.e. grave goods contemporary with the original burial) and 'modern' (i.e. material which dates to a restoration) artifacts. For those burials which date from the early Twenty-first Dynasty, this can be demonstrated by three examples.

(a) High Priest of Amun Masaharta A

The burial of Masaharta A was found in such poor condition that Maspero believed it to have been disturbed by the Arabs who had been systematically plundering the tomb

[5] Cf. now Reeves, op. cit. 244–59.
[6] Cf. A. Dodson and J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 75 (1989), 134–5.
[7] Reeves, loc. cit.; A. Niwinski, *JEA* 70 (1984), 73–81.

between its discovery in 1871 and its clearance by the Antiquities Service ten years later.[8] This may not be entirely true. The lack of known grave goods militates against this explanation, and an entry in the *Journal d'Entrée* records the fact that the lower part of a wooden pole covered in stucco (Cairo JE 46952) was found behind the mummy. This suggests that the mummy may have been disturbed in antiquity and later restored by necropolis officials who inserted a wooden pole behind the body for greater strength.[9] The belief that the burial was restored is supported by the fact that the shabtis found with Masaharta, who was buried between years 19 and 25 of Smendes I (*c.* 1050–1044 BC),[10] are of a type otherwise unknown before the period *c.* 990–984 BC.[11]

(b) Queen Nodjmet

On one of the bandages used for the wrapping of Nodjmet's body, a year 1 date occurs with the name of Pinedjem I. This is usually taken to refer to Pinedjem I as High Priest of Amun and the year 1 is generally taken to refer to Smendes I (*c.* 1069 BC),[12] even though the bandage epigraph was never published in full detail. Niwinski, however, has pointed out that Nodjmet's coffin is similar to those of Pinedjem I and Henettawy A, and that it was 'remade out of an earlier, typical coffin of the XXIst Dynasty'.[13] Niwinski would thus date her burial to a period contemporary with Pinedjem I and attribute the year 1 to the reign of Pinedjem I (*c.* 1039 BC), though it could equally refer to year 1 of Amenemnisu (*c.* 1043 BC). Although Niwinski's view is not universally accepted, further evidence in its support came with the publication of a *reis*-shabti of Nodjmet which surfaced on the art market. This shabti is apparently 'extraordinairement semblable au chef de Pinedjem I',[14] although since no photograph was published the veracity of the statement cannot be checked. In any case, it would appear, therefore, that the burial of Nodjmet took place between *c.* 1069 and 1039 BC, yet one of her papyri, BM 10490, seems to be somewhat later than this, and Niwinski would date it no earlier than the pontificate of Pinedjem II, *c.* 990–969 BC.[15] If he is right, then it is clear that at least some of Nodjmet's grave goods were renewed no earlier than fifty years after the original burial.

(c) Pinedjem I

Amongst the funerary items which can be attributed to the tomb group of Pinedjem I are two shabti boxes, Cairo JE 26253A–B. During the Third Intermediate Period, two shabti boxes was a normal requirement in any individual funeral assemblage, but this pair provides the only instance known to me of two boxes of different types being made for

[8] G. Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Deir el Bahari* (Paris, 1889), 511–788.

[9] Cf. G. Elliot Smith and W. R. Dawson, *Egyptian Mummies* (London, 1924), 127. Reeves, op. cit. 267 n. 313, suggests, on the other hand, that the pole had been used for additional strength at the time the corpse was originally wrapped.

[10] Following K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 BC)*[2] (Warminster, 1986), 258–60.

[11] Cf. D. A. Aston, 'Tomb groups from the end of the New Kingdom to the beginning of the Saite Period', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham, 1987, 579–89.

[12] Cf. Kitchen, op. cit. 43 n. 182.

[13] Niwinski, *JARCE* 16 (1979), 49.

[14] J-F. Aubert, *CdE* 56 (1981), 17–18.

[15] Niwinski, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (Freiburg-Göttingen, 1989), 210.

the same person. More importantly, the two-lidded box, Cairo JE 26253A, is of a type which clearly evolved from the earlier three-lidded type exemplified by Cairo JE 26253B.[16] The conclusion is that Cairo JE 26253A was provided by the necropolis officials in *c.* 950 BC to replace a lost or destroyed box.

The remaining tomb groups of the early Twenty-first Dynasty—those of Tayuherit, Henettawy A and Maatkare A—appear to consist of items contemporary with their original burial. When one considers the burials of the earlier, New Kingdom pharaohs and officials, found both in the 'Royal Cache' and in the tomb of Amenophis II,[17] some attempts at restoration are clearly noticeable even though accompanying grave goods were scarce. Amenophis I, Tuthmosis I, Amenophis II, Tuthmosis IV, Amenophis III, Ramesses I, Merenptah, Seti II, Siptah, Ramesses III, Ramesses IV, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX were all found in coffins not originally their own,[18] while those of Seti I and Ramesses II were evidently restored.[19] Some of the kings may have been put into the wrong coffins by the necropolis officials charged with undertaking one of the many restorations these burials underwent. Merenptah's body was found in Sethnakht's coffin and Amenophis III's in that of Ramesses III.[20] For many of the others, however, new coffins were created, either from scratch or refashioned from older ones. Whilst most were recarved from usurped New Kingdom coffins, the new coffin utilized for Ramesses I was, on stylistic grounds, made during the Twenty-first Dynasty.[21]

Thus, since a large proportion of the kings buried in the caches had at least one item of their accompanying grave goods—the coffins—restored at some point subsequent to the original interment, it may be supposed that other items of their funerary furniture were restored at the same time. For most pharaohs this cannot, as yet, be proven, but some attempt does seem to have been made to provide Ramesses II with a new tomb group according to contemporary Twenty-first Dynasty religious beliefs. A suggestion along these lines, curiously ignored by modern scholars, was first made by Amelia Edwards as long ago as 1885.[22] Writing on a shabti figure of Ramesses II, which had presumably come from the 'Royal Cache', she drew attention to the fact that it was of precisely the same height, colour and manufacture as two others in her collection made for Pinedjem I, and she had 'no hesitation in pronouncing it to have been turned out from the same workshop and at the same time'. The present location of this figure is unknown, but, if Edwards' description is accurate, it cannot be contemporary with the original burial of Ramesses II. In view of the evidence relating to the burials of Ramesses I, Masaharta A, Nodjmet and Pinedjem I, the suggestion that this 'Deir-el-Bahari blue' shabti formed part of a restoration of Ramesses II's tomb group is eminently plausible.[23]

[16] Aston, op. cit. 590–606.
[17] V. Loret, *BIE* 9 (1898), 98–112.
[18] Cf. most recently Reeves, op. cit. 212–15, 244–57.
[19] G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Cairo, 1909), 32.
[20] Reeves, op. cit. 215; Daressy, op. cit. 221.
[21] Daressy, op. cit. 26.
[22] A. B. Edwards, in *Etudes archéologiques, linguistiques et historiques dédiées à Mr. le Dr. C. Leemans* (Leiden, 1885), 57.
[23] It is possible that the shabti belongs to the group of genuine Third Intermediate Period shabtis with fake modern inscriptions. However, most examples of this phenomenon seem to derive from the Tanite shabtis stolen from Montet's magazine in 1943, long after Edwards acquired her example. Cf. J. Yoyotte, *BSFTT* 1 (1988), 43–6.

It is in this light that the Osiris figure published here is to be seen. The necropolis officials charged with restoring the burial of Ramesses II probably took one of his wooden shabtis and modified it into an Osiris figure, an important part of a Twenty-first Dynasty tomb group.

2. Osiris figure EA 22913 (pls. VII–VIII)

This figure came to the British Museum from the Sabattier collection in 1891. The wig is blue with yellow edges and is bound by a red fillet tied in a knot at the back. The face and hands are green, with the eyes in black and white. The collar consists of three horizontal rows in red, green and blue with blue pendants. The cuffs are blue and the sash projecting below the hands is red with yellow edging. Running down the front of the figure is an inscription (fig. 2) in black hieroglyphs on a yellow ground, framed on either side by bands of blue, red and blue. The body and base on which it stands are white. The figure was formerly surmounted by an ostrich feather crown, now lost.[24] The paint is slightly chipped and the base plinth is superficially discoloured. As preserved, the figure is 56.2 cm high, while the base is an additional 7.2 cm tall × 13.0 wide × 31.2 long.

FIG. 2.

The text may be translated as 'A boon which the King gives to the priest of Amun-Re, king of the gods, the scribe of the temple in the domain of Amun, the accounts scribe[25] in the domain of Amun, the Overseer of the city, the Vizier, Pami, true of voice'.

Since only one vizier Pami is known,[26] this Osiris figure can be added to the list of documents mentioning him.[27] When these are compared it can be seen that the lowly titles which precede that of 'Overseer of the city' on the Osiris figure are at variance with the unpublished statue, Cairo JE 36940[28] which clearly belonged to the Vizier, and with those on the coffins of his grandson, another Pami,[29] where he is described as a Third Prophet of Amun, and those on the coffins of his great grandson, Padiamonet,[30] where he is described as the Chief of the scribes of the temple of Amun.

Both the date and exact provenance of this Osiris figure can be readily established since the Vizier Pami is related to the family of Takeloth III in the following manner:[31]

[24] An ostrich feather crown can be assumed by comparing this figure with the similar figure of Pakharenkhons, New York MMA 28.3.61.

[25] On the reading of *šs ṯ*, see S. Cauville, *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 25 (h) with references.

[26] For the latest discussion of this man, see Yoyotte, *RdE* 39 (1988), 169–70.

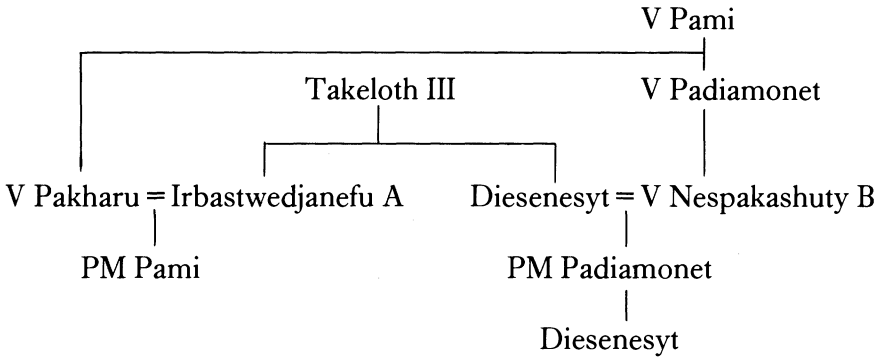
[27] Id. ibid.

[28] H. de Meulenaere, *CdE* 53 (1978), 229.

[29] Coffins Cairo CG 41036—A. Moret, *Sarcophages de l'époque Bubastite à l'époque Saite* (Cairo, 1913), 298–301—and Louvre E 3863—T. Deveria, *Revue Archéologique*, n.s. 8 (1863), 10.

[30] B. Bruyère, *ASAE* 54 (1957), 16–18.

[31] Cf. Aston and Taylor, in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt c. 1300–750 BC* (London, 1990), 148.



V: Vizier PM: Prophet of Montu

Takeloth III's children lived into the period *c.* 725–700 BC,[32] which would indicate that the Vizier Pami flourished down to the period *c.* 775–750 BC. The family tree, however, shows that, since Pami's son and grandson both married daughters of Takeloth III, a generation jump must have occurred in one of the families. For reasons explained elsewhere, it is more likely that this happened in the Vizier's family;[33] thus, Pakharu was probably much younger than his brother Padiamonet. If the Vizier Pami had at least one late-born child, he may have been elderly at the time of his death. In view of this, a date in the middle of the eighth century BC, *c.* 760–740 BC, may be appropriate for Pami's death and the manufacture of his grave goods, of which the Osiris figure BM 22913 formed part.

The Vizier Pami was buried, in company with other members of his immediate family, within subsidiary vaults cut into the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Excavations over the middle and upper colonnades area by Lansing on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1930–1[34] brought to light a number of finds, including a wooden stela (Chicago 18280, ex-New York MMA 31.3.103) of Diesenesyt, daughter of the Priest of Montu Padiamonet, and fragments of the coffin of the Vizier Pami himself. What Lansing had stumbled on was clearly the paltry remains of a robbed tomb chamber similar to the intact one discovered here by Naville in 1894–5,[35] and another which was to be uncovered by Baraize in the same general area a couple of years later.[36] Baraize's 1932–3 finds included parts of the tomb groups of Diesenesyt, daughter of Takeloth III, of Pami's son, the Vizier Padiamonet, and the intact tomb group of Pami's great grandson, the Priest of Montu, also named Padiamonet.

The Osiris figure BM 22913 is very similar to those of Pakharenkhons (New York MMA 28.3.61) and Ankhshepenwepet (New York MMA 25.3.204), found in their tombs at Deir el-Bahari.[37] All three figures have green faces, a tripartite wig bound by a fillet, the ostrich feather crown, somewhat stylized collars, and a sash crossed over the torso. At least one other unprovenanced example (Cairo T.25.11.25.17, unpublished), which differs

[32] Id. ibid. 138–43.
[33] Id. ibid. 148.
[34] This material remains unpublished, but cf. PM I^2, 649, and, for one of the coffins found, Baltimore 79.1 (ex-New York MMA 31.3.107); cf. G. Steindorff, *JWAG* 12 (1949), 8–14.
[35] E. Naville, *EEF Archaeological Reports 1894–95*, 34–5; idem, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, III (London, 1898), 10.
[36] H. Gauthier, *RdE* 1 (1933), 295–6, reprinted *CdE* 8 (1933), 258–9; Bruyère, op. cit. 11–33; H. Kees, *ASAE* 54 (1957), 141–8; de Meulenaere, *CdE* 33 (1958), 193–6.
[37] H. E. Winlock, *BMMA* pt. ii, Dec. 1928, 24; idem, *BMMA* pt. ii. Dec. 1924, 30.

only in having a red face, is known to me, and, together, these four Osiris figures may be seen as a new and distinct type. Since only the figure of Pakharenkhons has been published, Raven, presumably unaware of the others, omitted it from his Osiris figure typology, relegating it to a miscellaneous category.[38] In view of these other examples—and more may come to light—I propose to recognize this group as distinct from Raven's types I–IV and to designate them as type V.

3. Third Intermediate Period Osiris figures: a proposed chronology

Before attempting a chronological ordering, it is necessary to review Raven's basically sound typology, and the dates of any statues which can be attributed to such types, especially since in the few years since his publication, a number of studies have appeared which allow a much closer dating of many Third Intermediate Period Osiris figures. Beginning with the black-varnished statues, designated type I, Raven subdivided them into three categories:

Type IA

Type IA Osiris figures comprise 'slim figures without arms or hands, wearing the divine wig, the ostrich feather crown with or without sun disc and sometimes the divine beard'.[39] Examples are usually solid, although some have a trench-shaped cavity in the side of the base, closed with a sliding lath. Not many specimens are known and only two can be dated. These are Bristol H.439 and Manchester 5053C, both found in the same tomb and dated by Petrie to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.[40] That date, however, is much too late. The coffins and shabti boxes found with these burials are clearly earlier, and stylistically can be dated to the period *c.* 940–900 BC.[41]

Type IB

These are described as 'slim figures with arms crossed over the chest and empty fists, wearing the same costume and sometimes having a cavity of the same type'.[42] Like type IA, these are rare and none of the known examples can be dated.

Type IC

This consists of 'squat figures with arms crossed over the chest, the hands often grasping crook and flail. The head, without wig is crowned with *atef* or *ḥḏt*, the divine beard is common. In the trunk there is a large cylindrical cavity extending right through the peg to the underside of the base where it is closed with a circular or oval lid. The construction of this cavity has been facilitated by manufacturing the body of the statue in two parts, so that the back panel can be removed as a loose panel'.[43]

This is the most common of the type I figures and includes the majority of the seventy-seven figures found in the 'Second Cache' which was made under the High Priest

[38] Raven, op. cit. 272.
[39] Id. ibid. 258.
[40] W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, 1909), 15.
[41] Aston, op. cit. 604.
[42] Raven, loc. cit.
[43] Raven, loc. cit.

Psusennes III, no earlier than year 1 of Psusennes II.[44] The majority of these individual burials date from the second half of the Twenty-first Dynasty, and it seems certain that the figures of type IC thus date from the late eleventh and tenth centuries BC. This is confirmed by the examples belonging to Henettawy B (New York MMA 25.3.36), Henettawy C (New York MMA 25.3.35), Gautseshen (New York MMA 25.3.37) and Djedptahefankh A (Macclesfield 1877-95)[45] datable to *c.* 1020-1000, 990-970, 969-945 and 935 BC respectively.[46]

Type II. Polychrome statues

Raven subdivides these figures into five categories, but as his types IIA-C and IIE were each represented by single examples, it seems likely that these are variants of his common type IID. The latter[47] are characterized by a detachable back panel, and all presumably once contained a funerary papyrus. They usually have a green face, a divine beard, the *atef*-crown and a red or yellow base. Generally they have a white lower body and a torso which may be left plain, red or white with superimposed blue dots. An elaborate collar which ends at the back of the neck in a *mꜥnḫt*-tassel or *mnꜥt*-counterpoise is invariably present, and the figures often have a line of inscription running vertically down the front, sometimes with additional texts on the base.

Polychrome figures of type II have a long history, stemming from at least the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty[48] and extending into the Third Intermediate Period. The latest datable examples, those of Henettawy A (Cairo JE 46948), and Pennesuttawy (Cairo JE 29318) can be assigned to the pontificate of the High Priest Menkheperre A, *c.* 1045-992 BC, since the individuals to whom these figures belonged were buried with mummy braces naming this High Priest.[49]

Type III

Raven's figures of type III all 'show a mummiform human being with *šwty* crown and without arms or hands. The tripartite wig is blue, the divine beard resting on a plinth is black, the face is green with details in black and white (eyes). There is a simple concentric collar around the shoulders, interrupted by the three lappets of the wig; this collar is plain (yellow) or had concentric stripes (dark colours on a white or yellow ground), whereas the lower border may have a row of drop shaped elements. The body of the figure is red and may be provided with a blue reticulated pattern imitating a bead net. Most specimens each have a back pillar that forms a continuation of the wig lappet on the shoulders. Between the base and figure a plinth may occur but this is rare. In the yellow (or white)

[44] Niwinski, *JEA* 70, 77-8.

[45] It is not certain that this figure, which is uninscribed, really belongs to Djedptahefankh. The papyrus which Djedptahefankh's Osiris figure once contained was bought by a Miss Brocklehurst 'from the brothers Abd-er-Rassoul at Thebes, in 1874; being then, but partially unrolled, and enclosed in an Osirian statue of sycamore wood, stained black, and of good workmanship' (Edwards, *RT* 4 (1883), 87). It is possible that Miss Brocklehurst bought the statue as well. The majority of the Brocklehurst collection passed into the Macclesfield Museum, and Macclesfield 1877.95 is just such a figure.

[46] Cf. Aston, op. cit. 385, 387, 444.

[47] Raven, op. cit. 261-2.

[48] Cf. id. ibid. 262, where BM 9861 and 20868 are dated to the reign of Seti I and to the Twentieth Dynasty respectively; and Turin 2483 is also dated to the Nineteenth or Twentieth Dynasty.

[49] Daressy, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 141-8, and *ASAE* 8 (1907), 3-38.

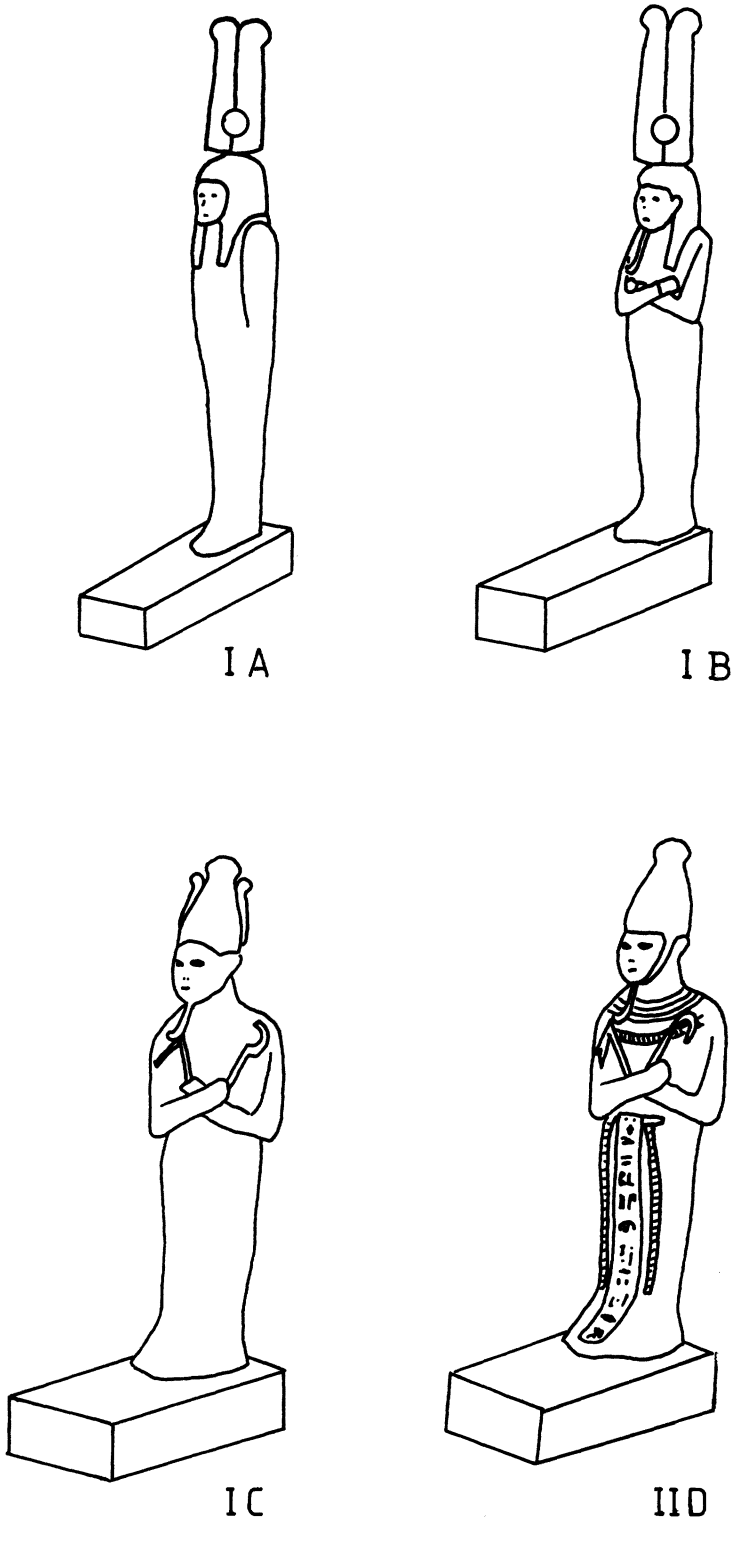


FIG. 3. Osiris figures, types I–II.

base a casket may have been excavated; the lid of this casket bears the wooden statuette of a mummified falcon coloured red with details in black, white and blue'.[50] None of this type mentioned by Raven came from a datable tomb group. By a comparison with anthropoid stone sarcophagi of the Saite Period, and through epigraphic criteria, he was able to suggest that they are characteristic of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, with the possibility that some might be slightly earlier.[51] This qualification is confirmed by two of these type III statues, which can be dated through grave goods which once formed part of the same tomb group. The first is that of the Priest of Montu Padiamonet,[52] a direct descendant of the Vizier Pami, owner of the figure BM 22913 published above. The family tree on p. 100 shows that Padiamonet's mother was a daughter of Takeloth III. If, as was there suggested, she flourished down to *c.* 725–700 BC, a date for the manufacture of Padiamonet's figure in the period *c.* 700–675 BC is indicated. The second is that of Montuirdis,[53] whose son Ididi's coffin can be dated to *c.* 680–600 BC.[54] A date for the production of Montuirdis' Osiris figure of *c.* 700–675 BC is thus likely. Raven also points out that epigraphic grounds date another of these statues, Leiden Wijngaarden 1932 no. 4 to *c.* 680-early Saite.[55] It would seem, therefore, that these figures date from the beginning of the seventh century BC.

Type IV

Statues of type IV are designated by Raven as figures with red or black faces covered with gold leaf, or painted white or yellow in imitation of gilding. Many of these are inscribed with a hymn to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. All the sub-types[56] except IVB date from the late Twenty-sixth Dynasty onward and, therefore, lie outside the scope of this survey.

Figures of type IVB are clearly earlier, as their squat proportions and large hieroglyphs indicate. They are described by Raven as simple statues with red bodies and yellow faces, with a stylized *wsḫ*-collar; the inscriptions on the front of the body contain the first clauses of the hymn to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, in contrast to the full hymn found on the later types, and wear the *šwty*-crown. These statues are not common. Raven lists five, of which two can be accurately dated on the basis of associated grave goods. The statue of Kheriru[57] can be assigned to *c.* 675–640 BC by the style of her coffin,[58] while that of Tairy i/ii (Cairo T.4.12.25.15) can be assigned to *c.* 650 BC.[59] It is thus likely that these statues belong in the first half of the seventh century BC.

[50] Raven, op. cit. 264.
[51] Id. ibid. 266.
[52] *Mansoor Sale Catalogue* (1952), 38–9 no. 133.
[53] *Sotheby's Sale Catalogue, 4 Dec. 1978*, no. 61, pl. vii.
[54] Taylor, 'The Development of Theban Coffins during the Third Intermediate Period', unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Birmingham, 1985, II, 417.
[55] Raven, op. cit. 265.
[56] Id. ibid. 266–71.
[57] M. Bietak, *Theben-West (Luqsor). Vorbericht über die ersten vier Grabungskampagnen (1969–1971)*, SÖAW 278/4 (Vienna, 1972), pl. xviiib.
[58] Taylor, op. cit. II, 365–7.
[59] This date is considerably earlier than that usually postulated for her, cf. M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt 1300–664 BC* (Warminster, 1975), 92, chart xxii, and G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (Vienna, 1978), 25–8, but it seems clear that Tairy's ancestral tree must stem from Nesamun i and not Nesamun ii as usually assumed. Cf. a forthcoming article on the Besenmut family by Aston and Taylor.

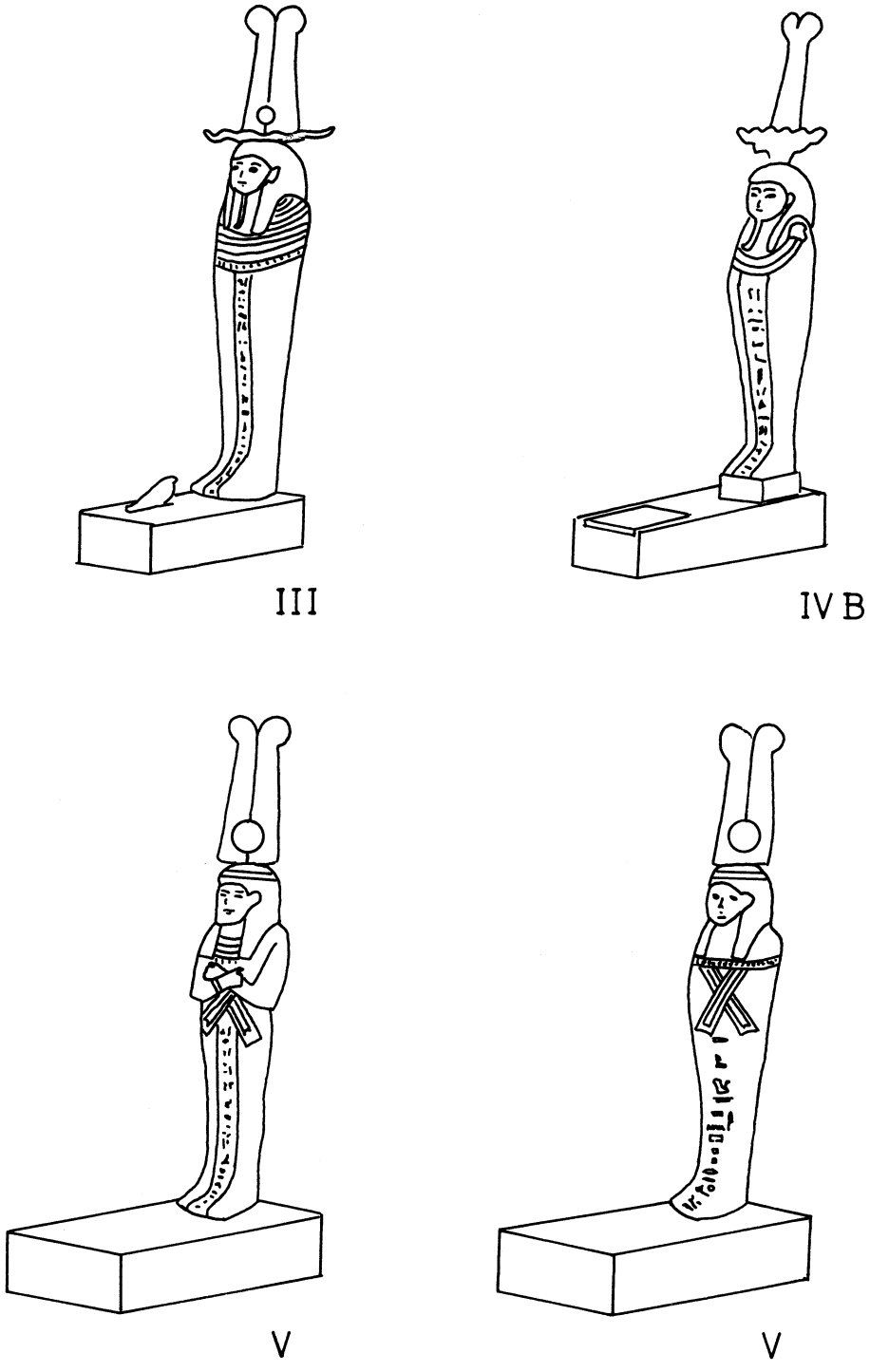


FIG. 4. Osiris figures, types III–V.

Type V

Statues of type V have been described above, pp. 100–101. In addition to the figure of Pami, dated to *c.* 760–740 BC, the provenanced examples New York MMA 28.3.61 and 25.3.204 can be relatively closely dated through a stylistic analysis of the tomb groups of their owners, Pakharenkhons and Ankhshepenwepet. The tomb group of Pakharenkhons comprised a wooden coffin (New York MMA 28.3.52–3), a cartonnage (New York MMA 28.3.54) and four limestone canopic jars (New York MMA 28.3.56–9). The group was dated to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty by Winlock,[60] but this is too late. Cartonnage coffins usually date from the late tenth to eighth centuries BC, whilst stylistically the wooden coffin probably belongs in the period *c.* 750–700 BC.[61] Similarly, the inner coffin of Ankhshepenwepet can be dated to *c.* 675–650 BC.[62] Figures of type V would thus seem to date from the mid-eighth to the mid-seventh century BC.

Chronological conclusions

The Osiris figures of type II are the earliest, having appeared in the New Kingdom. Continuing into the Third Intermediate Period, they began to be replaced by similar figures coated in a black varnish (type IC) at the turn of the eleventh and tenth centuries BC. This seems to me a more probable line of evolution than Raven's theory that black-varnished Osiris figures developed from the black-varnished royal and divine wooden figures attested in New Kingdom royal burials.[63] The latter seem to have served a different purpose and survived into (at least) the Twenty-first Dynasty in their own right, as the unpublished wooden fragments (Cairo JE 85922) from the tomb of Psusennes I indicate. Statues of type IC themselves evolved into those of types IA and IB sometime during the late tenth century BC. That some of these figures are hollow (probably the earlier) and some solid, while types II and IC are all hollow is probably to be explained by the fact that, once the burial of papyri with the deceased lapsed, the Osiris figures intended as containers for such objects would have become redundant. This would also explain why Osiris figures become scarce after *c.* 900 BC.

The transition from the Osiris figures to true Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues seems to be found in type V which evolved in the middle of the eighth century BC. This is evidently connected with the marked change in burial customs which took place at Thebes between the years *c.* 750–675 BC.[64] During the first half of the seventh century BC, type V continued alongside newer forms represented by types III and IVB. While the datable examples listed above show that one example of type III is dated earlier than those of type IVB, this may be fortuitous. The squat proportions of type IVB are reminiscent of the earlier types II, I and V, while the slender dimensions of type III are more closely allied to the Late Period types IVA, IVC–F. It is thus likely that while types III and IVB both began around the turn of the eighth–seventh centuries BC, type IVB may be the earlier. In any case, the latter was only short-lived and both types V and IVB appear to

[60] Winlock, *BMMA* pt. ii. Dec. 1928, 23.

[61] J. H. Taylor, personal communication, contra E. Russmann, *BMMA* 1983/4, 56, where it is dated to *c.* 690–656 BC.

[62] Taylor, op. cit. II, 367.

[63] Raven, op. cit. 257.

[64] Aston, op. cit. 638–40.

have fallen out of favour by the mid-seventh century BC. Type III, however, continued and eventually evolved into the true Late Period figures, Raven's types IVA, IVC–F. This sequence may be tabulated as follows:

Type	Date BC
II	*c.* 1300–1000
IC	*c.* 1025–925
IA	*c.* 975–900
IB	*c.* 975–900
V	*c.* 750–675
IVB	*c.* 720–650
III	*c.* 700–600

The apparent gap between *c.* 900 and *c.* 750 BC may be accidental, for the Ramesseum necropolis, which was utilized at this time, was thoroughly ransacked in antiquity. More probably, however, Thebes, from where all Third Intermediate Period figures derive, was being influenced by northern (Libyan) burial customs at this time,[65] and it is possible that Osiris figures were alien to such northern customs. From *c.* 750 BC onwards, the south was, if only briefly, beginning to reassert itself.[66]

[65] On this, see A. Leahy, *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985), 61–2; Aston, op. cit. 650; R. van Walsem, 'The coffin of Djedmonthuiufankh in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden', unpublished Ph.D thesis, Leiden University, 1988, I, 351; Taylor, *Egyptian Coffins* (Aylesbury, 1989), 48, 53.

[66] While it may be argued that any Osiris figures buried in Delta conditions probably would not have survived, all examples found north of Thebes are of Saite or Ptolemaic types (cf. Raven, op. cit. 291–2). This supports the hypothesis, suggested above, that Osiris figures first appeared in Thebes.

PLATE V

1. 2.

British Museum EA 69672 (pp. 95–9)
(*courtesy Trustees of the British Museum*)

TWO OSIRIS FIGURES

1. 2.

British Museum EA 69672 (pp. 95–9)
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TWO OSIRIS FIGURES

EGYPTIAN LAW COURTS IN PHARAONIC AND HELLENISTIC TIMES*

By S. ALLAM

To Françoise de Cenival
in gratitude and affection

Against the background of the relatively well-documented judicial machine of the New Kingdom, a review of the much sparser evidence for the first millennium BC reveals a new terminology in documents from the reign of Psammetichus I onwards: instead of the old *qnbt*-councils, new idioms are used, apparently indicating real law courts (e.g. *nꜣ wpty.w*, 'the judges'; *ʿwi n wpy.t*, 'judgement house'). The consistent use of such terms implies a major reform of the judiciary. It is further argued that the Egyptian law courts appealed to during the Ptolemaic period were the natural continuation of this earlier system.

THE law courts dispensing justice for the Egyptian population during the Hellenistic period, were they inherited from Pharaonic times or introduced by the Ptolemies? Opinions on this point have differed very sharply.[1] This is partly due to the limitations of the sources available for the immediately preceding period, which occur only sporadically and mostly make only brief or inexplicit statements. The student of Hellenistic Egypt, seeking to find out about the immediate antecedents of the institutions attested in his texts, realizes therefore that the question is almost insoluble. Under these circumstances, the best approach is to compare the situation during the Hellenistic period with that of the New Kingdom, naturally taking into account developments that came about in the 750 years which separate the two; in fact, the judicial system of the New Kingdom has been satisfactorily elucidated in recent years through research ultimately based on fresh material.[2] This comparison should prove instructive, as it has recently been observed that the Ptolemaic bureaucracy was to some extent the direct continuation of the Pharaonic one, especially at local level and where contact with Egyptians was necessary.[3]

*An outline of this study was presented at the XIXth International Congress of Papyrology in Cairo on the 3 September 1989.

[1] Add to the literature considered by H. J. Wolff, *Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer*[2] (Munich, 1970), 48ff, the following references: P. Meyer, *Klio* 7 (1907), 289; J. Modrzejewski, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte-Romanistische Abteilung* (= *ZSS.RA*) 80 (1963), 55f; idem, *Annuaire EPHE, IVe Section 1974/75*, 335; W. Peremans, *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/83), 148ff; Wolff, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1966), 8 and 11f; E. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*[2] (Glückstadt, 1962), 70f; idem, *Ägyptische Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*[2] (Glückstadt, 1968), 32; idem, *Enchoria* 5 (1975) 46.

[2] E. Bedell, 'Criminal Law in the Egyptian Ramesside Period' (Brandeis University Dissertation, 1973); I. M. Lurje, *Studien zum altägyptischen Recht (des 16. bis 10. Jh. v.u.Z.)* (Weimar, 1971); A. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir-el-Medîna* (Leiden, 1990); A. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 16 (1969), 103ff; Allam, *Das Verfahrensrecht in der altägyptischen Arbeitersiedlung von Deir el-Medineh* (Tübingen, 1973); idem, *ZÄS* 101 (1974), 1ff and *JEA* 72 (1986), 194; for a survey see *LÄ* II, s. v. 'Gerichtsbarkeit' as well as the relevant chapter in Allam, *Some Pages from Everyday Life in Ancient Egypt* (Guizeh, 1985), 57ff.

[3] Cf. J. Johnson, in M. Gibson and R. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power–Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East* (Chicago, 1987), 141ff. In a recent study J. Yoyotte, *CRAIBL 1989*, 73ff, comes to the conclusion that the office of the *dioikētēs* (the manager of the economic affairs of the Ptolemies and practically the head of the whole government) was not a Greek innovation; this office was created in earlier times and continued into the Hellenistic period.

The judicial apparatus of the New Kingdom

During the New Kingdom, the king was not a central figure in the judicial machinery. Although some records indirectly mention his participation, original minutes of councils dispensing justice do not reveal any active part played by the king.[4] It may be inferred, therefore, that it was the head of the administration, the vizier, who, among other duties, took charge of the judicial system. There was, in effect, no separation of governmental powers. The judicial system itself consisted of institutions called *qenbet* (*qnbt*).

The enormous archives discovered at Deir el-Medina illustrate the judicial system as practiced in a given locality. The local *qenbet*, which we encounter in other districts as well, emerges as a sort of municipal council. It was an assembly manned by the most esteemed inhabitants of the locality. It seems to have had the responsibilities of directing the progress of current affairs and of keeping order; in other words, it also exercised power as a local bench of judges. At Deir el-Medina, however, the local council was solely concerned with judicial proceedings, since this particular community of craftsmen was wholly dominated by the central administration and did not therefore need to bother about public current affairs.

At Deir el-Medina, as elsewhere, there was no permanent judicial bench. The judiciary probably met only when necessary.[5] It was usually composed of up to eight members, although as many as twelve and fourteen are attested. The judges, according to their titles, were the most prominent men in the community, such as chief workmen, scribes, deputies, guardians, policemen and painters. Those who bore no specific title, yet appeared on the board, were probably ordinary but respectable citizens. In certain cases the council commissioned other persons. Now and then we come across a council attendant (*šmsw n qnbt*) whose principal role was apparently to carry out tasks such as house-searches and seizure of goods. Such auxiliary personnel might also be charged with arrests or the enforcement of the rights of a judgement-creditor.

Officials from outside the locality also occasionally attended the council session. Such a mixed board decided a lawsuit concerning payment, after three sessions had already dealt with the same dispute. Another mixed bench determined a conflict over a donkey; the text reveals that the plaintiff had initiated four suits before. Apparently, the mixed council was appealed to in particularly tenacious cases in which the defendant, in spite of a previous judgement, was still not willing to settle his debt. Such cases had to be adjudicated by a more authoritative body of judges, which included external officials.

There were also *qenbet*-councils associated with temples.[6] In the New Kingdom the personnel of most temples would rarely have represented an exclusively religious corporation. It is fairly certain that the great temples in particular also played a major part in secular affairs. Such temples occupied themselves with agriculture, commerce and various industries; a considerable portion of the population worked for them and lived on their lands. In this way great temples became important centres, with substantial weight

[4] For a discussion of the records which refer to the king, see T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), 17f; Lurje, *Studien*, 22ff; Bedell, op. cit. 17ff; Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 29f.

[5] For the days on which the judiciary of Deir el-Medina met, see S. Vleeming, in R. Demarée and J. Janssen (eds.), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Leiden, 1982), 183ff.

[6] Lurje, *Studien*, 81ff; Allam, *ZÄS* 101, 1ff; idem, 'Le rôle des prêtres dans l'Egypte pharaonique d'après le décret du roi Horemheb', in *Eglises et pouvoir politique–Actes des Journées Internationales d'Histoire du Droit d'Angers* (Université d'Angers, 1985), 41ff. Such councils are mentioned in the contracts of Hep-djefa (Middle Kingdom); cf. Théodoridès, *RIDA* 18 (1971), 248.

in economic and political, as well as spiritual, life. The affairs of such a temple were virtually governed by its lord, the divinity in question, who was actually represented by the priests. As notables and officials of a given locality were entitled to constitute a *qenbet* for matters of local government, so the priests of an important temple could form themselves into such a council, responsible for the administration of the temple affairs, including justice for its personnel and for the population attached to it.[7] The records at our disposal suggest that in matters of jurisdiction temple councils proceeded in the same way as other local councils.

The extent of local jurisdiction may be gauged from the types of conflicts adjudicated by the council of Deir el-Medina. In civil matters, the majority of cases dealt with related to the fulfilment of obligations (payment, sale and loan of objects, rent and sale of beasts, mostly donkeys, etc.). Some litigation concerned landed property, some family law and inheritance. In penal matters, the theft of objects was treated in some cases. It would seem that violations of sexual mores (adultery in particular) were not rare. Moreover, numerous texts acquaint us with acts of violence and bodily injuries (sometimes directed against women). At times, slander was examined by the local judiciary. Also, citizens accused of having disturbed the peace of the dead had to appear in court. In addition, the court was often approached to establish, confirm or clarify questions of a legal nature, even though such cases (e.g. notarized acts) were not disputed matters. The council registered, for example, settled accounts among individuals as well as declarations made by private persons concerning rights of inheritance or family. Transactions concerning immovables may also have had to be submitted to the council of the village in order to be considered valid. As to the extent of the jurisdiction of a temple council, the relevant texts are fewer, but indicate a similar state of affairs.

Many texts also attest to the existence of 'the Great *Qenbet*' (*qnbt ꜥꜣt*).[8] During the New Kingdom this sat in the capital city. Its members were recruited from among the highest dignitaries, both ecclesiastical and lay, and presided over by the vizier. In judicial matters, it can be regarded as the supreme court. It dealt with serious crimes such as the robberies of royal tombs; these were all the more hideous since some high officials were implicated in these grave violations. It also examined lawsuits pertaining to civil law, such as litigation over a large estate. Evidently it dealt only with the important cases, which could not so easily be judged by a local council and exceeded its power. An inscription recounting a trial before the supreme court under the presidency of the vizier shows clearly that this court could give orders to the local *qenbet* of Memphis regarding the execution of a judgement.[9]

[7] From the available inscriptions it has been concluded that during the Graeco-Roman period temples in Akhmim, Dendera, Edfu, Esna, Karnak, Medamud and Tanis held court-sessions in a place/hall (called *rwt di mꜣꜥt*, 'gate of giving Maat', i.e. 'gate where justice is rendered') situated at the propylaea of the temple in question; Sauneron, *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 117ff. Such a hall existed in the Serapeum at Saqqara, according to Greek papyri (ibid. 119); this is probably alluded to by a demotic ostracon (n.61 below). Allusion to such a hall might equally be seen in a demotic papyrus recording a court-session; O. el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 54. In two papyri (P. Abbott, 7, 1–2 and P. Berlin 3047, *rt.* 3–4; both from Thebes and dating to the New Kingdom) it is reported that the court met each time in a part of the temple itself. It follows that the administration of justice on the territory of the temple proper is much older than the Graeco-Roman period. Cf. R. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus from Thebes* (Providence, 1962), 33.

[8] Lurje, *Studien*, 40ff; cf. *LÄ* II, 550f.

[9] Other texts betray few trials with exceptional character which were not held by the judicial authorities as described above. For such extraordinary courts see Lurje, *Studien*, 68ff. It follows that these authorities were not always in exclusive control of the administration of justice; only the king and his court could have recourse to such courts.

When constituting the judicial bench in a locality one major problem had to be faced. Although local dignitaries at Deir el-Medina and elsewhere were deemed worthy of rendering justice, they were not trained in legal matters and could by no means satisfy the demands of good jurisdiction. No doubt this was remedied by the appointment of professional scribes, who had to look after the administration in the locality. In rank as well as wages, the scribes of this community were second to the chief workmen. This does not mean, however, that the scribe was responsible to the chief workmen; in fact he was 'under the authority' of the vizier[10] and as a state employee he often also bore the title 'king's scribe'. The most important of the duties of the scribe at Deir el-Medina concerned the work at the royal tomb: he had to record anything of importance and keep archives for future reference. He was to receive various materials for the work, issue them to the workmen and also distribute, among these, wages in kind. Together with the chief workmen the scribes were equally responsible for maintaining local order. During strikes, for example, they tried to pacify the discontented workmen and to bring them back to work.[11]

The role of local scribes in the administration of justice is illustrated by numerous court-records which document the composition of the judicial bench at a given session. Among its members the scribes normally figure after the chief workman/workmen.[12] From this fact we may conclude that the latter presided. In a few cases, however, the scribe is mentioned in first place, apparently in the absence of the chief workmen;[13] he was then probably entitled to act as the president. Little wonder, therefore, if he alone judged some disputes among the inhabitants.[14] At any court-session there must have been at least one of the scribes, to whom, naturally, the task of writing down the minutes fell.

Many texts disclose that the scribe played a surprisingly active role in legal proceedings. Not only did he receive petitions made by litigants seeking to initiate a legal proceeding,[15] he had sometimes openly to accuse a person implicated in a scandal.[16] During trials the scribe did not merely record, he often helped in the interrogations; he could direct pertinent queries to the parties to clarify their legal situation.[17] In so doing he was in search of the truth, and his examination certainly was for the service of justice. In procedures where a god was engaged as the supreme judge, the scribe was also authorized to intervene in order to determine the divine decision.[18] When the investiga-

[10] J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 1973), 224 (O. Louvre 696).

[11] For details of the activities of these local scribes, see Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 191 ff.

[12] For convenience, see the texts assembled in my *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen, 1973) (hereinafter *HOPR*), nos. 28, 36, 215, 217, 218, 221, 230, 262, 265, 271-A, 276-B.

[13] *HOPR*, nos. 78 and 185.

[14] *HOPR*, nos. 56 and 227.

[15] The most important record in this respect is *HOPR*, no. 194. There, a workman lodged a complaint against one of his colleagues about a house. After he had addressed the scribe, a proceeding took place three days later. Note that the scribe was the local official who had to respond to workmen's complaints, e.g. about their wages (*HOPR*, no. 8), or about the correctness of a measure by means of which grain-rations were delivered to them (*HOPR*, no. 201). Conceivably he had to set their complaints into the official channels; cf. *HOPR*, no. 276-A.

[16] *HOPR*, no. 66; cf. no. 3 *recto*.

[17] The scribe's intervention as recorded in *HOPR*, no. 218 is most significant. There the scribe repeatedly raised relevant questions. He asked the party alleging a theft of some tools whether there were witnesses. Later on, the scribe asked the same party whether the said tools were really state property.

[18] In the proceeding recorded in *HOPR*, no. 21 the scribe assisted with a question to the god, obviously in order to make sure that the divine decision was correctly perceived.

tion of a disputed matter required that the facts be verified on the spot by the judging board, the scribe had to participate effectively.[19] He often attended oaths sworn by individuals with regard to the settlement of their small disputes or affairs.[20] Certainly, it was his familiarity with law and administration that attracted those who wanted to arrange their legal affairs;[21] it is noteworthy that he had sometimes to act on behalf of the corporation of workmen, when business between them and other citizens was at issue.[22] In general, then, the scribe assiduously covered all the business of the inhabitants which required recording; he appears to have been such a key administrative figure in the locality that his name alone sufficed as reference to a previous court decision, presumably in lieu of consulting the relative minutes kept in the archives.[23] It is noticeable, finally, that now and then the scribe, with other functionaries, had to enforce a court-judgement and make the defeated party pay off his debt.[24]

The connection of the local scribe with the central administration is exceptionally illuminated by the famous documents relative to the proceedings provoked by the robbery of the royal tombs. A passage in one of these shows that the proper procedure in case of irregularities was for the local scribes to report without delay to the vizier direct, if he was in Upper Egypt, or, if not, to the police and the king's servants from the necropolis department, who should then follow the vizier downstream with their reports.[25] Apparently local scribes were authorized to first report any grave events, not to their immediate superior (the mayor of West Thebes), but to the highest official of state, the vizier, wherever he might be. This was a crucial point for keeping public order in a locality, and it certainly had impact on the local administration, including justice.

[19] In course of the inspection of some disputed tombs (*HOPR*, nos. 20, 144, 265) scribes are said to have been on the spot. And a scribe was ordered to examine one of the litigants, while another busied himself with the inspection.

[20] Some records relate to business over donkeys (*HOPR*, nos. 168, 185, 188) or other objects (*HOPR*, nos. 10, 163, 178) or concern a house (*HOPR*, no. 143). In a proceeding bearing on adultery, it was the scribe who twice made the adulterer promise on oath not to commit the misdeed anymore; *HOPR*, no. 272. See also a case apparently dealing with a marriage settlement; *HOPR*, no. 18.

[21] See the part played by the scribe as mediator between individuals; *HOPR*, nos. 7, 200, 278.

[22] In *HOPR*, no. 284-A the scribe negotiated with a woman who commissioned the workmen to manufacture three coffins and gave them various commodities in return (as payment); here the scribe was doubtless representing the workmen. In Section B of the same text two scribes mediate in deals over animals between the workmen and a high priest.

[23] *HOPR*, no. 40; cf. Allam, *Verfahrensrecht*, 59, 72. Similarly *HOPR*, no. 253, where a previous trial is spoken of; the two scribes are mentioned by name whereas the two chief workmen are only alluded to as members of the council.

[24] *HOPR*, no. 40; cf. no. 277.

[25] From one of these documents (P. Abbott 6, 20–3) we learn that two scribes from Deir el-Medina came to the mayor of East Thebes and indiscreetly laid before him five pieces of information disclosing robberies in the royal necropolis on the West bank. The major of West Thebes felt annoyed that these scribes, working under his authority, had complained over his head to the mayor of the East. He therefore wrote to the vizier a full report. In this report he found fault with the behaviour of the scribes as follows: '(It is) an offence (on the part) of these two scribes of the necropolis (-department) (that they should) have approached the mayor of (East) Thebes to lay information before him, whereas their fathers (i.e. predecessors) never did so, but laid information before the vizier when he was in the southern district, and if he chanced to be in the northern district, the police and His Majesty's servants (*šmsw*) attached to the necropolis(-department) went downstream carrying their documents to wherever the vizier was' (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 40ff; A. Gardiner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 189f). We know for certain that one of the two scribes in question continued in office and kept his post; Černý, *CdE* 11 (1936), 248f; idem, *Community of Workmen*, 353f.

Since the tomb-robbery papyri mainly unfold dealings of the 'Great *Qenbet*', we would expect high magistrates alone to take action with regard to the crimes. One of them, be it noted, held the striking rank 'scribe of Pharaoh' and his role could readily be compared with that of a prosecutor. Yet, there were local scribes from Deir el-Medina as well, assisting in the proceedings and possibly acting as initiators or prosecutors. We have explicit evidence for the fact that two scribes from Deir el-Medina went to the mayor of East Thebes and made known, probably secretly, five items of accusation incriminating some workmen; these items were subsequently registered in records, 'it being impossible to suppress them, for they were serious charges involving mutilation (or) impaling (or) the severest penalties'.[26] Thus, the scribes were informers/introducers of the procedure in general. During the examination of the thieves and their accomplices, two local scribes from Deir el-Medina were present at court and, although not included among those mentioned as forming the examining body, they occasionally put pertinent questions to the culprits; both scribes, doubtless representing the necropolis interests, appear throughout as a kind of counsel for the prosecution.[27]

As for the 'scribe of Pharaoh', he sat on the Great *Qenbet* like any of the principal magistrates. As the investigation made necessary an inspection, these magistrates sent out a commission to view all the tombs suspected of having been violated. Yet, when the situation turned out to be sufficiently grave, the vizier in the company of this scribe in particular went to verify the facts on the spot;[28] out of the judging body he was apparently the only magistrate who could act with the vizier in a crucial situation. This view is supported by a passage in the well-known Ramesside inscription of Mes, which deals with a litigation over a large estate. In the last stage of the trial, the litigant parties presented some excerpts from the central registers in order to demonstrate their rights. Thereupon the vizier pronounced his verdict. But a 'royal scribe', who was present, intervened, possibly on behalf of the losing party. He was then informed by the vizier that, as an official of the Residence, he was entitled to examine the central registers for himself. He went and was able to convince himself of the correctness of the matter.[29] The participation of the royal scribe in this purely civil case shows that the trial of the criminals charged with robbing the royal tombs was not the subject of a special procedure, carried out exceptionally on that occasion. The plausible conclusion to be drawn from these disjointed facts appears then to be the following: whereas local law courts, no matter whether of a given locality or of a temple,[30] were under the supervision

[26] P. Abbott, 5, 16–17 + 6, 9–13; see previous note.

[27] P. BM 10052, 1, 19–21 + 5, 14–22 + 8, 11–12 + 10, 14–15: Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 139ff; cf. Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 214, 361. In P. BM 10403, it is recorded that one of these two scribes alone examined some men and women accused of having stolen a chest from a temple; Peet, op. cit. 169ff.

[28] P. Leopold, 3, 17–18: J. Capart, A. Gardiner and B. Van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), 169ff; cf. P. Abbott, 4, 11–12 + 7, 9–11: Peet, op. cit. 39, 42. This scribe is met with again in P. Abbott, 5, 12–14: Peet, op. cit. 40 accompanying the mayor to East Thebes. See also P. BM 10054 *vs.* 1, 3: Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 60. We know of another proceeding dealing with tomb-robberies (P. BM 10052, 1, 4–5: Peet, op. cit. 142) where another 'scribe of Pharaoh' appears among the four magistrates constituting the judicial bench of the Great *Qenbet*; cf. P. Mayer A, 1, 6–7: T. E. Peet, *The Mayer Papyri A & B* (London, 1920), 10.

[29] A. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes* (Leipzig, 1905), 9 (N 16).

[30] It has already been noticed that not even temple courts escaped the control of the vizier. In fact P. Berlin 3047 discloses a scribe working under the authority of the vizier and joining the judging body of a temple. Also, P. Turin 2021 provides the evidence that a temple court could be presided over by the vizier in person. See Lurje, *Studien*, 94f, who reasonably suggests that the assistance of a scribe at temple courts aimed to secure the supervision of the vizier.

of the vizier, represented everywhere by local scribes who, if need be, could contact him direct, the Great *Qenbet* in the capital, under the presidency of the vizier himself, seems on the other hand to have been watched over by a royal scribe, who presumably performed his function as a delegate of the king.[31]

The judicial apparatus in the late dynastic period

The sources from later periods are nowhere near as extensive as those from the New Kingdom. From the first four centuries after the New Kingdom, the evidence is limited to five scattered occurrences of the specific title 'official/member of the Great *Qenbet* of the capital' (*sr n tꜣ qnbt ꜥꜣt nt niwt*). As it is often combined with the title 'god's father', these men might well have been selected from the clergy of the god Amon to perform *inter alia* judicial functions. It is at least clear that the Great *Qenbet* survived at Thebes into that period;[32] note, however, that the composition of its body during the New Kingdom required the participation of various categories of dignitaries, priests as well as lay officials.

More substantial evidence is provided by a document written, in cursive hieratic, by order of the Great *Qenbet* in the sixth year of Taharqa of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (685 BC). The document contains the declaration of a man who came to court in litigation over an amount of money; he lost his lawsuit, had consequently to renounce his claim and acknowledge the right of his opponent. In his declaration he says, '(I went) with you (opponent) to law before the superiors of the Great *Qenbet* of the Town (Thebes) and (before) the chief scribe ...'.[33] What is particularly conspicuous here is, first, the fact that the supreme court was no longer under the presidency of the vizier, as it had been;[34] instead, it was the chief scribe who was in charge.[35] Second, we note that the judiciary in our text is referred to as 'superiors' (*wrw*), rather than as 'officials' (*srw*), the term frequently used in the vernacular of the New Kingdom. On these grounds it has been plausibly suggested that the institution of the Great *Qenbet* must have undergone some changes with regard to its constitution as known to us from the records of the New Kingdom.[36] Whatever the nature of these changes, we can assume that ordinary local courts must have persisted everywhere too.

Slightly later-dated documentation suggests that in day-to-day life the term *qenbet* ceased altogether to be used with the specific implication 'council/court', although the

[31] Bedell, op. cit. 27, has also observed in the tomb-robbery trials that some of the magistrates constituting the Great *Qenbet* (scribes of Pharaoh and royal butlers as well) must have been responsible for reporting to Pharaoh. It does not need much discernment to perceive that these high officials were sent from the royal court to keep Pharaoh informed as to the progress of the trials.

[32] H. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 57 (1982), 223f.

[33] M. Malinine, *RdE* 6 (1951), 157ff; cf. B. Menu, *RdE* 36 (1985), 78ff and U. Kaplony-Heckel, in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, I: *Dokumente zum Rechts- und Wirtschaftsleben*, ed. O. Kaiser (1983), 227ff.

[34] Surviving evidence about the vizier and his activities during the late dynastic period is not very plentiful; cf. *LÄ* VI, 1228 s.v. 'Wesir'; K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*[2] (Warminster, 1986), 483f, concerning southern viziers. For a later period see Parker, *Saite Oracle Papyrus*, 15f, 27; PM III[2], 588f.

[35] Since this scribe is mentioned in lines 9–10 before the 'superiors', we are not inclined to take him for a simple clerk who only had to write down records for the court without being on the board of judges.

[36] Malinine, *RdE* 6, 175f.

word continued to occur with another shade of meaning.[37] In its place other expressions came into use. In this context mention should be made of the title of a highly-ranked individual who lived in the late sixth century (under Psammetichus III). One of the titles bestowed on him was 'inspector of the scribes of the council' (*sḫḏ zš m ḏ ḏ t*).[38] A similar title, 'superintendent of the scribes of the council' (*imi-r zšw ḏ ḏ t*) is held by five other high officials known from later times.[39] The term here denoting 'council' (*djadjat*) had been current in a much earlier period, and its usage now is without doubt a revival.[40] Nevertheless, it suggests the existence of councils with scribes attached to them, as was the case with the *qenbet* during the New Kingdom. There is no reason to suppose that a *djadjat*-council was very different from a *qenbet*-council; most probably the much older word *djadjat* fell out of use in the course of time, to be replaced by *qenbet*.[41] In the title here under consideration it is *djadjat* which seems now to be used in preference.[42] Despite this argument, not much weight can be given to a term reappearing after the lapse of roughly one millennium and recurring only in titles: it cannot be ruled out that in later times it had a different signification. Indeed, we shall see that another idiom for 'law court' was already standardized as early as the reign of Psammetichus I, so that *djadjat* might well have implied a council with a competence other than jurisdiction.

New expressions are found in an elaborate report (P. Rylands IX, in early demotic) in which one Peteesi recounts a long conflict between his priestly family and the clergy of Amon at El-Hibeh (Teuzoi, north of Sharuna) over hereditary rights to some revenues. The text was written down sometime in the reign of Darius I (521–486 BC), but narrates events that happened at different periods beginning with the rule of Psammetichus I. In one episode, we see Peteesi's grandfather striving, presumably in Memphis, with one of his adversaries. At many points in this document, there is reference to a 'judgement house' (*ʿwi n wpy.t*), sometimes in connection with a judge/judges.[43] We glean that the

[37] The word *qnbt* became a standard term to signify the sort of document that can be laid before law courts and acknowledged by them; cf. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, 18. It also acquired the connotation of 'right/title' in the construction *ḏd qnb.t*, 'to contest the right (arising from something)', i.e. 'to go to law'; K. Sethe and J. Partsch, *Demotische Urkunden zum ägyptischen Bürgschaftsrechte vorzüglich der Ptolemäerzeit* (Leipzig, 1920), 804; cf. W. Erichsen, *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 96 n. 7; Mrsich, in: *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel* (Frankfurt, 1984), 221. Note, however, that in religious texts the term *qnbt* continued to be used with its ancient implication (n. 40 below; cf. G. Hughes, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 152).

[38] This title occurs among others on a statue belonging to our individual; see now R. el-Sayed, *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités* (Cairo, 1975), 235 f.

[39] See the recent study of Yoyotte, *CRAIBL 1989*, 75 ff where the relevant literature is quoted.

[40] Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, 12. In a demotic letter addressed to Thoth, the god of Hermopolis, the expression *ḏ ḏ .tiw ʿ.yw* occurs in the phrase 'O Thoth ... O Lord of the great councils'; E. Zaghloul, *Frühdemotische Urkunden aus Hermupolis* (Cairo, 1985), 58. It corresponds to *qnb.(wt) ʿ.y(w)* found in a similar plea to the same god (probably written in the reign of Darius I): 'O Thoth ... O Great Councils ...'; Hughes, *JEA* 54 (1968), 178 f. Perhaps allusion is made to the divine councils spoken of in Chapter 18 of the Book of the Dead before which Thoth is called upon to see to the justification of the deceased. It is interesting to note here that *ḏ ḏ .t* and *qnb.t* interchange with each other.

[41] See the discussion by Lurje, *Studien*, 63 ff.

[42] The word *ḏ ḏ t* is also attested on a Saite stela, in an offering formula imitating the style of the Old Kingdom; it refers there to the 'Great Council of the Great God'. J. Corteggiani, in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, I (Cairo, 1979), 119.

[43] P. Rylands IX, 15, 9–19 + 18, 6: F. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, III (Manchester, 1909), 97 f, 102. Seidl, op. cit. 33 (at nn. 4–5) mentions someone's title as 'chief of the judgement-hall', adopted from J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV (New York, 1906), § 1000. But this rendering cannot be maintained in a strict sense, as the title in question reads *imy-r rwt* 'attendant of the hall'; Piehl, *ZÄS* 28 (1890), 12.

grandfather (also named Peteesi) petitioned the 'judges' (*nꜣ wpy.w*), whereupon his opponent was brought and their declarations were written in the 'judgement house'. Later on, some people advised Peteesi to go again to the 'judgement house' against his adversary. In another episode, a man took a document, made by his partner, to the 'judgement house' and a 'judge' (*wpy*) told him that it was invalidated. From these passages we can safely conclude that one could initiate legal proceedings at such a house; declarations could also be written down there and other documents put forward and verified. That the expression 'judgement house' was a label for a real law court with true judges appears well-nigh certain, if we take into consideration the documentary evidence of a much later period, namely the second century BC. In this respect two lawsuits recorded in demotic are most instructive. In the papyrus reporting a trial that took place in year 170 BC at Siut we read: 'the judges (*nꜣ wpty.w*) ... were sitting in the judgement house of Siut'.[44] The other lawsuit was brought in year 117/116 BC at a considerable distance from Siut; in the text, it is said that 'the judges ... were sitting in the judgement house which is in *Pr Ḥt-ḥr* (Hathor-temple) of *Ḥwt-nswt* (Sharuna)'.[45]

Apart from these three documents, the terms 'the judges' and 'the judgement house' occur again and again in demotic contracts. For illustration, I quote only a few pre-Ptolemaic examples, concerned with clauses which were usually laid down by contracting parties and by which the sincerity of the party issuing the contract was to be demonstrated. So, in a sale (year 21 of Psammetichus I), the vendor says to his partner: 'The man who shall come unto you to take you before the judges (*nꜣ wpy.w*) in the name of these (things) above written, he shall not be able to say, "produce the witness to the document"[46] except in the town in which the witness is'.[47] Further, in a marriage settlement (so-called document of endowment) the husband assures his wife: 'I shall not be able to require an oath from you nor (from) the witness to the document[48] except in the house in which the judges are' (*pꜣ ʿwy nty iw nꜣ wpty.w n.im:f*).[49] Also, in a cession of property made by a man in favour of a woman, he gives his word, saying: 'The oath (or/and) the evidence that shall be required of you in the judgement house (*ʿwi wpy*)—in respect of the right (conferred by) the document aforesaid, that I have executed/drawn-up for you—to cause me to perform/swear it, I will perform/swear it'.[50] Exactly the same formula can be observed in a deed by which a man assigns to his son a share in landed

[44] P. BM. 10591 *rt.* 1, 1–5: H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut*, Text (Oxford, 1934), 3, 12.

[45] P. Mallawi Museum 602/10: el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, 54.

[46] That is, apparently, the scribe who wrote the document; in the future he might be called to testify to its genuineness.

[47] P. Rylands I: Griffith, op. cit. 46, 204. Exactly the same wording is used in P. Rylands II (transfer of a priestly office, dated the same year): ibid. 48, 208. For further literature on these two papyri from El-Hibeh (644 BC), see *LÄ* IV, 880.

[48] See n. 46 above.

[49] P. Chicago 17481 (Fayum, 365 BC): C. Nims, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 240; cf. E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden, 1960), 142f. For further marriage settlements, mostly from the Ptolemaic period, with this provision, see ibid., 286ff with Blatt VI, and P. Pestman, *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden, 1961), Diagram C § 19.

[50] P. Louvre 2439 (Thebes, 330 BC): K.-Th. Zauzich, *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau* (Wiesbaden, 1968), 12; cf. Pestman, *Marriage*, 122f, who judiciously remarks that this deed of sale was drawn up by the man for his wife, thus intended to allow her to inherit his property. For the occurrence of this provision in other documents, mostly of Ptolemaic date, see Zauzich, op. cit., Tabelle 2, Klausel-Nr. 8; cf. the recently published P. BM 10071 (from Pathyris, dated 212 BC): C. Andrews, in J. Baines *et al.* (eds.), *Pyramid Studies and other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London, 1988), 195.

property.[51] Such examples could be multiplied considerably. All these variants—'before the judges/in the house in which the judges are/in the judgement house'—obviously denote one and the same thing. Their frequent occurrence in demotic contracts can be adequately explained by assuming the persistence of law courts in the pre-Ptolemaic period.

These expressions, pointing to the judicial system of the time, also occur in theoretical treatises on Egyptian common law. In the demotic law-book of Hermopolis, which reflects the situation prevailing in the very early Hellenistic period,[52] a law court was paraphrased by the expression 'the judges', evidently indicating a collegial body.[53] Several cases discussed in this book have a bearing on disputes at court over rights to houses. There, litigants bring actions before 'the judges'; the latter speak with the former about the matter under investigation and sometimes raise pertinent questions, or make a litigant party act in a certain manner, and so on. In particular cases 'the judges' have to view the disputed house or otherwise cause evidence to be given. The opinion of 'the judges' is to be respected, and a decree (i.e. judgement) is issued at their behest, and they cause the losing litigant to write a quit-claim in favour of the winning party. In some cases over rights arising from written agreements we learn that the oath is to be taken while the litigant in question is 'before the judges', or 'in the house in which the judges are' (i.e. the judgement house). Likewise, 'the judges' order the chief of police to intervene in certain disputes. All occurrences of 'the judges' in our law-book are evidently in accordance with the contemporary usage reflected in records of daily affairs.[54]

It is thus abundantly clear that, during the pre-Ptolemaic period, law courts were referred to by the idiom 'the judges'. However, this term was not an innovation in the language of that period.[55] The verb *wpi*, 'to separate (two litigants)/judge', was occasionally used in the New Kingdom. But it was more or less confined to literary texts describing actions in law, such as the Contendings of Horus and Seth.[56] As for the noun *wpṯi*, it occurs in an enormous number of administrative and business texts, implying, however, the specific office of 'delegate/deputy/messenger'; yet, many of these texts mention officials acting for the king or the central government.[57]

Now, as is clear from the foregoing discussion, we have a development in terminology which calls for comment: whereas the common term *qenbet* 'council' fell into disuse (and

[51] P. Strassburg 1 (Thebes, 324 BC): S. Glanville, *Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum*, 1 (Oxford, 1939), xxx; for further literature on this document, see *LÄ* IV, 882. In later dated documents this formula is enlarged and ends with the terms 'without initiating any suit in any matter on earth against you'; see P. Brussels 2 (Thebes, 301 BC): Glanville, op. cit. xxxix and Zauzich, loc. cit. For further literature on this papyrus, see *LÄ* IV, 786.

[52] There is no hint in this long text of, for instance, the fiscal system imposed by Philadelphus. It seems therefore not unreasonable to consider the reign of this king as *terminus ante quem*. See my remarks in *CdE* 61 (1986), 56, 66ff; cf. S. Grunert, in *Grammata Demotika, Festschrift für E. Lüddeckens* (Würzburg, 1984), 69.

[53] G. Mattha and G. Hughes, *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis-West* (Cairo, 1975), 133. s.v. *wpty.w*; the verb *wpy*, 'to judge', and the noun *wpy.t*, 'judgement', also occur in this text.

[54] For an occurrence of the same idiom in a demotic treatise from the mid-second century BC (so-called Demotic Code of Civil Procedure) see Mrsich's recent study in *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel*, 218. This treatise comes not from Thebes, but from Ashmunein; Kaplony-Heckel, *Universitäts-Bibliothek Giessen–Kurzberichte aus den Papyrussammlungen* 42 (1986), 34; idem, *GM* 89 (1986), 56.

[55] Cf. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, 32f.

[56] A. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Stories* (Brussels, 1932) 37ff; in particular, lines 2, 7; 5, 4; 7, 1; 7, 11; 10, 11.

[57] M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les 'messagers' (wpwtyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes* (Geneva, 1976), 220ff.

the antiquated *djadjat* sporadically appeared as a revival), preference was ultimately given to the word *wpi*, 'to judge', with its derivatives. This alteration justifies us in assuming, in the absence of direct and explicit evidence, that a reorganization of some kind in the judicial system must have been undertaken at some time within the late dynastic period.

At this point a papyrus from Thebes (written in cursive hieratic in year 17 of Psammetichus I) is of particular interest.[58] It records a deed relative to the category of documents issued at the outcome of court proceedings. The papyrus had been drawn up in the name of a man and his sister, who apparently had gone to law concerning an inherited property; they lost the suit and had therefore to withdraw from their claims. Consequently, they had to conform to the judgement and acknowledge the rights of the winning party (their half-brother, representing two other sisters as well). In their withdrawal they made the following declaration: 'We have initiated legal proceedings against you before the judges (*wp.w*) concerning them (the hereditary shares); they (the judges) said to us (that) we have no[thing] (to claim) ...; as to whom(ever) would dispute them (the shares), his utterance should no (more) be listened to in any documentation-hall (office)'. This formal use of the phrase 'the judges' supports the thesis of judicial reorganization. Since this new idiom was consistently in use as early as the reign of Psammetichus I, it has been judiciously argued that the administrative reform enforced by this king must have called for major modification of the judicial apparatus as well.[59]

Although it would appear idle to speculate on the extent of this reform, one conjecture might not be amiss. Whereas the *qenbet* had had administrative, as well as judicial, responsibilities, the later 'judges' show no sign of administrative activity. Would it appear illogical, then, to surmise that the above-mentioned judicial reform entailed the constitution of new councils, wholely devoted to the administration of justice? This professionalism might have culminated in a kind of separation of administrative and judicial powers; such a process would necessarily give rise to real law courts, exclusively dedicated to jurisdiction. This statement is not as daring as it might appear at first glance.

Egyptian courts in Ptolemaic times

I come finally to the Hellenistic period. Various pieces of evidence help to elucidate some preliminary points. First, the law-book of Hermopolis (from the very early Hellenistic period) contains at least one section worth looking at in this connection. Of a litigation which might arise between neighbours on account of a wall, it is said: 'If it happens that it is in the town where the judges are that the house is, the judges shall view it, etc. ... If it happens that it is not in the town where the judges are that the house is, they shall cause evidence regarding the wall to be given in accord with the rule(s) for giving evidence'.[60] From this, we may infer that 'the judges' were not always within reach of many inhabited districts. Presumably, they held their meetings only in certain temples or towns.

Second, a text from the archive of a scribe called Hor affords an insight into some aspects of the local administration. It deals with an investigation (of a shrine relative to the ibis-cult) held on the 1 June 172 BC by a panel of 25 priests from the temple of Ptah in

[58] P. Vienna D 12003 + 12004: Malinine, *RdE* 25 (1973), 192ff.
[59] Ibid., 193.
[60] Mattha and Hughes, op. cit., col. VIII 10–15; cf. S. Grunert, *Der Kodex Hermopolis* (Leipzig, 1982), 80.

Memphis.[61] There we read:

'The elders (*n› rmṯ.w ꜥ.y (n) ms*) from among the priests (of) Ptah, who recorded within the chapel, sat (held session) (in) the forecourt (probably of the temple of Ptah) together with PN, the agent (*rd*) (of) Pharaoh, who was controller (*šn*) of the temple (probably the royal *ἐπιστάτης*). The scribes (*sḫ.w*) (of) Ptah read out the documents. They sent in haste to Alexandria to determine the law (*hp*) (of) the matter which concerned these things habitually .... They brought the servants (of) the ibises together with the servants (of) the Hawk (to) the forecourt. Guilty .... They seized (?) (six men) .... They took them (to) the prison .... They caused the inspectors to be brought (from) the houses (of) rest (of) the Ibis (and from) the houses (of) rest (of) the Hawk openly before the priests ...'.

The council of elders seems to have had considerable power with respect to temple affairs; for it ordered the imprisonment of six men as well as a review of the arrangements regarding the sacred birds. It also seems to have been free to make decisions, provided it acted within the law; indeed, at one point the council felt obliged to send to Alexandria in order to clarify the legal position. It is equally clear that the king exercised control over the temple through an agent, but within this control considerable autonomy was tolerated. On the whole, then, it is likely that 'the elders' were conceived of as the temple authorities; general deliberation on the affairs of the temple as well as its administration seems to have lain with them. We may deduce that, unlike the earlier constitution of local councils, in later periods the priests of a given temple could constitute a council of 'elders' who then had to function as its administrative body.

In support of this conclusion the contents of a demotic papyrus (P. Elephantine 6, 225/4 BC)[62] can be drawn upon. In this document two priests of Horus at Edfu give a guarantee to the royal *praktor* with respect to a payment due from the high priest of the temple. In the text it is stated that this high priest had been previously tried by the temple scribes (*sḫ.w*) (i.e. priests) in the presence of the controller (*šn*) of temples in Upper Egypt. This situation is to some extent similar to that just quoted; yet, it has recently been argued that the concern here is rather with a disciplinary procedure within the temple administration.[63] What is important to note is that this procedure was initiated by the temple personnel who were specifically described as 'scribes' and not as 'judges'. Evidently they were dealing with temple affairs in the same manner as the 'elders' in the above-mentioned investigation; sometimes a temple controller (probably the royal *epistates*, who in both cases bore an Egyptian name)[64] sat beside them.

On the other hand, other demotic documents show that jurisdiction over citizens could be conferred on the priests of a given temple. In this specific function the priests meting out justice are technically styled 'the judges' (*n› wpty.w*) and there is no doubt whatever that this is the very term used since the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. This is manifest in many documents. Two of them (P. BM 10446, 231/30 BC and P. Berlin 3113, 141 BC)[65] come

[61] J. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London, 1976), 74ff + 140f.

[62] = P. Berlin 13528: Sethe and Partsch, *Urkunden zum Bürgschaftsrechte*, 320ff (= *Urk.* 14).

[63] Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 19. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*[2], 70, 162, and idem, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 31 (1963), 124, speaks of *laokritai* here dispensing justice, a view which can no longer be maintained.

[64] The *epistates* was a high financial and administrative official who was often associated with a temple but was appointed from outside by the central government. Cf. D. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies* (Cambridge, 1988), 110.

[65] P. BM 10446: Revillout, *Revue égyptologique* 3 (1885), 15 and pls. 3–4, to be published afresh by C. Andrews. P. Berlin 3113: Erichsen, *ZÄS* 77 (1942), 92ff. Cf. P. Vienna 6007 (unpubl.): U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide* (Wiesbaden, 1963), 11, where priests of the god Sobek appear as judges.

from Thebes and belong to the category of cessions issued in consequence of judgements; the subject matter in each is the right to some landed property. In both cases, the party who lost the lawsuit had to relinquish any claim in respect of the disputed property, beginning his declaration with the statement: 'I/We have initiated legal proceedings against you before the judges of the priests (*n3 wpty.w n n3 wʿb.w*) of Amon/ who dispense justice in Thebes on account of (such and such matter)'. Further examples occur in the family archive of Siut (Lykopolis): in the long record of the trial which took place in Siut on 22 June 170 BC, the expression 'the judges of the priests of (the god) Wepwoi' (*n3 wpty.w n n3 wʿb.w n Wpwy*) occurs several times.[66] On the *verso* of this papyrus there are two texts closely related to each other, but not to the said trial. Yet the second of them is composed by one Tuot 'who writes to the judges of the priests of (the god) Onuris, who do justice at Psoi (Ptolemais)'.[67] Finally, in an already-quoted papyrus recording court-minutes relative to a trial held at Sharuna in the year 117/116 BC we find 'the judges of the priests of (the god) Harsiese ... sitting in the judgement house which is in the temple (of the goddess) Hathor'.[68]

It is true that the scholars who published the demotic documents had some doubt about the rendering of the phrase in question; they vacillated between the preposition *n*, 'of', and *n* standing for Late-Egyptian *m* as a form of expressing apposition with the connotation 'namely'; that is to say, they wavered in their translation between 'the judges of (from among) the priests ...' and 'the judges, namely the priests ...'.[69] Apparently this was due to shortcomings in our knowledge of the Egyptian judiciary in general. However, the genitival use of *n* is strongly favoured by the conclusion reached above, namely, that the priests qualified as 'elders' or 'scribes' were the governing body of the temple in question and had to run its current affairs; but whenever they were summoned for jurisdiction over citizens, they acted in the capacity of 'judges'. This can be deduced from the two trials just cited, in Siut and Sharuna. In both cases the court consisted of only three 'judges', who cannot have been all the priests of the god in question but only those who were singled out to dispense justice in the present instance.[70]

We may conclude that the clergy of a given temple during the Hellenistic period, like its ancestors of Pharaonic times, was charged amongst other things with local jurisdiction. The only difference I can perceive is that professional specialization, which resembles a kind of separation of powers, was respected throughout in the later period; most probably the priests administering justice were to be chosen from among the clergy with regard to this specific service. In the preceding paragraphs I have concluded that this development had already been introduced by Psammetichus I in the seventh century BC.

[66] P. BM 10591 *rt.* I, 1–2 + 7; II, 13–14; X, 16; see also *vs.* IV, 17a–18: Thompson, *Archive from Siut*, 3 ff.

[67] P. BM 10591 *vs.* III, 1–2: ibid. 52. For a discussion of the nature of the first three columns on the *verso* of this papyrus see Seidl, *RIDA* 9 (1962), 239 ff.

[68] See n. 45 above.

[69] Thompson, *Archive from Siut*, 12 n. 4; cf. Gunn, *JEA* 20 (1934), 225; Seidl and Stricker, *ZSS.RA* 57 (1937), 282 f; Erichsen, loc. cit. 96 translated the passage in question with a genitive, but adding an interrogation-mark after it; el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, 54 n. (e).

[70] Similarly, law courts for Greek inhabitants often show the same number of judges; cf. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 76. One cannot hence help supposing a general rule observed by Greek and autochthonous courts during the second century BC. In fact many common features existed, so that the appellation *δικαστήριον* was sometimes used to refer to the *laokritae*; cf. Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 104 (particularly n. 28) where such a confusion is noticed even in the lawyer's speech in the trial of Hermias.

The question which now arises is the following: was the capacity of constituting local law courts exclusively the preserve of members of the clergy? During the New Kingdom besides temples many a locality could set up its own *qenbet*. For later periods as well, there is positive evidence for the existence of a non-priestly court (above, n. 33); and other pre-Ptolemaic sources using the general term 'the judges' do not rule out the survival of such courts. To answer this question for the Hellenistic period we need to re-examine our material; it might still afford some more informative insights.

Passages in the very early Hellenistic law-book of Hermopolis speak of 'the judges' collectively and without qualifying them as priests. Such usage may, therefore, refer, not only to priests who exercise a judicial capacity, but also to non-priests convening for jurisdiction in their locality. This view can be strengthened by P. Elephantine 12 (245/44 BC).[71] This demotic papyrus reveals a cession as the outcome of a judgement concerning the rights to a house and various objects, which were disputed by two women. The losing woman had in the end to relinquish her claims. In her declaration she states that 'the judges' have adjudicated in favour of her opponent: 'I brought suit against you before the judges concerning that house (location given) together with those furnishings .... The judges have adjudged you right against me in regard to them. I renounce claim upon you in regard to that house ... together with those furnishings ... I have nothing in the world (to claim) from you in regard to them from today onward ...'. As the text, which is without lacunae, does not strictly refer to a priestly body of judges, it does not appear unreasonable to assume here a court composed of laymen.

This assumption can be supported by another text (P. Strassburg 18: Gebelein, 133 BC)[72] in which is recorded the reconciliation of two litigants as reflected in the declaration of the party who had been defeated at law. This party had to promise not to bring any further action against his adversary; he would be liable to a heavy penalty should he recommence the litigation. In his declaration we read:

'If it happens that I bring action or/together with PN [my] (wife) and her children or/together with any other person on earth in our name on account of the aforesaid 35 arourae of land to the (official) *sḫn*,[73] "the judges", the δικασταί (= *khrematistai*?),[74] the στρατηγό[ς], the ἐπιστάτης or unto any other person on earth who is sent out in matter(s) of Pharaoh, I shall give 25 silver-*deben* ... for the offerings of the Pharaohs (and) I shall give you another 25 silver-*deben* ... (altogether) 50 silver-*deben* ...'.

In this statement are thus enumerated different officials who could mete out justice as well as collegial law courts (Greek? and Egyptian). Even if we are still not entirely inclined to take 'the judges' here as referring to an Egyptian non-priestly panel, we should at least understand this term in a broader sense to mean judges drawn from either priests or laymen.

It might already have occurred to the reader that the technical term *nꜣ wpty.w*, 'the judges', should likewise be considered in connection with λαοκρίται, of whom we have

[71] = P. Berlin 13554: Sethe and Partsch, *Urkunden*, 752ff; cf. Nims, *JNES* 7 (1948), 249; *LÄ* IV, 771.

[72] O. Gradenwitz, F. Preisigke and W. Spiegelberg, *Ein Erbstreit aus dem ptolemäischen Ägypten* (Straßburg, 1912), 49ff; cf. Lüddeckens, *Enchoria* 2 (1972), 26.

[73] For this administrative official also dispensing justice, see Sethe and Partsch, *Urkunden*, 106; Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte der Saiten- und Perserzeit*, 33; idem, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 71; idem, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 31 (1963), 121; Kaplony-Heckel, *Die demotischen Tempeleide*, Text, 12f.

[74] For this equation see Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 76; idem, *RIDA* 9 (1962), 251.

a number of instances scattered in Greek papyri (not before 221 BC). Although there is to date no bilingual text proving the synonymous character of these terms, Thompson and following him Seidl regarded the Greek word as the exact equivalent of the Egyptian.[75] Their identification was essentially founded on the assumption that the Egyptian judiciary was exclusively recruited from the clergy; that was undoubtedly due to the extremely limited number of published demotic papyri available to them. Yet, a striking feature of the Egyptian and the Greek terms is their structure in plural form, thus implying a law court thought of as a college.[76] As the Greek texts exclusively point to native courts, and the Egyptian records make use of no word other than *wpty.w*, it can hardly be doubted that both terms refer to the same institution.

In a fresh examination of the word λαός attested in Greek texts, Vandersleyen has come to the conclusion that this word was generally used in the administrative vernacular of the Ptolemaic period to pinpoint the representatives of the native population, i.e. its notables. Indeed, in many situations their collaboration with the central administration was effective and at times their responsibility could actually be involved. Consequently, this may indicate that the term λαοκρίται designated 'the judges (selected) out of the notability'.[77] This plausible assumption leads to the conclusion that, besides priests in a judicial capacity, laymen too must have been admitted to the judiciary. This would support the viewpoint that has been very cautiously set forth by Wolff in his chapter on the *laokritai*. He refers to P. Tebtunis III, 1, 795 (early second century BC), which explicitly mentions a building (no temple) called λαοκρίσιον in Crocodilopolis/Fayum where the *laokritai* used to hold session.[78] The opinions of both scholars[79] are in harmony then with mine, to which I have been guided by the demotic papyri alone. Note furthermore that not only do *n› wpty.w* and λαοκρίται correspond to each other, but also *ʿwy n wp*, 'judgement-house', and λαοκρίσιον. Yet the term λαοκρίται was certainly not confined to courts constituted of laymen; like 'the judges' it was sometimes understood in the general sense, thus covering both categories of the judiciary. This is manifestly stated in the well-known *prostagma* of Ptolemy VIII (118 BC), where the judiciary of Egypt as a whole is divided only into Egyptian *laokritai* and Greek *khrematistai* (χρηματίσται), the former category doubtless also including courts composed of priests.[80]

[75] Thompson, *Archive from Siut*, xviii f. Seidl and Stricker, *ZSS.RA* 57 (1937), 281 f, hesitated about the identification, but Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 70 f, finally agreed. Wolff, *RIDA* 7 (1960), 200, is of the same opinion.

[76] Cf. Kreller, *RE* XII.1, 738 ff s.v. λαοκρίται.

[77] C. Vandersleyen, *CdE* 48 (1973), 339 ff; cf. O. Montevecchi, in *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie*, IVe partie (Brussels, 1979), 51 ff; Cl. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos, parépidèmos, et le destin grec* (Paris, 1985), 210 ff. This view has been repeatedly favoured by Modrzejewski, *Symposion 1974* (Cologne, 1979), 375 ff (see in particular p. 377 n. 5); his article also appeared in *Hommages à Cl. Préaux* (Brussels, 1975), 699 ff (see p. 700 n. 3) and in *Panteios, Ecole des Hautes Etudes de Sciences politiques d'Athènes* (1978), 755 ff (see p. 377 n. 5); cf. idem, *Annuaire EPHE IVe Section 1974/75*, 335; idem, in *Μνήμη G. A. Petropoulos*, I (Athens, 1984), 62; idem, *ZSS.RA* 105 (1988), 167.

[78] Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 52; idem, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1966), 8; idem, *Das Problem der Konkurrenz von Rechtsordnungen in der Antike* (Heidelberg, 1979), 52.

[79] The same view had been maintained long before both scholars; cf. W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, II (Leipzig, 1908), 245 f.

[80] M.-Th. Lenger, *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées* (Bruxelles, 1964), no. 53: p. 131 ff. See also Modrzejewski, *Symposion 1974*, above with a new interpretation of that decree. But see Wolff, *Das Problem der Konkurrenz von Rechtsordnungen in der Antike*, 61 f. Cf. Cl. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* (Paris, 1978), 598; Pestman, *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 22 (1985), 265 ff.

The demotic papyrus recording the 170 BC trial at Siut narrates that one Andromachos/Andronikos (?) joined the three Egyptian judges convening to decide the dispute in question. On the *verso* of the papyrus we are further told that, some time later (169 BC), a rehearing was held in Psoi (= Ptolemais); there likewise one Ammonios dealt with a decision of the judges, and another Greek is mentioned as the superior of an Egyptian bailiff. Not only are the proper names of these persons visibly Greek, but their common title transcribed into demotic corresponds to the Greek designation εἰσαγωγεύς.[81] Since they are mentioned in conjunction with the proceedings as such, the part they played is of interest. In the first trial the *eisagogeus* 'sat in the judgement-house of Siut (side by side with the judges); he brought the complaint (of the woman Chratianch) before them' (*rt.* I, 5–6). This trial ended with a formal judgement written by a native scribe and signed by the judges.[82] There is no further reference to the *eisagogeus*, although his bailiff (*rt* = 'agent', with an Egyptian proper name) was ordered by the judges to put the winning party (one Tefhape) in possession of the disputed property (*rt.* X, 14). As for the *verso* of the papyrus, it is very confused and obscurely worded, but one might safely glean that Chratianch was 'caused to be taken to prison (by) the bailiff (an Egyptian) of the *eisagogeus* of the judges' (*vs.* IV, 5–6) and that later, on another occasion, the *eisagogeus* had to intervene in connection with a decision of the judges (*vs.* IV, 1).[83]

It emerges clearly from this survey that the *eisagogeus*, who in this particular case always happened to be a Greek, was not one of the judges, nor apparently an assessor.[84] No doubt he must have been capable of discharging his function in the course of a particular lawsuit, i.e. following the trial held by the native law court, which proceeded not only in the Egyptian vernacular, but also in accordance with Egyptian common law.[85] Clearly the functions performed by the *eisagogeus* were to introduce cases before the judges and to take actions in concert with them; and his Egyptian bailiff was empowered to enforce judicial decisions up to the imprisonment of a judgement-debtor. In other words, the *eisagogeus* had to represent the central administration with the panel of judges, thus forming a link between the government and the local judiciary. The Greek papyri also assign him similar functions at the courts that dealt with cases of the Greek inhabitants.[86] In the minutes of the judgement delivered at Sharuna in 117/16 BC, the *eisagogeus*, who bore a purely Egyptian name (*Wn-nfr*), is not personally met with, but an apparently Egyptian bailiff (*rt*) representing him had to collaborate with the judges.[87] In conclusion, then, we may postulate that the *eisagogeus* was regarded as a royal functionary

[81] For the identification of demotic *rysws/swyw(s)/swbys*, see *swyws* (in P. Wiss. Ges. Strassburg 18) discussed by Spiegelberg, in Gradenwitz *et al., Erbstreit*, 55f.; see further *swys* in P. Mallawi Mus. 602/10, published by el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, 55n.(i).

[82] During the trial 'the scribe of the judges' had to read the pleas of the disputants before the judges (*rt.* VI, 9). Most probably he was the same official who drew up the judgement (mentioned by name in X, 16); Thompson, *Archive from Siut*, 24n.105. Similarly, in the record of the trial at Sharuna we find, besides the judges and the representative of the *eisagogeus*, a scribe 'writing before the judges'; el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, 60.

[83] Whereas Thompson, op. cit. 55 translated 'Decree of the judges which Ammonios the Eisagogeus pronounced', Seidl, *RIDA* 9, 246 understands the passage differently as 'Befehl der Richter, die zu Ammonios, dem Eisagogeus gesagt haben'.

[84] Thompson, op. cit. xix.

[85] κατὰ τοὺς τῆς χώρας νόμους. Cf. Kreller, *RE* XII 1, col. 745; Wolff, *RIDA* 7 (1960), 211ff; idem, *Justizwesen*, 49.

[86] Cf. Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 221 (s.v. εἰσαγωγεύς); Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 76f.

[87] P. Mallawi Museum 602/10: el-Aguizy, *BIFAO* 88, 54ff.

cooperating as a liaison man with the local judiciary, Egyptian and Greek alike.[88] In his monograph on the Ptolemaic judicial apparatus, Wolff has shown that, although the *eisagogeus* derived his title from the classical *polis*, yet his functions in Hellenistic Egypt had a wholly different character.[89]

In the judicial machine of the New Kingdom many a 'scribe' played a positive part. At the local level he used to act in legal proceedings from start to finish; if need be, he had to communicate directly with the highest official of state (the vizier); and at the Great *Qenbet* he sometimes officiated as prosecutor. Correspondingly, at the Great *Qenbet*, a high official with the rank 'scribe of Pharaoh' joined in its dealings; apparently this official ensured the control of the king over this supreme court. As for the following period, our documentation, although extremely limited, still discloses a 'chief scribe', who sat with the 'superiors of the Great *Qenbet*' (above, n. 33), and later an 'inspector/superintendents of the scribes of the council' (above, nn. 38 and 39). Although later dated texts are silent as regards the exact part played by the scribes in law courts, there is no serious reason for disbelieving that their judicial functions persisted through later periods as well. At all events, it is not unlikely that the position of the Hellenistic *eisagogeus* was no more than the continuation of a much older Pharaonic institution.[90] It is not impossible that in the course of centuries the work of local scribes at law courts developed and became an independent charge that was henceforth to be entrusted to a specialized official, inasmuch as the capacity of dispensing justice came to be a specialized function delegated to certain individuals. This view is in line with the maintenance of many a Pharaonic institution in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy.[91] But the circumstance that, apart from the Greek rendering, the position of the *eisagogeus* was occasionally occupied by Greeks reveals, as Wolff has made clear,[92] the intent of the Ptolemies to strengthen their power: by subjecting the judicial machine to governmental control, they could hold the judiciary within their overall supervision and their immediate control, in the same manner as their Egyptian predecessors did.

It has already been observed that the *laocritae* in the Fayum held sessions in a building (*λαοκρίσιον*) specially reserved for them. Similarly, the judges in the trial at Sharuna, though associated with the cult of Harsiese, used to gather, not in the temple of their god, but in 'the judgement-house' situated in the local Hathor temple. These disjointed data hint that we might indeed be concerned with permanent institutions in both instances. As for the individual position of the *laocritae*, a favourable indication can be obtained from a Greek papyrus (P. Rylands IV 572, early second century BC).[93] It is a letter which was probably addressed by a superior to a *strategos*, perhaps of the Arsinoite nome. It

[88] Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 39, thought that it was the *eisagogeus* who could also appoint judges. Seidl, *Studia et Documenta Historiae et Iuris* 27 (1961), 488 refuted such an argument.

[89] Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 4 n. 13, 30. Cf. Préaux, *CdE* 38 (1963), 331; Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 77; idem, *RIDA* 9, 250f; idem, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 31 (1963), 120; idem, *Enchoria* 5 (1975), 46; Modrzejewski, *ZSS.RA* 80 (1963), 51; idem, in *Μνήμη Georges A. Petropoulos*, 1, 63, 69.

[90] Cf. Preaux, *Le monde hellénistique*, 278, who, mainly working with Greek papyri, was in doubt about the pre-existence of the office of the *eisagogeus* when the Greeks came into Egypt.

[91] Cf. Seidl, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 71 ff with respect to the Pharaonic *sḫn*-official whose judicial position is well attested under the Ptolemies as well. See also Johnson, in Gibson and Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power*, 141 ff. Cf. Préaux, in *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress of Papyrology* (Oslo, 1958), 232.

[92] Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 29f; idem, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1966), 11 f.

[93] Cf. Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 52.

contains a number of instructions regarding the selection of scribes, who would be authorized to draw up demotic contracts, and fixing a standard tariff of their charges. According to these instructions the nomination of the scribes is to be made by officials representing the king, in agreement with others representing the indigenous population: these are the temple *epistatai*, the high priests and the *laocritae* of the northern area. Hence, the *laocritae* seem to have formed a particular category within the framework of the local authorities. Moreover, if we trust the information that they were also given an honorarium,[94] their status would then imply that jurisdiction was their main occupation.[95] This assumption tallies with the inference above, namely that 'the judges' (*nꜣ wpty.w*) were entrusted solely with jurisdiction, unlike members of the old councils (*qenbet*). In favour of this, reference is made again to the papyrus concerning the trial at Siut, which discloses a technically high quality of recording court minutes, and includes the reasoning leading to the decision of the judges. This high quality presupposes the existence of a skilled judiciary who would hardly not have been professional.

Our investigation comes to its end. We are ill informed on the autochthonous law courts of the Hellenistic period, but I have argued that this difficulty, due to the unfavourable state of our present documentation, can be overcome by recourse to the texts of the Pharaonic period, particularly the New Kingdom. These afford valuable information on many aspects of the judicial apparatus effective at that period, thus deepening our insight into the historical background of our subject. One major development that came about in the course of centuries can be established: the administrative councils (*qenbet*) charged *inter alia* with the administration of justice were superseded by real courts of justice, most probably composed of true judges (*nꜣ wpty.w*), attested as early as the reign of Psammetichus I. Such courts continued into and survived throughout the Hellenistic period.[96]

As the picture did not utterly change (save for some aspects of the position of the *eisagogeus*) when the Ptolemies came, it appears unnecessary to resort to the hypothesis that the native judicial apparatus was deliberately created or inspired by royal initiative.[97] Rather, it was a genuine native institution which continued to exist and function under the Ptolemies in the same way as before; most likely, the Ptolemies did not interfere with the institution, as long as their interests were not at peril. The Egyptian population thus continued to seek legal redress before its own courts, just as it lived by its enchoric law, largely inherited from Pharaonic times.

[94] In his description of the Egyptian judiciary Diodorus (I, 75, 4) reports that the judges (δικασταί) were to receive a σύνταξις from the king. Cf. F. Oertel, *Die Liturgie–Studien zur ptolemäischen und kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1917), 56 n. 2.

[95] In a tiny demotic text-fragment, Seidl, *Universitäts-Bibliothek Giessen–Kurzberichte aus den Papyrussammlungen* 16 (1963), 8f, has made out a fee to be paid by *laocritae*. If his interpretation is correct, this would fit in well with my assumption.

[96] In the literature the institution of the *laocritae* is said to have persisted till roughly the end of the second century BC. But a much later date might be alluded to in a demotic alimentary contract with Greek subscription (P. Michigan 347: Edgerton, *Papyri from Tebtunis*, II (Ann Arbor, 1944), 345ff; Lüddeckens, *Eheverträge*, 180ff). In this papyrus, dated to AD 21, a provision is agreed upon in respect of any oath to be given in 'the house [in] which the judges are'. The use of this conventional idiom at the beginning of the first century AD presupposes the continuation of the judicial system till that date at least. Seidl, *Rechtsgeschichte Ägyptens als römischer Provinz* (*Die Behauptung des ägyptischen Rechts neben dem römischen*) (Sankt Augustin, 1973), 106f, admits that in Egypt, as in other Roman provinces, native courts were tolerated in the first century AD; cf. idem, *Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte*, 70 n. 6.

[97] In Wolff's opinion the whole judiciary under the Ptolemies, Greek courts inclusive, owed its existence to a royal initiative in the form of a *diagramma* (or *diagrammata*) promulgated by Philadelphus. Wolff's aim has been to construct a strictly logical scheme and to ascribe to this king a homogenously conceived system of jurisdiction for the whole population, an act which was by no means devoid of political meaning; for Wolff, Philadelphus was aspiring to create an 'integral legal system'. Wolff admits, however, that neither the exact contours of the scheme nor the way in which it was enforced can be clearly ascertained from the sources available. Wolff, 'Plurality of Laws in Ptolemaic Egypt', *RIDA* 7 (1960), 199ff; idem, *Justizwesen*, 56ff; idem, *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 , 5f, 14ff; idem, *Opuscula dispersa* (Amsterdam, 1974), 103ff (*Essays in honor of C. Bradford Welles* (New Haven, 1966), 67ff); idem, *Das Problem der Konkurrenz von Rechtsordnungen in der Antike*, 52f. His opinion has been fully criticized by B.-J. Müller, *Ptolemaeus II. Philadelphos als Gesetzgeber* (Dissertation, Köln, 1968), 132ff; cf. Préaux, *CdE* 38, 332; Peremans, *Ancient Society* 13/14 (1982/83), 150f; Herrmann, *JURA* 14 (1963), 324ff.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN SITES AT TELL EL-AMARNA AND SHEIKH SAID*

By MICHAEL JONES

Archaeological evidence is presented for settlements dating to the early Christian period at two sites of Pharaonic rock-cut tombs. The discussion is based on observations of remains visible at the sites today and the published reports of Davies, the only Egyptologist to have examined these sites in detail. Pottery types noted on the disturbed ground surface are used to suggest a chronological framework for the period of occupation. Contrasting architectural styles and methods in which the ancient tombs were reused may indicate that each site supported a somewhat different kind of community. The results of a hitherto unpublished excavation offer a partial illustration of the community at Sheikh Said.

THROUGHOUT Egypt, the remains of numerous early Christian settlements exist in the desert hills overlooking the Nile Valley. They are frequently located at the sites of much earlier quarries, rock-cut tombs and temples dating from the Pharaonic period, where both natural and man-made caves offered shelter for the large numbers of people who made their way into the wilderness during the later Roman period, fleeing persecution and economic pressures or seeking confrontation with demons and wild beasts. In many cases these retreats grew to a considerable size, accommodating communities too numerous for the space available in the original tombs or caves. Despite their prominence in the archaeological record, and the scale of the social movement they must represent, virtually all these sites remain poorly documented. Little serious attempt has yet been made to record their architecture or assess the development of the communities they housed. The two desert hermitages that have been studied in depth, at Esna and Kellia, are of a somewhat different character to the hillside retreats discussed here, since at both sites the hermits' dwellings were subterranean, constructed in the sandy desert plain and entered by a descending stairway.[1] The cells were purposely constructed for their ascetic occupants, rather than fashioned from already existing caves. In the case of Kellia, connections with the Wadi Natrun and Alexandria allowed it to achieve an international significance and its inhabitants included a number of the best known Church Fathers.[2] On the other hand, the importance of the majority of the Upper Egyptian sites, such as settlements around rock tombs of the kind forming the subject of this article, was probably limited to the countryside and towns in their immediate vicinity.

*The observations recorded here are the results of several visits to the tombs at Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said between 1979 and 1989. While Sheikh Said has so far escaped attention, at least since the Society's excavation of 1923–24, the remains at Tell el-Amarna were partly affected by increased touristic development during this period. With the inevitable loss of evidence there was a compelling need for a preliminary account such as this.

[1] S. Sauneron and J. Jacquet, *Les Ermitages chrétiens du desert d'Esna*, I–IV (Cairo, 1972); M. Egloff, *Survey archéologique des Kellia (Basse Égypte). Rapport de la campagne 1981* (Louvain, 1983). Sites comparable to those discussed below are the Sinai hermitages described in I. Finkelstein, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 39 (1985), 39–79, particularly Deir Umm Arad, el-Deir and El-Ma'yen. Examples of Nile Valley sites are discussed in Alexander Badawy, *Les premiers établissements chrétiens dans les anciennes tombes d'Égypte* (Alexandria, 1953).

[2] Palladius, *The Paradise or Garden of The Holy Fathers*, Book I, *passim.*

For these reasons, while there are many useful comparisons in the pottery, and possible interconnections between sites, there are also major differences in the architecture and the nature of the communities when compared with the two settlements at Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said which are examined here.

Tell el-Amarna

The North Tombs at Tell el-Amarna were excavated from the escarpment below the crest of the desert cliffs overlooking the northern end of the extensive Eighteenth Dynasty royal city of Akhetaten, some two kilometres east of the modern village of el-Till. The tombs are in two groups on the north and south sides of the mouth of a wadi through which passes the desert route to Sheikh Said and Deir el-Bersheh. None were completed, but the surviving reliefs show that they were intended for select members of Akhenaten's household and court. The architecture and original wall reliefs of the tombs have been described in detail by Davies,[3] who also recognized the extensive remains of stone-built huts in the area as indications of early Christian occupation and settlement.[4]

The whole stone hut settlement is well preserved, and it is safe to say that, apart from natural collapse and erosion, much of the ancient extent of the housing on the hillside can still be discerned. The location also makes it clear that the original focus of the settlement was the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. Thus the evidence for the earliest phase of occupation is probably to be found on the artificial terraces excavated from the cliff to form forecourts before the entrances to the rock-cut interiors of the tombs.[5]

One of the tombs, that originally made for Panehsy (no. 6), was partly enlarged and converted into a church.[6] The adaptation of the tomb involved extensive remodelling of part of its interior. Evidence from the surviving mural decoration suggests that the present appearance was achieved as a result of at least two phases of alteration. On the west side of the screen wall separating the columned hall from the inner room of the tomb, two large monograms were painted in red. One is an alpha-omega symbol, and the other chi-rho. These were later plastered over, together with a considerable area of the surviving original Eighteenth Dynasty decoration, to be replaced by what appears now in its badly damaged condition to have been a more extensive series of Christian images painted on the plaster. These include saints with nimbuses, floral patterns and wreaths.[7] Part or all of the uneven rock floor was also cemented over and plastered with an upper layer of smooth, hard pink plaster, possibly at the same time. Unfortunately, much of the plaster work has either fallen away from the walls or has been removed to reveal the original reliefs beneath, and thus, extensive painted surfaces bearing a potentially valuable series of early Christian figurative paintings and abstract motifs have been lost.

The mural decoration forms only one element in the adapted interior of the tomb. The lower half of the full length of the north wall and northern row of two columns in the

[3] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna*, I–III (London, 1903–5) (hereafter *RTA*).

[4] Davies, *RTA*, I, 2. General descriptions of the Christian remains are to be found in C. C. Walters, *Monastic Archaeology in Egypt* (Warminster, 1974), 103; O. F. A. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt Ancient and Modern* (Cairo, 1977), 377–8; Fr. Samuel al-Syriany and Arch. Badii Habib, *Guide to Ancient Coptic Churches and Monasteries in Upper Egypt* (Cairo, 1990), 113–14.

[5] Recently, some occupational material has been cleared from the forecourts of tombs as a result of touristic developments in the area.

[6] Davies, *RTA*, II, 12, pls. ii, iii, vi, xi and xx. Davies' plan and elevations of the tomb and his copies of wall paintings are reproduced by Badawy, op. cit., figs. 8 and 9.

[7] Davies, *RTA*, II, pl. xx.

columned hall were removed to increase the capacity of the room. On the rough face of the cut away section, small fragments of painted plaster still adhere to the wall. They are especially noticeable in the upper angle formed by the new wall and low ceiling and close to the floor near the north-west corner of the room. There are faint traces of yellow on a dark red background but too little is preserved to show the form of the original design. A thick black ashy deposit, particularly heavy close to the floor, further obscures the paintwork. There appears to be only one layer of plaster in the enlarged, cut-away part of the room, perhaps indicating that the enlargement of the columned hall corresponded with the repainting of the screen wall.

A cylindrical tank, 1.40 m deep and 0.95 m wide at the top, was hewn out of the floor, partly within the thickness of the screen wall, on the north side of the central doorway, and an apsidal niche was carved in the wall above it. A rectangular window was cut in the back of the niche, opening into the inner room of the tomb. On the left of the window in the niche a shelf with an arched back was also cut out of the rock, possibly for the portable equipment used during ceremonies. At the back of the tank, two steps were cut from the rock on the same level as the chamber floor, on which an officiating priest could stand. The tank itself, however, is straight sided and if it is a baptismal font, as seems likely, there is no obvious means by which a person could lower or raise himself into and out of the water. The depth would indicate that, if this interpretation of its function is correct, adult baptisms were normal and that a ladder must have been used. Another possibility is that it was used only as an Epiphany tank, in which water was blessed and then distributed to the faithful.

The decoration of the niche and apse over the font is relatively well preserved and is of special interest. The surfaces were plastered and painted, and, as with the screen wall to the right, two layers of painted plaster are visible in the apse. The front of the arch is painted yellow and blue and on the underside there is a running design of leaves and bunches of pomegranates.[8] In the back of the apse is a painting of a single figure with six outstretched wings, in flaming orange-red against a grey background. The upper pair of wings curls over towards the nimbus and those below are shown parted to point slightly downwards. The edges are serrated to indicate the outlines of feathers but the details are not drawn. Over the creature's head is a red circle with white centre which may originally have been a cross nimbus. Unfortunately, the central part of the figure between the wings, as well as the design within the nimbus, have been completely destroyed, creating uncertainty over its correct identification. The figure appears at first sight to resemble a large bird, even to the extent that the possible outline of its tail is shown at the lower left side of the erased area where one might suppose its feet to have been. Davies identified it as an eagle with tripartite wings but, while it is impossible to say that such a bird does not exist in Coptic art of this period, the usual representations of eagles have single pairs of wings which may sometimes be shown raised on both sides of the bird's head.[9] More common than eagles are peacocks, whose fan-shaped tails are very distinctive, and doves, which frequently occur in pairs, sometimes depicted holding the Chrism in their beaks.[10] However, while all these birds would be appropriate in the context of baptisms, especially eagles (as symbols of Victory) and doves (in keeping with the New Testament

[8] Id. ibid., pl. vi, a and b.
[9] W. E. Crum, *Coptic Monuments* (Cairo, 1902), nos. 8636–59, pls. xl–xlv.
[10] Sauneron and Jacquet, op. cit., I, 75 and pl. xxvii.

description of the Baptism of Christ),[11] the painting resembles neither a peacock nor a pair of doves. Other possible subjects may be an archangel or saint with six wings, a seraph or one of the four Evangelists.[12]

Below the winged figure are two borders painted round the back of the apse; the upper band is a leaf design and immediately beneath it is a knotted rope pattern which may have extended onto the adjacent wall to the left.[13] Variations on the rope motif are found in murals and in the decoration of textiles, painted pottery and stelae dated in the sixth and seventh centuries AD.[14] To the left of the niche a rectangular cupboard, (0.96 × 0.52 m) is cut into the west-facing wall created by the removal of the lower half of the north wall of the room. Square slots cut on both sides at the upper and lower front edges indicate where wooden beams would have been fitted and probably fashioned to receive either a single or double door.[15] In the inner room of the tomb a rectangular depression in the centre of the floor indicates the position once occupied by the altar.

Too little is visible now of the earlier paintings, apparently comprising only monograms, to show whether the tomb already served as a place of worship at that stage, or whether that specialized use came later. The presence of the chi-rho monogram provides a useful dating criterion since, although this combination had already been commonly used for Greek words beginning with these two letters, its use in a Christian context as here with alpha-omega cannot be dated earlier than the reign of Constantine. The second stage of alterations in the tomb has clearly created a church of recognizable design with a congregational hall, enlarged to hold a sizeable gathering at baptisms, an *iconostasis* and the sanctuary beyond. As an illustration of early church architecture this is a particularly good example of how the original design of the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb has been readily adapted for Christian worship, with a painted screen standing from floor to ceiling dividing the two parts of the interior.

This is one of the largest of the North Tombs; it had also reached a fairly advanced stage before being abandoned, so that the inner chamber was large enough for the altar and to provide space for activities around it. The work of converting the original tomb chapel into a church was a considerable undertaking: large amounts of stone had to be taken out to remove half the north wall and the two northern columns. The scale of the work suggests that the community must have regarded itself as well established at the site. Both the physical conditions of the desert hillside and the extent to which the stone village eventually grew show that it could not have been isolated and self-sufficient, but rather must have relied on water from the Nile and on supplies of food and other commodities from nearby settlements in the valley.

[11] St Mark I, 10–11.

[12] Examples which may be quoted are all later than the plausible date of this painting; cf. the catalogue of an exhibition held at Essen in 1963: *Koptische Kunst, Christentum am Nil* (Essen, 1983), 269 no. 165.

[13] Davies, *RTA*, II, pl. vi, d and c.

[14] Many are published but good examples are to be found in Sauneron and Jacquet, op. cit. I, 63, 68, 71 and 72; F. D. Friedman, *Beyond the Pharaohs* (Rhode Island, 1989), 142 no. 50 (textile); 260 and 262 nos. 174 and 176 (stelae from Armant and Esna). Cf. also P. Grossmann and H. G. Severin, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), pl. 24, a, b and c (a pottery vessel from Saqqara painted with a similar design).

[15] Davies, *RTA*, II, 12, mentions a blue glass disc set into the wall on the left of the font but states that it disappeared sometime between his first and second season at the site. The circular cavity marking its position is still visible in the wall with traces of a dark red border once painted around it, although during recent restoration work it was filled with cement.

The stone huts on the hillside in front of the tomb entrances and along the slopes in their immediate vicinity form the most striking evidence for the eventual size of the community that lived here (pl. IX, 1). They are clustered on the rock-cut terraces immediately in front of the tomb entrances, on the ridge above the tombs and on the slopes below them, and along the hillside in gullies beyond the northern and southern limits of the two excavated tomb groups. In many cases the walls are well built from large limestone blocks and neatly finished beside the doorways with slabs that have been partially shaped and rounded at the edges (pl. IX, 2). A number of these structures still stand up to two metres above the surrounding ground level. Roofing must have been in the form of mats supported on split palm logs whose ends may have been slotted into roughly cut niches in the adjacent rock faces. Others, less well built, have fallen down so that their original ground plans are now obscured by collapsed masonry. The huts themselves can be divided into two kinds. Firstly, there are those built against the cliff face immediately in front of a tomb entrance, so that the rock-cut interior of the tomb forms an inner chamber behind the stone-built structure before it. These 'lean-to' types are usually the better preserved. With this kind can also be placed those huts built to enclose the openings of natural caves or shelters formed by fallen rocks which have come to rest near the bottom of the hill (pl. X, 1). Secondly, there are free-standing structures.

In the first category, the shelf cut from the cliff face for the forecourt of the original Eighteenth Dynasty tomb or wide natural ledges have been extended by building up the slope of the hillside to the same level with substantially laid stone revetments (pl. X, 2). On top of this artificial platform a level terrace was created for the living surfaces and further stone walls. The stone walls appear never to have been high enough to have screened the tomb entrance completely from view, except perhaps from the slope directly below, nor is there evidence visible now that the tombs were walled up or otherwise closed off when the huts in front were in use. Thus the exact correlation between the functions of the inner parts of the tombs and these additional structures is not clear. The most obvious explanation is that they provided auxiliary living quarters for groups of people too numerous for the tombs. Some of the smaller rooms into which the huts built on the terraces are subdivided may have been used as animal pens, although this may be unlikely in such a desiccated environment not so very far from the banks of the Nile.

The free-standing structures with rectangular or square ground plans made to stand quite independently of the cliff face are found in two quite different parts of the site. The most dramatic location is on the very edge of a ridge above the level of the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, over and southwards beyond tomb 6. Here a line of contiguous stone structures provides only sufficient space for cramped living conditions; no terraces offer an opportunity for extra domestic activities. In a separate area at the northern end of the southern group of tombs (on the south side of the wadi), a low building, somewhat broader in plan than most of the units here, was constructed on a fairly level part of the hill. The walls stand only about seventy-five centimetres high and there is little indication in the form of tumbled stone that they were ever very much taller. Sherds and other refuse in this area are scarce, and here at least may be one plausibly identifiable animal pen.

This extensive and impressively preserved stone village is possibly only the latest in a sequence of settlements. Where erosion from rainfall or clearance has exposed stratigraphy, buildings in sun-dried alluvial mudbrick and kiln-fired red brick are visible,

apparently underlying some of the stone structures. The most conspicuous exposures of this kind are in front of tombs 1 and 2 at the northern end of the tomb group, and on the south side of the entrance of tomb 6, the 'church tomb' (pls. XI, 1–2).[16] In the latter case, an extensive mudbrick building or group of buildings survives, now partly hidden beneath a badly-ruined stone structure that was built either in front of or over the mudbrick walls. Traces of mudbrick walls are also present on the south side of the entrance to the same tomb and another is exposed on the slope of chippings in the same place. Two styles of construction were employed here, both visible on both sides of the tomb entrance and both apparently founded on bedrock or an earlier layer of natural stone flakes. In one, mudbricks were used with occasional fired bricks and large limestone blocks all placed together in the same wall. Another group of walls was constructed solely of mudbricks set in mud mortar. The average dimensions for all the bricks are 25.0 × 13.0 × 8.5 cm, and the red brick is a baked form of the mudbricks.[17] On the slope in front of tomb 6, debris from structures cleared from the area in front of the tomb contains large numbers of broken mudbricks and fired bricks, suggesting that a considerable structure of these materials once stood here. Red brick fragments of the same dimensions, lying amongst stone debris in the forecourt of tomb 1, are all fragmentary but sufficiently numerous to show that they are the remnants of structures.

The evidence visible, although slight, suggests that an earlier group of brick buildings, predating the more extensive stone settlement, may have been constructed in front of some of the tomb chapels.[18] These earlier structures were probably confined to the terraces before the tomb entrances, since no *in situ* remains of brickwork have been noted on the hillside in other areas. It must be said, however, that if this exists it could be hidden within the stone revetments mentioned above. Mudbricks, both sun-dried and fired, must have been brought to the site from manufacturing centres in the Nile valley. These brick structures are considerably obscured by the far more extensive and better preserved stone buildings. Exactly how or when the change from brick to stone took place, and whether it was done gradually or in a single phase of rebuilding, is impossible to determine. Certainly no break in the occupation of the settlement can be inferred from present knowledge, and the answers to these questions would only become clearer through carefully observed excavation. The explanations may be linked to relations between the desert community and nearby townspeople, or may represent internal changes in the nature of the community. It may also be reasonable to suggest that a more widespread use of stone coincided with the second stage of alterations in the 'church tomb', enlarged to contain an expanding community.

The prolific production of refuse has produced heaps of discarded waste material lying in deep deposits where they were tipped over the hillside. They are in fairly compacted layers, sometimes mixed with limestone chips and dust, suggesting that at certain times the debris created during the refurbishment of tomb-dwellings or the fashioning of stone blocks for huts became mixed with ordinary domestic waste. However, on the hillside in front of tomb 6 there is a large homogeneous heap of refuse possibly produced as a result

[16] Davies, *RTA*, II, 4, observed that brick remains were present only at tomb 6. Fragmentary mudbrick-work mixed with rough stones also survived until recently in front of tombs 3 and 4.

[17] This is a standard average combination of dimensions for bricks of the late Roman period throughout Egypt; cf. examples below from Sheikh Said, and G. T. Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara* (London, 1981), 132, table 1, final entry.

[18] Davies, *RTA*, I, 2 noted that Christian occupation may have belonged to 'one or more periods'.

of concentrated activity over a fairly long period. Below this recently-deposited rubble there is a concentrated ancient deposit of highly organic and ashy refuse spread down the hillside and lying at least one metre deep at the top. The contents are well preserved and include rope, string, cloth, wood, charcoal and much ash and stiff chaff and straw. Pottery is also abundant. In some parts of the site these dumps appear well settled and clearly *in situ*, while in others they are more lightly mixed with limestone chips. In the latter case, more recent dumping of ancient material may have taken place, cleared from the interiors of the tombs either by Davies or other unknown workers. Organic remains such as palm leaf basketry and matting, common in the early Christian material at the nearby site of Sheikh Said (see below), do not occur frequently here in the visible exposures, although ash and some organic material are visible in sheltered places where they have not been dispersed by the wind. Most conspicuous amidst the domestic refuse is the large quantity of broken pottery.

The pottery (figs. 1–4)

A vast quantity of sherds represents a wide range of vessel types, amongst which there is evidence for contacts with manufacturing and distribution centres elsewhere in Egypt. The most frequent types are brown, micaceous Nile silt ribbed amphorae and fine cooking pots also of Nile silt fabric. Two kinds of Nile silt amphorae appear to be present in large numbers: the 'Hermopolite Amphora Type B' well documented at the nearby urban centre of Hermopolis (el-Ashmunein)[19] and the extremely common, slender amphora recorded at Kellia.[20] Both types are datable to the later Roman/Byzantine period and early Arab (Ummayad–Abbassid) period, between the sixth and ninth centuries AD. The amphorae are almost entirely represented by body sherds; some handles and points are present but these are usually quite eroded. No substantial fragments of rims or necks were seen. The inner surfaces of these amphorae were invariably coated with a thick black substance, up to 0.015 cm inside the bases. A second amphora ware, also quite common but again only as body sherds, is of a pink to light buff fabric with 'squared' horizontal ridges on both the inner and outer surfaces, those on the outside being somewhat more prominent. The fabric contains a good deal of small black and white gritty flecks and sand, and some small, sharp, pointed red pieces which may be crushed pottery reused as temper in the clay mixture (grog), all of which are quite evenly distributed. The surfaces are neither slipped nor treated internally. These amphorae also occur at the early Christian settlements around the Middle Kingdom tombs of Beni Hassan and el-Bersheh, and have been noted at the Wadi Firan, Sinai[21] and at Abu Shaar on the Red Sea coast of Egypt.[22] They are known throughout the Roman world in contexts of early-fifth to mid-seventh century AD date. Their place of manufacture is not certain, but they may be imported vessels having originated in either Cyprus or the Antioch region of Syria. On the other hand, they might have been made near Alexandria, where the coastal clays may produce this kind of pale buff ware.

[19] D. M. Bailey, in *Ashmunein (1981)* (London, 1982), 43–4.

[20] M. Egloff, *Kellia. La potterie copte. Quatre siècles d'artisanat et d'échanges en Basse-Égypte* (Geneva, 1977), types 173–7. For discussion of these 'carrot-shaped' amphorae and remarks on their wide distribution, see P. Ballet and M. Picon, *Cahiers de la Céramique Égyptienne*, 1 (Cairo, 1987), 36–8 'Late Amphora 7' and fig. 5,1.

[21] Personal observation.

[22] J. A. Riley, in S. E. Sidebotham, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 154 'Type 2' and fig. 16,13.

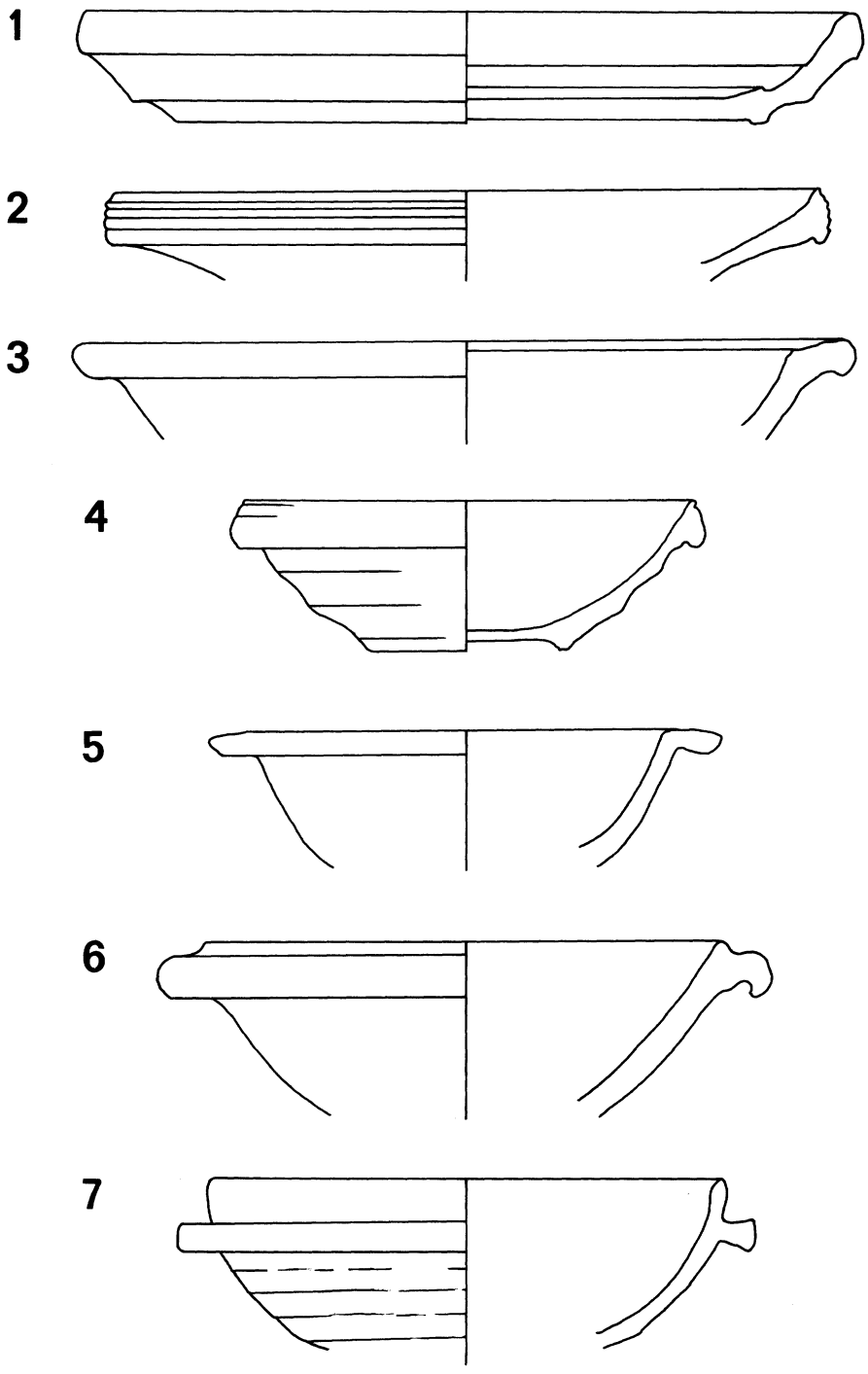


FIG. 1. Tell el-Amarna. Egyptian Red Slip wares.

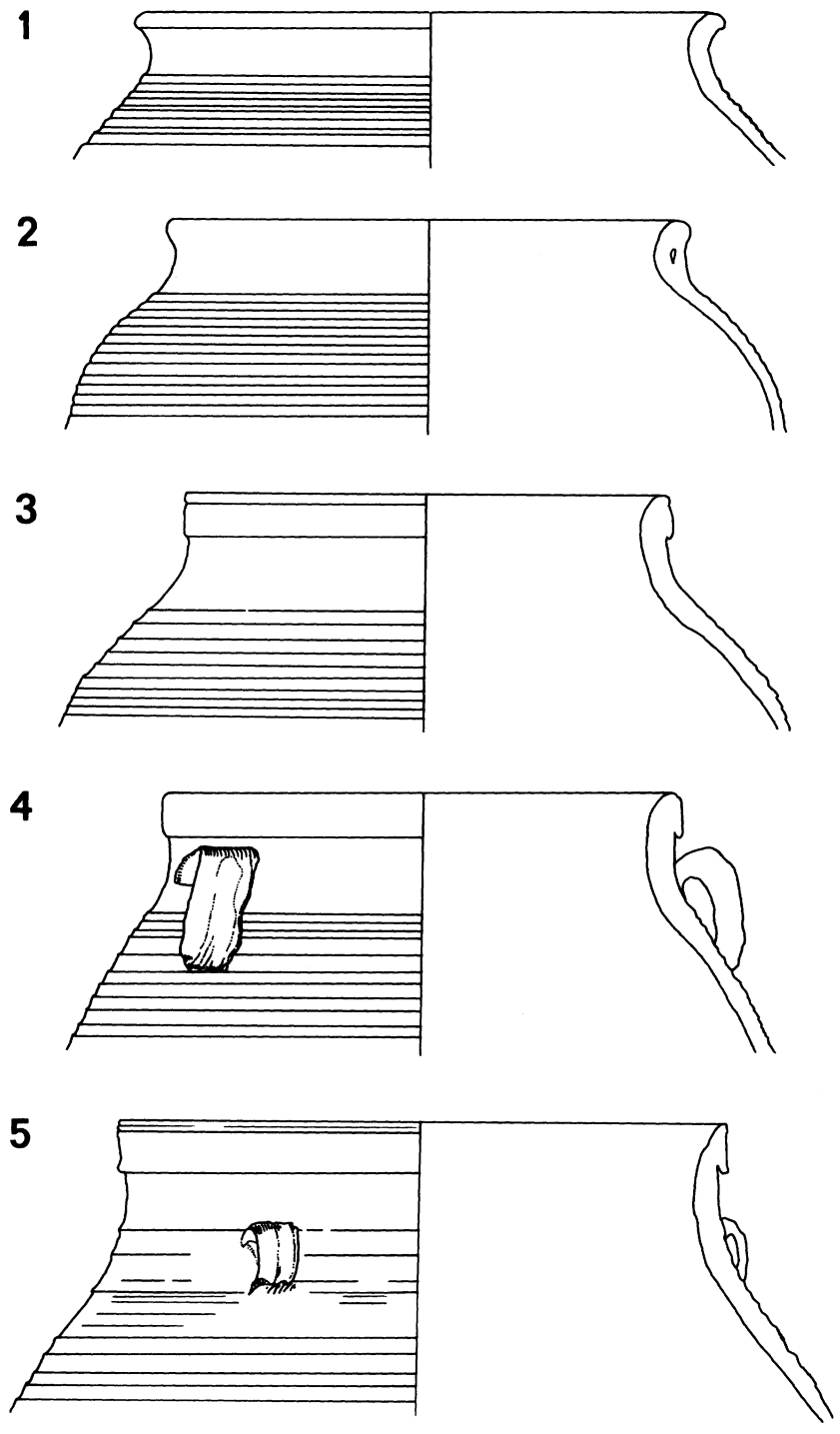


FIG. 2. Tell el-Amarna. Fine cooking pots.

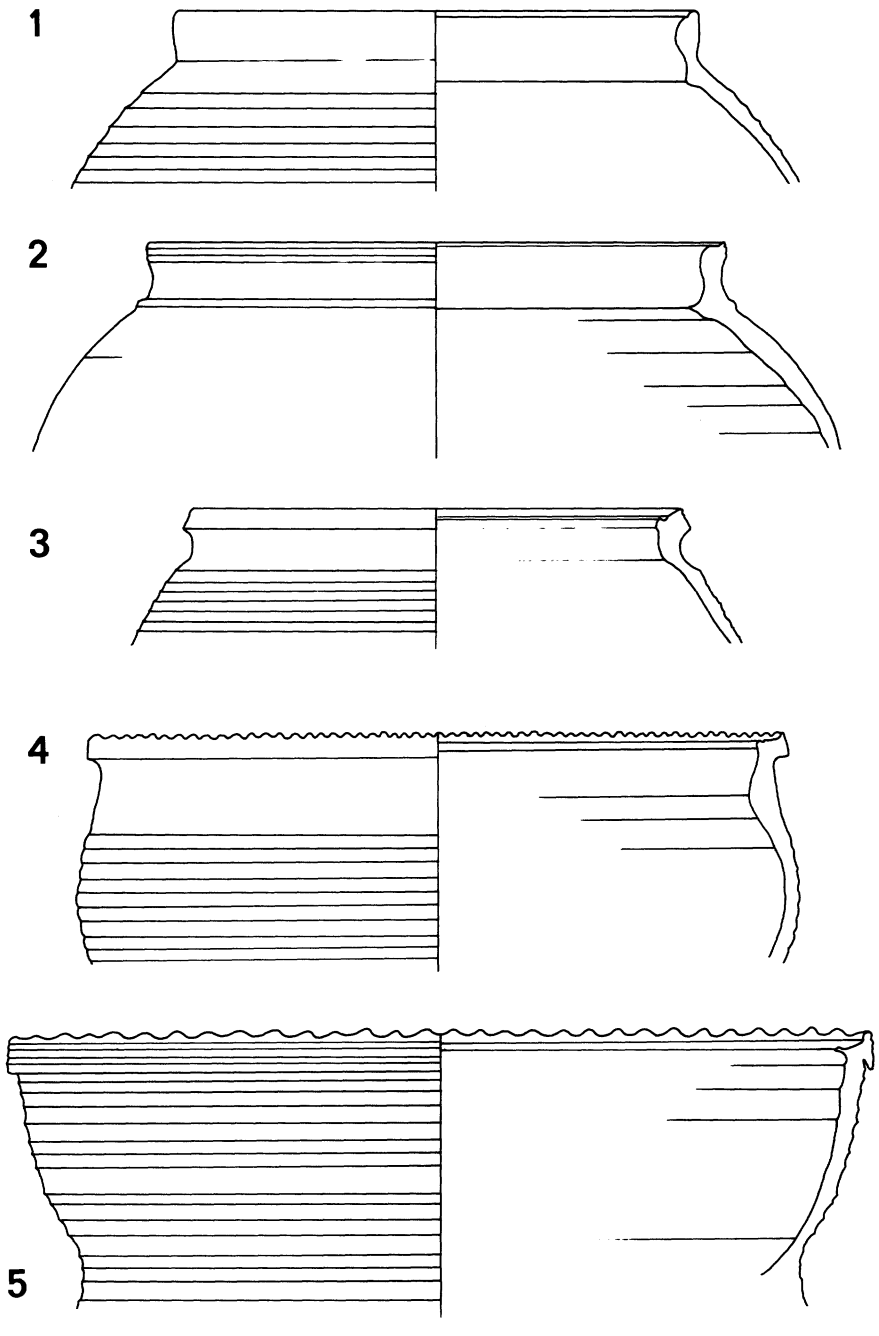


FIG. 3. Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said. Fine cooking pots.

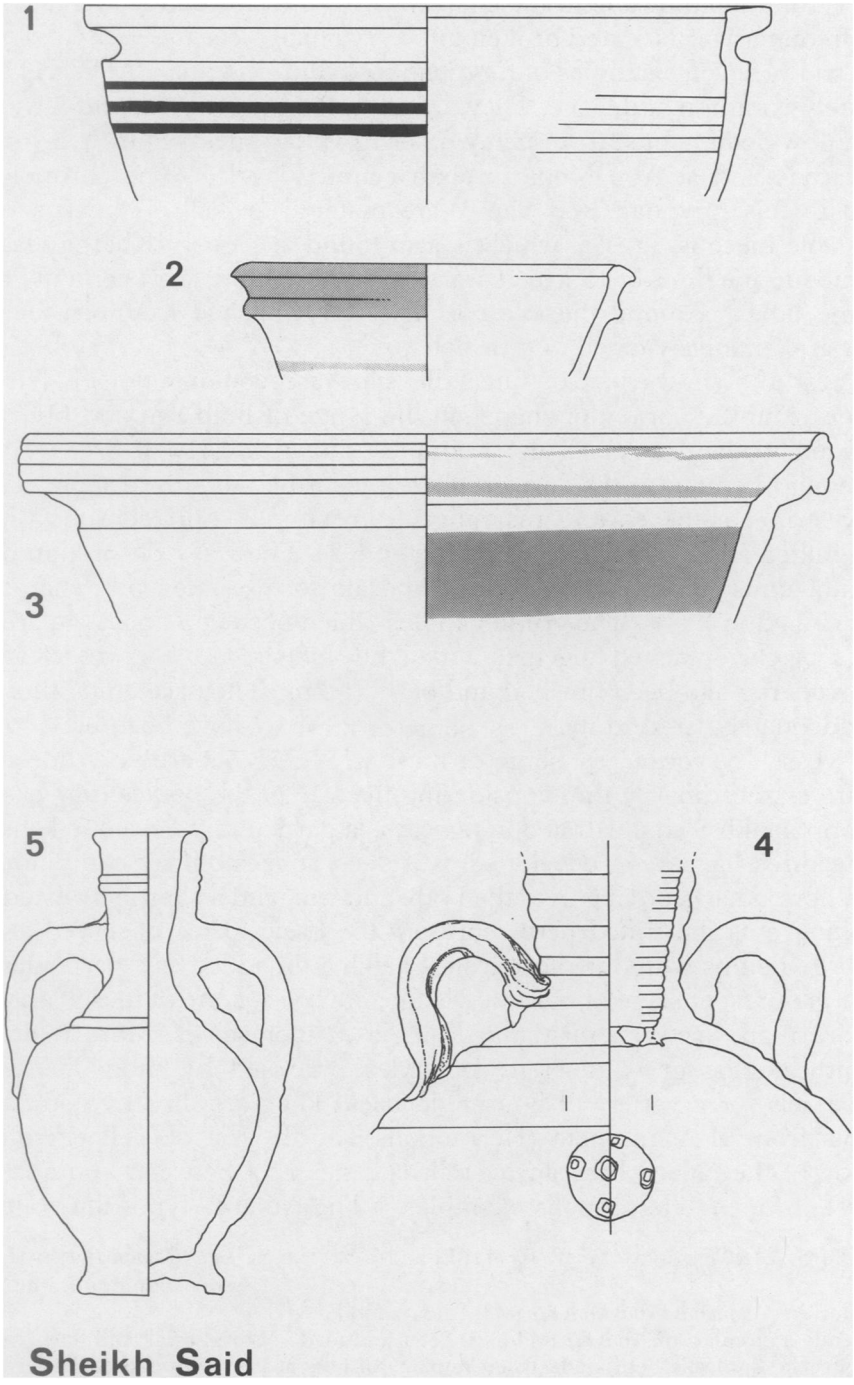


FIG. 4. 1–3. Tell el-Amarna. Coarse ware bowls. 4–5. Tell-el Amarna and Sheikh Said. Pitchers.

Figure 4,4 shows a typical example of a small flagon made from a coarse, red-firing Nile silt fabric containing grit and air pockets from burnt-out organic temper. These appear to be common, but due to the coarseness of the fabric they are, like the silt ware amphorae, frequently eroded and broken into very small pieces.

Figure 1 shows seven examples of Egyptian Red Slip (Egyptian 'A' Ware) bowls which are moderately common at the site. They are all well known forms with a wide pattern of distribution now documented from many other Egyptian sites. Figure 1,2, for example, is found at Karnak and at Abu Mena in sixth century levels.[23] The chronological range represented in this Egyptian Red Slip Ware material at Tell el-Amarna is wide. The earliest possible piece is fig. 1,5, which is also found at Doush (Kharga Oasis) where it has been dated to the third or fourth century AD, although the form certainly continued in use for some time.[24] Among the latest is fig. 1,4, published examples of which from Hermopolis are tentatively dated to 550–650 AD.[25]

Figures 2 and 3 show rims of fine Nile silt ware cooking pots.[26] These are very common and exhibit a variety of shapes in the range of both rim and body forms. The fabric is virtually identical in all the examples shown. It is well fired to give a crisp texture, varying in colour at the surfaces from red brown to a dark sepia, with a narrow purple-grey stripe in the core. Rims range from simple rounded rims (fig. 2,1–2) to carefully moulded angular ledges for lids (fig. 3,3–4). The wavy decoration on the top of the rim is not unusual among the more elaborate forms. The body shapes vary from globular to straighter kinds. The crude handles which occur on fig. 2,4–5 are made from small pieces of clay pinched together and lightly stuck onto the vessel after the fine, horizontal grooving had been finished and before firing. They are quite impracticable, as they are inadequately fixed to the body and could hardly have been used to suspend or carry a full vessel. Nevertheless, some of these cooking pots are very finely made, with walls that are extraordinarily thin considering the size of the bodies (fig. 3,1 and 5). The example from Sheikh Said illustrated in fig. 3,5 is a particularly developed shape in which functional features have been developed as a decorative motif by combining the wavy-topped rim, horizontal grooving over the body and rim, and a sharply waisted body.[27]

The cooking pots illustrated here represent the basic forms observed at the Tell el-Amarna North Tombs with one piece from Sheikh Said added as a particularly elaborate example. At the present stage of our knowledge, however, none of these variations can be used as more than very general dating criteria in themselves. More realistically, they probably indicate the great diversity of styles practised by individual local potters providing vessels for a variety of household uses. They are directly comparable to the cooking pots from el-Ashmunein (Hermopolis), north-west of Tell el-Amarna on the opposite side of the Nile, where an overall date range of between 400 and 600 AD has been suggested for the Hermopolis examples.[28] The Amarna types illustrated here may

[23] D. B. Redford, *JARCE* 18 (1981), 38, fig. 11; L. and J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery* (London, 1972), 391–2.

[24] Personal communication from P. Ballet.

[25] D. M. Bailey, in *Ashmunein (1982)* (London, 1983), 30 and fig. 38 E35.

[26] Until recently a circular oven, *c.* 1.20 m in diameter and made of fired brick and lined with mud, could be seen amongst the domestic debris and fallen remains of huts at the north end of the terrace in front of tomb 4 (Meryra I): Davies, *RTA*, I, pl. ii. Fragments of others also survived before tomb 2.

[27] Horizontal ridging on the outer surfaces of cooking pots has two purposes. It serves to strengthen the wall of the vessel, which is frequently very thin (personal communication from P. French) and, by enlarging the surface area, it increases the capacity of the pot to absorb and hold heat evenly.

[28] Bailey, in *Ashmunein (1981)*, 20–30 and figs. 6–19 (Type C) and *Ashmunein (1982)*, 42–3.

logically fall within the same period. A recently published corpus of analogous pottery from Nazlet Tuna, close to Hermopolis, provides another useful source of comparative types.[29]

Two bowls of rather different kinds are illustrated on fig. 4,1 and 3. These are known from Upper Egyptian sites with published examples of fig. 4,1 from Elephantine, and of fig. 4,3 from Qurna. In both cases a sixth century date has been suggested, and if these two bowls are typical of local pottery industries in southern Egypt, they are a striking indication of the range of contacts represented by the evidence from this site.[30]

Sheikh Said

The remains of an equally large early Christian settlement is to be found at Sheikh Said, some five kilometres north of the North Tombs at Tell el-Amarna.[31] The sites of Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said are separated by a long stretch of cliffs facing the Nile but are connected by a much shorter desert route leading directly from the wadi opening between the two groups of North Tombs at Tell el-Amarna to the south side of the hill at Sheikh Said containing Old Kingdom tombs. The original tombs were made for the Chiefs of the Hare Nome (Upper Egypt 15) and have been dated to the late-Fifth or early-Sixth Dynasty.[32]

The Christian settlement at Sheikh Said is known as Deir Abu Fam.[33] It is spread along the hillside, with concentrations in front of particular tombs which must have been inhabited and adapted for specialized use, and at the ancient quarry site on the hill south of the tombs. A particular focus for this community was the tomb of *Wr-ir.n.i*, tomb 25, in which two of the original chambers were converted into what may have been a place of worship, a refectory or an elaborate dwelling. Coptic names and fragments of painted floral designs, crosses and a unicorn survive on the walls. In front of this tomb there is a fairly wide and level terrace on which buildings apparently associated with the early Christian reuse of the site are located. An area was cleared by Davies to expose the remains of a mudbrick structure when he was engaged in copying the wall scenes in the tombs.[34] The building can still be seen clearly at the site, together with his dumps which cover adjacent structures (pl. XII, 1). The walls are preserved up to fifty centimetres above the surrounding debris, and vary from 45.0 to 60.0 cm in thickness. The bricks are dark alluvial mudbricks containing ash, much straw or grass and very occasional gravel or limestone dust. The average dimensions are $25 \times 13 \times 8.5$ cm, identical with those at Tell el-Amarna. Among Davies' discoveries were fragments of glass, which were dated

[29] J. A. Tyldesley and S. R. Snape, *Nazlet Tuna, an Archaeological Survey in Middle Egypt* (Oxford, 1988), 30–49.

[30] For fig. 4,1, see R. Gempeler, *MDAIK* 32 (1976), 110, fig. 9,e, from Elephantine; for fig. 4,3, see K. Myśliwiec, *Keramik und Kleinfunde aus der Grabung in Tempel Sethos' I. in Qurna* (Cairo, 1987), 134 nos. 1597–8.

[31] The relative positions of Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said are shown on the small inset map in Davies, *RTA*, II, pl. i.

[32] K. Baer, *Rank and Title* (Chicago, 1960), 67, 114.

[33] Meinardus, op. cit. 376 where the site is also called el-Bersheh, distinct from the Middle Kingdom cemetery also later occupied by Christians at Deir el-Bersheh; al-Syriany and Habib, op. cit. 114 and fig. 140, left.

[34] Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Said* (London, 1901), 4 and pl. xvii ('brick house outside tomb of Urarna').

by Petrie to the fourth century AD,[35] and large quantities of leaves of *Cordia myxa* (Egyptian plum; Arabic, *mokheit*).[36] Organic remains are well preserved at Sheikh Said, and are apparently far more abundant than at the Tell el-Amarna North Tombs. Conspicuous amongst those visible are sheets of woven palm leaf matting and large baskets which resemble the donkey panniers in use in Egypt today.

Apart from Davies' small excavation, the only other recorded digging of the early Christian remains at Sheikh Said took place during the winter of 1923–4. Two index cards with a list of objects and a drawing of an intact pottery vessel labelled 'Coptic Grave at Sheikh Said', and one black and white photograph illustrating the material (pl. XII, 2), are included in the records of the Egypt Exploration Society's work of that season at the North Palace at Tell el-Amarna.[37]

The objects from the 'Coptic Grave' listed on the card by the excavators are:

1 bronze coin; diameter 1.6 cm (unidentified).
1 bronze necklet; diameter 14.8 cm.
1 bronze bangle; diameter 7.2 cm.
3 bronze bangles; diameters 4.8 cm.
4 bronze rings; diameters 1.5 cm, 2.3 cm, 2.5 cm and 2.7 cm.
1 bronze ear-ring; diameter 2.5 cm.
1 bronze pendant with three large coloured beads at the back (no dimensions and no material for the beads given).
1 lead cross; height 3.0 cm, width 2.3 cm.
Fragments of 3 green faience bangles; thicknesses 0.6 cm, 0.5 cm and 0.4 cm.
Various coloured glass beads of different sizes; variegated, plain and white.
1 handle from a pale green glass vessel.
Fragments of embroidered cloth.
1 basket; 16.5 × 4.5 cm.
2 pottery sherds: (a) fragment of polished bright red ware; diameter 7.6 cm and (b) fragment of thin red-black ware decorated in red, grey and sepia; diameter 9.0 cm.

The sherds are identifiable from the descriptions above and from the photograph as (a) a rim sherd from an African Red Slip ware bowl, possibly of Hayes' Type 84, or an Egyptian imitation thereof, with a rouletted pattern beneath the rim, dated about AD 500,[38] and (b) a body sherd (actually two sherds joined) from a Nile silt fabric vessel, probably a jar or deep bowl, painted on the outer surface with a semi-abstract floral motif based on the tendrils of a vine. This may also be a rim sherd, but the photograph is not clear on this point.

In addition to the listed objects, the photograph also shows a complete pottery jar and fourteen or fifteen mollusc shells attached as pendants to the glass bead necklace. Presumably the shells were found in this association by the excavators, although the quality of the thread on which they are arranged suggests that they were re-strung for the picture. The pottery jar is reproduced here in fig. 4,5, redrawn from the excavators' scale

[35] Loc. cit. [36] R. Germer, *Flora des pharäonischen Ägypten* (Cairo, 1985), 159; *Cordia myxa* L.

[37] I am grateful to the Egypt Exploration Society for permission to publish this material. The record cards are numbered 1923–1924:1 (giving the list of objects) and 1923–1924:2 (with the drawing of the pottery vessel). The group was photographed the following season; the photograph is numbered TA 24-25/26.

[38] Hayes, op. cit. 132–3 and fig. 23; *Ashmunein (1981)*, pl. 18, A20 seems to be a similar type.

drawing on the second record card. It is a remarkably small vessel, only 18.0 cm in height. The type is well known, with a number of regional and chronological variations reflected in the position of the handles and the width and flare of the neck (cf. fig. 4,4). A range of plain pitchers from Hermopolis, the nearest well documented site for this period, contains similar types dated to between 400 and 550 AD.[39] Another similar example from Ihnasya el-Medineh is illustrated by Petrie and dated by him to the seventh century AD.[40]

No more documentation from this excavation survives and it is not known where the objects are now. Without information on the exact location of the grave, on its structure, and on whether it contained any human remains, it is possible to draw only very speculative conclusions. However, the small size of much of the material, in particular the personal ornaments, such as three of the bronze bangles and a bronze neck-band, suggests that the grave may have been occupied by a child. In this case, if the grave is to be seen as part of the Christian community inhabiting the area around the Old Kingdom tombs, it is evidence that the settlement was occupied not by a sexually segregated monastic society, but by mixed family groups still adhering to a life in the desert long after the end of persecution and the widespread formation of monasteries throughout Egypt.

The pottery at Sheikh Said is directly comparable to that at the Tell el-Amarna North Tombs. Of particular note are sherds of Egyptian Red Slip ware vessels. Three sherds were noted from different vessels of the type shown here in fig. 1,6 from Tell el-Amarna. Large deep bowls of coarse Nile silt fabric, undoubtedly for purely domestic purposes, are very common. They are not unlike the kind of bowl called a *magur* still in use in Egypt for making yoghurt and for kneading bread-dough. Some of the lighter bowls have painted bands of decoration in black on the natural red-brown surface using patterns of straight lines and festoons.

The Christian occupation of the North Tombs at Tell el-Amarna might have begun at the earliest in the third century AD. The actual beginning of the settlement should probably be dated somewhat later, in the fourth or fifth century. The community may have survived until the eighth, or even as late as the ninth century, to judge from the quantity of late amphorae but, as mentioned above, the distinctive forms of these vessels began to appear earlier than that. The Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said settlements were neighbours. The close similarities in the pottery repertoires show that they were at least partly contemporary, and the easy access between them offers the strong probability that they were in communication with each other. There are, however, two striking differences between the sites. One is the extensive use of stone for the structures outside the tombs at Tell el-Amarna, whereas mudbrick was more normally used at Sheikh Said. The second is that at Sheikh Said there is evidence for a prolonged and intensive occupation of the site during the Christian period, in the form of very large quantities of refuse, and a number of tombs which were clearly completely redecorated as living quarters; tomb 39 was plastered and whitewashed throughout to hide all the original Old Kingdom decoration, and niches and small slots were cut into the walls. The use of mudbrick at Sheikh Said has a domestic quality which the dry stone huts at Tell el-Amarna lack. Furthermore, despite the presence of used cooking pots and remains of ovens at Tell el-Amarna, there is no clear evidence that any of the tombs served as

[39] *Ashmunein (1982)*, 130.

[40] W. M. F. Petrie, *Ehnasya 1904* (London, 1905), pl. xxxii, no. 108.

permanent dwellings. Only the tomb of Panehsy (no. 6) was substantially altered for use as a church. In the other tombs occasional niches, a few Coptic graffiti and small drawings are the sole evidence for Christian occupation. The stone buildings on the hillside were certainly occupied by a sizeable community, but whether this was as long-lived as that at Sheikh Said may be doubted. Another possible interpretation may be that at Tell el-Amarna there existed a resident community which was periodically visited by much larger gatherings of people coming to the site for special events. Such an occasion might have been the time when baptisms took place, as today in the monasteries of Egypt during the *mawlid*, or feast of the local saint.[41] The stone huts might then have been a series of dwellings, of which the more substantially built with carefully laid stonework and deep terracing were occupied by the inhabitants, while many were in use only occasionally. This might explain why so many of these structures were poorly built and apparently intended as temporary shelters.

Contact between the hermitages at Tell el-Amarna and Sheikh Said, and the metropolitan centre of Hermopolis is also likely, as well as with local villages of little national importance but of great significance to the desert communities as suppliers of essential commodities such as cooking pots and the goods they transported and preserved in the abundant amphorae. It is clear from the observations here that both sites would repay far more detailed and extensive archaeological examination. This would be the only way to provide detailed answers to questions raised concerning the reasons for the development and demise of these sites, the kinds of communities that flourished there and their significance in the wider history of Egypt during the first millennium AD.

[41] Meinardus, op. cit. 150.

1. Tell el-Amarna: stone buildings on the cliff face near tomb 6. Looking south; the cleared paths are modern

2. Tell el-Amarna: detail of corner construction in the group of huts shown in pl. IX, 1

1. Tell el-Amarna: remains of stone walls enclosing a shelter beneath a fallen rock on the slope below tomb 6

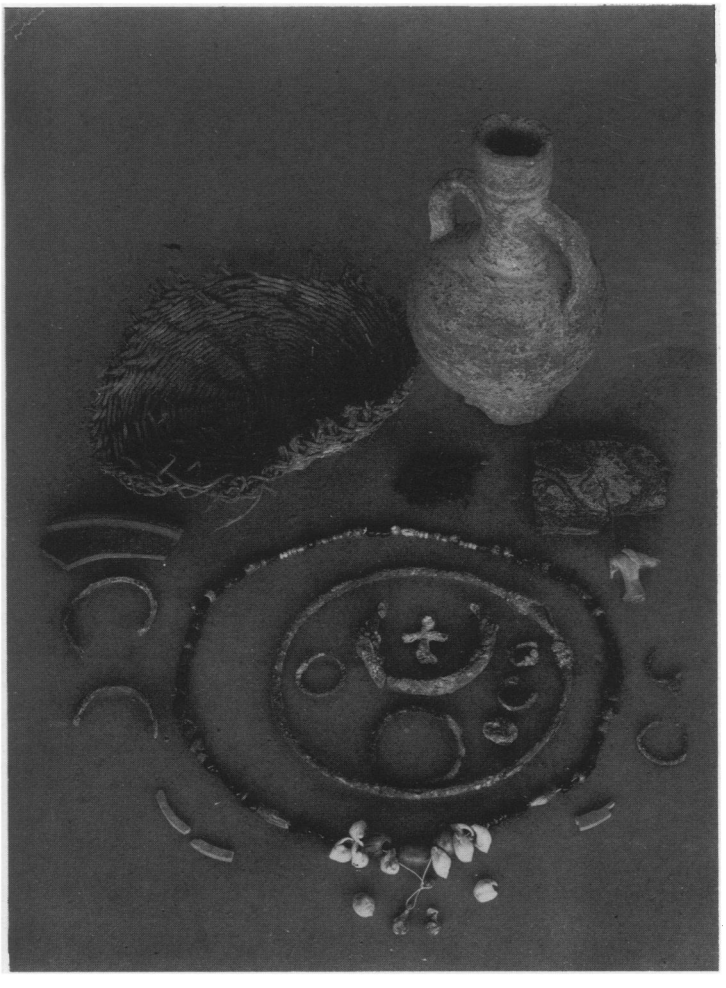
2. Tell el-Amarna: stone shelters and terraced stone buildings on the cliff face approximately 100 m south of tomb 6. Looking north-east

1. Tell el-Amarna: mudbrick and stone structures south of tomb 6

2. Tell el-Amarna: detail of an entrance in a wall built of mudbrick, fired red brick and stone against the south side of the forecourt of tomb 6, looking south. The blocking is modern

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN SITES (p. 134)

1. Sheikh Said: area before the tomb of Werirni showing the mudbrick building cleared by Davies. Looking north (p. 141)



2. Sheikh Said: Group of objects recovered from the 'Coptic Grave' excavated by the EES in 1923–24 (p. 142)

TWO LEAVES FROM A CODEX FROM QASR IBRIM

By K. H. KUHN *and* W. J. TAIT

First publication of two parchment leaves discovered by the EES at Qasr Ibrim, which preserve parts of a homily on the devil and on Michael, also contained in Pierpont Morgan MS M592, where it is falsely attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus, the Theologian.

THE fragments here edited for the first time came to light in the course of the Egypt Exploration Society's 1982 season of excavation at Qasr Ibrim, and were mentioned in *JEA* 69 (1983), 55.[1] The present editors have worked exclusively from photographs, but have had the benefit of a transcript of the fragments made at the site by Dr M. Hainsworth. The manuscript consists of two leaves, which originally must have formed part of a parchment codex. The first folio is paged [ⲓ̅]-ⲓ̅ⲁ̅. The pagination of the second leaf cannot be read on the photograph in our possession, and apparently was no clearer to the recorders at the site. On the assumption that the two leaves are conjugate, one might conjecture that the pagination of the second leaf was ⲓ̅ⲅ̅-ⲓ̅ⲇ̅. We should then be in possession of the second and the seventh leaves of the first eight-leaved quire. Such a conjecture would not be inconsistent with the amount of text lost between pp. 3–4 and pp. 13–14, but must, of course, remain uncertain. The text of our manuscript is written in two columns in a rounded uncial hand. The left-hand edge of each column is marked by a vertical line; none of the right-hand edges is so marked. There are enlarged initials at the beginning of paragraphs which, we suppose, are coloured. The script can be dated on palaeographical grounds in the ninth century: see pls. XIII–XIV, and compare V. Stegemann, *Koptische Paläographie* (Heidelberg, 1936), pls. 15 and 18. It may be worth mentioning that the script of M592, which contains the parallel text (see below), is of the same type and date.

The manuscript contains fragments of a homily which has recently been published in its entirety by Guy Lafontaine under the title 'Une homélie copte sur le diable et sur Michel, attribuée à Grégoire le Théologien' in *Le Muséon* 92 (1979), 37–60. It is contained in a manuscript belonging to the Pierpont Morgan Library, M592, 8r–16v, and is available in photographic reproduction in *Bybliothecae Pierpont Morgan codices coptici photographice expressi*, XXII, pls. 15–32. The beginning of the work has also survived in BM Or.6782 (fol. 9b), which was published first by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London, 1913), xxix–xxxi. The homily is attributed, apparently falsely, to Gregory of Nazianzus. Its content is admirably summarized by Lafontaine and his edition of the Coptic text is accompanied by a Latin translation. A comparison between the Qasr Ibrim text and the Morgan text shows that, where they overlap, the two texts are closely related. The differences between them do not affect the overall sense but are many, often changing the construction and sometimes adding or omitting details. The differences are then not of substance but rather of nuance, but it would, we think, not be unfair to speak of two different recensions of the same work. This is a state of affairs often to be observed in the study of Coptic patristic texts when chance has preserved for us more than one manuscript of the same work. There is one difference in the language of the two texts which deserves special mention. While the Qasr Ibrim text is written in Sahidic, the Morgan text is in Sahidic, exhibiting, however, some Fayyumic admixture. The evidence is summarized by Lafontaine and, as he says, the use of S^{f} is

[1] The Excavators' number for the first fragment is 82.2.28/2B (23 cm *w.* × 27.4 cm *h.*); to this leaf belongs also the small fragment 82.2.28/2C (4 cm *w.* × 3.9 cm *h.*); that for the second fragment is 82.2.28/2A (23 cm *w.* × 27.7 cm *h.*). A small scrap /2D bears no text. These fragments, like almost all Qasr Ibrim textual material from recent seasons, went to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, although their eventual home may perhaps be the Coptic Museum.

Ir

τενου[ϭε ουν][1]
σοπς μπϫοεις
ϫεκας εϥναου
ωνϩ ναν εβολ·
αυω̄ νϥτννο·
ου ναν νουϭομ
εβολ ϩμπϫισε·
νϥουων ναν
μπρο μ̄πϣαϫε
μνουνους εϥ
ϫοσε. ειμε[2]
επεινοϭ μ̄μυς
τηριον· ϫε
κας ενεουω̄νϩ
νητν̄ εβολ ν̄
νϣαϫε ν̄ϣβω
ννϩαιρετικος
μν̄νευμεευε
ετσοοϥ ϫε σε
ϣουειτ· μν̄
ναπευσαϩ μα
νη· επιδη
σεϫω μ̄μος ϫε
ν̄ταυνουϫε ε
βολ μ̄πδιαβο
λος· αυταϩο ερα
τϥ μ̄μιχαηλ·

[γ̄]

ϯϫω γαρ μ̄μος
ϫεουατμ̄πϣα
πε πδιαβολος·
αυω̄ μ̄πεϥαϩε
ρατ̄ϥ̄ ϩ̄ντμε
ενεϩ· ουδε
μπεϥματε ενε[ϩ]
μπεινοϭ ν̄τα
ειο̄· ουδε μ
πουααϥ ναρ
χαγγελος·
αυω ον πεϫαυ
νϭινϩαιρετῑ
κος· ϫεμ̄
πναυ ν̄ταπνου
τε ταμϊο [να]⌜δ⌝[αμ]
αϥουεϩσ⌜α⌝ϩνε
ν̄ϭιπνουτε ν̄
ταγγε⌜λι⌝κη τ⌜η⌝
ρς· ετρ[ευ]⌜ε⌝ϊ ν̄
σεουωϣ[τ μ]
πρωμε ν⌜τ⌝[αϥ]
ταμϊοϥ·
μη εκμεευε [ϫε]
ερεπνουτε [ρ]
χρϊα νϩενπν̄[α]
ετρευουω̄ϣ[τ]

IV

δ̄

νουρωμε ν̄
καϩ··
ν̄ταϥμουτε πε
ϫαυ ν̄ϭιν̄ϩαι
ρετικος επ
διαβολος· ετ
ρεϥουωϣτ μ̄
πρωμε· αυω̄
μ̄πεϥουω̄
ϣ̄τ· ετβε
παϊ πεϫαυ· αυ
νοϫ̄ϥ̄ εβολ ϩ̄ν
τπε· αυταϩο
ερατ̄ϥ̄ μ̄μϊχ[α]
ηλ επεϥμα··
ω νειϣαϫε ετ
μεϩ νεβλασφυ
μϊα[3] νιμ̄· ναϊ ε
τουμεευε εροου
ν⌜ϭ⌝[ι]⌜ν⌝ϩαιρετι
[κο]ς· —
[ντ]οκ δε ω̄ πει
ρωμε ν̄τεπ
νουτε· πωτ
εβολ ν̄νεισμη
ετϣουειτ· αυω̄
ετβητ —

[μα ναι μπ]εκνους
εϥρης αυω̄
νεκμα̂αϫε ευ
σωτμ καλως·
επειλογος· ευ
ν̄ταν μ̄μαυ
ν̄νεκϣαηλ
ετουααβ· ευ
ϯ ν̄τοο̂τ̄ν̄ ϩ̄μ
πουωϣ μ̄
πνουτε· ϥνα
τωτ ν̄ϭιπεκ
ϩητ εϫμ̄πζη
τημα ν̄τακαϊ
τει μ̄μον μ̇μοϥ: —
αυω̄ ϥναουω̄
ν̄ϩ νακ εβολ ν̄
ϭιπμ̇εευε ν̄ν̄
ϩαιρετικος ν̄
σαθη· ϫε[μ]ν
λααυ νταϫρο
ϩ̄ννευϣαϫε·
αυω̄ πειλογος
ναπληροφο
ρει μ̄μοκ· ϫε
ερεπνουτε ο̄
αν νειρηνη
μ̄ν̄πδιαβολος·

1. This restoration is somewhat doubtful. 2. ειμε is preceded by traces of a letter, possibly crossed out. 3. Read μβλασφημϊα.

Text parallel to fr. I (1r–v), taken from M592, 8v–9r, paged β̄-γ̄ (=Mor. XXII, pls. 16–17), edited in *Muséon* 92, pp. 44–6:-

σοπς̄ ουν̄ μννεκϣηρε τηρου ναϩρμ̄πϫοεϊς· ϫεκααс εϥετν̄νοου ναν νουϭομ εβολ ϩμπϫισε· αυω ετρ̄ϥ̄ουων ναν μπρο μπϣαϫε μνουνους· μνουϭωλ̄π̄ εβολ ντεπεινοϭ μμυστηριων· ϫεκααс ευεουωνϩ εβολ· νϭινϣαϫε ννϩαϊρετικος· ϫεσεϣουεϊτ·[1] μννευμεευε ετμεϩ νϣιπε· μ̄ν̄μανη πευσαϩ· επιδη πεϫακ· ϫενευϫω μμος ϫεαυταϩο ερατϥ μμιχαηλ· εαυνουϫε εβολ μπδιαβολος·

ϯϫω μμος ϫεουατμ̄πϣαπε πδιαβολος· αυω μπεϥαϩρατ̄ϥ̄[2] μπινοϭ νταιο ε̇νε̇ϩ αυω ον μπουμουτε εροϥ ενεϩ ϫεαρχηαγγελος· αυω ον πεϫαυ νϭινει̇ϩαϊρεδικος νουωτ· ϫεπναυ ντααπνουτε[3] ταμιο ναδαμ· αϥουαϩσαϩνε νταγγελϊκη τηρς̄· ετρευει νσεουωϣτ μπρωμε ντααπνουτε·[4] ταμιοϥ· μητει κ̇ναϫοος ναϊ ϫεερεπνουτε ρ̄χρϊα ετ̇ρεϩν̄πν̄ᾱ ουωϣτ

ννουκαϩ· νταϥμουτε ουν πεϫαυ επδιαβολος ετρ̄ϥ̄ουωϣτ μπρωμε μπεϥτωτ νϩητ νϭιμαστημα ετεπδιαβολοσπε ετρεϥουωϣτ μπρωμε· ετβεπαϊ αυνεϫϥ[5] εβολ ϩμππαραδϊσως·[6] αυω αυταϩο ερατϥ μμϊχαηλ· επεϥμα· ω νειϣαϫε ετμαϩ νεϥλασ̇φιμια·[7] αυω μμ̄ν̄τρ̄ϥ̄ϫεουα· ναι ετουμεευε εροου νϭινϩεραϊτικος·[8] ντοκ δε ω πρωμε μπνουτε· πωτ ϩαβολ ννεισμη τηρου ετϣουειτ·

μα ναι μπεκνους εϥρης· μννεκμααϫε ευσωτμ̄ καλος επεικεφαλαϊον· εουνταν μμαυ ννε̄κϣλ̄λ̄ ετουααβ ευϯ ετοοτν̄ ϩμπουωϣ μπνουτε· ϥνατωτ νϭιπεκϩητ· εϫμπεντακαιτεϊ μμον μμοϥ· αυω ϥναουωνϩ νακ[9] εβολ· νσαθη νϭιπμεευε τηρϥ· ννεϩεραϊτικος ϫεμν̄λααυ νταϫρο ϩννευϣαϫε· αυω ϥναπληροφωρι μπεκϩητ νϭιμπιλογος[10] ϫεννεϥϣωωπ[11] ανπε νϭιπνουτε ϩννουεϊρηνε μνπδιαβολος—

1. Mus. wrongly σεϫουειτ. 2. Read μπεϥαϩερατϥ. 3, 4. Sic. Mus. wrongly ντα-. 5. Sic. Mus. αυνοϫϥ. 6. Mus. wrongly παραλισως. 7. Read ετμεϩ μβλασφημια. (So also Mus., aside from a trivial misprint.) Mus. transcribes -φεμια.; it is in fact difficult to judge if ι has been corrected

2r

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧ̀ⲛⲟⲩⲱⲥ̄ⲩ
ⲛⲧⲙ̄ⲛ̄ⲧⲭⲁⲥⲓ
ⲥⲛⲧ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲟⲛⲏ
ⲣⲟⲥ ⲛ̄ⲁⲓ̈ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ·
ⲛ̄ⲧ̄ⲛ̄ⲛⲟⲭⲩ ⲉⲡⲉ
ⲥⲛⲧ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ·
ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲛ̀ⲛⲉⲩⲣ̄ⲣ̄
ⲣⲟ ⲉⲭⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲩⲛⲟⲩ ⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲕⲁⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥ̀ⲙ̄ⲡ
ⲕⲁⲩ· ⲁⲕⲧⲁ
ⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲁⲙ· ⲁⲩ
ⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥ̀ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ
ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲥ· ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ̀
ⲧⲁⲩⲭⲓ ⲙ̄ⲡⲕⲁⲩ
ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̄ⲥⲛⲧ̄ⲩ ⲁⲩ
ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩ —
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲟⲩ
ⲥⲓⲛⲏⲃ ⲉⲭⲛ̄ⲁ̄
ⲁ[ⲁ]ⲙ ⲁⲫⲱⲃ̄ⲱ
ⲁ[ⲫⲉⲓ]ⲛⲉ ⲉ[ⲃ]ⲟⲗ ⲛ̀
[ⲟⲩⲉⲓ] ⲛⲛⲉⲫⲃⲏⲧ
ⲥⲡⲓⲣ· ⲁⲫⲙⲁⲥ̄ⲥ̄
ⲛ̄ⲥⲁⲣⲝ̄ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲙⲁ —
ⲁⲫⲕⲱⲧ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲥ
ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲥⲓⲙⲉ·
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛ̄ⲧⲉⲣⲉⲡⲁⲓ̈

ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲣⲱ
ⲙⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲫ· ⲁⲫ
ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲩ
ⲥⲧⲱⲧ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩ
ⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲥⲉ ⲉⲥⲣⲁⲓ̈ ⲉ
ⲭⲱⲫ· ⲙⲡⲉⲫ
ⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲟⲩ ⲡⲉⲧ
ⲉⲫⲛⲁⲁⲁⲫ·
ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲁⲫⲥⲟⲧⲥ̄ⲧ̄
ⲉⲫⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲭⲉⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ̂
ⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛ
ⲡⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ̂ ⲁⲫ
ⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ
ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲉⲡⲉ· ⲁⲩⲱ̄
ⲉⲛⲉⲥⲱⲫ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲉ
ⲣⲟⲫ· ⲡⲁⲣⲁ̀ⲛⲧⲁ
ⲙⲓⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙ[ⲓ]
ⲟⲟⲩ· ⲁⲫⲣⲱ
ⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓⲡⲁⲓ
ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲩⲱ
ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲭⲉⲟ[ⲩ]
ⲛⲟⲃⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲓ[ⲛ]
ⲃⲟⲛ̄ⲥ̄· ⲁⲓⲕⲁ
ⲧⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲓ· ⲁⲓ̈
ⲉⲓ̈ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ ⲉⲡ

2v

ⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ
ⲉⲓⲛⲁⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ ⲉⲩⲣⲁⲓ
ⲉⲭⲱⲫ· ⲁⲩⲱ̂
ⲛ̀ⲧⲉⲧⲁⲉⲭⲟⲩ
ⲥⲓⲁ ⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲩⲓ
ⲭⲱⲫ ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ
ⲙ̀ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲓ
ⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ̂ ⲉⲓⲥ
ⲩⲛ̀ⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲧⲁ
ⲙⲓⲟ ⲙ̀ⲡⲓⲙⲁ
ⲛ̀ⲕⲉⲣⲣⲟ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲟ
ⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲉ
ⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛⲡⲉ·
ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ
ⲁⲛ ⲙⲡⲉⲫⲥⲙⲟⲧ
ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁⲱ ⲙ̀ⲙⲓ̈
ⲛⲉⲡⲉ· ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛ
ⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉ· ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁ
ⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ ⲁⲛ
ⲡⲉ ⲛ̀ⲧ̀ⲛⲩⲉ· ⲛ̀ⲧ
ⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲉ
ⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛⲡⲉ· ⲏ
ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲡⲉ·
[ⲁ]ⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥⲩⲛ̀ⲧⲉ
ⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩ
ⲧⲉ· ⲉⲫⲛⲏⲩ ⲙ
ⲙⲏⲛⲉ ⲉⲫⲱⲓⲛⲉ

ⲛ̀ⲥⲱⲧ̄· ⲁⲩⲱ̄
ⲉⲫⲙⲉ ⲙ̄ⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲙⲁ
ⲧⲉ· —
ⲗⲟⲓⲡⲟⲛ ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟ
ⲟⲥ ⲙ̄ⲡⲓⲙⲁ ⲫⲁⲛ
ⲧⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲟⲩ
ⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲙⲟⲧ·
ⲁⲩⲱ̀ ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓ
ⲡⲗⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲕⲁ
ⲧⲁⲡⲉⲫⲱⲟⲭ
ⲛⲉ· ⲁⲩⲥⲙⲟⲟⲥ
ⲙ̀ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲫ
ⲛⲉ ⲙ̀ⲡⲃⲟⲗ ⲙ̀
ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ·
ⲁⲥⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲙ̀ⲛ
ⲛⲥⲁⲛⲁⲓ̂ ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲙ
ⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ·
ⲁⲩⲱ̀ ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲛ̄ⲃⲓ
ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ
ⲭⲉⲉⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏ[ⲧⲉ] ⲁⲓ
ⲧⲉⲭⲟ[ⲩ]ⲥⲓⲁ ⲛ[ⲁ]⌜ⲕ⌝ ⲉ
ⲩⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲱ[ⲏ]ⲛ
ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙ̄ⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁ
ⲁⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕ
ⲟⲩⲱⲙ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛ̀
ⲩⲛⲧⲟⲩ·
ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲉⲓⲙⲉ

Text parallel to fr. II (2r–v), taken from M592, 12r–v, paged **[ϐ̄]-ī** (= Mor. XXII, pls. 23–4), edited in *Muséon* 92, pp. 51–2:-

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲟⲩ·ⲟⲩⲱⲥⲩ ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲛⲧⲙⲛⲧⲭⲁⲥⲩⲛⲧ ⲙⲡⲉⲇⲣⲁⲕⲱⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲁⲃⲟ·ⲗⲟⲥ· ⲛⲧⲛⲛⲟⲭⲩ ⲉⲡⲉⲥⲛⲧ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲛ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲩⲧⲙⲣⲣⲣⲟ ⲉⲭⲙⲡⲉⲓⲕⲟⲥⲙⲟⲥ ⲛⲧⲁⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩ ⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲭⲓ ⲛⲟⲩⲕⲁⲥ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲙⲡⲕⲁⲥ ⲁⲫⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲛⲁⲁⲙ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲫⲕⲁⲁⲩ ⲥⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ· ⲡⲙⲁ ⲛ·ⲧⲁⲫⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲩ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲥⲛⲧⲩ ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲉⲩ·ⲭⲁ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲥⲙⲡⲉⲫⲥⲡⲓⲣ ⲛⲧⲉⲣⲉⲫⲛⲁⲩ

ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲇⲓ·ⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲫ·ⲱⲱⲡⲉ ⲥⲛⲟⲩⲥⲧⲱⲧ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲩⲥⲟⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲥⲟⲫ· ⲙⲡⲫⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲉⲫⲛⲁⲣⲟⲩ· ⲡⲗⲏⲛ ⲁⲫⲥⲛ̄ⲧⲫ[12] ⲉⲥⲟⲩⲛ ⲉⲛⲁⲩ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲡⲉ ⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲧⲱⲛⲡⲉ ⲁⲫⲛⲁⲩ ⲇⲉ ⲉⲡⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲥⲁⲓⲉⲡⲉ ⲉⲙⲁⲧⲉ ⲡⲁⲣⲁⲛⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲙⲛⲛⲍⲱⲟⲛ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲛⲧⲁⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟⲟⲩ ⲁⲩⲱ ⲁⲫⲣⲱⲡⲏⲣⲉ ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ· ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲛⲟⲃⲡⲉ ⲡⲁⲭⲓⲛⲃⲟⲛⲥ· ⲁⲓⲕⲁⲧⲡⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ ⲁⲓⲉⲓ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ

ⲭⲉⲕⲁⲥ ⲉⲓⲉⲣ̄ⲣ̄ⲣⲟ· ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲧⲉⲧⲁⲉⲭⲟⲩⲥⲓⲁ ⲫⲱⲡⲉ ⲭⲓⲭⲱⲓ[13] ⲙⲁⲩⲁⲁⲧ· ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲛⲧⲁⲩⲟⲩⲁⲍⲟⲩ ⲛⲥⲱⲓ̈·· ⲉⲓⲥ ⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲁⲫⲧⲁⲙⲓⲟ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲛⲕⲉⲣⲣⲟ· ⲡⲁⲓ̈ ⲛ̀ⲧⲥⲟⲟⲩⲛ ⲙⲙⲟⲩ· ⲁⲛ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲁⲱ ⲙⲙⲓⲛⲉⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲫⲥⲙⲟⲧ· ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲅⲅⲉⲗⲟⲥ ⲁⲛⲡⲉ· ⲟⲩⲇⲉ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ[14] ⲁⲛⲡⲉ· ⲛⲧⲉⲛⲍⲉ· ⲁⲗⲗⲁ ⲉⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏⲧⲉ ⲧⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲭⲉⲫⲛⲏⲩ· ⲉⲫⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲥⲱⲫ ⲙⲙⲏⲛⲉ

ⲁⲩⲱ ⲫⲙⲉ ⲙⲙⲟⲫ· ⲧⲛⲁⲩⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲙⲡⲉⲓⲙⲁ ⲫⲁⲛⲧⲁⲉⲓⲙⲉ ⲭⲉⲟⲩⲡⲉ ⲡⲉⲓⲥⲙⲟⲧ ⲛ·ⲧⲉⲓⲙⲓⲛⲉ ⲁⲫⲉⲓⲣⲉ ⲇⲉ ⲕⲁⲧⲁⲡⲉⲫⲱⲟⲭⲛⲉ ⲁⲩⲍⲙⲟⲟⲥ ⲇⲉ ⲛ·ⲃⲓⲡⲇⲓⲁⲃⲟⲗⲟⲥ ⲙⲛⲛⲉⲧⲉⲛⲟⲩⲫⲛⲉ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ ⲥⲁⲃⲟⲗ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ· ⲁⲫⲉⲓ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲉⲃⲙⲡⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ· ⲡⲉⲭⲁⲫ ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲛⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲛⲁⲇⲁⲙ ⲭⲉⲉⲓⲥⲩⲛⲏⲧⲉ ⲁⲓⲧ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲱⲏⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲉⲧⲍⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ ⲉⲧⲣⲉⲕⲟⲩⲱⲙ· ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲛⲍⲏⲧⲟⲩ ⲧⲏⲣⲟⲩ· ⲙⲛⲡⲕⲉⲫⲏⲛ ⲙⲡⲱⲛⲍ ⲉⲧⲍⲛⲧⲙⲏⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲡⲁⲣⲁⲇⲓⲥⲟⲥ·· ⲡⲱⲏⲛ ⲇⲉ ⲛⲥⲟⲩⲛⲡⲡⲉⲧⲛⲁⲛⲟⲩⲫ

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from ⲉ or vice versa. The scribe seems also to have hesitated over the preceding two letters. 8. Sic. Mus. ⲍⲁⲓⲣⲉⲧⲓⲕⲟⲥ. 9. Omitted in Mus. 10. Read ⲛⲃⲓⲡⲓⲗⲟⲅⲟⲥ. 11. For ⲭⲉⲛⲛⲉⲫⲱⲟⲟⲡ. 12. For ⲁⲫⲍⲟⲛⲧⲫ. 13. Mus. wrongly ⲍⲓⲭⲱⲥ. 14. Mus. wrongly ⲛⲟⲩⲥⲱⲙⲁⲧⲟⲥ.

common in Pierpont Morgan manuscripts, no doubt because they were written for the Monastery of the Archangel St Michael at Hamouli in the Fayyum. In order to allow the reader to compare the two recensions in detail, we have decided to print with the edition of the new fragments the relevant parallel material from M592;[2] we have collated the text on the plates of the photographic edition. The notes accompanying the passages from M592 have been restricted to correcting a few scribal errors and to drawing attention to printing errors or mistakes in Lafontaine's edition (Mus.). In both manuscripts, the reading aids (supralinear strokes and punctuation, etc.) present special problems. We have decided to reproduce them wherever we can clearly see them on the photographs, but we freely admit that in a number of cases there is room for doubt.[3] An English translation of the Qasr Ibrim text is appended; the paragraph numbers there have been taken over from Lafontaine's edition, and have been introduced to facilitate comparison with his Latin translation of the parallel version in M592.

Translation

(1r) I.3 Now [then] pray to the Lord that he may reveal to us and send to us power from on high and that he may open to us the door of the word and a high mind. Know this great mystery, that we shall reveal to you the fables of the heretics and their foul thoughts, that they are vain, and the (doctrines) of their teacher Mani. 4. For they say that the devil was cast out (and) Michael was appointed. But I say that the devil is unworthy and has never stood by the truth, nor did he ever enjoy this great honour, nor was he made archangel. And the heretics also said that, at the time when God created [Adam], God commanded the whole angelic host to come and worship the man whom he had created. Do you think [that] God needs spirits to worship (1v) a man (made) of earth? He called, the heretics said, the devil to worship man, and he did not worship. Therefore, they said, he was cast out from heaven (and) Michael was appointed in his stead. 5. O these words full of every blasphemy which the heretics think of! II.1 But you, O this man of God, flee from these vain and abominable voices. [Give to me] your vigilant mind and your ears that listen well to this homily, while we have your holy prayers which assist us in the will of God. Your heart will be reassured about the question which you have asked us, and the thought of the heretics will be plain to you henceforth, namely that there is no strength in their words. 2. And this homily will fully satisfy you that God is not at peace with the devil. (2r) IV.4 ... and that we may bring to naught the pride of the evil devil and that we may cast him down into the abyss in order that he shall not rule over the world which we have created. 5. And at once God took earth from the earth (and) created Adam (and) put him into paradise, the place from which he had taken the earth (and) had created him.[4] And he brought a sleep upon Adam, (and) he slept. [He took] out [one] of his ribs (and) filled it up with flesh instead (and) made it into a woman.[5] 6. And when the devil saw the man whom God had created, he trembled and fear fell upon him. He did not know what to do. Nevertheless he enquired and asked what the man was and whence he was. And he saw that the man was beautiful and fair to look at, more than all the creatures which God had created. 7. The devil marvelled and said: My iniquity is great. I have forsaken heaven (and) have come down into the (2v) world to rule over it and to exert authority over it, my own and (that of) my followers. And

[2] This is presented as continuous text (i.e. disregarding the line-breaks of the manuscript), but is divided into sections corresponding to the columns of the Ibrim version, to assist the reader in referring from one to the other.

[3] In M592, the supralinear marks appear rather intermittently, and the punctuation is often idiosyncratic. Certain dots, indistinguishable in form from marks of punctuation, occur at the ends of lines, in contexts where it is hard to believe that they could have been intended as punctuation in the modern sense, including instances where they divide what on any reckoning must be regarded as a single word. For the sake of consistency, and because these marks are of some interest in themselves, we have reproduced them wherever their presence appears certain, although they naturally take on a bizarre appearance in a text printed continuously. A similar feature occurs only once in the Qasr Ibrim version, at 1r *a*, 5–6.

[4] Cf. Gen. 2,7 and 2,15.

[5] Cf. Gen. 2,21–2.

behold, he (God) has created here another king. I do not know whence he is, nor do I know of what kind his likeness is: he is neither an angel nor is he incorporeal like us. I do not know whence he is or what he is. But behold I see God coming daily to enquire after him and loving him greatly. Henceforth I shall remain here until I know what his likeness is. V.1 And the devil did according to his counsel. He remained with his followers outside paradise. 2. And it came to pass after this that God came to visit Adam. And God said to Adam: Behold I have given [you] authority over all the trees of paradise that you may eat from them, but the tree of knowledge ...[6]

[6] Cf. Gen. 2,16–17.

1. Ir

2. IV

TWO LEAVES FROM A CODEX FROM QASR IBRIM (pp. 145–9)

1. 2r

2. 2V

TWO LEAVES FROM A CODEX FROM QASR IBRIM (pp. 145–9)

ROSALIND MOSS

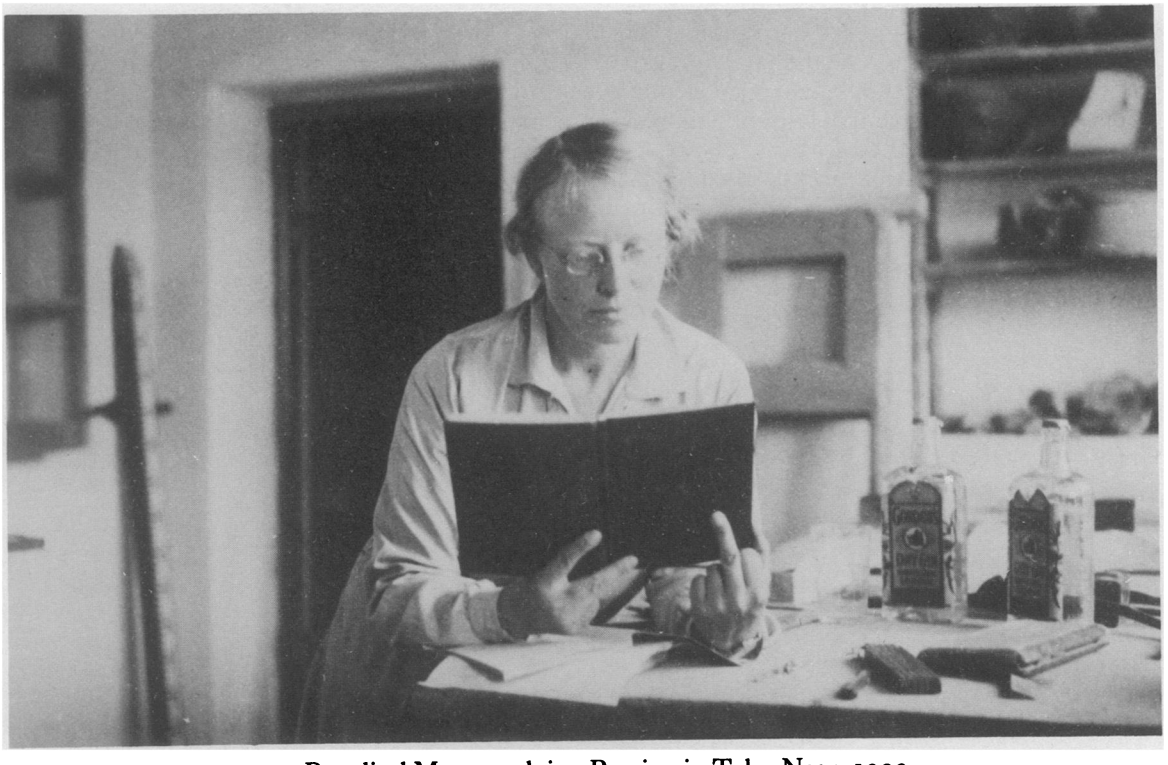
By T. G. H. JAMES

WHEN Dr Rosalind Moss formally retired from the editorship of the *Topographical Bibliography* in 1970, she was already eighty years old. For some years subsequently, she and her friend and associate editor, Mrs Ethel Burney, maintained more than a passing interest in the work of the Bibliography, issuing at fairly regular intervals from their retirement home in Anglesey to swoop on Oxford and to offer much in addition to moral support to their ideal successor, Dr Jaromir Malek. The appearance of the revised volume III, the Memphite bibliography, represented not just a continuation of business as before, but a substantial improvement on the achievement of the earlier volumes, along the lines which Dr Moss had instituted and pursued in the revisions of the Theban volumes. Nothing stood still in the preparation of these revisions, and it is to the enduring credit of Dr Moss, who was substantially the sole controller of the project from the mid-1920s, that the standards of accuracy, the comprehensiveness of the analyses of the monuments, the inclusion of increasingly useful and additional information, and the proliferation of indexes, were maintained and improved to meet the expanding needs of Egyptologists. Dr Moss was indefatigable in canvassing opinions on the usefulness and usability of the published volumes, and regularly acted on what her colleagues suggested, once she was convinced of the need for any particular addition or change. The result, as all Egyptologists know, is a working tool of unparallelled usefulness, and one that is greatly admired, even envied, by scholars working in other fields of antiquity who have occasion to use it.

Rosalind Louisa Beaufort Moss was born in Shrewsbury, Shropshire, on 21 September 1890. Her father, the Revd Henry Whitehead Moss, was Headmaster of Shrewsbury School, one of a trio of great headmasters of that school, who established the modern reputation of the famous foundation of King Edward VI. Her mother, Mary (née Beaufort) presided with some strictness over a family of two boys and four girls, whose childhood was largely circumscribed by the male community of Shrewsbury School. For the girls of the Moss family, their early years were in the hands of nannies and governesses, and Rosalind, the eldest, occupied an important, if not specially favoured, position along with her elder brother Claude.[1] Life was dominated at a distance by her father, whose physical presence was remote, but who through his wife exercised a firm, if benevolent, family regime. It was all rather straight-laced, if not quite puritanical, and Rosalind would remark in later life that the only lips which touched wine in the Moss household were those of her father. It was not noticeable that the constraints of her early life significantly inhibited Rosalind Moss's attitudes to some of the slightly illicit pleasures

[1] An 'autobiography' of her early years by Rosalind Moss, begun when she was twelve, presents a charming picture of her childhood. Extracts are reproduced in T. G. H. James and J. Malek (eds.), *A Dedicated Life. Tributes offered in Memory of Rosalind Moss* (Oxford, 1990), 71 ff.

PLATE I



1. Rosalind Moss studying Persian in Tabu Nasr, 1933

2. Rosalind Moss and Ethel Burney in Cambridge, 1971

ROSALIND MOSS 1890–1990
(*Courtesy of Mrs Maxwell Phair and the Griffith Institute*)

of living, although in her company it never did to forget that she was someone brought up in, and conditioned by, the *mores* of late Victorian Britain. In many small practices and details of life she observed, but never obtrusively, the deeply established principles of a long-past way of behaving. And such attitudes were supported in her friendship and association with Mrs Burney, who could be more sharply critical of small breaches of acceptable behaviour.

From an early age, as her youthful autobiography suggests, Rosalind Moss showed signs of intellectual independence, and unusual interest in the customary behaviour of those around her. She was essentially a curious child—one who enjoyed the capacity to be curious of people and places, a characteristic which manifested itself, after a conventional education at Heathfield School at Ascot, and at Oxford in the Society of Oxford Home-Students (now St. Anne's College), in her studying anthropology. At that time this subject, in the form of social anthropology, was very much a new Oxford development. The Diploma in Anthropology was first awarded only in 1909, and Rosalind Moss was among the earliest pupils of Dr R. R. Marett, a somewhat wayward giant of the Oxford Lit. Hum. School in the years before and after the First World War. He notes Rosalind Moss in the select list of his successful anthropological students, and includes her among those who joined him in the excavation of the prehistoric site of La Cotte de St. Brelade in Jersey in the Spring of 1914.[2] She was awarded the Diploma in Anthropology in 1917, and in the same year, as she rather quaintly records in her entry in *Who's Who*, she 'took up Egyptology'.

In the years after the First World War, anthropological studies engrossed Miss Moss's energies, and led in 1922 to her receiving the degree of B.Sc. from Oxford University. Her thesis was subsequently published in 1925 as *The Life after Death in Oceania and the Malay Archipelago*. She had, however, continued her interest in ancient Egypt as an unofficial pupil of Francis Llewellyn Griffith. After the death of her father in 1917, she was able to live independently on the modest income she received from a settlement set up from his estate, and to pursue her studies without the necessity of taking paid employment. Her introduction to Griffith had taken place under unpropitious circumstances, when she, alone and unexpected, presented herself for a course of lectures advertised by Griffith, but normally never attended by any student. She claimed that Griffith diverted her into work on the Bibliography in order to maintain the immaculate negative attendance at his lectures.[3] Such a story ought to be apocryphal, but Rosalind Moss was not given to romancing—a twinkle in an eye and a merry laugh were not enough to discredit her generally precise memory and relatively prosaic account of events. But she always appreciated the bizarreries of life, and relished the unusual and the piquant. One got the impression that her initial induction into the secrets of Egyptological bibliography took place, in intervals between her anthropological studies, in Griffith's library at 11 Norham Gardens, Oxford, which served as the headquarters of Miss Bertha Porter's operations.[4] Griffith noted that Miss Rosalind Moss 'began her work in 1924', and this must be taken to mean 'full-time work'. She was seen by him as the 'ideal assistant, willing to devote all her energies to perfecting the Bibliography ...'. She

[2] R. R. Marett, *A Jerseyman at Oxford* (Oxford, 1941), 195, 220, 306.

[3] The story is related in J. Malek's obituary notice in *The Independent* of 26 April 1990, p. 36.

[4] For the inception of the project see R. L. B. Moss, 'Topographical Bibliography', in *Textes et langages de l'Égypte pharaonique*, III (Cairo, 1974), 285ff.; reprinted in *A Dedicated Life*, 103ff.

possessed the 'energetic hand to put the final touches to it and see it through the press'.[5] Miss Porter in 1924 was seventy-two, and had for over twenty-five years ransacked, analyzed and systematized Egyptological literature in preparation for the publication of the Bibliography. Her work had been preliminary, but fundamental, laborious and slow; she had never visited Egypt. It was indeed time to give the project a substantial prod, and this was precisely what Rosalind Moss was about to do.

In the final stages of preparation for volume I on the Theban Necropolis, Miss Moss visited Egypt in the Spring of 1924, spending several weeks at Thebes, staying with Norman and Nina de Garis Davies, the best possible guides to the private tombs of the necropolis. It was the first of a great many visits to Egypt in which the records of the Bibliography, compiled in the calm of the Griffith library, were checked rigorously against the walls of the actual monuments. It was no superficial exercise, but a thorough examination into which weeks of preparation were invested in advance. In the production of all the volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography*, the same attention to detail was expended. Similar care was devoted to the tracking down of informative excavation records, to the inspection of old surveys and copies (the work of men like Hay, Wilkinson and Burton), to the physical examination of the monuments and inscribed antiquities which were lodged in the collections of museums and other institutions throughout the world. Apart from the visits to Egypt, expeditions were mounted throughout Europe and North America to scour the holdings of museums. Nothing was left to chance; no basement was seen to be inviolate. Before any visit to a museum the curator would receive ample warning, and lists of questions on objects in the appropriate collection: numbers needed, provenances to be checked, hieroglyphic names to be read. Often the curator himself was not aware that certain objects formed part of his collection. The files of the Bibliography, which moved from Norham Gardens to Boars Hill in 1931, and in 1939 to a final resting place in the Griffith Institute in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, seemed to have access by magic to sources of information unknown to ordinary scholars. Its procedures of work, based on the foundation laid by Miss Porter, were refined, and ultimately moulded for publication, by Rosalind Moss. Ably assisted by Mrs Burney, who never pretended to know the first thing about Egyptology—a modest disclaiming which never should have had to be tested—and by a succession of poorly paid, but devoted helpers, Miss Moss ran a power-house of activity. The demands on accuracy and dedication were extreme, the resulting devotion and affection for Miss Moss remarkable testimonies to a person who did not invite devotion or affection for herself.

The outstanding achievement of all her planning and effort is the set of volumes known universally in Egyptological circles as Porter–Moss, Porter and Moss, PM, Top. Bibl., or even just *The Bibliography*. Its full title requires abbreviation: *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*. Based on a suggestion of Adolf Erman, imaginatively conceived by Francis Llewellyn Griffith, laboriously founded by Bertha Porter, it became and remains the abiding accomplishment of Rosalind Moss. As with so many generously visionary schemes, it took far longer to complete in its first working through than Griffith ever imagined: vol. I in 1925, vol. VII in 1951. The revisions took even longer: vol. I, in two parts, in 1960, 1964; vol. II in 1972; vol. III, in two parts, in 1974, 1981. There can be no end to revisions of a work of this

[5] In the Preface to PM I, vi.

kind; the enterprise is, in the words of cautious administrators, open-ended. So, with the availability of modern methods of information storage and retrieval, no further conventional revisions are to be prepared; the files will be maintained and regularly added to at Oxford, and be made—as they always have been—available for consultation by scholars. There will be, however, one final printed volume chiefly concerned with objects in museums without provenance. It is far advanced, and was already in the planning before Rosalind Moss stepped off the scene. It will contain much of the real detective work that has always been a major activity of the Bibliography. By sifting diminutive slips, by tracing elusive clues through old publications and rare sale catalogues, by writing innumerable letters to colleagues around the world, and by exercising her imagination and a capacious memory, Rosalind Moss inaugurated what Jaroslav Černý liked to call the 'Scotland Yard of Egyptology'. The fruits of nearly 100 years of systematic investigation will be brought to fruition by Jaromir Malek. It will contain the results of so much hidden effort; but the effort will, in being hidden, seem almost minimal, for a problem once solved is no longer a problem, and a satisfactory result does not need a history of investigation to justify itself.

Apart from the *Topographical Bibliography*, Rosalind Moss's scholarly output was modest—a few sparks issuing from the furnace of the great work;[6] but it would be quite incorrect to put her down only as a specially talented and successful compiler of a standard reference work. Her knowledge of Egyptian monuments and Egyptological literature was encyclopedic; her feeling for objects was highly developed; her sympathy for, and understanding of, the culture of ancient Egypt were profound. She had, however, appreciated at an early age what she best could do, and she pursued her principal purposes with great energy and dedication. There were also other things in life to be understood and enjoyed.

The many journeys which she undertook in pursuit of material for the Bibliography were nothing compared with those she undertook from an early age in the company of chosen friends, to explore out-of-the-way places.[7] Up to an advanced age she and Mrs Burney, frequently accompanied by Mrs Burney's sister, set out two or three times a year by road, sea, air, bus, train—whatever was needed—to cover much of Asia, Africa, North and Central America, all of Europe (except Albania). Careful planning—as ever the Moss province—usually ensured a successful trip. It would not always be free from the old-fashioned hardships of travelling; but while luxury was not sought or expected, comfort was appreciated, particularly in the form of good food and wine. Like all good travellers, Rosalind Moss journeyed in expectation and with a proper degree of excitement, and she relished whatever might be experienced.

Through the contacts engendered by travel, and by the correspondence generated by the Bibliography, Rosalind Moss knew nearly every Egyptologist over two full generations, and with Mrs Burney enjoyed the friendship of a remarkably wide range of scholars from all countries where Egyptology was practised. In social contacts she was often seen initially as playing second fiddle to Ethel Burney, who was a more out-going person. There were some, indeed, who at first meeting the two jumped to the conclusion

[6] A bibliography prepared by Dr Diana Magee is to be found in *A Dedicated Life*, 107 f.

[7] See in particular the account by her and her sister Beatrice of a bicycle tour in the French Alps in 1911, reprinted in *A Dedicated Life*, 91 ff.; also the accounts of travels abroad with Dr Moss and Mrs Burney by Venetia Phair and Beatrice Brocklebank (Mrs Burney's daughter and sister), op. cit. 77 ff.

that Mrs Burney was Miss Moss. Mrs Burney was the talker, always maintaining a conversation even in the stickiest of circumstances; Miss Moss was often content just to observe, waiting for the right moment to intervene. They were perfect foils for each other, and to be in their company was always a delight and a privilege.

Beyond Egypt and Egyptian monuments, Rosalind Moss fostered a special interest in Byzantine history and ecclesiastical architecture. Her younger brother Henry was a distinguished amateur Byzantine scholar in the days when the study of the Eastern Roman Empire was distinctly unfashionable. Infected by his enthusiasm, Rosalind Moss became a regular attender at Byzantine congresses, read widely in the subject, and, whenever possible, combined visits to unusual centres of Egyptological study with excursions to see remote churches and monasteries of the Orthodox Faith. She knew Balkan Europe and Turkey better than most travellers before the Second World War, and after the war she pursued her interests even behind the Iron Curtain at times when it was not so easy to travel there. She never presumed to bore a visitor with traveller's tales, but given the opportunity she could be a splendid teller of extraordinary happenings along the road, every story spiced with penetrating comment on what had been experienced.

As a scholar, Rosalind Moss was wholly without pretension, unassuming almost to a fault, although capable of exhibiting impressive authority when necessary. Her merits were universally recognized in her own field, and her work unstintingly admired. The appreciation of her achievement is manifested in the universal use made of the volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography*, and in the constant consultation of the records in Oxford. In the wider world of scholarship her achievement was not so generally known; but in 1961 she was honoured by her own university, Oxford, with the degree of Doctor of Letters *honoris causa*. Characterized by the University's Public Orator appropriately as *feminam antiquitatis peritissimam*, she greatly appreciated this recognition; many may have thought it to have been too long in coming. In 1949 she had been elected to be a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

To mark her imminent 100th birthday on 21 September 1990, a volume of tributes by friends and colleagues was planned. It was almost ready when news came of her death on 22 April 1990, five months short of her century. She had not been well for some years, and her end came quietly in a nursing home in Ewell, Surrey, where she had spent the last years of her life. The volume, *A Dedicated Life*, therefore appeared as a memorial to her; it was published by the Griffith Institute, the organization through which she had completed a life's work of notable importance. Many of the contributions to the volume dwell on the outstanding qualities of this remarkable lady. The personal memories, infused with love and esteem, will surely convey for the future something of the great regard in which she was held in her lifetime. The volumes of the *Topographical Bibliography* will perpetuate monumentally her scientific standing. The personal memories may be ephemeral, but about her standing, as the 'better half' of Porter-Moss, there will be nothing ephemeral.

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1989

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACQUIRED IN 1989 BY MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Edited by JANINE BOURRIAU

THIS is the last list to be prepared by the present editor. It is to be hoped that readers of the *JEA* have found them useful and that the lists will continue. This year the British Museum has begun including objects previously unregistered in their collection, together with new acquisitions. Both Bolton Museum and Birmingham City Museum received objects transferred from the Tamworth Castle Museum in 1989. All the Birmingham 1989 acquisitions come from this source. The Bolton acquisitions from Tamworth Castle have been held over for the next list.

Predynastic

1–3. Fragments of mud sealings, University College 35683–4, 35686. From Abydos. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 30, 51, pl. xiii, 91. Protodynastic period.

4. Fragment of mud sealing, University College 35685. From Abydos. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. xiii, 94. Protodynastic period.

5. Fragment of mud sealing, University College 35687. From Abydos. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, cf. p. 30, pl. xiii, 91–2. Protodynastic period.

6–7. Two fragments of mud sealings, University College 35680, 35688. From Abydos. Protodynastic period.

8–11. Fragments of knives and blade of chert, University College 35678–9, 35690, 35709. From Abydos. Protodynastic period.

12. Arrowheads, University College 35681 A–D. From Abydos. Protodynastic period.

13. Fragment of greywacke, similar to central section of a flint knife, University College 35710. From Abydos. Protodynastic period.

14. Fragment of top of an ebony chair, University College 35682. From Abydos. Protodynastic period.

15. String of beads, University College 35711. From Abydos. Protodynastic period.

Early Dynastic

16–27. Mud sealings, University College 35664–75. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 31, pl. xvi, 1–4 (left), 5–11, 14.

28–9. Fragments of mud sealings, University College 35712–3. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. xiii, 95.

30–3. Mud sealings and fragments, University College 35702–4, 35707. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 30, 52, pl. xiv, 98–9, 101.

34. Mud sealing, University College 35705. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Cf. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 30, pl. xiv, 97–8, 104.

35–46. Mud sealings and fragments, University College 35734 A, B, 35737–41, 35747–8, 35750–1, 35753, 35760. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 30, 53, 58, pl. xv, 105, 108, 109, 110, 113.

47–8. Mud sealings, University College 35735–6. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 30, 52, pl. xv, 106–7; pl. xvi, 123–4.

49–50. Mud sealing and fragment, University College 35662–3. From Abydos. Second Dynasty (?). Petrie, *Abydos*, I, 24, pl. li, west of Osiris Temenos, extreme left and extreme right. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, I, 173; II, 881 (1121) U.C.172.

51–78. Mud sealings and fragments, University College 35693–701, 35706, 35714–15, 35733, 35742–6, 35749, 35752, 35754–9, 35761–2. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

79. Fragments of greywacke tray, University College 35708. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 36, pl. xxxii, 54.

80–3. Fragments of calcite and limestone vases, University College 35692, 35719–20, 35727. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

84. Chert blade, University College 35691. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Abydos*, I, pl. xiv, top left.

85–9. Chert blades and fragments of knives, University College 35721–5. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

90. Flint knife, Birmingham 1989 A 81. Ex. collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

91. Rim sherd of marl clay jar, University College 35728. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*, pl. xv, 165 K; id., *Royal Tombs*, II, pl. lvc, 272 (mark).

92. Rim sherd of black ware, University College 35729. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Corpus of Proto-Dynastic Pottery*, pls. xix–xxi, 75.

93–4. Pot sherds of marl and Nile clay, University College 35730–1. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

95. Wooden rod, University College 35726. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

96. Fragments of gold leaf, University College 35689 A–D. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

97. Fragments of linen, University College 35716 A–C. From Abydos. First Dynasty.

98. Fragments of burnt elephant ivory from a fluted tube, University College 35717 A–C. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 37, pl. xxxiv, 73.

99. Bone arrowheads, University College 35718 A–Q. From Abydos. First Dynasty. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, II, 37, pl. xxxiv, 27–49.

Old Kingdom

100–1. Mud sealing and fragment, University College 35676–7. From Abydos. Third Dynasty. Petrie, *Abydos*, II, 31, 41, pl. xvi, 15–16.

102. Sherd from a pottery jar, University College 35732. From Abydos. Early Old Kingdom.

103–4. Fragments of a calcite jar and breccia bowl, Birmingham 1989 A 87–8. From Reqaqnah tombs 40 and 1. Garstang excavations. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

105. Green faience jackal-headed amulet, University College 38555. From Zaraby. Petrie, *Amulets*, 13, pl. ii, 22n; id., *Gizeh and Rifeh*, 10.

First Intermediate Period

106–7. Trussed cows, painted wood from butchery tomb models, University College 31747–8. From Sidmant.

108–9. Cooking fires with pots, painted wood from bakery or butchery tomb models, University College 31736–7. From Sidmant.

110. Baking and brewing tomb model, painted wood, University College 31721. From Sidmant.

111. Corn-grinder, tomb model, painted wood, University College 31746. From Sidmant. Petrie, *Tools and Weapons*, 58, pl. lv, W105.

112–14. Squatting male figures, painted wood from baking and brewing tomb models, University College 31785–6, 31793. From Sidmant.

115–24. Vats, painted wood, from baking and brewing tomb models, University College 31738–43, 31749, 31753–5. From Sidmant.

125–6. Barrels, painted wood, from kitchen tomb models, University College 31744–5. From Sidmant.

127. Brazier, painted wood from a bakery tomb model, University College 31750. From Sidmant.

128. Granary tomb model, painted wood, University College 31723. From Sidmant.

129–31. Wheat and currants, painted wood, from granary tomb models, University College 31724–6. From Sidmant.

132–3. Figures of bearded scribes, painted wood, from granary tomb models (?), University College 31751–2. From Sidmant.

134. Figure, male, painted wood, from a granary tomb model (?), University College 31794. From Sidmant.

135–6. Two scribes' boxes, painted wood, granary tomb models, University College 31730–1. From Sidmant.

137–40. Doors and a sack, painted wood, from granary tomb models, University College 31732–5. From Sidmant.

141–3. Female offering bringers, painted wooden tomb models, University College 31756–8. From Sidmant.

144–51. Stoppered beer jars, painted wood, from offering bringers' baskets, University College 31759–65, 31797. From Sidmant.

152. Four stoppered jars set into base, painted wood, from tomb model, University College 31766.

153–60. Baskets, painted wood, from tomb models of offering bringers, University College 31767–72, 31784, 31795. From Sidmant.

161–71. Ducks and doves, painted wood, from tomb models of offering bringers, University College 31773–83. From Sidmant.

172–3. Bases from offering bringer and calf tomb models, University College 31791–2.

174. Boat tomb model, wood, University College 31719. From Sidmant.

175–6. Plank and rudder posts from model boat, painted wood, University College 31720, 31796. From Sidmant.

177–80. Bases and shield, painted wood, from tomb models, University College 31788–90, 31798. From Sidmant.

181–5. Figures from tomb models, painted wood, University College 31722, 31727–9, 31787. From Sidmant.

186–8. Faience bead collars, University College 31716–18. From Sidmant.

189–95. Strings of faience and carnelian beads, University College 31708–14. From Sidmant.

Middle Kingdom

196–8. Fragments of inscribed limestone relief, British Museum EA 71517–19. From tomb of Djehutyhotep at el-Bersha. Gift of Egypt Exploration Fund in 1894.

199–249. Fragments of painted limestone relief, British Museum EA 71520–70. From tomb 2 at el-Bersha. Gift of the Egypt Exploration Fund in 1894.

250–2. Three hieratic papyri, one medical and two legal, University College 32055, 32057–8. From Kahun. F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, I, 5–11, 31–5; II, pls. v–vi, xii–xiii.

253. Upper part of statuette of a woman, painted wood with inlays of ebony, bronze, obsidian and calcite, Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1989 (pl. XV, 1). Reign of Sesostris I.

Second Intermediate Period

254. String of beads, University College 31715. From Sidmant.

255. Steatite scarab, University College 38070. From Tell el-Yahudiyeh. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 15, pl. xi, 209.

256. Green-glazed steatite scarab, with design of hieroglyphs, British Museum EA 71516, previously incorrectly numbered EA 8734.

257–9. Ivory fragments including some from kohl-stick and (?) leg of wooden casket, University College 31704–6. From Sidmant.

New Kingdom

260–1. Pottery funerary cones of Amenhotep, son of Hapu and Nebansu, University College 38056–7. From Western Thebes. Eighteenth Dynasty.

262. Pottery funerary cone, British Museum EA 71403. Previously uncatalogued. From Western Thebes. Cf. Davies and Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 302.

263. Baked clay frieze-brick bearing three impressions of a funerary cone, British Museum EA 71401. Previously uncatalogued. From Western Thebes. Davies and Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 228.

264. Baked clay frieze-brick bearing impression of previously unattested funerary cone, British Museum EA 71402. Previously uncatalogued. From Western Thebes (?).

265. Strip of papyrus from a late Ramesside letter, British Museum EA 71511. Previously registered with EA 10300. From Thebes (?). Twentieth Dynasty.

266. Gold finger-ring with *nebty*-name and prenomen of Tuthmosis III, British Museum EA 71492. From Saqqara.

267. Green faience torso fragment from shabti of Ramesses II, University College 38072. From Memphis (??).

268. Faience pendants, amulets and inlays, Bolton Museum 100.1989. From Amarna. Gift of Miss M. Drower.

269. Purple glass fly amulet, University College 38504. From Qau (?).

270–1. Model vase in Nile B clay and wooden implement, University College 31703, 31707. From Sidmant.

272–3. Two shabti figures, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 49–50. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

274. Wooden shabti of Amenophis II, University College 38071. Petrie, *Shabtis*, 14, pls. ix, 65, xxviii, 65.

275. Green faience with black painted inscribed torso fragment of shabti of Ramesses II or IV, University College 38073. Petrie, *Shabtis*, 14, pls. xi, 274; xxxvi, 247.

276–7. Papyrus fragments in hieratic of a letter and a funerary text, British Museum EA 71507–8. Previously uncatalogued.

278. Limestone relief fragment showing lower legs and sandals of a royal figure in Amarna style, British Museum EA 71571. Eighteenth Dynasty.

279. Limestone human-headed lid of a canopic jar, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 86. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

280–1. Bronze mirrors, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 77–8. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

282–3. Painted pottery conical jar stopper and blue faience jar, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 83, III. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

284. Green glass dish in the shape of a *Tilapia*-fish, Ashmolean Museum 1989.85 (pl. XVI, 1). Ashmolean Museum, *Annual Report 1988–9*, pl. i,b.

285. Wooden Isis-knot amulet, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 80. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

Third Intermediate Period

286. Sections of papyrus Book of the Dead in hieratic prepared for the chantress of Amun, Pashebenumutwebkhet, British Museum EA 10988. Previously uncatalogued. Twenty-first Dynasty.

287. Fragments of a letter written in hieratic, British Museum EA 71509. Previously uncatalogued. From el-Hiba. Twenty-first Dynasty.

288. Green faience vase with globular ribbed body and swivel lid, British EA 71515. Ex MacGregor collection, formerly City Art Museum, St Louis, 218: 24.

289–305. Seventeen shabti figures, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 51–67. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

306–8. Faience shabtis of Sheshonq III, Princess Thes-theren and fragment belonging to Mutemhat, wife of Osorkon II, University College 38074–5, 38077. Petrie, *Shabtis*, 14–15; pls. xi, 484; xxxviii, 267; xli, 484, 487.

Late Period

309. Fragment of linen bearing a funerary text written in hieratic, British Museum EA 71510. Previously uncatalogued.

310. Fragments of a Book of the Dead written in hieratic prepared for Iyemat, British Museum EA 10983. Previously uncatalogued.

311. Fragments of papyrus written in hieratic with rubrics, British Museum EA 10984–5. Previously uncatalogued.

312. Base of a naophorous statue in greywacke, inscribed for Wahibre, born of Djedesefankh, British Museum EA 71572.

313–20. Complete and fragmentary bronze figures of Osiris, British Museum EA 71404–11. Previously uncatalogued.

321–2. Bronze figures of Isis suckling Harpocrates, British Museum EA 71412, 71415. Ex Sams collection. Previously uncatalogued.

323–4. Seated bronze figure of Harpocrates and aegis of Isis, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 73, 76. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

325–6. Upper portion of figure of Isis and headress of Nefertum in bronze, British Museum EA 71414, 71416. Previously uncatalogued.

327–8. Standing bronze figures of Min, British Museum EA 71417–18. Gift of George Witt in 1865.

329–32. Bronze figures and fragment of a ram, criosphinx, dog and bull, British Museum EA 71419–22. Previously uncatalogued.

333. Bronze figure of a snake-headed divinity, Ashmolean Museum 1989.56 (pl. XV, 2). Said to be from Saqqara. Ashmolean Museum, *Annual Report 1988–9*, pl. i,a.

334–5. Bronze ureaus and fragment, British Museum EA 71425–6. Previously uncatalogued.

336–43. Bronze snake 'reliquaries' and fragments, British Museum EA 71427, 71430, 71432, 71434, 71438–40, 71443. Previously uncatalogued.

344. Bronze 'reliquary' with human-headed eel, British Museum EA 71428. Previously uncatalogued.

345–51. Bronze lizard 'reliquaries', British Museum EA 71429, 71431, 71433, 71435–7, 71441. Previously uncatalogued.

352. Bronze lizard 'reliquary'. Birmingham Museum 1989 A 75. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

353. Fragmentary bronze 'reliquary', British Museum EA 71442. Previously uncatalogued.

354. Seated bronze figure, British Museum EA 71413. Ex Sams collection. Previously uncatalogued.

355–64. Fragments of anthropoid bronze figures, British Museum EA 71444–52, 71459. Previously uncatalogued.

365–6. Falcon head and *wedjat*-eye amulet, bronze, British Museum EA 71423, 71453. Previously uncatalogued.

367–70. Bases and fragments of thrones and inscribed pedestal, bronze, British Museum EA 71424, 71455–7. Previously uncatalogued.

371. Kneeling figure of a man, bronze, British Museum EA 71458. Previously uncatalogued.

372. Two bronze arms for composite figure, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 74. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

373–6. Faience shabtis and fragments of Prince Nesptah, son of Montuemhat, Amasis, Amnes and Queen Khedebneithirtbint, University College 38079–82, 38084. Petrie, *Shabtis*, 15; pls. xii, 543; xiii, 562, 570, 573; xlii, 543; xliii, 562, 570, 573.

377. Lower part of faience shabti of Queen Udjashu, mother of Teos, University College 38083.

378–9. Faience shabtis, one inscribed for Bastetiyti, born of Renpetnefer, British Museum EA 71505–6. Gift of Miss H. A. Byars in memory of L. R. Halford.

380–4. Five shabtis, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 68–72. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

385. Cobra diadem, bronze, from a figure of a divinity, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 79. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

386–9. Faience papyrus sceptre and *ankh*-amulets, University College 38508, 38513, 38529, 38572. From Zuweleyn and Memphis. Petrie, *Amulets* 12, 14, pls. ii, 20d, 20e3, 20e; iii, 30b; Petrie, *Tanis*, I, 29; Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis*, III, 41.

390. Green feldspar sistrum amulet with the head of Hathor, University College 38581. From Meroe. Petrie, *Amulets*, 15, pl. iii, 32a.

391–2. Two mummified male heads, University College 31701–2. Ex Wellcome collection.

Ptolemaic Period

393–448. Fragments of papyrus written in demotic, British Museum EA 10990–9, 71460–91, 71493–504. Previously uncatalogued. From Gebelein.

449. Four fragments of papyrus bearing hymns in hieratic to Sobk-Re, lord of Sumenu, British Museum EA 71512. Previously uncatalogued.

450. Fragments of papyrus bearing a religious text in hieratic, British Museum EA 71514. Previously uncatalogued.

451–4. Papyrus fragments written in demotic and Greek, British Museum EA 10978, 10980–1, 10987. Previously uncatalogued.

455–6. Greek ostraca on pottery, University College 32059–60. Presumably from Thebes. Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, nos. 1341, 1343; J. G. Tait, *Greek Ostraca in the Bodleian Library and other Collections*, I, nos. 7, 11.

457–60. Terracotta heads of Egyptian women, University College 33609–12. From Memphis. Petrie, *Memphis*, I, 16, pl. xxxv, 2–4, 14.

461–3. *Ba*-bird amulet, faience, and *ankh*-amulet of faience and gilded wax, University College 38570–1, 38575. From Dendera. Petrie, *Dendereh* 32–3, pl. xxvi; Petrie, *Amulets* 14, pl. iii, 28d, 30a.

464–6. Mummified heads of man, woman and child, University College 31698–700.

Roman Period

467–70. Wax encaustic portraits on wood of two women and two men, University College 38059–62 (pl. XV, 3–4). From Hawara. Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis*, IV, 13.

471. Fragments of papyrus bearing a religious text in hieratic, British Museum EA 71513. Previously uncatalogued.

472. Greek ostracon on pot sherd, University College 32056. Tait, op. cit. 89 no. 84.

473. Painted linen shroud, University College 38058. From Hawara (?). Petrie, *Funeral Furniture*, 18, no. 336.

474–5. Two pottery lamps, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 142–3. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

476. Faience model of a Corinthian capital, Ashmolean Museum 1989.138.

Coptic Period

477–80. Papyrus fragments inscribed in Coptic, British Museum EA 10979, 10982, 10986, 10989. Previously uncatalogued. From Deir el-Bahari, Egypt Exploration Fund excavations.

481. Coptic ostracon, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 82. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

482. Bronze figure of standing man with upraised arms, British Museum EA 71454. Previously uncatalogued. Ex Sams collection.

483–6. Fragments of Coptic textiles, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 144–7.

487–8. Tapestry fragment and child's woolen sock, British Museum EA 71573–4. Ex Ikle collection. Fifth-sixth century AD.

Undated

489–90. Two calcite vases marked 1081, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 89–90. Possibly from Garstang's unpublished excavations at Abydos. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

491–510. Stone vases, mainly calcite of various periods, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 91–110. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

511–40. Pottery vases of various dates including two from Garstang's unpublished excavations at Abydos, from tombs 941, 942, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 84, 1989 A 113–41. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

541. Bead wristlet, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 85. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

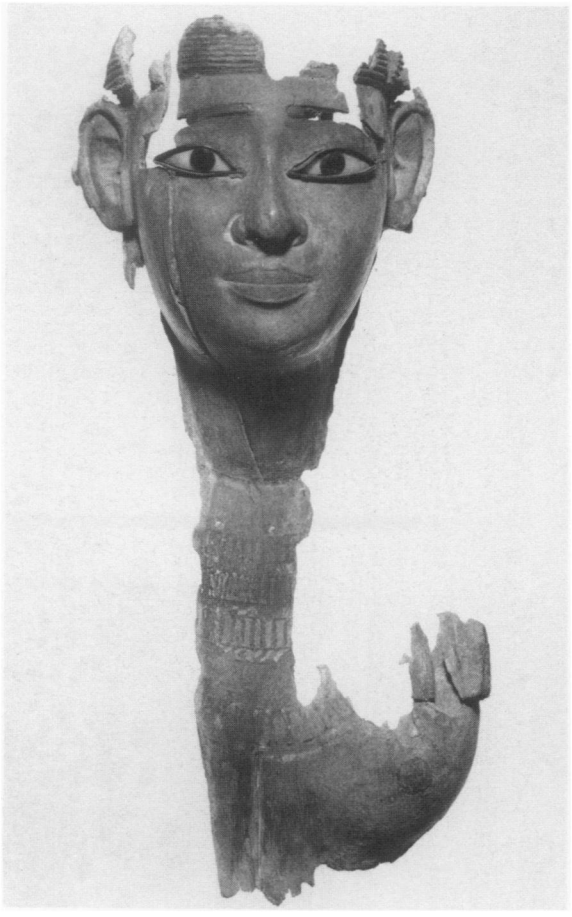
542. Fragment of Egyptian blue, Birmingham Museum 1989 A 112. Ex collection Tamworth Castle Museum.

Documentation

Five plaster casts made at full size in Cairo, probably in the 1930s, Bolton Museum. Gift of the Wellcome Trustees, transferred via the Horniman Museum.

1. Architrave of Ptolemy IV from doorway between outer and inner hypostyle halls, temple of Horus at Edfu.
2. Lintel inscribed with an 'Appeal to the Living' from entrance doorway of chapel of Amenirdis I, Medinet Habu, Thebes.
3. Scenes from the mammisi of Nectanebo, temple of Hathor at Dendera.
4. Scene from the 'birth room' of Amenophis III in the temple of Amun, Luxor.
5. Lintel of Hatay, Overseer of Works, from house T.34.1 at Amarna.

115 photographs of monuments, buildings and scenes in Egypt, Palestine and Syria made in 1944–5, Bolton Museum 99.1989. Gift of Mr F. Burton.

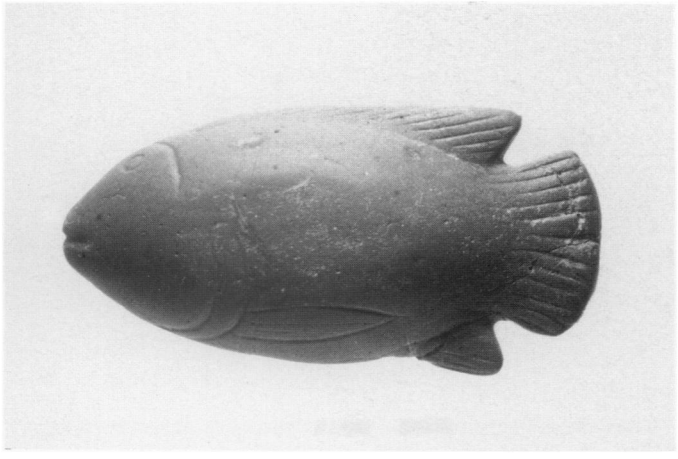


1. Upper part of statuette of woman, Fitzwilliam E. 1. 1989 (no. **253**)

2. Bronze figure of snake-headed divinity, Ashmolean 1989. 56 (no. **333**)

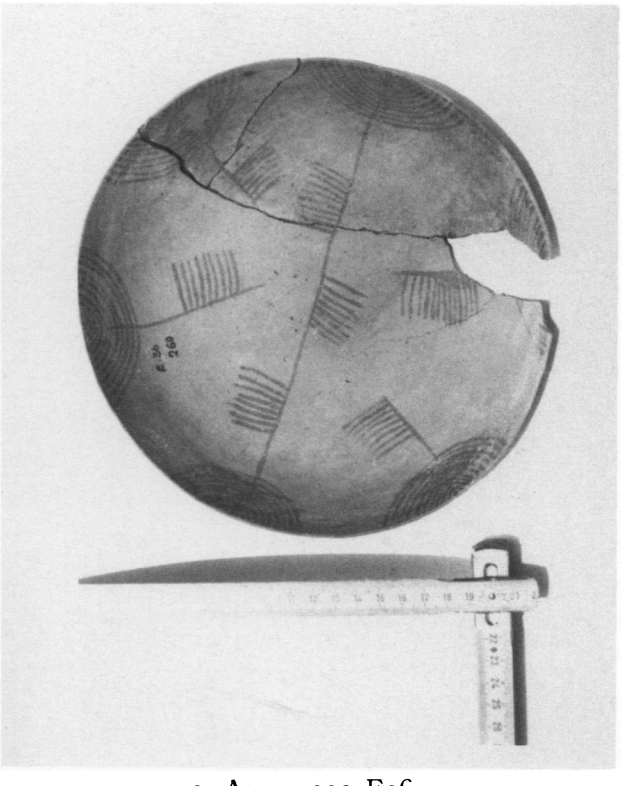
3. University College 38059
Wax encaustic portraits on wood (nos. **467**, **470**)

4. University College 38062



1. Green glass dish in shape of *Tilapia*-fish, Ashmolean 1989.85 (no. **284**)

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1989 (p. 161)

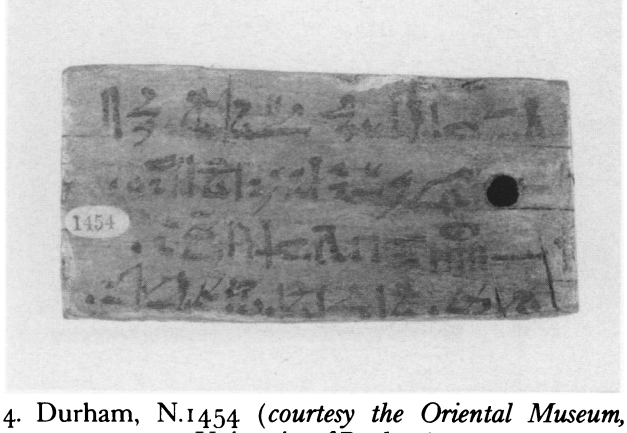


2. Aswan 230, E26

A BOWL IN THE NUBIAN MUSEUM (pp. 165–7)

3. Girton College stela of Amenophis I

A NEW KINGDOM STELA (pp. 169–75)



4. Durham, N.1454 (*courtesy the Oriental Museum, University of Durham*)

A TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY REBURIAL (pp. 180–2)

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A bowl in the Nubian Museum, Aswan

A bowl in the Nubian Museum at Aswan appears to be eclectic, combining elements from early Nubian and Predynastic traditions. The bowl, although found in a grave of terminal A-group date, may be an heirloom, having been made as a direct result of contact with Egypt during the Naqada IIc and IIdi periods.

On display in the Nubian Museum at Aswan is an unusual bowl (pl. XVI, 2). It first came to my attention in the summer of 1988,[1] and in the spring of 1989 I was fortunate enough to travel to Aswan to study this, and other vessels, at first hand. I am most grateful to Mr Alfy Hinari, the Director of Museums in Upper Egypt, for allowing me to see the vessels, and for the welcome which I was accorded in Aswan. My thanks are also due to Mr Michael Murphy who provided photographs of the vessel.

The particular bowl with which this article is concerned (Aswan 230, E26) was excavated by the Survey of Nubia in 1910–11.[2] It comes from the east bank of the river, and was found in grave 1, cemetery 142, about half a kilometre from the village of Naga Wadi, at the boundary between the Sayala and Mediq districts. The cemetery was only one of a number of similar burial sites in the area.

The grave in which the bowl was found[3] was rich and contained a considerable quantity of decorated and black polished pottery of non-Egyptian type, a number of copper implements, grinding stones, and quartz palettes. The grave itself was rectangular and large, being 330 cm in length, and 160 cm in width. It contained two burials, an adult skeleton lying in a contracted position on its left side, with the head facing south-south-west, and the arm bones of a child. The bowl was found lying apart from the main contents of the grave, behind the head of the adult, between a grinding table and a quartz palette. The cemetery has been dated to the Early Dynastic period, and the majority of the goods found in it suggest that grave 1 dates from the terminal A-group, although the scanty way in which it was published makes it very difficult to be certain about the date of the stone and copper artefacts. The pottery is, however, especially suggestive of a terminal A-group date, being largely of a fine, pale yellow ware, burnished over geometrical designs painted in red.[4]

The bowl, which is illustrated in the Survey of Nubia volume for 1910–11,[5] is circular and shallow sided, with a rounded base, slightly flattened at the bottom. It is thin walled, about 4 mm in thickness, narrowing to 2 mm at the rim. The bowl, which seems to belong, at least in part, to a Nubian tradition, was hand-made, the rim being cut to shape, and the surface carefully smoothed to make it uniform. The vessel was well made, and is an excellent, regular shape, with a diameter of 18.4 cm. The type of clay is uncertain, since it was not possible to examine a fresh fracture, but it would appear to be a fine marl, containing few inclusions, and with an unmottled, pale, buff-pink surface. It is, of course, possible that the fabric was of a dark colour, treated with a pale slip to make it look like a marl clay, but there is no sign of such a slip flaking off, as is usual in cases where it has been used. The vessel has the appearance of being made from a homogeneous fabric, which has been self-slipped but not colour coated. The surface was unburnished.

[1] When it was pointed out to me by Mr M. Jones, to whom I am most grateful.

[2] C. M. Firth, *The Survey of Nubia, Report for 1910–1911* (Cairo, 1927).

[3] Firth, op. cit., pl. 5b.

[4] J. D. Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), 99–100.

[5] Firth, op. cit., pl. 20.b.1.

What makes the bowl especially interesting is the decoration of the interior. The paint used for the design was applied before firing, and on firing, it turned a red to maroon colour. The combination of a pale surface, contrasting with a design in deep red to maroon paint, recalls the Decorated ware of the Predynastic period in Egypt,[6] which is further recalled by the design used, which seems certain to have been based upon the so called 'Naqada plant' motif.[7] It has, however, been executed in a free and imitative form, which suggests acquaintance, but not familiarity, with the motif. The vessel is quite different from the thin, burnished material of the terminal A-group, which was also found in the grave.

The bowl is significant because it combines elements which are typical of native Nubian pottery with a colour scheme and design based on Egyptian traditions. The unusual, non-Egyptian shape of the bowl, its thin walls, the total coverage of the interior with a design which enhances and exploits the vessel shape,[8] and, to some extent, its find spot, all point to its Nubian origin, whilst the use of marl clay, as well as the painted design, suggest some Egyptian influence. It cannot, however, be claimed to have been of wholly Egyptian manufacture, because, although the design was undoubtedly of Egyptian origin, it was executed in a way which strongly suggests that the painter was not an Egyptian, but rather, someone who had seen and liked Egyptian Decorated ware, and was attempting to copy it.

The presence of full-blown Egyptian vessels in Nubian graves[9] shows that Nubian potters could have been acquainted with Predynastic Egyptian pottery, and the style of this bowl suggests that such an acquaintance had a certain influence on at least one potter, resulting in the production of an eclectic vessel, which combined Nubian and Egyptian characteristics.

The 'Naqada plant' motif was characteristic of the pottery of Naqada II, and Kaiser's study of the relative dating of Predynastic pottery suggests that this style was introduced in Egypt during the Naqada IIc period, continuing in use during Naqada IIdi.[10] This vessel, apparently influenced by a motif popular only in Naqada IIc–IIdi, was probably produced at a date only slightly later than that of the Egyptian prototypes, as a result of exposure to Egyptian vessels which were painted with the new, distinctive motif. There is no reason why this should not have been so, and it seems to me likely that if Egyptian pottery *did* influence the decoration of this vessel, it would have done so soon after the introduction of the new style in Egypt, rather than after a long time-lag, as Reisner has suggested.[11] The vessel was probably made, therefore, during the Naqada IIc–IIdi periods, and not during the terminal A-group period, by which time the motif had passed out of use in Egypt. It is possible that such was the case, but the earlier date seems more plausible.

This would appear to imply a long gap between the proposed Naqada IIc–IIdi date (*c.* 3300 BC)[12] for the production of the bowl, and its inclusion in a grave which also contained pottery of the terminal A-group, (*c.* 3000 BC).[13] The most reasonable explanation for this would be that the vessel was an heirloom, a piece of much greater antiquity than the other contents of the grave, which was kept in circulation over a long period of time, and then buried at a date much later than that of its production.

However, H. S. Smith has recently suggested that the currently accepted dating of the A-group may not be accurate, and that the whole period may start at a much earlier date than previously believed.[14] If so, the vessel need not have been an heirloom, but rather a piece which was made during the A-group period as a result of contemporary contact with Egypt. This would also mean that the style of the vessel need not have been due to the continued use in Nubia of a style which

[6] W. M. F. Petrie, *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Slate Palettes* (London, 1921), pls. xxxiii–xxxv.

[7] The plant has been variously identified as an aloe and a banana. For the most recent discussion of the question, see L. Manniche, *An Ancient Egyptian Herbal* (London, 1989), 101.

[8] Bourriau, op. cit. 23.

[9] G. A. Reisner and C. M. Firth, *The Survey of Nubia Report for 1907–8* (Cairo, 1911), 317–22.

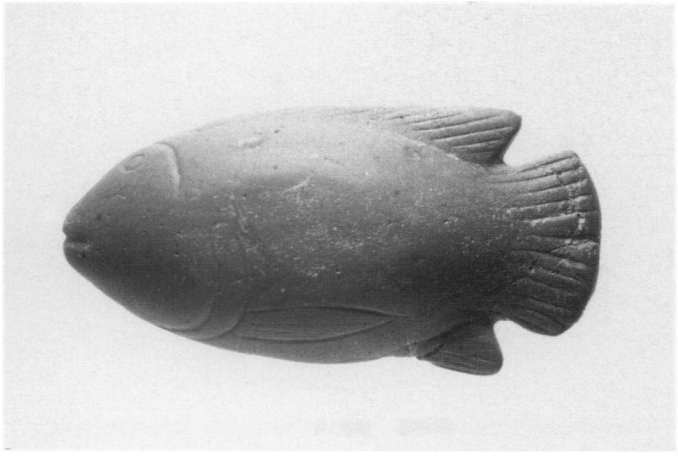
[10] W. Kaiser, *Archaeologia Geographica* 6 (1957), 69–77 and especially pl. 23.

[11] Reisner and Firth, op. cit. 320.

[12] M. A. Hoffman, *Egypt Before the Pharaohs* (New York, 1979), 16.

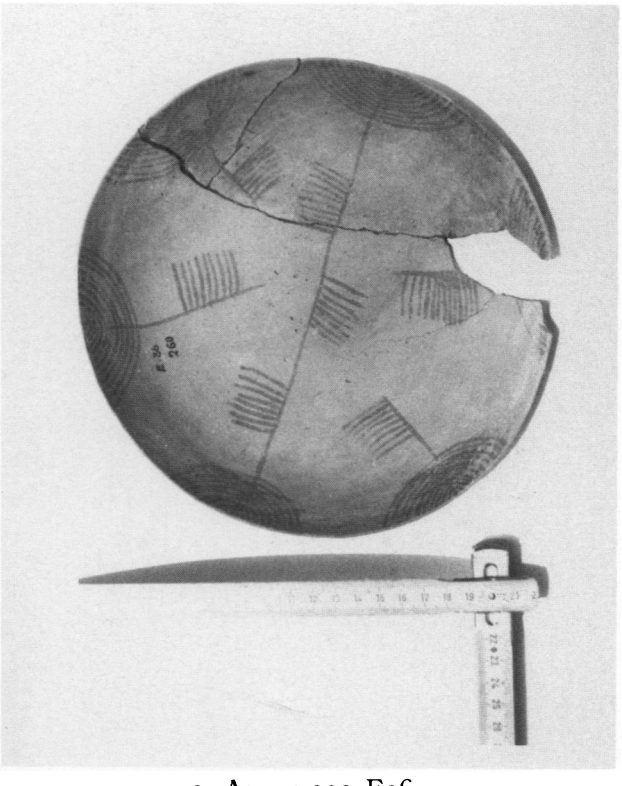
[13] Bourriau, op. cit. 99–100.

[14] Smith has communicated to me a paper on this subject to be published in 1991 under the auspices of the British Museum.



1. Green glass dish in shape of *Tilapia*-fish, Ashmolean 1989.85 (no. **284**)

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1989 (p. 161)

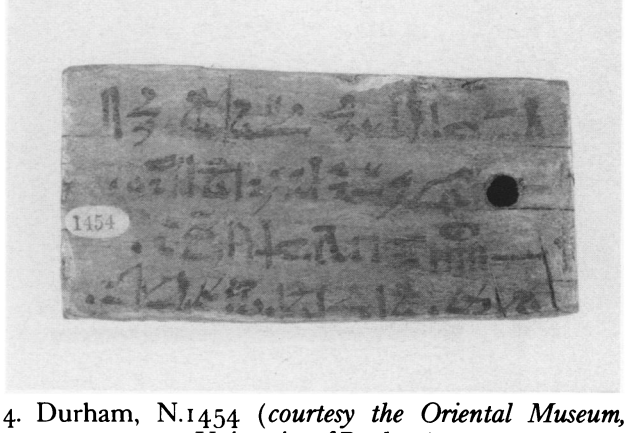


2. Aswan 230, E26

A BOWL IN THE NUBIAN MUSEUM (pp. 165–7)

3. Girton College stela of Amenophis I

A NEW KINGDOM STELA (pp. 169–75)



4. Durham, N.1454 (*courtesy the Oriental Museum, University of Durham*)

A TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY REBURIAL (pp. 180–2)

had long gone out of use in Egypt. Until any new dating of the A-group is accepted, however, the vessel must be seen as an isolated piece, older than the other contents of the grave in which it was found, and made in an eclectic style under the influence of Egyptian pottery of Naqada IIc–IIdi date.

S. A. M. SWAIN

An ushabti of the Viceroy of Kush Amenhotep*

Publication of an ushabti of the little known Eighteenth Dynasty Viceroy of Kush Amenhotep in the Birmingham City Museum.

THE piece which forms the subject of this short note (pl. XVII, 1–4) was formerly in the Wellcome collection and is now in Birmingham City Museum, accession number 1969W1150. Wellcome purchased it at the MacGregor sale and it appears in Sotheby's catalogue[1] as the first item of lot 1366: 'The upper part of a large Ushabti, in red sandstone, with deeply cut inscription'. It is not known how MacGregor acquired it and no details of its original provenance are given. Although several Eighteenth Dynasty viceroys were buried at Western Thebes, to claim such a provenance for this piece would be pure speculation.

It is made from a hard, fine-grained and densely packed red sandstone. The extant height is 18.5 cm and the maximum width, at the shoulders, is 8.6 cm. The lower part has been broken off, probably in antiquity as it is an old break. There is some damage, again probably ancient, to the tip and right side of the nose and two small chips have been knocked out of the wig. There are traces of a slightly glossy black substance (varnish?) on the left-hand side of the face, the forehead, front and back of the wig and over parts of the inscription on the body. The scattered positioning of this suggests that it is unlikely to have been accidentally spilt on the object, and so it has to be assumed that it originally formed an all over coating. It was not uncommon for funerary objects to be coated in black varnish from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards,[2] though this would be an early example. The colour of it, black, served as a magico-religious identification with the body of Osiris.

Iconographically the piece belongs to Schneider's class VA.[3] It is mummiform and without hands, and therefore also without implements and basket. The figure wears a tripartite lappet wig, slightly longer at the front than at the back, but no beard. There is no indication of hair detail nor of the horizontal retaining bands. This form is common in the early New Kingdom and the 'massiveness' of the piece is characteristic of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Although red sandstone is most typical of Nineteenth Dynasty ushabtis,[4] such softer stones were used from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty.

Five horizontal lines of text are preserved around the back, sides and front of the piece:

'The *sḫd*, the King's son (of Kush),[a] Amenhotep, justified[b] he says, "O these ushabtis, if one details the King's son (of Kush) and Overseer of Southern Lands Amenhotep for any of the works which are done[c] in the necropolis, as a man at his duty, then obstacles are implanted for him there, in order to make the fields grow, in order to irrigate the bankside lands,...".'

[a]The two strokes after *nsw* are presumably intended to stand for the egg and a stroke, hence the reading *s-nsw*. The title *imy-r ḫswt rsyt* in line 3 shows that the owner is a Viceroy (King's son) of Kush rather than a true prince of royal blood, as the earliest Overseers of Southern Lands also held the title *s-nsw* (King's son). There is no evidence that these early Viceroys were true royal princes, however, and it seems likely that the

*I am grateful to Dr K. A. Kitchen for comments on an earlier draft of this note.

[1] Sotheby's catalogue for 26-6-1922 and following days.

[2] H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis* (Leiden, 1977), I, 239–40.

[3] Schneider, op. cit. 185–7.

[4] Schneider, op. cit. 234.

FIG. 1.

title was given to indicate their status as royal representatives. From the reign of Tuthmosis IV the title assumed its fuller, better known form *s3-nsw n Kš*.[5]

[b]Although the name *'Imn-ḥtpy* is attested, it is not common, and the name is written simply *'Imn-ḥtp* in line 3. It is possible, therefore, that the two *i*-reeds are a mistake for *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*.

[c]*im*, 'there', is omitted.

The text almost exactly parallels Schneider's version IVC,1[6] except for the omission of *im*—'there', in the work clause (line 3) and minor differences of orthography. It should be noted that the example which Schneider cites for this version belongs to another Viceroy of Nubia, *Wsr-Stt*.[7]

Two known Viceroys of Kush bear the name Amenhotep.[8] One is the well-known Amenhotep called Huy, owner of Theban tomb number 40 and Viceroy during the reign of Tutankhamun. The other is known only from a single graffito at Sehel and probably held office under Tuthmosis IV and in the early years of Amenophis III.[9] The question arises, therefore, of to which of these two this ushabti should be attributed, if indeed either, although at present there are no grounds for invoking a third Viceroy called Amenhotep. There is no firm evidence to decide the issue, although I would suggest assigning it to Tuthmosis IV's Viceroy. The form, size and text of the ushabti are more characteristic of the early and middle Eighteenth Dynasty (although admittedly examples can be cited for all of these features down to the early Nineteenth Dynasty). A very similar piece, though with more detail—striated wig, beard, broad collar—was made for Nehi, Viceroy under Tuthmosis III.[10] The Viceroy *Wsr-Stt*, the text of whose ushabti almost exactly parallels ours, is thought on present evidence to have immediately preceded the earlier Amenhotep in office.[11] The use of the short form of the title *s3-nsw n Kš* would also suggest a date earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty (although again examples could be given of later Viceroys using this form).

PHILIP J. WATSON

[5] See, for example, the discussions in *CAH*[3] II, 1, 299, 348; W. Helck, *LÄ* III, 630.

[6] Schneider, op. cit. 100ff.

[7] This piece was first noted by Chassinat, *BIFAO* 10 (1912), 161. Its present whereabouts is unknown.

[8] See the convenient list in *LÄ* III, 630ff. under nos. 14 and 11 respectively.

[9] G. Reisner, *JEA* 6 (1920), 32, tentatively dated the Sehel graffito to the reign of Amenophis III, after Lepsius. More recently (*LÄ* III, 632 no. 11) attempts have been made to identify this Viceroy with the similarly named owner of a stela in the Ashmolean Museum which also bears the names of Tuthmosis IV.

[10] J.-F. and L. Aubert, *Statuettes égyptiennes; chaouabtis, ouchebtis* (Paris, 1974), figs. 7–8 (Omar-Pacha collection).

[11] *LÄ* III, 632 no. 10.

1.

2.

3.

4.

Birmingham City Museum 1969 W1150 (*Photography by David Bailey, Birmingham Museums*)

AN USHABTI OF THE VICEROY OF KUSH AMENHOTEP (pp. 167–8)

A New Kingdom stela in Girton College showing Amenophis I wearing the *ḫprš*

Publication of an unprovenanced New Kingdom stela dedicated by *Sn-ḥtp*, a scribe of the Southern City, and presented to Girton College, Cambridge in 1896. It shows Amenophis I, who wears the *ḫprš*, offering to Amon-Re. A list of contemporary and posthumous representations of this king wearing the *ḫprš* is included.

In 1896, Girton College, Cambridge received from Miss F. H. Müller a number of artefacts which included a 'carved Egyptian tombstone', recorded as standing in the reception room. Miss Alison Duke has matched this description with the stela shown in pl. XVI, 3 and fig. 1. Unfortunately, no further details were given, and there were no other Egyptian objects in the Müller donation which might have thrown some light on its provenance. There is no mention of this piece in a catalogue of the college's Egyptian collection prepared by Margaret Murray in 1935. The Girton stela, the only one in the college collection, bears no inventory number.[1]

Dimensions (maximum): Height 28.2 cm, width 19.2 cm, depth 6.3 cm (upper face meaures 22.5 cm high, 18 cm wide).

Description: Round-topped, limestone stela carved in shallow raised relief with incised hieroglyphs. The back and sides are roughly hewn, with pinkish tinges in the stone. The lunette contains a winged sun-disc flanked by two uraei, beneath which are the titularies of Amon-Re and Amenophis I. In the upper register the king offers *nw*-pots to the god, who is seated behind an offering table. The lower register contains a single line of inscription naming the owner of this votive stela, for whom Amenophis I acts as an intermediary in the worship of Amon-Re.

The hieroglyphs of the upper register are rather more carefully formed and professionally spaced than those of the lower. Perhaps the stela was the product of a funerary goods workshop, and the owner added his personal inscription at the bottom after choosing the pre-carved stela. An Eighteenth Dynasty stela in the Yale University collection shows a similar difference in the hieroglyphs of the upper and lower registers which is still unexplained.[2]

There are a few signs of damage to the upper face of the stela, around the edges, on the wing above the god's headdress, on the *nomen* cartouche, and on the upper part of the king's left arm. The fine raised relief has been worn down, resulting in the loss of interior modelling on the wings of the sun-disc, the *wꜣs*-sceptre, the god's and king's headgear, facial features, jewellery and clothing, and on the offerings on the table.

The stela bears no traces of paint but there are some darkened patches, notably immediately in front of the god, which may constitute damage, perhaps from smoke. The appearance of the back and sides of the stela suggests that it had been set into a wall or niche of some kind, as was usual for votive stelae.

Upper register

This register, which is framed by an incised line, shows 'the good god, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of ritual, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Djeserkare, the son of Re Amenophis', wearing a *ḫprš*-crown, *wsḫ*-collar, *šndyt*-kilt with triangular front fold, and ceremonial tail, presenting two *nw*-pots to 'Amon-Re, Lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, Lord of Heaven, Chief of all the gods'. The seated god is wearing the double plumed headdress, *wsḫ*-collar, divine beard and a short kilt with a longer over-skirt extending to his ankles. He proffers an *ꜥnḫ* with his right hand, and with his left hand holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre with the *šn*-symbol, *ḏd*-pillar and *ꜥnḫ* extending from it towards

[1] I wish to thank the Mistress and Fellows of Girton College for their kind permission to publish the stela, and in particular Dr D. J. Thompson and Miss A. Duke, Registrar of the Roll Emerita, for affording their time and help. For assistance with the preparation of this article I am very grateful to John Ray, Janine Bourriau, Teresa Moore, Andrew Boyce, James Clackson and all of the people who corresponded with me. Many thanks to Dr B. Adams of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology for allowing me to examine stela UCL 14350.

[2] W. K. Simpson, *BES* 1 (1979), 47–54.

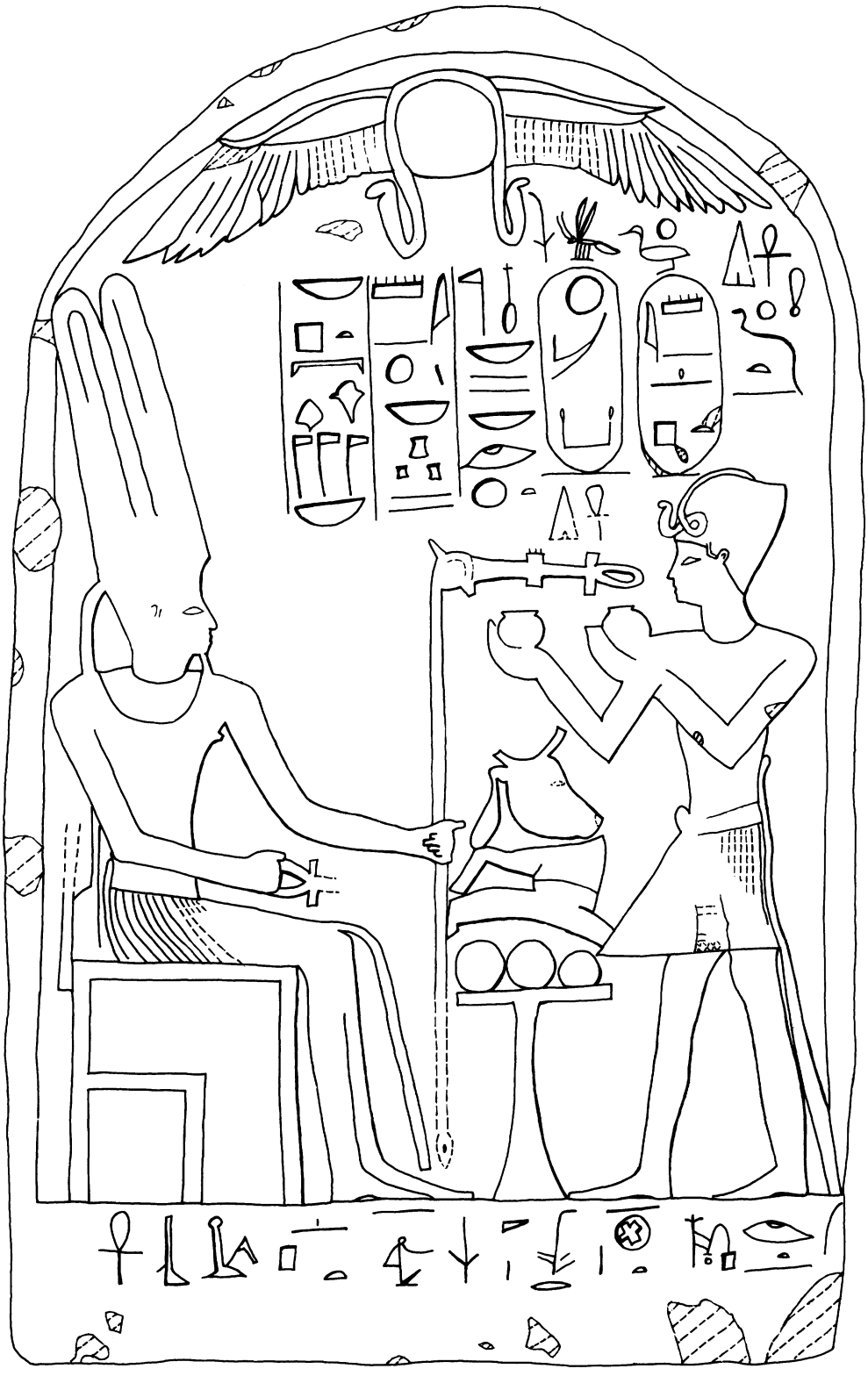


FIG. 1.

the king's nostrils.[3] Between the figures is a table piled high with offerings consisting of the head and foreleg of an ox, a shape which could be a vegetable of the gourd family, or the neck of a bird whose head takes the place of the ox's ear, a shape which perhaps represents a joint of meat, a bunch of onions, and three round loaves.

The *dì ꜥnḫ* below the first cartouche is carved less deeply and appears to have been squeezed in as an afterthought. The *ḏsr*-hieroglyph in the first cartouche appears with two separate arms and a straight stick, not recognisably the *nḥbt*- or *mks*-wand, attached to the uppermost arm. After the Fourth Dynasty the two-armed form is less usual than the one-armed,[4] but it is not sufficiently rare to provide a trustworthy dating criterion. There is, however, a brick from Amenophis I's building at Deir el-Bahari which bears a cartouche with a similar two-armed *ḏsr*.[5]

Lower register

'(Stela) made by the scribe of the Southern City, Senhotpe, repeating life.'

Before there is a vertical line curving to the right at the top; this may represent a mistaken attempt at the hieroglyph which begins the *ḥtp-di-nsw*-formula. Beneath the eye-hieroglyph there is a small nick which could be a *t* added as an afterthought, either *ỉr.n* or *ỉrt.n* being acceptable writings of the dedication. The formula is characteristic of the later period of the Eighteenth, and the whole of the Nineteenth Dynasty but there are specimens of earlier date,[6] and it is customarily positioned at the bottom of the stela. The *wḥm*-hieroglyph appears as a foot (Gardiner D58) with a small oblique line extending downwards from the ankle.

The main problem is the date of the stela. Is it contemporary with the reign of Amenophis I, or is it connected with his posthumous cult? The reigning king is often depicted on votive stelae as a go-between in offering to a deity, but sometimes the deceased Amenophis I appears in this role.[7] Most private stelae depicting this king show him as the focus of offering and worship, sometimes accompanied by his mother, Ahmose-Nofretari, and relate to his posthumous cult, which was especially popular among the workmen from Deir el-Medina.[8] In order to assign a date and provenance to the stela I have examined the following factors: the New Kingdom occurrences of the name and title of the donor; the representation of the living and deceased king wearing the *ḫprš*, and with the epithet *nb ỉr ḥt*; the significance of Amon-Re *ḥry-tp nṯrw nb(w)*; and stylistic parallels in the king's relief portraiture.

There is no record of any other monuments of *Sn-ḥtp sḫ n niwt rsy(t)* in the *Topographical Bibliography* files (personal communication from J. Malek). The entry for the man's name *Sn-ḥtp* in Ranke's *Personennamen* provides three New Kingdom references, although the name is described as being 'mehrfach',[9] all of which date to the Eighteenth Dynasty and are of Theban origin. None of these, however, can be definitely identified with our *Sn-ḥtp*, nor precisely dated, and the same is true for two other New Kingdom occurrences of the name.[10]

The title *sḫ n niwt rsy(t)* is not well attested, despite its existence since the Middle Kingdom.[11]

[3] For the combination of *ꜥnḫ*, *ḏd*, and *wꜣs* see E. Winter, *Untersuchungen zu den ägyptischen Tempelreliefs der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Vienna, 1968), 69–102.

[4] J. K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt. The Term ḎSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I–XX* (Göttingen, 1985), 3.

[5] L*D* v, pl. 4b; F.-J. Schmitz, *Amenophis I* (Hildesheim, 1978), 245, A10.

[6] S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), 114–16, no. 57a.

[7] For examples of the deceased Amenophis I wearing the *ḫprš* in this role, see the list below, items A*4; C*6, *13, *14; D*3.

[8] J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159–203. For examples of the king wearing the *ḫprš* as the object of offering, see all the list items except A*4; C1a, 1b, *2, *6, 7, *12, *13, *14; D*3. See also H. Altenmüller, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 1–7.

[9] H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I (Glückstadt, 1935), 309, 16.

[10] N. de G. Davies and M. F. L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, I (Oxford, 1957), no. 320; A. Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 38–9.

[11] H. W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Leiden, 1958), 244 n. 4.

Two other New Kingdom instances of the title are known to me, one of which can be dated to around the time of Tuthmosis III.[12]

The question of whether *Sn-ḥtp* was alive when he dedicated the stela is left unanswered by the epithet *wḥm ꜥnḫ*. Although, like *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*, it is given to deceased persons in the Eighteenth Dynasty and thereabouts,[13] there are cases where it is applied to the living.[14]

It has been said that depictions of Amenophis I wearing the *ḫprš* are rare,[15] but this is only in comparison with the greater number of those of him with the *ỉbs*-headress.[16] The Girton stela shows the king wearing the *ḫprš* but without the epithets *pꜣ ḥꜣty*[17] or *n pꜣ wbꜣ*, which often accompany him in the cult forms associated with this crown (see lists A and B below).[18] There are provenanced examples of the *ḫprš* without these epithets from Deir el-Medina (list items C*6, 8, *10, 11, *13(?), *16; possibly D*3), and Dra Abu el-Naga (see list items C9, *17) which are connected with the cult of the deceased king.

A representation of the king from the temple of Montu at Karnak shows him in a very similar form of *ḫprš* to that of the stela (list item C*2).[19] Of two reliefs from the king's Alabaster Chapel at Karnak, one shows him wearing an angular form of *ḫprš* (list item C1a),[20] and the other a more rounded form like that of the stela (list item C1b). W. V. Davies has examined the development of the *ḫprš*,[21] and he is of the opinion that the crown depicted on the Girton stela is of the form earlier than that typical of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (personal communication).[22] An early Eighteenth Dynasty stela from Deir el-Bahari shows Nebhepetre Mentuhotpe anachronistically wearing a *ḫprš*,[23] which may indicate the importance of this crown at that time.

The epithets borne by the king may not provide any clues in dating the stela: the deceased and deified Amenophis I often bears epithets which also pertain to the living king, for example *nṯr nfr*, *nb tꜣwy* and *nb ḥꜥw*, along with the phrase *dỉ ꜥnḫ mỉ Rꜥ ḏt* (personal communication from T. Moore). The epithets on this stela are those which have been called 'the four major titles',[24] and it is unfortunate that the significance of neither the *ḫprš* nor the *nb ỉr ḫt* epithet is fully understood. The crown seems to have been worn on many different occasions,[25] although a specific link with the idea of coronation has been identified.[26] The epithet has ceremonial connotations, and can be applied to the living or dead king.[27]

[12] Davies and Macadam, op. cit. no. 64; for the dated example see L. Manniche, *Lost Tombs* (London, 1988), 63, 70.

[13] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3] (Oxford, 1957), 51, §55.

[14] H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten*, II (London, 1933), 109, pls. 23–4; for this term used to distinguish living from deceased persons in the Second Intermediate Period, albeit inconsistently, see H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: the Inscriptions* (London, 1976), Excursus A, 86.

[15] Černý, op. cit. 168; M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin, 1972), 225; M. Gitton, *L'Epouse du dieu Ahmes Néfertary* (Paris, 1975), 85.

[16] K. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Warsaw, 1976), 38.

[17] Formerly read *pꜣ ỉbỉb*, see Schmitz, *GM* 27 (1978), 51–8.

[18] Černý, op. cit. 159–203, esp. 162–76; Helck, *Materialen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz, 1961), 82–6; Schmitz, *GM* 27, 53; Gitton, op. cit. 85 n. 145 (pt. 2).

[19] Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 244, A9; W. V. Davies, *JEA* 68 (1982), 73–4 fig. 15.

[20] W. V. Davies, op. cit. fig. 14.

[21] Id. ib. 69–76.

[22] Personal communication; cf. *JEA* 68, 74 figs. 11, 15.

[23] E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, I (London, 1907), 61, pl. xxvia.

[24] D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-lists, Annals and Day Books: a contribution to the study of the Egyptian sense of history* (Mississauga, 1986), 33 n. 118.

[25] G. Steindorff, *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 60, 73.

[26] W. V. Davies, op. cit. 75–6.

[27] For examples of *nb ỉr ḫt* applied to the living Amenophis I, see: (1) Abydos relief (Schmitz, op. cit. 255, D1); (2) Karnak Alabaster Chapel relief (M. Pillet, *ASAE* 24 (1924), 56–7; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 243, A7); (3) stela of Ahmose from Karnak, Cairo JE 59636 (id. ib. 251, B7); (4) seated statue from Sai island (id. ib. 253, C4). For examples of *nb ỉr ḫt* applied to the deceased king, see: (1) Eighteenth Dynasty stela of Parennufer from Deir el-Medina, BM 1347 (*Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian stelae, etc. in the British Museum*, VI (London, 1922), pl. 36); (2) Ramesside stela from tomb of Arinefer, Deir el-Medina no. 290 (Černý, op. cit. 167, 169, fig. 5); (3) Nineteenth Dynasty wall painting from tomb of Nekhtamun, Deir el-Medina no. 335 (Černý, op. cit. 168, pl. ii); (4) wall painting from the tomb of Amenmose (see list item C*17).

The epithet *ḥry-tp nṯrw nb(w)*,[28] which Amon-Re bears on this stela, has been found at Karnak, although there the god is represented in ithyphallic form.[29] Amon-Re Kamutef is also described by this epithet in a relief from the Alabaster Shrine of Amenophis II at Karnak,[30] and he and Amenophis I are juxtaposed, along with Amun, Amon-Re, the Ennead, Ramesses II and fourteen ancestors, in the Daily Liturgy of Amenophis I from the time of Ramesses II.[31]

During the reign of Amenophis I Amon-Re became the most important god in the Egyptian pantheon,[32] which would suggest that this king placed special emphasis on his worship. *Mn-st*, Amenophis I's temple on the edge of the cultivation in western Thebes, combined the king's *ḥb-sd*-hall with a chapel for his mother, Ahmose-Nofretari, and served the cult of Amun.[33] At Karnak, Amenophis I commemorated his special relationship with the all-powerful god (and ironically, helped later kings, who reused his monuments in their building work, to do so).[34] A stela from Sai island (list item C*12), which shows the king before Amon-Re, is associated with the king's foundation of a temple to that god on the island. This stela, however, bears no inscription of a private dedicator such as *Sn-ḥtp*.

Before attempting to date the stela stylistically, it must be remembered that many different styles existed simultaneously in the relief portraiture of Amenophis I.[35] The small scale of the piece, despite the fineness of the carving, must also be taken into account when comparing it with larger reliefs.

The closest stylistic parallel for the king's profile is a relief carved on a block which was reused by Amenophis III in the temple of Montu at Karnak, and has been mentioned above (list item C*2). This block has been dated to the reign of Amenophis I because of its proximity to blocks which resemble fragments of his Alabaster Chapel.[36] F.-J. Schmitz associates it with a relief from this chapel, also mentioned above (list item C1b), which provides another stylistic parallel.[37] He believes that H.-W. Müller's description of the physiognomy of the chapel relief, with its gently curving, delicate nose, slanting eye, and small, high-positioned ear,[38] fits the portraiture of Amenophis I.[39] It is impossible to say whether a faithful portrait of a king automatically dates to his reign rather than to some time after his death. Obviously, inaccuracies would be more likely in posthumous portrayals.[40]

The combination of raised relief and inscribed hieroglyphs on this stela might suggest a date in the early Eighteenth Dynasty,[41] and the semi-cursive form of the seated-man hieroglyph (Gardiner A1) in the lower register is known from the early New Kingdom.[42]

A stela in the Petrie Collection (UCL 14350) shows an almost direct parallel in format to the Girton stela, although the king involved is Tuthmosis III,[43] and it is dated to his reign. There are also some stylistic similarities between this and the Girton stela, for example, the fineness of the relief and the comparatively crude carving of the inscription. However, it would be difficult to assess the significance of this parallel without first examining a large number of stelae at first hand.

It seems best to assign to the Girton stela a date in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, possibly contemporary with Amenophis I, chiefly because of the stylistic parallels from the temple of

[28] E. Otto, *LÄ* I, 243; K. Sethe, *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (Berlin, 1929), §§11, 29, 172.
[29] H. H. Nelson, *JNES* 8 (1949), pl. xxii.
[30] C. C. van Siclen III, *The Alabaster Shrine of King Amenhotep II* (San Antonio, Texas, 1986), 18 scene 2, pl. 32.
[31] Redford, op. cit. 37 n. 134.
[32] Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 238–9.
[33] Id. ib. 105–14, 245, A11.
[34] Id. ib. 71–92, 241–4, A2–A9.
[35] Myśliwiec, op. cit. 140.
[36] A. Varille, *Karnak*, 1 (Cairo, 1943), 16.
[37] Schmitz, op. cit. 91, 147.
[38] H.-W. Müller, *Ägyptische Kunst* (Frankfurt, 1970), xxxi, no. 91, pl. 91.
[39] Schmitz, op. cit. 91.
[40] Myśliwiec, op. cit. 38.
[41] H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, Pt 1: *The New Kingdom* (Warminster, 1976), x.
[42] H. G. Fischer, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 43–4.
[43] Stewart, op. cit. 49, pl. 39.2.

Montu and the Alabaster Chapel, and the shape of the *ḫprš* worn by the king. If the stela were contemporaneous with the king, it would be a welcome addition to the corpus of the stelae of this date, which number only nine, according to Schmitz.[44] A date later in the Eighteenth Dynasty cannot be excluded, in which case the stela would provide important evidence for the pre-Ramesside cult of this deceased king.

A Theban provenance seems likely given the title of the owner, the importance of Amenophis I in that area, and the presence of the Theban god *par excellence*, Amon-Re. As a more specific place of origin, Karnak is suggested by Amon-Re's epithet *ḥry-tp nṯrw nb(w)*, but, in Western Thebes, Dra Abu el-Naga, Deir el-Bahari, Deir el-Medina, and other sites associated with the deceased or living king,[45] should also be considered.

Appendix: List of portrayals of Amenophis I wearing the ḫprš:

The following data are based primarily on the stelae listed in K. Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal dans le bas relief du Nouvel Empire*, 27–30, with the addition of some tomb paintings and a sculptor's model(?). Unless otherwise indicated, dates have been taken from that source, and scenes represent the king as the object of worship. Material from other sources is marked with an asterisk. I have also used the *Denkmälerliste* from Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 240–62, and the list in Černý, *BIFAO* 27, 198–203. References indicate where photographs or drawings of the stelae etc. are to be found (except for C*5).

I have not followed up some of Myśliwiec's tomb references for Dra Abu el-Naga,[46] Qurna (nos. 44, 113, 134), and el-Khokha (nos. 178, 296), although T. Moore informs me that these last two sites do have posthumous depictions of the king wearing the *ḫprš* (personal communication).

A: with p3 ḥ3ty epithet:

(*1) Stela of Ken, BM 815. PM I², 723.[47] Provenance: Deir el-Medina. Date: Ramesses II.

(2) Stela of Huy, UCL 14212.[48] Provenance: temple of Nebwenef, Dra Abu el-Naga. Date: Nineteenth Dynasty.[49]

(3) Painting from tomb of Khabekhnet, Deir el-Medina no. 2B.[50] Date: Ramesses II.[51]

(*4) Wood ex-voto from Deir el-Medina.[52] King offers *nw*-pots to Mut and Khonsu.

(*5) Painted coffin of Bekenmut, Cleveland Museum of Art no. 14.561.[53] Provenance: Thebes. Date: Twenty-second Dynasty.

B: with n p3 wb3 epithet:

(*1) Painting from tomb of Amenmose, Dra Abu el-Naga no. 19.[54] Date: Sety I.[55]

(2) Painting from tomb of Panehsy, Dra Abu el-Naga no. 16.[56] Date: Ramesses II.

C: without p3 ḥ3ty or n p3 wb3 epithet:

(1a) Relief from Alabaster Chapel of Amenophis I, Karnak.[57] King with god. Date: Amenophis I.

(1b) Relief from Alabaster Chapel of Amenophis I, Karnak.[58] King offers to Amon-Re. Date: Amenophis I.

(*2) Relief fragment from block reused by Amenophis III, temple of Montu, Karnak.[59] King offers *nw*-pots. Date: Amenophis I.

[44] Schmitz, op. cit. 249–51, B1–B9.

[45] Id. ib. 93–118, 205–32.

[46] Namely, TT 14, 153, 377. According to T. Moore, TT 141, 149, 284, 285, 300, 302, 306, 344 and 375 are lost, buried, damaged, or have no representations of Amenophis I wearing the *ḫprš* in them.

[47] *HTBM* VI, pl. 31.

[48] Myśliwiec, op. cit. fig. 28; Stewart, op. cit., pl. 38.2.

[49] Stewart, op. cit. 47.

[50] Myśliwiec, op. cit. fig. 33.

[51] Redford, op. cit. 48.

[52] B. Bruyère, *Rapport des fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1929)* (Cairo, 1930), 52, no. 4, fig. 21.

[53] Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1988), 1, no. 5, pl. i.

[54] G. Foucart, *Le tombeau d'Amonmos* (Cairo, 1935), pl. vi.

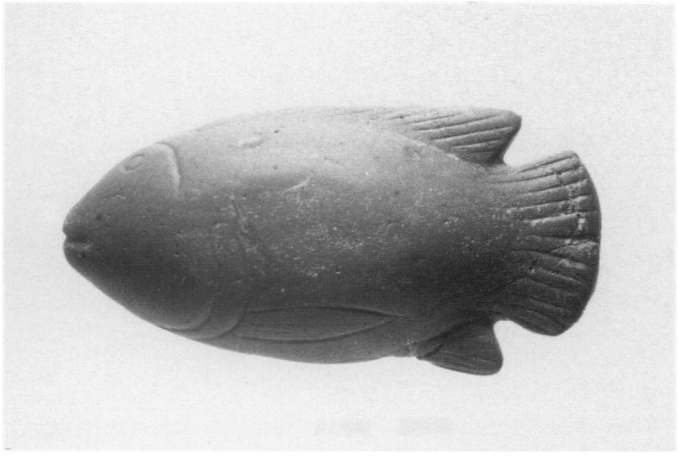
[55] Redford, op. cit. 46.

[56] M. Baud and E. Drioton, *Le tombeau de Panehsy* (Cairo, 1932), 26–7, fig. 12.

[57] Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, fig. 21.

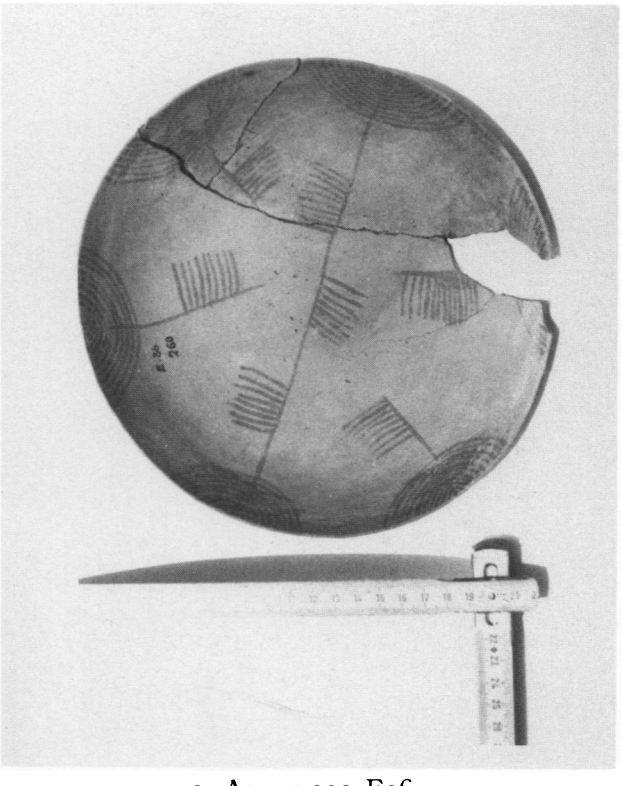
[58] Müller, loc. cit.

[59] Varille, op. cit., pls. xlic, xliii.



1. Green glass dish in shape of *Tilapia*-fish, Ashmolean 1989.85 (no. **284**)

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1989 (p. 161)

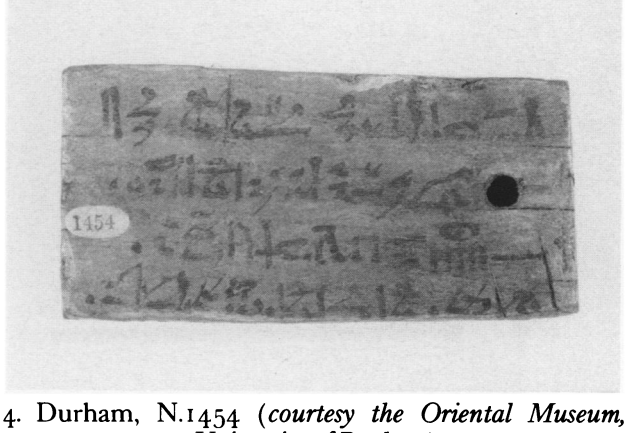


2. Aswan 230, E26

A BOWL IN THE NUBIAN MUSEUM (pp. 165–7)

3. Girton College stela of Amenophis I

A NEW KINGDOM STELA (pp. 169–75)



4. Durham, N.1454 (*courtesy the Oriental Museum, University of Durham*)

A TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY REBURIAL (pp. 180–2)

(*3) Stela of Nebsu, Cairo CG 34029.[60] Provenance: Karnak. Date: Twentieth Dynasty.[61]
(4) Stela, Cairo CG 34034.[62] Provenance: Karnak. Date: Tuthmosis III.[63]
(*5) Stela fragment, Cairo CG 34036.[64]
(*6) Stela fragment, Cairo JE 43694.[65] King offers *nw*-pots to Osiris. Provenance: Deir el-Medina.
(7) Sculptor's model (?), Cairo JE 67906.[66] Head of king only. Provenance: Thebes (?). Date: Hatshepsut.
(8) Stela of Nebnefer, Copenhagen Nat. Mus. B4 (AA, d, 9).[67] Provenance: Deir el-Medina. Date: Horemheb—Ramesses II.
(9) Stela, UCL 14211.[68] Provenance: temple of Nebwenef, Dra Abu el-Naga. Date: Eighteenth Dynasty (?).[69]
(*10) Stela of Nekhtatum, Turin 1454 bis.[70] Provenance: Deir el-Medina. Date: Nineteenth Dynasty.
(11) Stela of Huy, Turin 1453.[71] Provenance: Deir el-Medina. Date: Nineteenth Dynasty.
(*12) Stela from Sai island.[72] King before Amon-Re. Date: Amenophis I.
(*13) Stela of *'Iw.f-n-'Imn* in private collection.[73] King, followed by owner, offers incense to Min of Koptos. Provenance: Thebes, probably Deir el-Medina. Date: Ramesses II.
(*14) Stela of Nebamon (?), Brooklyn Museum 37.1485 E.[74] King offers *nw*-pots to Osiris. Provenance: Thebes (?). Date: late Eighteenth Dynasty.
(*15) Outer coffin of Amenemope, son of Imiseba, MMA no. 17.2.7.A1–2.[75] Provenance: Thebes. Date: early Twenty-second Dynasty.[76]
(*16) Middle coffin of Amenemope, son of Hor, Louvre E.3864.[77] Deir el-Medina. Date: early Twenty-second Dynasty.[78]
(*17) Painting from tomb of Amenmose, Dra Abu el-Naga no. 19.[79] Date: Sety I.[80]

D: epithet uncertain
(1) Stela of Penre, Chicago Oriental Institute 10494.[81] Provenance: Thebes. Date: Ramesses II.
(2) Painting from tomb of Nebamon, el-Khokha no. 181.[82] Date: Amenophis III—Akhenaten.
(*3) Stela fragment from Deir el-Medina.[83] King offers *nw*-pots to an unidentifiable god. Date: Ramesside.

SARAH QUINN

[60] P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo, 1909), pl. xxii.
[61] PM II², 294.
[62] Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, fig. 29; Lacau, op. cit., pl. xxiii.
[63] Twentieth Dynasty in PM II², 77; Ramesside in Redford, op. cit. 50.
[64] Lacau, op. cit. 70.
[65] Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935–40)*, fasc. 2 (Cairo, 1952), 13, fig. 85.
[66] Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, fig. 19.
[67] M. Mogensen, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques* (Copenhagen, 1918), 30–1, pl. xiv, fig. 18.
[68] Myśliwiec, *Le Portrait royal*, fig. 20.
[69] Stewart, op. cit. 47, pl. 38.1.
[70] Tosi and Roccati, op. cit. 83–4, 231, no. 50049.
[71] Id. ib. 61–2, 272, no. 50029.
[72] J. Vercoutter, *CRIPEL* 1 (1973), 27, pl. x (S.62); id. *Kush* 4 (1956), 77, no. 20.
[73] Altenmüller, op. cit. 1–7.
[74] *LD* v, pl. 4e; T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum*, 113–14, no. 255, pl. lxvi.
[75] Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 1, no. 1, pl. iva.
[76] A. Niwinski, *Twenty-first Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies* (Mainz, 1988), 159, no. 306.
[77] Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture*, 1, no. 2; C. Boreux, *Musée National du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes, guide-catalogue sommaire*, II (Paris, 1932), 302–3, pl. xli.
[78] Niwinski, op. cit. 152 no. 262.
[79] Foucart, op. cit., pl. xxviii.
[80] Redford, op. cit. 46.
[81] C. Nims, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 146–9, pl. 9.
[82] N. de G. Davies, *The Tomb of Two Sculptors* (New York, 1925), pls. ix–x.
[83] Bruyére, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1948–51)* (Cairo, 1953), 42 no. 21, pl. 12.2.

A stela of the draughtsman Pashed I of Deir el-Medina

Publication of a stela of the draughtsman Pashed I of Deir el-Medina, of the reign of Sethos I, formerly in the United Services Museum in London. Discussion of the other draughtsmen of this name.

CRAFTSMEN and artists of Deir el-Medina are a notable exception to the anonymity which usually enshrouds the builders and decorators of Egyptian tombs. The names of many draughtsmen (*sš-qdwt*) are known and the authorship of some of their tomb-paintings can be established.[1] The most comprehensive list so far has been compiled by E. S. Bogoslovsky,[2] but a good deal of uncertainty about details, particularly genealogical matters and dating, still remains.[3]

A small collection of Egyptian monuments which used to be in the United Services Museum in London probably consisted of items donated by servicemen during the first half of the last century. Even before the opening of the Canal in 1869, it was common to travel to and from India via Suez and the Red Sea route, and to spend some time in Egypt where such antiquities could be acquired. The Egyptian collection of the United Services Museum was dispersed around 1860 and some of the pieces, including the monument published here,[4] have disappeared without trace. Fortunately, the English antiquarian John Williams[5] made rubbings of several of the *pierres errantes* in the Museum between 1830 and 1840, and these are now in the Griffith Institute.

The stela[6] recorded on rubbing iv.62[upper] is described as 'Tablet from Thebes presented by Captn. J. Webber-Smith 48th Reg.' It measures some 25 × 37 cm (width:height).

Description and texts:

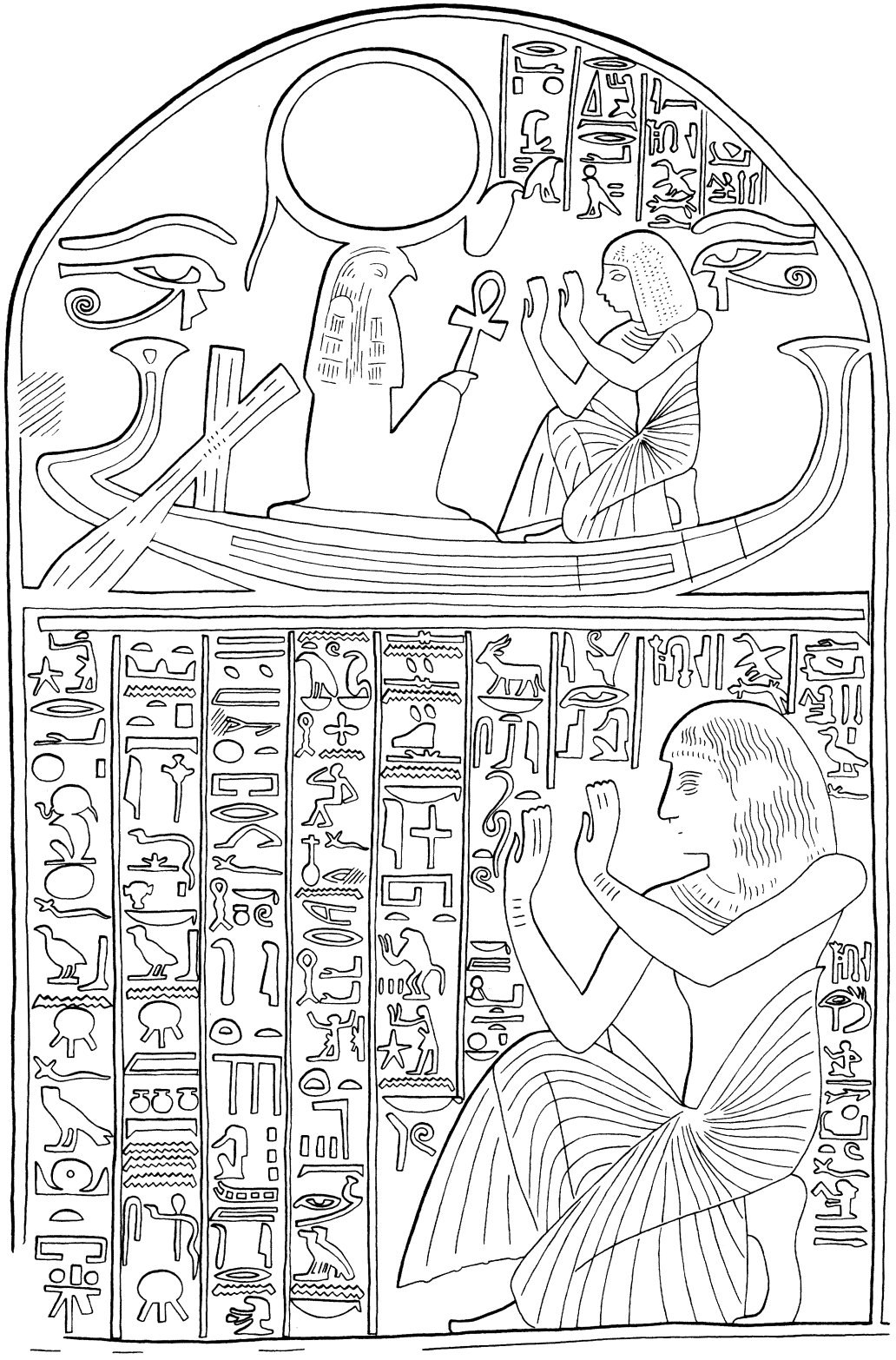
The lunette:

a barque with a man kneeling in adoration in front of the hawk-headed Re-Harakhty, with two *wḏȝt*-eyes and text above;
1. *rdj⟨t⟩ jȝw n Rʿw-Ḥrw-ȝḫtj* 2. *jn sš-qdwt Pȝ-šdw* 3. *mȝʿ-ḫrw* 4. *Rʿw-Ḥrw-ȝḫtj*
1. 'Adoring Re-Harakhty 2. by the draughtsman Pashed, 3. justified.' 4. 'Re-Harakhty.'

The main field below:

a man kneeling in adoration, surrounded by columns of text;
5. *dwȝ Rʿw ḥf⟨t⟩ wbn.f m ȝḫt jȝb-* 6. *tt nt pt:*
jnḏ-ḥr.k wbn m nnw
sḥḏ 7. *tȝwj m-ḫt pr.f*
ḥkntj psḏt tmm.tj
rn- 8. *n tw nbtj*
ḥwn nfr n⟨j⟩ mr⟨w⟩t
ḥʿpsḏt n mȝ⟨ȝ⟩n.k
9. *snsn n.k jmjw-htt*
dwȝ n.k ʿwt 10. *nbt*
sbjt ḫrw(?) ⟨n.⟩k
m ḫrt-hrw nt rʿw nb
11. *jn Wsjr* 12. *sš-qdwt* 13. *Pȝ-šdw* 14. *mȝʿ-ḫrw*
sȝ.f sš-qdwt Mȝȝ.n.j-nḫtw.f mȝʿ-ḫrw

[1] K.(sic) Keller, *ARCE Newletter* 115 (1981), 7–21 and, in anticipation, her forthcoming monograph.
[2] *Drevneegipetskie mastera po materialam iz Der el'-Medina* (Moscow, 1983), 9–38; id. *ZÄS* 107 (1980), 89–116.
[3] See e.g. C. A. Keller, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 119–29.
[4] The line-drawing which accompanies this communication was prepared by Mrs M. E. Cox, and I am very grateful for her help.
[5] R. Moss, *JEA* 27 (1941), 7–11; W. R. Dawson and E. Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*[2] (London, 1972), 308.
[6] PM I[2], 733 [top]. It is mentioned by Moss, op. cit. 10, and J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 1973), 192 n.6, but his remark concerning the title is to be disregarded. Černý's copy of the stela, made from Williams's rubbing, is in his Notebook 49, p. 75.



Stela of Pashed I. Drawing by Mrs M. E. Cox, based on Williams's rubbing iv.62 [upper]. Courtesy of the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

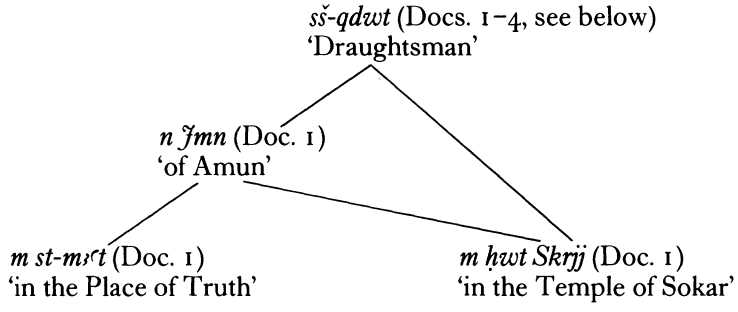
5. 'Worshipping Re when he rises on the eastern horizon 6. of the sky:
Greetings to you who rise from Nun
and illuminate 7. the Two Lands on coming out!
The ennead in its entirety acclaims you,
8. the Two Ladies nurse you,
beautiful beloved child,
at whose sight the ennead rejoices.
9. The baboons are friendly towards you,
10. all the small cattle worship you,
the foes are fallen[7] ⟨for⟩ you
in the course of every day.
11. By the Osiris, 12. draughtsman 13. Pashed, 14. justified,
(and) his son, the draughtsman Maaninakhtuf, justified.'

The text is a short version of the hymn to the rising sun, classified as Type E by J. Assmann.[8] The first eight of the standard verses are present, but only a severely curtailed rump remains of the rest. The phrase *sbjt ḫrw*(?) ⟨*n.*⟩*k m ḫrt-hrw nt rʿw nb* may, in fact, be borrowed from Type A of such hymns. The composition is characteristic of the Ramessid Period in Thebes, particularly at Deir el-Medina.

It seems that three or four draughtsmen called Pashed (*Pȝ-šdw*)[9] worked at Deir el-Medina during the Ramessid period.[10] The distribution of the existing monuments among these men still presents a few problems. The stela discussed here belongs to the man who, with Bogoslovsky, is called Pashed I here. He is the owner of tomb no. 323 at Thebes.

Pashed I.

(a) Titles:



(b) Dating:

A fragmentary stela[11] with Sethos I and Pashed I before Osiris was found in his tomb. A scene showing an act of offering by proxy need not always imply contemporaneity, but there is nothing in the stela's iconography or its text to contradict the view that Pashed I lived during the reign of

[7] This assumes that the text is corrupt here (with *ḫ* left out or subsumed in the serpent-sign of *sbjt* and *t* written in error for *r*), but I have no better suggestion to offer.

[8] *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), xxvii–xxviii.

[9] The chronological range of the name *Pȝ-šdw* was considered by D. P. Silverman in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes* (Chicago, 1976), 202, who concluded that 'this name occurs *primarily* (italics J.M.) during the Ramesside period' and 'is post-Eighteenth Dynasty'. The earliest known instance of the name, however, seems to be on stela 1907 in Bologna (E. Bresciani, *Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Bologna, 1985), no. 21). The iconography and the presence of the title *ḫrdw n kp* (I summarized other scholars' views in *JEA* 75 (1989), 68–9 n. 18) suggest that this Memphite stela dates to the reign of Amenophis III.

[10] Bogoslovsky, *Drevneegipetskie mastera*, 22–4 [44–6]; id. *ZÄS* 107, 99–100.

[11] B. Bruyère, *Rapport ... Deir el Médineh 1923–1924* (Cairo, 1925), 86–7 fig. 15; *KRI* I, 394 [2].

Sethos I and thus must have been involved in the decoration of his master's splendid tomb in the Valley of the Kings.[12] This dating cannot be further improved at present.

(c) Family:

Pashed I was the son[13] of Amenemhet (*Jmn-m-ḥꜣt*), *sš-qdwt m ḥwt Skrjj*, and lady (*nbt pr*) Mutnofre (*Mwt-nfrt*). His wife, lady Nefertere (*Nfrt-jrj*), was a songstress of Amun (*šmʿjt n⟨t⟩ Jmn*). His son Maaninakhtuf (*Mꜣꜥ.n.j-nḫtw.f*) was also a draughtsman; another son, Irunufer (*Jrw-nfr*), displays no title.

(d) Documentation:

Doc. 1. Theban tomb 323 with fragmentary stelae.[14]
Doc. 2. The jamb-fragment with the name of his wife Nefertere may suggest that Pashed I was the owner of house N.O.XV in the village of Deir el-Medina.[15]
The references to his son Maaninakhtuf identify Pashed I on the following two documents:
Doc. 3. Offering-table in Turin, Museo Egizio, CGT 22025.[16]
Doc. 4. The stela published here.

(e) Other monuments:

It is less likely that it is Pashed I who is shown on a stela of Neferabu, BM 150 + 1754.[17] Another man represented on the stela is one of the two known draughtsmen called *Pꜣjj*. The older is dated to the first third of the reign of Ramesses II or even earlier,[18] but his grandson also had the same name and title, similarly to Pashed I and his grandson Pashed II.

Bogoslovsky,[19] Kitchen,[20] and PM I², 740 list relief[21] BM 261 as a monument of Pashed I. The end of the son's name, ...  , is, however, difficult to reconcile with those of the sons of Pashed I,[22] and the title *sš-qdwt n nb tꜣwj m st-mꜣʿt* does not occur on any of the monuments of Pashed I.

The stela in Hanover, Kestner-Museum, 2937,[23] listed by Bogoslovsky with the monuments of Pashed I, in fact mentions Pashed II.

Other bearers of the same name and title.
Pashed II[24] was the son of *Mꜣꜥ.n.j-nḫtw.f* and *Tꜣ-nt-jmntt*, and grandson of Pashed I. He is mentioned in the tomb of his grandfather (TT 323), on the stela of his father in Hanover (no. 2937,

[12] A leading role in this project was assigned by Bogoslovsky, *ZÄS* 107, 95, to his Pashed II = Pashed IV of my numbering.

[13] *Pace* Bogoslovsky, *Drevneegipetskie mastera*, 22–3 and *ZÄS* 107, 94, who makes Pashed I a grandson of Amenemhet and son of Maaninakhtuf.

[14] Bruyère, op. cit. 80–90 with pls.; K*RI* I, 392–4 [1] and stela, 394 [2]; PM I², 394–5.

[15] Bruyère, *Rapport ... Deir el Médineh 1934–1935*, III (Cairo, 1939), 43, 291; K*RI* I, 395 [4]. It is possible that the jamb of a naos with the representation of a woman *Nfrt*[*-jrjj*] and the jamb-fragment of a *Pꜣ-šdw* (no title), found in house S.E.IX, may also belong to this couple, Bruyère, op. cit. 277 [13, 14] pl. xviii [1, 22]. For all, see PM I², 702.

[16] L. Habachi, *Tavole d'offerta* (Turin, 1977), 29–30, fig. on 133; K*RI* III, 650 [1]; PM I², 744.

[17] *HTBM* IX, 34–5, pl. xxx; K*RI* III, 774–6 [11]; PM I², 14.

[18] Malek, *RdE* 31 (1979), 154–6.

[19] *Drevneegipetskie mastera*, 22 n. 157; id. *ZÄS* 107, 99.

[20] K*RI* I, 395 [6].

[21] *HTBM* IX, 41–2, pl. xxxvi.

[22] Already pointed out by T. G. H. James in *HTBM* IX, 41.

[23] M. Cramer, *ZÄS* 72 (1936), 95–6, pl. vii [4]; K*RI* III, 650–1 [2]; PM I², 725.

[24] A few comments on the various genealogical reconstructions are required. Pashed of TT 5 (Neferabu) is Bogoslovsky's draughtsman III of this name, but my numbering follows M. C. Budischovsky and N. Genaille, *Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest (Anjou, Maine, Touraine)* 93 [no. 1] (1986), 11 and n. 62e. Bruyère's reconstruction of the family genealogy in *Rapport ... Deir el Médineh 1923–1924*, 85, places my Pashed II a generation later and makes him a grandson of Maaninakhtuf. Bogoslovsky's Pashed II is the owner of stela Leningrad 8726 (my Pashed IV).

see above) and, without any title, on another in Louvre, C 315 = E.13989, found in chapel 1190 at Deir el-Medina.[25] He is probably also shown in the tomb of Neferabu (TT 5)[26] and on stela BM 150 + 1754 (see above). His *floruit* seems to have been the latter half of the reign of Ramesses II.

Pashed III[27] is known from stela Berlin 24029 = Hilton Price 2006.[28] He was the son of *Mrjj-Sḫmt* and *Nfrw*, and thus perhaps a great-grandson of Pashed I.[29] Pashed III probably lived at the end of the reign of Ramesses II and under his successor(s).[30]

Pashed IV[31] is shown on stela Leningrad 8726.[32] He was the only *ḥrj sšw-qdwt*, 'senior draughtsman,' among the men of his name. The Leningrad stela is of crucial importance. The name and title of Pashed IV are clear, as are the name and title *sš-qdwt* of his son *Jmn-ms*. Two different restorations of the almost completely lost name of Pashed's wife have been proposed:

(a) Bogoslovsky, the author of the most detailed discussion of the monument, restores the name as *Mḥjj*. The results of this are that the names of the son and wife of the *senior draughtsman* Pashed IV are the same as those of the son and wife of the *workman* (*sḏm-ʿš m st-mɔʿt*) Pashed II[33] of TT 292. Bogoslovsky suggests that the two Pasheds are, in fact, the same person and proceeds to date the *senior draughtsman* Pashed IV[34] to the reign of Sethos I by O.DM 108 *recto*[35] which mentions the *workman* (normally *sḏm-ʿš m st-mɔʿt*, here *wʿw n jst*) Pashed II.[36] This, however, is rather difficult to accept. As far as I can see, the son of the *workman* Pashed II is never attested with the title *sš-qdwt*, and the names *Pɔ-šdw* and *Jmn-ms* were fairly common at Deir el-Medina. Even if the restoration of the wife's name were justified (Bogoslovsky's reading cannot be verified on the published photograph), all this may be a mere coincidence.

(b) Kitchen[37] restores the name of Pashed's wife as *Nfrt-jrj*, but without the benefit of personal examination of the stela. The consequence of this is assimilation of Pashed IV with Pashed I, who then acquires the title *ḥrj sšw-qdwt* as well as another son, *Jmn-ms*. Disturbingly, neither the title nor the son are mentioned in TT 323.

It therefore seems best to suspend judgement concerning the identity of Pashed IV until further evidence comes to light.

There remains a number of monuments which cannot be associated with certainty with any particular Pashed.[38]

JAROMIR MALEK

A Twenty-first Dynasty private reburial at Thebes

The publication of a hieratic label in Durham, which deals with the early Twenty-first Dynasty reburial of a private person and mentions an embalmer named Neferrenpet, who appears to have been involved with a number of the reburial commissions of the period.

[25] Bruyère, *Rapport ... Deir el Médineh 1929* (Cairo, 1930), 39–40 [1], 53 [8], pl. ix; PM I², 689.

[26] Černý, Bruyère and J. J. Clère, *Répertoire onomastique de Deir el-Médineh* (Cairo, 1949), 52; K*RI* III, 767.

[27] Bogoslovsky's Pashed IV.

[28] K*RI* IV, 439–40 [1]; PM I², 725.

[29] Thus Budischovsky and Genaille.

[30] Bogoslovsky, *Drevneegipetskie mastera*, 24 [46]; id. *ZÄS* 107, 100.

[31] Bogoslovsky's Pashed II.

[32] Bogoslovsky, *VDI* 1972, 1 = 119, 96–103; PM I², 732–3.

[33] For the numbering system for *workmen* called *Pɔ-šdw*, see e.g. M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt* (Warminster, 1975), 24–5.

[34] I.e. his Pashed II.

[35] Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh* (Cairo, 1935), 28, pls. 60, 60A.

[36] *Drevneegipetskie mastera*, 23; id. *ZÄS* 107, 99.

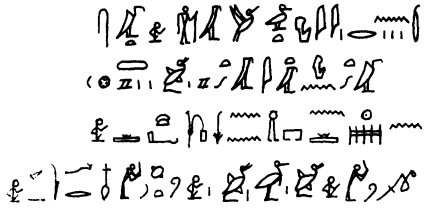
[37] K*RI* I, 394–5 [3].

[38] These include e.g. the jamb-fragment in Turin CGT 50226 (M. Tosi and A. Roccati, *Stele e altre epigrafi di Deir el Medina* (Turin, 1972), 192–3 fig. on 346; K*RI* I, 395 [5]) and an offering-basin fragment and a graffito listed by Kitchen (395 [7a,b]).

HITHERTO, our detailed knowledge of the activities of the necropolis officials of Twenty-first Dynasty Western Thebes amongst the desecrated dead of earlier epochs has essentially been confined to their work on royalty.[1] Incidental exceptions are the few private individuals who found their way into TT 320, but these apparently lack any textual information on their movement there.

However, in Durham University's Oriental Museum is a wooden label (N.1454) that seems to relate to the reinterment of a private individual in that dynasty (pl. XVI, 4).[2] Until 1950, it formed part of the collection of the fourth Duke of Northumberland.[3] It is not known how or when the item was obtained, but the then-Lord Prudhoe acquired pieces during his travels in Egypt in the 1820s and at sales such as those of Henry Salt's third collection in 1835 and James Burton's in 1836.[4]

Originally published by Samuel Birch in 1880,[5] the label is 10.5 cm × 5.2 cm, and pierced at one end. It bears the following text in hieratic:[6]



Tinry[a] *sꜣt Pꜣ-sr mwt.s*

Mwt n Tꜣ-ỉst-ṯꜣỉ[b]

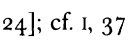
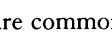
n Pr-Ṯḥn- 'Itn[c] *in.n sš-nsw Ḥꜥ*

rwḏw Ṯꜣbꜣṯꜣ[d] *wt Nfr-rnpt*

Tinry, daughter of Paser, whose mother is Mut of *Tꜣ-ỉst-ṯꜣỉ* of the House 'Aten Gleams'. The royal scribe Kha brought (with him) the controller Tjabatja and the embalmer Neferrenpet.

Notes

[a] *PN* I, 381 [18, 24]; cf. I, 372 [9]; the names of her parents are common and cannot be equated with any known homonyms.

[b] Cf. Gauthier, *DG* I, 35:  , apparently near Ahnas (list of Shoshenq I) and  , an appellation of Esna in the geographical list of Ptolemy VI.

[c] This place also appears on a number of the canopic fragments allegedly from the Biban el-Harim;[7] it has been discussed by N. B. Millet, who argues that it is an abbreviation of *Pr Nb-mꜣꜥt-Rꜥ ṯḥn- 'Itn*, the palace complex built by Amenophis III at Malqata.[8]

[d] Not in *PN*; probably foreign from its general form.

The script may be attributed to the Twenty-first Dynasty, showing many similarities to that of the royal reburial dockets.[9] However, the woman mentioned in the text is clearly of much earlier date, particularly from the mention of the installation of *Ṯḥn-'Itn*: whether or not it refers to the Malqata building, the mention of Akhenaten's god narrows her date to the later Eighteenth Dynasty.

The only close parallels to this label are those from the cache of princesses found by Rhind and now in Edinburgh;[10] the Durham piece differs in having its text written along its length, rather than

[1] In addition to the TT 320 and KV 35 caches, one may also cite the reburial of Prince Amenemhet (PM I^2, 667), and a group of princesses from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (A. M. Dodson and J. J. Janssen, *JEA* 75 (1989), 125–38); the latter was identified on the basis of a collection of hieratic labels found by A. H. Rhind.

[2] Thanks are due to John Ruffle for allowing the publication of this piece and to Jaromır Malek and the Griffith Institute for permission to make use of Jaroslav Černý's notebooks, together with electrostatic copies. In addition, I must express gratitude to Jac. Janssen for bringing the item to my attention and his most useful comments on the dating of the hieratic script.

[3] W. R. Dawson and E. P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*^{2} (London, 1972), 225.

[4] S. Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle* (London, 1880), ix.

[5] Op. cit. 191.

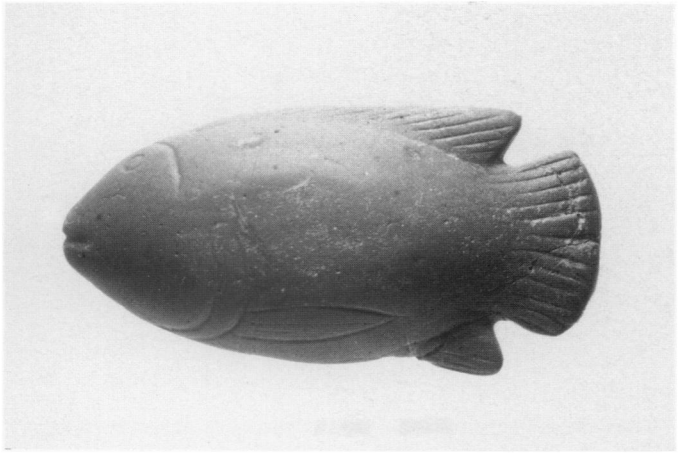
[6] The transcription is essentially that of Jaroslav Černý, Notebook 1, p. 5; he does not transcribe the vertical sign before  in the first line, but it must be  .

[7] G. Legrain, *ASAE* 4 (1903), 141 [17–18, 21, 23–4], 142 [26, 29].

[8] Millet, *GM* 104 (1988), 91–2.

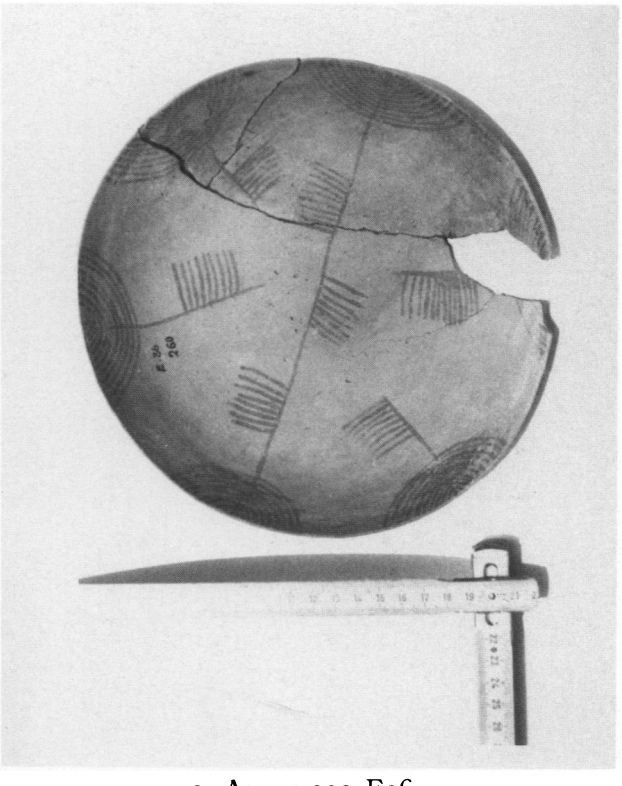
[9] Cf. Dodson and Janssen, op. cit. 134.

[10] Op. cit. passim. Černý included a number of hieratic wooden labels in his notebooks; besides the Durham and Edinburgh items, four further examples are included, transcribed into hieroglyphs, on page 20 of Notebook 130. Recorded at Tano's antiquities shop, no notes were made of the date of the script. Each merely names a person: 1. *sš-qdw Pn-tꜣ-wr*; 2. *Nsw- 'Imn*; 3. *Nb-nfr, sꜣ 'Imn-m-ỉpt*; 4. *ỉnytw*.



1. Green glass dish in shape of *Tilapia*-fish, Ashmolean 1989.85 (no. **284**)

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1989 (p. 161)

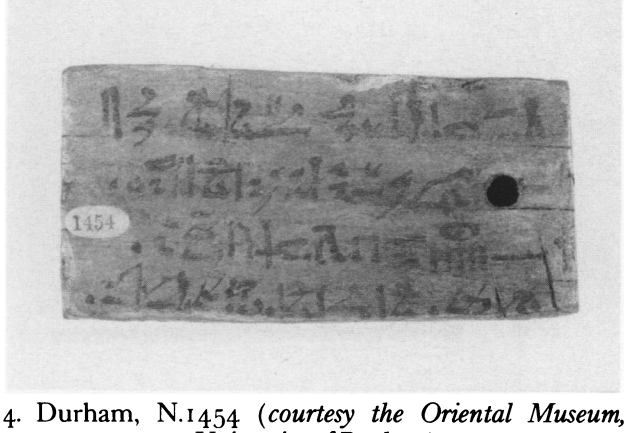


2. Aswan 230, E26

A BOWL IN THE NUBIAN MUSEUM (pp. 165–7)

3. Girton College stela of Amenophis I

A NEW KINGDOM STELA (pp. 169–75)



4. Durham, N.1454 (*courtesy the Oriental Museum, University of Durham*)

A TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY REBURIAL (pp. 180–2)

across the width. Its formula—the deceased's name + filiation + titles + a list of the personnel attending to the (re)burial—exactly parallels that found on the fullest of the Rhind texts.[11]

It is instructive to compare the personnel listed on N.1454 with some of those found on the Rhind items: the royal scribe named between the deceased and the controller does not appear on those labels, which interpose two guardians (*sꜣwt*) between the controller and the embalmer. The significance of this apparently more senior leader of Tinry's reburial team is uncertain.

It is not possible to equate Kha with any other bearer of the name or title, while the controller has an unusual, and probably foreign, name, as did at least two of the Edinburgh personnel.[12] He is otherwise unknown, but the last man named on the Durham label, the embalmer Neferrenpet, is more interesting.

An individual of this name and title occurs on at least two of the princesses' labels.[13] While the name is common, leading to the possibility that we are dealing with homonyms, the similar script and context of the Durham and Edinburgh attestations certainly point to their referring to the same man. In this case, we may be able to ascribe the reburial of Tinry to the middle years of Psusennes I, which appears to be the date of the princesses' reburial on Sheikh Abd el-Qurna.[14]

AIDAN DODSON

L'année où la fête d'Opet n'eut pas lieu en Paophi

Sous la XXI^me^ dynastie, en refusant pendant 65 jours de se laisser conduire à Louxor pour la fête annuelle d'Opet, la barque sacrée d'Amon cause un grand trouble parmi la population thébaine. La recherche des causes de la colère du dieu aboutit à la découverte d'un scandale impliquant de nombreux membres du personnel du temple. Ceux-ci seront jugés ensuite, sur le 'Sol d'argent de la Maison d'Amon', lors d'une séance solennelle de l'oracle de plusieurs jours.

DANS la recension de mon ouvrage consacré à l'inscription de l'intendant Djéhoutymose (Karnak, X^me^ pylône, époque de Pinedjem II)[1] parue dans *JEA* 76 (1990), 242–4, il y a une note de lecture portant sur un passage embarrassant de l'inscription, dont l'intérêt pour la compréhension de ce texte important risque de passer inaperçu, d'autant plus que Karl Jansen-Winkeln s'y contente de proposer une traduction, sans en tirer les conséquences pratiques.[2] En saluant comme il se doit la perspicacité de ce collègue, je souhaite donc revenir ici sur ce passage, de manière à le replacer dans le contexte général du document.

Il s'agit de la mention *mḥ ꜥbd 2 ḥrw 5* [lacune d'un cadrat] *pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ wꜥww r ḫpt n šḫntt.n.f r ꜥIpꜣt m* [*ḥb.f n*] *ꜥIpꜣt m rnpt tn* (inscription du registre supérieur, colonnes 7 et 8),[3] qui comme Jansen-Winkeln est d'accord avec moi-même pour l'admettre, sert à situer l'épisode de la consultation oraculaire figurée sur le relief par rapport à la fête d'Opet de l'an 2 d'un roi de la fin de la XXI^me^ dynastie, au nom malheureusement perdu (Siamon, Osorkon l'ancien, Amenemopé ?).[4] En

[11] Dodson and Janssen, op. cit. 129.

[12] Id. ib. 129 [2], 133 [17] (Tugay and Shenkaka).

[13] Id. ib.; the name of the embalmer is missing from p. 130 there.

[14] Id. ib. 134; while the 'Year 27' of RMS 1956.154, (p. 128 there) could also be attributed to Ramesses XI on the basis of the form of the script, by this late in the reign, Theban datelines were apparently only expressed in terms of the *wḥm-mswt*, cf. K. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Warminster, 1972, 1986), 17, 22, 253–4, 417. The dating of this material to the time of Psusennes I is therefore highly probable.

[1] J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose, intendant du domaine d'Amon sous le pontificat de Pinedjem II* (Bruxelles, 1986).

[2] K. Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 76 (1990), 244 ('Was immer das bedeuten mag ...').

[3] Kruchten, op. cit. 49.

[4] Jansen-Winkeln, *JEA* 76, 243 et n. 4.

traduisant par 'mort, destruction' le terme  , déterminé par la face humaine avec le nez (par référence au manque de souffle, pensai-je),[5] et en voyant dans la séquence *n šḫnt.t.n.f* une graphie approximative de la forme *n sḏm.n.tw.f*, plutôt qu'une forme *n sḏm(y).t NN*[6] (en néo-égyptien *bw stpyt NN*),[7] attestée seulement avec un sujet nominal,[8] j'arrivais à la traduction 'le deuxième mois et cinquième jour [de la sortie (?) d]u grand dieu, qui a échappé à la destruction avant d'être conduit à Opet au cours de [sa fête d']Opet de la susdite année'.[9] Ce qui à première lecture paraissait obscur, mais que j'interprétais comme une allusion à une sorte de veillée osirienne préparatoire à la fête d'Opet, au cours de laquelle Amon était censé échapper à la 'destruction' par le serpent Apophis. Evidemment, cette solution ne me rendait pas particulièrement heureux, et je ne l'avais formulée que faute de mieux. Aussi, est-ce avec d'autant plus de plaisir que je me rallie à la suggestion de Jansen-Winkeln, qui permet une rectification s'accordant avec le contexte autant qu'avec la langue de l'inscription, et lève ainsi, à mon opinion, définitivement tout doute sur le sens à accorder au passage incriminé.

De fait, tout devient clair si, l'alternance *ḫ/š* étant un phénomène bien illustré,[10] on reconnaît plutôt dans le terme *ḫpt*, une graphie de *špt* ('colère').[11] La séquence *n šḫnt t.n.f* qui suit représenterait alors un 'negative aorist' de type classique, non pas actif comme le suppose Jansen-Winkeln,[12] mais passif, *n šḫntt.n.f* (mis, par métathèse du *n* et du *t*, pour *n šḫnt.n.t(w).f*) n'ayant, je pense, nul besoin d'être corrigé.[13] Dans ce passage en une langue conventionnelle imitant le moyen égyptien, ce 'negative aorist' serait virtuellement subordonné à ce qui précède, et marquerait la conséquence de cette 'colère' du dieu: l'impossibilité de le porter à Louxor. Il faudrait, en effet, comprendre 'le deuxième mois et cinquième jour [alors que] le grand dieu s'était laissé aller à la colère, de telle sorte qu'il ne pouvait être conduit à Opet au cours de [sa fête d']Opet de la susdite année'.

Il apparaît ainsi que c'est 'ce dieu auguste maître des dieux Amon-Rê roi des dieux', autrement dit la statue processionnelle, accessoirement oraculaire, d'Amon, qui a refusé de se rendre à Louxor, probablement en pesant sur les porteurs de sa barque et en les immobilisant sous son poids devenu tout-à-coup énorme. On pense évidemment à l'étonnant fait divers, survenu en plein XX^me^ siècle dans un village de Haute Egypte, que Serge Sauneron rapporte précisément à propos des oracles égyptiens[14]: lors de ses funérailles, le cadavre d'un vieux cheikh discrètement trucidé par un parent pressé d'hériter, devint soudain si lourd que ses porteurs s'en trouvèrent cloués au sol. Le phénomène s'étant reproduit chaque fois à proximité de la maison de ce parent, les 'fellahin' comprirent que le mort entendait ainsi désigner son meurtrier, et firent prompte justice du coupable.

Dans notre cas pareillement, il est à supposer que la barque sacrée en restant obstinément rivée au sol au lieu de se laisser conduire à Louxor pour la fête d'Opet, entendait marquer sa 'colère' pour quelque faute rendant impure toute sa ville de Thèbes. On imagine facilement l'émoi et la crainte superstitieuse que dut provoquer l'attitude du dieu sur la population venue assister, comme chaque année, au complet à la fameuse procession.[15] L'idée qu'il s'agît d'une grossière

[5] *Wb.* III, 259, 2.

[6] A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*[3] (London, 1957), §404.

[7] J. Černý et S. Groll, *Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1975), §20.9.

[8] Gardiner, op. cit. 318; Černý et Groll, op. cit. §20.9.1 ('the actor expression is either a noun or nothing at all').

[9] Kruchten, op. cit. 54.

[10] E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I (Rome, 1955), §119, qui donne comme exemple de ce phénomène très répandu de changement du *ḫ* en *š*, l'alternance *(i)ḫt//išt*, 'chose'.

[11] *Wb.* IV, 458, 8 (*wn r špt*).

[12] *JEA* 76, 244 ('Das folgende Verb würde ich *n šḫntj.n.f* lesen ... Das ergäbe: '... weil (?) er nicht nach Luxor fahren lassen konnte ...'').

[13] Jansen-Winkeln voit dans  une graphie de (*JEA* 76, 244).

[14] S. Sauneron, *Les prêtres de l'Egypte ancienne* (Paris, 1957), 94–5; reprise in extenso à cause de son intérêt (Kruchten, op. cit. 99–100).

[15] Etant à Qatmandou en septembre 1976, lors de la procession annuelle de la 'déesse vivante', j'ai pu assister à un phénomène semblable. Le très lourd char, tiré à bras d'hommes, qui transportait la déesse ayant

manipulation de l'oracle à mettre au compte des porteurs de la barque ne pouvait évidemment effleurer l'esprit de gens simples, même si l'étonnant passage de notre document concernant Pameshemou, connu par ailleurs pour avoir été chef des porteurs du 'maître des dieux', atteste que les prêtres n'étaient pas aussi facilement dupes d'un tel stratagème.[16] De là, par conséquent, l'enquête qui suivit pour 's'informer de la situation de ce pays auprès de ce grand dieu' (*nḏnḏ ḥrw tȝ pn m-bȝḥ pȝy nṯr ʿȝ*).[17] Il s'agissait par une 'audience divine' (*pḥ-nṯr*) solennelle, effectuée sur le 'sol d'argent' de Karnak,[18] de découvrir la cause de la désapprobation divine, afin de prévenir des désastres plus grands encore, prêts à fondre sur la communauté.[19]

Le 11 de ⲭⲟⲓⲁⲕ,[20] on promena le 'maître des dieux' devant le personnel de son temple rassemblé pour l'occasion, la barque d'Amon dénonçant ceux qui avaient commis un méfait en 's'arrêtant' (*śmn*) et 'tombant' (*ḫr*) à leur hauteur. Comme le montre l'exemple moderne de la dépouille du vieux cheikh démasquant par le même procédé son assassin, il est en effet certain qu'il faut conserver, en l'occurrence, au verbe *ḫr* son sens usuel de 'tomber', plutôt que d'adopter, ainsi que le propose Jansen-Winkeln dans sa recension,[21] la traduction du *Wörterbuch* '(Verbrecher) zu Fall bringen', laquelle ne repose, vérification faite aux 'Belegstellen', que sur une interprétation trop libre de notre passage.[22]

Mais le 23 suivant, le 'maître des dieux' et sa barque sacrée n'avaient toujours pu quitter Karnak, puisque ce jour était, à compter du 19 de ⲫⲁⲱⲫⲓ, date habituelle de la procession d'Opet, le 65^{me} '[alors que] le grand dieu s'était laissé aller à la colère, de telle sorte qu'il ne pouvait être conduit à Opet au cours de [sa fête d']Opet de la susdite année' (col. 7 et 8). C'est du reste la seule raison de cet étrange comput: souligner la longueur de la divine bouderie,[23] et partant l'émotion qu'elle dut susciter au sein d'une population probablement tenue en haleine par une série de tentatives de départ avortées.

La procession de 'la fête d'Opet de cette année' eut-elle néanmoins lieu, après la séance de consultation de l'oracle commémorée par notre relief, soit immédiatement, dans la journée même du 23 de ⲭⲟⲓⲁⲕ, soit à une date ultérieure,[24] ou bien fut-elle annulée? Voilà qui ne nous est dit nulle part par le 'Grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose'. C'est évidemment dommage. Mais comme ce surprenant document, jusqu'ici très peu exploité, constitue, à n'en pas douter, la source d'information la plus complète et la plus vivante sur le système théocratique mis en place par les rois-prêtres de la XXI^{me} dynastie dans la principauté de Haute Egypte, grâce à l'oracle de l'Amon du sanctuaire de la barque de Karnak, nous nous en consolerons volontiers.

JEAN-MARIE KRUCHTEN

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malencontreusement glissé sur le sol humide de pluie, un murmure parcourut la foule des Népalais qui assistaient à la fête, parce que, m'expliqu'a-t-on, cet accident était signe de calamités pour l'année à venir.

[16] Kruchten, op. cit. 290–1; 365–8 (d'après son cercueil découvert dans la 2de Cachette de Deir el-Bahari, le Pameshemou, cité sans titre dans l'inscription de Djéhoutymose, dont l'oracle d'Amon exclut tout appel ultérieur pour revenir sur ses décisions, était, en effet, 'prêtre-ouâb de l'avant d'Amon-Rê roi des dieux, maître de marche dans tous Ses lieux'. Autrement dit, c'était lui qui dirigeait les porteurs!).

[17] Texte A, 6–7 (Kruchten, op. cit. 49; 54).

[18] Pour le rôle du 'sol d'argent de la Maison d'Amon' dans le fonctionnement de l'oracle, Kruchten, op. cit. 325–36.

[19] On pense à la situation à Thèbes (de Béotie), au début de l'*Oedipe roi* de Sophocle: la cité est ravagée par une peste, dont le devin Tirésias révèle à Oedipe qu'elle est occasionnée par une souillure épouvantable. Pour débarrasser la ville de l'impureté, Oedipe va donc aussi devoir mener une enquête, et celle-ci lui révélera la terrible réalité que l'on sait.

[20] Kruchten, op. cit. 313–14.

[21] *JEA* 76, 244.

[22] *Wb.* III, 321, 8 ('Belegstellen').

[23] On pense à l'attitude de Rê, offensé par une remarque de Baba, qui se retire dans son pavillon et refuse de revenir siéger au tribunal, au *Conte d'Horus et Seth* (A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles, 1973), 40–1).

[24] Si les membres du personnel d'Amon coupables de faute furent démasqués lors des séances oraculaires préliminaires, avant le 23 de ⲭⲟⲓⲁⲕ, leurs peines ne furent, en effet, fixées que bien après cette date (Kruchten, op. cit. 319–20).

Trumpets and kohl-tubes

The two instances of the word *šnb* on Taharqa's stela no. III from Kawa, usually translated as 'trumpet', may refer to 'kohl-tubes'.

THE Egyptian *šnb*  (*Wb.* IV, 514, 6–7) usually describes a trumpet or a similar wind instrument, and the last sign (N34, 'metal ingot') points to the material of which it was made. However, the names of gold and silver objects listed among the equipment presented by Taharqa to the temple at Kawa in his eighth regnal year (M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I (Oxford, 1949), pl. 6, cols. 17, 19 and pp. 8, 12 n. 55) conclude with a rather curious hieroglyph (fig. 1). Its identification has worried organologists as well as Egyptologists. Macadam, the first editor of the text, observed that these 'trumpets' are 'of singular appearance and quite unlike the ordinary Egyptian trumpets'. He thought that 'the central narrow portion, with bell-mouth at the bottom', might be 'the trumpet proper, and ... the rectangular portion ... an expanded sounding-box'. The problem was briefly reviewed by H. G. Fischer (in J. Baines *et al.*, *Pyramid Studies ... Edwards* (London, 1988), 108 with n. 44) who was sceptical of such an interpretation; his tentative suggestion was that 'the enlargement might represent some sort of grip'. The crux of the problem lies in the fact that the *Wb.* does not list any other object under *šnb*.

I wish to propose a different interpretation of the Kawa objects. The starting point of the argument is their position in the list, surrounded as they are by items which can be described as 'containers'. Among the gold objects, introduced by a 'broom(?)', the 'trumpet' is immediately preceded by a group of *ḥst*, *nmst*, and *ʿbš* vessels, and followed by an incense-burner (*spt-snṯr*), a *šfd* vessel, an altar and two statues. The list of silver objects starts with an offering-table, and the

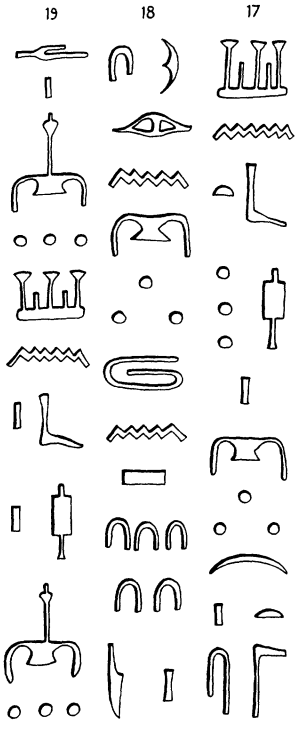


FIG. 1. The beginning of columns 17–19 on Taharqa's stela no. III, now in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glypt. AE.I.N. 1707. Copy by J. Malek, based on Kawa squeeze 2.2, in the Archive of the Griffith Institute, re-drawn by M. E. Cox.

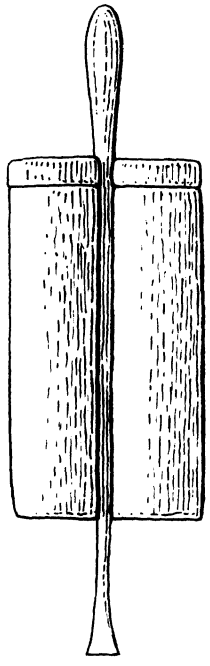
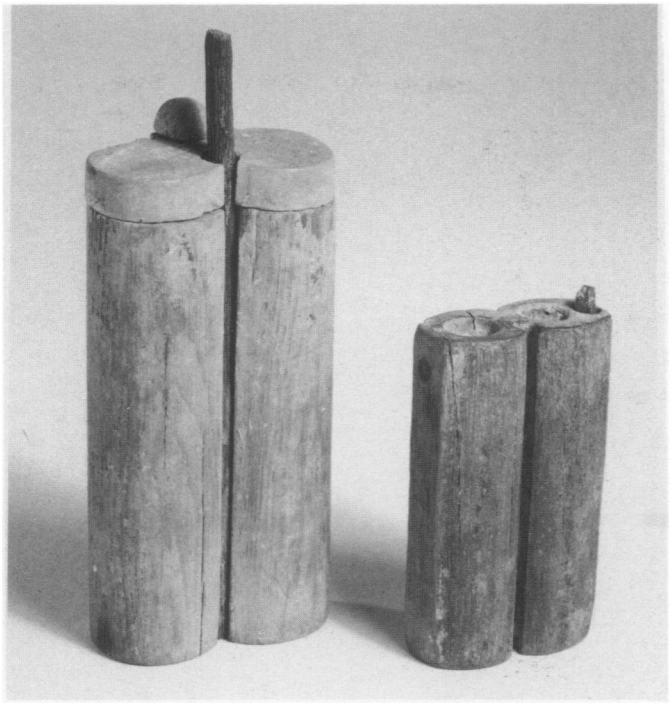


FIG. 2. A double kohl-tube container with a stick widening into a triangular spatula, represented in the same way as in the hieroglyphs on Taharqa's stela. Drawing by M. E. Cox.



1. Two double kohl-tube containers in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Left, 1886.819 (the stick is broken); right, E.2613. (*Photograph courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum and Dr. H. Whitehouse*)

TRUMPETS AND KOHL-TUBES (pp. 185–6)

2. British Museum GR 1772. 3-2. 11

A PORTRAIT OF AN EARLY PTOLEMY (pp. 186–9)

'trumpet' is inserted after two types of *ḥ:wt* vessels, an arm-shaped censer, a *ḥst* vessel, an incense-burner (*spt-snṯr*), and a *šfd* vessel, but before more vessels of various types, an Opening-the-Mouth set, etc. It is clear that the lists are systematically arranged, and logic demands that the items described as *šnb* be broadly comparable to their neighbours. Trumpets hardly qualify for such a designation.

But such objects did exist: multiple tubular containers for eye-paint (kohl, hence 'kohl-tubes') or eye-ailment remedies, introduced in the Eighteenth Dynasty (pl. XVIII, 1). A 'kohl-stick' for applying the cosmetic is often held in a groove between the connected tubes (W. M. F. Petrie, *Objects of Daily Use* (London, 1927), 26–8, pls. xxii, xxiii; E. Brovarski in *Egypt's Golden Age* (Boston, 1982), 217). One end of the kohl-stick sometimes widens into a triangular spatula. A double (or multiple) kohl-container and its kohl-stick can present the exact form of the *šnb* at Kawa (fig. 2) and, made of precious metal, would fit neatly into the list.

I suggest that *šnb* can also mean 'kohl-container', 'kohl-tube', and that it is these objects rather than trumpets which are listed on Taharqa's stela. If the basic notion conveyed by the words for both 'trumpet' and 'kohl-tube' had been 'pipe', 'tube', the same term could have been applied to both. It may also be significant here that the word for 'reed tube' in pEbers 325 is *šbb* (*Wb.* IV, 439, 2; H. von Deines and W. Westendorf, *Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte*, II (Berlin, 1962), 843), and it is known that *b* and *n* sometimes display a tendency to interchange. Perhaps one day an object bearing an inscription will solve this problem beyond any doubt.

JAROMIR MALEK

A portrait of an early Ptolemy

Publication of a bronze bust acquired by the British Museum in 1772, which is identified as a Ptolemy of the third century BC, perhaps Ptolemy IV Philopator.

ALTHOUGH the bust described here has been in the collections of the British Museum for well over 200 years, it seems, as far as can be determined, to have attracted little or no attention.[1] It is not mentioned in the British Museum guide to the Bronze Room[2] and although there is no record of it being displayed, there is every likelihood that it was shown amongst the myriad of figures and objects exhibited in that gallery on the upper floor of the Museum before the Second World War: possibly amid so many items it remained unnoticed; it has not been on show since the war. For no discernible reason H. B. Walters omitted it from his 1899 catalogue of bronzes.[3] But despite this neglect, it is a very fine portrait bust of a Hellenistic king, about one-third life size, and taking into consideration representations on coins and other possible portraits of rulers from outside Egypt it seems very probable that a likeness of a Ptolemy was intended (pls. XVIII, 2; XIX, 1–4).

Although now a bust, it was no doubt once part of a complete statuette. If the object is of Hellenistic date a bust is improbable, and the signs where it was cut from a presumably damaged figure are clear on all the edges of the bronze: the saw-marks have been smoothed with a rasp and the corrosion-products on the surface, both inside and out, do not extend over the cut edges; indeed, in places the corrosion has flaked away due to the action of the saw. This reduction to a bust must have been done at the instance of a dealer in antiquities, perhaps at some time in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, before it was acquired by Sir William Hamilton, Ambassador at Naples, to be subsequently sold by him to the Museum in 1772. As far as is

[1] Reg. No. GR 1772.3-2.11.

[2] C. T. Newton, *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum, Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities: Bronze Room* (London, 1871).

[3] H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman and Etruscan in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1899).

known, Hamilton collected wholly in Italy, but an Italian find-spot is not certain: his dealers could conceivably have acquired objects from elsewhere. The dealer, or Hamilton himself, had a bronze peg soldered to the inside front to fix the bust to a base (pl. XIX, 3). As it now survives, the bust (without the peg) is 24.8 cm high and 22.3 cm wide; from the groove at the top of the neck to the top of the head is 10.0 cm. A casting-fault near the right nipple has been repaired in antiquity with a polygonal patch. The outer surface of the bronze has a patchy dark and light green surface, with large areas of red cuprite showing through, particularly on the face and neck.

The upper torso is well developed, extending as far down as the diaphragm, and the nipples are prominent; the head, on a very long neck, and tilted slightly to one side, looks rather to its left and belongs to a beardless male. The hair is somewhat short and wavy, with sideburns in front of the ears, and a row of curls springing up over the forehead in the royal-divinity 'wreath' style. He wears a rolled or convex diadem (there is no tie for it at the rear), above which are rows of curved locks radiating from the crown of the head. There is a deep furrow across the brow, the eyes (the pupils of which are not indicated) are prominent, with well-defined upper and lower lids, and the nose is fairly, but not entirely, straight. The mouth is comparatively small and curves down at the extremities. The chin is firm with a slight dimple; the area below the chin is full and is separated from the neck by a groove. From the positions of the shoulders it is apparent that both arms were lowered, but the right must have been further back than the left, and was perhaps bent so that the hand rested on the hip, rather like the Naples 'Balas' from Pompeii,[4] or was placed behind the right buttock, like the Terme Ruler;[5] it could, however, have been held away from the body, as in the Bonn Ptolemy.[6] The general appearance of the statuette may have been much like the mid-fourth-century Lysippan statue of Agias, a Pharsalian athlete, a copy of which was found at Delphi,[7] or, perhaps, similar to a Polykleitan-influenced marble statuette of the second to first century BC from Pergamon.[8]

The statuette from which the bust was cut had been made, as was often the case, in several pieces,[9] and even the remaining portion shows evidence of this. The crown of the head immediately above the diadem was brazed on, as was the head to the torso, the interior of the bust showing a rough line of raised metal (hard solder) at the base of the neck: there is no sign of the join on the outside, where retouching was very well carried out. The arms have been cut down across similar internal rough lines where the hot joining metal had hardened, showing that these limbs were also separately made and attached. A 'run' of bronze within the upper left arm (pl. XIX, 4) indicates that the casting was made using the indirect lost-wax process,[10] showing that a piece-mould for the production of our bronze had been taken from an original archetype or from an existing figure. Thus, our bust could be part of an original third-century Hellenistic bronze or (but less likely) of a later figure, perhaps even Roman, copied from a Hellenistic statuette. The vast majority of Roman bronzes have the pupils of their eyes well marked, even during the period when the eyes of marble figures were not treated in that way; whether the lack of marked pupils is a sign that our figure is Hellenistic is uncertain.

The bronze was analysed in the Research Laboratory of the British Museum resulting in the following report. The bust was cast in several pieces and joined with hard solder. Samples of body metal were drilled from the edge of the bust and from the top of the head. Approximately 10 mgm of clean metal turnings were analysed by atomic absorption spectrometry (particulars of the methodology are given elsewhere[11]). The precision of the method was ± 2 per cent for the major

[4] R. R. R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (Oxford, 1988), pl. 71, 2–3.

[5] Ibid., pl. 32.

[6] Ibid., pl. 70, 7.

[7] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), fig. 76; H. Beck *et al.*, *Polyklet, der Bildhauer der griechischen Klassik* (Mainz, 1990), 290, fig. 173.

[8] Ibid. 312–3, figs. 191a–c.

[9] Compare a half-scale statuette of a priestess from Nemi, put together from nine separate pieces: Sybille Haynes, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, römische Abteilung* 67 (1960), pl. 19, 3.

[10] The indirect lost-wax process is described by Denys Haynes in an appendix to Sybille Haynes' paper: op. cit. 45–7, and also in *Archäologisches Anzeiger* (1962), 803–7.

[11] M. J. Hughes, M. R. Cowell and P. T. Craddock, 'Atomic Absorption Techniques in Archaeology', *Archaeometry* 18 (1976), 19–36.

elements and ± 20 per cent for the trace elements. All the elements listed were sought and could be detected down to 0.01 per cent in the metal.

Results

	Cu	Sn	Pb	Zn	Ag	Fe	Bi	Sb	Ni	Au	Co	As	Cd
Bust	68.0	9.9	23.0	—	0.06	0.05	—	0.1	0.025	—	—	0.03	—
Head	77.5	7.4	15.4	—	0.08	0.04	—	0.15	0.06	—	—	0.06	—

Comment

These alloys are both heavily leaded bronze. There is considerable variation in the composition of the lead and tin, suggesting that the craftsman was not very careful over alloy control. The leaded bronze alloy is very characteristic of Hellenistic and Roman cast decorative bronzework of the type used for statues, statuettes and other objects.[12]

Although the continuous rolled or convex diadem, without a tie, is not necessarily royal,[13] the head of our figure has none of the idealism of an athlete or a deity (who occasionally wear rolled headbands). It is a portrait and is not unlike others that have been identified as early Ptolemies; Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Ptolemy III Euergetes and Ptolemy IV Philopator are the only colourable candidates, later Ptolemies having vastly different features.[14] Many possible portraits of these rulers have been brought together by Helmut Kyrieleis,[15] and a discussion of portraits of Ptolemy III has been published by Ines Jucker;[16] both Kyrieleis and Jucker have extensive references to comparative material. Gisela Richter, too, has collected together portraits of Ptolemies,[17] and Margarete Bieber has discussed several of them.[18] R. R. R. Smith, however, is very dubious about the possibilities of identifying Ptolemies II and III amongst the many representations that have been attributed to them in the past.[19] The heads on coins, which for other Hellenistic rulers he regards as the paramount evidence, show such a variety of Euergetes 'likenesses' that they are difficult to use as a basis for identifying portraits in the round, particularly small-scale heads; Philadelphos' coin-portraits are also unsatisfactory for identification purposes, but Smith regards Ptolemy IV Philopator as being better served by the coin evidence.

Many of the examples of Euergetes portraits collected together by Kyrieleis have a general resemblance to our bust, but unfortunately so have many of the Philadelphos heads; neither can

[12] P. T. Craddock, The Composition of the Copper Alloys used in the Greek, Etruscan and Roman Civilisations, Part 2', *Journal of Archaeological Science* 4 (1977), 103–23.

[13] Smith, op. cit. 35, who suggests that the term 'diadem' should not be used for rolled headbands without ties. Such a headband is worn on portraits of Seleukos I on coins of Sardis (ibid., pl. 76), and perhaps by the Venice 'Euergetes' (ibid., pl. 27, 1–2), identified by Smith as a Hellenistic king. The much-discussed rolled 'diadem' from the so-called Philip Tomb at Vergina (M. Andronicus, *Vergina* (Athens, 1984), 174; H. W. Ritter, *Archäologisches Anzeiger* (1984), 105–11) may or may not be pre-Alexander; it has a skeuomorphic tie.

[14] P. F. d'Hancarville, in the MS catalogue of Hamilton's collection that he compiled for the British Museum, identified the bust as being of Ptolemy VI Philometor, but he had even less to go on than we have today: *Catalogue des antiquités recueillies, depuis l'an 1764 jusques vers le milieu de l'année 1776 par Mr. Le Chevalier Guillaume Hamilton, acquises par Acte du Parlement en 1772 et maintenant déposées dans Le Muséum Britannique* i (London, 1778), 55, no. 11.

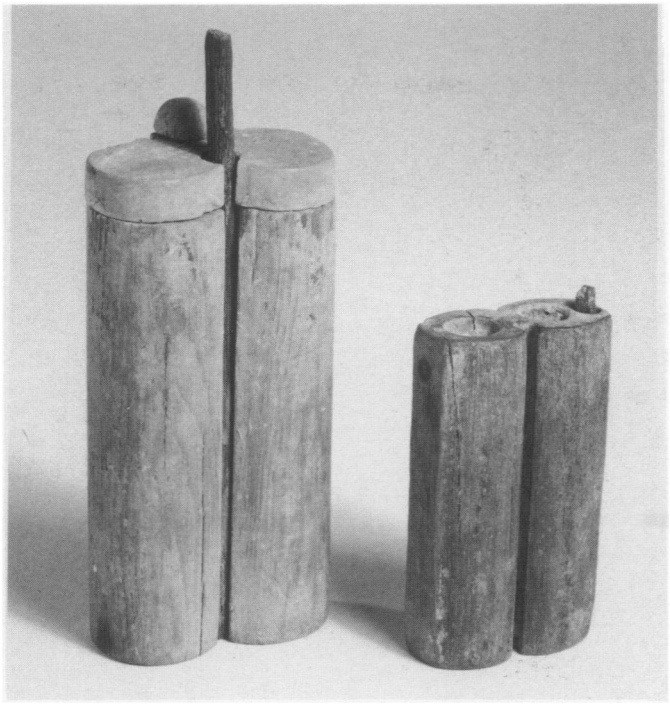
[15] H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (Berlin, 1975), pls. 8–39.

[16] *Antike Kunst* 18 (1975), 17–25.

[17] G. M. A. Richter, *The Portraits of the Greeks*, III (London, 1965), 259–69.

[18] Bieber, op. cit. 90–5. For recent publications on Lagid portraits, see F. Queyrel, 'Portraits Princiers Hellénistiques: Chronique Bibliographique', *Revue Archéologique* (1990) 97–172. For a newly-published possible Ptolemy III or IV figure, see D. M. Bailey, *Antike Kunst* 33 (1990), 107–10. The proffered cornucopia of that figure may represent Ptolemy III's generosity during the famine caused by a low Nile early in his reign and celebrated in the Decree of Canopus (cf. E. Bevan, *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (London, 1927), 209): if so, Euergetes is more likely than Philopator.

[19] Smith, op. cit., Appendix V. See ibid. 75, where the identity of the Papyrus Philadelphos is 'far from certain', and 77, where the Papyrus Euergetes is described as having only a slim chance of being Ptolemy III: These are perhaps the best known of the suggested portraits of these kings.



1. Two double kohl-tube containers in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Left, 1886.819 (the stick is broken); right, E.2613. (*Photograph courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum and Dr. H. Whitehouse*)

TRUMPETS AND KOHL-TUBES (pp. 185–6)

2. British Museum GR 1772. 3-2. 11

A PORTRAIT OF AN EARLY PTOLEMY (pp. 186–9)

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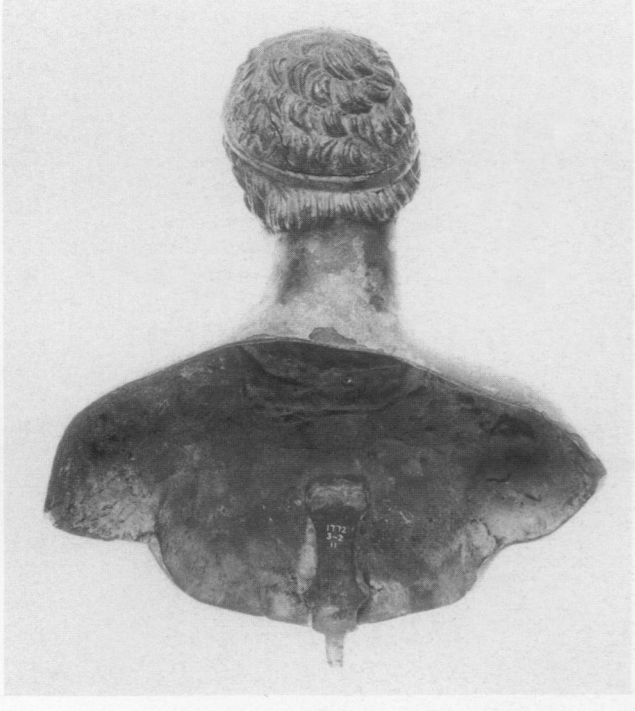

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British Museum GR 1772. 3-2. 11

A PORTRAIT OF AN EARLY PTOLEMY (pp. 186–9)

one reject Philopator, although the most probable head of that king, Kyrieleis D 1, in Boston,[20] is less like ours than are some of the other putative heads of Ptolemy IV, particularly those on coins.[21] Because of the difficulty of coming to a decision on our bust when presented with the various suggestions that have been made as to the identity of these many published heads, circularity of argument is unavoidable: not one portrait in the round is certain. A large number share similar details of feature—the prominent eyes, the small, full-lipped, downturned mouth, the furrowed brow, the small sideburns, and fullness below the chin. Many Ptolemy III portraits have a straighter nose and wilder hair than do the other two rulers and our head. Although Ptolemy II is a distinct possibility it seems very likely that Ptolemy IV Philopator (221–203 BC) is here represented. It is probably a Hellenistic original rather than a Roman copy.[22] In spite of the fact that this previously unnoticed head cannot be identified with certainty, because of its quality and not inconsiderable size it seems very worthwhile to add it to the increasing corpus of portraits of early Ptolemaic kings.

DONALD M. BAILEY *and* PAUL T. CRADDOCK

A Graeco-Roman group statue of unusual character from Dendera*

Publication of a small sandstone statue of the Roman period from Dendera (Cairo JE 46278). It depicts two naked children of identical size, one male and one female, standing within the coils of two serpents. They are the twin figures of two deities, whose exact identity is not certain. They might be seen as Shu and Tefnut, or as Harpocrates and his twin sister. This latter might be either a form of Isis, which was paired with Harpocrates in the Graeco-Roman period, or simply a feminine form of the god Harpocrates. The snakes seem to be Isis Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathos Daimon. This statue is of a votive or dedicatory nature, perhaps from a shrine to Isis-Thermouthis just outside the enclosure of the great temple of Hathor of Dendera.

TOWARDS the end of last century, clearing out or removing the *sebbakh* around archaeological sites was carried out under the tight control of the Antiquities Service.[1] As a result, many objects of great scientific interest were recovered. Among these sites was the Dendera temple area. The statue discussed here (pl. XX, 1–2) was found in the vicinity of the temple but its exact find spot was not recorded. It was acquired by the Cairo Museum on the 5 May 1918 and given the *Journal d'Entrée* number 46278; its serial registration number is 10308. Daressy included a brief description of it in a report on finds from Dendera.[2] The statue is exhibited in room 34 in the Cairo Museum, but in spite of its unusual character has not been published. Of sandstone, it measures 110 cm in total height (including the base, 42 cm) and 60 cm in width. The back has stars incised on it (pl. XXI, 1), clearly indicating that the stone was originally part of the ceiling of a funerary or religious building.

[20] Smith, op. cit. 91–2, suggests that the Boston head is very likely to be of Ptolemy IV.

[21] Many of the features of our head are close to those on coins illustrated in Kyrieleis, op. cit., pl. 30, notably nos. 1, 2 and 4.

[22] A referee of this paper prefers a Roman date and regards the ideal nature of the hair over the forehead, amongst other things, as throwing doubt on the bronze being a 'precise copy of a particular royal portrait'. I cannot show that he/she is wrong.

*The research for this article was undertaken while holding the Gardiner Travel Scholarship, awarded by the Griffith Institute, to which my sincere thanks are due. I would also like to thank Professor Shore for his comments, encouragement, and hospitality in the University of Liverpool during the period of this Scholarship. The statue is published here by kind permission of Mr M. Mohsen and Mrs Elham Montaser.

[1] For the rules introduced by the Antiquities Service concerning the removal of *sebbakh*, see *Rapports sur la marche du Service des Antiquités de 1899 à 1910* (Cairo, 1912), 51–3, 310–11.

[2] G. Daressy, *ASAE* 18 (1919), 189. Another brief reference to this statue may be found in P. Derchain, *La Lune, mythes et rites* (Paris, 1962), 52–3.

The statue depicts two naked figures of similar size, placed next to each other, as if standing within the coils of two intertwined serpents, the heads of which are broken away. The figures and serpents stand on a base. The figure on the left represents a male child with a side-lock of curly hair, with his right arm around the shoulder of the other; his left arm is now missing. The other figure is a female child, with conventional short curly hair, who places her left arm around the left shoulder of the male, her other arm held at her side. The modelling of both figures is chubby, especially around their breasts and stomachs. The irregular strip carved at the lower extremity of the figures suggests tunics which have been dropped down to their thighs. Their legs are hidden behind or within the coils of the two intertwined serpents. On the head of the boy is a solar disc, the greater part of which is now destroyed, while on the head of the girl is a crescent with a lunar disc above it. Both discs are decorated with the *wḏ3t*-eyes of Horus, the solar disc with the right eye and the lunar disc with the left. The two children are apparently represented inside a shrine, the upper right and left parts of which are broken away.

The outer surface of the base has been left rough-dressed, with some of the chisel marks of the sculptor still visible (pl. XX, 1). It was no doubt originally intended that the surface should be smoothed down to receive texts, but the work was never completed, nor is there now any trace of inscriptions in ink or paint. The absence of any text makes the identification of the figures more difficult. The fact that they are the same size may indicate that they were meant to be a pair or twins.

One possibility is that they represent Shu and Tefnut, the son and daughter of the god Atum according to Heliopolitan theology. Shu and Tefnut, when shown together, are frequently treated as a pair or twins.[3] The owner of a limestone statue, recovered from Dendera and datable to the Graeco-Roman period, held many titles, among which was 'prophet of Shu and Tefnut'.[4] Another indication of their strong presence in Dendera is that one of the many surnames of the Dendera temple was *ḥ3t mȝ-ḥsȝwy* or *ḥ3t mȝwy*, which means 'the palace of the lion pair'.[5] Shu and Tefnut are envisaged in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts and in the Book of the Dead as a double lion or as a lion pair.[6] The double lion symbolizes 'Yesterday' and 'Tomorrow', in other words, the dead sun god and the resurrected sun god.[7] The lion pair symbolizes either eternity and life or justice and the order of the cosmos. One of their functions, particularly in the Late Period, was to help the deceased in the other world.[8]

The Egyptians also tended to pair Shu and Tefnut in other forms. They are represented as two *bȝ*-birds of identical size on a naos of Amasis, now in the Louvre,[9] and on the walls of the Hibis temple.[10] In the same temple, Shu and Tefnut are also depicted as two cats of similar size, seated on either side of the sistrum,[11] the symbol of the goddess Nebet-Hetepet or Hathor-Nebet-Hetepet, who was associated with the hand of Atum-Re and considered as their mother.[12] Other examples of such depiction are to be found on the walls of the hall of Nectanebo II at Bubastis[13] and on other objects.[14] In the Coffin Texts, two cats, given the names of Basti and Bastet, are considered the children of Re and identified with Shu and Tefnut.[15] In the Late Period and throughout the Graeco-

[3] H. te Velde, *LÄ* v, 735–7.

[4] The statue is JE 46059; the name of its owner is now missing. See G. Daressy, *ASAE* 17 (1917), 91–3.

[5] H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, IV, 70.

[6] J. Baines, *Orientalia* 54 (1985), 473–4. For a discussion of twins in general, and Shu and Tefnut in particular, see ibid. 461–82.

[7] C. de Wit, *Le Rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951), 123–37.

[8] Ibid. 107–22. See also F. Daumas *et al.*, *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine* (Montpellier, 1988), I, 231 no. 345, where a hieroglyphic sign of two lions can be transliterated and translated as *šw tfnt* or 'Shu Tefnut'.

[9] A Piankoff, *RdE* 1 (1933), 170 fig. 10.

[10] N. de G. Davis, *The Temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis*, III (New York, 1953), pl. 5 reg. 5 right.

[11] Ibid., pl. 4 reg. 6 left. See also J. Vandier, *RdE* 16 (1964), 115, fig. 12a.

[12] For a general discussion on the two cats and the sistrum in connection with the goddess Nebet-Hetepet, see J. Vandier, *RdE* 18 (1966), 76–84.

[13] E. Naville, *Bubastis* (London, 1891), 57, pl. 45 A. See also Vandier, *RdE* 18, 117, fig. 12b.

[14] J. Vandier, *RdE* 17 (1965), 97–8, pl. 5 A.

[15] Idem, *RdE* 18, 81–2. See also H. te Velde, in *Studies in the History of Religions*, 43 (Leiden, 1982), 134.

Roman epoch, they were depicted as two children of identical size: Tefnut without male genitals[16] and Shu with a side-lock of hair.[17]

The presence of the solar and lunar discs with the *wḏȝt*-eyes depicted on them, on the heads of the male and female figures respectively, may support this hypothesis. Shu and Tefnut were frequently identified with the two eyes of Horus in his role as the sun god or as Atum.[18] The right eye of Horus was identified with the sun, the left with the moon.[19] Shu is usually associated with the right eye and Tefnut with the left eye.[20] Baines tentatively argues that 'sun and moon as "twins" could also be related to Shu and Tefenet through the multiple associations of the latter pair with the solar cycle, and especially through the Onuris Legend, which is attested both in Egyptian and Greek'.[21]

A second possibility is that the figures represent Harpocrates and a twin sister. In the Graeco-Roman period, Harpocrates (Horus the child) was considered the son of Serapis and Isis, the chief divinities of Alexandria, and represented the young sun god, or the first two hours of the day or the first rays of the sun.[22] Therefore he was frequently represented with sun disc on his head.

The identity of the female figure is less certain. The notion of a twin sister is not familiar in either Egyptian or Greek religious texts. One possibility is that she should be considered as an unusual form of Isis, who was paired with Harpocrates in the Graeco-Roman period in a relationship distinct from that of mother and son. P. Oxyrhynchus 1380, dated to the early second century AD, contains an invocation of Isis, who was given the feminine form of Harpocrates, being addressed as *τὴν τῶν θεῶν Ἁρποκράτιν*. The epithet has been taken to mean 'the darling of the gods',[23] but the word itself would seem to be no more than the Greek masculine name given a standard Greek feminine ending. The presence of the lunar disc on the head of the female figure may also support an identification with Isis. In the Graeco-Roman period, Isis was connected with the moon, although in Pharaonic Egypt she was never considered as a moon goddess. It was the Greeks who identified her with their moon goddess Selene,[24] and some classical writers even considered the disc between her horns as lunar, not solar.[25]

The other possible interpretation of the female figure is simply as a female counterpart of Harpocrates or Horus,[26] without any relation to Isis or any other goddess. The feminine form of Horus was used as an epithet by queen Hatshepsut when she called herself *Ḥrt*.[27] It would seem that a female counterpart of Harpocrates was created in the Graeco-Roman period, as was the case

[16] Davis, op. cit., pl. 2 reg.6.

[17] E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el-Henneh and the Land of Goshen* (London, 1887), pl. 5 reg. 2. See also G. Roeder, *Naos* (Leipzig, 1914), 91 no. 336, pl. 30 top.

[18] J. G. Griffiths, *CdE* 33 (1958), 187. For the fusion of Shu with the sun god, see B. van de Walle, *CdE* 55 (1980), 23–36.

[19] J. G. Griffiths, *Plutarch's de Iside et Osiride* (Cardiff, 1970), 498.

[20] Derchain, op. cit. 52.

[21] Baines, op. cit. 476–7.

[22] D. Meeks, *LÄ* II, 1004. See also A. M. el-Khachab, *JEA* 57 (1971), 133.

[23] B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XI (London, 1915), 193–4, 198 (lines 135–6), 217.

[24] Griffiths, op. cit. 81, 463, 479, 500–1. Daressy, *ASAE* 18, 189 identified the female figure as Phoebe or Selene: 'A gauche, c'est une femme dont la tête est surmontée d'un disque lunaire contenant l'autre oeil, qui doit représenter la lune. Dans l'Égypte antique la lune est toujours symbolisée par une divinité mâle, Khonsou, Aâh, etc.; il a donc fallu, pour former ce groupe, faire une concession aux idées grecques qui personnifiaient l'astre des nuits en une déesse, Phébé ou Sélené.' Derchain, op. cit. 52–3, in his reference to this statue, says: 'En revanche, l'influence hellénistique permet de comprendre un groupe de statues découvert à Dendara. Il s'agit d'un garçon et d'une femme nus, sur l'épaule desquels sont gravés respectivement les hiéroglyphes du soleil et de la lune. Le group étant pratiquement inédit, il est difficile de se faire une opinion exacte, mais on ne peut s'empêcher de se souvenir à ce propos qu' Antoine et Cléopâtre se faisaient appeler eux-mêmes Dionysos et Lune, et avaient choisi les noms de Hélios et Séléné, pour leurs enfants.'

[25] Griffiths, op. cit. 501 n. 1. Even the two horns were considered as an imitation of the crescent moon: J. G. Griffiths, *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* (Leiden, 1975), 124, ch. 3.

[26] For the Egyptians 'Horus the Child' (Harpocrates) and Horus were the same god. See el-Khachab, *JEA* 57, 132–3.

[27] For example, in the obelisk text, *Urk.* IV, 361, 4; 362, 2.

with the female *Bs.t* (Beset) for the god Bes. A number of statuettes of Beset in bronze and terracotta can be dated to the end of the Ptolemaic period and the Roman period.[28] Ward, in his extensive discussion of these statuettes, rightly observes that the introduction of the female counterparts of certain deities is not unfamiliar to Egyptian thought, as witness the primeval pairs of the Ogdoad of Hermopolis such as Amon and Amonet, Nun and Nunet.[29] The occurrence of the female name 'Beset' on an ostracon of the New Kingdom date would suggest that such a female deity already existed by that time.[30]

Although no other statue to my knowledge depicts Harpocrates with his female counterpart, there are some terracotta figurines of a female Horus of the Graeco-Roman period. A red terracotta figurine of unknown provenance[31] depicts a nude girl with curly hair seated in similar attitude to Harpocrates. She wears a floral crown, surmounted perhaps by a *peskhent*-crown, and holds a pot with one hand, placing her other in it.[32] She has been identified as the twin sister of Harpocrates. Other examples of this goddess show her in more or less similar fashion, but sometimes wearing a tunic. Dunand lists seven such figurines, two with brief description. Two of them are known to have come from Kiman Fares (Crocodilopolis) and Sunufar in the Fayum.[33]

According to Herodotus, there was a sister of Horus called Bastet-Bubastis,[34] although no Egyptian texts suggest that Horus ever had a sister.[35] It would seem that the creation of such a sibling resulted from misunderstanding by the Greeks or attempts on their part to identify their divinities with Egyptian counterparts. In the Graeco-Roman period there was a distinct tendency in Greek theological speculation towards the notion of duality. What the function of the twin sister of Harpocrates was remains obscure. Dunand agrees in principle with the suggestion of Perdrizet that she was considered as the protector of young girls, as Harpocrates was of young boys. In the Roman period, Egyptian religious ideas were still capable of fresh development, expressed as a new form of the old mythology: the protective role of Isis as mother may have been transferred to an image of Isis as the counterpart of Harpocrates, in keeping with the tendency to duality.[36]

The presence of the two serpents in the statue group lends support to the identification of the pair as Harpocrates and a female counterpart, since a few objects show Harpocrates depicted between Isis-Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathos Daimon. A small marble stela discovered in the Canopic Serapeum at Alexandria shows Harpocrates as a naked child, with his forefinger in his mouth and with a side-lock of hair, seated between Isis-Thermouthis, depicted with serpent head and crowned with two horns and a sun disc, and Serapis-Agathos Daimon, also shown with serpent head and wearing the double crown.[37] Another example is a lamp found at Canopus at Alexandria depicting Harpocrates standing between Isis-Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathos Daimon, both with human heads and carrying their emblems.[38] It would seem from these and other examples that Harpocrates is frequently represented between Isis-Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathos Daimon, and, although the heads of the two serpents on the Dendera statue are now broken away, one can assume with some degree of certainty that they represent these divinities.

[28] For a list of the Beset figurines, see W. A. Ward, *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 150, to which add R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario mitologia egizia*, I (Turin, 1881), 208, pl. xxv fig. 5.

[29] For a full discussion, see Ward op. cit. 149–59.

[30] Ibid. 151 n. 16.

[31] P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet* (Paris, 1921), 32 no. 96, pl. xxii, top left.

[32] For examples of Harpocrates holding a pot, see F. Dunand, *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine* (Leiden, 1979), 211–21 nos. 133–83; pl. lxxiii nos. 134–6; pl. lxxiv nos. 137–9; pl. lxxv no. 141; pl. lxxvi nos. 140, 142; pl. lxxvii no. 143.

[33] Dunand, op. cit. 256–8 nos. 322–8, pl. cv.

[34] Ibid. 41 n. 89.

[35] A. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II, Commentary 99–182* (Leiden, 1988), 145, ch. 156, 4–5.

[36] Dunand, op. cit. 41–2. For young girls depicted with 'Horuslocke' and its significance, see S. K. Heyob, *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (Leiden, 1975), 78.

[37] F. Dunand, *BIFAO* 67 (1969), 14–15 n. 4, fig. 2.

[38] Ibid. 24 fig. 8. Harpocrates could also be shown alone with Isis-Thermouthis, as in a relief which shows her with human head and bust suckling a naked figure of Harpocrates: see V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis Lactans* (Leiden, 1973), 195, pl. lxxvi fig. 200 (D-5).

The presence of the two serpents in this statue provides evidence for its date. The Egyptian goddess Renenutet, whom the Greeks called Thermouthis, is known from the Old Kingdom onwards. She took the form of a cobra crowned with two horns and a sun disc with two plumes.[39] It would seem that in the early Ptolemaic period, Renenutet began to be assimilated with Isis. The earliest reference to Isis being invoked under the name of Thermouthis occurs in the first century BC, and this continued through the Roman period.[40] It would seem that Serapis was identified with Agathos Daimon, the sacred snake of Alexandria, during the early years of the reign of the emperor Hadrian and then was paired with Isis-Thermouthis during the later part of the same reign.[41] This would suggest a date not before mid-second century AD for the statue. The chubby modelling of the body, the conventional hair styles, the proportion of the figures would all be consistent with a date in the second century or later. Unfortunately, too little has survived of firmly dated sculpture in the round from the second to the fourth centuries AD to allow closer dating based on stylistic analysis.

The presence of Isis-Thermouthis in this statue stongly suggests that it was placed in the area consecrated for her, outside the Dendera temple enclosure, between the great temple of Hathor and the temple of Horus of Edfu at Dendera.[42] Land here was dedicated by the *strategos* of Dendera, Ptolemy son of Panas, during the reign of Augustus.[43] It was perhaps used for building a small chapel or shrine for this goddess but no traces of it have been found.[44]

This statue seems to be of a votive or dedicatory nature. Alternatively, it may have stood in front of a shrine, or formed part of one, and been intended to attract the attention of the visitors, rather than to address a deity directly. It represents many symbols of duality, the solar and the lunar discs with the right and left eyes of Horus, Isis-Thermouthis and Serapis-Agathos Daimon and finally male and female figures. Textual evidence supports the identification of the latter as Shu and Tefnut. On iconographic grounds, it would seem preferable to identify them as Harpocrates and a twin sister, and not just a female counterpart. Horus was occasionally associated with Shu in the Late Period. For example, at Armant, one of the seven forms of Harpocrates carries the title or the name 'Horus/Shu the child'.[45] Earlier still, in the Ebers medical papyrus, Shu and Tefnut are called the children of Isis of Chemmis.[46] There is, therefore, no difficulty in identifying a female twin accompanying a standard depiction of Harpocrates as Tefnut.

Whatever the identity of the figures, the presence of the solar and lunar discs at their heads is a clear indication that they should be regarded as twins. As mentioned above, the sun and moon were considered as twins in the Graeco-Roman period.[47] The Cairo statue is a rare example of divine twins expressed in Egyptian sculpture in the round.

ALY ABDALLA

[39] For a detailed study of the goddess Renenutet, see J. Broekhuis, *De Godin Renenwetet* (Assen, 1971). See also C. Beinlich-Seeber, *LÄ* v, 232–6.

[40] G. Deschênes, in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* (Leiden, 1978) I, 305–15. See also Dunand, *BIFAO* 67, 9–48.

[41] M. Pietrzykowski, in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren* III, 965–6. Deschênes, op. cit. 315.

[42] For the location of this area, see M. Aimé-Giron, *ASAE* 26 (1926), 153–6.

[43] Ibid. 148–53. For a discussion of the titles of this Ptolemy and other high officials of the same period, see H. de Meulenaere, *RSO* 34 (1959), 1–25.

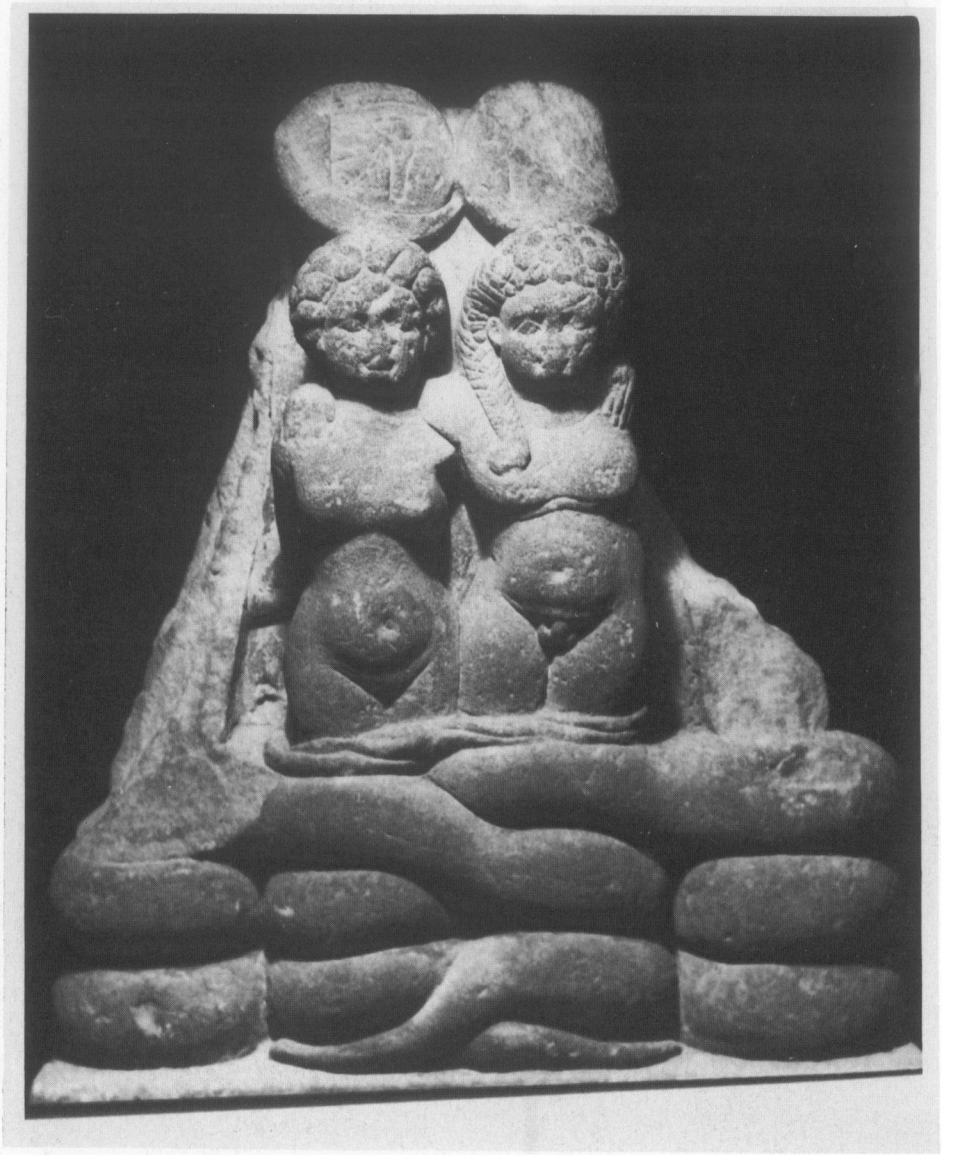
[44] The existence of such a shrine is suggested by F. Daumas, *Dendara et le temple d'Hathor* (Cairo, 1969), 15.

[45] De Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion*, 265.

[46] H. Grapow, *Grundriss der Medizin*, v, 489, no. 811. See also H. v. Deines, H. Grapow, W. Westendorf, *Grundriss der Medizin*, IV, 1, 285.

[47] For further discussion of the sun and the moon as twins, see Baines, op. cit. 476.

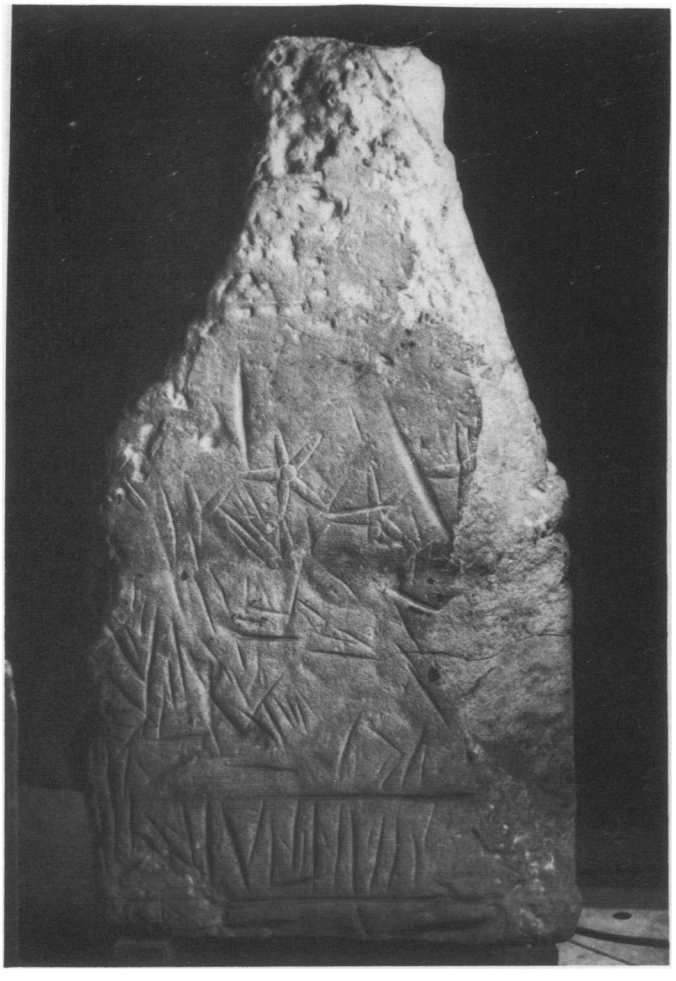
1.



2.

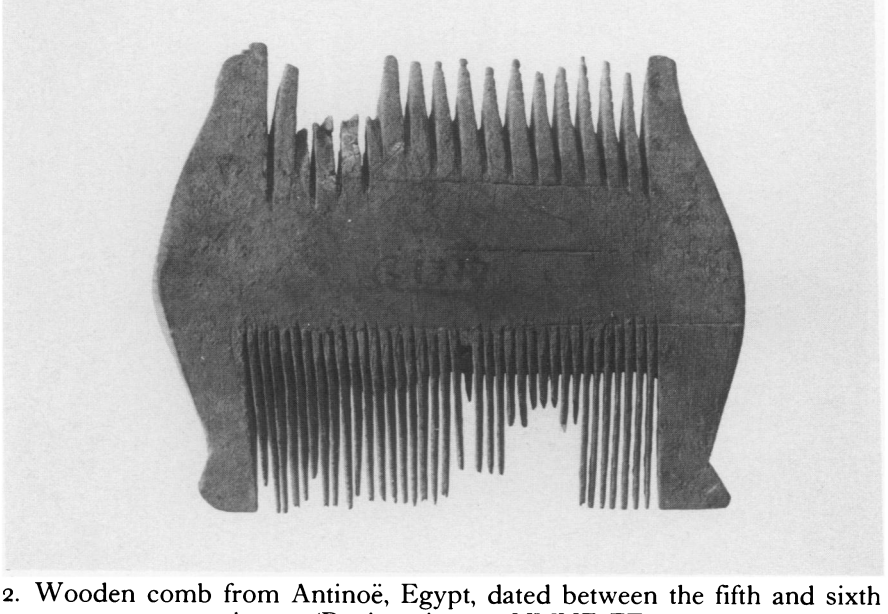
Cairo JE 46278

A GRAECO-ROMAN GROUP STATUE FROM DENDERA (pp. 189–93)



1. Cairo JE 46278, back (pp. 189–93)

A GRAECO-ROMAN STATUE FROM DENDERA



2. Wooden comb from Antinoë, Egypt, dated between the fifth and sixth centuries AD. (Registration no: NMNZ, FE 1717).

ANCIENT HEADLICE ON A WOODEN COMB (p. 194)

Ancient head lice on a wooden comb from Antinoë, Egypt*

Seven head lice (*Pediculus humanus capitis* De Geer, 1778) were recovered from the debris found among the fine teeth of a wooden comb excavated in Antinoë, Egypt, and dated between the fifth and sixth centuries AD.

A report by Mumcuoglu and Zias[1] on the discovery of head lice on twelve wooden combs excavated in Israel and dated from the first century BC to the eighth century AD prompted the author to search for head lice on the only comb of similar type kept in the collections of the National Museum of New Zealand. This comb (pl. XXI, 2) was received by the museum in 1914, together with several other archaeological items recovered by the Egypt Exploration Fund during the excavation of town rubbish mounds in Antinoë, Egypt.[2]

A small amount of reddish-brown dry debris was carefully removed with fine forceps from among the teeth of the comb; the material from each side was placed in separate Petri dishes. Ethanol 95 per cent was added to both samples to facilitate examination under a stereomicroscope. No lice, either whole or broken, were found in the debris from the coarser side of the comb (2.5 teeth per cm) even after treating the sample with a 10 per cent aqueous solution of potassium hydroxide (KOH) for ten minutes at room temperature. However, the debris extracted from the finer side of the comb (6 teeth per cm) contained the remains of seven specimens of head lice (*Pediculus humanus capitis* De Geer, 1778), either whole bodies or parts of them. These were partially or totally covered by compacted debris which was dissolved by treatment with KOH as above. Once cleaned and cleared, the lice were treated with a series of chemicals, and slide-mounted in Canada Balsam following the technique described by the author elsewhere.[3] Thus, they are now properly preserved and documented for further research.

The seven lice specimens include: one headless male, two partial female abdomens, one whole late instar nymph, one nymphal abdomen, one whole newly hatched nymph, and one egg containing a fully developed embryo. The number and developmental stages listed above fall well within the range of specimens found by Mumcuoglu and Zias (n. 1) on twelve out of twenty-four combs from the Judean and Negev Deserts in Israel, i.e. only one egg on a comb from Ein Rachel to twelve adults/nymphs and twenty-seven eggs on a comb from Qumran, or four nymphs and eighty-eight eggs on another from Wadi Farah. The effectiveness of fine-toothed combs as delousing instruments can hardly be overstated. Modern combs differ very little in shape and dimensions from their ancient counterparts, and they are still regarded as among the most effective, and indeed the safest, methods of head lice control.[4]

The conditions required for the preservation of the comb and the organic material examined for this study, as well as the circumstances of their burial and subsequent excavation, are similar to those described by Mumcuoglu and Zias. These authors wrote that 'Wars forced many Jews to leave urban areas and to settle in desert caves, where overcrowding and poor hygienic conditions presumably would encourage parasitic infestations'. This inference may be correct, but the evidence of the comb from Antinoë, a community with a comparatively more prosperous and peaceful life,[5] suggests that living in more benign circumstances does not necessarily mean a drastic reduction in head lice infestation. To judge from a recent report by Maunder (n. 4) the situation does not seem to have changed significantly in the last 2,000 years!

RICARDO L. PALMA

*Thanks are due to Mr Ross O'Rourke (National Museum of New Zealand) for allowing access to the comb and for all its relevant data; to Professor Robert L. C. Pilgrim (University of Canterbury) for his critical review of the manuscript; and to Mr Mark Strange (National Museum of New Zealand) for the photograph.

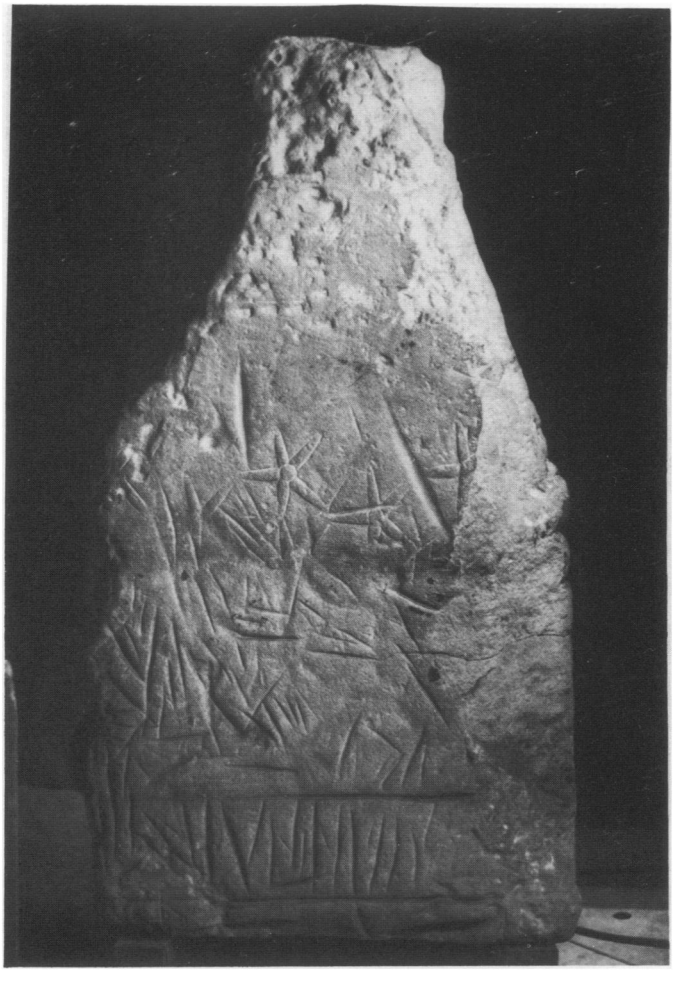
[1] Y. K. Mumcuoglu and J. Zias, 'Head lice, *Pediculus humanus capitis* (Anoplura: Pediculidae) from hair combs excavated in Israel and dated from the first century B.C. to the eighth century A.D.' *Journal of Medical Entomology* 25 (1988), 545–7.

[2] J. de M. Johnson, *JEA* 1 (1914), 168–81.

[3] R. L. Palma, 'Slide-mounting of lice: a detailed description of the Canada Balsam technique', *The New Zealand Entomologist* 6 (1978), 432–6.

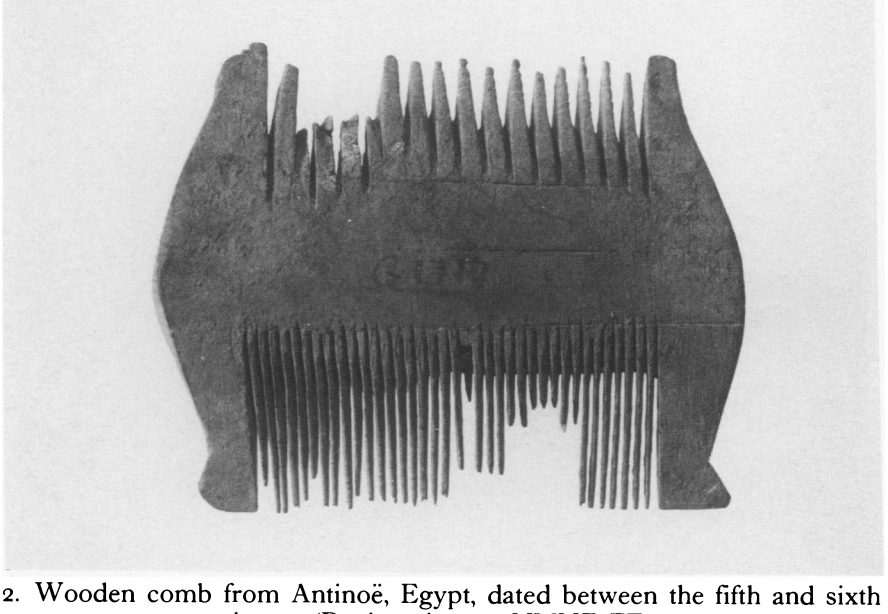
[4] J. W. Maunder, 'The appreciation of lice'. *Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* 55 (1983), 1–31.

[5] Johnson, op. cit.



1. Cairo JE 46278, back (pp. 189–93)

A GRAECO-ROMAN STATUE FROM DENDERA



2. Wooden comb from Antinoë, Egypt, dated between the fifth and sixth centuries AD. (Registration no: NMNZ, FE 1717).

ANCIENT HEADLICE ON A WOODEN COMB (p. 194)

The identity of *wšbt* alum

It is suggested that *wšbt*, an ancient Egyptian word tentatively identified as a variety of alum, refers to the cobalt-bearing alum of the Dakhla and Kharga oases.

In his pioneering work on ancient Egyptian minerals[1] J. R. Harris proposed that in addition to *ibnw*, three other words (*imrw*, *inr n šn*, and *wšbt*) describe some types of alum, because of the specific medical context in which they appear. It is reasonable to assume that the four names represented minerals that the Egyptians could easily differentiate on the basis of their external appearance, place of origin, or chemical behaviour. What distinguishes *wšbt* from the other three is the fact that in several texts the mineral, sometimes written as *wšb*, appears in a context suggesting its use as a blue pigment.[2]

Having recently shown[3] that the most probable source of Egyptian cobalt-blue pigment during the New Kingdom was one of the alums of the Dakhla or Kharga oases, I realized that the word *wšb(t)*, might refer to just such a mineral. The presence of cobalt, visible as pink colouration of the otherwise white alum, made this mineral a potential source of a blue pigment used in glass, faience glaze, and pottery paint. The specific colour and source of this particular alum differentiate it from others, making the need for a specific label such as *wšb(t)* apparent long before its use as a source of pigment was recognized by the Egyptians. The cobalt had to be chemically processed (converted from sulphate to oxide with the aid of alkali, such as ashes, natron, or organic ammonia)[4] before it could be used as pigment.

Apparently, prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty the Egyptians were unaware that copper-free minerals could be used to make a blue pigment.[5] For reasons still obscure, with the end of the New Kingdom the use of cobalt ceases for four centuries.[6] When cobalt reappears during the Saite Period, it is different in nature and probably of Asian origin.[7] Therefore, if the proposed identification is correct, it becomes apparent why references to this mineral as a pigment are all confined to inscriptions of the New Kingdom.

Alexander Kaczmarczyk

Squeezes in Grantham Museum made by Alice Lieder in 1851–2

Brief description of a collection of squeezes made at a dozen different sites in Egypt and Nubia. These are among the earliest preserved in the United Kingdom. Of particular interest is one of an Eleventh Dynasty stela of a *Nfr-ḥr* (illustrated).

The making of 'squeezes', impressions of reliefs in paper made pliable by soaking in water, was a peculiarly nineteenth century epigraphic recording method, although it has occasionally been practised even more recently. A group of sixty-three such squeezes (on average *c.* 33 × 46 cm, some smaller) of good quality belongs to Grantham Museum, to which they were presented by Miss Josephine Parker in February 1930. They were brought to our attention by Dr C. N. Reeves of the British Museum, and we are grateful to Mrs L. M. Budreau-Ross, the Assistant Curator at Grantham Museum, for permission to make the material known.

[1] *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals* (Berlin, 1961), 185–9.
[2] Ibid. 188.
[3] A. Kaczmarczyk, 'The Source of Cobalt in Ancient Egyptian Pigments', in J. S. Olin and M. J. Blackman (eds.), *Proceedings of the 24th International Archaeometry Symposium* (Washington, DC, 1986), 369–76.
[4] Ibid. 372.
[5] A. Kaczmarczyk and R. E. M. Hedges, *Ancient Egyptian Faience* (Warminster, 1983), 41–54, 151–3, 244–6, 253–4.
[6] Ibid. 260–2.
[7] Ibid. 267–9, 277–8.

Pencil notes on many of the squeezes indicate that they date between 25 December 1851 and 24 January 1852, and are thus among the earliest preserved in the United Kingdom (after the Wilkinson squeezes, Moss, *JEA* 62 (1976), 108–9). The squeezes probably came from Miss Parker's father, Lt.-Col. Charles John Bullivant Parker, of Stonebridge House in Grantham. Mrs Budreau-Ross has provided the following biographical information:

'Lt.-Col. Parker, born September 3, 1828, was educated at Eton and Oxford where he took a B.A. degree in 1851. He then travelled abroad for some time before returning to England to take up farming. In 1852, he joined the Royal South Lincolnshire militia, then the 4th Battalion Lincolnshire Regiment from which he resigned in May 1882 with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Parker married the daughter of local banker, Mr. John Hardy, in 1860 and became a partner in the family business. He moved to Stonebridge House after Hardy's death. Parker was an active churchman and from 1875 to 1910 was vicar's warden of Grantham Church. He had six children, of which two were girls. He died in 1914.'

FIG. 1. Stela of Neferhor, Eleventh Dynasty, from Thebes, formerly in the Lieder collection. Grantham squeeze no. 44. Drawing by Mrs M. E. Cox.

The Grantham *Museum Report for the year ending March 31st, 1930* suggests that the squeezes were taken 'by the late Colonel Parker', but the handwriting shows them to have been made by Alice Lieder, the wife of the Revd J. R. T. Lieder, a Church of England missionary who resided in Egypt from 1826 until his death in 1865 (*JEA* 72 (1986), 101–3; Dawson and Uphill, *Who was Who in Egyptology*[2] (London, 1972), 179, hereafter *WWWIE*). Lt.-Col. Parker probably acquired the squeezes from the Lieders, whom he may have met during his stay in Egypt.

The squeezes display a typically mid-nineteenth century penchant for cartouches and the faces of royalty, but several are of greater interest. One (no. 44) shows an Eleventh Dynasty stela (fig. 1) of a *Nfr-ḥr* accompanied by his wife *Snt* and son *Mnṯw-ḥtp*, and is marked 'home? from Thebes'. Mrs Lieder supplied antiquities for the collection of Mr (later Lord) W. A. Tyssen Amherst, but the list in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum does not contain such an object, and the present location of the stela does not seem to be known. Another squeeze (no. 25), from KV 17 (Sethos I), shows—if further evidence is needed—that Lefébure's impressive volumes are not always reliable in details (*Le Tombeau de Séti Ier* (Paris, 1886), iii, pl. iii top right). The cartouches of several kings of the Twelfth Dynasty (nos. 50–4) come from the tomb of Khnemhotpe III at Beni Hasan; Newberry's publication (*Beni Hasan*, I (London, 1893), pls. xxv–xxvi) suggests that a less scrupulous person subsequently displayed his interest in these royal names by hacking them off the wall. There are also several squeezes of modern graffiti. One, from El-Dakka (no. 41), shows the names of Ibrahim (i.e. J. L. Burckhardt, *WWWIE*, 47), Beechey, Belzoni, Irby and Mangles 1817, Hyde 1819 (*WWWIE*, 148), and R. Burton. Another two (nos. 42–3), made by Ibrahim 1813 (the date in *WWWIE* is to be corrected, cf. Burckhardt's *Travels in Nubia* (London, 1819)), Belzoni 1817, Ias. Mangles and C. L. Irby, 15 August 1817, Madden 1826 (*WWWIE*, 191, but the dates given there are probably inaccurate), and Barthow, are from the tomb of Paheri at El-Kab (both omitted on the wall in J. J. Tylor's *The Tomb of Paheri* (London, 1895), pl. iv, 1st and 2nd registers from top, on left).

The sites represented on the squeezes are El-Dakka (squeezes nos. 40–1, 47–8, Un7, Un9), Beit el-Wali (Un3), Dabod (38), Kom Ombo (32, 36, 45), Edfu (37), El-Kab (42–3), Luxor (17, 18, 20), Karnak (4, 9, 14, 21–2, 24, 26, 28, 31, 34–5, Un1), Deir el-Bahari/Hatshepsut (5, 7, 15), KV 6 (8), KV 8 (10), KV 9 (2, 3), KV 17 (11, 23, 25, 27, 49, 55–6), a tomb at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (12), Dendera (6, 13, 19, 33), Abydos/Sethos I (1), and Beni Hasan (50–4).

D. N. E. MAGEE *and* J. MALEK

The transliteration of the name of Osiris

An acknowledgement that the author's reading of the name of Osiris as *3s-ỉr*, in *JEA* 76 (1990), 191–4, was anticipated by D. Lorton, *VA* 1 (1985), 124f., n. 27c.

Since publication of my study in *JEA* 76 (1990), 191–4, David Lorton has kindly pointed out to me that he had already suggested reading the name of Osiris as *3s-ỉr*, rather than *Ws-ỉr*, in *VA* 1 (1985), 124f., n. 27c. Most regrettably, I entirely overlooked his study, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge, and make better known here, that he was the first to arrive at this conclusion. That two scholars should arrive independently at the same result surely strengthens its case.

YOSHI MUCHIKI

REVIEWS

Egyptian Pottery. By COLIN HOPE. 210 × 150 mm. Pp. 64, with 72 illustrations. Aylesbury, Shire Publications Ltd., 1987. ISBN 0 85263 852 3. Price £2.50.

This excellent little book, No. 5 in the Shire Egyptology series, describes both clearly and concisely all the most important aspects of Egyptian pottery. The Dynastic period alone is covered, with only passing reference to the Predynastic and no mention at all of the Ptolemaic period and later times. The pottery of Nubia is not included, and neither are imported vessels, although their existence is once or twice alluded to.

The position of the potter in society is first touched upon, and there follows a section on methods of pottery manufacture, starting with the selection and preparation of clays, describing technical developments leading to the eventual introduction of the kick-wheel (but is this really as late as the Twenty-seventh Dynasty?), and concluding with a few sentences on the subject of kilns. The various methods of decoration are then considered, possibly at rather disproportionate length given the very small percentage of decorated vessels in Egypt. An admirably concise chapter on the historical development of vessel types covers all the most important features, though it is naturally unable to describe and illustrate more than a fraction of the corpus. If the first millennium BC is given rather cursory treatment in both text and illustrations (six of the latter, compared with forty-four for the New Kingdom), it could be argued that this does no more than reflect the paucity of well-dated material so far published.

Hope does not fall into the trap of regarding pottery as a mere dating tool, although its value for this purpose is acknowledged. Clay and finish, as well as form, are related to vessel function, and some forms singled out as relevant to religious or funerary, as opposed to domestic, use. The ways in which the archaeologist can use pottery to establish ancient patterns of trade or the areas devoted to different activities within a town site, are described.

There is a select bibliography, a useful list of museums with Egyptian pottery and an index. The map of sites mentioned in the text has its spelling well standardized with the latter, except in the case of *Deir* el-Bersheh and *Tell el-*Amarna. The seventeen line drawings have printed well; the seven depicting ancient representations of pottery manufacture, all after Holthoer, are particularly interesting. Most of the fifty-four photographs have also reproduced well, although a few (e.g. eleven centre right, thirty-four, forty-five) illustrate less clearly than one might wish features described in the text or captions. It is, however, to be regretted that no dimensions are provided in the list of illustrations since so few of the photographs include scale bars. The text is clearly printed and refreshingly free from typographical errors, and the book is recommended as a bargain at the very low price marked.

PETER FRENCH

Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt. The Term Dsr, with special Reference to Dynasty I–XX. By JAMES KARL HOFFMEIER. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 59. 230 × 155 mm. Pp. xv + 281, including figs. 24. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag and Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1985. ISBN 3 7278 0324 X or 3 525 53682 8. Price DM 180.

Se proposant de définir la notion de sacré et son contenu dans la religion égyptienne, l'auteur isole le terme *ḏsr* considérant que 'many have recognized that the word *ḏsr* is most likely the Egyp-

tian word that best parallels the meaning "holy" and "sacred" ...'. D'autres vocables sont rapidement écartés pour la raison que ceux-ci 'certainly did not specifically mean "holy" in the sense that has been understood by historians of religion (i.e. something that is "*das ganz andere*")'. L'ouvrage est entièrement fondé sur ces postulats ne nécessitant pas, de ce fait, une démonstration mais qui, pourtant, ne paraîtront ni légitimes ni incontestables à tous. L'essentiel est donc, pour l'auteur, de déterminer le sens de base du terme et de suivre son évolution en synchro-diachronie puisque, à ses yeux, l'égyptologie a failli à cette tâche.

L'ouvrage est divisé en plusieurs chapitres qui correspondent à un découpage chronologique. Le premier va des premiers textes à la 6e dynastie; le second est consacré à la Première Période Intermédiaire et au Moyen Empire; le troisième à la Seconde Période Intermédiaire et au Nouvel Empire. Un dernier chapitre évoque certains textes tardifs et présente une conclusion sur la notion de sacré en élargissant la réflexion aux contextes d'où *ḏsr* est absent.

Le premier chapitre s'efforce de dresser l'histoire du mot *ḏsr*, d'examiner ses graphies et le sens que peut revêtir, fondamentalement, le radical *ḏsr*. Il permet donc à l'auteur de mettre en place les idées essentielles qui serviront de base aux développements ultérieurs.

Fort logiquement, l'auteur étudie la nature du signe  et ses emplois (pp. 2–8). Il dresse la liste des mots qui, dans les Textes des Pyramides, sont susceptibles, selon lui, d'être déterminés par ce signe ou des signes approchants. En bonne méthode, cependant, il eut mieux valu ne pas prendre en compte ces signes 'approchants' qui sont en fait des signes différents et font aboutir à une conclusion inexacte: 'this lexical list supports the idea that a hieroglyph with a hand holding various types of sticks represents some sort of action, particularly aggression'. Si l'on se fonde sur les formes du signe lorsqu'il sert à écrire *ḏsr* et ses dérivés dans les Pyramides (par ex. §§45b, 652b, 801b, 1552c) et que l'on refait cette même liste en se limitant à ces seules formes, à l'exclusion de toute autre, l'on obtient le résultat suivant:  'écarter' (Pyr. §§908c.g. [P], 1150b [P,N], 1207d [P], 1449a [M]);  'éloigner' (§908f [P]);  'se dresser, se soulever' (§§1878c [N], 2182b [N]);  'soulever, porter (sur ses épaules)' (§1638c, [M], pour le signe *ḏsr* dans ce passage voir Leclant, *Recherches dans la Pyramide et au Temple Haut du pharaon Pépi Ier*, pl. dépliante col. 39). A Basse Époque  sert encore de déterminatif à *mtnw* 'orner, rehausser' (*Wb.* II, 170, 16–171, 4 mais les *Belegstellen* n'indiquent pas la source de cette graphie).

On notera, en outre, que *ḏsr* s'écrit, dans un texte très tardif, à l'aide du signe  (Herbin, *BIFAO* 84, 257, 259 = pl. LV [12] et [16]) qui représente un prêtre vêtu d'un ample manteau et brandissant devant lui le sceptre *ḏsr*. La raison pour laquelle ce signe s'est vu attribuer cette valeur est expliquée par un passage du temple d'Esna (traduction de Sauneron, *Esna*, V, 134 [= no 284, 12]): 'Quant à celui qui les [= les prêtres] conduit, c'est l'archiprêtre de ce temple, revêtu de son habit, le sceptre-*djéser* à la main, menant tous ces employés'. Ce signe est pratiquement identique à celui qui, durant l'Ancien Empire sert, occasionnellement, à déterminer le nom du prêtre *sem* et celui du prêtre *irj-nṯr* (Grdseloff, *ASAE* 44, 284–8; Ogdon, *GM* 72, 15–19 et dans l'ouvrage même p. 261 fig. 24). Le prêtre ou le roi (voir les remarques de Fischer, *MMJ* 13, 24) qui s'approche de la divinité tient donc à distance ce qui ne doit pas entrer en contact avec elle par ce geste *ḏsr* qui est plus une barrière qu'une agression. Les emplois du signe  dans d'autres mots recoupent cette notion de 'mise à distance' soit par éloignement, soit par élévation.

C'est bien là le sens fondamental de *ḏsr*. On le perçoit encore clairement dans les 'bilingues', que ce soit dans le *Rituel de Repousser l'Agressif* où *ḏsr* de la version 'classique' est rendu par *sḫḫ* dans le version néo-égyptienne (*Urk.* VI, 73, 5–6; 107, 5–6) ou dans le Décret de Canope qui utilise également *sḫḫ* dans la partie démotique pour rendre *iri ḏsr* du texte hiéroglyphique (Daumas, *Moyens comparés*, 198). On verra encore l'emploi simultané de *sḫḫ* et *sḏsr* dans Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris*, I, 33 (28, 7) et de *sḫḫ* seul dans l'ouvrage même (p. 215). Bien que le démotique *sḫḫ* signifie 'honorer' il ne s'agit que d'un développement du sens de base 'tenir à distance' (Andreu, *BIFAO* 87, 1–2).

L'ensemble de ces éléments se trouve en adéquation avec la séduisante hypothèse de Fecht (*SAK* 1, 186–7) selon laquelle *ḏsr* pourrait être le causatif de *ḏri* 'éloigner, séparer' avec une métathèse évitant la confusion avec *sḏr* 'dormir' et permet de faire sienne l'opinion de Gardiner concernant *ḏsr*: 'the predominating meaning is "set apart", particularly with the added nuance of "keeping aloof" from vulgar intrusion; the English "segregate" perhaps comes nearest to this sense' (*JEA* 32, 51 n. 1).

L'auteur mentionne cette opinion de Gardiner et la fait sienne tout en la jugeant insuffisante en ce que l'idée de séparation, de mise à l'écart, ne serait qu'un développement ultérieur du sens de base illustré par le signe, à savoir 'to wave or to brandish a stick in one's hand. Very closely linked to this, and perhaps included in the root meaning, is the idea of "warding off" the blows of an attacker'. Rien, on l'a vu, dans l'analyse du signe n'autorise une telle opinion. A l'issue d'un examen des textes de l'Ancien Empire, l'auteur propose un schéma résumant le champ sémantique couvert par le mot:

waving motion → *ward off* → *separate* → *segregate* → *holy*
(brandish) (clear)

Il élimine en passant des significations telles que 'to raise', 'support', 'splendid', 'beautify', dont nous verrons qu'elles ne peuvent être totalement abandonnées. Dans le schéma, ce sont les deux extrémités de la chaîne qui suscitent le plus de réserves. Il convient donc d'examiner les éléments sur lesquels l'auteur se fonde pour attribuer à *ḏsr* le sens de base 'waving motion (brandish)' et le sens final 'holy'.

Pour ce qui est du premier élément, il se réfère aux expressions *ḏsr ḥpt(w)*, *ḏsr ḥr ḏʿmw*, *ḏsr rmn m ỉꜣbtt*. Celles-ci, on en conviendra, ne sont pas des plus courantes et leur signification réelle sujette à caution. Les traductions proposées à ce jour varient en fonction de l'idée que chaque traducteur se fait du concept *ḏsr* et ne se fondent guère sur une démonstration précise. Dans le cas de *ḏsr ḥpt(w)* (p. 40, 61–4), considérer que *ḥpt(w)* désigne la rame ou la rame-gouvernail est imprudent. Il y a de fortes chances pour que ce mot désigne l'objet 𓊹 dont on ne sait toujours pas ce qu'il est. On ne peut affirmer que *ḏsr*, dans ce contexte, signifie "manier" ou quelque chose d'approchant. Pour *ḏsr ḥr ḏʿmw* l'auteur se livre à une enquête détaillée (pp. 32–40, 64–5) où il montre qu'il s'agit d'une expression liée à la navigation et décrivant les dieux poussant sur une perche (ici *ḏʿm*) pour faire avancer l'embarcation. Sa démonstration est convaincante, mais l'on ne voit pas clairement quelle traduction se dégage pour *ḏsr* sinon qu'il s'agit d'une opération manuelle. On peut pourtant comparer, du point de vue de la structure, *ḏsr ḥr ḏʿmw* à l'épithète d'Oupouaout *ḏsr ḥr ỉst* 'dressé (ou: hissé) sur le pavois' (Davies, *The Temple of Hibis*, III, pl. 47). On imagine les dieux, dans leur barque, 'se (re)dressant (en s'appuyant) sur la perche-*ḏʿm*'. L'expression *ḏsr rmn m ỉꜣbtt* (pp. 40–2, 65) s'applique au soleil au moment où il se lève. Une traduction du type 'montrer, pointer l'épaule à l'orient', qui décrirait joliment cet instant, ne trouve pas grâce aux yeux de l'auteur sous prétexte que *ḏsr* ne signifie jamais 'dresser, soulever'. Il souligne, à juste titre, que *ḏsr pt r tꜣ* signifie 'séparer le ciel de la terre' et non 'soulever le ciel de dessus la terre' (pp. 30–2, 35, 79–83) et en déduit que le serpent *ḏsr-tp* ne peut être 'celui qui a la tête dressée' (pp. 42–4). Une nuance, toutefois, lui échappe. *ḏsr-tp.f* apparaît comme une épithète du mort dans un passage des Textes des Sarcophages où sa (re)naissance est décrite de façon réaliste: 'j'avance entre ses (= la mère) cuisses en tant que Celui-dont-la-tête-se-dégage (*ḏsr-tp.f*); je sors d'entre les cuisses d'Isis en tant qu'Horus' (*CT* II, 50 c-e, voir Goedicke, *BSEG* 12, 40 et 45). Dans une naissance normale l'enfant se présentant la tête la première, *ḏsr* se réfère à cet instant où, montrant la tête, il cesse de ne faire qu'un avec le corps de sa mère. La tête du serpent est qualifiée de *ḏsr* non pas tant parce qu'elle est dressée mais, parce que dressée elle se différencie mieux du reste du corps. Oupouaout, hissé sur la pavois, est mis en exergue et devient le plus visible, apte à ouvrir la marche de la procession. Si l'on accorde à l'auteur que 'dressé(e)' n'est pas une traduction fidèle, on pourra admettre qu'il s'agit pourtant d'un raccourci commode.

Les mêmes remarques valent pour *ḏsr-ʿ* dont l'auteur conteste la traduction habituelle 'Celui-au-bras-levé' (pp. 203–4). On verra pourtant: 'Amon-Rê, le Primordial des Deux-Terres, celui au bras levé qui tient le ciel suspendu' (*ḏsr-ʿ ḫ pt*: *Urk.* VIII, 141 ⟨203b⟩). La traduction ancienne devra être maintenue même si l'on pense, avec l'auteur, que *ḏsr-ʿ* est également un geste de protection. En ce sens Grimal, *Piankhy*, 125 n. 380; Lefebvre, *Petosiris*, I, 140.

Au-delà de la simple mise à part ou de la mise à distance *ḏsr* implique encore une mise en évidence ou une singularisation, une spécificité.

A l'autre extrémité de la chaîne, tous les exemples cités en faveur du sens 'holy' ramènent, d'une façon ou d'une autre, à la singularité. Il me paraît impossible que *ḏsr* recouvre à lui seul le concept de sacré, tel qu'il est défini par les historiens des religions. En effet, pour que cela soit possible,

dans une langue donnée il faut, me semble-t-il, que l'on puisse conceptuellement opposer le terme unique 'sacré' à un terme unique 'profane'. Or un tel terme n'existe pas en égyptien même si l'on trouve quelques vocables qui en recouvrent, indirectement, certains aspects. Lorsqu'il relève du domaine du sacré *ḏsr* ne décrit que l'une de ses multiples facettes. S'il y avait eu adéquation parfaite, ou presque parfaite, entre *ḏsr* et 'sacré', je doute que l'on ait pu recontrer en égyptien une tournure comme *nṯr ḏsr* (*KRI*, III, 173, 9). Que serait un 'dieu sacré', puisque tous les dieux le sont par définition? Un *nṯr ḏsr* est un dieu qui se singularise par une qualité, un pouvoir, une situation; celui qui est *ḏsr m 'Iwnw* occupe un place à part, réservée, distinguée à Hélipolis. *m ḏsrw* peut signifier 'dans le privé' d'un lieu réservé aux privilégiés, comme 'dans le lointain' inaccessible (*m ḏsrw ꜣḫt*: pp. 83–4 d'après *CT* VII, 313d où certaines versions donnent *m ṯnw ꜣḫt* à comparer avec *Wb.* V, 375, 29).

Cette singularité peut se traduire de bien des façons. C'est 'arborer' un insigne comme la figurine de Maât au cou du vizir (Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien*, II, 340 [2.3.4] et [2.3.5]), être 'rehaussé' par la présence de l'image solaire en parlant du ciel (*Edfou*, III, 196, 11) ou 'rehaussé' de reliefs en parlant d'un temple (*Dendara*, IV, 155, 8–9), d'où les traductions *μεγαλοπρεπῶς* et *ἐνδόξως* que le grec donne de *ḏsr* (Daumas, *Moyens comparés*, 121, 123). Ce peut donc être une caractéristique: 'mon abomination spécifique (*bwt.i ḏsrt*) c'est le mensonge' (*Wb.* V, 611, 22), 'sa célébration lui est faite, caractérisée par (*ir(w) n.f ḥb.f ḏsr.ti m*) sa grande offrande du 21e jour du deuxième mois de *péret*' (*Edfou*, I/3, 331, 1). Les *ḏsrw* ne sont alors pas des 'sacred things' (pp. 101–2) mais les objets de cultes, les 'réquisits', spécifiques d'une divinité (Vernus, *RdE* 38, 164 n.c) ou les qualités particulières d'un dieu (pp. 104, 166). *sḏsr* (pp. 146–65), qui apparaît déjà au Moyen Empire (Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber*, 169) c'est d'abord 'mettre en avant, donner la primauté, privilégier, honorer (plus particulièrement)'.

Tous les contextes que l'auteur examine dans la suite de son travail s'intègrent au schéma:

mise à distance → *mise en exergue* → *mise à part, singularisation*

y compris pour des expressions telles que *ḏsr pt* 'dégager le ciel' (pp. 65–72) où la mise à distance de ce qui le trouble (nuages, etc.) est telle qu'elle libère totalement sa surface et le fait paraître dans toute sa pureté.

L'auteur souligne, fort justement, à plusieurs reprises, les corrélations existant entre *ḏsr*, *šṯꜣ* 'être difficile d'accès' (pp. 92–7, 135–6) et *wꜥb* 'être pur' (pp. 18, 29, 121, 134, 153, 156, 164–5, 171, 177, 206–8). A eux trois, en effet, ces termes constituent les conditions essentielles du sacré. Le sacré, bien que difficile d'accès ou difficile à connaître (*šṯꜣ*) peut être atteint au moyen d'un effort approprié, un apprentissage par exemple, une 'initiation', mais il maintient toujours une distance (*ḏsr*), fût-elle infime, qui préserve son nécessaire état de pureté (*wꜥb*). Cette impalpable distance peut être matérialisée, comme l'exprime un texte tardif, chaque fois que l'on approche du divin: 'l'encens (*ḏsr*) est mis en évidence (*ḏsr*) pour mettre à l'abri (*ḏsr*) ton corps' (*Edfou*, VII, 203, 15). En ce sens, les pages finales du travail (spéc. pp. 205–8) auraient pu dégager une analyse plus précise de l'implication de la pureté dans le sacré.

L'auteur rassemble une quantité de textes et examine nombre d'expressions, aussi l'absence d'un index développé se fait-elle cruellement sentir. En dépit de son titre, le travail de J. K. Hoffmeier ne peut prétendre fournir une étude sur le sacré dans l'ancienne Égypte. Il s'agit, tout au plus, d'une étude lexicale de *ḏsr* et de ses dérivés, encore que celle-ci me paraisse manquer la cible qu'elle se proposait d'atteindre.

DIMITRI MEEKS

Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis, Part I *Egyptian Antiquities*. By BERNARD V. BOTHMER. 275 × 240 mm. Pp. ii + 106, numerous illustrations, some in colour. Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987. ISBN 3 8053 09511. Price DM 148 for the complete volume.

The Christos G. Bastis Collection contains a fine and representative sample of art from pharaonic Egypt. Bastis purchased most of his pieces in the United States with the advice and

encouragement of Bothmer. Clearly, there was no other Egyptologist who could have described this group with the intimacy of Bothmer; nor could any other scholar better represent the admiring but analytic approach to Egyptian art taken by art historians and collectors over the past several decades. Bothmer's appreciation for the objects reveals itself in his careful descriptions and his lavish illustrations. His appreciation, too, for his audience is apparent in his careful explanations of Egyptological jargon. There is no doubt that this book can be read and admired by a broad readership.

A total of forty-two objects is described, representing the product of Egyptian ateliers from the Middle Kingdom through the Ptolemaic period (first century BC). There are comments to make about a few pieces, but I urge readers to examine the entire collection, as well as the remainder of the book.

The first entry is a fragmentary head of dark, fine-grained stone which Bothmer attributes to a private statue of about the reign of Amenemhet III. The dating is difficult to follow, for Bothmer can point only to the 'worry lines descending from the nostrils' as a feature generally associated with Amenemhet III (B. Fay, *MDAIK* 44 (1988), 71; Aldred, *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 3 (1970), 34 ff.). Indeed, the face is, as he first describes it, full and round, with puffy cheeks, a short nose, and eyes which are naturally shaped and cosmetically rimmed above, without a hint of hooding. The head has echoes of Old Kingdom idealized faces such as were common in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. It also has a vertically striped beard, a fact which appears to have influenced Bothmer's dating. He states that the Bastis head and a statue in London (BM 1237) are the only examples with such a beard, and since the London example is attributed to the late Twelfth Dynasty, and since the only vertically striped beard on a royal figure is on a sphinx of Sesostris III (MMA 17.9.2), a date near Amenemhet III's rule is probable. However, Janine Bourriau published another private head with such a vertically-striped beard in her catalogue *Pharaohs and Mortals* (Cambridge, 1988). Her no. 17, Royal Museum of Scotland 1952.197, is described as having a broad face and a short nose. The piece is assigned to the early Twelfth Dynasty and is compared favourably to Sesostris I. I would suggest that this Bastis piece might be better assigned earlier in the dynasty as well.

The sistrophore of Kaemwast, now in the Brooklyn Museum (74.94), is dated by cartouche to the reign of Thutmose IV. Bothmer's long and excellent description of this work places it within the context of other such statues. The piece bears a dedication to Mut, Mistress of Asher, and it was a bit surprising not to find that provenance, but rather Karnak generally, suggested. One might compare the stylistic features of the statue with Cairo CG 923, likewise from the Mut precinct and dating to the reign of Amenhotep II (B. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore and London, 1991), 43–4, pl. i). The limestone statue of prince Thutmose (to become Thutmose IV) also has an inscribed base with a kneeling figure who wears a calf-length skirt. Like Kaemwast, Thutmose has sharply incised artificial fat folds on his abdomen. In both cases the stylization of the folds is in contrast to the more realistic modelling of other body parts. As has been pointed out elsewhere (B. Bryan *JARCE* 24 (1987), 3–20), an almond-shaped eye, such as appears on the cow-faced sistrum held by Kaemwast, was characteristic of sculpture in the reign of Thutmose IV. The sistrophore CG 923 demonstrates the typically more natural-shaped and wider-opened eye of Amenhotep II's rule. The sistrum is simply treated and the statue generally is not as elaborately sculpted—perhaps because decorative details were applied in paint over the limestone. However, the overall pose and proportions of the kneeling figures are quite similar.

Catalogue no. 7, an ancestral bust, is attributed by Bothmer to the late Eighteenth Dynasty (pp. 24–9). The parallels he provides in the shabtis of Tutankhamun are not entirely convincing. Rather, the eyes here, of which the author makes much, cannot be paralleled in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The combination of bulging wide-open almond shaped eyes with a convex hood, incised lid line and concave lid up to the brow is characteristic of statuary in Ramesses II's reign, (e.g. Cairo CG 616, British Museum EA 19, Cairo CG 600, and Turin 1380). Examples from the late Eighteenth Dynasty have some of the features of the eyes seen on the Bastis bust, but they do not have the bulging eyeball along with the other elements.

A second problem is the interpretation offered here connecting the ancestor bust with Hathor as mistress of the house. Although Hathor is invoked on a few statues, there is little about the inconography here to recall that goddess. The bust is instead representative of the mummy mask itself, with a broad floral collar beneath the tripartite wig used for both male and female on shabtis.

That Hathor was worshipped in western Thebes is surely due to her ancient connection with necropoleis, particularly royal necropoleis (S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult* (1963), 67ff, and see now H. Goedicke, *Hathor* I (1989), 11–31), to which the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina had obvious relations. Rather than relate the busts to Hathor, we should consider them more likely images of deceased family members.

The numerous and masterful entries Bothmer includes describing Late Period statuary should be noted. Bastis has brought together, with the author's help, a superb group of bronzes, including a Twenty-fifth Dynasty priestess (no. 11) and king in prayerful kneeling attitude (no. 12). From the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is a schist head of Selket (?) (no. 21) similar in style and carving to the Isis protecting Osiris in the Cairo Museum, (CG 38884). From this period also is a fragmentary shabti of glazed steatite, assigned by Bothmer to Petamenophis (no. 14). Although this attribution may well be correct, there is no inscription on the piece, and it would have been prudent not to label the piece 'Petamenophis'. I would consider the assertion that the 'mature sly face, not at all kind and benign, with small lidless eyes set high up in the head' ... 'represents him [Petamenophis] and no one else' (p. 43), to be overstated. Doubtless the fragment dates to the same period and same workshop, but without the inscription, such mass manufactured objects as shabtis should be evaluated most conservatively.

These remarks are by no means intended as overall criticism of Bothmer's discussions, which are, as always, excellently formed and informed. This review is rather an indication of how much his entries evoke reaction and thought. There can be no greater praise.

B. BRYAN

Egypt, Israel, Sinai–Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period. Edited by ANSON F. RAINEY. 226 × 152 mm. Pp. 173, numerous text-figures. Tel Aviv, Tel Aviv University, 1987. ISBN 965 224 008 7. Price not stated.

This elegant little book is the product of a symposium held in 1982, presenting seven papers and a response-paper. These are as follows:

1. Ram Gophna ('Egyptian Trading Posts in Southern Canaan at the Dawn of the Archaic Period', pp. 13–21) draws attention to seven south-Palestinian sites of the Early Bronze I B period—contemporary with the change-over from the Predynastic period to the beginning of the First Dynasty in Egypt. In six of the sites, potsherds were found bearing the Horus-names of Narmer or Aha or both, the seventh having Egyptian pottery of the same period. Five of these sites were early Canaanite settlements which Egyptian traders visited, leaving characteristic Egyptian pottery. Two others may have been actual Egyptian foundations: one (Tel Ma'aḥaz) a campsite trading-post, the other ('En Besor) possibly an official Egyptian outpost to supply and regulate Egyptian trade-ventures. Curiously, this Egyptian activity in the region fades out after the reign of Hor-Aha; one may suggest that, perhaps, Egyptian interest was already moving north towards Byblos and Phoenicia.

2. R. Giveon ('The Impact of Egypt on Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age', pp. 23–40) is a compilation from previous work of his, as he died before he could submit a version of the paper presented at the symposium. Was the role of Middle-Kingdom Egypt in Middle-Bronze Canaan that of overlord or simply trading-partner? Giveon tended to favour the former view, without adducing any new pertinent evidence. However, he did include some previously unpublished seals (cylinder and scarab) for this period.

3. M. Bietak ('Canaanites in the Eastern Nile Delta', pp. 41–56) concisely presents the basic evidence from Tell el-Dab'a in the Eastern Delta for Egyptian/Canaanite relations there in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Periods. During that epoch, the main trade-links were with Byblos and Phoenicia (by sea), not with Canaan south of Megiddo. At Tell el-Dab'a there developed an urban centre (seventeenth century BC), having a Middle-Bronze population of Semitic origin with their own distinctive customs. Then, within the Hyksos period, closer links

developed with Canaan proper and with Cyprus, replacing the Phoenician links. Late on, trade-links with the latter and with Upper Egypt and Nubia declined—perhaps under pressure from a newly-aggressive Theban Seventeenth Dynasty.

4. I. Beit-Arieh ('Canaanites and Egyptians at Serabit el-Khadim', pp. 57–67) briefly outlines recent exploration in Mine L (1977/78), which aimed (*inter alia*) at fixing the archaeological date (Middle or New Kingdom?) of the famous Proto-Sinaitic inscriptions. Indications from Mine L (remains of Egyptian New Kingdom faience; Canaanite Late-Bronze pottery) with finds of stone foot-bellows and an axe-head mould, again of New Kingdom type, would all go to confirm a New-Kingdom date for such inscriptions, of which a minor additional example was found, reading *'l*, i.e. the divine name 'El.

5. E. D. Oren ('The "Ways of Horus" in North Sinai', pp. 69–119) is the longest piece, giving a valuable summary of the results of a site-survey along the famous north-coast route from Egypt to Gaza, including two excavations. That at Bir el-'Abd (south of the western half of Lake Bardawil) produced remains of a New-Kingdom fort with associated magazines and granaries, a water-catchment pool and some thirty satellite encampments all around. Egyptian 'blue-painted' ware indicates a date not before the later Eighteenth Dynasty; the cartouche of Sethos I featured on a jar-handle. Work at Haruba (12 km east of El-'Arish) yielded another site-cluster of the Nineteenth/Twentieth Dynasties: over a former encampment (Phase IV), the regime of Sethos I erected a fort (Phase II)—as in his Karnak reliefs—that saw service throughout the Nineteenth Dynasty, yielding a vessel of Sethos II. In the early Twentieth Dynasty (Phase III), the fort was in effect decommissioned, and reused for local administration, inhabited mainly by locals. The twelfth century saw the destruction of the structure, it giving way (Phase I) to transient squatters' pits, etc. To the north of the fort was found a complex of magazines, offices etc., and a potter's workplace with surviving kiln. These sites give concrete reality to the literary sources for Egypt's imperial link-road to Canaan and beyond.

6. T. Dothan ('The Impact of Egypt on Canaan during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties in the Light of the Excavations at Deir el-Balaḥ', pp. 121–35) presents compactly the results of work at Deir el-Balaḥ for the same period as Oren, i.e. late-Eighteenth to mid-Twentieth Dynasties. Again, an Egyptian administrative centre was found, centred on a fort; attention was first drawn to the site by spectacular chance finds of clay coffins of the so-called 'Philistine' type.

7. D. B. Redford ('An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative' pp. 137–61) purports to review possible Egyptian background to the Exodus narrative. However, this contribution is much stronger on stating valid principles (cf. the admirable paragraph, p. 138 top) than on applying them. There is the currently-fashionable special pleading in favour of a Saite/Persian date for the details and date of the Exodus narrative which cannot be squared with the facts. Errors from of old are repeated—Pithom is *not* to be located at Tell el-Maskhuta on both textual (Egyptian) and geographical grounds, but further west (Tell el-Retaba is the best possibility at present). Tell Maskhuta is in, and part of, Succoth, and textual and pre-Toronto data cannot be just set aside. Redford is quick to accuse others of being 'both naive and gratuitous, if not downright dishonest' (p. 155, n. 22)—but others may well be tempted to apply just such charges to his own continuing citation of his outmoded paper in *VT* 13 (1963), 401–18, and refusal to acknowledge its thorough and fully-justified refutation by W. Helck, *VT* 15 (1965), 35–48, for example. Other slips here include failing to note that *mas*, 'corvee', goes back to at least the Amarna period and has nothing to do with Hebrew *miskenot*; if brickmaking Hebrews in Ex 1:11 are 'not...authentic' (p. 147), what price the brickmaking Semites in the famous tomb-scene of Rekhmire? Or the 'Apiru who drag stone for royal buildings in P. Leiden 348? The Shasu are certainly not the Israelites; cf. L. Stager, *Eretz-Israel* 18 (1985), 56–64; on this matter, Redford, *IEJ* 36 (1986), 188–200, should be replaced by the altogether more thorough study by F. J. Yurco, *JARCE* 23 (1986), 189–215, for Ashkelon and Merenptah's Asiatic campaign. And so on. This paper is merely part of the usual van Seters/Thompson/Redford chorus-line to down-grade perfectly respectable narratives to the level of Saite-period fairy-tales, in uncritical subservience to the current fashion in conventional Old Testament 'scholarship' to date almost everything biblical to after 600 BC,—and devil take all contrary evidence. 'This too will pass'.

8. M. Bietak ('Comments on the "Exodus"', pp. 163–71) with its modesty, its soundly objective attitude, is by comparison a breath of fresh air. As Bietak says, 'we have to try to integrate new

sources from outside Old Testament studies' (p. 163), rather than churn over the same old ground in sterile isolation. Using data for residual traces of 'Ramesses' cults at Tanis and Bubastis, Bietak is able to explain the geographical errors of later Jewish commentators and interpreters (e.g. as reflected in the LXX); then, he draws together the archaeological and geographical realities (gently correcting the Redford errors over Pi-Ramesse and Pithom), to attain a realistic solution for a proto-Israelite exodus. His endorsement of the southern route through Sinai finds support in other recent work in this region.

On balance, this book is a useful adjunct for anyone studying the relations of Egypt and Canaan, especially in the New-Kingdom period. Of misprints, only one is significant: p. 77 top, read 'north-western' instead of 'south-western'.

K. A. KITCHEN

Scarabs from recent excavations in Israel. By RAPHAEL GIVEON. Edited by DAVID WARBURTON and CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, 83. 230 × 152 mm. Pp. vii + 114, portrait, pls. 9, many figs. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag and Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1988. ISBN 3 7278 0581 1 (Universitätsverlag), 3 525 53712 3 (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht). Price not stated.

The flow of scarabs and related objects from sites beyond the frontiers of Egypt seems never-ending. In this respect Israel is particularly rich. The present volume is Raphael Giveon's last contribution, published posthumously, to an important branch of Egyptian studies. Details of his bibliography (by Othmar Keel) and a portrait are included, as well as a comprehensive bibliography (by Naama Azulay) of the author.

The material comprises 120 hitherto unpublished scarabs, seal impressions, and small finds from fifteen sites in Israel, the objects ranging in date from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Late Period. Many are from controlled excavations, some are in private collections. A few of the dates suggested by Giveon could no doubt be refined, or revised dates put forward (e.g. for nos. 36 and 37, which I would date to the Second Intermediate Period and Thirteenth Dynasty respectively).

The various sites from which the material derives are described briefly from the point of view of the contexts, and the catalogue entries are full and informative. The scarab photographs (of the bases only) at the end of the volume are the best I have ever seen in an Egyptological publication. Line-drawings of the bases, backs and sides are for most specimens included in the catalogue proper, as are drawings of the small objects. This certainly makes for ease of reference. The line-drawings seem a trifle 'schematized' but are otherwise a good record, providing all the basic information needed for typological and other analyses, especially when used in conjunction with the plates. Indexes of motifs and materials, as well as pertinent references to the design classes of Tufnell and Ward, are appended.

There seems no need to expatiate on minute points of disagreement or detail, but I single out one object for special mention (no. 37), since it provides yet another example of a scarab-seal of a Middle Kingdom official, a class of material which, when found in Canaan, was of particular interest to Dr Giveon. The scarab, of which half is preserved, comes from Tel Aphek. It seems clear that the inscription on the base can be restored as follows,

giving a reading, *imy-r pr Ḥnr*, 'the steward Ḥener', not *Nr*-[*ib*] as suggested in the catalogue. The personal name is not cited in the fundamental work of Ranke.

We salute the industry and enthusiasm of the author, who early on realized the value of scarab-seals, a neglected class of material, important not least in the study of cultural relations between Egypt and Palestine in the Bronze Age and Iron Age, and for the dating of sites which otherwise yield little or no closely datable material.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna. Researches in the Arabah 1959–1984: Vol. 1. By BENO ROTHENBERG with contributions by several authors. 117.5 × 82.5 mm. Pp. viii + 317, black and white pls. 155, colour pls. 29, figs. 92, + numerous tables and text illustrations. London, Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies, 1988. ISBN 0 906183 02 2. Price £75.

This book is the first of four promised volumes describing the work of a quarter of a century in the Arabah Valley by the author and his collaborators. The main thrust of this research, summarised in an introductory chapter, has been the archaeology of early metallurgy in the region: the Arabah's richness in copper ore providing the *raison d'être* for sporadic ancient occupation of this otherwise inhospitable area to the east of the southern Negev/Sinai Peninsula. The aim of the present tome is to provide a description of a single structure, the chapel erected for the goddess Hathor at the site of Timna and excavated in 1969 and 1974. The major part of this book falls into two parts: the description of the site and its excavation, and the specialist reports on the various classes of artefact recovered from the excavation.

The excavation of the site was based on a one metre square grid, with these squares clustered into 'loci' for descriptive purposes. In addition, 66 numbered trial trenches were sunk to investigate the site's stratigraphy beneath the major occupation levels. These overlapping systems of recording may give the impression of 'overkill' in a site which is only 10 × 13 metres, but the desire to excavate the site 'properly' is clearly present in an excavator who feels the need to justify his methods by citing the appropriate handbooks of archaeological methodology. A particularly welcome feature of this part of the book is the way in which the author illustrates his textual report on particular features/phases of the excavation with photographs and line-illustrations on the same page.

The number of specialist reports on detailed aspects of the objects recovered from the site is commendable. These cover: Egyptian, Midianite and Roman pottery, metal objects, beads and pendants, Egyptian and Roman glass, textiles and textile impressions on pottery, wooden objects, organic remains of fruit, fish, molluscs and mammals, and minerals and fossils. However, it is apparent that the writing/editing of some of these reports has been carried out by persons unfamiliar with Egyptian material. One example is Glass's petrographic analysis of the Egyptian pottery found at Timna. This pottery is described in terms of the specialist author's own designations of Egyptian clays and surface treatments and compared to a 'control sample' of Egyptian pottery from Egypt itself. The greater part of this control sample is a group of Eighteenth Dynasty sherds from Malkata, ordered into five major petrographic groups; a further collection of twenty-three (undated) sherds from nine Egyptian sites is compared to this group. This exercise is carried out to provide a petrographically sound basis of what is 'Egyptian' pottery in order to compare the Timna examples. The unsurprising conclusion to this exercise seems to be that 'the major Malkata groups also occur at other sites and over a range of periods, and that these are the main material groups in major parts of the Nile Valley' (p. 98). One assumes that the detailed treatment of this analysis, to be published elsewhere, will provide a more comprehensive description of the work and its results than the necessarily summary account in the present volume.

The object-class of most interest to readers of this *Journal* will probably be Alan Schulman's catalogue of Egyptian finds, although Schulman has been poorly served by the numerous typographic errors in the transliteration of the hieroglyphic texts. The inscribed Egyptian material itself is, with one controversial exception, wholly Ramesside in date. This exception is the

fragment of the naos whose badly damaged inscription has been tentatively identified by Kitchen (*Or.* 45 (1976), 262–4) as referring to a Tuthmosid king. This identification, based on a photograph published in an earlier volume by Rothenberg on the work at Timna (*Timna: Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines* (London, 1972), 125), is specifically dismissed by Schulman, who explains the apparent presence of the *ḏhwty*-bird on the photograph as a chimera created by misleading shadows. If this is the case, it would have been helpful had the photograph of the object published in the present volume (pl. 110.3) been different from that published in the 1972 book, perhaps with an overdrawn epigraphic copy showing which lines it is believed are deliberate and which accidental.

A further problem concerning the naos is the 'white sandstone' from which it, like much of the temple as a whole, is constructed. The question posed by Kitchen (loc. cit.) regarding the source of this 'white sandstone' has not been addressed. Indeed, the unhelpful phrase regarding the 'white sandstone', 'which had to be carried here from quite a distance', found in the 1972 report on the work at Timna (Rothenberg, op. cit. 125), is reproduced almost word-for-word at the start of the present volume's chapter on the site (p. 19). Clearly, the beginning of this chapter is a re-working of the 1972 description of the site. Rothenberg notes (p. vii) that many of the individual reports on Timna were written in the early 1970s and have been reproduced with their date of writing when they have not been updated recently, but it would have been helpful for the excavator's own contribution to have been brought up to date to address this central question regarding the history of the Hathor chapel.

A more general complaint concerns the provision of scales on illustrations: all too often these are absent (e.g. on the line-drawing of the elevation of the niches in the rockface behind the naos, illustration 26) or confusing. The most striking example of the latter is fig. 23, which illustrates the stone pillars and basins: the single linear scale on this page must be presumed to refer only to the basins/basin fragments which are not distinguished from the inappropriately small illustrations of the Hathor-headed pillars/pillar fragments. Unfortunately, this error is compounded by an inaccuracy in the stated measurements of the sole complete Hathor-headed column in its catalogue description (i.e. read 113 cm for 11.3 cm, if the ranging-staff in pl. 38 is one metre long).

Notwithstanding the reservations expressed above, this volume represents a substantial achievement, the publication of a remarkable monument which attests Ramesside activity in the Arabah Valley. Ultimately, the greatest contribution of the publication of an archaeological excavation is that it makes a vast amount of primary data available to a wider audience: the authors of this volume are to be commended for carrying out such a task.

S. R. SNAPE

Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content. By YVONNE HARPUR. 245 × 185 mm. Pp. xv + 596 including figs. 218, pls. 29. London, Kegan Paul International, 1987. ISBN 0 7103 0228 2. Price £85.

Few studies have attempted to impose order on the decorative programs of massive numbers of Old Kingdom tombs. George Reisner did so for architecture in his monumental *History of the Giza Necropolis*, I in 1942, and in 1946 William Stevenson Smith discussed certain individual scenes from an art historical perspective in *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom.* Yvonne Harpur's book, therefore, is a welcome addition to our understanding of Old Kingdom tomb decoration.

Harpur culls data from over 600 Old Kingdom tombs, both mastaba-type and rock cut, and not only from the main Old Kingdom necropoleis of Giza and Saqqara, but from the provinces as well. Following an introductory survey emphasising location, familial relationships and chronology, the author focuses on two broad issues: first (chs. 4–5) she examines the layout of scenes and orientation of figures, and then (chs. 6–7) she explores the chronological development of the depiction of the tomb owner and his family. This is followed by a consideration of minor figures engaged primarily in fishing, fowling and agricultural scenes. (The author has reserved the more

'indoor' pursuits for a possible second volume.) Each section is augmented by a most useful series of tables, appendices, and copious line drawings, which together make up more than half of this 596-page book.

Harpur gives new perspective to many familiar topics. The reader is constantly struck, for example, by the variety and richness of decoration even in such seemingly invariable areas as the tomb entryway (ch. 4). Harpur's discussion of the overall layout of scenes in tomb chapels (ch. 5), which is greatly enhanced by a detailed series of plans, provides a useful analysis of the themes represented, as well as when and where they occur. She illuminates, for example, the thematic relationship between the more important west and south walls, and the corresponding tie between the east and north walls, which are likely to contain scenes of lesser significance. This trend is particularly obvious in larger or multi-roomed chapels, which permit a greater variety of material.

In the second part of the book (chs. 6–7 with supporting data in appendix 3), Harpur deals with individual renderings of the tomb owner, family members, and lesser figures (when they are shown in outdoor scenes) and considers each detail chronologically. This analysis offers great potential for dating undated structures and permits numbers of fragments scattered in museums and private collections throughout the world to be assigned to specific tombs (appendix 1). This approach also provides insights into general developments in the style and organization of reliefs. For example, Harpur is able to document that around the middle of the Fifth Dynasty scenes not only become more elaborate (and tend to occupy more space), but that the general repertory and the variety of postures increases as well. She shows that from the late Sixth Dynasty through the First Intermediate Period artisans tended to simplify their work either by enlarging specific scenes so that they covered a greater area or reducing scene content to bare essentials and restricting the amount of space used. She is undoubtedly correct that Old Kingdom tomb artists copied from royal temple models to a greater extent than generally realized.

In addition to general patterns, many interesting details emerge. For example, it becomes clear which elements form a standard part of the repertory of each scene and which are optional. In a few instances the author proposes that certain tombs were made by the same artisans or studios or served as models for later copies. Comparison of individual scenes shows that in some cases they differed consistently from necropolis to necropolis. For instance, Harpur notes that in marsh scenes, papyrus is rendered more geometrically at Giza than at Saqqara (p. 196). In a few examples, the author is able to show a direct line of influence from Giza or Saqqara to specific provincial necropoleis.

In general, this book is a useful reference work which scholars working on any aspect of the Old Kingdom will want to own. Although somewhat difficult to read because of its focus on detail at the expense of the overall picture, many noteworthy points are made. The extensive appendices and tables at the end present the raw data in a clear and concise way, and thus offer the reader many avenues for further investigation. One might only wish that more analyses had been undertaken here. Harpur's conclusions (ch. 8) are too modest for such an impressive collection of material.

R. FREED

Pharaohs and Mortals. Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom. Catalogue by JANINE BOURRIAU, with a contribution by STEPHEN QUIRKE. Exhibition organised by the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge 19 April to 26 June, Liverpool 18 July to 4 September 1988. 275 × 216 mm. Pp. vi + 167, illus., 5 colour pls. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988. ISBN 0521 35319 X (hardback), 0 521 35846 9 (paperback). Price £27.50 (hardback), £9.95 (paperback).

In diesem Ausstellungskatalog, der in 191 Katalognummern 260 Objekte vorstellt, geht es um weit mehr als nur um Kunst. Es ist nach dem 1953 erschienen ersten Band von W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, die erste umfassende Darstellung dieser so bedeutenden kulturellen Epoche der ägyptischen Geschichte in englischer Sprache.

Wenn es—nach Johann Gustav Droysen (1808–1884)—'Das Wesen der historischen Methode ist *forschend zu verstehen*', dann haben J. Bourriau und St. Quirke hier ein Werk vorgelegt, dessen Bedeutung weit über die eines 'normalen' Ausstellungskataloges hinausgeht. Denn hier sprechen nicht nur die ausgestellten Objekte selbst zu uns, sondern der Katalogtext versucht in der Gesamtschau darzustellen, was das Mittlere Reich gewesen ist. Hierbei ist vor allem hervorzuheben, daß dies immer unter dem für unser Verstehen so wichtigen Gesichtspunkten der Veränderung und des Kontextes geschieht.

Die Objekte der Ausstellung lassen sich 5 großen Bereichen der Kultur zuteilen, denen jeweils ein Kapitel des Kataloges gewidmet ist: königliche und nicht-königliche Plastik (einschliesslich Stelen), Schrift und Literatur, funeräre Kultur, Objekte des Bereichs der Magie, und Objekte des täglichen Lebens und Schmuckhandwerks.

Dabei ist hervorzuheben, daß diese Kapitel wie auch verschiedene Ausführungen zu einzelnen Katalognummern durchaus nicht einfach die gängige Meinung oder eine Nur-Beschreibung des Objekts wiedergeben, sondern oft eigener Forschung entsprungene neue Gedanken und Ideen beinhalten (so z.B. über die sogenannten 'Konkubinen-Figuren' (p. 111, 125 f.).

Alle Objekte stammen aus bekannten und—das macht den zusätzlichen Reiz der Ausstellung aus—unbekannten englischen Museen und Sammlungen: Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge), Bolton Museum and Art Gallery, Bristol Art Gallery and Museum, Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge), Oriental Museum (University of Durham (ex-Alnwick Castle)), Royal Museum of Scotland (Edinburgh), Myers Museum (Eton College), Burrell Collection (Glasgow), Liverpool Museum, Department of Egyptology (University of Liverpool), British Museum (London), Petrie Collection (University College, London), Manchester Museum, Norwich Castle Museum, und Ashmolean Museum (Oxford).

Viele Objekte sind hier zum ersten Mal im Photo veröffentlicht, und obwohl der Katalog nicht als endgültige Publikation gedacht ist, wird er es sicher für manches Objekt—leider—viele Jahre lang bleiben.

Dem eigentlichen Katalog ist eine kurze Bemerkung zur Chronologie vorgeschaltet, die von St. Quirke aufgrund einiger Notizen und Überlegungen von Kl. Baer verfasst wurde. Quirke versucht hier gegenüber der bisher anerkannten 'langen' und 'hohen' Chronologie einen Mittelweg einzuschlagen und eine 'kurze' Chronologie auf der Basis von R. Krauss Berechnungen für den Beobachtungspunkt Memphis vorzulegen, siehe dazu jedoch meine Bemerkungen in *Or.* 57 (1988), 265, Anm. 51.

Sehr fruchtbar und überzeugend sind die Bemerkungen von J. Bourriau zu den Komplexen Kunst und Künstler (p. 10 ff.), zur Zeit und Plastik Sesostris III. und Amenemhets III. (p. 37 ff.) und zum Bereich der 'Funerary Art' (p. 85 ff.). Hier ist der jeweilige Bereich nicht losgelöst von anderen Sub-Systemen der Kultur betrachtet worden, sondern immer in enger Verknüpfung mit kultureller Entwicklung in ihrer Gesamtheit. So wird überzeugend der enge Zusammenhang zwischen künstlerischer Produktion und den gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen herausgestellt, unter denen diese geschieht (p. 10/11, 37ff.). Dabei sind neueste wissenschaftliche Erkenntnisse einbezogen, wenn z.B. zur Erklärung der Veränderungen im Porträt Sesostris III. auch berücksichtigt wird, daß—nach der 'kurzen' Chronologie—seine Regierungszeit innerhalb der Schaffensperiode eines einzigen Künstlers oder Ateliers gelegen hat (p. 42).

Die Entwicklung eines 'höfischen' Residenzstiles und provinzieller Stile ist nicht schematisch-statisch zu verstehen, denn z.B. die Residenz-Handwerker waren in der 12. und 13. Dynastie an verschiedenen Orten des Landes zur Arbeit eingesetzt. Fragen der Arbeitsweise der Künstler und Werkstätten, deren Produkte meist das Ergebnis von Kooperation und Arbeitsteilung mehrerer Handwerker waren, sollten zukünftig weit mehr in die Untersuchung ägyptischer Kunst einbezogen werden.

Zu Recht wird von der Zeit Sesostris III. ein sehr differenziertes Bild gezeichnet. In seiner Regierungszeit vollziehen sich bzw. werden erkennbar Veränderungen in den verschiedensten Bereichen der ägyptischen Gesellschaft und Kultur (p. 37 ff.). Trotz einiger Detailuntersuchungen über diesen Zeitraum (R. D. Delia, R. J. Leprohon, I. Matzker, vgl. R. J. Leprohon, *BiOr* 45 (1988), 111 ff.) fehlt nach wie vor eine überzeugende Analyse und Interpretation dieses Phänomens. Die Ursachen sind kaum in der Person des Königs allein zu finden, sondern in längerfristigen sozio-

politischen Entwicklungen. Unter Sesostris II. und III. kommt die fast alle gesellschaftlichen Bereiche umwälzende Ära der *Whm-Mswt*-Renaissance Sesostris I. zum Ende.

Die Nutzniesser der erfolgreichen Aussenpolitik am Beginn der 12. Dynastie sind vor allem Königtum und Residenz gewesen. Jetzt, unter Sesostris III., rückt die Provinz gegenüber der Residenz wieder in den Hintergrund. Kreise der Mittelschicht der Beamtenschaft und Militärs an der Residenz verfügen über steigende ökonomische Mittel (Expansion der Residenznekropolen, Stiftungen von Stelen und Statuen, cf. p. 40). Eine neue Aktivphase der Formulierung des Königsbildes und der Aussenpolitik wird eingeleitet. Auch auf künstlerischem Gebiet (Plastik, Stelen), religiös-baupolitischem Gebiet (Stiftungen, Tempelbauten) und im Bereich der Begräbnis- und Jenseitsbräuche (neue Texte, Uschebtis, keine Modelle mehr) zeichnen sich neue Akzente ab.

Im Rahmen dieser kulturellen Evolution muß auch das neue 'realistische' Bild des Königs, wie es die Plastik Sesostris III. auszeichnet, erklärt werden (p. 41 ff.).

Bei der Beschreibung der einzelnen Objekte ist vor allem hervorzuheben, wie sich darum bemüht wird, den jeweiligen Kontext in die Interpretation und Datierung einzubeziehen. Beim schlechten Publikations- und Dokumentationsstand gerade älterer Grabungen und Sammlungen ist das Bemühen um die Fundsituation und die Rekonstruktion von Fundkomplexen umso verdienstvoller.

Hier merkt man, daß J. Bourriau nicht nur etwas von Kunst und Geschichte versteht, sondern ihre Grabungspraxis, intime Kenntnis der Entwicklung der Keramik und guten Kontakte zu Ausgräbern und Kollegen, die älteres Grabungsmaterial neu aufbereiten, erfolgreich nutzen kann.

So bleibt dem Rezensenten nur wenig Kritisches zu bemerken. Offenbar verlief die Endredaktion des Katalogs recht stürmisch, so daß die Abbildung von Cat. No. 5 auf p. 17 auf dem Kopf steht und Verweise auf andere Katalogseiten nicht immer eingetragen wurden, sondern man öfters 'p. 00' lesen muß (z.B. p. 83, 88).

Ein paar Ergänzungen zu einzelnen Katalognummern:

No. 3: Die Inschrift lautet: 'Für deinen Ka, (gesagt und getan) vom Diener (*wdpw*) (mit Namen:) Schuschu'.

No. 9: Das Datum '11.Dynastie' scheint mir nicht sicher, möglich auch: 12.Dynastie (wie bei Cat. No. 26). 'Dynasty XI' jedenfalls zu vage, man sollte sich wenigstens bemühen, zu der wichtigen Festlegung 'vor *oder* nach der Reichseinigung' zu kommen. In diesem Fall: 'nach der Reichseinigung'.

No. 10: Es ist daraufhinzuweisen, daß die Stele unvollendet ist, beim Knie der linken Frau sind noch Reste des roten und schwarzen Gitternetzes zu sehen.

No. 11: '*jtjt ḥpt*' heisst keineswegs 'hastening by boat' (so wohl übersetzt in der Tradition von H. Kees), sondern 'Ergreifen des *Hepet*-Ruders' (beim Ruder-Lauf). Vgl. die Bemerkungen von H. G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome* (Rom, 1964), 105 f., 118 (bb).

No. 23/24 und No. 66: Nach der Datierung des Sarges (S1C) lebte Mesechti am Ende der 11. oder Anfang der 12. Dynastie ('nach der Reichseinigung'). (cf. W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien* (Bonn, 1962), §44a).

No. 37: Der Titel ist kaum der dann nur hier zu belegende **ḥsyt Njswt*, 'Royal singer', sondern eher der häufigere *Ḫkrt Njswt*, 'Hofdame'. Die Schreibung des Götternamens Osiris mit dem Zeichen der 'Sänfte' (Gardiner Signlist, Q2) ist—entgegen C. J. C. Bennett, *JEA* 27 (1941) 78—nicht schon ab Sesostris III. zu belegen, sondern frühestens ab Amenemhet IV., besser: 13. Dynastie (cf. D. Franke, *OMRO* 68 (1988) 61).

No. 42: Der angerufene Gott in der Opferformel ist nur: *Ptḥ-Zkr nb štjt*.

No. 43: Die Opferformel ist ganz normal geschrieben in der 'frühen', nicht in der 'späten' Form. Ebenso ist die Stele des Wezirs Sesostris-anch in Firenze (No. 2579) keineswegs in die Zeit Amenemhets IV. datiert.

No. 52: Leider wird durch das Photo nicht deutlich, daß die 'Obelisken-Stele' eine Basis hat (H:12,5 cm, B:21 cm). Die Basis hat an der rechten Seite abgerundete Ecken (wenn man als Vorderseite der Stele die Darstellung des Gottes Min annimmt), auf der rechten Seite der Stele findet sich die Darstellung des vor dem sitzenden Prinzen opfernden Amenemhet mit dem Osiris-Hymnus. Daraus folgt, daß das Objekt frei stehend aufgestellt war. Auf dem Pyramidion haben sich gelbe Farbreste erhalten.

No. 55: Der Stil der Hieroglyphen passt überhaupt nicht in die Zeit, der übliche Anfang des Anrufs an die Priester fehlt, ebenso ist der Titel *Whmw-Njswt*, 'King's herald', im MR nicht zu belegen (ausser eventuell für Dagi (W. Schenkel, *Memphis, Herakleopolis, Theben*, §373), der Beleg W. A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), No. 752 stammt aus dem Neuen Reich). Entweder ganz anders zu lesen (**Rḫ Njswt Swt* (PN) *wḥm ꜥnḫ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*) oder falsch. Nach R. Freed, *BiOr* 47 (1990), 116f.: 18. Dynastie.

No. 59: Die Einbeziehung der Harfnerliedes (pHarris 500) in eine MR-Ausstellung ist problematisch. M. V. Fox, *Or.* 46 (1977), 393 ff., spricht sich für eine Komposition in oder nach der Amarna-Zeit aus. Die Kopie im Grabe des Pa-Atonemheb stammt nicht aus der Amarna-Zeit, sondern das Grab ist in die Zeit König Haremhebs zu datieren. Gerade die Zuschreibung an einen König Antef spricht gegen die MR-Authentizität, denn Harfnerlieder findern sich nie im Kontext einer königlichen Grabanlage. Wahrscheinlich nur eine Fiktion, beeinflusst durch die Kenntnis von den Antef-Königen und dem Grabe des Antefoker (TT60), in dem sich die ersten Harfnerlieder finden.

Nos. 67, 68, 70, 71/72: Für die Sargfragmente des *Wr swnw* Upuautemhat (No. 67) vgl. den Sarg in Tanta No. 550 (*ASAE* 23 (1923), 15 ff. (9.)=S2Ta), der einem *Wr swnw Wpỉy* gehört. *Wpỉy* ist ja wahrscheinlich Kurzform von *Wpj-wꜣwt-m-ḥꜣt*. Vergleiche jetzt die Studie von H. O. Willems, *Chests of Life* (Leiden, 1988), 28 ff., 62 ff., 161 ff., wo ebenfalls für den Sargtyp des Userhat (No. 71) eine Datierung in die Zeit Ende Amenemhet II.—Sesostris III. vorgeschlagen wird.

No. 91: Vgl. das ähnliche Objekt in Heidelberg, Inv. Nr. 318 (E. Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar* (Heidelberg, 1986), 53 f., No. 161).

No. 138: Der stilistische Vergleich mit der Berliner Statue (No. 1205) Sesostris I. überstrapaziert meines Erachtens die Möglichkeiten der Datierung mittels stilistischer Kriterien angesichts zweier so verschiedener Objekte. Ich halte eine Datierung in die 2. Zwischenzeit durchaus nicht für unmöglich.

No. 141: Der das Gefäß präsentierende Mann ist wahrscheinlich ein Asiate, vgl. das ähnliche Stück in: G. Björkman, *The Smith Collection Linköping* (Stockholm, 1971), 81, pl. 23,3 (No. 11). Als Relief dargestellt auf einer 'Salbenkammer' in Karnak aus dem Beginn der 12. Dynastie (F. Le Saout, *Karnak* VIII (1987), 325ff.).

Zu bedauern ist, daß das Mittlere Reich für Verf. mit der 13. Dynastie aufzuhören scheint. Die ebenso wichtige wie für die ägyptische Geschichte folgenreiche Periode der sogenannten 'Zweiten Zwischenzeit' (13.–17. Dynastie) bis zur Wiedervereinigung Ägyptens unter der Herrschaft Ahmoses (XVIII, 1) ist leider fast ganz ausgeklammert. Es wäre schön gewesen, wenn dem sogenannten 'Fall' des Mittleren Reiches, dem Übergang zum Neuen Reich, ebenso Beachtung geschenkt worden wäre, wie seinem 'Rise'.

DETLEF FRANKE

Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dyn. Kriterien ihrer Datierung. By IRMTRAUT MUNRO. 240 × 155 mm. Pp. xxi + 369, pls. 24. London and New York, Kegan Paul International, 1987. ISBN 0 7103 02886. Price not stated.

The search for criteria to date the funerary papyri of the New Kingdom is as old as the studies on the Theban redaction of the Book of the Dead (BD) in general, but it has never become the object of an all-embracing analysis taking into consideration all the formal, historic, linguistic and iconographic elements. This study by I. Munro constitutes the first serious attempt, and is therefore a very welcome addition to Egyptological literature. The book focuses on the manuscripts of the Eighteenth Dynasty. However, owing to the wide comparative background, including the Ramesside papyri, it effectively concerns the whole New Kingdom.

The compact lists on pp. 215–73 are of special interest, presenting the results of the analytical work. Similarly, Chapter III (pp. 64–137), which contains a comparative survey of the vignettes

illustrating successive BD-spells is a very useful compendium. In contrast, the weak side of the book is the paucity of illustration: only 24 plates and a complete lack of drawings which would have helped the reader in understanding the descriptions of iconographic details used as dating criteria.

Chapter I (pp. 4–12) contains an introductory survey of the traditional methods of dating BD-papyri. In Chapter II (pp. 13–63) an iconographic analysis of some BD-vignettes is carried out, in comparison to the scenes from the Theban tombs. The text of the whole book gives the impression that iconographic dating criteria are most convincing for the author, being decisive in some situations, for example, in changing the proposed dating of some well-known papyri (such as those of Tjanena, Baki and Nebked). Since these changes are not, in my opinion, free from controversy, I would like to discuss several proposed iconographic criteria, and to express some doubts.

1. One criterion, often invoked in the book, is the detail of the vignette of BD 1 showing the sledge with the catafalque hauled towards the tomb during the burial procession. The coffin is sometimes represented lying directly on the sledge, but an intermediate barque is usually introduced into the scene. According to Munro, this additional element first appeared under Amenhotep II, and its presence reflects the *terminus post quem* for some funerary papyri, among others those of Tjanena (Louvre), Senhotep (Cairo) and Maiherperi (Cairo). Based on the same criterion, the author dates the papyrus of Baki (Warsaw) to the period of Hatshepsut/Tuthmosis III. These four proposals seem to me highly disputable.

First, the burial scene with the barque occurs on a coffin of the 'white' type found in TT 37 (Carnarvon and Carter, *Five Years...*, pl. lxiii), and such coffins went out of use under Tuthmosis III. A similar iconographic detail can be found in the tomb of Sebeknakht in El-Kab of the period of Sebekhotep III (Settgast, *Bestattungsdarstellungen...*, pl. 2), as well as in TT 60 of the reign of Sesostris I (*LÄ* I, 751). It should therefore be concluded that the motif dates from, at the latest, the Middle Kingdom, and was commonly used in funerary iconography. The version without a barque was used in parallel, but probably less commonly. We find it, for example, in the papyrus of Nakht (BM 10473, Nineteenth Dynasty) and on the papyrus of Padiamun (Cairo, SR 10653, Twenty-first Dynasty). Secondly, the papyri of Tjanena and of Senhotep, according to the style of representation of persons, can be dated to the earlier sub-period of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This is corroborated by the relevant analysis of Munro herself (pp. 47–9). To find grounds for the 'late' dating of the papyrus of Tjanena, who seems identifiable with an official living under Tuthmosis III, the author conjectures that Tjanena might have been disgraced, and therefore the highest title he had held was omitted in his papyrus. It should, however, be stressed that this beautiful and in many respects atypical papyrus might have been prepared long before his decease, and that the highest titles usually occur on the coffin, which was exposed to the public at the burial ceremony. The 'updating' of the personal data mentioned in the funerary manuscript kept closed within the coffin was not necessary.

As to the papyrus of Maiherperi, in spite of the repeated suggestions concerning its dating to the period of Amenhotep II, I prefer a date within the reign of Tuthmosis III. The presence of the shroud with the name of Hatshepsut, and the fact that both Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III used to repay loyal officials with extraordinary tomb privileges (cf. the tombs of Senmut, Useramun, Minnakht, Amenemhat) make me see no difficulty in also dating to the same reign the tomb equipment of Maiherperi, buried in the Valley of the Kings.

In the case of the papyrus of Baki (previously dated by Andrzejewski close to the Amarna period), its striking resemblance to the papyrus of Nebseni suggests a date similar to the latter (Tuthmosis IV according to Munro, or Amenhotep III according to Naville). The lack of the barque motif seems insufficient to justify an early date for the papyrus of Baki.

2. The presence or absence of some iconographic details of the naos of Osiris: neither the decorative waving bands nor the Sons of Horus on the lotus flower seem to be very strong dating criteria. Based on the absence of the Sons of Horus, the author proposes to date the papyrus of Nebked (traditionally Ramesside) to the Eighteenth Dynasty. This motif is absent from such well-dated papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty as those of Maatkare and Pinudjem I (both in Cairo). Moreover, the high percentage of the papyrus surface taken by the vignettes, as well as the presence of the motif of the Devourer in the Judgement scene (cf. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur*

Darstellung des Totengerichts, 163) are reasons for dating the papyrus of Nebked to the Ramesside period. A decisive criterion would have been furnished by the coffin which is, however, so far unidentified.

3. It seems that the most useful information can be derived from the analysis of the representations of persons in the vignettes (pp. 24–63). Since this part of the work is mainly based on the study, as yet unpublished, by Dziobek, the discussion of the details of garment or wig should be illustrated by drawings, without which the verification of some statements is difficult. It is not my intention to deny the value of this criterion, but attention should be paid to two factors which can occasionally influence the picture and lead one astray:

(a) the vignettes in a funerary papyrus do not necessarily reflect actual fashion. Most papyri were produced anonymously, in advance. The shape of a particular garment in a vignette mainly depended on the pattern of this vignette at the disposition of the craftsman in the workshop; in the same workshop several different patterns might have been used in parallel.

(b) There is the problem of differing generations of artists: an older draughtsman may have preferred different patterns to a younger colleague in the same workshop.

In Chapter IV (pp. 138–89) textual dating criteria are sought, and traditional methods examined. In most cases the result is negative: the only valuable criterion seems to be the occurrence of some BD-spells listed on pp. 223–4 (list no. 9). In analysing the sequence of the BD-spells in various manuscripts, the author discusses the problem of archetype of the Book of the Dead, and that of the sequence of the spells in various manuscripts. Munro is critical of both the old view of Naville, who denied the existence of any general rule in the composition of the Book of the Dead, and two new hypotheses—those of Thausing (according to whom the Book of the Dead illustrates the path of the deceased through the subsequent stages of the initiation process), and of Matthieu (who assumes that the Book of the Dead reflects the course of a ritual). The author argues that many different models existed, from which groups of papyri characterised by similar sequence of the spells were produced.

Chapter V (pp. 190–7) treats the palaeography of the rare hieratic texts as well as that of the cursive hieroglyphic. The latter is touched on here for the first time and still awaits proper study. It should, however, be stressed that any palaeographic premises for the dating of the papyri should be treated with extreme caution; a number of the cursive signs found on Twenty-first Dynasty funerary papyri show a great resemblance to those of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Chapter VI (pp. 198–211) is devoted to the analysis of the formal elements of the papyri, such as colours, bordering lines, etc. The search for dating criteria among these usually ends with a negative answer. One statement (p. 205) seems disputable. Munro writes that no difference is observable between the papyri of the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ramesside ones, from the viewpoint of the percentage of the vignettes. The author, however, takes into account only the quantitative relation between the illustrated and non-illustrated spells. The difference becomes obvious, when one considers the ratio of the area occupied by the vignettes to that of the whole surface of a manuscript. For example, in some papyri in the British Museum the percentage of the area taken by the vignettes is as follows: the papyrus of Nu: 12.6%; of Nebseni: 36.4%; of Nakht: 43.4%; of Hunefer: 49.4%. Thus, one can observe an increasing tendency towards the use of illustrations in the Ramesside papyri, which supports an old statement by Naville. In the Twenty-first Dynasty, vignettes sometimes occupy the whole manuscript.

Little comment can be made on Chapter VII, which is devoted to the problem of the origin of the papyri; the whole extremely short chapter (pp. 212–3) seems to be merely a supplement to list no. 29. The lists already mentioned (pp. 215–73) are followed by a double catalogue or list of sources. Catalogue 'a' (pp. 274–96) lists 88 papyri dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty (including the disputable papyrus of Nebked). Catalogue 'b' (pp. 296–308) comprises 67 manuscripts dated to the Ramesside period. This includes 12 papyri of the Twenty-first Dynasty. These are the papyri of Anhai, BM 10472 (no. 3 of the catalogue); Userhatmes, Cairo (no. 4); Panefernefer, Vienna 3860 (no. 7); Mutemwia, Berlin 3157 (no. 14); Muthotepet, BM 10010 (no. 15); Nodjme, Paris and BM 10541 (no. 24); Sutimes, Paris, Bibl. Nat. (no. 31); Astemkheb, BM 9903 (no. 40); Khay, BM 9953B (no. 44); P. Zagreb 825 (no. 53); Horemkheb, Leiden T. 6 (no. 64); and Khonsmes, Paris, Bibl. Nat. (no. 66). It seems that Naville's dating has simply been repeated here (similarly, in the description

of the papyrus of Nodjme only the sequence of the spells from the Paris fragment is quoted, as in the work of Naville).

A criticism should also be made of the system of quoting particular manuscripts, and, consequently, the arrangement of the catalogue and of index III. Some of the papyri are quoted by the names of their owners, others by their present museum location and their inventory numbers, still others by the literal system of Naville. The sequence of the papyri listed in the catalogues seems to be quite arbitrary, and it is not very easy to find a specific source, even with help of the indices. The information in index III could have been included in the catalogue.

In spite of these critical remarks and notwithstanding several highly disputable statements, this work constitutes a very important contribution to research on the papyri of the Book of the Dead and a good point of departure for future studies.

A. NIWIŃSKI

Das Grab des Userhat (TT 56). By CHRISTINE BEINLICH-SEEBER and ABDEL GHAFFAR SHEDID. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 50. 355 × 255 mm. Pp. 161 including figs. 54, pls. 96, 1 plan. Mainz, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987. Price DM 278.

The tomb of Userhat at Luxor will be well known to Egyptologists and tourists alike, since it is one of the dozen or so of the 'Tombs of the Nobles' which is open on a regular basis. It is a beautiful tomb, and many visitors have been surprised when told that the paintings were unpublished. It is a great pleasure that this situation—sadly true for a majority of the private tombs at Thebes—has now been rectified, under the guidance of the German Archaeological Institute. As always with their publications, this one is admirably presented, and impressive in size and scope. Unfortunately, 'impressive' is an adjective which can also be used for the price, which will prevent it being purchased by all bar institutions and those closely involved with the study of such monuments.

TT 56 has long been known to Egyptology. The earliest records date from a visit by Wilkinson in 1827, followed sixteen years later by Lepsius. In the present century it was worked on twice under the auspices of the expedition of Sir Robert Mond, but the records of that work are scanty, to say the least. Mond shored up parts of the tomb, and further restorations to the walls have been made by the Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

The book is divided into four principal sections, which deal not only with the description and documentation of the tomb, but also its compositional and stylistic aspects. Only one major aspect of the tomb is missing—a description of the architecture and archaeology of the burial apartments. This is naturally to be regretted, but the authors had good reason: the two shafts in the tomb were sealed up with concrete by Mond in 1926, probably on account of their precarious nature, and it was decided to respect his opinion and leave them so. Anyone familiar with the Theban necropolis will have the greatest sympathy for the authors in making this hard decision.

The first three parts are the work of Beinlich-Seeber, beginning with the architectural description and a consideration of the decorative programme of the tomb. The tomb was not built in the west–east alignment clearly thought to be the ideal in the New Kingdom, but rather appears to have been forced into a fundamentally north–south orientation by the presence of an earlier, unfinished tomb which has no number, which in turn encroaches onto the Thutmoside TT 123. Why Userhat did not build his tomb in a better alignment elsewhere, for example, on that of the later TT 57, is uncertain; the author suggests that one possibility is that the older tomb could have originally been intended for Userhat but abandoned when the rock proved unsuitable.

This less-than-ideal orientation, and the effect it had on the decoration of the tomb, is considered further in the rest of this section of the book, particularly on pp. 32 ff. It appears that the positioning of some scenes attempted to mirror the reversed alignment of the tomb. This is particularly true for the burial scene; this usually appears on the left-hand wall of the passage/

shrine (*Längsraum*), but here it is on the right. Since the tomb is basically reversed from its ideal alignment, this scene was thus placed on the opposite wall. The fairly clear division usually seen between 'daily life' scenes in the front hall and 'funerary' scenes in the passage/shrine is also blurred, again attempting to relate them to the unusual layout of the tomb (cf. Abb. 3, p. 33). An interesting division is also made in the location of the various divinities in the tomb: those of a primarily funerary nature, such as Osiris and Hathor, appear in the right-hand half of the tomb, that with the western orientation, while the deities with non-funerary or solar preserves (Amun and Re-Horakhty) are in the left (eastern) half of the tomb. Clearly those responsible for the layout of the decoration had problems with the unusual alignment, and achieved some unusual solutions. As the author observes, other solutions were used elsewhere: in TT 253 in which I have been working, the passage/shrine is solely dedicated to funerary material, although there are some similarities with the rest of the arrangement.

Part two consists of a detailed description of the different scenes and texts. Several of the 'daily life' scenes, such as that of the hunt (Taf. 12), are among the most beautiful from Thebes, while others, for example the barbers' shop (Taf. 5), are almost unique, and it is very satisfying that they are now published. The same may be said of the scenes surrounding the false door (Taf. 8), which are of a most uncommon type. Since the standard of the commentary and translations is so high, rather than commenting on details of the text, I would like to consider next the nature of the documentation.

The principal documentation takes the form of 31 colour plates, with a lesser number of black and white ones. The standard of the colour rendition seems more consistent than in other recent DAI tomb publications, although the focus is poor on some plates, such as Taf. 23, 43–4. There are some slightly more serious problems. Taf. 3 and 7 do not have sufficient overlap, if any at all, to make a really meaningful join, while—as far as I can tell—the last few centimetres at the right-hand end of the wall in Taf. 13 are not illustrated at all. Taf 1 shows the left back wall of the front room, or at least part of it; the remainder is to be found as Taf. 40, in black and white—this is both inconsistent and awkward.

I must be honest and say that I would have liked to have found drawings in the publication, although I appreciate that there is a good case for publishing well-preserved monuments like this one in photographs only. It cannot be denied, however, that many of the details in the scenes of this tomb would have benefitted from drawings. Drawings are included, however, of the texts; while they serve their purpose well, they are not particularly good. Many lines have been drawn too thick and have a tendency to merge in the reduction (e.g. Abb. 31–4, 37), and Abb. 9, if it is intended to be a facsimile, does not do justice to the detail on the hieroglyphs in Taf. 3. I should add that my only reason for making these comments is that a tomb publication must stand or fall on the quality of its documentation, and thus these minor weaknesses should be pointed out.

The third part of the book deals with the prosopography and dating of the tomb. Userhat's main title was 'scribe who counts bread in Upper and Lower Egypt', thus connecting him with granary administration; he is also given the title 'deputy herald' and 'overseer of the (young) cows of Amun'. Apart from the tomb-owner and his family, there is a very interesting occurrence of the 'Chief Royal Herald' Imanedjeh, owner of TT 84. This man is known to have been active in the reign of Thutmose III, and is thus important for the dating of the tomb, but what is his connection to Userhat? A family tree is drawn up in Abb. 45, and the very plausible suggestion is made that Imanedjeh was in fact Userhat's father-in-law, which may account for the latter's obtaining the title of 'deputy herald'.

The depiction of Amenhotep II in this tomb (Taf. 4) and also that of Imanedjeh help the dating of the tomb. Assuming Userhat married the latter's daughter while her father was alive, he would have been active in the later reign of Thutmose III, but he was not in a position to build a tomb until the reign of his successor. Beinlich-Seeber would thus place the tomb in the first half of that reign, although this contradicts Shedid's dating to the second half of the reign on stylistic grounds. She rightly states, however, that this says more about the difficulties of dating a tomb within a period of less than a generation rather than about the correctness of either author's argument (p. 113).

The final section of the book is the work of Shedid, and is concerned with the composition and technique of the paintings; it is, in fact, a version of the author's MA thesis. This is the first

publication of a tomb to include such a detailed discussion from the purely artistic point of view, and Shedid has a great advantage in this, since he is himself also an artist of no mean reputation and ability.

Among the subjects Shedid discusses are, of course, the technical ones of cutting the tomb and application of the decoration, the latter including the methods of painting, sketching, and the colours. The latter are generally very well-preserved in this tomb, the only major exception being the black—virtually all wigs are effectively uncoloured (p. 119). Poor preservation of this colour has been noted before in the Theban necropolis, but Shedid also observes that black items may have been among the last to be painted and were sometimes simply omitted. On pp. 121–2 he discusses the problems of producing good objective documentation of the colours in the tomb, since he feels that the variability of the observer and available light sources render the use of colour charts, such as the Munsell *Book of Color*, as used by many of his colleagues, somewhat unreliable. This is probably one of the most thoughtful discussions of the problems of recording colour in print. I think, however, that nowadays, with the use of suitable instrumentation, it should be possible to produce the sort of objective documentation which we require. In the course of my own work in similar tombs, a chromameter has been tested with very satisfactory results (above pp. 43–56).

Shedid then turns to composition. On pp. 123–4 he discusses whether there was ever a 'pattern-book' used by those who designed and painted Theban tombs. He makes a very plausible case for there having been no such thing, on the basis of the variability of tomb decoration; the apprentice-ships, official or not, served by these men must have instilled in them the basic forms of the major scenes and elements, and this training would be as good as, if not superior to, the use of a pattern-book. Some of the very close similarities between certain tombs can be attributed either to the use of the same artists or to simple copying.

An interesting feature found in one scene in TT 56 is the hint of a willingness to break the convention of register lines (p. 126). In the scene of herding cattle (Taf. 28), the head of one of the herdsmen breaks a register line, which also gave the artist an opportunity to change the level of the register. This device, if it may be called that, is perhaps helping to stress the form of 'perspective' which multiple registers of this type may be trying to represent. There are other more extreme examples of such register-breaking in the mid-late Eighteenth Dynasty: for example, in TT 100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-re.* pl. cxi) and TT 253 (in course of publication).

The use of constructional lines and grids in the tomb is studied on pp. 130–5. The simplest method is the use of guide lines for locating the shoulders of the figures, as in Taf. 43a, while full-blown grids are still visible in part on one seated and one standing couple (Taf. 1, 3, Abb. 48–9). The proportions of the latter grids agree well with the known usage in the Eighteenth Dynasty. It would, in fact, seem probable that grids were only applied in this tomb to the major figures, where it was absolutely essential that the proportions be correct, and the others were drawn using only rough guidelines, leaving the correctness mainly to the skill of the artist.

Shedid's particular insights as an artist are most visible in his four examples of different compositional forms; some of the underlying forms and rhythms are well illustrated in Taf. 32. His skills are also evident in section four of this chapter, that dealing with the different 'hands' or styles of the painters involved in the decoration of the tomb. He can identify three different craftsmen who basically, with minor exceptions, worked each on complete walls. Clearly the number of men involved cannot have been great, given the small size of the tomb.

Two other sections complete Shedid's contribution. In the first of these he examines the dating of the tomb on the basis of stylistic criteria and comparisons with other tombs. As noted above, he prefers a slightly later date that his co-author; both dates are adequate in view of the margins of error in our present datings of these tombs. Finally, he considers the term to be used to describe the men who worked in tombs: should they be called craftsmen (*Handwerker*) or artists (*Künstler*)? On this subject, readers should now see his *Stil der Grabmalerien in der Zeit Amenophis II.*, where the issue is discussed in far greater detail. I have reviewed this book in *JARCE* 27 (1990), and, rather than repeat my comments here, the reader is invited to consult them there.

My observations on specific points will be found above, but I should like to comment generally on the overall accessibility of the publication. Specifically, the methods of referring to the scenes in the text and the plates are not of the clearest. It has long been a habit in publications of the DAI,

and the present volume is no exception, to divide the tombs into a number of scenes, numbering them sequentially (in this case 1–33) with little or no regard for making it clear exactly where they belong in the tomb. References to them are usually made in terms of *Szene X*; to find where that scene occurs in the text, one has to turn, not to the table of contents, but to the index of scenes on p. 154, which does not, incidentally, refer one to the requisite plate. Until one turns to the description, it can often be unclear as to where in the tomb the scene is to be found, since there are no location diagrams of the type included by Shedid in his more recent work on TT 104 and 80. It is pleasing to find schematic summaries of individual walls in the text, and also the overall layout shown in Beilage I, but in these diagrams the opportunity has been missed to clarify the scene arrangement. Similarly, the numbers of the texts bear no relation to the scenes or walls. The order of the principal colour plates of the front hall (Taf. 1–9) is mysterious to me; it would surely be easiest to illustrate walls in a simple clockwise or anti-clockwise order. Publications such as this are essential reference material for our subject, and should be made as easy to consult as possible. I would beg my colleagues to think of their readers when designing their layouts and systems of reference.

There can be no doubt that this is an excellent publication of a Theban tomb, made all the more interesting in that consideration for cost has not prohibited publication of certain detailed studies, of the composition in particular, which go beyond the basic requirements of a tomb publication. The authors and publishers are to be congratulated on their achievement.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

Aegeans in the Theban Tombs. By SHELLEY WACHSMANN. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 20. 247 × 186 mm. Pp. xx + 146, pls. 70. Leuven, Uitgeverei Peeters, 1987. ISBN 90 6831 066 6. Price not stated.

In this volume, the nature and significance of the famous and striking representations of Mediterranean people in certain Theban tomb-chapels of the reigns of Hatshepsut to Amenophis II receive fresh and vigorous reappraisal. Chapter I is simply an Introduction, to pose questions and raise the matter of how to interpret these scenes. In Chapter II, on Egyptian artistic conventions, W. establishes three factors that affect the veracity of Egyptian representations of such foreigners. First, *hybridism*: when Egyptian artists combined elements from different cultures to produce fresh figures—e.g. an Asiatic with an Aegean kilt. Second, *transference*: when features from unrelated scenes are incorporated into other scenes—e.g. a woodcarver from a chariot-making scene is transferred into a scene of bow-makers, or (for the present topic) an Aegean vessel appears in the hands of a Syrian envoy (although, it should be said, such an occurrence would not be impossible historically). Third, *pattern books*: whether or not the Egyptian artists drew upon sets of 'master-drawings' when composing the scenes of foreigners that we now see has been a much-disputed point. But, using examples from other, non-foreign themes, W. is able to make a very good case for the use of such pattern-books both for such subjects and in turn for the representations of Aegeans in the Theban tombs.

Chapter III is a brief gazetteer of the nine principal tomb-chapels (Hatshepsut to Amenophis II) in which possible Aegeans occur. Chapter IV gives a comprehensive survey of personal characteristics, dress, and objects brought (both raw materials and manufactures), of the possible Aegeans in these scenes, and assesses their range of authenticity in passing. Chapter V is almost an excursus to IV, suggesting the import into Egypt of caprid horns from the Aegean as a historical reality because of the need for such horn in the manufacture of compound bows for the Egyptian army.

In Chapter VI, W. in effect reviews Strange's attempt to show that Keftiu is to be located in Cyprus, in terms of Keftiu captions in Theban tombs, the Tuthmosis III victory-hymn, and the Kom el-Hetan Keftiu-list. As others have done, W. can readily refute Strange's untenable position; cf. also this reviewer, *Journal of Semitic Studies* 28 (1983), 159–60, on these sources. Keftiu remains

firmly in Crete and the adjacent Aegean, not Cyprus, whatever Cyprus might have been called. On the latter point, W. opts for Alashia as a term for Cyprus (or part of it), in contrast with (e.g.) Merrillees; his main point is EA 114: 49–53, wherein Ribaddi, king of Byblos, has to send his messenger to Pharaoh (via?) Alashia. He argues that an arc via Cyprus would fit, whereas a jaunt up the coast and back would not. The parallel cited from Wenamun, however, is not valid; *he* was blown onto the Alashian coast involuntarily, whereas Ribaddi's envoy went deliberately.

Chapter VII brings us to W.'s 'Conclusions' in seven sections plus two excursuses. Under this rubric, the first matter is the absolute chronology of the Theban tombs under the rulers Hatshepsut to early years of Amenophis II—after which the Aegeans never again appear in Egyptian scenes. Here, we reach the weakest part of the book, completed as a thesis in 1983, and in some measure revised up to 1985/86 (last datelines in the Bibliography). W. accepts uncritically and without comment the unrealistically-high and now obsolete chronology of Wente and van Siclen (*Studies... G. R. Hughes* (1976), 217–61; cf. Kitchen, *Serapis* 4 (1978), 65 ff.). He appears not to realise that the dates of Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II are tied together by the intervening permissible lengths of regnal years, at a span of 200 years when lunar data are borne in mind. He seems unaware of the impact of the work by M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt*, (Warminster, 1975), and of the reviewer's *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* ([1]1972; [2]1986), plus the downward movement of Near Eastern dates in parallel with the Bierbrier/Hornung/Kitchen findings, such that the reign of Ramesses II cannot well begin before 1290 and far more likely 1279 BC—which inevitably leads to a 1490 absolute maximum for Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, far more likely, 1479 BC. This gives dates *a quarter-of-a-century* later than those to be found in W.'s table, p. 104, and *passim*. The 1503/4 date for Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III is 'out'. For the chronology of the Middle and New Kingdoms, see now the essays in P. Aström (ed.), *High, Middle or Low?*, 1–2 (Gothenberg, 1987) and 3 (1989). It should be emphasized that Minoan-Mycenean chronology depends on the Egyptian synchronisms for its absolute dates (however approximate); hence, its dates have to move down when Egyptian dates do so.

A second major issue in Chapter VII is that Minoans appear in the tomb-paintings, but Myceneans never do, although their pottery appears in Egypt down into (e.g.) the fourteenth century BC. Here, W. appeals to the parallel presence of Late Cypriote pottery, to urge that it was Cypriote merchants (not Myceneans) who brought both to Egypt. But the Cypriots are as invisible as the Myceneans, and hence the quoted argumentation by Merrillees (Nicosia Symposium, 1973, 181–2) on W.'s pp. 114–15, in favour of Syrian seafarers having carried this trade is far more convincing—such 'Asiatics' are readily found in the pictorial sources. Written sources on Alashiya are still *sub judice*—and related to diplomacy as much as trade. Useful notes are given on 'irrational' aspects of international trade (e.g. re-export of imported goods), identity of 'Keftiu-ships' (probably just ships on the Keftiu-run), and on the number of Minoan visits to Egypt implied by the Theban tomb-scenes (twice, under Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III?). Finally, a summary of Egyptian-Aegean contacts in the Eighteenth Dynasty, a tomb-list, the dating of Late Minoan IB (25 years too high, see above), and a note on the remarkable Late Bronze Age shipwreck at Ulu Burun (Kaş) off the Turkish coast. Indexes and the plates complete this well-bound and well-produced book. This work is a valuable contribution, subject to comments made above.

K. A. KITCHEN

Corpus of Reliefs of the New Kingdom from the Memphite Necropolis and Lower Egypt, I. By GEOFFREY THORNDIKE MARTIN. 285 × 225 mm. Pp. xvi + 64, pls. 56. London, Kegan Paul International, 1987. ISBN 0 7103 0172 3. Price £45.

Ancient Memphis was one of Egypt's most important cities during the New Kingdom, yet it is little known in comparison to contemporary Thebes. The joint expedition to Memphis of the Egypt Exploration Society, London, and the National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, has begun

the process of rectifying this situation. In the present volume, Martin has brought together reliefs from the Memphite necropolis, the majority of which were uncovered before scientific excavations at Saqqara were initiated. It includes 114 decorated and inscribed reliefs and other architectural fragments either found in or attributed to Saqqara. They date from the late Eighteenth Dynasty to the reign of Merenptah.

The limited aim of this volume is 'to make the blocks available to scholars in the form of facsimile line drawings' (p. 1). Because the reliefs are presently scattered throughout the world in European, North American, and Egyptian museums, scholars will be grateful for these expertly drawn facsimiles and accompanying catalogue entries. The user will also find a description of each block, current location with museum number, a date, provenance when known, colour description, and bibliography. In addition, indices of museum and collection numbers, personal names, titles, epithets, administrative departments, and deities are provided along with a general index. Excellent black and white photographs of blocks which have not been previously published are included. The catalogue is clearly organized and easy to use.

One note of caution should be sounded on the provenance of the blocks. Of 114 blocks published here, 66 have a fairly secure provenance in Saqqara through a personal name (24 blocks), excavation records (6 blocks), or other means. One block, no. 75, is known to be from Birket es-Sab' (p. 31). However, Martin assigns 47 of the blocks to Saqqara by negative criteria. In the section called 'Provenance of the Reliefs, etc.,' (pp. 4–6), he argues that decorated blocks were not used outside Saqqara for tombs during the New Kingdom. Here he follows essentially the argument of B. J. Peterson for MM 32011-16 in the Medelhavsmuseet (*Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 5 (1970), 11). While noting eight New Kingdom, provincial non-rock-cut tombs, miscellaneous blocks from five other sites, and architectural elements which could come from either rock-cut or non-rock-cut tombs, Martin believes that only Abydos might have actually contained tombs of the 'Memphite type' during the New Kingdom. Under these circumstances, one must strongly agree with him that, 'in respect of pieces that have no *proven* provenance an open mind must be kept on the question' (p. 5). Before undertaking the comparative studies with Theban material which Martin suggests will be possible, however, it will be necessary to develop explicit criteria for distinguishing the 'Memphite style' from other materials. Martin's own work in the New Kingdom necropolis in Saqqara will no doubt form the basis for such a study. In spite of this caveat, this volume will be a valuable resource for those studying the Memphite style of tomb decoration, as well as daily life, religion, and funerary practices in Memphis during the New Kingdom.

EDWARD BLEIBERG

Cahiers de Tanis, 1. Edited by PHILIPPE BRISSAUD with contributions by several authors. 297 × 210 mm. Pp. 188, large folding figure inside back cover and numerous pls./figs. throughout. Paris, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1987. ISBN 2 86538 180 3. Price FF 187.

With the recent upsurge in interest in the archaeology of the Delta in general and Tanis in particular, this volume is especially welcome. It is the first in a series of *Cahiers de Tanis*, the format of which follows the publication strategy of other long-term archaeological projects in that it allows for the relatively rapid dissemination of the results of recent archaeological fieldwork, while providing a forum for the discussion of particular issues connected with Tanis. Much of this discussion is of a provisional nature, suggesting tentative hypotheses on the development of the site while expecting these theories to be revised following future excavation.

The first question which needs to be asked with regard to fieldwork at Tanis is how such a concentration of finite archaeological resources can be justified at a time when other Delta sites with a (quite literally!) lower profile are disappearing with little record of their archaeological content. Brissaud does not try to make out a case for the excavation of Tanis on 'rescue' grounds, although the atmospheric problem of the Montet spoil-heaps channelling local precipitation into the royal tombs seems to have acted as a spur to working at that particular part of the site. The

major arguments in favour of work at Tanis concern the sheer quality of information which can be gleaned from a long-term and careful excavation on a relatively well-preserved site, along with the pre-eminent importance of Tanis itself. Moreover, the survival of the site has meant that the widespread practice on valley sites of reinterpreting the work of earlier excavators by a careful re-digging of their old sondages can be carried out at one of the few Delta sites with major early excavations which can now be improved upon. As Brissaud remarks, '*une vielle marmite peut produire de biens bonnes soupes*'.

The first and, unsurprisingly, the longest contribution is the editor's own account of the excavations in the royal necropolis carried out between 1984 and 1986. The area examined in this period (the 31st–33rd seasons of work by the French Expedition) was the south-west corner of the Psusennes enclosure, already closely examined by the Montet team before and immediately after the Second World War, but gradually abandoned after 1947. However, the importance of this part of the site, combined with its relative lack of contextually recorded information, led to a return to this zone, where the work consisted of not merely a re-digging of the Montet excavations, but also a series of stratigraphic *coupes* in the royal necropolis. This detailed examination in the area of the royal tombs resulted in a reappraisal of their constructional history, a sequence which seems to be far more complex than previously imagined. The careful attention given by the expedition to mud-brick architecture in the royal necropolis yielded evidence which may shed light on the original nature of the royal tombs as edifices with a stone 'heart', but with a substantial mud-brick superstructure. However, the limits to the interpretation of material recovered by earlier excavators, if it is not thoroughly recorded and published soon after its discovery, are amply demonstrated by Brissaud's review of Montet's excavation at the south gate in 1934/35. A further contribution by Brissaud on the so-called 'human sacrifices' at Tanis described by Montet is another example of conclusions drawn from previous fieldwork being re-interpreted with the aid of fresh excavations.

A synthesis of recent archaeological work and well-known textual evidence from Tanis is provided by Christiane Zivie-Coche in her contribution on the building works of the Ptolemaic officials Panemerit and Pikhaas. Both sources of evidence point towards a clearing of the site, perhaps during the reign of Nectanebo I, which preceded the building works of the Late/Ptolemaic periods. Her arguments are convincing, but the point is well made that the greatest caution must be shown in using autobiographical data of this kind to reconstruct 'missing' buildings with any degree of confidence.

Most of the other articles in this volume take as their subjects the '*biens bonnes soupes*'; the gobbets of information produced by the re-examination of the Montet excavations and the material found during this exercise. Several articles take particular finds of objects and use them as springboards to discuss more generally the object-class from which they derive, or the light which they cast on the history of the site. These include Jean Yoyotte's publication of a fragmentary limestone statuette of a cloaked figure of Amun found in the excavation debris close to the royal tombs. Michel Amandry reports on the find of a Ptolemaic coin hoard in 1986 and also describes another virtually unpublished coin hoard, probably deposited at Tanis during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, excavated by Montet in 1935/36, and presently surviving at least as a record in the photographic archive of the Montet excavation. Didier Devauchelle describes the discovery in 1979 at the sacred lake of a form of footed ceramic cup with a demotic inscription and gives a necessarily short bibliography of other finds of demotic inscriptions from Tanis and other parts of the Delta.

Philippe Brissaud and Laurence Cotelle describe their finds of re-touched potsherds; this is an object-class which doubtless does exist but at least some of whose members, as described here, seem to this reviewer to possess a somewhat eolithic quality. The collaboration of Philippe Brissaud, Valérie Carpano, Laurence Cotelle, Sylvie Marchand, Laurent Nouaille and Catherine Veillard has led to the production of a welcome second instalment of their preliminary corpus of pottery from Tanis, while Jeanne Bulté assembles a series of small objects of a similarly recognisable faience which seem to have come from one or more centres of production in the Eastern Delta during or after the Twenty-second Dynasty.

The rearrangement between 1979 and 1983 of the magazine containing stone fragments provided the opportunity for this epigraphic material to be assessed afresh. Some of the choicest

morsels are presented in the contribution of Frédérique von Känel. The most noteworthy specimens are the wall from the tomb of Ankhefenamen, son of Nesamen (temp. Psusennes I), the screen-wall of Shoshenq III in the tomb of Osorkon II, and a collection of blocks recovered from the sacred lake which come from work at the temple of Khonsu by Shoshenq V and Nectanebo I. The degree of re-use of blocks is quite remarkable—approximately one in two of the blocks used in the royal tombs bear clear signs of their previous utilisation. Other blocks from the sacred lake are used by Yoyotte to reconstruct much of the verbose titulary of Shoshenq V, and to compare it with that of three of that king's best-known predecessors, Shoshenq I and Osorkon I and II.

The sarcophagus of Hornakht provides the subject matter of another discursive article by Yoyotte, while the same author also reports on the lost tells of that part of the Eastern Delta close to Tanis. Most of the evidence Yoyotte cites has survived solely on the strength of its utility as a re-usable piece of hard-stone masonry in modern villages. One of the pieces, an offering table (and, latterly, a grinding-stone, possible chopping-block and part of a stair) inscribed for Psusennes I from the site of Ezbet Khamastalaf, is described in more detail by Michelle Thirion.

This first *Cahier* contains a well-balanced mix of contributions reporting directly on recent excavations at Tanis and discussing more general questions regarding the archaeology of the site. Moreover, although several of the contributors cannot be said to be reticent in their criticism of Montet, there is still a sense of continuity in building on past accomplishments to provide present hypotheses which will themselves undoubtedly be revised following future work. The second, and subsequent, volumes in this series will be awaited with great interest.

STEVEN SNAPE

Egypt: Dynasty XXII–XXV. By RICHARD A. FAZZINI. Iconography of Religions, ed. Th. P. van Baaren *et al.* Section XVI, Egypt, Fasc. 10. 255 × 185 mm. Pp. xii + 36, pls. 48. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1988. ISBN 90 04 07931 9. Price £13.05.

In historical order the previous volume in the Egyptian section of this esteemed series was *Ägypten: Die 21. Dynastie* by M. Heerma van Voss (1982), although Karol Myśliwiec's *Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period* (Fasc. 5) was published in 1985. Each volume naturally follows a fixed plan. After a bibliography comes an introduction to the period covered; then a descriptive catalogue of the selected plates, followed by the plates themselves. However rigidly laid down, every plan has to allow for varying personal emphases, and when we compare the volumes of Heerma van Voss and Fazzini, we find that the former is content with a quite brief introduction although he rounds it off with very helpful indices; when he comes to the catalogue, however, he provides each description with lavish detail. Fazzini, on the other hand, puts most of his elaboration into his introduction, while usually keeping his catalogue remarks to the minimum. His introduction often elaborates on individual plates, though not in sequence. All this he does with admirable erudition. It would have been helpful, at the same time, if the catalogue had included the relevant references to the introduction.

A few minor cavils may arise. Fazzini drives his acronyms rather hard. Thus we are told (p. 4) that 'during D. XXI and the LbP most of the GWAs attested were daughters of kings or HPAs, while in D. XXV–XXVI they were all daughters of kings'. Here the more esoteric allusions are respectively to the Libyan Period, the God's Wives of Amun, and the High Priests of Amun (Thebes). There is also a HPM, 'High Priest of Ptah (Memphis)', where consistency might demand HPP. I object to the description (p. 16) of a horizontal feather as 'an insignia of the Great Chiefs of the Ma', a neuter plural being thus treated as a feminine singular. But the book's many virtues include its generous choice of material and its fine documentation. Above all, the problems are not shirked. Thus pl. 32, 2 shows a temple relief from Medamud 'where a mouse is served by a cat and dog'. Reference is properly made to parallel 'satirical scenes' on ostraca which E. Brunner-Traut has dealt with so ably. Fazzini (p. 20) rightly questions the intent of such a scene, if it is regarded as

merely satirical, in a temple relief. In her *Egyptian Artists' Sketches* (1979), 18, Brunner-Traut suggests that it intrudes 'surreptitiously' into a holy place, as though some priestly artist was having a private joke. It seems more likely, as she earlier hints (p. 16), that an accepted myth is involved. Fazzini prefers to stress its abnormality and its connection with a Great Wife of Amun.

J. GWYN GRIFFITHS

Herodotus Book II Commentary 99–182. By ALAN B. LLOYD. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain, xliii. 245 × 155 mm. Pp. viii + 330. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1988. ISBN 90 04 04179 6. Price Dutch florins 115.

In about 445 BC Herodotus, visiting Egypt as a high class tourist, was conducted around a number of major sites by guides who knew their business: that telling the tale matters more than the accuracy of the facts, and that sites and history are made to live through analogies that relate to the visitor's own experience. He was treated to a full range of 'specials': hospitality, introductions to 'the priests', visits to out-of-the-way places, perhaps even attendance at what he accepted were 'mysteries'. Whatever he asked, an answer he was given, but the quality of the answer related to the quality of the question, and as both the anthropologist and the tourist finds, the informant will always give, and the insistent questioner will only hear, the desired answer. Herodotus was fully conscious of the techniques of the tourist guide, for like any good travel writer, the streak of the dragoman was strong in him too, and to our delight he could never resist a good tale even if he didn't believe it (§123; p. 59 and *Intro.* p. 83).

Drawing also on what had previously been written of Egypt, he published the archetypal traveller's memoir: the text that has come down to us in Books II and III of his *Histories*. His purpose was entertainment, but also didactic and philosophical. Like every tourist, his interest was in wonders, his admiration great, and his understanding of social, political and strategic realities limited because they were inaccessible, incomprehensible, or simply not interesting to him. To create order in his own mind he had to schematise, and to find pegs on which to hang information in a way that would help his own recollection and provide points of reference for his audience. Such, for instance, is the regular reference in his historical narratives to kings' works in the temple of Hephaestos at Memphis (esp. p. 16); presumably a site he could visualise clearly in his own mind, and that was of sufficient fame to serve as reference to a Greek audience. This text soon begat its own literary industry: mercilessly plagiarised (as by Diodorus Siculus), it was also mercilessly attacked for its inaccuracy (as apparently by Manetho). The entertainment value is constant, but the critical problems in assessing the content are legion. Indispensible as a text for both classicist and Egyptologist, but the subject of a labyrinthine critical literature, the comprehension of this work is put on its definitive basis with the completion of Alan Lloyd's commentary to Book II.

This third volume cannot be spoken of except as the partner of the *Introduction* of 1975 and the *Commentary 1–98* of 1976, with which it forms a single work, to which the bibliography and indices are now provided. In bald terms, this third volume contains the commentary on Herodotus' account of Egyptian history from Min (Menes) to Amasis, which he himself divided into two sections (§147; p. 1). The first (§§99–142), consisting of what 'the Egyptians themselves say', runs from Menes down to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The rest (§§147–82 and continued in Book III) consists of what 'other people as well as the Egyptians say in agreement', together with additional material seen 'with my own eyes'. The latter is partly the source material of the numerous digressions, but must also refer to the way Herodotus tried to relate historical facts to monuments he had seen, and to use those monuments as points of reference. The division is central, as is Herodotus' reason for making it. The second section deals with the period from the rise of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, when significant numbers of Greek and other Ionian mercenaries played a large part in events. It is Graeco-centric. For the first section the sources were Egyptian, and often at first-hand. His text is second- or third-hand by the time it was written down, but it gives access

to native accounts of history current in the fifth century. Alan Lloyd brings these features into clear focus, and conclusively nails the recurrent desire of commentators to convict Herodotus of deliberate lies: often inaccurate, confused, misinformed, often plain wrong, always keen to place his own erroneous interpretation on the material, but discriminating and keen to make clear his source, how he is using it, and when he is suspicious of it. Part of the attraction of Herodotus is that he was something of a popularising academic.

The key passage for early Egyptian history is the claim in §100 that after Min 'the priests read out from a book three hundred and thirty names of other kings'—a figure that (p. 13; *Intro.* p. 185, 188–9) is convincingly related to the 323 names preserved by Manetho for the period from Menes to Shabataka. Apparently somebody read out to Herodotus an extended version of a king-list such as the Turin Canon—a simple list of names. He was duly impressed, but made no attempt to transcribe or publish this source, for it was largely incomprehensible to him, and meant nothing to his eventual audience. He merely noted salient facts that gave orientation to the monuments and narratives that made up real history. Perhaps Lloyd is unnecessarily pessimistic (p. 4–5) about the nature and quantity of native source material available to Herodotus, and about Egyptian historical memory as a whole. In many respects, the failure of Herodotus in the eyes of a modern historian lies in his disinclination to transmit verbatim what was accessible to him; his lack of appreciation for much of the data that now seems the most valuable, but that would have ensured him total failure as an author with a contemporary audience. Evidently he was presented with much the same data, the same lists and 'folk-tale' narratives, that Manetho drew on not very much later to very different effect and for a rather different audience. By comparison, Herodotus was often unable to comprehend, much less control or transmit, his sources accurately. Fully to understand how he distorts his sources one would need to know how he made his notes and composed his text (*Intro.* p. 63–6, 119–20). It seems unlikely that he wrote out extensive notes to the dictation of his sources, which is the only way he could, as a foreigner, have hoped to do anything with such as a king-list. Probably he made some sort of notes or wrote drafts of sections of text not long after the event, while his memory was still relatively fresh, but the greatest of errors seem to arise from a combination of gaps in memory, gaps in notes, and the false juxtaposition of data as they were organised into the final continuous text.

Noting that his informants told him nothing of interest of the kings in the list, except about Nitocris and Moeris, Herodotus simply continued with the kings about whom he had heard stories, presumably from other sources: Sesostris, Rhampsinitus, Cheops and the rest (cf. *Intro.* p. 188–9). The stories include the typical fabrication of the dragoman, to be heard on every tourist bus today. No dragoman admits ignorance, and so we are told that an inscription on the pyramid (§125; p. 69–71) records the costs of supplying the work force with their 'radishes, onions and garlic': part of the facts and figures tourists always demand about a building, and a tale that followed easily into the equally fictional story (§126) of Cheops solving his financial difficulties by putting his daughter's services out for hire. Herodotus expressly says he was not told the rate for the lady; an occasional puff for the superior quality of courtesans available in Egypt is no surprise in the dragoman's elaboration of a tale (as again §121 with Rhampsinitus' daughter and §134 with Rhodopis, p. 84–5, but cf. p. 40), or that there should be a certain mystification over price. At the other extreme is material from the context of genuine native story-telling. Not historical fact in the modern sense, it was the 'history' current in Egypt, based on a core of 'fact', and comprising the sort of narrative that represented living history to the contemporary Egyptian (p. 4–5), as opposed to the dry-as-dust history of the list.

In the second section of the historical survey the emphasis changes radically. Sources here were evidently more often Greek than native, and the selection, or perhaps rather collection, of data was overwhelmingly Graeco-centric. Here more than anywhere else there is a strong impression that Herodotus found difficulty in reconciling contradictory masses of data from different informants: a feature that Lloyd brings out particularly well in discussing treatments of the reign of Amasis, a king recent enough and prominent enough to be the subject of many stories in both the Greek and the Egyptian traditions, but controversial enough for these stories to be contradictory all round. He is both pro- and anti-Greek. He is both a good and a bad king in native terms. Tradition in the sources has no single thrust, although Herodotus gives it something of a unity from his evident admiration of the king.

What makes Lloyd's commentary so definitive is not the extraordinary weight of his erudition and scholarship, but his appreciation of Herodotus as a work of literature as well as a source for the historian, and both within the context of the book's composition and audience. The value as a source cannot be estimated without understanding its literary purpose; literary purpose can only be explained with an eye on the knowledge and taste of the fifth century Greek public; and neither can be comprehended except through understanding how Herodotus obtained and recast his data; and through his joy in the tale well told, the wonder to be admired, and human behaviour observed, towards the Greek ideal of self-knowledge. Lloyd's technique is to intersperse the running commentary with short set-piece essays that either stand as introduction to a new thematic section, or, less often, provide a longer commentary to the individual statement, and serve to give context to the detailed exposition and assessment of Herodotus' text. At their most extensive, as in the discussion of who Menes was (p. 6–10), the historicity of his foundation of Memphis (p. 10–13), the Nitocris question (p. 13–15), the Sesostris legend (p. 16–18), the pyramid builders and the Sixth Dynasty (p. 61–3) and so on, these set pieces provide a definitive precis of the problem: evidence presented with exemplary clarity, weighed, and judged conclusive on one side or the other; only rarely declared of insufficient weight to support a conclusion. Throughout the commentary the statements of Herodotus are examined first as bare facts, and second as history in their own right—how they came to be made, in what context, from what sources and to what ends. In all this there is a curiosity and thoroughness in posing questions and demanding answers to compare with that of Herodotus himself. Being infinitely better placed to control the data, Lloyd's conclusions consistently carry conviction, and thus, the value of the text as a historical source is immensely enhanced, and we come better to understand Herodotus himself.

The commentary is particularly perceptive in the way it deals with what it classes as *thōmata*, which is the tourist attraction *par excellence*, and the *monument-nouvelle*, which is the archetypal business of the dragoman, to provide a satisfying story to go with the monument. Sometimes the commentator is perhaps too easily tempted for brevity to categorise such tales as 'oral traditions' of little value, when most of the story-telling sources are a mixture of pure invention with the intermediate category of tales transmitted through writing as well as speech. They are probably of great traditional authority, if far from 'factual', but these issues are fully and perceptively faced in *Intro.* p. 100–9, much better than in individual passages of commentary. The monuments themselves, the descriptions given, the sources and the background to the stories are worked through with an astonishing thoroughness that almost never fails to anticipate a reader's every query. Equally strong is the emphasis on how Herodotus' philosophical background and that of his Greek audience influenced his choice and presentation of data: his desire to see a connection in everything, his consistent diffusionism; his didactic strain that encourages the feeling of superiority in his Greek audience on the basis not of mere antiquity, but of achievement and ability to develop and improve by learning from others; his expansion of the Greek view of the world by portraying Egyptian history largely in terms of the Greeks abroad and Graeco-Egyptian relations; and his concentration on stories that illuminated issues currently live in Greece (such as the Olympic Games, p. 164–7). It is not often that one can describe a commentary, and one with so rigorously academic a presentation, as a pleasure to read as well as a definitive exposition: sensitive to the spirit of the poet in the commented text. One can only hope that some day Alan Lloyd may be persuaded to continue into Book III.

C. J. EYRE

Aspects of Demotic Lexicography. Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984. Edited by S. P. VLEEMING. 255 × 175 mm. Pp. xiv + 162. *Studia Demotica*, 1. Louvain, Peeters, 1987. Price BF 1.650.

Thanks to the editor's immaculate sense of timing, these papers from the Second Demotic Conference held at Leiden in September 1984, reached the hands of the demotic fraternity on the occasion of the Third Conference, held at the Faculty of Oriental Studies in Cambridge (8–12

September, 1987; cf. J. Quaegebeur and S. P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 15 (1987), 247–53). The theme of the conference, which was originally conceived as a workshop, is reflected in the title to the conference proceedings, *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography*. The volume is divided into two parts. The first, entitled 'Papers', contains 9 articles, while the second, 'Reports', has 8 entries, although the reason for this sub-division escapes the reviewer. The work is a true treasure-trove for any demotist and, while many of the papers might be concerned with some of the more refined, albeit fascinating, aspects of demotic studies, there are plenty of others that should not escape the attention of the general Egyptologist or papyrologist.

The first paper, 'Remarques sur le vocabulaire du "Mythe de l'Oeil du Soleil"', reflects F. de Cenival's interest in the famous 'Myth of the Eye of the Sun' story (which she has now re-edited, *Le Mythe de l'Oeil du Soleil* (Sommerhausen, 1988)). She discusses a number of obscure or difficult words, including *wꜣny.t*, 'bow', *my*, 'good wind' = 'good luck', possibly a scribal error for *šy*, *bꜥwy.t*, 'tomb' < *bw.t*, 'abomination', *mḫrr*, 'scarab-beetle', < *m* + *ḫr*, 'that which comes from below', and *ṯꜥl*, 'brave'. W. Clarysse, 'Greek Loan-Words in Demotic', presents an important analysis of the demotic transcription of nearly 100 Greek words, which can be broadly divided into four groups: honorific titles of kings, emperors and gods; derivations from Greek proper names; a series of official titles; and a series of technical terms. Of particular interest is the one example he finds of a biliteral sign being used in a Greek transcription, where, in a kind of etymological wordplay, the sign for *sn*, which is also the ideogram for 'brother', is used to render the first part of *συγγενής*, 'relative (of the king)'.

P. Gallo investigates 'Some Demotic Architectural Terms', including *ḥ.t-ntr*, *s.t n ḥ.t-ntr n pr'Imn*, *ꜥ.wy*, *ḫft-ḥr*, *wsḫ.t*, *pr*, *rpy*, *pꜣ nty wꜥb*, *pr-ḥḏ* and *qnḫ*. J. H. Johnson discusses 'The Use of the Articles and the Generic in Demotic', with particular reference to the Instructions of 'Onchsheshonqy, Papyrus Insinger and the Hermopolis Legal Code. She concludes that the ancient Egyptians did distinguish between specific and non-specific uses of the same noun, and she defines four types of reference (specific/limited, specific/non-limited, non-specific/limited and non-specific/non-limited). The archives of the Theban Choachytes form the source material for P. W. Pestman's investigation into 'inheritance', '"Inheriting" in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes', where some aspects of the Egyptian law of succession are analysed. The second part of the paper examines the terminology employed: *wn*, 'to list', *pḥ*, 'to come to, to devolve upon', *pš*, 'to divide', *stꜣ.ṯ*, 'to return, to come back to', and *ṯꜣy*, 'to take'. Quaegebeur, 'Aspects de l'onomastique démotique: formes abrégées et graphies phonétiques', discusses abbreviation and phonetic writing in demotic onomastica and demonstrates, convincingly, that the names *Pa-/Ta-rṯ* are not 'he/she of the representative', but hypocoristic forms of *Pꜣ-/Tꜣ-di-ḥr-pꜣ-ḫrd*.

J. D. Ray contributes an examination of some 'Phrases used in Dream-Texts', to which he appends some thoughts on dream-interpretation generally, the role of the pastophoros and a transliteration and translation of P. Cairo 50112. Words discussed in the paper include numerals, *iw=w ḏd*, *wꜣḥ=w ḏd*, *ḥr=w ḏd*, *nw=y r-ḥr=y*, *ptry/py*, and *rsw.t*. W. J. Tait, 'Approaches to Demotic Lexicography', offers a thought-provoking article on the problems of method and the difficulties inherent in lexicography, which he extends into a discussion on how the Egyptians themselves viewed their own vocabulary. Part 1 ends with K.-Th. Zauzich, 'Differenzierende Schreibungen bei differierender Wortbedeutung', who uses examples, principally from the Elephantine papyri, to show how demotic scribes marked through the script different meanings and usages of the same word, for example, *wḏꜣy* the noun and *wḏꜣ* the verb, *ty*, 'here', and *ty*, 'there', and *mt.w* with and without the definite article. He concludes that this was a hallmark of several expert scribes, through which they were able to draw attention to particular nuances in the meaning or function of certain words.

Part 2 commences with 'Towards some Applications of the Computer to Demotic Writing', an examination by M. C. Betrò of the benefits which computers could bring to demotic, in particular in relation to graphics. Demotic epigraphy is considered to be a particularly promising area for further investigation and the University of Pisa is considering founding a Corpus of Demotic Epigraphy by computer. E. Bresciani and R. Pintaudi, 'Textes démotico-grecs et greco-démotiques des ostraca de Medinet Madi: un problème de bilinguisme', survey the bilingual ostraca from Medinet Madi. One of the most interesting aspects of this extensive 'archive' is the presence of demotic texts with certain words or phrases written in Greek and vice-versa, and the occasional

hieroglyphic or hieratic text transcribed into Greek with demotic letters where necessary. A list of examples from the demotic ostraca is provided, which shows the use of Greek words for technical expressions, administrative titles, proper names, royal names and Greek infinitives prefaced by *ir-*.

W. Brunsch, 'Eine Prosopographie Ägyptens nach den demotischen Quellen', announces the intention to produce a demotic parallel/supplement to the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, using the material gathered for the *Demotisches Namenbuch*; cf. Brunsch and G. Vittmann, *Enchoria* 13 (1985), 25–39, for a progress report, and the comments of W. Peremans and E. van't Dack, *Enchoria* 14 (1986), 79–85. News of another long-awaited reference work forms the subject of W. Cheshire's paper, 'A Dictionary of Demotic Toponyms', which is being prepared at Würzburg under the supervision of Zauzich. The author outlines the nature of the project, some of the difficulties which have arisen (for example, how to differentiate between place-names and private property) and the scope of the dictionary, which is expected to contain around 3,000 toponyms.

St. Grunert, 'Zum Wortschatz der demotischen Ostraka in Prag', looks at some of the new words to be found in the 75 poorly preserved ostraca in the Náprstek-Museum in Prague. There are some hitherto unknown personal names, e.g., *'Iw=y-ii*, *Pꜣ-šr-pꜣ-ḫm*, *Ḥf-ꜥ.t*, *Wsr-ḫm* and *Wnš.t*, as well as certain words which appear to have been used as sub-headings in accounts, e.g., *tꜣm/tꜣš*, *ḥytn* and *šgḥ*. The demotic ostraca found by A. Fakhry in the Dakhla oasis are discussed by M. A. Nur el-Din, 'Notes on Some Words in the Demotic Ostraca of Qāret el-Muzawwaqa (Dakhla Oasis)'. He draws attention to *ḥtp-ntr*, usually 'divine offerings, endowment, temple-estate', and *qb/qbḥ*, usually 'libation-offerings', being used with the extended meaning of 'tax' and he discusses the orthography of the *hn*-measure, *ꜣky*, 'sesame', and *tr.t*, 'hand'. Two new words noted are *ṯbr*, perhaps a liquid offering, and *qꜥr*, a kind of bird.

R. K. Ritner gives an up-date on the Chicago Dictionary ('The Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project: A Status Report'), which is currently scheduled to appear at the end of 1991. G. Vittmann, 'Ein kursivhieratisches Wörterbuch', concludes the papers with reference to two works which he has planned, an abnormal hieratic dictionary and an abnormal hieratic dictionary of personal names, both of which are keenly awaited.

The volume concludes with indexes of proper names, toponyms, words discussed (in Latin, Greek, Greek and Latin in demotic transliteration, demotic, Egyptian and Coptic) and sources. The papers are interesting, well-presented and well-argued. This reviewer's only criticism is that none of the reference works or announced publications has yet appeared in print! In his preface to the papers, Pestman states that the volume is the first in a new series of demotic studies which he has founded with colleagues from Leuven and Leiden. If future volumes are of the same standard as the first, demotists have much to look forward to.

CARY J. MARTIN

Das Archiv des Nepheros und verwandte Texte. Edited by BÄRBEL KRAMER and JOHN C. SHELTON, with a contribution by G. M. BROWNE. Aegyptiaca Treverensia, Band 4. 310 × 230 mm. Pp. xii + 162, pls. 31. Mainz am Rhein, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1987. ISBN 3 8053 0923 6. Price DM 155.

This handsomely produced volume comprises a collection of forty-nine papyrus texts in two parts. The first part, the actual Archive of Nepheros, consists of forty-two texts, of which sixteen are fairly complete letters addressed to Nepheros, a priest and administrator of the monastery of Hathor in the village of Nesoi (Heracleopolite nome). Fourteen of these are in Greek (edited by Kramer and Shelton) and two in Coptic (by Browne). The rest are documents of various kinds, such as contracts of sale and accounts, most of which show a link with Nepheros or the monastery. It is possible that some of the texts were simply found in the same rubbish dump (pp. 5–6). There are in addition six fragmentary letters and four fragmentary documents. Part II, for which Bärbel Kramer is solely responsible, consists of seven miscellaneous Heidelberg texts, all of which mention either the village of Nesoi or Hathor/Phathor.

Most of the papyri in part I are undated, although three of them are precisely dated (to 329, 335 and 344) and one could belong to 336/7 or 321/2, the former date being regarded as far more

likely. From the prices mentioned in several places, the editors conclude that the archive should generally be placed after 344 (see no. 32) though not as late as the major inflation at the end of the fourth century. A dating *c.* 360 (cf. 12) would make this archive contemporary with the also recently published archive of Papnouthis and Dorotheus (P. Oxy. XLVIII 3384-3429). This dating for the Nepheros archive is now confirmed by Bagnall who argues for a date after 352 for P. Nepheros 8 (R. S. Bagnall, *ZPE* 76 (1989), 75: 'There is no way of being sure that the rest of the texts fall in the same period, but there is certainly no objection to such a date. The editors' estimate for a date after 344 is thus given strong support and somewhat more precision').

Considerable and valuable detail about the day-to-day functioning of the monastery of Hathor is found in these texts. It possessed a mill, a bakery, a forge, a pottery workshop, wheat granaries, no doubt boats and apparently lands. Several titles of office bearers are given, including: *πατὴρ τῆς μονῆς* (cf. p. 10), *πρεσβύτεροι*, *ὀιάκονοι*, *ἀναγνώτης*, *διοικονόμος*, *πατέρες*, *ἄπα*, *μοναχοί*. The editors tell us that Nepheros is a priest in the monastery and also of the village. He presumably knew both Greek and Coptic since he received letters in both languages, but it seems that, if he himself wrote no. 37 and the back of no. 2, he may have used Greek in his private affairs.

One of his functions proves to be that of a holy man or intercessor for resolving personal problems, sickness in particular. This is one of the features which lead the editors (while acknowledging the difficulties of establishing the character of early monasticism, and our lack of information about the Melitians, apart from matters pertaining to the schism) to propose that these papyri emanate from a Melitian milieu. If upheld, this hypothesis would undoubtedly add to the already considerable historical significance of these texts. The strongest reason for placing these texts in a Melitian context comes from the highly probable identification of this monastery with the monastery led by Paieous and named Hathor in the eastern area of the Upper Kynopolite nome. The monastery is known from P. Lond. VI 1913–1922. It is clear that Paieous and his fellow monks at Hathor were Melitian. P. Nepheros 48 places the monastery of Hathor in the adjacent Heracleopolite nome, but the name is unusual and other similarities suggest the same monastery (pp. 11–14).

The Kynopolite nome lay between the Oxyrhynchite and the Hermopolite nomes, and took in territory on both sides of the Nile (including Akoris on the east of the Nile). The metropoleis were adjacent; it is more than likely that the monastery of Hathor in the two archives is one and the same and the geographical indications for its location have to be reconciled. The editors propose various possible solutions (p. 13): the monastery could have expanded over the border; it could have been destroyed in a persecution or some other event and could have been rebuilt on the other side of the border; it could have been right on the border and a single geographical designation not possible; the border could have changed; the monastery of Nepheros could have been a daughter-monastery of the other (but one might expect in this case a different name, as also would be the case if the monastery were refounded).

We know from P. Lond. VI that the monastery it refers to definitely belonged to the Melitians around 355. We therefore need to ask whether it is likely that it changed its allegiance within a generation or less. Unfortunately, our sources for the Melitians concentrate on the central issue of the schism, namely, the question of ordination arising from the hard line taken by the Melitians over those who lapsed during the persecutions. Because, for reasons other than those of the Arians, they opposed Athanasius, the two groups struck up an alliance, so that in the course of time the Arians were sometimes popularly called Melitians. This further confused the issue of what characteristics Melitian communities really had. Theodoret records separate communities of Melitian monks still existing in Egypt in the fifth century, and they do appear to have maintained an existence as a separate sect until the eighth century. What is clear is that the Melitian schism passed through a number of phases during the fourth century, and that while many so-called Melitians continued to resist the bishop of Alexandria, some submitted.

Although the Melitians seem to have had less popular Egyptian support than Antony and Pachomius, they were by no means a negligible force in the mid-fourth century. In 327 a list of Melitian supporters showed one Melitian bishop in every six episcopal towns in the Delta, and one in every second or third city in the more Coptic-speaking provinces of the Thebaid. A Melitian mission extended as far south as Koptos. In the absence of evidence for a decline of Melitianism from 335 to *c.* 355, it seems reasonable to assume that this monastery probably continued to be

Melitian. There are about twenty-two names (leaving some to count as variant spellings only) in common between the papyri of P. Lond. VI 1913–1922 and those of P. Nepheros. The majority are fairly common names (*Παῦλος*, *Παπνοῦθις/ιος*, *Κολλοῦθος*, *Μακάριος*), some are less so (*Κολοβός*, *Σῦρος*) and may possibly point to some continuity, though there is no clear instance of the same person figuring in both archives.

Although the word *μελετιανός* is noted as being absent from the archive, this need not be a barrier to the identification, as it was characteristic of groups subsequently or otherwise held to be schismatic or heterodox that they did not attach such labels to themselves; the latter were typically used by their opponents. Moreover, the letters of the Nepheros archive come from a period when the conflict between orthodox and Melitian was probably less violent than in the 330s, so there may have been no need to make a Melitian adherence explicit. The Nepheros correspondence is generally about everyday concerns, so there may have been no occasion to spell out a Melitian connection in any case.

Thus far we can continue with the probable Melitian connection on the grounds of the likely identity and continuity of this monastery with that of P. Lond. VI. However, a number of this monastery's characteristics, which the editors think may set it apart from orthodox communities, are listed and discussed (p. 20). It is here that we are hampered by the difficulties of the evidence for early monasticism, but it is useful to list these characteristics and to see whether they can be paralleled in other texts.

1. The existence of private property for monks is noted in this archive. Although this is not part of the Pachomian scheme, it does seem to be indicated in some of the other papyrus documentation of early monasticism (though whether or not this is 'orthodox' we often do not know) in which varying degrees of withdrawal from the world are indicated. For instance P. Oxy. XLIV 3203 shows us two named sisters, *μοναχαὶ ἀποτακτικαί*, leasing part of a house to Jose, a Jew (E. A. Judge, 'Fourth-Century Monasticism in the Papyri', *Proc. XVI Int. Cong. Pap.* (Chicago, 1981), 213).

2. The Hathor monastery, the editors comment, seems to be open to the world, as is attested by visits made by monks (possibly, though not necessarily, to visit other Melitians), business deals (e.g. purchases and sales within the framework of community life), and so on. But here again, there is no reason to think that the Antonian and Pachomian models were the only varieties of early monasticism. If the Didyme letters do indeed illustrate an early monastic situation, there would be another example of monasteries which are certainly not completely withdrawn from the world (see Alanna M. Emmett, 'An Early Fourth Century Female Monastic Community in Egypt?', *Maistor: Classical, Byzantine and Renaissance Studies for Robert Browning* (Canberra, 1984), 77–83). The idea that such communities as the one in P. Nepheros may represent an intermediate organization between that of the hermits and the Pachomians is an attractive one. However, we simply do not know whether the presumed Melitian connection is at all significant here, or whether such intermediate monasteries could have existed among the orthodox.

3. Another of the features mentioned by the editors as distinctively Melitian is the role of the priest as intercessor with God. In P. Nepheros I, Paulos and Tapiam, writing from Alexandria, express their belief in the effectiveness of Nepheros' intercessory prayers for healing. In P. Nepheros 10 Horion also expresses confidence in Nepheros' prayers. Nepheros is consulted not simply as a priest but because, as a holy man, he was reputed to have the gift of healing. Peter Brown has pioneered our understanding of the role of the holy man or woman in late antique society, in *JRS* 49 (1971), 80ff. and several subsequent books. Such a holy man was held to have power over worldly disorders (diseases, bad weather, etc.) by virtue of his prayers and conquest of self. It would be strange if in Egypt this role were distinctively reserved for the Melitians, particularly since the monastic ideal of sanctity, epitomised by St. Antony, gave special reverence to the powers of such a man. Prayers for healing like those of P. Nepheros are in fact based in orthodox tradition and have a firm New Testament foundation (e.g. 1 Cor. 12.9, James 5.14–15). Some form of healing ministry was present in at least some early Christian communities and certain individuals were regarded as having particular competence in this area (R. J. S. Barrett-Lennard commenting upon P. Lond. 6.1926 in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, IV (1987), 246–7).

So then, while the continuity of a Melitian tradition within the Hathor monastery of *c.* 335 seems

likely, we should be cautious about ascribing the particular characteristics of these monks to their proposed Melitianism. Disputes over the validity of orders need not promote differences of Christian practice, and our papyrus sources at any rate seem to point to a variety of monastic arrangements in the early to mid-fourth-century. However, such later evidence as we have for the Melitians does indicate a certain individuality, and it is reasonable to assume that as time progressed this would have been accentuated.

To turn to other aspects of this volume, the presentation is excellent. It is very well laid out, with a full introduction and commentary on each text and extremely clear photographs, one of each individual text (a boon to palaeographers). The Indexes are accurate and complete for Greek and Coptic. The Nepheros texts will provoke considerable interest in and discussion of their historical significance, and rightly so; the care and fullness of the editorial comments on each text are admirable and show a concern to allow the reader every possible assistance.

ALANNA M. NOBBS

Corpus Papyrorum Raineri. Band XII, *Koptische Texte.* Edited by MONIKA R. M. HASITZKA. 2 vols. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. 99 (Textband), pls. 32 (Tafelband). Vienna, Verlag Bruder Hollinek for the Generaldirektion der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, 1987. ISBN 3 85119 222 6. Price not stated.

This publication comprises an exhaustive edition of 38 Coptic texts, all from the Rainer collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Nos. 1–37 are lists or accounts of some sort, while no. 38 is a formal administrative letter dealing with financial matters. All are written on papyrus and all are dated by the author to between the seventh and ninth centuries. The publication represents a reworked version of the author's doctoral thesis and its stated objective is to shed light on the economic infrastructure of Egypt in that period. This is, in fact, the first study devoted exclusively to the genre of Coptic lists and accounts. It consists of two volumes: one containing excellent black and white photographs of the whole corpus and one containing a transcription, translation and commentary of each text, as well as exhaustive indices and a comprehensive bibliography.

This book is likely to be of considerable interest to the fields of Coptic studies, Egyptology and papyrology, and to each discipline in a different way in accordance with its own perspective on the content of the texts in the corpus. My own approach to this material is that of an Egyptologist with an interest in comparing the social, legal and economic structures of ancient Egypt with those of Coptic Egypt.

Although many Egyptologists will study Coptic language as part of their basic training, textbooks such as those by Till and Lambdin do not in any way suffice to cope with the script, the lexis and much of the grammar of Coptic documents. Of all the categories of Coptic documentary material, the most inaccessible is surely that of accounts and lists. The script of such texts is usually both cursive and careless or maladroit. Much of the content is made up of specialized jargon or abbreviations derived—often in circuitous fashion—from Byzantine accounting practices. Nevertheless, in order to gain a rough idea of the potential of this genre as a gateway to the social and economic infrastructure of Coptic Egypt, it is necessary only to consider the mileage which has been extracted from Egyptian New Kingdom documents of the same genre.

With this book the interested Egyptologist has been provided with the prerequisites for working with Coptic accounts and commodity lists in one convenient package. There is a very extensive, selective and up-to-date bibliography, much of which is not likely to be easily accessible to the average Egyptologist, to whom the simple fact that a trained papyrologist has already carried out the bibliographical selection process is itself of considerable value. Pages 15–41 of the *Textband* deal exhaustively with the idiosyncrasies of script and content which are characteristic of this genre. Palaeographical characteristics are treated in a particularly detailed way (pp. 16–21), and self-contained sections are devoted to different categories of the vocabulary of the lists and accounts. Of these sections, those on abbreviations and metrological terminology are likely to be

particularly useful to Egyptologists. At any rate, careful use of this book should enable scholars possessing a reasonable knowledge of textbook Coptic to tackle the substantial number of lists and accounts which are contained in the various published catalogues of Coptic manuscripts.

In dealing with a pioneering publication such as this, it seems pointless to quibble with or query isolated points from the transcriptions or translations. This is particularly so in the case of the transcriptions as—in the absence of any palaeographical reference work on cursive Coptic—the author has no choice but to rely on her own subjective observations of her corpus. The present work is a base on which others can build.

The author has perhaps been a little too restrained in her treatment of the grammar and dialect features of the texts in the corpus. Where vowel length or other lexical features depart from the Sahidic norm, the reader is invariably referred merely to the appropriate place in Kahle's *Bala'izah*, I. In this corpus the Circumstantial Present is occasionally substituted for the Relative Form where amounts paid by or due to individuals are being listed. In my experience, this substitution is a common occurrence in accounts and lists and might have been worth comment. There is also an interesting use of the *tare-* pattern in text 38. In this text, *tare-* is employed in a formal and declarative context in order to express the charging of someone with the carrying out of a specific task.

In summary, the author is to be congratulated for producing in a meticulous and comprehensive manner a pioneering study of Coptic lists and accounts which is likely to serve as an indispensable reference work for a long time to come.

M. GREEN

Kleine Chrestomathie nichtliterarischer koptischer Texte. By WOLFGANG BRUNSCH. 295 × 210 mm. Pp. 53 including pls. 23. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1987. ISBN 3 447 02736 3. Price DM 42.

The book reviewed here has important symbolic value. It is fair to say that amongst Egyptologists the post-war years in particular have seen a marked decline in the perceived relevance of Coptic Studies to mainline Egyptology. This is a direct result of the fact that, in most mainstream Egyptology courses, Coptic has been included in the syllabus (if at all) on a relatively superficial level. Moreover, the Coptic component in such courses is likely to have consisted exclusively or almost exclusively of Coptic literary or religious texts, thus compounding in students' minds the impression of Coptic's marginal relevance. The exposure of most students to non-literary Coptic will have consisted at most of the transcribed snippets of 'Vulgärsprache' contained in Till's grammar, supplemented perhaps by a couple of texts from Crum's *Varia Coptica* or *Short Texts*. The result is that most conventionally-trained Egyptologists are entirely unaware of the enormous variety and the enormous corpus of Coptic non-literary material which has been sitting around in diverse publications for decades waiting to be exploited. This material has the potential to shed at least as much light on the social structure and culture of Coptic Egypt as the Deir el-Medina ostraca did for New Kingdom Egypt.

The analogy with Deir el-Medina is also appropriate in another sense. The script of many a Coptic administrative or business document is just about as far removed from the printed Coptic of the text books as is Kenherkhopshef's hieratic from its hieroglyphic transcription. This *Chrestomathie* has the stated objective of providing, through good photos of different types of Coptic non-literary text, a way in to the more or less cursive script often encountered with such texts.

It is clear from the very existence and the stated objective of this book that the wheel of academic fashion is turning for the first time in the direction of non-literary Coptic. This may be due to the perceived need of younger researchers to identify virgin territory in which to establish a specialist reputation, as more and more sectors of Egyptology become, if not worked-out, then at least a little too crowded for comfort. A similar situation existed up to the late 1960s with non-literary Late Egyptian. Within little more than a decade, Late Egyptian Studies were transformed from an Egyptological 'black hole' to probably the most comprehensively evaluated sector of the

field. Once the enormous potential and relevance of Coptic non-literary material begins to be appreciated by mainline Egyptology, it is likely to enjoy an analogous development.

The author of the book reviewed here must be one of the few scholars well qualified to provide an introduction to cursive Coptic script. His publications have shown a clear and developing expertise in evaluating Demotic and Coptic non-literary texts of all genres and his published work makes clear also that he is fully aware of the social and cultural continuity which connects Demotic and Coptic non-literary material.

The content of the book itself may be summarized quickly. It consists of excellent photos of 16 Coptic non-literary texts, all save two from the collection of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek: 1 gravestone; 2 magical texts; 11 legal documents of various types; 2 letters. The author has modelled the entire concept and format of his book on Brunner's 1965 *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*. This means that a minimal number of succinctly expressed palaeographical notes is supplied along with the bare minimum of descriptive information for each text.

Brunner's publication addressed the problem that textbooks and text publications present hieroglyphic text of necessity in a standardized format which can look very different to the real thing. Nevertheless, the problems of transition between printed hieroglyphic text and authentic material (with all its variations according to provenance, date, purpose, and craftsman competence) are much less and really of a different order to those confronting the student who has learned Coptic from a standard textbook and then has to try to work through a typical Coptic legal or administrative text.

The situation is really more analogous to the relationship between non-literary hieratic and its hieroglyphic transcription. Moreover, there are the implications to consider of the much wider range of genre, each non-literary Coptic genre having its own characteristic register which is subject both to regional variation and to chronological evolution. In transcribing such texts, the influence of dialect on grammar and on spelling must be considered and also the problem of the apparent statistical association of certain Coptic dialects and sub-dialects with particular genres of Coptic non-literary text.

Such factors do not affect significantly the hieroglyphic texts chosen by Brunner. All in all, the simplistic transfer of Brunner's model to the script problems of Coptic non-literary text genres is not likely to achieve the author's stated objective. While those who already have some experience of such texts will be grateful for 16 excellent photos hitherto unavailable, the learner will have to refer back to the original publication when confronted by any transcription problems and will find, in many cases, that his library has not acquired the publication concerned because of the low priority which Coptic non-literary material has hitherto enjoyed.

There is a substantial amount of wasted space in this book. Without significantly lengthening the book (if at all), the author could easily have supplied both a guideline translation, a full transcription of each text photo, and succinct remarks on the features of each text which justify any date or dialect attributions given. This would have facilitated greatly the use of the book by those at whom it is specifically targeted. Equally, and in view of the relatively rare cases in which Coptic text publications have been accompanied by good photos, it would have been desirable to append to this book a list of publications which supply photos of Coptic non-literary texts of a quality good enough to supplement those published here by Dr Brunsch. Such a list, if organized according to date, dialect, and text genre, would have been a valuable complement to the content of this book.

As it is, the book leaves one with mixed feelings. Certainly, one must be grateful for this long-overdue step in the right direction. However, with a little more substance this book could have been a much more useful and versatile tool.

M. GREEN

Le Catalogue des fragments coptes, I, *Fragments bibliques nouvellement identifiés.* By ANNE BOUVAREL-BOUD'HORS. 300 × 210 mm. Pp. 126, pls. 20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1987. Price not stated.

The Coptic manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) are catalogued under 178 numbers which, however, in no way reflect the real extent of the collection. For example, under certain of these numbers are subsumed many hundreds of fragments from several dozen different manuscripts. The present volume is the first in a series of four which are devoted to the classification and identification of the BN Coptic fragments. It represents the first attempt at a systematic and exhaustive catalogue of this material. The fragments cover all literary and non-literary Coptic genres and all of the main dialects are represented. While the present volume catalogues the biblical fragments, the remaining three will deal respectively with the liturgical fragments, the non-biblical literary fragments and the fragments from documentary sources.

A sizeable percentage of the fragments derives from the White Monastery. The author describes in detail the means whereby the BN acquired this material and the arbitrary manner in which it was subsequently dispersed and stored. This rendered the fragments to a large degree inaccessible for scholarly purposes, although selected fragments have been published hitherto and attempts made to assign such fragments to their manuscripts of origin. The present catalogue is devoted to the fragments which have not hitherto been identified or published.

This catalogue is unambiguously and methodically presented. The fragments are classified by content and, where possible, by reference to the manuscript to which a given fragment originally belonged. To each fragment there is supplied as much of a commentary as is warranted by its content or by factors such as palaeographical peculiarities. Where the text of a fragment is not otherwise attested in Coptic, the text is supplied in its entirety. Otherwise only the text beginning and end are supplied.

The majority of the BN Sahidic NT fragments were listed by Horner in his seven-volume *Coptic Version of the New Testament*... (Oxford 1911–24). For this reason, this new catalogue provides a detailed index which cross-references the Horner and BN reference numbers and, where possible, cross-references also to the appropriate number in Mink and Schmitz, *Liste der Koptischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments*, I (Berlin, 1986). A second (most useful) index cross references the current BN fragment number with the page on which it is published in this catalogue and with the manuscript to which it has been assigned. A number of plates are appended to the volume. These are devoted either to the Fayyumic fragments (because of their relatively rare status) or to fragments which could not be assigned to a particular manuscript (thus facilitating comparison with other collections).

This volume is a painstakingly and meticulously assembled catalogue which makes available in a comprehensive way a substantial body of Coptic material which was hitherto neither accessible nor usable for scholastic purposes. To accomplish this sort of task requires not only the appropriate technical expertise but also a special kind of dedication and patience. The author deserves warm commendations for undertaking this daunting task and it is to be hoped that the remaining three parts of the catalogue will be published as soon as possible.

M. GREEN

Arabic documents from the Ottoman period from Qaṣr Ibrīm. By MARTIN HINDS and HAMDI SAKKOUT. Texts from Excavations, Eighth Memoir. Pp. 114, pls. 8. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1986. Price £48.

All but two of the documents in this exemplary publication are from an archive of Arabic and Ottoman Turkish documents discovered during the 1966 season at Ibrīm in a covered earthenware pot in the courtyard of a large house identified as that of *tubshī* (sc. Turkish *topcu*) Ibrāhīm. Of the 122 documents photographed by the excavators in the Islamic Museum in Cairo (MIA 23972, 1–2; 23973, 1–119, 121), 86 belong to the Ottoman period (1029–1171/1620–1759): 59 of these are in Arabic, some containing more than one text. They are published here, together with

two others (nos. 8, 19) which came to light in the 1978 season. 27 more are in Ottoman Turkish and deal almost exclusively with military affairs: these are to be published in a forthcoming volume. The remainder, which appear to include some twelfth or thirteenth century material, will appear shortly.

Of the 59 original documents, 15 record sales, 12 are pledges, 13 are deeds of gift, 6 are share-cropping agreements, and 3 relate to registration, but without precisely specifying the purpose. They relate overwhelmingly to land and/or palm trees, with cloth, dates or cereals almost invariably as the medium of exchange. The remainder are miscellaneous, including evidently one on a family row which came to court, in which a nephew demanding his mother's anklet from his uncle was fobbed off with a dagger (nos. 15–16). As the authors remark, they illustrate the 'not unfamiliar phenomenon of members of an Ottoman military establishment simply staying on and becoming involved in local affairs by acquiring land and taking part in trade'. Their importance for economic and social history is shown by the opportunities they give the authors to deflate some widely-fostered legends regarding Upper Egypt in the Ottoman period, but a full evaluation awaits the publication of the Turkish documents. A volume entitled *Qaṣr Ibrīm in the Ottoman Period: Turkish and further Arabic Documents*, by Martin Hinds (who died in 1989) and V. L. Ménage, should appear in late 1991. See also the latter's study of the Ottomans in Nubia in the sixteenth century, in *Annales Islamologiques* 24 (1988), 137–53.

The volume contains a brief survey of the documents and their problems; summaries of the documents in English, with full translations of the most important or most representative; the Arabic texts; and an extremely useful Glossary, with important information on the metrology of the Ottoman provinces and the geography and agriculture of Upper Egypt and Nubia. The editing of the Arabic text was complicated by the numerous Egyptian colloquialisms, solecisms resulting from ignorance of the correct legal forms, and orthographic, phonetic or morphological peculiarities; but the editors judge that about half the documents are in clear Arabic and a few are even broadly in conformity with Classical Arabic—an interesting judgement on standards of education in the remoter Ottoman provinces. Regarding the dating of the documents, they note the usual proportion of disparate days of the week and calendar dates, and conclude that the exact date was not always known when the document was drawn up—hence, frequently, dating by decades of the month, or to 'a Friday in Muḥarram', or to the month or even to the year alone. That may be unsurprising, as they modestly observe, but the point is rarely made and brings out the unthinking anachronisms into which the scholar may so easily fall.

The authors are to be congratulated on an admirably executed work on an understudied province of Egypt in an unjustly neglected period.

J. M. ROGERS

Old Nubian Texts from Qaṣr Ibrîm I. By J. MARTIN PLUMLEY and GERALD M. BROWNE. Texts from Excavations, Ninth Memoir. 315×250 mm. Pp. vi+77, pls. 11. London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1988. ISBN 0307 5125 9. Price £36.00.

The riches of the Egypt Exploration Society's work at Qasr Ibrim in Nubia are seemingly inexhaustible, and in the present volume, the latest in the series *Texts from Excavations*, a considerable part of the Society's discoveries in Old Nubian are published. The authors are the original excavator, J. Martin Plumley, to whose efforts much of the success of the Ibrim project is due, and an American colleague, G. M. Browne, who is the acknowledged expert in the field. The resulting publication reflects the qualities of its collaborators, and is an invaluable contribution to the study of a language, and an entire culture, which are still poorly appreciated and understood. The present volume concentrates on the biblical and theological material, which is the only kind of text, in the present state of our knowledge, which can be easily comprehended. The documentary material from the site is yet to be published, for reasons that are thoroughly understandable. In every case in the present selection of texts, there is a Greek or Coptic *Vorlage* available with which the Nubian can be compared. It is in this respect that the scarcity of foreign loan-words in the

language, which this reviewer has remarked upon elsewhere, becomes especially noticeable. There is presumably a cultural explanation for this.

The texts in the present volume were found during the 1963–4 season within the ruined Cathedral of St Mary the Virgin at Ibrim. All of them are fragmentary, and handwriting, as well as content, show that they come from a series of disparate volumes. It is therefore obvious that much has been lost. Three texts are from the Psalter (two of these contain the appropriate Greek text interspersed), six come from the New Testament, one contains part of an encomium on the Archangel Raphael, and one comprises part of a similar work on the Archangel Michael. One text (no. 7) contains extracts from Pauline Epistles, with dates in the month of Mesore when they are to be recited (comparison with the practices of other Churches might be interesting here). All the fragments are presented with a translation and the appropriate Greek or Coptic originals. In some cases it is not clear, without a detailed reading of the notes at the end of the volume, whether the translation offered is based on the Greek, or is an attempt to render the Nubian; but this vagueness is a justifiable reflection of our inadequate knowledge of the early stages of the language. The plates are clear and, with a possible exception, easy to use; anyone who has experienced field and photographic conditions in the Nile valley will know the achievement that this represents. Commentary is admirably brief and to the point, but in one case (no. 11) is to be supplemented by the remarks of B. Rostkowska in the forthcoming *Proceedings of the Third Annual Congress of Coptic Studies* (Warsaw).

The field of Old, or Medieval, Nubian is a small one, though a language which was able to occupy the attention of authorities such as F. Ll. Griffith is not to be underestimated. The present volume is an invaluable contribution to this challenging subject, and one which may well help to attract more interest to it. The authors have earned our sincere gratitude for breaking new ground in this difficult terrain, and it is profoundly to be hoped that they will continue their collaborations, which have begun so well.

J. D. RAY

Studies in Old Nubian. By GERALD M. BROWNE. Beiträge zur Sudanforschung, Beiheft 3. 239 × 169 mm. Pp. 62. Vienna, Institut für Afrikanistik, 1988. Price ÖS 350.

The study of Old Nubian is linked with the names of Zyhlarz, Griffith, Stricker, and Hintze, but recently the subject has languished to a certain extent. However, over the last twenty years the Egypt Exploration Society's discoveries at Qasr Ibrim have greatly added to the available material, and have also produced the scholar to deal with it. G. M. Browne has already produced an account of the Old Nubian verbal system, in a series of articles in the *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* and elsewhere (these are listed in the useful bibliography of the present volume). These articles are clearly intended to supersede Zyhlarz, whose work is not rated highly by Browne, and there is no doubt that they will do so. The book under review is a continuation, and in a sense a simplification, of the author's previous work on the subject. As such, it is an invaluable contribution to our knowledge of this poorly-understood field.

Old Nubian is still not well attested (Browne estimates that the total corpus would probably not exceed 100 printed pages). Nevertheless, many of the surviving texts are biblical or theological, and it is often possible to know what a particular sentence ought to mean, even if it remains questionable how it means it. An interesting feature in this respect is the noticeable lack of loan-words in the language (the Greek words for 'angel' and 'sea' are readily explicable). This is in marked contrast with contemporary Coptic, and deserves comment. The comparison with Coptic also raises another question. Browne follows the isolationist methods of Polotsky, especially those used in the latter's *Grundlagen des koptischen Satzbaus.* This is no doubt admirable, but one wonders, when the surviving corpus of Old Nubian is so limited, whether we can afford the luxury of being austere in this way. Old Nubian is presumably the ancestor, or one of the ancestors, of the modern dialects of the language, and it should in theory (!) be possible to reconstruct missing forms, and to describe phonetic changes over the past millennium—a period which, in linguistic

terms, is not great. Considerable success has been achieved by such methods in the reconstruction of early Chinese, and it is arguable that there is good diachronic work to be done in Nubian as well. It is to be hoped that the author, who is the outstanding authority in this field, will go on to write the grammar of this remarkable language which he alone is capable of giving us. He should surely feel encouraged to do so.

J. D. RAY

Al-Fustat. Its foundation and early urban development. By WLADYSLAW B. KUBIAK. 224 × 145 mm. Pp. 186, 5 sketch plans. Cairo, American University in Cairo Press, 1987. ISBN 977 424 168 1. Price not stated.

The present work derives from a *Habilitationsschrift* submitted to the University of Warsaw and published in 1982. The author, a distinguished historian of early Islam and with considerable archaeological experience in Egypt, both at Fustat and at Kom al-Dikk in Alexandria, would have been in an excellent position to review and reconcile the historical and archaeological evidence. That his work is less this essential synoptic work than an elegant contribution to the history of the first century of Arab settlement in Egypt is a commentary upon the work and publication of excavation by archaeologists in Egypt. Admittedly, his survey of the physical topography of the site shows the virtual impossibility of now distinguishing what is man-made and what natural, after centuries of quarrying and dung-digging, low cost housing projects and rubbish dumping; but in almost 200 years of digging in Egypt, much, notably the complex on the plateau to the south generally known as Istabl 'Antar, has only been surveyed in the past year or two.

'Ali Bahgat's excavations at Fustat (*c.* 1912–24), though highly productive of archaeological material, were certainly inadequate, and no convincing structural chronology can be constructed on the basis of his published work. His successors, however, have really not fared better; most seriously the work at the Mosque of 'Amr in the early 1970s supervised by 'Abd al-Rahman 'Abd-al-Tawwab prior to its radical restoration, which should have been of vital importance for the pre-'Abbasid state of the building, remains unpublished. And although later seasons of work on the ARCE concession have brought to light Byzantine material relevant to the Umayyad period in Egypt, otherwise barely documented in material remains, they are far from sufficient to draw an urban map of Fustat for the period 641–750. Here there is an obvious problem in relating micro-investigations to the broad generalisations of chroniclers, numismatists or economic and social historians like Goitein working on the Geniza documents; but the long neglect, of which Professor Kubiak complains, of late Roman, Coptic and medieval levels in excavations of urban sites in Egypt, which has only recently been somewhat made good, has deprived us of an essential context in which the Fustat finds need to be interpreted.

We may therefore wonder whether we shall ever have an archaeological history of early Islamic Fustat to complement the written sources, and Professor Kubiak has wisely based himself in the historians. He concentrates on Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (805–71) whose *Futūḥ Miṣr*, he argues convincingly, derives from a reliable oral tradition and can thus be used to correct the inaccuracies and distortions introduced into Ibn Duqmāq and Maqrīzī (for example, on the changes in the course of the Nile), who have so often been regarded as the undisputed sources for the history of early Muslim Egypt. His critical review of the sources explains the reasons for the choice of the site, and gives a picture of the settlers, the assignation of land holdings, demographic growth, and the evolution of quarters, and the appearance of public buildings, principally under the governor 'Abd al-'Azīz *c.* 690, the brother of the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, whom he credits with the transformation of the settlement into a metropolis. An interesting conclusion is that, in marked contrast to urban foundations elsewhere in early Islam, there seems to have been no *dār al-imāra* until al-'Askar and that the mosque of 'Amr, initially at least, could not have been built as a *congregational* mosque. Its central position, he argues, doubtless explains its choice as a *jāmi'* in the late seventh or early eighth century, although by then unlimited space for expansion was no longer

available. Moreover, by a careful sifting of the sources relating to land tenure and building he is also able to suggest that by the time of 'Abd al-'Azīz the tribal organization was well on the way to disappearing and that many of the urban features documented from excavation at Fustat for the ninth to tenth centuries were already present. What the written sources, of course, cannot always do is give the precise locations of such important features as the mouth of the medieval Khalīj or its exact relation to the Amnis Trajanus. Much, therefore, remains somewhat hypothetical.

The history of the great urban foundations south of Cairo has often been taken to show the regular movement of the administrative centre northwards, through al-'Askar and al-Qaṭā'i' to al-Qāhira. Kubiak argues, however, that, like the palace-town at Ḥulwān which 'Abd al-'Azīz built in 70/689–90, these were all in their way satellite towns which left the vitality of Fustat untouched and that it was only following the disasters of the years 1066–72 that the depopulation of Fustat and the consequent influx of population into al-Qāhira made the Fatimid foundation the metropolis of Egypt.

Kubiak well demonstrates the unique importance of Fustat among the early Muslim city foundations. Though initially a camp, within a few decades it was permanent. This it basically owed, he argues, to its geographical situation with its great agricultural hinterland, its direct connection with the Red Sea, and its position on the Nile, which guaranteed access to the major international trade routes. When the flow of booty was no longer steady, the great consuming power of Fustat attracted labour from Alexandria to augment the already large local artisan population, which transformed it into a great industrial centre. Although Alexandria, which 'Amr, for his own reasons, seems to have favoured for the capital of a Muslim Egypt, was not immediately eclipsed, possibly the most remarkable achievement of Fustat was to shift, within less than 100 years of its creation, the economic, political and social weight of Egypt from the Mediterranean to the Nile.

Kubiak's study is an interesting contribution to the study of Muslim urban development both in Umayyad Egypt and in early Islam in general. It shows, moreover, how much new can be learned from a critical review of sources which have been known and exploited for more than a century. But for a work published by a university press the editing is poor. Among the misprints, two may seriously mislead: A. H. M. Jones appears as 'Johns'. And 'Islam' in the late Maurice Lombard's *L'Islam dans sa première grandeure* (Paris, 1971) appears, amazingly, as 'L'Islande'.

J. M. ROGERS

Bernardino Drovetti, Epistolario. Edited by SILVIO CURTO and LAURA DONATELLI. 240 × 170 mm. Pp. ix + 776, pls. 46. Milan, Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1985. ISBN 88 205 0513 4. Price Lire 70,000.

In 1921 the Piedmontese anthropologist Giovanni Marro (1875–1952) came across the *Nachlass* of Bernardino Drovetti, the famed Consul for France in Egypt during the period of Napoleon and the Restoration. The discovery changed Marro's life. Apart from numerous articles (often repetitious and lacking perspective), he published in 1940 the first volume of Drovetti's *Epistolario* (hereafter *Ep.*), 178 letters, almost all *to* Drovetti, arranged almost (why not completely?) alphabetically according to sender. This arrangement has some obvious attractions, in that one can easily follow Drovetti's relations with each of his correspondents, but one cannot, on the other hand, easily use the letters to reconstruct his own very full and complex life—a matter of some interest to me, as my own biography of him is almost ready for publication. We have had, then, since 1940 the crucial correspondence of D. with Belzoni, Champollion, Boutin, Boyer (a leading figure in the modernization of the Egyptian army), Joussuf Boghos (Mehemet Ali's secretary), and Dr Cani (leading collaborator with D. in the vaccination programme), among others. The rest of the nearly 1000 items were promised shortly.

That short period ended forty-five years later with the appearance of the 'complete' *Epistolario* in one volume, edited by Silvio Curto and Laura Donatelli, containing 575 letters, as well as (in an appendix) the contracts for the sale of the first and second collections of antiquities, to Turin in 1823/4 and to the Louvre in 1827.

Only 32 of the letters are by D., and some of these are duplicates of those already published in the major collection of his letters, the official correspondence of the French consuls in Egypt, edited by Douin and Driault, 1925–35, six volumes covering the two periods of his consulate. This official collection is, indeed, sometimes vital for understanding allusions in the *Ep.* (such as the attempted assassination of Colonel Rey).

What we have now is the major evidence for D. in all his many facets, both private and public. It is a matter of very great regret that the picture presented in the endless popular accounts of the history of archaeology as well as in more professional sources has depended on one contemporary source, and that for the most part a bitter rival, namely Belzoni. That basic fact has not deterred those who confound history with journalism. The main benefit of the *Ep.* will be, I hope, to set that right. Out of all the letters written to D., only two show him in any disquieting light: one from his agent Rifaud, and one from a doctor who refused to go on treating him. The others in their hundreds are an endless testimony to D.'s kindness, from friends whom he never ceased showering with gifts (especially Turin chocolates and Moka coffee), the endless travellers of *all* nations for whom he could never do enough and who could always turn to him, his diplomatic colleagues and officials such as Admiral de Rigny, with whom he enjoyed relations of the greatest friendship and respect, the enormous number of Europeans, notably soldiers, doctors and educators, who came to Egypt to take part in its modernization (of which the major prompter was D. himself), the monks of the Holy Land who had no-one to equal him as protector in their struggles to maintain their sanctuaries and assist pilgrims, and, perhaps most remarkable of all, the whole European intellectual community, especially in Italy and France, who found D. an unfailing resort and who showered him with recognition.

The distribution of the letters is unfortunately very unequal. There are only nine until the remarkable appointment by Napoleon in 1802 of D. at the age of 26 to Egypt. Within two years, D.'s superior, Matthieu Lesseps, had left, never to return, leaving the young man as, in effect, Consul-General. From the second period (1802–15), we have just over 50 letters; for the interregnum, until D.'s reappointment in 1821, about 70 letters; from the later consulship (1821–9), 330 letters. For the last 23 years of D.'s life, there are few more than 100.

The guidance given by the editors is sparse. After a short description in the preface of the decision to bring Marro's work to completion, there is only a note that they will not be giving notes; and the revelation that the second of the two names appearing as editors 'continued and completed the work'. On a further page in smaller print, further notes: letters already published appear in identical form to that earlier publication; the orthography follows the texts, to serve as a document of the language of the time (those of Rifaud, almost illiterate, are certainly a problem: 'non repetibile in un testo ordinato senza pericolo d'interpretazioni arbitrarie' does not seem to me to help); the index, finally, will list names in the current form 'when known to us, otherwise in that which seems correct', all subject to emendation. More of that later.

Whether the volume is more of a treasure-house or a torment, the reader will have to decide for himself.

1. *Missing letters*

Marro's major contribution on D. was the 113 page article on his 'personality' in the *Memorie* of the Turin Academy (1951). The attentive reader of that article will note that Marro admitted (p. 7) that some letters of General Colli had already 'gone missing': how? when? In addition, he mentioned the following letters which he had which do not now appear in the *Ep.* (page references are always to Marro's 1951 article): a letter of Soliman Pacha (17); of L. Michel, 1811 (18); of General Rossetti, 1837 (18); of Joseph Senkowski, 1821 (21), 1825 (49); of D. to Regnault (23); no fewer than 18 of Huder, aide de camp to the French ambassador at the Porte (31, 62): the *Ep.* has one!; of Schmaltz, 1827 (31); of Mechain, 1825 (33), 1827 (57); of Montgrand, mayor of Marseille, 1824 (33); 15 of Pariset, the famous doctor (33): the *Ep.* has one!; of the mayor of Lyon, 1827 (38); of Stanislao Famin, 1820, 1821 (38); of Fidely, mayor of Marseille, 1825 (38); of Ludwig of Bavaria (39); of Fischer in St Petersburg (49); of Luigi Spagnoli, 1824 (51); of Mirbel 3 long letters (51); of the count de Laveau in Moscow, 1825 (52); 5 of Carlo Botta (55): the *Ep.* has one; 3 of G. Balbis (55): the *Ep.* has 2; of Baron Taylor (58); of Pedemonte, 1825 (64), 1833 (67); of Baron Damas, 1825 (65); of Jomard, 1825 (67); 12 of Marocchetti (92): the *Ep.* has one.

If Marro knew of all these letters in 1951, where are they now? If they still exist, why have they not been included in the *Ep.*?

To this list, I can add letters of the count de Medem (Farina, *Bernardino Drovetti, archeologo* (1921), 27), of the Receiver General of Finances in Paris, 1827 (*ib.* 28), 2 of Ventimiglia (Marro, *Atti Accad. Torino* 67 (1931/2), 282), of conte Littardi, 1827 and 9 long letters of A. Gentili, who was with Ibrahim in the Wahabite war (Marro, *Atti del XXIII Cong. di storia del Risorgimento* (1940), 265, 272), and of Mehemet Ali on the Philae obelisk (Marro, *Aegyptus* 32 (1952), 124).

2. *Misdated letters*

p. 188f: dated 18 Jan. 1822, despite the mention of (1) the death of Ishmael (Oct. 1822), (2) the capture of Nafplion (Dec. 1822), and (3) the retirement of Maubourg as ambassador to the Porte (1823). The date should be Jan. 1823.

p. 223: from Admiral de Rigny, dated Aug. 1822 (?). It is rare for a letter to contain as many dating indications as this one! It is teeming with references: (1) Grafton Canning was at Constantinople (late 1825–late 1827); (2) Damas was Minister of Foreign Affairs (1824–8); (3) there had just been the 'revolution' at Constantinople, i.e. the putting down of the Janissaries (June 1826); (4) David had been replaced as consul at Smyrna, which the *Ep.* itself (!) dates to 1826 (p. 494, 498). The date of the letter is thus August 1826.

p. 510: dated 20 Jan. 1827, although it refers to Navarino. The merest tyro in the history of this period knows that that battle was fought on 20 October 1827. The simplest correction, since the month is spelled out in full, is the year, to 1828. Consultation of the official correspondence for 1828–30, edited by Douin, p. 19, reveals the identical letter, indeed dated 20 Jan. 1828.

p. 519: another letter dated before Navarino although it refers to it. The date given is 22 7bre 1827. The simplest correction, since the month is abbreviated, is to 22 9bre.

p. 520: dated 25 7bre 1827. The writer refers to D.'s fixed return to Egypt. This was occasioned by Navarino, so again the correction is 25 9bre.

p. 531: Drovetti to Baruffi *c.* 1827. D. refers to (1) Baruffi's letter on Vienna, just received (it is dated Oct. 1837, cf. his *Pellegrinazioni*, 1841; (2) D.'s own memories of that city: his only known visit is 1830 (*Ep.* 620); (3) excavations by Marucchi in 1826 or 1827, so hardly the indication that the letter was written *c.* 1827 as the editors take it; more obviously, an uncertain memory after the lapse of some years; (4) the theory that the pyramids were cisterns, put about by a Dane called Forchman (actually Peter Forchammer, in *De Pyramidibus* (Kiel, 1837)) (5) explorations under the Great Pyramid by Caviglia; this was in 1817 (Belzoni, *Narrative*, II. 213f.); (6) Champollion's *Pantheon ég.*, (1823). The letter is to be dated *c.* 1840.

p. 608, dated 29 juillet 1829. There are no fewer than eight dating clues. (1) Cailliaud has just returned to Paris: February 1819; (2) there is talk of D.'s collection, sold to Turin in 1824: Jomard still wanted it for Paris; (3) de Cazes is Minister of the Interior (1819); (4) Forbin also wants the collection for France; (5) Jomard has been working on the *Description* for 12–14 years (from 1807); (6) Cailliaud's collection has been bought; (7) he is to make a second journey to Egypt (1819–22); (8) his *Voyage à l'Orient* (1821) has not yet been published.

It should now be obvious to everyone that the letter was written not in 1829 but in 1819, and one turns to note it in its proper place, only to find it there already (*Ep.* 133). The same letter has been published twice, once under 1819 and again ten years later.

p. 612: D. writes to Carlo Botta from Alexandria, 18.11.1829. He left Egypt on 20 June of that year.

3. *Missing addressees*

Since we have so few letters in this collection by D. himself, it is important that every effort be made to name those to whom he was writing. Such a name *has* been supplied by the editors in one case: Agoub (*Ep.* 482).

p. 120: this person is about to undertake a government mission as far as the Second Cataract, in 1819. One might think first of the celebrated Nubian traveller of this time, Christian Gau, but the mention of Lachaise indicates rather the famous architect, Jean Huyot.

p. 126: to a baron in 1819, concerning the export of horses for someone important. Keeping this in mind, on p. 159 is a letter of Bianco di Barbania about getting horses for the Principe di Carignan, and on p. 200 we discover that Barbania is indeed a baron.

4. *Emendations*

Literally hundreds of grammatical corrections are here omitted, and can be supplied by any reader reasonably competent in French (especially missing 's' in plurals!). It is striking that almost all the problems occur in letters in French, not Italian. The editors are aware that such slips, if genuine, should not be corrected, because they are precious evidence for the writer's level of

culture: for example, Belzoni. It is, on the other hand, inconceivable that leading bureaucrats, diplomats and intellectuals (for an example, p. 391) could not write grammatical and intelligible French. What is done to Jomard's letters, for instance, is monstrous.

p. 24, l. 5: for Jhedenat, read Thedenat.

p. 103, a letter signed 'Eregildo Furlani' (sic). There are two basic clues to the identity of this author: his trip to Asia, and the obvious fact that he is not entirely sane. Those who know their travellers in Egypt will instantly recognize Enegildo Frediani and correct the signature accordingly.

p. 123, 8 lines from bottom: for Hugot, read Huyot.

p. 135, 8 lines from bottom: for Coranez, read Corancez.

p. 145, l. 5: 'puisque je mes...les copiés que pour lui', read 'je *n'ai* les copiés'?

l. 14: 'le romain'; read 'le *gouvernement* romain'!

p. 148, 6 lines from bottom: 'Mr Liomn': read Limann (as in the preceding letter!).

p. 149, l. 5: for 'si bientôt il m'arrive un decision', read 'il *n*'arrive'?

p. 158, l. 12: '8 a 10 lignes en greé', read 'en grec'.

p. 192: the letter is signed 'Hempsichi'. It may look something like that, since most people's signatures are illegible, but since a letter only a few pages earlier was signed by the same famous Prussian botanist Hemprich, the name must be read the same.

p. 224, l. 2: for 'Hrafton-Conning', read 'Grafton Canning', a garbled form of Stratford Canning, of course.

l. 23: for 'Favier' read 'Fabvier' (and so p. 450, 490).

6 lines from bottom: 'g.al Rache', read 'Roche'.

2 lines from bottom: for 'Sniatz', read 'Schmaltz'.

p. 225, 2 lines from bottom: for 'Merve' read 'Meroe'!

p. 231, l. 12: 'ils ont pour nous', read 'vous'.

p. 233, l. 17: 'que vous n'avez transmise', read '*m*'avez'.

p. 298, 13 lines from bottom: for 'Pacha', read 'Pacho'.

p. 312, 2 lines from bottom: 'Ali Pacha de anina', read 'Janina'.

p. 319, 6 lines from bottom: 'Le Commandant de la Cybebe', read 'Cybèle'.

p. 321, l. 17: the intriguing case of the 'niche monolithe'. Drovetti did, indeed, present a monolithic sanctuary to the king at this time. Marro, however, in *Atti Accad. Torino* 58 (1922/3), 576, read it as 'le riche monolithe', a reference to the Alexandrian obelisk. The letters are not always given as previously published, then, and no note alerts the reader to a previous error, if it is such.

p. 352, l. 6: 'Nour el Din' is 'Nureddin'.

p. 383: D. requests a decoration for Dr Louis Cannet; cf. p. 388, l. 18: Cancard; cf. p. 414, 7 lines from bottom: Canvet. Three versions of the same name!

p. 395, last line: 'Tale trip'; cf. p. 422, l. 6: 'Taletrip'; cf. p. 421: 'toletrip'. Rifaud could write anything, but the modern reader might be saved puzzlement in recognizing Tell Atrib. Rifaud in his own *Descriptions des fouilles* (1829), had 'Koum-Telle-Trip'.

p. 397: 'M. Levisse Consul Général d'Angleterre': presumably Peter Lee, who was not, of course, Consul-General. Perhaps 'Lee issi' for 'ici' (cf. p. 423).

p. 421, l .26: 'la première digne', read 'digue'. The whole page is a nightmare.

p. 422, l. 31: 'que vous ni avez cité', read '*m*'avez'.

p. 425, l. 17: 'Ellion Boksour', read 'Ellious Boktour'—as if Jomard did not know this famous Orientalist in Paris.

l. 18: 'se plan', read 'ce plan'.

last line: 'Mr Pacha sera ici sans peut', read 'Mr Pach*o* sera ici dans peu'.

p. 447, l. 31: the sentence beginning here has the negative in the wrong place.

p. 451, l. 22: 'de Vaignille de Cléopatre', read 'de l'Aiguille de Cléopatre'!

p. 461, l. 5: 'Basilio Faher', read 'Faker'.

p. 463, l. 8: 'Giacomo Maurdle', read 'Macardle'.

p. 485, l. 6: 'Mr Magretto', read 'Magnetto'.

p. 488, 8 lines from bottom: 'Mr Agout', read 'Agoub'.

p. 498, l. 4: 'la condition à la quel le votre sarcophage', read 'à laquelle'.

p. 516, l. 30: 'il a eu sous les jeux mes plans', read 'sous les yeux', and again p. 518, l. 5!

p. 527, l. 8: General 'Collosquet', read 'Coetlosquet'.
p. 529, 7 lines from bottom: 'brulés au coules', read 'ou coulés'.
p. 537, 7 lines from bottom: 'J'en ai pas besoin', read 'Je n'ai pas besoin'.
p. 575, l. 8: 'j'ai le bonheur...du Chevalier Robert Ker Darter'; could this be 'le bonheur d'être la soeur du Chevalier Robert Ker Porter', since the writer is Jane Porter?
p. 577, l. 4: 'Tylor' read 'Taylor' (baron Isidore).
The writer of the letter is given as Coestorquet (cf. p. 527, above). It is again Coetlosquet.
p. 592, l. 26: 'Mr Backer', read 'Barker', the English consul!
p. 594, l. 15: 'M. Linaut', read 'Linant'.
p. 601, heading: 'Mentalto nelle Marche', read 'Montalto'.
p. 602, l. 2: 'Mr Mimanet', read 'Mimaut', D.'s successor!
p. 604, 6 lines from bottom: 'Mr Rogkoz', read 'Boghos'.
p. 622, l. 5: 'pension de Bourgla Rein', read 'Bourg la Reine'.
p. 665, l. 21: 'Marocche Mr' (sic), read 'Marocchetti', sender of the next letter.
p. 692, l. 6: 'Ponsoby', read 'Ponsonby'.
p. 720, Nubar's letter, second sentence: cf. Marro, *Personalità*, 16, who also claims that it was written from Florence on Dec. 31.

There are dozens of other names of which I am suspicious, but cannot find them in bibliographical dictionaries.

5. *The index*

In a work of this size and wealth of reference, the index will almost make or break it. It is not a mechanical operation, but one requiring the keenest eye and a wide historical and biographical background. It is also a golden opportunity to reveal and solve inconsistencies. Here, by contrast, given the above problems with names, the chaos resulting may be imagined. False forms are ubiquitous, but at the same time inconsistent: sometimes, despite the bizarre versions in the text, the name appears in the index under its correct form! Omissions are legion, and sometimes the most important names. Above all others, not one member of D.'s family is included. Those interested in D.'s relations with Murat will find two references. There are no fewer than five others, unlisted because they refer only to the 'King of Naples'. Salt similarly misses three references, because the text says only the 'English consul'. Various members of the same family are all jumbled lazily together: Balbo, whether Cesare or Prospero; the brothers di Barbania; Boutin; Gentili (whom Marro took special pains to distinguish). The famous English admiral appears as 'Cocran', and one reference, omitting two others. On the other hand, titles are sometimes misunderstood as names: the Defterdar (with more under Devitdar!), and 'Tyran'.

In order to attempt to end more positively, one might mention the riches of the collection. It would be hard to single out some letters as more important than others, but anyone who reads the collection could hardly forget that of the Italian doctors, justifiably in fear of their lives by poisoning in the Sudan expedition of 1820 (p. 150f.), the many of Jomard which now give us the most intimate insight into the formation and progress of the great European education programmes for both Egyptians and Ethiopians, the most illuminating of D.'s own letters, where he compares the relative merits of Italy and France as the best place to send students, and comes down uncompromisingly on the side of the latter (p. 446f.) and again of D. himself, finally, the heart-rending last letter to his son (p. 729f.).

R. T. RIDLEY

Other books received

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3. *Canaan and Canaanite in Ancient Egypt.* By ALESSANDRA NIBBI. 230 × 155 mm. Pp. 128, pls. xvi, figs 29. Oxford, DE Publications, 1989. ISBN 0 9510704 4 4. Price £15.
4. *The Judean-Syrian-Egyptian Conflict of 103-101 B.C.* By E. VAN'T DACK, W. CLARYSSE, G. COHEN, J. QUAEGEBEUR and J. K. WINNICKI. Collectanea Hellenistica I. 260 × 180 mm. Pp. 172, pls. 15, 2 maps, 1 stemma. Brussels, Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen Letteren en Schone Kunsten van Belgie, 1989. ISBN 90 6569 403 X. Price BF 950.
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PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN
TYPESET BY UNICUS GRAPHICS LIMITED, HORSHAM
PRINTED BY WHITSTABLE LITHO
AND PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
3 DOUGHTY MEWS, LONDON WC1N 2PG

ISSN 0307-5133