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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

THIS year's volume includes the first index to be published in *JEA* for a over a decade, covering the articles and book reviews of volumes 71 to 80. We owe its appearance here to the initiative and voluntary work of one of the Society's members, Mr Alan L. Jeffreys, who prepared the basic copy. For technical reasons, it has not been possible to include the contents of the present or previous volumes, nor the customary index of words. Even without these, however, this latest index is of a size which brings home to us the rate at which publications now appear.

New books are a much more frequent occurrence than posts in Egyptology, so it is heartening to record the appointment of Dr Mark Collier to a Lectureship at the University of Liverpool from October 1996, maintaining the strength of a formidable department. We wish Kenneth A. Kitchen, now Emeritus Professor, a happy and fruitful retirement in which we have no doubt he will continue to produce important work in our subject.

We record with sadness the passing of a leading figure in British Egyptology: Dr I. E. S. Edwards died suddenly in London on 24 September at the age of 87. In addition to the many capacities in which he served Egyptology at home and abroad, he made outstanding contributions to a wider public interest in the subject—since its publication in 1947, his Penguin paperback *The Pyramids of Egypt* has remained the most authoritative and accessible book on the subject, and the staging of the *Tutankhamun* exhibition (1972) crowned his distinguished career at the British Museum. A full obituary will appear in the next volume of the *Journal*.

The present writer's term as Editor-in-Chief comes to an end with this volume, and it is a pleasant duty to close this foreword with thanks to those whose expertise and patience have made the task easier—our typesetters and printers, our authors and reviewers, and the many colleagues whose assistance as anonymous referees is now so fundamental to the *Journal*. Especially I thank those who have shared the burden of editorial work: our Reviews Editor, Dr John Taylor, and Assistant Editors, Dr Lisa M. Leahy and Dr Richard Parkinson. Fortunately for *JEA*, Dr Leahy's indefatigable service in its production over many years has not discouraged her from assuming the mantle of Editor-in-Chief; given her experience and acumen, and the continuing assistance of Dr Parkinson, with the added support of Dr Geraldine Pinch and Professor John Tait as Assistant Editors, the *Journal* looks set to enter the new millennium in health and strength.

FIELDWORK, 1995–6

BETWEEN September 1995 and June 1996, a variety of work was carried out at six sites by the Society's expeditions, and their preliminary results are set out below. Also reported here is the ongoing study of the pottery from the EES excavations of 1964–69 at Buto (Tell el-Fara'in), a project which has been facilitated and enhanced by the collaboration of the German Archaeological Institute, Cairo, and our colleagues from the DAIK who are currently working at the site.

The support and co-operation of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) are fundamental to the Society's work in Egypt, and at the conclusion of another successful season, it is a pleasure to record our thanks to the Council's Chairman, Professor Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din, and his staff. The logistical and practical help provided from our Cairo office by Mrs Rosalind Phipps has once again been greatly appreciated by expedition directors and staff.

Memphis, 1995

THE 1995 season ran from 31 August to 30 November, the staff members being Susan Allen (ceramicist), Janine Bourriau (head of pottery group), Elisa Fiore-Marochetti and Carla Gallorini (ceramicists), Dr Barbara Ghaleb (zooarchaeologist), Dr Lisa Giddy and David Jeffreys (joint field directors), Dr Raymond Johnson (epigraphist), Mary Anne Murray (archaeobotanist), and William Schenck (draughtsman). The field directors and staff wish to express their deep appreciation to the officers of the SCA for their help and encouragement, especially the Chairman, Professor Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din, Mr Abd al-Salaam Hussein and Mrs Fawzia at Abbasiya; Dr Zahi Hawass, Director of Antiquities for Giza and Saqqara; Mr Mohammad Hagra, Director of Antiquities for Saqqara and Memphis (Mit Rahina); Mr Rida Ali Suliman, Chief Inspector of Mit Rahina, and the SCA representative to the expedition this season, Mr Shaban Mohammad Sa'at.

The main aims for the season were to complete draft reports for the New Kingdom site and finds descriptions of past excavation at Kom Rabi'a and to continue study of the ceramic and environmental collections from the site; we also welcomed Ray Johnson (Oriental Institute, Chicago House, Luxor) to carry out an epigraphic analysis of the re-used Eighteenth Dynasty blocks in the small Ramesside Ptah temple on Koma Rabi'a. As in last year's report, the contributions of individual authors are duly noted in the relevant sections below, but a major omission from 1994–5 must be rectified here—in recognition of her substantial contribution to its authorship, Dr Lisa Giddy's name should have appeared also at the end of the last report.

Fieldwork publication (L. L. Giddy, D. G. Jeffreys). Drafts for the volumes of both site and finds reports are now in an advanced state; the texts require only entering for camera-ready copy. Most maps, plans, and other illustrations and photographs for the site

volume are nearly complete. The stratigraphic matrixes and analysis section for the site volume are ready in draft form.

Ceramics (J. D. Bourriau). The first part of the season was spent classifying the New Kingdom pottery and relating it to the matrixes. This was an essential preliminary to the statistical analyses planned for 1996, and some uncertainties and inconsistencies were discussed with the excavators as the final version of the matrix emerged. Priority was given to this classification, with the result that some small New Kingdom contexts remain to be recorded next year. The second task was to record the Middle Kingdom contexts. Of a total of 600, 99 were chosen for random sampling and another 150 for purposive sampling. The first contexts to be recorded were those closest to the water-table, in order to establish a date for the start of the Kom Rabi'a sequence, which seems to be mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. A classification of the Middle Kingdom pottery was set up and over 150 drawings were added to the corpus. The principal pottery fabrics were identified and described. At the start of the 1995 season an application to the SCA was made for permission to export 150 sherds for scientific analysis and for teaching and reference purposes in the UK. This request has now been granted, and it is hoped to bring this small body of material home in the near future.

Archaeobotany (M. A. Murray). Most of the season was spent analysing and writing up the results of recent work. Altogether 195 samples were taken from the 1988 and 1990 excavation seasons, of which the 24 New Kingdom, and most of the 171 Middle Kingdom samples are finished. Several more Middle Kingdom samples were analysed this season, earlier work was reviewed and checked, and experiments in quantification and sorting were carried out. The aim is to prepare all the New Kingdom analyses for publication in the near future, with the Middle Kingdom analyses to follow. There will also be an opportunity to compare the Memphis samples directly with recently recovered environmental material from Giza and Abydos.

Zooarchaeology (B. Ghaleb). The focus this season was on the analysis of bone samples from Middle Kingdom contexts by range of context types (e.g. ash waste dumps, pitfills, floors, rubble deposits) through the stratigraphic sequence. It is anticipated that one more field study season will be needed to complete the data recording. The graphic recording of Middle Kingdom butchered bone by C. J. Kirby and W. Schenck is complete.

Epigraphic survey (W. R. Johnson). This new short-term project took place in November 1995, the aim being to record the limestone blocks of Amenophis III incorporated in the fabric of the small Ptah temple of Ramesses II, located just outside the south-west corner of the great Ptah temple enclosure. As a result of this search twenty-one new blocks were identified to add to the seven already known. Of this total, fourteen are in raised relief, ten in sunk, and four are uninscribed architectural fragments. Apart from those with visible decorated or inscribed surfaces, there are almost certainly many more blocks re-used in this temple, mostly with the decorated faces turned inwards to the wall core, or concealed in the rising and bedding joints of the later structure; access to them is often difficult.

Name friezes and artistic style both identify the blocks as belonging to the reign of Amenophis III: the high raised or deeply-cut sunk relief features an unusual solar/funerary iconography favoured by this ruler in his last decade, after the celebration of his first jubilee in Year 30 (his 'deification style'). It is probable that the blocks come from Amenophis III's temple 'Nebma'atre-United-with-Ptah', and references in the texts to Ptah, Men-nefer, *Hwt-[kꜣ]-Pth* and Ptah-Sokar all reinforce this attribution. The small re-used cornice blocks, the scale of decoration, and the presence on at least two blocks of the barque of Ptah-Sokar, all suggest that the original structure dismantled by Ramesses II was a barque chapel of Ptah-Sokar, perhaps part of Amenophis III's (unlocated) larger Ptah complex.

Owing to time limitations, full documentation of all the blocks was not possible, and we hope to return with the same team in 1996, when another ten days' work should complete the entire corpus of accessible re-used blocks in the small Ptah temple. Because the inscribed/decorated faces of many blocks are in awkward positions, aluminium foil impressions that could be traced and collated were used, in addition to tracing, measured drawings, and photography.

Other work. In addition to the scheduled programme, three other pieces of work should be mentioned. D. G. Jeffreys spent three days surveying the region of the valley floor adjacent to the Saqqara escarpment, where the results from drill cores have given the most promising indications of desert-edge or marginal floodplain occupation, in anticipation of limited excavation in 1996.

At the request of the Saqqara Inspectorate, Jeffreys also surveyed several sites at North Saqqara recently exposed by the SCA. The first of these was a large Early Dynastic mastaba tomb, partly excavated in the spring of 1995. This structure lies approximately 50 m west of S3507 and just north (and perhaps partly under) the magazine of the Waseda University expedition working on the Saqqara 'chapel' of Khaemwese. The available dimensions of the mastaba (27 m E-W, 48 m N-S minimum) suggest that it is as large as, or larger than, S3035 of Hemaka. The wall face features niched-façade panelling on at least three sides (the south side is not yet located) and appears to be of the First Dynasty; if so its position makes it the most south-westerly tomb of this date so far recorded.¹ At the time of writing only the superstructure and part of the limestone-chip filling had been exposed, but it is clear that the tomb was already extensively damaged in antiquity: in particular, a number of brick- and timber-lined tombs had been sunk over the east side of the mastaba, and the north-west corner and west side were heavily eroded. A second site, a brick-built Old Kingdom tomb superstructure excavated to the south of Horemheb in 1994, and preserved in places to a height over 4 m, was also planned, and both sites were incorporated into existing cartography. These two jobs took three days in all, and are in the Society's tradition of co-operation with the SCA in helping to keep the accumulative archaeological map of the Saqqara plateau as up to date as possible.

LISA GIDDY, DAVID JEFFREYS, *and* JANINE BOURRIAU.

¹ See now M. Youssef, *GM* 152 (1996), 105–112.

The EES-Leiden Saqqara Expedition, 1996

The 1996 season of the joint Expedition of the EES and the National Museum of Antiquities of Leiden in the New Kingdom necropolis of Memphis at Saqqara began on 2 January and ended on 10 March. Staff comprised Prof. G. T. Martin (field director and epigraphist), Dr J. van Dijk (philologist and site supervisor), Dr J. van Dijk-Harvey (pottery assistant and site supervisor), Dr B. Aston (pottery recorder and site supervisor), Prof. E. Strouhal (physical anthropologist), Dr M. J. Raven (site director and objects recorder), E. H. C. van Rooij (site assistant), and E. van Dorp (photographer). Mr. Ezzat Sayed Sherif, Inspector of Antiquities, represented the SCA.

Excavation

Tomb of Pay, investigation of substructure. The superstructure of the tomb of Pay, which is located south-east of the tomb of General Horemheb, was excavated in 1994. In the present season, the subterranean part of the tomb was fully excavated. The main shaft (i), which opens in the centre of the inner courtyard of the tomb, goes down 7.40 m, where it opens into a large chamber on the south side (Chamber A, 5.40 × 5.30 m). This was full of Late Period mummies, badly smashed by robbers but still associated with some pottery and objects. The pottery gives a date in the Saite Period; the objects consisted of the remains of bead-nets (hundreds of cylinder beads, two large scarabs of blue frit, a figurine of a Son of Horus, and a *wedjat*-eye). The floor of the chamber shows a sunk incline leading from shaft i to the opening of a second shaft (ii); the incline had subsequently been paved over with limestone slabs, whereas it had been blocked where it abuts shaft ii.

Shaft ii is 8.30 m deep and gives access to Chamber B (3.08 × 3.78 m) on the north side. This chamber has a revetment of limestone slabs and the remains of a limestone pavement. In the centre of the floor opens yet another shaft (iii), 5.80 m in depth, leading to a further chamber (C, 3.48 × 3.63 m) on the north side. The total depth of the whole complex thereby amounts to 22.35 m from the pavement level of the inner courtyard. Chambers B and C were both found full of fragments of a broken limestone sarcophagus inscribed for Pay's son Raia, who left numerous traces of his activities also in the superstructure of the tomb. Apparently he adapted his father's monument for his own purposes, and both shaft ii and Chamber B appear to have been made wider in order to allow the installation of his sarcophagus. This seems to have stood in Chamber B, the fragments found in the lower chamber (C) having simply fallen down when robbers rifled the burial-chambers.

The date of this intrusion by robbers is not certain, though the presence of an apparently modern basket in the fill of shaft i suggests that one robbery took place in the nineteenth century. Shafts ii and iii were already empty when the present expedition entered the burial complex; the presence in Chamber C of a relief block from the adjacent tomb of General Horemheb is further evidence of the robbers' activities. Numerous remains of New Kingdom burial gifts were found during the 1994 season in the fill of the courtyard, and it could be expected that the tomb had been thoroughly plundered. Yet the robbers overlooked some objects belonging to the original burials, mainly small items such as amulets and fragments of jewellery, but also one broken

canopic jar with a human-headed stopper, and a fragment of a shabti of Pay. The latter proves that the father's burial had certainly not been altogether removed by his son Raia. Inlays of wooden coffins suggest that the lower chamber (C) held several burials, and Pay's may have been one of them. Other fragmentary shabtis give the names of a certain Ramsesnakht and of a lady Ta[weret]shedsu.

Area between the tombs of Horemheb and Iniuia. In 1993, the tomb of Iniuia was discovered, immediately south of the tomb of General Horemheb. It was fully excavated, including the *tafl* stratum surrounding it on the east, south and west sides. However, excavation of the triangular area between the tombs of Iniuia and Horemheb was only undertaken in 1996. It was excavated down to the foundation level of Iniuia's north wall and was found to contain two surface burials: one against the exterior of the north wall of Iniuia's courtyard, partly covered by a fragment of a terracotta slipper coffin, and with a Ramesside scarab on the left hand (burial no. 96/2), and another wrapped in a palm-rib mat against the exterior south wall of Horemheb's outer courtyard (burial no. 96/3). Otherwise, the area was filled with rubble containing numerous New Kingdom potsherds, as well as some artists' sketches on pieces of pottery and limestone. The occurrence of royal heads and a head of a Syrian suggests these sketches were probably made by the artists decorating the tomb of Horemheb, where similar motifs may be seen.

Ramesside tomb (96/1). North-east of the tomb of Iniuia, and north-west of that of Pay, the remains of a further funerary monument had been uncovered in 1993. It consists of a *tafl* platform supporting two remaining limestone slabs of a small chapel; one of these forms the base of an anonymous stela (R 93-90). East of this base lies the opening of a small shaft, labelled 96/1 and excavated during the present season. It is 3.60 m deep and has one chamber to the west (Chamber A, 1.88 × 2.27 m) and one to the east (Chamber B, 2.12 × 2.14 m); the latter has a small niche in the north wall, as well as a deeper mummy emplacement in the east wall (Chamber C, 2.00 × 1.03). This complex contained the remains of several burials, partly burnt by robbers. These comprise a terracotta slipper coffin, fragments of a wooden coffin, and a child wrapped in a reed mat; the skeletons attest the presence of other individuals as well. The objects found in this complex consist mainly of shabtis: nine of a man Penaa, who is also attested by the lid of a wooden shabti box, three of a priest of the palanquin Sementawy, three of a lady Henut-pa. . . (?), and two of a male whose name is illegible. Otherwise, there were some remains of bead necklaces, as well as some interesting fragments of an openwork mummy cover of painted wood. All these finds have a markedly Ramesside character.

Survey of a shaft (96/4). A final task executed during the present season was the clearance of a shaft discovered south-east of the tomb of Pay during the 1994 season (now labelled 96/4). Like 96/1, it is surrounded by a *tafl* platform, with the remains of a limestone chapel floor comprising two column bases due west of it. The shaft rim had been built up with pieces of rock and mud-bricks by later intruders (either to re-use the shaft or to rob it). These later additions were removed, and the original shaft rim cleared, photographed, and drawn. The shaft may date originally to the Old Kingdom, and was undoubtedly re-used during the New Kingdom. Its presence makes it clear that Pay's

tomb certainly did not possess a south-east chapel, and that the Twentieth Dynasty burials discovered in this area in 1994 must have been deposited around the existing chapel (96/4) rather than antedating it.

Restoration

Tomb of Maya, reconstitution of Chamber K and other work. The project of restoring the reliefs from the underground chambers of the tomb of Maya in newly constructed rooms in the Outer Courtyard continued this year with the reconstruction of the middle room (K). The first two weeks were spent piecing together individual blocks which had been badly damaged both by tomb-robbers and through natural causes. Subsequently the walls were carefully built up one by one; two have doorways with lintels above. An interesting detail to have emerged from this work is the fact that, unlike the other two rooms (H and O), no Old Kingdom blocks were re-used in Room K.

In a previous season, the pylon of the tomb of Maya was consolidated and topped with modern masonry in mud-bricks to a height of 3.50 m, so that the two towers were of the same height as the limestone portal in between. In 1996, another 2 m were added to both towers, so that they are now well raised above the intervening portal. This construction was executed in the shape of two simple boxes of mud-brick. These were then filled with *tafl* chippings from the heap in Maya's outer courtyard, left there after the hewing out of a trench to accommodate the reconstructed tomb chambers of the monument. Any *tafl* remaining after the completion of this task was evenly distributed over the outer courtyard, so that this can again be admired in its original proportions. Two column bases temporarily removed when digging the trench were put back into their original positions in the colonnade running along the west side of the courtyard. A new wooden door was installed in the doorway leading from the pylon portal to the outer courtyard, so that this portal with its beautiful reliefs is now protected on both sides. Finally, at the western end of the tomb the three offering-chapels received new vaults constructed in mud-brick, and were fitted with wooden doors.

Tomb of Horemheb. Two minor restoration tasks were carried out here. First, the pylon gateway was fitted with a wooden door, as in the case of the tomb of Maya; second, two gaps in the exterior walls of the outer courtyard left during earlier reconstruction work were closed with mud-bricks.

Pottery

Chamber C in the tomb of Pay contained a well-preserved, though very incomplete, assemblage of late Eighteenth Dynasty pottery. As several sherds from Chambers A and B were found to join vessels from C, it is clear that debris had been moved from the lower to the upper levels. Pottery from the burial chamber recorded so far includes a group of marl clay vessels—five long-necked, single-handled 'wine jars' similar to ones found in Tutankhamun's tomb, two flasks with long necks and horizontal loop handles, and a small amphora. All of these were decorated, after firing, with painted collars in red, white and blue, with ties painted around the back of the vessels, the two ends crossed and a tassel on each. Fragments of two Mycenaean stirrup jars and a Cypriot spindle bottle, one of the latest known examples from Egypt, were also recovered from the substructure of Pay's tomb.

The upper level chamber (A) was re-used for burials of the Saite Period, to judge from the pottery found there, which included six large Nile silt storage vessels, four imported Levantine amphorae, and two Phoenician-style juglets.

Work also commenced on recording pottery from builders' levelling fill surrounding the tomb of Iniuia. This pottery assemblage is valuable for ascertaining a definite *terminus ante quem* of the material in the late Ramesside Period.

Paleoanthropological research

Human skeletal remains unearthed in the substructure of the tomb of Pay were abundant, but in a very fragmentary state caused by robbers' activities. The bulk of the material had to be studied by the anatomical method, bone by bone; only exceptionally could individuals be examined.

In the lowermost chamber (C), which according to the archaeological finds perhaps contained the original burials of Pay and members of his family, 7 persons were buried: 4 were adults, comprising an aged male and 3 females (1 of them a young adult, 2 mature); 3 immature individuals consisted of a juvenile male (18–20 year old), an older (13–14 year old) and a younger (11–12 year old) child. In the entrance to Chamber C, adjacent to the bottom of shaft iii, another 5 persons were identified, 4 of them adults (2 males, 2 females) and a juvenile (14–15 year old). These could have belonged either to the original burial or to Late Period interments.

Chamber B, which originally contained the sarcophagus of Raia, yielded 11 individuals, 10 adults (5 males and 5 females), and a juvenile (14–16 year old). Some or all of the burials may have belonged to Raia and members of his family.

Shaft ii yielded the remains of 5 adults (3 males, 2 females) and 2 immatures (a juvenile and a small child). These were probably related to the Late Period burials in Chamber A. There were 3 rock-cut graves in Chamber A, of which grave A1 contained a skeleton of a young adult female lying *in situ*, minus the skull and part of the right arm. Human remains from grave A2 were fragmented and consisted of 6 adults (3 males, 3 females), a robust juvenile male, who seems to have been the owner of the tomb, and an infant ($1\frac{1}{2}$ – $1\frac{3}{4}$ year old). Otherwise Chamber A was literally packed with about 100 burials. A quarter of these remains were studied, while the others will be examined during the 1997 season.

Tomb 96/1, which was also repeatedly robbed, yielded human remains in far better condition, but not complete. Bones of two adults (a 20–25 year old male and a 20–25 year old female) were found predominantly in Chamber A, but some of their bones came from the shaft and a few even from Chamber B. In Chamber B burials of 2 small children (2–3 and 1.5–2 year olds) were lying partly *in situ*, and in the shaft, the remains of another (5–6 year old) were found dispersed. All the bones found in the shaft were black or grey from the heat of a fire. A few bones of another adult male were also found in the shaft.

The Ramesside surface burial 96/2 contained an excellently preserved skeleton of a strongly built 18–19 year old male. The nearby undated burial 96/3 belonged to a 15–16 year old juvenile whose features revealed his male sex. Certain rare anomalies betrayed a close blood relationship between the two youths and thus contributed to the dating of burial 96/3.

Inscriptions

Few inscriptions were found during the excavation of the underground complex of the tomb of Pay. The lower half of a door-jamb belonging to Pay's son Raia was found re-used in the rim of the main shaft. It joins onto a large fragment found in 1994. Among the relief fragments found in the substructure of the tomb was a fine head of Horemheb in raised relief. Ink-written docketts on pottery included a hieratic text on an amphora

from the underground chambers of Pay and Raia identifying its contents as ‘dates’ (*bnrw*). A loose sherd of a Twenty-seventh Dynasty pot was inscribed with a Demotic docket reading *mrht*, ‘oil’.

A draft has been prepared of the publication entitled *The Tombs of Three Memphite Officials: Ramose, Khay and Pabes*. These are tombs discovered by the joint expedition a decade ago.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara

THIS was the third season of a project which is intended to supplement and expand the work done by the Society at this site during the 1960s and early 1970s, and will assist in its publication.¹ The season began on 4 December 1995 and ended on 4 January 1996. The team comprised Michael Davies (surveyor), Susan Davies (research assistant), Dr Gottfried Hamernik (survey), Daniel R. C. Fieller (draughtsman), Dr Nicholas R. J. Fieller (archaeological statistics), Kenneth Frazer (architectural survey), Peter French (ceramics), Dr Barbara Ghaleb (animal bone analysis), Dr Caroline M. Jackson (survey), Dr Paul T. Nicholson (co-director/survey/ceramics), John D. Ray (inscriptions), Dr Derek Russell (animal bone analysis), Prof. Harry S. Smith (co-director/architectural survey), and Dr Katharine M. Trott (draughtsperson). In March 1996, a conservation team—Walter Gneisinger and Siobhan Stevenson, assisted by Dr Nicholson—worked on the bronzes (see below).

We are grateful to the SCA for their help and co-operation, particularly to Dr Mohammed Hagra, the Director of Antiquities for Saqqara, Dr Zahi Hawass, Chief Inspector for the Giza region, and Mr Essat Sherif, the inspector assigned to our project. Work on the bird remains benefited from the collaboration of our colleagues Dr Alain Zivie, Dr Roger Lichtenberg and Dr Martine Lichtenberg of the Bubasteion project, who kindly undertook the X-raying of a number of specimens for us.

Thanks are also due to David Jeffreys and Dr Lisa Giddy of the Memphis Project for help in the planning stage and liaison over field dates, as well as for making the facilities of the Memphis Project available to us. Ian Mathieson generously made his tent available to our project. In March 1996, the conservation team were accommodated by the EES-Amsterdam Project under the direction of Prof. Smith and Prof. Goudsmit, for whose co-operation we are grateful. Safety equipment was once again supplied by Hitch N Hike of Bamford, Derbyshire, whilst discount photographic equipment and materials were generously supplied by Techno and The Sony Centre, both of Cardiff.

Work this season concentrated in three main areas: the Falcon Catacomb, North Ibis Catacomb and the Mothers of Apis Catacomb.

The Falcon Catacomb and temple terrace

Sue Davies, Kenneth Frazer and H. S. Smith undertook the final revision of plans and elevations for the publication of the Falcon Catacomb. They also checked details of

¹ For previous seasons, see *JEA* 80 (1994) 1–10; 81 (1995), 6–9.

construction and the position and relationships of various shafts, chambers, and galleries, and tested hypotheses concerning the constructional history and development of the catacomb. In collaboration with the SCA Inspectorate and the architect's department at Saqqara, the catacomb was thoroughly re-examined for faults and weaknesses in the rock-cut ceilings; a series of heavy timber frames prepared by SCA masons under the direction of *reis* Abd el-Mithal was introduced to prevent future movement. The catacomb should now be safe for the foreseeable future, provided there is no major seismic disturbance.

The vestigial surface remains of the Falcon Chapel, which encloses the descending stairway to the catacomb, were recleared in order to check and record details of construction and building history. This resulted in a number of important minor modifications of previous hypotheses. During this cleaning operation, the west-facing rock escarpment upon which the east enclosure wall of the temple precinct is founded was exposed to a greater extent than during the previous investigations of this portion of the site by Emery in 1969–70 and by Frazer and Smith in 1974–5. In what initially appeared to be a crevice in the rock, corroded copper or alloy was observed. Clearance revealed a low chamber cut in the rock, perhaps originally a small tomb, from which a very large deposit of copper alloy situlae, figurines of deities, miniature offering tables, and other ritual objects, together with a few artefacts made of other materials, was recovered (pl. I, 1). The objects were welded together by corrosion products into large conglomerated masses, which have subsequently required much time and skill to separate (pl. I, 2: see conservators' report below); the cache has yielded about 560 objects in all. Although similar in general character to the many deposits of dedicatory objects recovered from the site in previous excavations, the deposit has certain interesting characteristics. Not only the total of objects but also the proportion of situlae (around 89%) is higher than in any of the other major caches; some of the material appears to have been damaged before deposition, and although the material all belongs to well-known categories, a few pieces may prove to be of exceptional quality and interest. The position of the deposit, though ambiguous, may suggest that it was made in connexion with the construction of either the east enclosure wall, or the Falcon Chapel.

John Ray worked on the demotic inscriptions in the Falcon Catacomb, checking the details of his final decipherments and commentaries, which are due for early publication. He also contributed valuable evidence and observations to discussions of the dating and history of the catacomb. Sue Davies and H. S. Smith also worked on objects in the Cairo Museum from the earlier excavations of the Falcon Catacomb; they are deeply indebted to Dr Mohammed Saleh, the Director of the Museum, to curators May Trad, Elham Montasser, Seineb Tawfik, Sabah Abd el-Razik, Mohammed Aly, Mme Salwa, Mahmoud Halwagui, and Dr Adel Farid, and to the chief photographer, Mostafa Abd el-Maksoud, for their help in facilitating this work. One battered copper-alloy figure of pharaoh as a falcon proved to bear the cartouches, just legible, of Nakhthorheb: this piece is of considerable value for the dating of the Falcon Catacomb.

The North Ibis Catacomb

Work in this catacomb again focused on survey and recording (pl. II, 1–2). As a result of improved portable lighting and greater experience with caving equipment, it was

possible to examine areas of the galleries which had proved inaccessible in previous seasons. As a result, twelve new galleries were discovered, leading from the long and difficult Gallery 10 east. These are completely blocked with debris and cannot be entered, but their location will allow a more precise estimate of the number of mummies. Other new galleries and connexions between them were also recorded.

It has always been assumed that all the mummies buried in the bird catacombs were placed in pottery jars, and many thousands of these remain *in situ*, particularly in the Hawk Catacomb. However, this season's work revealed a gallery of the North Ibis Catacomb (no. 24) which contains many hundreds of un-potted mummies. These are apparently in their original position, and layered rows are still visible, which argues against their having been redeposited by robbers or early visitors. This stacking arrangement itself has implications for the likely number of mummies in the catacomb, since these un-potted burials take up considerably less space than burial by the usual method.

In the course of bibliographic work in the summer of 1995, a sketch of a bird gallery was noted in the publication of Lepsius' notes to the *Denkmäler*² and it was felt that this might be part of the North Ibis Catacomb. During the 1995 season, we compared this sketch plan with that originally produced by K. Frazer and currently being supplemented by the new work, and we believe that the location of Lepsius' sketch can now be identified with some certainty. One uncertain aspect of his plan was an apparent Old Kingdom tomb; this is now believed to be one of a number located above the actual catacomb, but frequently not visible from the surface. Some are cut into the face of the escarpment and so leave no trace on the plateau surface above. With the equipment available it was possible to enter only two of these tombs, but a brief season of work in 1997 is planned in order to determine the number and general layout of these structures.

Pottery from the catacomb was drawn by Dr Trott and Mr Fieller, and statistical work on it conducted by Dr Fieller, who also continued similar work in the Hawk Catacomb. The bird remains were examined by Dr Ghaleb.

The Mothers of Apis Catacomb

Dr Ghaleb continued her examination of the animal remains from the catacomb, adding to her work on these remains in previous seasons. Prof. Smith, Sue Davies and K. Frazer continued checking the architectural detail and building history of the catacomb, so far as the condition of the site allows, and certain plans and drawings were revised. Similar work was also undertaken by them on the temple terrace. These studies have been of value in confirming our understanding of the overall history of the site.

Surface survey

Dr Hamernik conducted a surface survey with the aim of locating a mastaba tomb discovered in 1845 and noted by the then Austrian Consul-General, Anton von Laurin, as containing bovine burials. The probable location of this structure was identified.

²E. Naville and K. Sethe, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: Text* (Leipzig, 1897), 141.

The field conservation of the SAN copper-alloy artefacts (Siobhan Stevenson and Walter Gneisinger)

The discovery of the bronze cache necessitated its immediate removal and storage. The conglomerates were largely removed intact, to minimise damage, and packed in acid-free tissue, in a wooden crate. Some unavoidable fracturing occurred in storage due to the weight of the conglomerates. Separating the objects to enable study and suitable packing was a priority. Most of them were in poor condition and were frequently fragmented and cracked. Only analysis can confirm the corrosion products, but dense, outer products appeared to be copper carbonates such as malachite and azurite; it is likely that minerals which form in arid conditions, such as chalconatronite, are also present. The underlying layers were often totally mineralised to red cuprite. The presence of copper chlorides is assumed, although paratacamite (bronze disease) was rarely observed.

The objects were separated by mechanical means (pl. I, 2). Of the 560 objects, 270 were separated mechanically from 73 conglomerates, each consisting of between 2 and 60 objects plus numerous fragments. The situlae are mostly cast, although some have beaten bodies. Some revealed features such as spouts, attached chain links, and fragments of an iron handle. Some had no indication of handles, and fragments of mineralised string (not yet fully examined) were clearly present in the suspension loops of one.

Other artefacts appeared to be mainly cast, both these and some situlae retaining fragments of clay casting-core. Investigative mechanical cleaning was carried out on seven other cast objects. Depending on the nature of the corrosion products present, most surface detail was preserved in the copper oxide–carbonate interface. Detached fragments were reassembled, and the cleaned objects and one apparently unstable beaten vessel were stabilised with benzotriazole. Constraints on time and facilities made desalination impracticable. Although the addition of a protective coating to the surface may lead to problems in the presence of salts, a reversible coating of Paraloid B72 was applied, to enable safe handling and inspection.

Corrosion of copper alloys is inhibited at relative humidities (RH) below 35%, so micro-environments were created in sealed polythene boxes using desiccated silica gel to maintain low RH, buffering humidity changes resulting from the large diurnal temperature changes. RH indicator strips were placed in several boxes so that the internal environments can be periodically monitored.

Wooden fragments found with the cache were discovered to have inlaid hieroglyphs. The inlay is almost entirely mineralised but was visually identified as copper alloy with areas of a white metal, probably silver. The surface is extremely degraded and fragile; further work would necessitate prior consolidation before cleaning—X-radiography of the fragments would provide an image of the remaining inlay and be an invaluable aid to cleaning.

Future work on a wider selection of objects would allow more detailed study of the material. Examination of the metal, corrosion products, or any interior residues from the situlae may yield interesting information and be of benefit in devising treatment procedures. The permission of the SCA may be sought for such work in the future.

Tell el-Amarna, 1996

AN improvement in the security situation in Middle Egypt, marked especially by the lifting, in March, of the curfew in Mallawi which had been in force for two years, enabled a limited return to Amarna to take place in the Spring. The season commenced on 30 March and ended on 16 April, 1996. The party comprised B. Kemp (field director), Dr Paul Nicholson (director of the glassworks excavation), Dr Caroline Jackson (archaeological scientist), Michael Mallinson (architect), and Gwilym Owen (photographer). Inspector Atta Makramallah Mikhail represented the SCA.

Thanks are due to Mahmoud Hamza, Samir Anis and Yahia Zakaria of the Minia Inspectorate, and to the Permanent Committee of the SCA and its General Secretary, Prof. Dr Abd el-Halim Nur el-Din. The expedition's work was aided by generous support (in Cairo) from Richard Keen of Keminco, Rosalind Phipps and the Friends of the Egypt Exploration Society, Howard Thompson and the British Council, and HE the British Ambassador, Mr David Blatherwick; and (in Britain and the USA) from Alf Baxendale of Cementone Beaver Ltd, Robert Hanawalt and E. Henderson, and the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research of the University of Cambridge. Dr Nicholson's research is funded by the Leverhulme Foundation.

The Small Aten Temple

The replanning of the whole building requires only the filling in of a few limited areas for it to be complete. One of these, the remains of the gateway between the twin towers of the third pylon, was releared and planned in detail. The removal of a small section on the south side exposed the remains of an underlying layer of gypsum concrete (not seen by Pendlebury) on which were the impressions of the original stone blocks, two with mason's marks. This confirms that this gateway was paved with cut stone blocks.

The principal task, however, concerns the final presentation of the site. The outline of the stone sanctuary has been recovered through the combined work of Pendlebury and Lavers in the 1930s and of the present expedition. The evidence consists almost entirely of traces of the foundation layer of gypsum concrete on which the lowest courses of stone had originally been laid and which, in many crucial areas, had survived the destruction of the stonework after the end of the Amarna Period. The surviving remnants are, however, too fragile to be left exposed and have mostly been reburied. As a result, the visitor who progresses through the courtyards eventually arrives at a shallow sandy hole in the ground and easily misses the point of the whole building. As a way of keeping the outline of the Sanctuary visible, we have adopted the scheme of marking it with low modern stonework along the lines of the principal ancient walls, and then filling the spaces between them with the original chippings and stone dust which Pendlebury heaped up on either side. This will create a low platform at the original floor level of the sanctuary, through which the tops of the stone walls will be visible. When finished, and especially when the stonework has weathered, the result should not be obtrusive—it will be barely visible from the road—and should help visitors to make sense of this, the most accessible of Akhenaten's temples to the sun.

The first step has been to lay a foundation of weak concrete separated from the original gypsum by a thin layer of sand. On this a start has been made of laying three courses

of limestone blocks which will follow the main outlines of the sanctuary walls. The blocks, cut to the proper ancient size, were obtained from a quarry near Minia. We know, from the finding of several fragments, that the corners of the sanctuary were finished in the standard Egyptian style, with cylindrical mouldings running vertically up the angles. Our replacement walls ought to copy this effect but it does pose something of a problem, for the hard shelly Minia limestone is difficult to cut neatly. It would have been appropriate to use the finer and softer limestone from Amarna itself, but the modern local quarries extract stone only by blasting. The quarries which saw the stone out in blocks seem to be confined to the harder beds to the north. We have had to look, therefore, to having the corner mouldings cut by a sculptor in Cairo. If all goes well it should be possible to include these in the new walls when work resumes in September 1996.

Textiles

The catalogue prepared by Dr Gillian Vogelsang-Eastwood of the collection of five thousand textile fragments from the Workmen's Village was checked, parts of the text were revised, a number of additional identifications were made, and a selection of the pieces was photographed for the forthcoming publication. The most interesting fresh identification was of several pieces from one or more patchwork sheets of a two-colour (probably red and white) chequered design, perhaps derived from tents or awnings. The textiles were repacked in new plastic storage crates and are now much more easily accessible in the new magazine.

As a contribution towards the publication of the volume on the textile industry at Amarna, two small areas of older excavations were re-examined. One of these is at House N49.18 (Ranefer), first excavated in 1921 and subsequently published in some detail.¹ On the published plan of the 'West Loggia' is marked what seems to be an example of the limestone socketed blocks which have been interpreted as intended to anchor the lower beam of a vertical loom. This instance is of particular interest because of the presence of two square features further along the floor. Unfortunately, subsequent to 1921 much of the floor had been dug out. Nevertheless, with the help of an unpublished archive photograph, an improved record of this room was still possible and will be included in the textile volume. If the fittings are correctly interpreted, this room would have looked remarkably like the well-known scene in the Theban tomb of the official Djehuty-nefer which depicts a spinning and weaving establishment within the confines of an official's house.

The second re-examination was at House L50.9A, first excavated in 1907 during the clearance of the foundations of what subsequently became the expedition house of the German and then EES missions. Against the south-east corner, an outside room had been discovered containing a long pit which was interpreted at the time as marking the position of a vertical loom.² The re-clearance has, however, revealed a plan which is significantly different from Borchardt's and removes the possibility that a loom had ever stood here. Again, the full results will be included within the textile volume.

At the end of the season Gwilym Owen, on a visit to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, was

¹ T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *City of Akhenaten*, I (London, 1923), 000–00.

² *MDOG* 34 (1900), 26–8.

able to have one of the cases opened, and photographed some wooden loom pieces, also for the textile volume.

Ancient glass research

Drs Paul Nicholson and Caroline Jackson made two similar selections of waste material from the glass furnaces previously excavated and had them transported to the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, from where one of the selections was exported to the UK for a project of scientific analysis.

BARRY KEMP

Buto

THE excavations of the Egypt Exploration Society at Buto (Tell el-Fara'in) in the Western Delta, from 1964–69, were never published in full, though reports appeared in contemporary volumes of *JEA*. Notebooks, photographs, drawings, etc. are held by the EES, and some pottery and other objects granted to the expedition in divisions of material are in museums in England, while other pieces were placed in the Cairo Museum. In addition, a large amount of pottery and a few other minor objects remained in the small site magazine.

After the Society relinquished its concession, the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo (DAIK) began work at Buto and has been excavating since 1984. The results have been most valuable, in particular for the history of the Naqada II and III periods and the early Old Kingdom. The SCA and the University of Tanta have carried out excavations in the temple and elsewhere, uncovering statuary and stelae of great interest.

The present writer has participated in most of the DAIK seasons, and with the kind agreement of the two organisations has been working on pottery of both the EES, from the site magazine, and the DAIK, from levels of the eighth century BC to the Roman Period. In passing it may be remarked that neither in borings nor in excavations has any trace so far been found of the town between the Old Kingdom and the Late Period.

The pottery in the magazine derived from the excavations of 1966–69, everything from 1964 and 1965 having been discarded after recording, unless registered and removed from the site. Most pieces left in the magazine have survived but much has been severely affected by salting: the soil of the Delta contains high concentrations of minerals; these are brought to the surface by water which then evaporates, leaving the minerals behind, the uppermost levels of archaeological sites being the worst affected. The sherds had been only perfunctorily washed and in the intervening years damp storage conditions caused the included salt to migrate to the sherd surfaces, causing damage and often rendering the original expedition numbers illegible. In addition most pieces had been broken and the fragments mixed together. The task has been to repair the recent breaks, to match as many sherds as possible with the original records and (often rather inadequate) drawings, to soak sherds for two weeks in buckets with frequent changes of water to remove most of the salt, to renumber everything in a new series and draw up a concordance of old and new numbers, and finally to create a typology bringing together related forms and wares and to redraw everything not beyond interpretation.

The most recent field season took place from early April to mid-June 1996; substantial further progress was made, and the end of the work is now in sight. The typology of pieces from the magazine will consist of around 1100 items, of which only the imported amphorae and a few other sherds, some 100 in all, remain to be incorporated. With the most generous assistance of the DAIK almost 500 pieces were drawn by Dr Tomasz Gorecki of the Muzeum Narodowe in Warsaw; since around 100 had previously been redrawn by the writer, it is likely that the drawing, as well as the typology, can be completed in one more season. It will then be necessary to extend the series to the pieces in museums, and to incorporate such drawings and descriptions of the 1964–65 corpora and unrecovered 1966–69 pottery as are available, whatever their shortcomings. Where ‘further examples’ of certain types were noted by the excavators but not individually described or drawn, these must also be included. Finally, it is hoped to add the amphora stamps and lamps, probably in the form of appendices.

From time to time it has seemed questionable whether all this work on old excavation material was worthwhile. Certainly the pottery was not recorded as on the best excavations today: only a fraction of even the diagnostic sherds were noted, so there is no record of the frequency of occurrence of the various types in each archaeological level, and thus no way of distinguishing types contemporary with the level from earlier ones anciently incorporated, or indeed from later ones included due to shortcomings in excavation or processing. On the other hand, the same could be said of all but the most recent pottery publication from Egypt, and sadly of most recent work also, and we have to make the best use we can of these publications, since we have no others. Buto will be no worse than the majority in this respect. Furthermore, the selection process has at least bequeathed to us what were on the whole the largest and most useful diagnostic sherds, and their survival in the magazine has allowed good modern drawings to be produced of the majority, together with a re-examination of the wares and forms that goes well beyond the original expedition records. Finally, the availability of the DAI pottery, which is being processed in much greater and more informative detail, will help greatly in the dating of the 1960s material.

The results so far confirm that only in the deep sondage in Square W8 did the EES excavations penetrate pre-Ptolemaic levels. Here, Persian and probably also Saite material was reached; the DAIK series will be invaluable in dating this more closely. Elsewhere, the bulk of the material is clearly Roman, although in some areas Ptolemaic can be identified, and here the parallels with the Saqqara Anubieion pottery, also in course of preparation, will be equally valuable. Altogether it is felt that, with all its shortcomings, publication of the 1960s Buto pottery will make a useful addition to the rather small published corpus from the Delta, as well as illuminating the later history of the site itself.

PETER FRENCH

The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries Project, Gebel Dokhan

WORK in the Mons Porphyrites complex took place between 1 March and 11 April 1996 under the direction of Valerie Maxfield and David Peacock. The six-week season was divided between excavation and the continuation of survey work. Staff comprised Don

Bailey (lamps and terracottas), Nick Bradford (survey and excavation), Rebecca Bridgman (survey), Seán Goddard (survey and photography), Catherine Johns (finds supervisor), Jenny Mincham (excavation and cordage), Jill Phillips (survey and excavation), Paola Pugsley (excavation and finds drawing), Wilfrid van Rengen (epigraphy and ostraca), Roberta Tomber (ceramics), Marijke van der Veen (palaeobotany), Cathy Wouters (excavation and ostraca) and Sue Wright (nurse and survey). The SCA was represented by inspectors Mr Abdul Regal Abu Bakr and Mr Mohammed Abbas.

The project is sponsored by the EES in collaboration with the Universities of Southampton and Exeter and the Vrije Universiteit van Brussel. Additional financial support was received from the British Academy, the British Museum, the University of Leicester, the Society of Antiquaries of London, and the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies. Support in kind was given by Cuxson Gerrard and Company Ltd (face masks), and invaluable assistance was received from M. Didier Lambrecht and Mme Cecile Lambrecht, owners of the Three Corners Hotel, Hurghada.

A more detailed report on this work is available on application to either of the directors.

Survey

The Lepsius Quarries. This group is situated in the mountain range forms the eastern boundary of the Wadi Abu Ma'amel. It consists of twelve separate quarry sites. Eight of them (nos. 1–7 and 12) lie high above the wadi floor; they are interconnected and are served by a single slipway which branches into three at its head to serve the individual quarries, and which reaches the wadi floor just to the south of the fort. The low quarries are more widely spaced from one another and each is served by a separate slipway, one of them a branch off the long slipway up to the high quarries. The relationships of the slipways to one another and to buildings and rubbish dumps which lie in their path, allows of the construction of a relative chronology of exploitation, with the northernmost of the lower quarries (no. 10) and the more northerly of the high quarries appearing to be the earliest in the sequence of use.

The largest of the quarries (nos. 1–5) all belonged to the high group; they extended over areas of between 600 and 1000 sq. m and were exploiting a mixture of black and purple porphyries. The low quarries had a much smaller working area (an average of 140 sq. m) and one (no. 9) seems to be concerned with granite as well as porphyry—perhaps the stone used in the construction of the Temple of Serapis.

Each quarry was inspected for evidence of extraction methods, 'rough-outs', working marks and other evidence of industrial and domestic use. Rock samples were collected and magnetic susceptibility measurements taken. Each quarry site was surveyed by hand.

The North-West Black Porphyry Quarry. In 1995 a new quarry for black porphyry was found to the south of the main complex of north-west quarries. It appeared to be a single quarry at the head of the main wadi which gave access to the north-west complex. Below the quarry and adjacent to the slipway leading down from it, is a small village. To the east of the slipway, a group of 15 small rooms clusters around a courtyard, open to the west. To the west of the slipway is a single detached rectangular structure, its entrance

opening directly onto the slipway. To the north of it was found the outline of a stone foot, roughly carved from a naturally flat slab of black porphyry. If this was originally associated with the building, it could suggest an identification as a temple dedicated to Serapis. This quarry village was surveyed at a scale of 1:100.

Pottery from the complex appears to be identical to that from the northern village, identified in 1995, which yielded a Tiberian inscription of AD 18. This is consistent with other evidence of an early date for the exploitation of the north-west complex—a Tiberian inscription (of AD 29) noted by Scaife ‘amongst the boulders in the torrent bed of the NW Village’.¹

The South-West Village. This lies at the far end of the Wadi Abu Ma’amel where the surrounding hills close in to form an amphitheatre, in the floor of which the village sits. The complex was surveyed at a scale of 1:100, and a photographic record made.

The settlement is aligned east-west along the wadi floor, and is divided into three parts by two flood channels. It is approached from the east by a roadway, which survives in a remarkably good state of preservation for a distance of some 400 m to the east, at which point it is suddenly cut off by a flood channel.

The road leads directly into the central part of the village, where a single long, narrow building of regular plan fronts a level, open area. It consists essentially of a series of small single or double cells each with an independent entrance direct from the courtyard in front. Just one larger room, approached by a couple of steps, stands out as functionally distinct, its size alone suggesting a more communal use.

A small, subrectangular building is sited at the point where the road enters the settlement. Its eastern end wall is poorly preserved, but appears to feature a small rectangular apse or niche. Two fragments of a roughly-hewn porphyry column lie towards its eastern end, which is partially divided off by a partition wall abutting the south wall at about its mid-point. This building has been described as a church, although there is no convincing reason for this interpretation.

A northern building range was separated from this central complex by a wadi channel. It lay at the foot of the slope leading up towards the Rammius and Lycabettus quarries, and consisted of simple paired rooms (barrack-like in appearance) which opened out onto a levelled verandah.

The southern range was much less regular in form. A series of small, quite well laid-out rectangular buildings grouped around a central courtyard, with, to the west, a series of much more roughly constructed units. This complex is separated from the central range by a shallow wadi channel, with traces of roads across it washed away by floods.

The South-West Village appears to have been sited in relation to the Rammius quarries and those of Lycabettus. A cairned road leads north-westwards out of the village towards Rammius Mountain, starting off at a steady slope (rising by 16 m over the 80 m measured—a gradient of 1:5), before developing into a steep, later precipitous, climb in the approach to the quarries. A second road leads northwards from the village to form a back way into the Lycabettus group, a gentler climb with a rise of 11 m over the first 110 m.

¹ C. H. O. Scaife, ‘Two inscriptions at Mons Porphyrites (Gebel Dokhan), also a description, with plans, of the stations between Kainopolis and Myos Hormos together with some of the ruins in the neighbourhood of Gebel Dokhan’, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Fuad I University* 3/2 (1935), 58–104, at 62.

In her analysis of the surface pottery from the village, Roberta Tomber suggested that it belonged very largely to an 'early' horizon, though there are also hints of activity in the later period.

The fort in Wadi Abu Ma'amel. Survey of the fort which lies on a bluff above the eastern flank of the wadi shows it to be a multi-phase structure which has been extended both eastwards and northwards at some stage during its life. A butt-joint towards the east end of the south wall of the fort marks a probable original south-east corner, with the fort being extended about 9 m eastwards. Its northern part is dominated by a courtyard, in which there are many stone mortaria in varying stages of production. It is surrounded by a series of small rooms, except on the south side where it is defined by a massive wall, probably the original north wall of the fort. Here there is a marked drop in level from the south to the courtyard to the north.

The south end of the fort is dominated by a large plaster-lined tank with a pillared area in front (to the west). To the south of this is a range of rooms in which were found two lever mills, suggesting that they may have been concerned with bread-making. To the north of the tank room is a long structure with a range of clay ovens, perhaps the main kitchen area.

Excavation

Wadi Abu Ma'amel. A section was cut through the midden outside the south gate of the fort, in order to ascertain the relationship of the entrance ramp (against which the midden had developed) to the fort, and to obtain evidence of dating and of the lifestyle of the fort's inhabitants. It became apparent that the ramp was already in position when the rubbish started to accumulate, and that the rubbish was deposited here by dumping from above. The heap spread downwards into an adjacent gulley, where it was subsequently truncated by flash floods. The contents of the dump included, in addition to large quantities of pottery, a notable collection of glass, including a high proportion of fine tablewares, and fragments of some 80 lamps, all of Egyptian manufacture, including parts of two multi-nozzled lamps of a type which may be connected with the worship of Serapis. Among the organic materials was a substantial quantity of woven textiles, including coarse fabrics of sacking-like appearance, plain, finer fabrics, and decorated pieces. The fibres were largely wool, but a small amount of linen was present.

The excavation produced 165 ostraca. The range of documents included letters (largely concerned with practical matters such as the purchase or transport of food or tools), lists of names and personnel (both civilian and military), a few accounts and *tituli picti*. Apart from one document, the ostraca were not specifically dated, though several give the day and month, indicating that the quarries were in use throughout the year. The one specifically dated document belonged to August 13, AD 157, and an Antonine date would be appropriate for the collection as a whole.

Badia. Four major problems were identified for elucidation through excavation: determination of the chronological relationship of the fort and the animal lines; establishment of their foundation and terminal dates; acquisition of environmental evidence from the area of the animal lines in order to identify the animals housed there and their diets;

identification and investigation of the industrial processes whose residues were apparent in the rubbish dumps and work areas within the fort.

Excavation of the southern rubbish dump, which lay between the fort and the animal lines showed that about a half metre of debris had already accumulated on the site before the animal lines were constructed. The outer wall of the lines was, not long after its construction, reduced in height and another, narrower, wall was built on top of its reduced remains. This secondary wall incorporated in its top a trough. Such troughs are visible around much of the circuit wall of the animal lines (as well as inside the lines), suggesting an increase in feeding/watering capacity in the later stages of the site's use. It is assumed (though not as yet proved) that the outer circuit originally functioned simply as an enclosure wall, as is clearly the case at Mons Claudianus.

Organic material had accumulated both outside and inside the lines. The outside deposits included camel-droppings; those inside consisted of clearly layered deposits of straw, firmly compacted with a rich organic material—provisionally interpreted as trampled (donkey?) dung.

Within the area of the lines, the build-up of organic material continued until the site went out of use. Outside, however, the area became an industrial rubbish tip, with dumps of compacted ash and small charcoal, with some fired brick, perhaps derived from the kiln area in the central building of the fort. The latest deposit on this dump contained an amphora of fourth-fifth century date. The upper levels of the site also produced an ostrakon dated palaeographically to the third century. The later date for the rubbish dump here is corroborated by a coin of AD 330–35 from the centre of the dump.

Environmental potential

During the 1996 season an initial assessment was made by Marijke van der Veen of the quality and extent of preservation of the biological remains. The midden deposits at the fort at Mons Porphyrites contained large amounts of desiccated seeds, fruits, insect remains, and animal droppings. Foodstuffs included both staples (wheat, barley, dates, lentils) and luxury items, a range similar to that found in second-century deposits at Mons Claudianus. At Badia, the conditions in the upper part of the midden were different, with preservation of large amounts of grain and chaff (both wheat and barley) having occurred through carbonization rather than desiccation. The desiccated lower levels included camel and donkey dung, the former including complete droppings containing whole grains of barley.

VALERIE A. MAXFIELD *and* DAVID PEACOCK

Qasr Ibrim, 1996

THIS season was devoted to the study of items excavated but unrecorded from recent work at the site, principally pottery. This material was transferred from Qasr Ibrim to Aswan at the end of the 1995 season, and we were therefore able to carry out our research in the relative comfort of workspace kindly made available by the SCA at Shellal. The team consisted of Dr Pamela Rose, Dr Lisa Heidorn, Pamela Scott-Clark and Claudia Näser (ceramics), and Peter French, Adrian England and Shelley White (small finds).

The SCA was represented by our inspector, Nadia Abdel Haliim Bouda, to whom we would like to express our warmest thanks. Thanks are also due to the Chief Inspector of Aswan, Mr Mohi el-Din M. Ahmed, and the Chief Inspector of Upper Egyptian and Nubian monuments, Mr Abdeen Siam.

Most of the ceramics examined this season came from the site of the 'Church on the Point'. This is a building complex situated on the edge of the bluff to the east of, and overlooking, the citadel. It consists of two principal elements, the church itself, and an adjacent, much denuded, group of rooms which probably functioned as a monastery. Excavations of the complex, which took place between 1990 and 1995,¹ produced very large quantities of pottery, but much of that from the church lost its specific archaeological context after the ransacking that took place while it was stored at Ibrim. This represents a considerable loss of knowledge, in view of the complex and lengthy archaeological sequence uncovered during the course of excavation.

During the season, we concentrated on the pottery which had not been disturbed. Some 60,000 sherds were recorded, and over 600 drawings were made. A considerable amount of time was devoted to the attempted reconstruction of the profiles of what appear to be unusual or less well-known vessel types, since it seems unlikely that pots broken during daily use would have been disposed of much beyond the excavated area. Large parts of vessels may thus be present among the sherds.

It is possible from our study of the pottery to begin to suggest dates for phases of activity within the church and monastery. It is clear that the main period of use of both buildings spanned the later Early Christian into the Classic Christian Period (the eighth to tenth centuries AD, based on Adams's ceramic chronology).² There is almost no material belonging to the earlier, post-Meroitic (or 'X-group') ceramic repertoire, although a few sherds from the earliest deposits within the church suggest that these deposits date to a time in the Early Christian Period when ceramics of late 'X-group' style were still in circulation, the seventh to earlier eighth centuries AD. Two foundation deposits were found under the church, one of which contained a wheel made pot of a form often associated with cooking, and the other sherds of a large Nubian-made jar. These are prime pieces of evidence for dating the construction of the church, and it is unfortunate that as yet neither can be closely dated. Poor parallels from Egyptian sites suggest a possible seventh-century date for the cooking pot.³ The lack of any earlier pottery demonstrates that the church complex was founded on virgin territory. There is very little evidence for any significant activity in the Later Christian Period (eleventh to fifteenth centuries AD). With the coming of Islam to Nubia, there was further activity at the site, and parts of the church were converted into a mosque; the pottery from the uppermost levels in these areas reflects this activity.

Early and Classic Christian vessels can be separated into two groups, storage wares and 'table' wares. The former, almost entirely amphorae, account for up to 40% of the pottery in Early Christian contexts. These jars all appear to be of Upper Egyptian origin, and

¹B. Kjølbye-Biddle B., 'The small early church in Nubia with reference to the Church on the Point at Qasr Ibrim', in K. Painter (ed.), *Churches Built in Ancient Times. Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology* (Society of Antiquaries of London, Occasional Paper 16; London, 1994), 17–47.

²W. Y. Adams, *Ceramic Industries of Medieval Nubia* (Lexington, 1986), *passim*.

³For example, H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, I* (New York, 1926), fig. 47, lower right.

indicate a flourishing trade, presumably in wine, since the vessel interiors are usually resinated. The 'table' wares consist of slipped, sometimes decorated and often polished, vessels, mainly cups and bowls. These show changes in decorative style over time, from the simplicity of the Early Christian vessels (fig. 1, nos. 1-3), to the more elaborate styles of the late Early Christian and Classic Christian vessels (fig. 1, nos. 4-5). All the vessels are well made and finished, and are of Nubian manufacture. The large ledge-rimmed bowls (as seen in fig. 1, no. 5) are particularly common, and frequently decorated, with no two vessels having exactly the same combination of motifs.

It is not as yet possible to be sure which, if any, of the vessel types are specifically liturgical in purpose. However, unusual forms include tall cylindrical tube-like vessels, which from their wear patterns evidently functioned as stands for other containers.

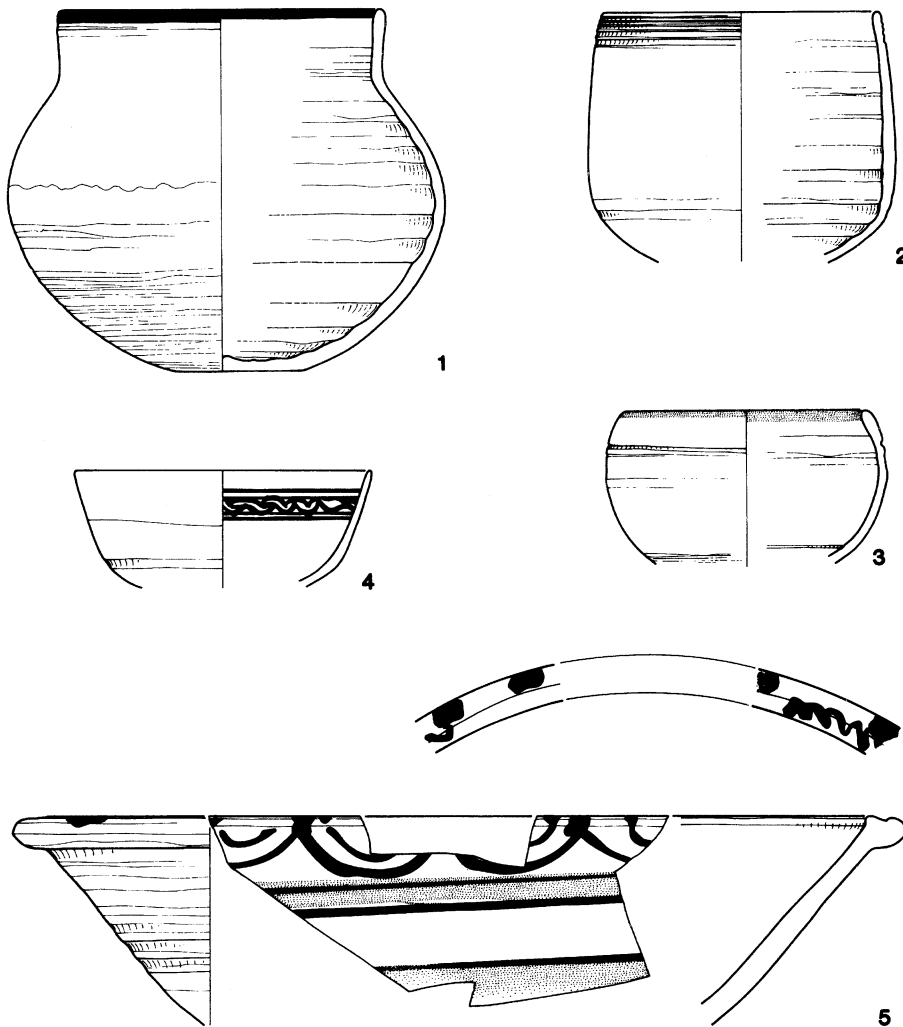


FIG. 1. 'Table' wares from the Church on the Point. Scale 1:3.

Similar vessels are known from one of the churches at Old Dongola,⁴ and others were found in the monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes.⁵ There were also fragments of several wide, shallow tubs with vertical walls and a distinct hemispherical depression in the centre of the base. A somewhat similar vessel with a central depression, but modelled walls, comes from the church and monastery complex at Ghazali,⁶ and another is described from the church at Abdallah Nirqi.⁷ These types at least, therefore, may be of liturgical use.

The pottery from the latest levels, when parts of the church were used as a mosque, is closely comparable with that from the citadel of Qasr Ibrim itself. However, it also includes a number of small handmade lamps, or perhaps incense burners, of a distinctive form with two crossing handles arched over the bowl. They are painted in what appears to be an imitation of basketry.

The season also saw the recording of almost all the backlog of small finds from previous seasons, as far back as 1976 (a cache of unrecorded objects from which season was discovered on site in 1990). These included objects of leather, wood, textile, and ceramic.

PAMELA ROSE

⁴K. Michalowski 'Les fouilles polonaises à Dongola', in E. Dinkler (ed.), *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens in Christlicher Zeit* (Recklinghausen, 1970), 163–66.

⁵Winlock and Crum, *Monastery of Epiphanius*, fig. 48.

⁶P. Shinnie and N. Chittick, *Ghazali—A Monastery in the Northern Sudan* (Sudan Antiquities Service Occasional Paper 5; Khartoum, 1961), pl. xi.

⁷H. Schneider 'Abdallah Nirqi: Description and Chronology of the Central Church', in Dinkler, *Kunst und Geschichte Nubiens*, 87–102.



1. The bronze cache found near the entrance to the Falcon Catacomb, in course of excavation. Most of the objects are situlae, corroded together, but other pieces can also be seen, notably the aegis at top right



2. Walter Gneisinger separating some of the corroded bronzes



1. One objective of the North Ibis Catacomb survey was to record the intersections of individual galleries in order to determine their order of construction. This is one of the more complicated: Dr Jackson is seated at the junction of galleries 18 and 35; on the left is gallery 17, which has a higher floor level



2. Access to some galleries is choked with debris, which has helped to preserve some of the vessels stacked inside. Gallery 62, shown here, is one such; some of the mud-brick blocking is visible at either side of the entrance

TWO PROTODYNASTIC OBJECTS IN BRUSSELS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE BILOBATE CULT-SIGN OF NEITH*

By STAN HENDRICKX

New publication and discussion of two fragmentary stone objects of Protodynastic date in the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels, together with a further fragment from one of them, found a few years ago in the excavations of the DAIK at Umm el-Qa'ab. The carved decoration of both includes representations of the click beetle (*Agrypnus notodonta* Latr.), sacred to Neith. From their iconography, it is suggested that the bilobate cult-sign of Neith originally consisted of the image of two click beetles, flanking two crossed arrows attached to a pole.

Three different symbols of Neith can be distinguished during the Protodynastic Period: the bilobate object, two crossed arrows, and two bows tied together. The original meaning of the bilobate object seems to have been forgotten before the end of the Old Kingdom, and during the Middle Kingdom it lost its original form and was henceforward depicted as an oval. The significance given to it at that time remains open to discussion, but its traditional identification as a shield is most probably the result of the far more recent assimilation of Neith to the Greek goddess Athena.

THE bilobate cult-sign of Neith, consisting of two superposed ovals with a pair of crossed arrows between, has long been the subject of discussion. By coincidence, the two most important early dynastic depictions of the symbol are preserved on objects in the Egyptian collection of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire in Brussels. Although both have been published previously, a reassessment is desirable, not only because new interpretations now seem possible, but also because the previously-published drawings are inaccurate and, more particularly, a further fragment of one of the objects was discovered a few years ago.

Two fragmentary Protodynastic objects in Brussels

1. Brussels, MRAH E.578 (pl. III, 1; figs. 1, 2). Five joining fragments and one separate piece of a shallow oval plate, the exterior of which is decorated in low relief. Greywacke. Original dimensions: length *c.* 39 cm; width *c.* 18 cm. Thickness: 0.25–0.4 cm.

É. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos I. (1895–1896)* (Paris, 1899), 212–13, pls. xxvii:

*I should like to thank Dr L. Limme, director of the Egyptian Department of the Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, for permission to publish the two objects in Brussels, and Dr G. Dreyer, director of the DAIK excavations at Umm el-Qa'ab, for kindly allowing publication of the related fragment from Abydos. Further thanks are due to Mr C. Van Winkel, technical assistant in the Egyptian Department, for his ready help, and to Mrs F. Piette (MRAH) who made the drawings for figs. 1 and 5. Entomological references and information on *Agrypnus notodonta* were supplied by Mr J. Debecker (Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Tervuren) and Prof. J. Billen (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven). Finally, Dr Limme, Mr B. Van Rinsveld (MRAH), and the *JEA*'s two reviewers are to be thanked for their most useful comments on a first draft of the present article.

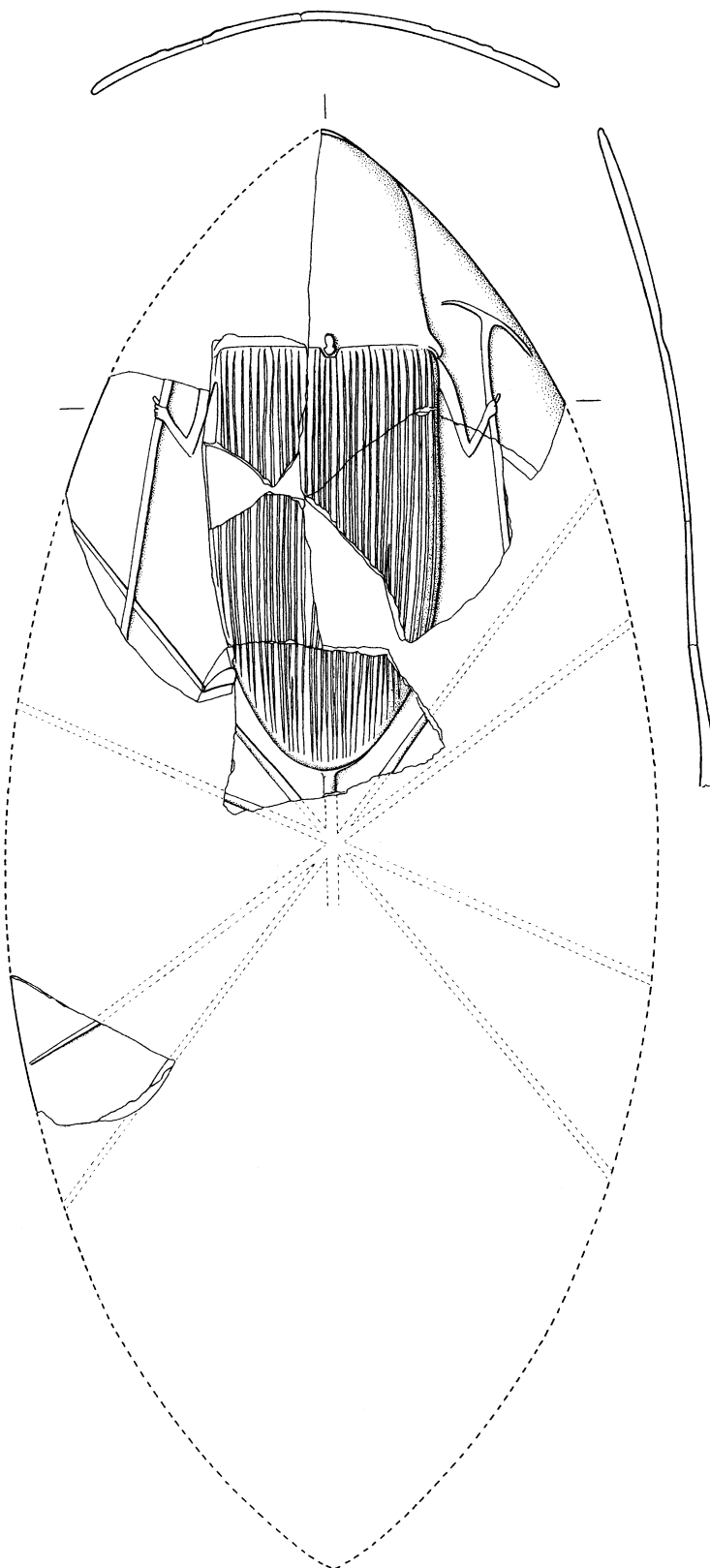


FIG. 1. Brussels E.578 , together with a fragment from the DAIK excavations at Umm el-Qa'ab (K.1005): fragmentary plate with decoration in low relief. Scale 1:2.

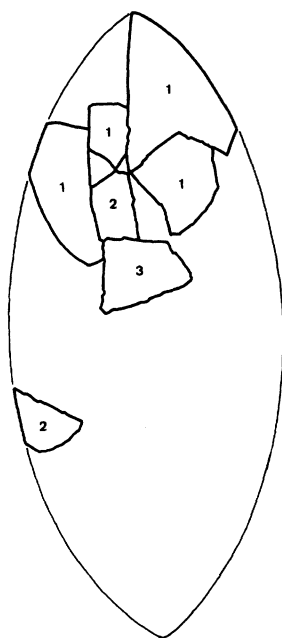


FIG. 2. Brussels E.578 + Abydos K.1005: position of the fragments found by Amélineau (1), Petrie (2) and the DAIK (3).

second row, seventh from left, xxviii: first row, tenth from left; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, *Antiquités égyptiennes trouvées à Abydos*. Catalogue de vente de la collection Amélineau (1904), 43 nos. 286–7; L. Keimer, 'Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers égyptiens', *ASAE* 31 (1931), 145–82, at 149–53 (fig. 2, drawing incorrect); G. Kritsky, 'Beetle Gods, King Bees and Other Insects of Ancient Egypt', *KMT* 4/1 (1993), 32–9, at 35; S. Hendrickx, *Antiquités préhistoriques et protodynastiques d'Égypte* (Brussels, 1994), 56–7 (where the plate is erroneously described as decorated on the interior).

Four fragments were found in 1895–6 by Amélineau during his work on the royal tombs of the first dynasties at Umm el-Qa'ab (fig. 2);¹ two further fragments are registered in Brussels as originating from Petrie's excavations on the same spot between 1899 and 1901, but were not published by him. Another piece may be recognized among the fragments illustrated by Amélineau.² Unfortunately, Amélineau did not specify the exact provenance of the fragments, nor is any location recorded for those from Petrie's work. However, during the 1988 excavation campaign of the German Archaeological Institute Cairo (DAIK) at Umm el-Qa'ab, a matching fragment (Abydos K.1005) was found in the debris to the north-east of the tomb of Den (tomb T).³ In the same area were found many objects inscribed with that king's name. The tomb of Den was excavated by Amélineau in 1895–96, the same season in which the fragments of the plate were found.⁴

In view of the massive disturbance of the royal tombs, this does not necessarily mean that the plate originally belonged to the funeral equipment of the tomb of Den, although this is a very likely provenance.

The undecorated concave surface (the interior) of the object is very carefully polished, leaving no trace of the process of manufacture; nor can any evidence of use be seen. This lack of wear, in conjunction with the fact that the convex surface (the exterior) is decorated, might suggest that the object was not a plate but a lid. However, the increasing thickness of the section towards the centre of the object, which is unfortunately missing, suggests that there may have been some kind of small base, allowing the object to stand as a plate without damaging the decoration. The shape of the rim is also more typical of a plate than a lid, and plates and vessels with a decorated exterior are well known from the Protodynastic Period.⁵

¹ *Les nouvelles fouilles*, 200–15. The fragments were not recognized by Amélineau as joining. He thought the decoration represented a human figure (cf. *ibid.* 212).

² *Ibid.* pl. xxviii, lower row, first right. The present whereabouts of this fragment are unknown to me.

³ For further matches between fragments found in the DAIK excavations and those preserved in Brussels, London and Berlin, see S. Hendrickx and C. Van Winkel, 'Fragments de récipients décorés en pierre provenant de la nécropole royale des premières dynasties à Abydos (Haute-Égypte)', *BMR AH* 64 (1993), 5–38, esp. 6–7 n.8.

⁴ Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles*, 119–26.

⁵ A. el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels. Predynastic Period to Dynasty III* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978), nos. 5597–8, 5602–6, 5627; Hendrickx and Van Winkel, *BMR AH* 64, *passim*.

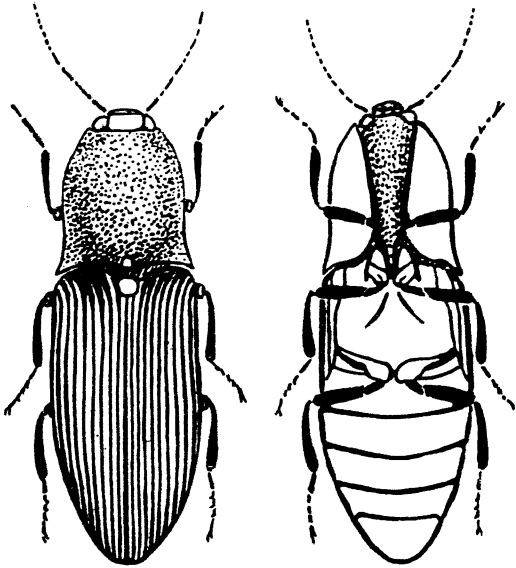


FIG. 3. *Agrypnus notodonta* Latr. (After Keimer, *ASAE* 31, pl. iii.)

The decoration consists of the detailed representation of a beetle, with two human arms holding sceptres; one of them is certainly a *was*-sceptre. In addition, there is a single stick-like line descending vertically from the insect's body and sections of four other sticks which when complete would have crossed each other just below. In the original publication by Keimer, the beetle was identified as *Agrypnus notodonta* Latr. (fig. 3).⁶ This rather large beetle, which can measure up to 3.5 cm, belongs to the elaterid family and is commonly known as the click beetle (fig. 3). Characteristic features are the vertical stripes on the elytra, the shape of the prothorax with the angular extensions, and the rather large, round to oval mesoscutellum (the small part between the elytra, just below the prothorax). The difference between this and the best-known Egyptian beetle, *Scarabaeus sacer*, is obvious both from the shape of the prothorax

and that of the mesoscutellum, which is triangular on *Scarabaeus sacer*.

The object is carved with great delicacy and accuracy, and testifies to the craftsmanship of the Protodynastic Period. The oval shape of the plate was evidently designed to accord with its decoration. This is especially noticeable in the treatment of the insect's small head: the prothorax is so positioned that its upper contour partly coincides with the rim of the plate, and thus allows the extremity of the oval to be seen as the insect's head. For this reason, the rim is slightly thicker at this point than along the rest of its profile. Such careful management of the shape demonstrates that the representation follows a clearly premeditated scheme.

For many years, the iconography has remained puzzling, although a link between *Agrypnus notodonta* and the goddess Neith had already been made by Keimer and others. However, an important element which has not hitherto been accorded due weight, is the presence of the *was*-sceptre, which was a classic attribute of Neith, as early as the Second Dynasty.⁷ Since the sceptres are held by human arms protruding from the junction of the insect's prothorax and elytra, it may be deduced that the click beetle here actually represents Neith, instead of being merely her sacred creature.⁸

The fragment discovered by the DAIK adds greatly to our understanding of the representation. It now becomes clear that the insect is to be envisaged as fixed on a pole,

⁶Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 150.

⁷R. el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith de Saïs. I, Importance et rayonnement de son culte. II, Documentation* (Cairo, 1982), II, 227 doc. 76, pl. ii.

⁸This representational device has been termed 'emblematic personification' by J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures* (Warminster, 1985), 41–5.

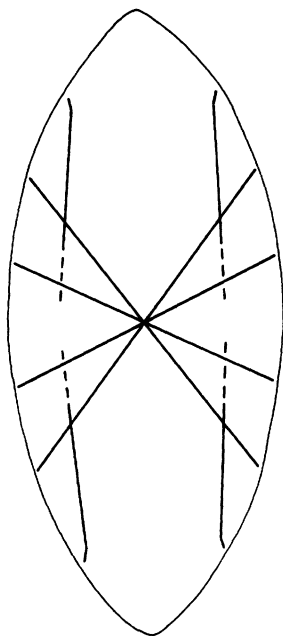


FIG. 4. Brussels E.578 +Abydos K.1005: pattern of arrows and sceptres.

with the four sticks crossing each other just below the point where the newly-discovered fragment ends. Since this part is missing, we cannot tell whether the bindings which might have lashed the sticks to the pole were shown. The surviving parts of the representation, especially the configuration of the sticks, argue for a symmetrically placed, identical decoration on the lost part of the object. This assumes that the plate had a uniform oval shape—an assumption which can hardly be questioned, since the single non-joining fragment can only be integrated into an oval outline. The suggested reconstruction of the decoration would thus resemble in shape the bilobate Neith symbol. As for the four sticks, which are here interpreted as arrows, only one of the eight original extremities is preserved:⁹ it is simply pointed, and shows no indication of an arrowhead. Nearly all the early dynastic representations of the crossed arrows of Neith which are sufficiently detailed show arrowheads at the tip, often with a transverse edge. However, pointed arrows, without feathers at their nock ends, are well known for the Protodynastic Period.¹⁰ The absence of arrowheads, then, does not preclude the identification of the entire decoration as the symbol of Neith, but the presence of four crossed arrows instead of two requires some explanation, though it should be noted that the arrows are apparently grouped two by two. A possible explanation might be to consider the entire object as the representation of a click beetle, as suggested by its oval shape. The pattern formed by the four arrows and the four(?) *was*-sceptres could be reminiscent of the disposition of the insect's legs (fig. 4), as represented on a gold capsule found at Naga ed-Deir (cf. below, fig. 7). This would imply that the undecorated surface represents the back of the insect, and the decorated underside the belly.

Such a double interpretation—namely that the plate itself represents a click beetle and the carved decoration upon it the symbol of Neith—would necessitate a complex process of 'reading' the object. Its interpretation as a plate, rather than a lid, also poses the question: why would the easily-damaged (and presumably unseen) exterior be decorated? If we assume that the plate may have had a ritual function which necessitated both an undecorated interior, but also the presence of the image of the click beetle, we might conclude that the meaning of the object became clear when it was manipulated.¹¹ Noticing the oval shape, the viewer would pick up the plate, turn it over, and by

⁹It could be suggested that the 'arrows' are in fact the veins of a leaf; there are several examples of imitations of leaves in the decoration of early dynastic stone vessels. However, the veins on these are either curved or branching, unlike the seemingly straight and undivided 'arrows' on this plate. Furthermore, the contours of these vessels imitate the shape of leaves, which is probably not the case with the plate. See Hendrickx and Van Winkel, *BMR AH* 64, 10–1 nos. E.4852a, b with references to other examples.

¹⁰W. B. Emery, *The Tomb of Hemaka* (Cairo, 1938), 45–8; id., *Archaic Egypt* (London, 1961), 114.

¹¹For the suggestion that Predynastic representations can be understood through manipulating them, see the work of W.M. Davis, *Masking the Blow* (Berkeley, 1992). Davis's theory is, however, weakened by the fact that the size of some of the objects he discusses precludes their having been easily 'flipped over' by a viewer.

recognizing the graphically-depicted click beetles, would understand the meaning of the shape and deduce that this was the underside of the insect. This interpretation remains problematic, however, and it should be noted that the idea of viewing an object by manipulating it or moving through the representation principally serves the exposition of a narrative. The decoration of the plate under discussion apparently had no narrative connotations but is to be considered as symbolic.

2. Brussels, MRAH E.6261 (pl. III, 2, fig. 5). Triangular fragment from a rectangular palette decorated in low relief. Greywacke; width 10.6 cm; maximum preserved length 10.2 cm; thickness 0.8–1.1 cm.

Anon., 'Sur un plateau de schiste', in 'Enquêtes', *CdE* 2 (1926–7), 191; Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 149–53; H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en beheersing: Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte* (Leiden, 1961), 166–7, 281, 324, fig. 106; el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith II*, 226, doc. 74, pl. ii (drawing incorrect); Kritsky, *KMT* 4/1, 35–6; S.T. Hollis, 'Five Egyptian Goddesses in the Third Millennium BC. Neith, Hathor, Nut, Isis, Nephthys', *KMT* 5/4 (1994–5), 46–51, 82–5, at 48

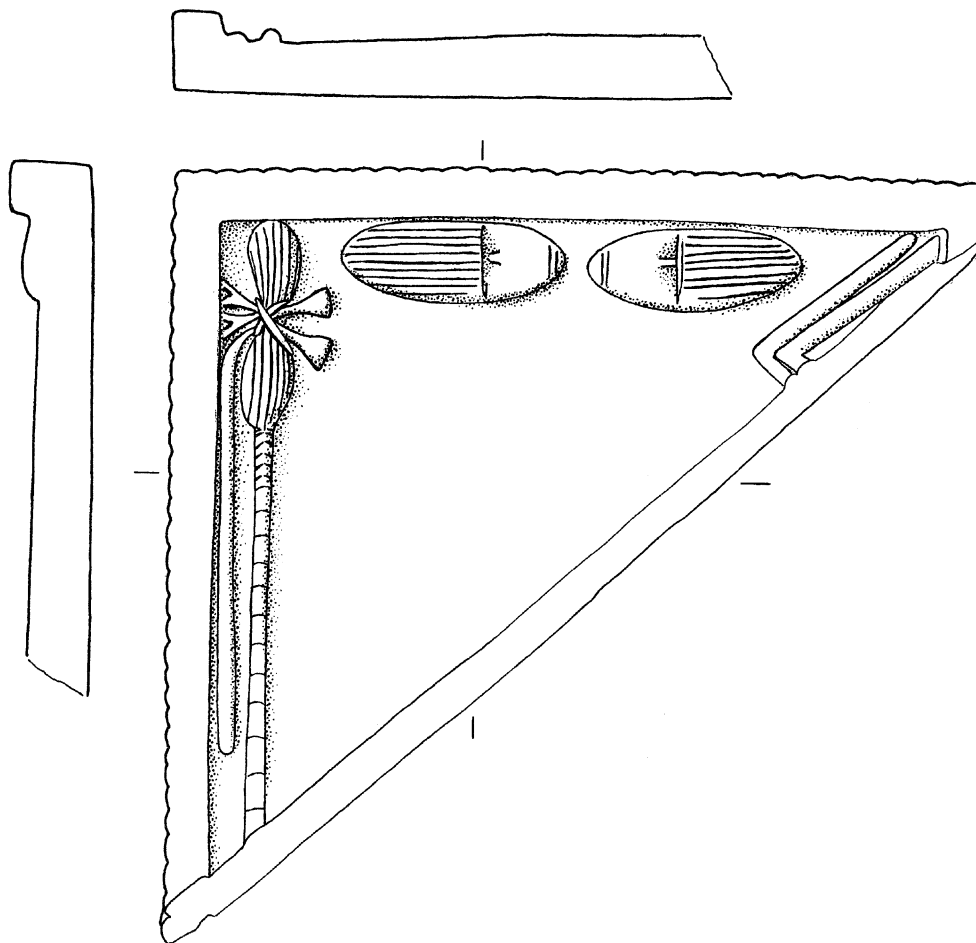


FIG. 5. Brussels E.6261: fragment of a rectangular palette decorated in low relief. Scale 1:1.

(drawing incorrect); P. F. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (Cairo, 1996), 187, fig. 128.

The fragment was bought in Cairo during the early years of this century. Its exact provenance is unknown, although several authors have supposed it to originate from Abydos.¹² It has been convincingly dated to the Protodynastic Period on stylistic grounds,¹³ a dating which is supported by the fact that rectangular palettes are characteristic for the late Predynastic—Protodynastic Period,¹⁴ and by the triangular shape of the *ntr*-flags which figure on the object.¹⁵ It should also be noted that this is the only known example of a rectangular palette decorated in low relief. It is therefore likely to be the latest in the series of decorated palettes.¹⁶

On the undecorated area in the central part of the palette, slight scratches can be observed. These cannot be related to the manufacture of the piece, but are evidence of use, proving that the object actually served as a grinding surface, presumably for eyepaint, though probably only on a limited number of occasions, since there is no substantial degradation of the surface and the decoration has not been touched at all. That the palette was rectangular rather than square is suggested by the fact that the traces of use appear to have continued into the missing lower part.

The palette was surrounded on at least three sides by a raised border, ribbed on the outer vertical surface. Running parallel to the border is a series of representations in relief: along one side is a detailed depiction of the bilobate Neith sign, while on the opposite side are traces of two angled lines which may be interpreted as the remains of a flagpole, or more probably two superimposed flagpoles, with triangular flags or pennants.¹⁷ Representations on cylinder seals show two flags thus, pointing in the same direction.¹⁸ The side between is decorated with two confronted images of *Agrypnus notodonta*. The prothorax and elytra of the insects are clearly distinguished, the elytra being striped. The bilobate Neith symbol is striped in its entirety, thus resembling the insect's elytra but lacking the separate representation of the prothorax. A distinct division between the prothorax and the elytra can never be seen in the few cases where the bilobate object is drawn in some detail. If its relationship to the beetle is accepted, it is possible that because of the small scale on which the Neith emblem was usually rendered, the characteristic vertical stripes were extended over the entire back of the insect.

The ribbed edge of the palette has already been interpreted by Asselberghs as

¹²E.g. Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 149.

¹³Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 149; Asselberghs, *Chaos*, 324.

¹⁴W.M.F. Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt* (London, 1920), 38; E.J. Baumgartel, *The Cultures of Prehistoric Egypt*, II (London, 1960), 89; K.M. Ciałowicz, *Les palettes égyptiennes aux motifs zoomorphes et sans décoration. Études de l'art prédynastique* (Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 3; Krakow, 1991), 32–4.

¹⁵J. Baines, 'On the symbolic context of the principal hieroglyph for "god"', in U. Verhoeven and E. Graefe (eds), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain* (Leuven, 1991), 33–4.

¹⁶For the sequence of predynastic decorated palettes, see H. Ranke's fundamental study, *Altertum und Herkunft der Ägyptischen 'Löwenjagd-Palette'*. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Heidelberg, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1924–5. V (Heidelberg, 1925), and, more recently Ciałowicz, *Les palettes, passim*; Davis, *Masking the Blow, passim*, both with further references.

¹⁷For the symbolic importance of these flagpoles, see Baines, in *Fs. Derchain*, 29–46, where he considers the 'flags' to be pennants represented as triangular projections (pp. 33–4).

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 33 fig. 3b, 34 n. 22.

representing a temple façade,¹⁹ and it seems likely that we are indeed dealing with the image of a niched enclosure wall. Comparable early dynastic representations of such a wall are to be found on fragments of two ivory plaques from the tomb of Den at Umm el-Qa'ab,²⁰ and the type is known in reality from the funerary palaces at Abydos,²¹ and the so-called 'Fort' at Hierakonpolis. The interpretation of the latter as a funerary palace for its builder Khasekhemwi is open to question;²² it could equally well have been a temple enclosure without funerary significance.²³ A connection between these buildings and the ribbed detail on the palette was not made by Asselberghs: their interpretation as religious or funerary structures was not under discussion at the time he was writing, and he confined himself to noting that the significance of the decorated palette, although clearly religious, could not be discerned.²⁴

The imitation of a niched enclosure wall seems obvious, however, and the intention to symbolize a temple becomes even more convincing if we compare the palette with early dynastic representations of temples, and especially with that of the temple of Neith on a tag from the tomb of Horus Aha at Abydos (fig. 6).²⁵ The building has been interpreted as a wattlework construction, because of the rectangular panels which appear in the rendering of the enclosure and the shrine on the tag.²⁶ Elsewhere on the tag, however, this same device is used in the depiction of boats, a human form, an earth mound, and the forepart of a lion. Clearly, it is an artistic convention for indicating the solid or patterned surface of any kind of large object,²⁷ and therefore no conclusions can be drawn from it as regards the actual physical appearance of the things represented. It is therefore

¹⁹ *Chaos*, 167.

²⁰ Cairo JE 34905. W.M.F. Petrie, *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties*, II (London, 1901), pl. vii. 8–9; H. Ricke, *Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*, 4. *Bemerkungen zur Ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reichs*, I (Zürich, 1944), fig. 10. 3–5, 8–9; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, II. *Les grandes époques. L'architecture religieuse et civile* (Paris, 1955), fig. 312; Baines, *Fs. Derchain*, 35 fig. 4. The niched enclosure walls which represent fortified cities on the Bull Palette, the Libyan or Booty Palette, and the Narmer Palette are of a different kind and fall outside the present discussion.

²¹ B. J. Kemp, *JEA* 52 (1966), 13–22; id., *Antiquity* 41 (1967), 22–32; W. Kaiser, *MDAIK* 25 (1969), 1–21; W. Helck, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 95–9; R. Stadelmann, *BIFAO* 81 suppl. (1981), 153–64; W. Kaiser and G. Dreyer, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 253–60; W. Kaiser, *LÄ* IV, 511–13; id., *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 47–60; D. O'Connor, *JARCE* 26 (1989), 51–86.

²² Khasekhemwi's tomb is situated at Abydos (Tomb V). It has been suggested that the Hierakonpolis structure was erected as his funerary palace when, as Khasekhem, he intended to be buried at Hierakonpolis, prior to his assumption of power over the whole of Egypt and change of name to Khasekhemwi. No royal tomb has been located at Hierakonpolis, however, and it seems illogical that the funerary palace would have been built before the tomb, which would have been more urgently needed in the event of the king's unexpected death. There is no necessity to see a funerary significance to the Hierakonpolis 'Fort'.

²³ This would make the Hierakonpolis 'Fort' the oldest surviving element of a temple in the 'Early Formal' style, as defined by B.J. Kemp (*Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London, 1989), 92), but would contradict his opinion that the 'palace façade' style was not used for temples. For recent conflicting views regarding the nature of early temples, see O'Connor, 'The Status of Early Egyptian Temples: An Alternative Theory', in R. Friedman and B. Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus. Studies Dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman* (Oxford, 1992), 82–98, *contra* Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 53–100.

²⁴ Asselberghs, *Chaos*, 166–7.

²⁵ Now in the Cairo Museum: Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, 21, pls. iiiA. 5; x.2. For further references, see el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 225 doc. 73.

²⁶ For a perspective restoration of the temple of Neith, see A. Badawy, *Le dessin architectural chez les anciens égyptiens* (Cairo, 1948), 10–16; id., *A History of Egyptian Architecture*, I. *From the Earliest Times to the End of the Old Kingdom* (Giza, 1954), 34, fig. 22.

²⁷ The device is already attested on predynastic decorated pottery and also in rock drawings, cf. S. Hendrickx, *CdE* 67 (1992), 10–11.

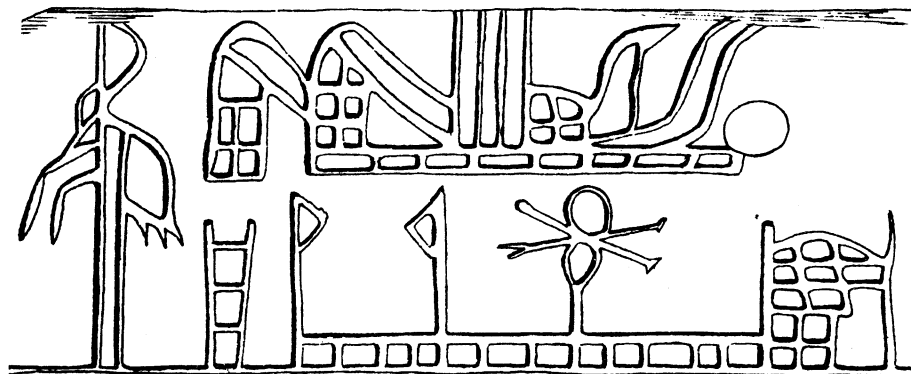


FIG. 6. The temple of Neith: detail from a tag of Horus Aha from Abydos. (Petrie, *Royal Tombs II*, pl. x.2.)

possible that the temple of Neith was built not exclusively in wattlework, but in a more solid material.²⁸

In addition, the tag of Horus Aha shows two triangular *ntr*-flags at the entrance of the temple enclosure, and a large standard of Neith which is placed within the temple court. The flagpoles and the standard are shown at the same scale, as is the case with the depictions on the palette under discussion. This may be accepted as a reflection of reality—i.e., a large-scale model of the bilobate Neith symbol with the crossed arrows was actually fixed to a huge pole within the temple court. The pole on the palette is marked with small horizontal lines which are denser towards the top, a device which most likely indicates the trunk of a palm tree. The denser lines at the top would represent the marks on the upper part of the tree where the thickly-clustered leaves have been cut away in preparing the pole. Although at first Keimer considered this interpretation attractive, he rejected it because he could not imagine the entire object to have been so large.²⁹ The dimensions seem to be confirmed, however, by the archaeological record, since a large isolated post-hole within the court of the predynastic temple at Hierakonpolis was interpreted by the excavators as the remains of a pole which would have carried a totem or flag.³⁰ Finally, the two confronted click beetles can be seen as representations of Neith herself, and may thus be considered to symbolize the sanctuary of the temple. Comparison might be made with a decorated *heb-sed* vase (p. 33), illustrating most probably that the image of click beetles was present on the roof of a *heb-sed* pavilion.

Although the different elements of the representation seem obvious enough, we must be aware that they need not all reflect a single reality. As Baines has observed of other early depictions of enclosures, the composition of the palette may consist of an assem-

²⁸ As already suggested by some authors: cf. el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith II*, 226. See also n. 26.

²⁹ Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 152.

³⁰ M.A. Hoffman, 'Prelude to Civilization: The Predynastic Period in Egypt' in K.L. Willoughby and E.B. Stanton (eds), *The First Egyptians* (exhibition cat., The McKissick Museum, University of South Carolina, 1988), 43; D.L. Holmes, 'Chipped Stone-Working Craftsmen, Hierakonpolis and the Rise of Civilization in Egypt', in Friedman and Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus*, 37–8, figs. 1–2. On a smaller scale, the well-known decorated maceheads may also have been presented on poles: cf. H. Whitehouse, 'The Hierakonpolis Ivories in Oxford. A Progress Report', *ibid.*, 81.

blage of both representational and symbolic elements.³¹ None the less, its iconography seems to offer two possible ways of reconstructing the original building, depending on the function attributed to the niched wall. It could be considered as either the wall of the temple itself, or that of the temple precinct. The scene on the fragmentary ivory tags cited above shows that temples such as that on the Horus Aha tag could be standing within a large enclosure wall, possibly with other buildings. If the niched wall represents a temple enclosure, no element of the architecture of the temple itself would be shown on the palette. In that case, the entire temple building and not just the sanctuary would be represented by the confronted click beetles.

In all likelihood, the palette presents the schematic image of a temple dedicated to Neith. The missing fourth side may have included an entrance to the temple or the temple area, as well as another, completely lost, element of decoration.³² Regardless of whether the niched wall enclosed a temple or the temple precinct, the flagpoles could be imagined as standing in front of the area represented by the lower part of the palette, while the large standard of Neith might be located somewhere in the court, leaving the sanctuary or temple, represented by the beetles, in the customary place opposite the entrance.

As in the case of the decorated plate, the representation on the palette was most probably not narrative in itself, although some of the typical narrative principles of Egyptian art may have been used. For instance, the flagpoles, which mark the entrance to the temple, and thus the 'beginning' of the scene, may be seen to be placed on the right, so that the object should be read from right to left, as is the case with many elements in late predynastic and early dynastic scenes, as well as with the hieroglyphic script. In addition, to see and understand the ribbed edge as depicting a temple wall or enclosure, it would be necessary to manipulate the object in order to obtain a different angle of view from that needed to look at the decorated surface.

Further representations of *Agrypnus notodonta* Latr.³³

Representations of beetles which can be identified beyond doubt as *Agrypnus notodonta* Latr. are scarce, mainly because they are in the main too small for the diagnostic details to be visible. The presence of different types of beetles and other insects in Egyptian religion and art only adds to the confusion.

In addition to the two objects in Brussels, another representation of the click beetle has recently been identified among the fragments of decorated stone vessels from Umm el-Qa'ab: it is accurately depicted on a series of joining fragments in London and Brussels.³⁴ Although the fragmentary object of which the beetle forms part is a significant addition to the corpus of composite vessels, it does not shed new light on the problems discussed here.³⁵ A further example may be cited, however, which links the image of the

³¹ Baines, in *Fs. Derchain*, 34.

³² Asselberghs, *Chaos*, 167 supposes the presence of a (royal) name in this area, possibly that of Mer-Neith.

³³ See also el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* I, 23–4.

³⁴ Petrie Museum, University College London, UC 37001–2; Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, unregistered.

³⁵ The publication of these and other fragments in London and Brussels is being undertaken by Barbara Adams.

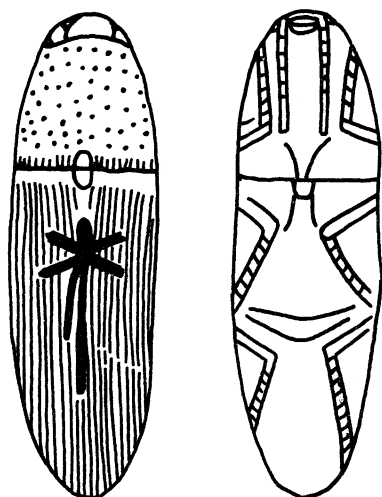


FIG. 7. Golden capsule from Naga ed-Deir, tomb 1532: Cairo JE 35706/CG 53821-2. (After Keimer, *ASAE* 31, pl. iii.)

click beetle firmly to Neith: the well-known gold capsule in the shape of a beetle with the emblem of Neith inlaid on its back, which was found in tomb 1532 at Naga ed-Deir and is dated to the First Dynasty.³⁶ This object carries the most detailed representation known of the belly of the insect (fig. 7).

In a few instances, the image of the click beetle is used as an amulet. The earliest examples have been dated to the Predynastic³⁷ and Protodynastic Periods,³⁸ but the identification of these small objects, which show very little detail, as *Agrypnus notodonta* can be disputed.³⁹ On the other hand, this is not the case with the golden necklace with fifty pendants, each in the shape of a click beetle, found in tomb 294 at Gizeh and dating to the Fourth Dynasty.⁴⁰

Representations of beetles can also be found on stone vessels. The images on two fragmentary plates, both found at Saqqara and one certainly dating to the First Dynasty,⁴¹ are not sufficiently detailed to allow an undeniable identification of the insects; they most likely do not represent *Agrypnus notodonta*, but rather a buprestid beetle, probably *Steraspis squamosa*.⁴² On the other hand, the image of an insect on the handle of a *heb-sed* vase found in gallery VI below the Step Pyramid,⁴³ can almost certainly be identified as *Agrypnus notodonta*, although several authors have expressed different opinions.⁴⁴ The undecorated prothorax and the vertically striped elytra are similar to other representations of the click beetle, but it is especially the interruption

³⁶Cairo Museum, JE 35706 / CG 53821-2: G.A. Reisner, *The Early Dynastic Cemeteries of Naqa-ed-Dêr* (Leipzig, 1908), 31, 143, pls. vi.1, ix.a; E. Vernier, *Bijoux et orfèvreries* (Cairo, 1927), 509–10, CG 53821–2; Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 153–6, pl. iii.1,a–c; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, I. *Les époques de formation* (Paris, 1952), 816, fig. 546; A. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1971), 15, fig. 5 (Neith symbol incorrectly drawn); el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith II*, 226–7 doc. 75; C. Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1990), 175–6.

³⁷Vandier, *Manuel I*, 399.

³⁸Ibid. 814 n. 2.

³⁹Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 166–8.

⁴⁰Cairo Museum JE 31769: S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1930–1931* (Cairo, 1936), pl. lii; Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 147–50, pl. i; C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs* (London, 1971), 176, pl. v; Wilkinson, *AE Jewellery*, 26–7, fig. 17.

⁴¹One from the Step Pyramid, gallery VII: R. Macramallah, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 29, pl. ii.1; the other from the archaic cemetery north-west of the Serapeum, grave 36: Macramallah, *Un cimetière archaïque de la classe moyenne du peuple à Saqqarah* (Cairo, 1940), 20, pl. xlii.

⁴²Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 161–2; Kritsky, *KMT* 4/1, 35.

⁴³Cairo Museum, JE 64872: J.-P. Lauer, *ASAE* 34 (1934), 58–9, fig. 1; J.E. Quibell, *ASAE* 34 (1934), 72, pl. iv; C.M. Firth and J.E. Quibell, *The Step Pyramid* (Cairo, 1935), I, 135, and II, pl. civ; Lauer, *Saqqara* (London, 1976), pl. 104; el-Khouli, *Egyptian Stone Vessels*, 326, no. 2240; M. Saleh and H. Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke aus dem Ägyptischen Museum, Kairo* (Mainz am Rhein, 1986), no. 19.

⁴⁴Firth and Quibell, *loc. cit. supra*, identify the insect as *Steraspis squamosa Klug*. (cf. Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 161–2). Lauer, *Saqqara*, pl. 104 caption, and Saleh and Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke*, consider it to be *Scarabaeus sacer*. The latter identification seems most unlikely since scarabs occur only from the end of the Old Kingdom on: see W.A. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals*, I. *Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets* (Warminster, 1978), 15–19.

in the line between the prothorax and the elytra, reflecting the round mesoscutellum, which is very characteristic in the representation of *Agrypnus notodonta* and therefore leaves hardly any doubt as to its identification.

As for early representations of the bilobate Neith symbol itself, they occur most frequently on cylinder seals,⁴⁵ but the lack of recognizable details on these means that they cannot provide evidence for the present study. The Neith emblems on the ruined, so-called second armchair of Hetepheres of the Fourth Dynasty are the most detailed extant representations (fig. 8).⁴⁶ Their vertical stripes in particular give them a close resemblance to the emblem on the palette in Brussels.

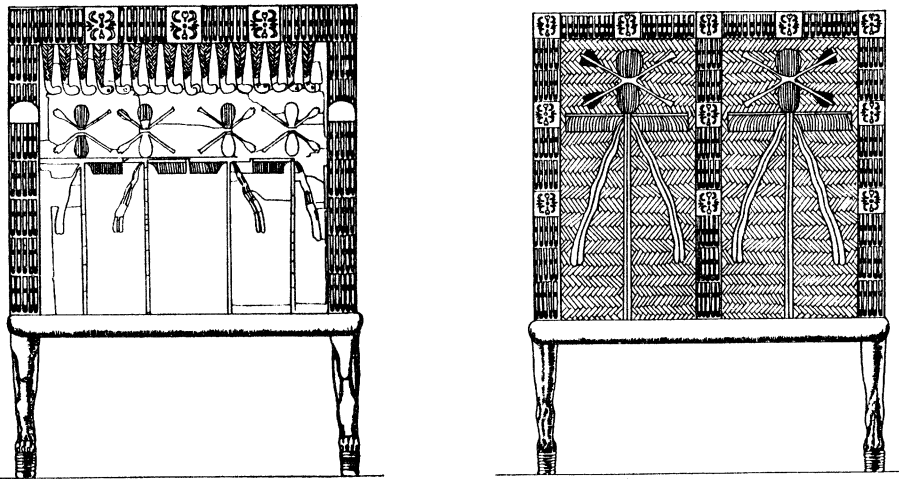


FIG. 8. Chair of Hetepheres. (After Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis II*, fig. 32.)

The cult-sign of Neith: previous research

Although Neith is one of the most important divinities throughout Egyptian history, her popularity may never have been greater than it was during the Protodynastic Period. Among theophorous names of that time, those constructed with the name of Neith are by far the most common.⁴⁷ Although their reading as real theophorous names has been questioned,⁴⁸ the importance of Neith is uncontested, and is additionally confirmed by the royal names of the First Dynasty: three out of eight attested queens had names

⁴⁵ El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith II*, 209–25 docs. 1–72.

⁴⁶ Cairo Museum: G.A. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis, II. The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), 19, 29–31, fig. 32, pls. xxi.a, xxii.c-d; W.S. Smith, *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom* (Boston, 1946), 148, fig. 58; H.S. Baker, *Furniture in the Ancient World: Origins and Evolution 3100–475 B.C.* (London, 1966), 42–3, fig. 30; el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith II*, 266, doc. 191.

⁴⁷ E. Endesfelder, 'Die Formierung der altägyptischen Klassengesellschaft. Probleme und Beobachtungen', in Endesfelder (ed.), *Probleme der frühen Gesellschaftsentwicklung im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1991), table 5.

⁴⁸ W. Helck, *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 28.

referring to Neith.⁴⁹ Among them are the two best-known early dynastic queens, Hetep-Neith and Mer-Neith, both of whom became reigning monarchs after the deaths of their respective husbands.⁵⁰

Despite extensive studies on the iconography of Neith,⁵¹ her bilobate cult-sign has remained a subject of discussion, the main problem being the identification of the enigmatic bilobate object. After the Old Kingdom it no longer occurs, but the Neith emblem becomes an oval with two superimposed crossed arrows. This oval emblem has been considered to be a kind of small shield,⁵² a view which is still supported by many scholars up to the present day.⁵³ The object was also thought to be a skin, either perforated by arrows or with arrows attached to it,⁵⁴ two wrapped or tied bows,⁵⁵ a target,⁵⁶ or a distaff.⁵⁷

The idea that the object is a shield is most probably only the result of the identification of Neith with Athena, an assimilation explicitly stated by Herodotus and other classical authors, although they make no mention of the shield.⁵⁸ The shield is of course an important attribute of Athena, but to my knowledge there is not a single representation of Neith holding a shield. On the other hand, she is often represented holding a bow and two arrows, and using these weapons precludes the holding of a shield at the same time. Already during the First Dynasty, the shield was used in combination with the mace, as can be seen in the writing of the name of Hor Aha (fig. 9). The Egyptian archers shown in scenes of warfare on the walls of New Kingdom temples normally do not have a shield with them. The models of soldiers from the Middle Kingdom tomb of Mesehti show javelin fighters with shields but archers without.⁵⁹ It is obvious that fighting with a bow excluded the use of a shield. The religious texts—for example, in the temple of

⁴⁹W. Seipel, *Untersuchungen zu den Ägyptischen Königinnen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (Hamburg, 1980), 5–67.

⁵⁰Ibid. 8–45; P.H. Schulze, *Die Schöne im Morgenlicht. Die Frau in der Ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Bergisch Gladbach, 1985).

⁵¹D. Mallet, *Le culte de Neit à Saïs* (Paris, 1888); el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith*.

⁵²Mallet, *Le culte de Neit*, 178; P.E. Newberry, *PSBA* 28 (1906), 71; id., *Ancient Egypt* 1914, pt. 1, 7–8; H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1926), 183; Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 151–3.

⁵³E. Hornung, trans. J. Baines, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and the Many* (Ithaca, NY, 1982), 280; el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* I, 13; R. Schlichting, *LÄ* IV, 392–4; Hollis, *KMT* 5/4, 46–7.

⁵⁴F.W. von Bissing, *Untersuchungen zu den Reliefs aus dem Re-Heiligtum des Rathures* (München, 1922), 12*, note 87. This identification is to be explained by the search for totemism, a popular concept at that time for explaining the original character of Egyptian religion. However, no details which would support this identification can be seen on any of the representations of the bilobate object.

⁵⁵B.B. Williams, 'An Early Pottery Jar with Incised Decoration from Egypt', in A. Leonard and B.B. Williams (eds), *Essays in Ancient Civilization presented to H.J. Kantor* (SAOC 47; Chicago, 1989), 311–12. Cf. *infra*.

⁵⁶Helck, *ZÄS* 79, 28, suggests this interpretation only tentatively. Obviously a bilobate shape is not at all suitable as a target, and the suggestion is not corroborated by the well-known New Kingdom representations where copper ingots of a shape vaguely similar to our bilobate object are used as archery targets (W. Decker, *Sport und Spiel im Alten Ägypten* (München, 1987), 42–54; W. Decker and M. Herb, *Bildatlas zum Sport im Alten Ägypten* (Handbuch der Orientalistik I,14; Leiden, 1994), 139–50). Not only is it highly questionable whether copper ingots were ever really used as targets (Decker, *op. cit.* 54; Decker and Herb, *op. cit.* 140–1), but also copper ingots of this particular shape are known only from the New Kingdom onwards and are therefore not relevant for early dynastic times. Also, from the Old Kingdom on, there is evidence to suppose that wooden poles were the real targets for archery: H. Goedicke, *Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht* (New York, 1971), 139–40; Decker, *op. cit.* 42, 48; Decker and Herb, *op. cit.* 140, n. 6.

⁵⁷Petrie, *Royal Tombs* I, 26. This identification is derived from Neith's connection with cloth-making. However, the shape of the object shows no close resemblance to a distaff.

⁵⁸El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 665–74 docs. 1095–1115, cf. also Mallet, *Le culte de Neit*, 237–44.

⁵⁹Saleh and Sourouzian, *Die Hauptwerke*, nos. 72–3.

Esna where the largest number of texts relating to Neith can be found—never mention a shield in relation to the goddess, although the bow and arrows are regularly referred to.⁶⁰ Furthermore, during the Middle and New Kingdoms, the shape of the emblem of Neith does not correspond to that of shields in contemporary use. The emblem is oval, or rectangular with rounded corners, while the shields are pointed or rounded at the top and have right-angled corners at the bottom.

Shields have not been found among the archaeological remains of the Predynastic or Protodynastic Periods, if one excludes Keimer's suggestion that a turtle shell found in an early dynastic tomb at Helwan had been used as a shield.⁶¹ The earliest representation of a shield, dating to Naqada IIc, is to be found in the wall-painting from tomb 100 at Hierakonpolis, where a man is shown holding what is clearly an animal skin, probably mounted on some kind of frame. The objects shown on the backs of a number of the hunters represented on the late predynastic 'Hunters' Palette' have been identified by several authors as oval shields,⁶² but although this suggestion has been widely accepted,⁶³ it is highly questionable and has been challenged.⁶⁴ Not only is the use of shields exceptional for hunters, but also shields of this shape are completely unknown from other Egyptian documents.⁶⁵ Petrie—possibly correctly—considered the objects to be bags.⁶⁶ The ovals are broader at the base and some of them have a slightly bilobate shape, which cannot however be mistaken for the symbol of Neith, but corresponds well to the shape of closed bags. The striated decoration around them was taken by Keimer to indicate that they are turtle shells, but more probably it represents stitched decoration as might be found on bags. For the Protodynastic Period, the shape of shield used in writing the name of Hor Aha (fig. 9) is already of the type which later becomes 'classic' for Egyptian warfare.

For all these reasons, it seems that a shield was never among the attributes or symbols of Neith. Thus the identification of the bilobate object as a shield should be considered as a relatively recent result of the identification of Neith with Athena.

The click beetle as emblem

The fragments of the decorated plate in Brussels (pl. III, 1; fig. 1) were discussed in 1931 by Keimer, who confidently identified the beetle represented thereon as *Agrypnus notodonta* Latr., the click beetle.⁶⁷ In the context of the Nile valley it was first described by Cailliaud under the name *Taupin notodonte*, *Elater notodonta*.⁶⁸ The most striking

⁶⁰ El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 615–63 docs. 998–1094.

⁶¹ Keimer, *BIE* 32 (1950), 94 n.3.

⁶² W. Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres* (Leipzig, 1926), 18, thinks that the shields consist of animal skin mounted on a wooden frame, while Keimer, *BIE* 32, 76–94, identifies the oval objects as carapaces of the Nile turtle.

⁶³ E.g. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* I, 576; Ciałowicz, *Les têtes de massues des périodes prédynastique et archaïque dans la vallée du Nil* (Warsaw, 1987), 59.

⁶⁴ E.g. Bonnet, *Die Waffen*, 184 n.9.

⁶⁵ Wolf, *Die Bewaffnung*, 18.

⁶⁶ Petrie, *Ceremonial Slate Palettes* (London, 1953), 12.

⁶⁷ Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 150.

⁶⁸ F. Cailliaud, *Voyage à Méroé et au Fleuve Blanc*, II (Paris, 1823) pl. Iviii.6, and IV (Paris, 1827), 275–6.



FIG. 9. *Serekh* of Hor Aha. (After Emery, *Hor-Aha* (Cairo, 1939), fig. 15.)



FIG. 10. Chicago OIM 10542. (After Williams, in *Essays... Kantor*, fig. 41; courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.)

characteristic of the click beetle is its ability when lying on its back to ‘jump’ onto its feet. The action has been described as follows:

The insect first arches its back between the prothorax and the mesothorax, so that it is supported anteriorly by the prothorax and posteriorly by the elytra with the middle of the body off the ground. Then it contracts the ventral muscles which would tend to straighten the body, but a stout process on the prosternum catches on the edge of a cavity in the mesosternum so that the muscle contraction is isometric. The muscles consequently develop a considerable tension until suddenly the prosternal process slips into the cavity. As a result the prothorax straightens with respect to the mesothorax, the middle of the back strikes the ground and the insect is jerked into the air, tending to right itself so that it lands on its feet.⁶⁹

The sudden straightening of the insect produces a clicking sound, which accounts for its popular name. The click beetle is very common in Egypt, both in the valley and in the oases.⁷⁰ Apparently it prefers the neighbourhood of water; in the bygone days of the annual Nile inundation, it used to be observed jumping to stay out of reach of the rising floodwaters of the river.⁷¹

Keimer also discussed the palette, the second document presented here (pl. III, 2 and fig. 5), and noted the resemblance between the shape of the two opposed insects and the symbol of Neith,⁷² but did not suggest that the latter might represent beetles.⁷³ This identification was explicitly made by W.S. Smith,⁷⁴ however, and defended by Montet.⁷⁵ None the less, this interpretation has never been generally accepted, and nearly all

⁶⁹R.F. Chapman, *The Insects. Structure and Function* (London, 1969), 154.

⁷⁰E.F. Germer, *Zeitschrift für die Entomologie* 2 (1840), 253; H. du Buysson, *Bulletin de la Société Entomologique de l'Égypte* 3 (1910), 134–6, and 4 (1911), 17–18.

⁷¹I have been unable to find detailed information regarding the biotope and the way of life of the insect, which is, however, a plant eater when fully grown. Cf. Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 150; el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* I, 23–4. There are about 7000 species of *Elaterridae* (click beetles); many of them have never been described in detail.

⁷²Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 151–2.

⁷³For the contrary view, see Hollis, *KMT* 5/4, 48–9.

⁷⁴*HESPOK*, 148.

⁷⁵*Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*, I. *La Basse Égypte* (Paris, 1957), 75–6.

authors have maintained the identification of the symbol as a shield, although several have expressed reservations about it.⁷⁶

In his recent extensive study of Neith, R. el-Sayed considered the enigmatic image to be a shield with a shape resembling that of two confronted click beetles. Because of this similarity in shape, he suggested that there may have been a synthesis of the two symbols, thus implying that both originally existed independently.⁷⁷ Writing more recently, G. Kritsky seems to share this view: he takes the identification of the Neith symbol with the elaterid beetles for granted, but apparently considers the shield to be the original symbol of Neith, with which the elaterid beetle was associated because of the similarity in shape between Egyptian shields and the prothorax of the beetle.⁷⁸ However, this is quite illogical, since the shape of the prothorax of *Agrypnus notodonta* hardly differs from that of other beetles, and is certainly not the insect's most remarkable characteristic, which is undoubtedly its ability to 'jump', as described above; and the bilobate object as a whole could not serve as a symbol for a shield, since there is no visual resemblance to the known shape of pharaonic Egyptian shields.

Finally, in his discussion of the scene incised on a Naqada I(?) vessel, B. Williams has suggested that it includes the oldest known example of the bilobate Neith symbol,⁷⁹ which he interprets as two complex bows bound together (fig. 10). The motif of tied bows is a well-known symbol for Neith from the Protodynastic Period on, and is used in hieroglyphic script during the Old Kingdom (Gardiner Sign-list R 24). Nevertheless, this interpretation can be doubted for several reasons. Firstly, the sign on the vase in Chicago,⁸⁰ for which Williams gives several parallels,⁸¹ resembles neither the shape nor the orientation of the bilobate Neith symbol in a convincing way. Secondly, it is difficult to accept an interpretation as 'complex bound bows' for the sign discussed by Williams as well as the parallels he cites on decorated pottery. All of them clearly show four separate curves attached to each other or to a horizontal line. It would make more sense to consider these curves to be pairs of horns, for instance, of cattle.⁸² Finally, there are no obvious examples to be found on decorated predynastic pottery, or on other decorated objects of this date, of a combination of the bilobate object with crossed arrows;⁸³ this does not seem to occur until the Protodynastic Period. Although it is dangerous to project

⁷⁶ E.g. Bonnet, *Die Waffen*, 183; Asselberghs, *Chaos*, 166–7.

⁷⁷ *La déesse Neith* I, 23–4.

⁷⁸ *American Entomologist* 37 (1991), 86–7; *KMT* 4/1, 35–6.

⁷⁹ Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, OIM 10542; Williams, in Leonard and Williams, *Essays...Kantor*, 305–20.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 306 fig. 41.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 311–12 nn. 34–5. See also Newberry, 'List of Vases with Cult-Signs', *LAAA* 5 (1913), 137–42.

⁸² Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 19, pl. xxiii.5 nos. 7–8; Vandier, *Manuel* I, 340–1. The clearest drawn examples are Ashmolean Museum 1895.577 (J. Bourriau, *Umm el-Ga'ab. Pottery from the Nile Valley before the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge, 1981), 26 no. 31—illustration erroneously numbered 32; J. Crowfoot Payne, *Catalogue of the Predynastic Egyptian Collection in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1993), 107 no. 864, fig. 41); British Museum EA 53881 (Scharff, *JEA* 14 (1928), 263, pl. xxvi).

⁸³ Cf. Newberry, *LAAA* 5, 137–42; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, pl. xxiii.5. At first view a number of the signs on the prows of Naqada II boats shown in rock-drawings display similarities of shape: see e.g. H.A. Winkler, *Rock-Drawings of Southern Upper Egypt*, II (London, 1939), pl. xv.1, el-Hôsh, site 35, drawing M 475 bis 11; although one of the arrows is 'missing', and the parts of the bilobate object are different in size, it has been interpreted as the cult-sign of Neith (G. Sée, *Naissance de l'urbanisme dans la vallée du Nil* (Ivry, 1973), 28). However, the similarity in shape is only coincidental, since in reality what is represented is the heads of horned animals: M.A. Berger, 'Predynastic Animal-headed Boats from Hierakonpolis and Southern Egypt', in Friedman and Adams (eds), *The Followers of Horus*, 107–20.

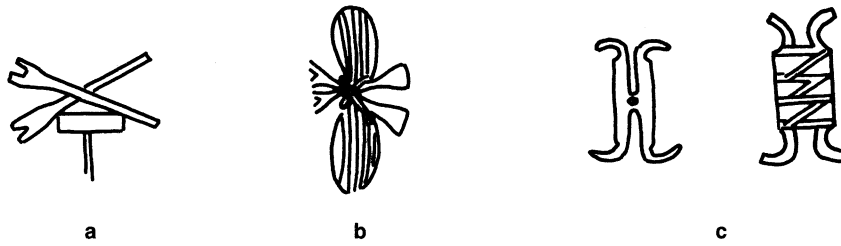


FIG. 11. The different symbols of Neith, Protodynastic Period—Old Kingdom. (a) After F.W. von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re* II, 7 no. 17. (b) Brussels E.6261. (c) After W.B. Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty* III, pl. 39; H. Wild, *Le tombeau de Ti, 3. La chapelle, 2e partie* (Cairo, 1966), pl. clxiv.

pharaonic images into prehistory,⁸⁴ it may be suggested that the main reason to doubt Williams's interpretation is that he does not distinguish two different Neith symbols, but considers the bilobate object and the tied bows to be identical, despite the fact that they can be clearly distinguished already during early dynastic times (fig. 11).⁸⁵ Furthermore, the two objects, clearly distinct, may occur in the same context during the Old Kingdom.⁸⁶

Conclusions

It is evident that we can distinguish three different objects, all of them related to Neith, which can be used as her cult-sign (fig. 11). Insofar as we can tell from the available information, it seems that they did not come into use at the same time. The oldest symbol may have been the crossed arrows, if we accept that the standards with emblems of that shape featured on decorated pottery of the Naqada II period⁸⁷ are the direct predecessors of similar Old Kingdom standards, which are certainly connected with Neith. The bilobate object is attested from the very beginning of the First Dynasty (Horus Aha), but always in combination with the crossed arrows. The earliest examples of the third cult-sign, the tied pair of bows, date to the end of the First Dynasty.⁸⁸

The bilobate object and the crossed arrows are apparently combined from their earliest attestations. The two tied bows, on the other hand, are attested in combination with the crossed arrows only from the Old Kingdom on.⁸⁹ Finally, the two bows are never found in combination with the bilobate object. Since there is also some resemblance in shape

⁸⁴ Cf. Davis, *Masking the Blow*, 27–37.

⁸⁵ Cf. el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* I, 13.

⁸⁶ Von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re*, II. *Die Kleine Festdarstellung* (Berlin, 1923), 7 no. 17; S. Schott, 'Ein Kult der Göttin Neith', in H. Ricke (ed.), *Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde*. Heft 8. *Das Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Userkaf*, II (Wiesbaden, 1969), 131 fig. 17.

⁸⁷ Newberry, *LAAA* 5, 137–42; Petrie, *Prehistoric Egypt*, 18; Keimer, *ASAE* 31 (1931), 151–2. For an example on a decorated ostrich egg (Berlin 22.393), see A. Scharff, *Die Altertümer der Vor- und Frühzeit Ägyptens*, II (Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung 5; Berlin, 1929), 85.

⁸⁸ Setting aside the identifications proposed by Williams (above, n. 79), the earliest examples can be found on the stela of Merka, dating to the reign of Qa-a (Emery, *Great Tombs of the First Dynasty*, III (London, 1958), pl. xxxix) and a jar from Abousir (Bonnet, *Ein Frühgeschichtliches Gräberfeld bei Abusir* (Leipzig, 1928), 19, fig. 12 no. 104; el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 228 doc. 78).

⁸⁹ El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* I, 13; II, 242 doc. 125.

between the bows and the bilobate object, one could suggest that they are identical, i.e. that the bilobate object represents wrapped bows. However, although some confusion between the bilobate symbol and the wrapped bows may well have occurred from, say, the end of the Old Kingdom onwards, a distinction between the two symbols seems clear in their earliest representations.

With the newly-discovered Abydos fragment of the decorated plate in Brussels, the identification of the bilobate object as the image of two click beetles seems highly likely, although it cannot be said for certain whether the crossed arrows reflect the pattern of the insect's legs when combined with the bilobate object in the emblem of Neith.

The image of the click beetle certainly had protective value, as can be observed for the golden capsule from Naga ed-Deir, with the beetle shape protecting its contents, and the necklace from Giza, which would have protected its owner (see p. 33). This prophylactic aspect is probably also valid for the click beetle above the *heb-sed* pavilion on the stone vase from Saqqara (above, p. 33). The protective character of the goddess Neith, which is well documented during pharaonic times, is also illustrated by the large number of theophorous names during the Protodynastic Period and by the use of the bilobate emblem of Neith on such objects as the armchair of Hetepheres.

That the click beetle was not only a symbol of Neith, but could also be used as an emblematic personification of the goddess, is suggested both by the human arms holding *was*-sceptres on the decorated plate in Brussels and by the fact that the bilobate object, i.e. the image of two click beetles, was placed on the standard of the nome of Sais.

While the bow and arrows were used as cult signs of Neith until the Graeco-Roman Period, the bilobate object lost its original shape (fig. 12). During the Fifth Dynasty, this shape was still used in the funerary temple of Sahure and the sun temple of Neuserre (fig. 12c),⁹⁰ although the vertical stripes, which are still present on Fourth Dynasty examples (fig. 12b), had already disappeared.⁹¹ During the Middle Kingdom, the only reflection of the bilobate object is in the general shape of the emblem, which shows a slight constriction in a slender, nearly oval form (fig. 12d).⁹² During the New Kingdom, this shape evolves from a slender oval during the reign of Hatshepsut (fig. 12e),⁹³ into a broader oval during the later Eighteenth Dynasty and the Nineteenth (fig. 12f).⁹⁴ Thus, contrary to the generally accepted opinion, explicitly stated by Montet, there is no resemblance to the shape of an Egyptian shield.⁹⁵ The same broad oval, or almost rectangular shape with rounded corners, is also attested in the Late Period.

⁹⁰ Ibid. II, 261–3 docs. 181–2, 184, with further references.

⁹¹ Besides those on the armchair of Hetepheres (cf. note 46), this can also be seen in the tomb of Meten (el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 252 doc. 154, with further references).

⁹² El-Sayed, *ibid.*, 284–5 doc. 225, with further references. See especially P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostri I à Karnak* (Cairo, 2 vols., 1956–1969), 230 (653), 233 (664), pl. 42; Montet, *Géographie* I, 77, fig. 13.

⁹³ El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 338 doc. 314, with further references; see especially E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, II. *The Ebony Shrine. Northern Half of the Middle Platform* (London, 1897), pl. liii.

⁹⁴ E.g. in the temples of Luxor and Medinet Habu; cf. el-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* II, 338–40 doc. 315.

⁹⁵ Montet, *Géographie* I, 75–6; the illustration, after A. Mariette, *Abydos. Description des fouilles*, I. *Ville antique. Temple de Sêti* (Paris, 1869), pl. xv.105, is incorrect: cf. A.H. Gardiner (ed.), *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, IV. *The Second Hypostyle Hall* (London, 1958), pl. xi.d. As for the examples from Late Period temples such as Edfu, which are quoted by Montet, these temples are not published in facsimile, but by means of the standardized printing types of the IFAO. In any case, the representations in Graeco-Roman temples are of no importance for this discussion, since by that time the identification of Neith with Athena was established and may have caused the original oval object to be represented as a shield.

As may be supposed from the evolution of its shape, the significance of the bilobate object had most probably been lost even before the end of the Old Kingdom. This is confirmed by the fact that no representation of *Agrypnus notodonta* is known later than the Fourth Dynasty. A detailed examination of the significance of the later, oval images, derived from the bilobate shape, falls beyond the scope of the present paper.

Finally, the question remains as to why the click beetle was associated with Neith. Keimer regretted that the problem seemed insoluble.⁹⁶ Kritsky's suggestion based on a putative resemblance between the prothorax of the beetle and the shape of an Egyptian shield has been discussed above (p. 16). Most recently, Hollis has stated that the click beetle produces offspring through autogenesis, which might have been considered by the Egyptians to represent the concept of self-regeneration.⁹⁷ However, no entomological confirmation for this statement is forthcoming,⁹⁸ and even if it were true, it seems highly unlikely that the phenomenon could have been recognized by the ancient Egyptians.

Kaplony considered that her status as a *Fluttgöttin* was one of the original aspects of Neith,⁹⁹ and el-Sayed also accepted that water, and more precisely the Nile inundation,

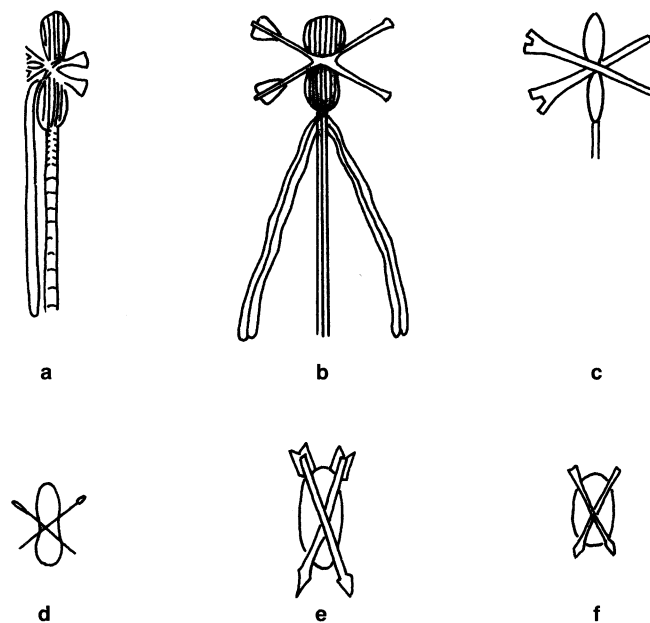


FIG. 12. Evolution of the bilobate symbol of Neith. (a) Protodynastic: Brussels E.6261. (b) Old Kingdom, Fourth Dynasty (after Reisner, *History of the Giza Necropolis* II, fig. 32). (c) Old Kingdom, Fifth Dynasty (after Von Bissing, *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-woser-re* II, 7 no. 17). (d) Middle Kingdom, Twelfth Dynasty (after Lacau and Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sesostri I*, pl. 42). (e) New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty (after Naville, *Deir el Bahari* II, pl. liii). (f) New Kingdom, Nineteenth Dynasty (after Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos* IV, pl. 11.d).

⁹⁶Keimer, *ASAE* 31, 173.

⁹⁷*KMT* 5/4, 49.

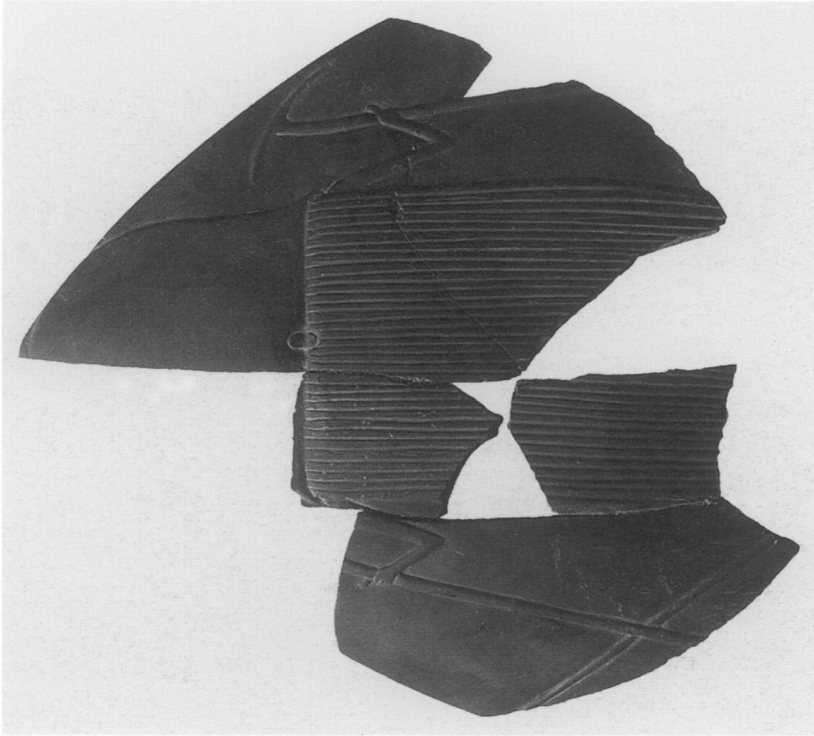
⁹⁸It is not confirmed by the reference to *Encyclopaedia Britannica Macropaedia*, XXI (1988), 651–9, given by Hollis, *KMT* 5/4, 84 n. 7.

⁹⁹Kaplony, *MIO* 11 (1966), 150–1 n. 69.

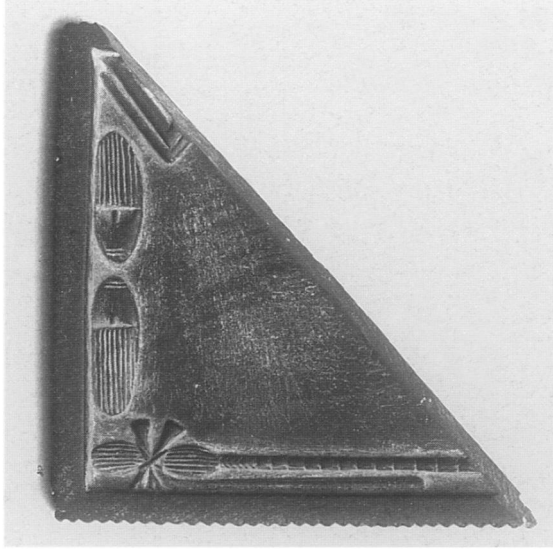
constituted the link between Neith and the click beetle.¹⁰⁰ This seems indeed to be supported by the insect's manner of jumping to stay clear of the Nile floodwater, a remarkable habit which could not have escaped the ancient Egyptians' notice. However, this would need entomological confirmation.

One might also look for a possible connection between the insect's abrupt jump and the springing or shooting of Neith's bow, and an ultimate association might be sought between the bilobate cult-sign and that with the double bows. First of all, there is the fact that the bilobate object is always combined with the crossed arrows. Furthermore, it cannot be denied that there is a certain resemblance in shape between the two images, and if the bilobate object indeed had a conceptual connection with shooting, both objects could reflect a common idea, even though their original significance was different; but these are highly speculative ideas which the discovery of further images of the cult-sign of Neith might resolve.

¹⁰⁰El-Sayed, *La déesse Neith* I, 23–4.



1. Fragmentary plate decorated in relief: Brussels E. 578, etc.



2. Fragmentary palette: Brussels E. 6261

TWO PROTODYNAMISTIC OBJECTS IN BRUSSELS (pp. 23-42)

THE LENGTH OF SNEFERU'S REIGN AND HOW LONG IT TOOK TO BUILD THE 'RED PYRAMID'*

By ROLF KRAUSS

Statistical analysis of dated documents from Sneferu's reign implies that the cattle count took place more often annually than biennially. Thus the 'twenty-fourth occasion of the (cattle) count', which is the highest date yet known for Sneferu and which exceeds the 24 years allotted him in the Turin Canon, cannot be equivalent to 45 regnal years but rather to about 30. On the basis of the dates preserved on blocks from the king's Red Pyramid, a model can be constructed to demonstrate that about eleven years were required for its construction. This period accords well with a reign of about 30 years.

THANKS to R. Stadelmann we now know that the 24 years assigned to Sneferu in the Turin Canon, long considered correct, are not compatible with the dates documented from his reign, which must have been longer.¹ Stadelmann bases his conclusion that Sneferu must have ruled for about 45 years on an analysis of dated building inscriptions recorded during the German Archaeological Institute's excavations at Dahshur, and on an estimate of the length of time required to build the king's pyramids (in particular the so-called Red Pyramid, the northern pyramid at Dahshur). Before considering these new arguments, I review the available sources for determining the length of Sneferu's reign.

The latest source for the duration of the reign of Soris < *Snfrw*² < *Snfr-wj*³ is the Manethonian tradition as preserved in the version of Africanus, which ascribes 29 years to him.⁴ In view of the corrupt condition of the Manethonian tradition, it would be a surprising—if not impossible—coincidence should Africanus' 29 years actually preserve the correct length of Sneferu's reign, while disregarding the months in the incomplete years of the king's accession and death.⁵

The Turin Canon, which was copied from a lost original under Ramesses II, gives Sneferu only 24 years.⁶ In principle, the Turin Canon should be more reliable than the

*This article is one of three studies on the length of time needed to build a pyramid. The others are 'Zur Berechnung der Bauzeit an der Roten Pyramide von Snofru', accepted for publication in *ZÄS*, and 'Chronologie und Pyramidenbau in der 4. Dynastie', to appear in *Orientalia*.

¹Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alten Reiches. Die Länge der Regierung des Snofru', *MDAIK* 43 (1986), 229–40.

²For this form of the name, see W. Vycichl, 'Wie hiess der König Snofru wirklich?', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 35 (1960), 123–7, and J. Černý, 'The True Form of the Name of King Snofru', *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 38 (1963), 89–92.

³J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20; Munich, 1984), 52; E. Graefe, 'Die gute Reputation des Königs Snofru', in S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), I, 260–1.

⁴W. G. Waddell, *Manetho* (London, 1956), 45–9. The length of the reign is not preserved in Eusebius' version.

⁵As suggested by W. Barta, 'Die Chronologie der 1. bis 5. Dynastie nach den Angaben des rekonstruierten Annalensteins', *ZÄS* 108 (1981), 21.

⁶A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959), col. III, 9.

Manethonian tradition, since it is closer in time to Sneferu. But it still postdates him by more than a millennium. It is quite possible that the Turin Canon does not give the correct number of regnal years. One reason for doubting its reliability for Sneferu's reign in particular is that the same number of regnal years (namely 24) is allotted to both Sneferu and his predecessor Huni.⁷ Perhaps Sneferu's 24 years in the Turin Canon are the result of the scribe's mistakenly repeating the entry from the preceding reign.⁸

There remains the possibility that the 24 years given Sneferu in the Turin Canon is in error for 34.⁹ A reign of 34 years could just be reconciled with the surviving contemporaneous dates discussed below.

The Palermo Stone fragment of the annals¹⁰ (hereafter P) documents that the seventh and eighth occasions of the (cattle) count during Sneferu's reign followed in successive years, without an intervening year. The compartment before the one which cites the seventh occasion documents an intervening year which itself presumably followed the sixth occasion.

Cairo fragment 1 (C1) does not preserve any of Sneferu's reign, but Cairo fragment 4 (C4) records the second occasion of the count. Because the other compartments of C4 are so damaged, it cannot be determined whether years of an 'occasion' or intervening years were entered. But on the evidence of P, it is clear that Sneferu did not order a cattle count every second year. Thus a date recording 'year of the nth count' cannot be readily converted into a specific year of this king's reign.¹¹

The compartments for Sneferu on P were inscribed in Dynasty IV¹² or in Dynasty V (reign of Neferirkare or Neuserre?)¹³ or, at the very latest, at the beginning of Dynasty VI;¹⁴ it is thus no more than 200–300 years later than Sneferu and should be more dependable than the Turin Canon. However, W. Helck voiced the suspicion that P and the related Cairo fragments were a work of the Late Period.¹⁵ Even if in that case the annals relied upon an authentic 'original', the long interval between the Old Kingdom (Dynasty VI?) and the Late Period would have a negative effect on the reliability of the text. H. G. Fischer countered Helck's suggestion by noting that the text and palaeography

⁷Note, however, that W. Kaiser, 'Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit. II', *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 48–9, allowed Huni only eight compartments in his reconstruction of the Palermo Stone and remarked upon the meagreness of the archaeological evidence for his reign. But cf. G. Dreyer, 'Drei archaisch-hieratische Gefäßaufschriften mit Jahresnamen aus Elephantine', in J. Osing und G. Dreyer (eds), *Form und Mass, Beiträge zur Literatur, Sprache und Kunst des alten Ägypten* (Fs Fecht; Wiesbaden, 1987), 103 who suggests Huni may have reigned as many as 22 years.

⁸So Barta, *ZÄS* 108, 21.

⁹As was pointed out by an anonymous referee of this article.

¹⁰H. Schäfer, *Ein Bruchstück altägyptischer Annalen* (Berlin, 1902).

¹¹Initially Stadelmann ('Snofru und die Pyramiden von Dahschur', *MDAIK* 36 (1980), 440) assumed that the absence of an intervening year between the seventh and eighth occasions of the count on P resulted from an error made when the data was compiled. Subsequently (*MDAIK* 43, 236) he opted for interpreting the direct proximity of the seventh and eighth occasions as a unique exception to an otherwise regular biennial census.

¹²E. V. Tcherezov, 'Drevnejsaja letopis "Palernskij kamen" i dokumenty drevnego zarstva Egipta', in *Akademiya Nauk SSSR, Drevni Egipet* (Moscow, 1960), 261–71, presumed that the recto of P was inscribed during Dynasty IV.

¹³So A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 63.

¹⁴J. Vercoutter, *L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil, I: Des origines à la fin de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris, 1992), 76.

¹⁵'Zwei Einzelprobleme der thinitischen Chronologie', *MDAIK* 26 (1970), 83–5.

of P and the associated fragments do not display any anachronisms such as would be expected in a Late Period copy of an older document.¹⁶

W. Kaiser's reconstruction of the annals provided the basis for the following discussion.¹⁷ In my estimation, the methodology on which it is based is the most stringent used in any reconstruction proposed to date, and his conclusions are the most plausible in historical terms. Kaiser assigned a total of 31 compartments to Sneferu's reign in line VI on P and on C1. If a suggestion of W. Barta is followed, these 31 compartments could be understood as 29 full and two incomplete regnal years, which would correspond to the 29 full regnal years allotted to Sneferu by Africanus.¹⁸

While Kaiser's reconstruction would limit Sneferu's reign to line VI of P and to C1, Helck assigned to him some compartments in line VII as well.¹⁹ Helck's hypothesis was based on the following premisses: (a) all the fragments, including C4 in particular, derive from a single monument; (b) C4 belongs at the right edge of the stone; (c) line VI comprised only compartments belonging to Sneferu. Helck noted that in line 2 of C4, a fourth occasion of the running of the Apis bull is recorded, while in line 1 above, the earliest compartments belonging to Sneferu were inscribed.²⁰ He reasoned that if the fourth occasion of the running of the Apis in the second line of C4 were assigned to Cheops, it would have occurred in the first years of his reign. But this is unlikely, since the running of the Apis did not occur frequently or regularly, as is shown by other entries on the recto of P.²¹ The first occasion of the running of Apis under Den occurred later than his twentieth regnal year (P III 12), while under Ninetjer the first occasion was in Year $x + 4$ (P IV 4) and the second in Year $x + 10$ (P IV 10).²² Helck reasonably concluded that a fourth running of the Apis should have occurred towards the end of a lengthy reign. His assignment of the compartments on C4 is thus plausible.

¹⁶In H. G. Fischer and R. A. Caminos, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography* (New York, 1976), 48. Note, however, that Fischer did not comment on the unique mention of a *jt* festival. Without explanation or comment, A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris, 1982), §§22, 24 (= *Urk.* I, 240–1) rendered the phrase *hꜛb jt*, 'fête du quart lunaire', while M. Clagett, *Ancient Egyptian Science*, I (Philadelphia, 1989), 88 translated 'festival of *jt*'. Probably the *dnjt*-festival (name of the day of both the first and last quarter) is indeed meant, but the orthography is not that known for the Old Kingdom, according to *Wb.* V, 465.

¹⁷*ZÄS* 86, 42–54.

¹⁸*ZÄS* 108, 21.

¹⁹'Bemerkungen zum Annalenstein', *MDAIK* 30 (1974), 33.

²⁰Kaiser, *ZÄS* 86, 47 n. 5, did not consider the mention of a statue depicting Sneferu in the same compartment as the fourth running of the Apis to be decisive for assigning the compartment to the king, reasoning that Sneferu's successor could have commissioned the statue. Similarly, he also proposed (*ibid.* 46) that the statue of Khasekhemwy mentioned in line 5 of P was not made at the king's own order but commissioned by his successor, and this suggestion was followed by D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt*, I (MÄS 17; Berlin, 1969), 53, and by Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit* (ÄA 45; Wiesbaden, 1987), 166. The possibility that kings ordered statues of their predecessors cannot be ruled out, but it is surely more likely that the entries document the manufacture, dedication or erection of a statue of the current, living ruler, which seems to be true of other mentions of royal statues on the Palermo Stone; cf. M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Representations of Statuary in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (ÄA 39; Wiesbaden, 1984), 95–8.

²¹E. Otto, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stierkulte in Ägypten* (UGAA 13; Leipzig, 1938), 11–12.

²²Helck, 'Nilhöhe und Jubiläumsfest', *ZÄS* 93(1966), 76–7 (see also *Thinitenzeit*, 129, 166) proposed that there was a connection between a low Nile and the running of the Apis. If that were so, why was there no running of the Apis in that year of Den's reign (P III 12) when the Nile reached a height of only two cubits and one span? Why, moreover, did the running of the Apis not take place in a year of low Nile during Ninetjer's reign but rather in the following year? And why did it occur in Ninetjer's year $X + 4$ when the height of the Nile was normal? Helck's theory cannot be reconciled with the information provided by P.

However, Kaiser presumed that P and C1–3 belonged to a different monument from C4, since the composition of the latter included no separate register for the king's name as is found on P + C1–3. Furthermore, he noted that the thickness of C4 is different from that of P and C1–3.²³ Barta raised the same objections to Helck's assignment of all the fragments to a single monument.²⁴

Helck rejoined that the difference in thickness of the fragments was not significant, and he proposed a convincing suggestion to account for the absence of a special register for the royal name.²⁵ Be that as it may, there remains a seemingly conclusive argument against the assignment of C4 to the same monument as P and C1–3: C4 is not only thicker than the other fragments, but also the scale of the hieroglyphs and the height of the register for recording the height of the inundation are markedly different. Perhaps Helck was deceived by the photograph published by H. Gauthier, for it shows C4 at the same size as C2 and 3. If, however, the measurements given by Gauthier for C4 are compared to his photograph, it then becomes evident that the fragment has been reproduced at almost twice its actual size (1.8 times, to be precise), while C2 and 3 are shown actual size.²⁶ Thus it is probable that C4 indeed does not belong to the same monument as P + C1–3.²⁷

The compartments relating to Sneferu's reign may have been spread over two registers on C4, but this premise does not mandate the same layout for P and C1–3. The possibility cannot be ruled out, however, that the entries for Sneferu continued into register VII on the monument represented by P + C1–3. The reigns of Sneferu's successors are carried over from one register to the next, whereas those of his predecessors are not; a distribution of his compartments over two registers thus remains possible. But even if this were the case, it need not imply that Sneferu's reign comprised more than 31 regnal years, as Kaiser postulated for register VI alone. The width of the compartments in Kaiser's reconstruction could be increased, so that they would fill register VI and continue into VII. In other words, the layout of both presumed slabs could have been analogous or even identical in some features. Thus a suitably enlarged C4 could aid in reconstructing the composition of P + C1–3.²⁸

Until Stadelmann's discoveries at Dahshur, the seventeenth occasion of the (cattle) count was the highest contemporaneous date known for Sneferu's reign. It was preserved in construction graffiti at the Maidum pyramid,²⁹ which Sneferu surely completed and

²³ZÄS 86, 44 n. 2, 47 n. 5.

²⁴Barta, ZÄS 108, 22, also believed that C2 did not belong to the monument represented by P + C1 and 3. It can, however, be countered that the scale of the registers and hieroglyphs are the same on all four pieces.

I consider it possible that there was a separate register for the names of Cheops and his mother between lines VI and VII on the monument comprising P and C1–3. The absence of such an intervening register between VII and VIII could be accounted for by supposing that Cheops' reign not only continued into but also filled VIII.

²⁵MDAIK 30, 33.

²⁶Gauthier, 'Quatre nouveaux fragments de la Pierre de Palerme', in G. Maspero (ed.), *Le Musée égyptien*, III (Cairo, 1915), 50 with pl. xxxi. G. Daressy, 'La pierre de Palerme et la chronologie de l'Ancien Empire', *BIFAO* 12 (1916), 173, drew attention to the smaller scale of the signs on C4, calling them 'les signes plus petits'. Perhaps he considered it superfluous to cite this information and the height of the registers as arguments against C4 belonging to the same monument as the other fragments.



²⁷In the interests of completeness it should be mentioned that P. F. O'Mara, *The Palermo Stone and the Archaic Kings of Egypt* (La Canada, Calif., 1979), 129–30, doubted the authenticity of C4 (and C1–3 as well) but without arguing his case.

²⁸As was done by Helck for his reconstruction, *MDAIK* 30, 34.

²⁹W. M. F. Petrie, *Meydum and Memphis*, III (BSAE 18; London, 1910), 9, pl. v.

which he may well also have begun.³⁰ Building on earlier studies by K. Sethe³¹ and C. Maystre,³² W. S. Smith sought to reconcile this date with the information provided by the Turin Canon and the Palermo Stone.³³ He proposed that after the eighth occasion of the count, Sneferu mandated the cattle census yearly. If one further assumes that the first census occurred in the king's first regnal year, then the eighth occasion would have taken place in Year 18 and the seventeenth in Year 23.

Stadelmann's discovery of a loose backing stone³⁴ at the foot of Sneferu's Red Pyramid with a graffito bearing the date 'Year of the twenty-fourth occasion...*peret*' has however called the length of the reign into question once again.³⁵ The graffito's existence led Stadelmann to suggest reading a date recorded by G. Erbkam, a member of Lepsius' expedition, on another block from the Red Pyramid as 'Year of the twenty-fourth occasion, I *akhet*...' ³⁶ In the interim, a third graffito, at Maidum rather than Dahshur, has been added to these and would seem to document a twenty-third occasion of the count.³⁷ If the census were carried out biennially, these graffiti would imply a reign of 48 years for Sneferu. Be that as it may, the two examples of the twenty-fourth occasion identified by Stadelmann ensure that Sneferu's reign did not end immediately after the seventeenth occasion of the count and regnal year 23, as Smith proposed. And even if the census was taken yearly after the eighth occasion, as Smith suggested, the twenty-fourth occasion of the count would exceed by some seven years the reign recorded for Sneferu in the Turin Canon.

The other dates preserved from Sneferu's reign preclude the conclusion that the twenty-fourth occasion of the count be interpreted to document a reign of *c.* 48 years. Quite apart from the evidence of the Palermo Stone that shows Sneferu twice ordered a cattle count in successive years, there are other dates from the reign which imply annual cattle counts. Numerous building graffiti from the Maidum pyramid, recently assembled by P. Posener-Kriéger, document the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth occasions of the count and a census-free year following the last of those.³⁸ From these documents Posener-Kriéger concluded, as had Maystre and Smith before her: 'as it is rather unlikely that work was conducted on the royal pyramids only every two years, we have to accept, it seems to me and until proof to the contrary is produced, that it was only very rarely that a distinction was made between the years of {  and { '.³⁹ Most recently, A. Spalinger also came out against the assumption of a regular biennial cattle count during Sneferu's reign.⁴⁰

³⁰As argued by Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 36, 443–6; id., *Die ägyptischen Pyramiden* (Mainz, 1985), 80–2.

³¹*Beiträge zur ältesten Geschichte Ägyptens* (Leipzig, 1905), 83.

³²'Les dates des pyramides de Snefrou', *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 92.

³³'Inscriptional Evidence for the History of the Fourth Dynasty', *JNES* 11 (1952), 123–4.

³⁴For the definition of a backing stone, see Stadelmann, 'Die Pyramiden des Snofru in Dahschur. Zweiter Bericht über die Ausgrabungen an der nördlichen Steinpyramide', *MDAIK* 39 (1983), 234.

³⁵*MDAIK* 43, 239–40 with fig. 4.

³⁶*MDAIK* 43, 235 with fig. 3.

³⁷P. Posener-Kriéger, 'Graffiti on the Revetment Blocks of the Pyramid', in Ali el-Khouli et al., *Meidum* (The Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports 3; Sydney, 1991), 20 (A.42).

³⁸*Ibid.* 17–21.

³⁹*Ibid.* 19.

⁴⁰'Dated Texts of the Old Kingdom', *SAK* 21 (1994), 281–3, 316–19. Spalinger bases his reasoning on a broad sample of dates spanning the entire Old Kingdom.

There are building graffiti from the Red Pyramid that document the fifteenth and sixteenth occasions,⁴¹ but none referring to an intervening year, suggesting that there was none. Thus, there are one certain and three highly probable instances known from Sneferu's reign where successive years of the census were not separated by an intervening year, as opposed to two cases where a census-free year is documented between two occasions of the count. One can therefore posit that the 24 dates known for Sneferu, whether years of the count or intervening years, represent eight occasions of the count followed by an intervening year and sixteen counts that occurred in successive years, yielding a reign of about 32 rather than 48 regnal years for the king.

On the basis of this model, Sneferu's regnal year equivalent to the 'twenty-fourth occasion of the count' can be estimated in the same way as Smith proceeded in order to equate the seventeenth occasion with regnal year 23. However, the documented year intervening between the eighteenth and nineteenth occasions must also be taken into account, although the countervailing possibility cannot be ruled out that even before the seventh occasion the cattle count was once taken in two successive years. Depending upon whether or not a census was taken in the year of Sneferu's accession,⁴² the twenty-fourth occasion will be equivalent to a reign length of between 30 and 32 years.⁴³

Unless and until new evidence comes to light, it may be assumed that the twenty-fourth occasion of the count represents Sneferu's final regnal year. Does the information available about the building of Sneferu's Red Pyramid at Dahshur suit the proposed model for a 30–32-year reign?

Since both the graffiti documenting the twenty-fourth occasion occur on backing stones at the site, it is clear that work on the pyramid was continuing at that time. An inscription on the south-west cornerstone citing the year of the fifteenth occasion of the count places the beginning of work in that year. According to the calculation above, based on a modification of Smith's scheme, eleven years lay between these two fixed points. Are eleven years sufficient for the construction of the pyramid, if indeed it was completed before Sneferu's death?

Stadelmann has estimated that at least 15 and perhaps as many as 20–22 years were necessary to build the Red Pyramid; according to the modified scheme of Smith, this would imply a reign of at most 40 years for Sneferu.⁴⁴ But an exact calculation, presented in an abbreviated version here,⁴⁵ yields a period of construction of only 10 to 11 years. Three known building dates for the Red Pyramid provide the basis for this calculation:

- A. Year of the fifteenth occasion (month and day lost): south-west cornerstone;⁴⁶
- B. [Year of the] fifteenth [occasion], II *shemu* 14: backing stone on the east face of the pyramid, found at a height of 9 m, immediately above the twelfth course;⁴⁷

⁴¹ Three of them are considered *infra*, p. 49, with nn. 46–8; for the others, see my forthcoming article in *ZÄS* (n. 1, *supra*).

⁴² For consideration of this possibility, see Smith, *JNES* 11, 123.

⁴³ Barta's hypothesis (see n. 5 above) could be accommodated at the lower end of this estimate.

⁴⁴ *MDAIK* 43, 236–8, where he reckoned with 22–23 years that include the completion of the Bent Pyramid and the alterations to the Maidum pyramid as well. See also *id.*, *Die grossen Pyramiden von Giza* (Graz, 1990), 260.

⁴⁵ For the complete calculation, see my forthcoming article in *ZÄS*.

⁴⁶ Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 43, 234 with fig. 1; cf. Abdessallam M. Hussein, cited by Smith, *JNES* 11, 124 n. 13.

⁴⁷ Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 39, 235 with fig. 6 and pl. 74d.

C. Year of the sixteenth occasion, III *akhet* 30: backing stone on the east face, found at a height of 12 m, in the sixteenth or seventeenth course.⁴⁸

According to Stadelmann, the blocks with dates **B** and **C** derive from courses that cannot have lain very much above where they were found.⁴⁹ It is not clear whether these graffiti were inscribed when the blocks were laid or at some earlier point. But certainly the cornerstone **A** was inscribed when the block was laid. This inscription could serve no practical purpose, since it could not have been read subsequently, one may presume that the others, too, refer to the moment when they were put into place. On these premisses, **B** and **C** provide information for determining the speed with which the casing of the Red Pyramid, and simultaneously its core (since they were laid together),⁵⁰ were constructed between a height of 9 m and 12 m, i.e. between the thirteenth and twentieth courses.

In order to determine the rate of construction of the pyramid, I first divided the total height of 110 m by the average height of a block (0.7 m)⁵¹ to determine the total number of courses which comprised the Red Pyramid, viz. 157. The factor t_1 designates the unknown length of time necessary to lay the first course.

The product of t_1 and the quadratic term yields the length of time in which any specific course x , 0.7 m in height, could have been laid, disregarding any deceleration. To take into account deceleration resulting from the necessity to transport the blocks ever higher with each successive course, we must multiply by a factor that subsumes the unknown parameter δ .

$$\int f(x) dx = \int t_1 \left(1 - \frac{0.7(x-1)}{110} \right)^2 [\delta(x-1) + 1] dx$$

The unknowns t_1 and δ can be determined for the equation by substituting the values furnished by the graffiti. Because the exact original locations of **B** and **C** are not known, a range of possibilities must be calculated. The mean time for laying the first course of the Red Pyramid (t_1) works out to 14.25 days. The mean deceleration coefficient (δ) can be calculated at 0.1075. Accordingly it took 15 times longer to lay a block in the last course at the top of the pyramid than it did to lay a block in the first at the bottom.

If one assumes that the technology for transporting the blocks vertically did not change fundamentally above the course from which **C** derives, one can then use the equation to extrapolate the length of time elapsed between the laying of that course and the completion of the pyramid. The table below shows the amount of time required for completing successive segments of the Red Pyramid. The segments have been chosen to demonstrate clearly to the reader the effect of deceleration on the construction process.

⁴⁸ Ibid. fig. 7 and pl. 74b.

⁴⁹ *MDAIK* 39, 235; *MDAIK* 43, 233–4.

⁵⁰ For this method of construction, see Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 39, 234.

⁵¹ For 0.7 m as the average height of a block, see V. Maragioglio and C. Rinaldi, *L'architettura delle piramidi menfite*, III (Rapallo, 1964), 126.

Course	Percentage of total volume	Construction time, expressed in years
11	20	0.6
25	40	1.8
41	60	3.5
66	80	6.4
84	90	8.1
100	95	9.3
157	100	10.6

The question posed above—whether the time elapsed between the fifteenth and twenty-fourth occasions of the count which, according to the modified ‘Smith scheme’, amounts to about eleven years, was sufficient for the construction of the Red Pyramid—can be answered in the affirmative. In conclusion, the length of Sneferu’s reign may now be estimated with some probability at about 31 years.

DEUX CAS PARTICULIERS DE PHRASE COUPÉE SANS L'OPÉRATEUR ÉNONCIATIF 'IN

Par J.-M. KRUCHTEN

Recent studies have shown that cleft sentences sometimes lack the introductory particle *in* when their first member is a personal name. Thus, the difficulties arising from the translation of the dedication formula '(king) *NN ir.n.f m mnw.f*' may be easily resolved if we consider this very ancient pattern, first found on the Palermo Stone, as such an example of cleft sentence without *in*, built on the nominal *šdm.n.f* in the second member (Pattern *in NN /šdm.n.f*). Another very common stereotyped pattern beginning with a personal name may also be recognized as such a participial statement without *in*: the formula engraved on many bronze statuettes of the Late Period, '(god/goddess) *NN di cnḥ*'. Suggested translations of these formulae are 'it is (the king) NN who did (this) as his monument (to)' and 'it is (the god) NN who gave life (to)'.

Je profite de l'opportunité qui m'est offerte par la publication dans cette revue, des études, bien documentées et menées avec rigueur, consacrées à la formule dédicatoire royale *ir.n.f m mnw.f* par Edward Castle,¹ pour revenir une fois encore—que l'on me pardonne—sur l'interprétation syntaxique et le sens de celle-ci, ainsi que sur ceux d'une formule, à mon sens analogue, non moins déroutante, illustrée abondamment par les textes des ex-votos de bronze tardifs. Même si la solution syntaxique adoptée par Castle pour la formule dédicatoire royale (faire de *ir.n.f* une forme verbale nominale sujet d'une proposition à prédicat adverbial) est inattaquable, mettre l'accent sur le syntagme adverbial *m mnw.f* pour en faire le prédicat de la phrase me semble, en effet, peu satisfaisant puisque *m mnw.f*, qui constitue une partie fixe et invariable de l'expression, en est certainement l'élément le moins informatif.

C'est pourquoi, je verrais plutôt, pour ma part, dans l'expression '*nsw-bit* (nom de roi) *ir.n.f m mnw.f n (it/mwt.f)* (nom de divinité)', comme dans celle de '(nom de divinité) *di cnḥ (wdꜣ, snb, ...)* (nom de particulier)', qui orne le socle de quantité de figurines de dieux ou déesses, deux exemples de phrase coupée ('participial statement', 'cleft sentence'), jusqu'ici mal compris, en raison de l'absence de l'opérateur énonciatif *in* qui introduit habituellement le substantif sujet rhématisé du premier membre de ces constructions bipartites.² L'omission du *in* s'expliquerait autant par le fait que le premier terme de ces phrases coupées est constitué dans les deux cas, par un nom propre (en l'occurrence, celui du roi dans la 'formule royale' et celui de la divinité, dans la formule des petits bronzes) que par la circonstance qu'il s'agit d'expressions toutes faites, où une telle économie de moyens grammaticaux était, à la fois, possible et souhaitable. Une pareille solution syntaxique offrirait l'avantage de simplifier grandement la traduction de ces phrases, rendues de bien des manières depuis l'origine de l'Égyptologie.

¹ 'The Dedication Formula *ir.n.f m mnw.f*', *JEA* 79 (1993), 99–120; 'Further Observations on the Dedication Formula *ir.n.f m mnw.f*', *JEA* 80 (1994), 187–91.

² Pour la nature de la phrase coupée ('cleft sentence') et ce qui la différencie de la proposition à prédicat nominal (phrase nominale), voir le remarquable exposé de E. Doret, 'Phrase nominale, identité et substitution dans les Textes des Sarcophages', *RdE* 41 (1990), 42–7.

1. *nsw-bit NN // ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f X (irt n.f...)* ('formule royale')

Il convient certainement d'étudier cette formule en partant des versions anciennes, les plus courtes, les autres, de plus en plus prolixes à mesure que se développe l'activité architecturale des pharaons, ne pouvant constituer que des développements adventices, de nature à nous livrer seulement une indication sur la manière dont la formule continuait à être comprise de leurs contemporains.

C'est pourquoi la fameuse Pierre de Palerme, qui contient les premières mentions de la formule, et en rassemble encore, malgré des pertes certainement importantes, pas moins de 52 exemples presque complets (un datant de Chéops,³ un de Didoufri,⁴ quatorze d'Ouserkaf,⁵ vingt-et-un de Sahourê,⁶ et quinze de Néferirkarê⁷), me paraît toute indiquée pour mener notre enquête. De fait, sans la destruction d'une bonne partie de ce document, nous aurions probablement conservé des exemples de la construction *NN // ir.n.f m mnw.f (n)* bien antérieurs à Chéops, puisque dès le règne d'Ouserkaf, la formule y apparaît déjà figée sous sa forme, et même son orthographe, presque définitive (graphie désormais caractéristique de *mnw* au moyen des trois vases *nw*).

Ce qui permet d'y reconnaître, dès sa première mention complète, les quatre éléments fixes, et donc indispensables au moins dans le document,⁸ suivants:

- nsw-bit* (nom royal: Ouserkaf, Sahourê ou Néferirkarê),
- ir.n.f m mnw.f*,
- n* (bénéficiaire(s) divin(s): dieu, déesse ou ensemble de dieux),
- mention de l'objet dédié par le roi au dieu.

De ces quatre éléments reconnus dans la 'formule royale' de la Pierre de Palerme, les trois premiers, jusqu'au *n* du datif d'avantage, forment un tout non-extensible (*nsw-bit NN ir.n.f m mnw.f n*), qui de Ouserkaf à Néferirkarê, se maintient sans modification, les seuls composants pouvant admettre des variantes ou des extensions étant la mention de la ou des divinités bénéficiaires, que complète parfois, l'indication du toponyme qui sert à l'identifier (par exemple, *Hwt-Hr m Hc-b; -Š; hzw-Rc*, Hathor dans (la ville de) Khâ-ba-Sahourê⁹), et surtout, la mention de l'objet de la générosité royale, dont tant la longueur que la forme admettent des variations parfois considérables, dictées par le souci d'exhaustivité du rédacteur.

Pour constituer ce quatrième élément variable et extensible à volonté de la 'formule royale', et servir ainsi de complément d'objet logique à *ir.n.f (m mnw.f)*, on trouve dans

³ *Urk.* I, 238, 7 ([*nsw-bit H*]w.f-w *ir.n.f m mn.f* [...]).

⁴ *Urk.* I, 239, 2 (*nsw-bit Dd.f.Rc ir.n.f m mn.f* [...]).

⁵ *Urk.* I, 240, 6-11, 12-13, 14-15; 241, 3-5, 6-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-15, 16-18; 242, 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 9-10, 11-12.

⁶ *Urk.* I, 242, 15; 243, 1-2, 6-7, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16; 244, 1-2, 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-12, 13-14, 15-16, 17-18; 245, 1-2, 5-7, 10, 12-13, 14-15, 16-17; 246, 1-2.

⁷ *Urk.* I, 246, 13-16, 17-18; 247, 1-4, 5-8, 9-11, 12-14, 15-16, 17; 248, 1-2, 6-7, 9-11, 12-13; 249, 1-3, 4-5, 6-7, 8-9.

⁸ Manque, seulement dans deux cas, si on suit les restitutions de Sethe pour ces passages fort endommagés, la mention de la divinité attendue derrière le *n* du datif. Il est curieux de constater que chaque fois, l'objet de l'œuvre royale est constitué par la 'mise au monde et l'ouverture de la bouche' d'une statue divine (*Urk.* I, 247, 15-16; 248, 6-8).

⁹ *Urk.* I, 249, 8-9.

la grande majorité des cas, un nom suivi de plusieurs autres en apposition apparente, selon le procédé familier aux chancelleries égyptiennes.¹⁰ Ainsi, par exemple, ‘*ḥt, st:t* (autant)’ pour ‘*st:wt* (autant) *nywt ḥt*’, ‘(autant) d’aroures de champ’,¹¹ ou encore ‘*bi:z, mhꜣw 8, mškt*’ pour ‘*mškt m bi:z nyt 8 mhꜣw*’, ‘une barque du soir de cuivre, de 8 coudées (de longueur)’.¹²

Mais, on rencontre aussi, parfois, déjà, pour préciser le rôle du roi, un verbe à l’infinitif, usage appelé à un bel avenir dans les textes dédicatoires postérieurs à l’Ancien Empire, puisqu’il devient presque de règle au Nouvel Empire: *šmn.t n.sn ḥtp-ntr, t:z-hnqt* 4.254, *iw:z 43, mhꜣd 4, ... m ... m iw.t dt*, ‘instituer pour eux une offrande divine consistant en 4.254 pains-bières, 43 bovidés, 4 gazelles, ... lors de (telles fêtes) pour la durée de l’éternité’,¹³ ou l’adjonction devenue banale dans les inscriptions dédicatoires ultérieures, *ir.t n.f nn ...*, ‘faire pour lui ceci¹⁴ ...’.¹⁵ Cet emploi d’un infinitif comme objet de *iri* n’est, au demeurant, pas limité à ces quelques exemples de la Pierre de Palerme, puisqu’il est attesté également, sous la dynastie suivante, par une inscription assez développée du complexe funéraire de Pépi II à Saqqarah Sud: ([...] *S: Rꜣ Ppy—cnḥ(w) dt—ir.n.f m mnw.f n Mn-cnḥ-Nfr-k:z-Rꜣ, iry-pꜣt ḥmt-nsw Wdbtn*) *ḥws n.s ḥwt-ntr m inr ḥd nfr n cn*, ‘... construire pour elle un temple de belle pierre blanche de calcaire’.¹⁶ Type de formule désormais classique, qui confirme, si besoin en est encore, que dès la fin de l’Ancien Empire, la ‘formule royale’ pouvait se prêter aux mêmes extensions que celles devenues banales au Nouvel Empire.

La présence de l’objet logique du verbe *iri* en fin de formule s’explique donc, sans doute possible, par le souci d’en permettre des extensions illimitées, sans nuire à la lisibilité et à la clarté de la partie fixe de cette formule (*nsw-bit NN ir.n.f m mnw.f n*), laquelle devait constituer une sorte de blason, à caractère décoratif, aisément identifiable pour les gens du commun, analphabètes dans leur immense majorité, mais capables certainement par l’usage de reconnaître des groupes de signes caractéristiques des formules funéraires ou autres les plus communes. Dans ces conditions, cet objet logique était conçu soit directement comme l’objet grammatical décalé (c’est l’avis de Gardiner¹⁷), soit, plus probablement selon moi, comme une apposition incrémentielle à l’objet syntaxique de *iri* omis par ellipse, suivant un procédé qui n’est pas inhabituel en égyptien moyen ou ancien.¹⁸ De fait, l’absence assez fréquente de toute mention d’objet dans le cas où, sur les exemples monumentaux de la formule (statues,¹⁹ tables d’offrande etc), celui-ci venait à coïncider directement avec le support matériel de l’inscription dédicatoire, et était donc immédiatement évident pour chacun, semblerait indiquer que

¹⁰E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, I (Rome, 1955), §§311–14.

¹¹*Urk.* I, 240, 13, 15; 241, 5, etc.

¹²*Urk.* I, 249, 2 (Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §313).

¹³*Urk.* I, 240, 6–11.

¹⁴Pour l’usage du démonstratif de proximité *pn, tn, nn* en ancien égyptien, voir P. Vernus, ‘La structure ternaire du système des déictiques dans les Textes des Sarcophages’, *Studi di Egittologia e di antichità puniche* 7 (1990), 27–45.

¹⁵*Urk.* I, 247, 17; 248, 9.

¹⁶*Urk.* I, 272, 7–8.

¹⁷*Egyptian Grammar*³ (Oxford, 1957), §507.2.

¹⁸Ainsi que le rappelle fort justement Castle (*JEA* 79, 105).

¹⁹Voir par ex., les inscriptions des statues élevées par Thoutmosis II à ses parents: *Urk.* IV, 143, 5–6, 11–12 (*infra*, pp. 58–9).

c'était cette dernière solution qui prévalait, et qui aurait peut-être même été la première utilisée sur des objets mobiliers.

En effet, actuellement encore, cette pratique, qui consiste à lier signifiant et signifié dans les avis affichés à l'intention du public, pour accroître la force expressive du message, nous est familière, même si nous établissons plus clairement que les Égyptiens la différence entre les deux. Je n'en donnerai pour preuve que les phrases jumelles apposées obligatoirement sur nos paquets de cigarettes 'contient (autant de mg) de nicotine' et 'nuît gravement à la santé', lesquelles ont, l'une et l'autre, pour sujet manifeste le support direct de l'inscription, c'est-à-dire le paquet et son contenu.

On observe du reste, à la même haute époque que la Pierre de Palerme, une ellipse du même ordre dans la cas de la formule de dédicace privée. De fait, sur les éléments d'architecture funéraire contemporains, la forme *in s3.f/s3t.f NN ir n.f Ø*, 'c'est son fils/sa fille qui a fait pour lui (ceci)', avec le participe perfectif de *iri* laissé sans complément d'objet exprimé,²⁰ l'emporte légèrement sur les formes complètes avec les pronoms démonstratifs *nw* ou *nn* pour objet de *iri*: *in s3.f/s3t.f NN ir n.f nw/nn*, 'c'est son/sa fille qui a fait pour lui ceci'.²¹

À l'origine, la forme de base, non réductible, de la 'formule royale' est donc bien *nsw-bit NN ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f/mwt.f X*, laquelle était suivie généralement, comme on l'observe dans chacun des 52 exemples conservés de la Pierre de Palerme, de la précision de l'objet dédié par le roi au dieu. Dans cette forme de base, on distingue ainsi, toujours, un premier membre constitué du titre *nsw-bit* lié au nom royal inscrit dans un cartouche, suivi d'un second membre constitué par la forme *šdm.n.f* du verbe *iri* et ses divers compléments.

De fait, dans les seuls exemples de la formule où le nom (royal) vient à manquer (Castle, JEA 79, exx. 15–16, datés de la fin de l'Ancien Empire), il est manifeste que toute la séquence *ir.n.f m mnw.f* a déjà été substantivée pour former un nom commun analogue au nom composé *htp-di-nsw*, utilisé d'ailleurs dans un contexte analogue depuis déjà longtemps.²²

ir.n.f-m-mnw.f n it.f in h3ty-ε 'Ih3, 'un mémorial *ir.n.f.m.mnw.f* à son père (fait) par le prince Iha', et

ir.n.f-m-mnw.f n itw.f imyw-b[3h] in h3ty-ε, imy-r3 pr-nsw 'Ih3, 'un mémorial *ir.n.f-m-mnw.f* à ses ancêtres (fait) par le prince, majordome du palais Iha'.

Cet emploi lexicalisé de *ir.n.f-m-mnw.f* est ainsi à rapprocher des composés *iri m mnw.f* ou *iri mnw.f*, rencontrés au Nouvel Empire (exx. 52, 53²³ de Castle), toutes ces diverses expressions ne constituant à l'évidence que des lexèmes dérivés de façon plus ou moins directe de la formule syntaxiquement autonome d'origine, subsumés comme substantif ou comme verbe au sein d'une phrase plus élaborée. À ce titre, il est donc clair qu'ils ne peuvent entrer en ligne de compte pour l'interprétation de celle-ci.

Pas plus, du reste, que la séquence apparemment semblable du Canon royal de Turin *nsw bit NN ir.n.f m nswyt x (npt)*, que Castle a pensé rapprocher de la formule *nsw-bit*

²⁰ *Urk.* I, 227, 6, 11, 15; 228, 11; 229, 5.

²¹ *Urk.* I, 228, 7 (*nw*); 14 (*nn*); 16 (*nw*); 230, 6–7 (*nw*); Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §954.

²² W. Barta, *Aufbau und Bedeutung der altägyptischen Opferformel* (Glückstadt, 1968), 7 (IV^e dynastie); 14–15 (V^e dynastie); 24 (VI^e dynastie) (*die substantivierte Opferformel*).

²³ *Infra*, p. 60.

NN *ir.n.f m mnw.f*,²⁴ mais qui me semble répondre à une logique toute différente: en face du nom d'un pharaon donné, faire figurer sa durée de règne, l'ensemble *ir.n.f m nswyf*, qui représenterait par rapport au nom qui précède une entité autonome, ne faisant que relier les deux: 'le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte NN: comme règne,²⁵ il a accompli X années, X mois, X jours.'

Remontant au moins à Chéops, la construction *nsw-bit NN ir.n.f m mnw.f n X* doit évidemment, pour avoir des chances d'être analysée et comprise correctement, se voir replacée dans le contexte de langue particulier aux premières dynasties de l'Ancien Empire, et non comme cela a été fait jusqu'ici, être plaquée de force sur un modèle syntaxique moyen égyptien, anachronique. C'est pourquoi j'y verrais, pour ma part, volontiers un simple variante sans l'opérateur énonciatif *in*, d'un type de phrase coupée ('cleft sentence', 'participial statement') à valeur passée attesté dans les Textes des Pyramides, bien que déjà en voie de disparition dans ce corpus: la construction *in NN // sdm.n.f*, 'c'est NN qui a entendu', dans laquelle comme l'a très justement établi Allen, le *sdm.n.f* représente la forme verbale nominale, impérativement requise pour constituer le second membre de la cleft sentence.²⁶

De fait, dans son éblouissante étude du système verbal des Textes des Pyramides, Allen a montré que dans ces documents, concurremment aux constructions utilisées aussi en moyen égyptien, qui rendent le second membre de la cleft sentence au moyen du participe (actif perfectif—type *mr*—ou imperfectif—type *mrr*—, selon que la proposition a un sens passé ou présent), subsistaient quelques exemples de constructions certainement plus anciennes, avec pour exprimer le second membre de cette construction bipartite, les trois formes verbales suffixales nominales (*sdm.n.f* nominal—'emphatique'—, *sdm.f* nominal—type *mrr.f*—, *sdmw.f* (prospective)²⁷ ou (plus rarement)²⁸ *sdm.f* (subjunctive)).²⁹

Soit les deux systèmes oppositionnels successifs suivants, le premier, reflet d'un état de langue plus ancien, étant déjà en voie de disparition au profit du second dans les Textes des Pyramides:

²⁴ *JEA* 80 (1994), 187–91.

²⁵ Cette précision, qui nous paraît inutile dans l'état du document, s'explique probablement par le fait que le document sacerdotal dont le Canon de Turin s'inspirait donnait, pour chaque pharaon, la durée de règne et celle de vie. Assez vite lassé, le copiste aura cessé de prendre systématiquement note des durées de vie après les ancêtres divins (A. H. Gardiner, *The Royal Canon of Turin* (Oxford, 1959), pl. i, col. II, 4: *nswyf.sn, mpt.sn m cnh*, 'leur règne et leur durée de vie') et les premiers rois (pl. ii, col. III, 5: *nsw-bit Dsr-it: ir.n.f [m nswyf] mpt 19, sbd 1, ch.f m cnh* [...], 'le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte Djéser-it [= Djéser?]: comme règne, il a accompli 19 ans et 1 mois; sa durée de vie est de...'). Une tournure emphatique avec le syntagme adverbial *m nswyf* rhématisé s'expliquerait, en effet, mieux si à 'son règne' était opposé chaque fois 'sa durée de vie'.

²⁶ J. P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu, 1984), §408 (1.1.1.2.1. in *NN sdm.n.f*).

²⁷ Dans les Textes des Pyramides, forme verbale nominale, à valeur d'indicatif futur, caractérisée morphologiquement par un suffixe *-w* avec la plupart des catégories de verbes (Allen, *Inflection*, §722), qui fut absorbée, dès la fin de l'Ancien Empire, par le subjunctive *sdm.f*, à valeur modale (Allen, *Inflection*, §364, B; 365).

²⁸ P. Vernus, *Future at Issue. Tense, Mood and Aspect in Middle Egyptian: Studies in Syntax and Semantics* (New Haven, 1990), 55–6.

²⁹ Dans les Textes des Pyramides, forme verbale nominale, à valeur modale, caractérisée morphologiquement pour les verbes irréguliers *ini* et *iw* par les graphies *init-*, *iwt-* (Allen, *Inflection*, §722), qui absorba, dès la fin de l'Ancien Empire, le prospective *sdmw.f* (verbes irréguliers: *ini-*, *iw-*), à valeur d'indicatif futur (Allen, *Inflection*, §§364, C; 365). Dans la plupart des ouvrages de syntaxe de moyen et de néo-égyptien, cette forme verbale est généralement connue sous le nom de 'prospectif', ce qui peut prêter à confusion dans le cas de l'ancien égyptien, où ce terme est réservé par Allen à la forme verbale indicative.

	1 ^{ère} phase	2 ^{me} phase ³⁰
Passé	(<i>in</i>) NN / <i>mr.n.f</i> ³¹ <i>ntf</i> ³²	(<i>in</i>) NN / <i>mr</i> <i>ntf</i> ³²
Présent	(<i>in</i>) NN <i>mrr.f</i> ³³ <i>ntf</i> ³²	(<i>in</i>) NN / <i>mrr</i> <i>ntf</i> ³²
Futur	(<i>in</i>) NN / <i>mrw.f</i> (ou <i>mr.f</i>) <i>ntf</i> ³²	

Fait significatif pour notre propos, l'examen des trois variantes du seul des trois exemples (Pyr. §644c, 1428e et 1566c) de la construction *in NN / mr.n.f* relevés par Allen dans les Textes des Pyramides qui comporte un nom propre de divinité dans son premier membre (Pyr. §1428e) révèle qu'en effet, devant ce nom propre, il peut arriver que l'opérateur énonciatif de la 'cleft sentence' *in* vienne à être omis, ce qui nous fournit très précisément la structure syntaxique de la formule dédicatoire royale 'Ø nom propre // *šdm.n.f*'.

On comparera ainsi:

Pyr., §644c	<i>in s3.k mry.k</i> 'c'est ton fils favori	/ <i>šnt.n.f n.k irty.k</i> / qui a (re)fixé pour toi tes deux yeux'	(T et N)
Pyr., §1566a–c	<i>in mwt nt</i> (P)... <i>in mwt nt</i> (N)... 'c'est la mère de...	/ <i>f3.n.š šw ir pt</i> / <i>f3.n.š</i> (N) <i>ir pt</i> / qui l'a porté au ciel' / qui a porté N au ciel' (le sujet est un nom commun),	(P) (N)
à:			
Pyr., §1428e	<i>in Nwt</i> <i>in Nwt</i> Ø <i>Nwt</i> 'c'est Nout	/ <i>mšt</i> (M) <i>pn hnr Wsir</i> ³⁴ / <i>mš.n.š</i> (M) <i>pn hnr Wsir</i> / <i>mš.n.š šw hnr Wsir</i> / qui a mis au monde ce M avec Osiris' / qui l'a mis au monde avec Osiris' (le sujet est un nom propre).	(P) (M) (N)

L'absence de l'opérateur énonciatif *in* dans la phrase coupée commençant par un nom propre demeurant, toutefois, exceptionnelle dans les Textes des Pyramides, à la différence des Textes des Sarcophages où elle est fréquente, on peut évidemment se demander pourquoi la construction apparemment la plus rare à l'époque qui nous concerne aurait servi de modèle à la formule dédicatoire royale. Mais, cette objection

³⁰Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §§950, 954; Gardiner, *Grammar*,³ §227, 2 et 3.

³¹Allen, *Inflection*, §408.

³²Pronom indépendant accentué—rhématisé—(type **ΔΝΟΚ**), voir Doret, *RdE* 41, 40–1 (5.5).

³³Allen, *Inflection*, §222.

³⁴Nouvelle construction (avec accord du participe), voir Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §954.

tombe aisément à la lecture de l'analyse qu'a fait de ces constructions Doret dans un article paru récemment.³⁵

Partant de la constatation que dans les Textes des Sarcophages, le *in* était généralement noté devant les noms de divinités, mais qu'il manquait *dans la quasi-totalité des cas*, devant celui du défunt, Doret était arrivé à la conclusion que cette absence du *in* avait pour but, en accroissant la rhématicité du nom propre sujet, par l'utilisation de la valeur paradigmatique d'un anthroponyme, d'augmenter l'implication de l'énonciateur dans son énoncé.³⁶ C'est pourquoi la 'cleft sentence' sans *in* pouvait convenir dans la circonstance où le défunt parlait de lui-même à la troisième personne, en se désignant par son nom personnel, mais non dans celui où il n'était question que d'une tierce personne, comme un dieu ou une déesse. Ainsi donc, si les Textes des Pyramides, à la différence de ceux des Sarcophages, conservaient l'opérateur énonciatif *in* devant le nom du roi défunt comme devant celui des divinités, c'était par ce qu'ils avaient été transposés de la première personne à la troisième pour être récités par le prêtre ritualiste, tandis que les seconds étaient supposés prononcés directement par le mort lui-même, que celui-ci se désignât par le pronom indépendant accentué *ink* (copte **ANOK**) ou par son nom personnel. Autrement dit, l'absence d'exemples sans opérateur énonciatif *in* dans les Textes des Pyramides ne ressortit pas à une question de diachronie, un stade avec *in* ayant précédé un stade sans *in*. Elle s'explique simplement par le degré d'implication différent des locuteurs.

La formule *NN / ir.n.f m mnw.f* étant censée prononcée par le roi, comme les déclarations des Textes des Sarcophages impliquant le défunt étaient censées prononcées par celui-ci, l'absence de *in* y répondait, dès lors, aux mêmes impératifs sémantiques, et ne doit en aucun cas nous surprendre.

En l'occurrence, il n'est donc nul besoin de chercher au *sdm.n.f* nominal *ir.n.f (m mnw.f n X)*,³⁷ un syntagme adverbial sur lequel faire porter l'emphase, puisque celle-ci repose exclusivement sur le nom royal, lequel représente à la fois, le sujet et le rhème de la 'cleft sentence' (ordre marqué).³⁸ Je propose par conséquent, pour '*nsw-bit NN // ir.n.f m mnw.f n X* (objet)', la seule traduction suivante, laquelle on en conviendra, a sur toutes celles qui ont été proposées jusqu'ici l'avantage de sa rassurante simplicité:³⁹ 'c'est le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte NN qui a fait (cela) comme sien monument à X, à savoir (telle chose)'. Ainsi, par exemple, pour le texte de dédicace de Pépi II sur le temple funéraire de la reine Oudjebten, cité précédemment:⁴⁰ 'c'est [...] le fils de Rê Pépi—qu'il soit vivant éternellement!—qui a fait comme sien monument, à la noble épouse royale Oudjebten de Menânk-Néferkarê, construire pour elle un temple de belle pierre blanche de calcaire'.

³⁵ 'Cleft-sentence, substitutions et contraintes sémantiques en égyptien de la première phase (V–XVIII Dynastie)', *Lingua Aegyptia* 1 (1991), 57–96; sur les noms propres et leur haut degré de spécificité, voir plus généralement A. Shisha-Halevy, *The Proper Name: Structural Prolegomena to its Syntax. A Case Study in Coptic* (WZKM Beihefte 15; Vienna, 1989). Je remercie vivement le 'referee' anonyme de m'avoir signalé ces articles absolument fondamentaux.

³⁶ Doret, *ibid.* 63–5.

³⁷ Castle, *JEA* 79, 119 sqq.

³⁸ Doret, *RdE* 41, 42 (6.1).

³⁹ On comparera, par ex., avec la solution de Jansen-Winkeln, justement critiquée par Castle, qui supplée une partie de la formule et aboutit à une traduction aussi artificielle que: '(Dies ist ein Werk) des Königs/HPA NN, indem er gemacht hat das XY...' (Castle, *JEA* 79, 119–20).

⁴⁰ *Supra*, p. 53.

On pouvait du reste s'y attendre. La formule de dédicace 'royale' ne serait, dans ces conditions, pas construite différemment de la formule correspondante de dédicace 'privée', laquelle constitue aussi essentiellement une phrase coupée. Que *in s3.f (s3t.f, etc.) // ir n.f (nn)*, 'c'est son fils (sa fille,...) qui a fait (ceci) pour lui', et plus tard *in s3.f ... // šrnḥ m.f*, 'c'est son fils ... qui a fait vivre son nom', aient été construits sur le modèle de la phrase coupée avec participe perfectif au lieu de la forme *šdm.n.f* nominale, nous montre seulement que la 'formule privée' est plus récente que la 'formule royale', puisque ce type de construction de la 'cleft sentence' (\emptyset NN/*šdm* (*sw*), avec dans un premier temps, accord du participe prédicat avec son sujet) n'apparaît pas avant le milieu de l'Ancien Empire, au témoignage de Allen. Remarquons d'ailleurs à propos de ce parallélisme des deux formules, que si, dans la grande majorité des cas, la 'formule privée', dont le premier membre est constitué par un nom de parenté (*s3.f, s3t.f, etc.*) est introduite par l'opérateur énonciatif *in*,⁴¹ il lui arrive aussi parfois d'en être dépourvue,⁴² ce qui pourrait s'expliquer par le fait que bien que noms communs, les termes de parenté n'en appartiennent pas moins à la catégorie particulière des noms inaliénables,⁴³ assez proche syntaxiquement de celle des noms propres, comme il a été prouvé par Doret.⁴⁴ De fait, les 'cleft sentences' de la 'formule royale' NN // *ir.n.f m mnw.f*, de la 'formule privée' correspondante ou des déclarations du défunt aux Textes des Sarcophages avaient toutes en commun, bien que formulées à la troisième personne, d'impliquer leur locuteur et non un tiers. Dans les trois cas, c'était, en effet, le roi Un tel, 'son fils' (le fils du défunt) ou le défunt lui-même qui avait agi, et nul autre.

Le tableau ci-dessous fera mieux ressortir la parenté des deux constructions:

	1 ^{er} membre		2 ^e membre	
	<i>in</i>	sujet rhématisé	f. verb. à v. nominale	compléments
Formule royale État de langue: avant Chéops (?)	\emptyset 'c'est	NN (nom propre) (le roi) NN	<i>ir.n.f</i> (<i>šdm.n.f</i> nominal) qui a fait	\emptyset m mnw.f n— : — éléments extensibles rejetés en fin de formule (cela) comme son monument à... : ...'
Formule privée État de langue: IVe-Ve dynasties	(<i>in</i>) ⁴⁵ 'c'est	<i>s3-f (s3t-f, etc.)</i> (nom inaliénable) son fils (sa fille, etc.)	<i>ir n.f</i> (participe perfectif) qui a fait	\emptyset ⁴⁶ <i>nw / nn</i> (cela) pour lui'

Parmi d'autres documents, témoignent de cette étroite parenté des expressions 'royale' et 'privée', les inscriptions dédicatoires des deux statues que Thoutmosis II éleva à ses

⁴¹ cf. Pyr. §644c (*in s3.k mry.k*) et 1566a-c (*in mwt n P*).

⁴² Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §950.

⁴³ Cf. le nom propre d'Ancien Empire, également bâti avec un nom inaliénable (entité constitutive de la personnalité du mort, voir Doret, *RdE* 41, 44), \emptyset *k3.i/šmnḥ-w(i)*, 'c'est-mon-ka-qui-me-rend / m'a-rendu excellent' (Ranke, *PN*, 307, 17).

⁴⁴ Doret, *RdE* 41, 43-4 (6.3).

⁴⁵ Facultatif devant un nom inaliénable, voir Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §950.

⁴⁶ Edel, *Altäg. Gramm.*, §998.

parents (*ntr nfr s-hpr.n-Rc.../ir.n.f Ø m mnw.f n it.f, mwt.f*, ‘c’est le dieu accompli Aakhéperenrê... qui a fait (cela) comme sien monument à son père, à sa mère...’)⁴⁷ et leur pendant relevé sur la statue que Sésostris II dédia à ‘son père’ Djéser, qui en constitue simplement une adaptation au moyen égyptien, calquée sur le modèle ‘privé’: *in nsw bit Hr-hpr-Rc... / ir Ø n it.f nsw-bit Dsr*, ‘c’est le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte Khâkhéperrê... qui a fait (cela) pour son père, le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte Djéser’.⁴⁸ La rareté même de l’usage de cette dernière formulation, jointe à l’absence de la documentation de toute autre équivalente, dans le cas de pharaon, dont pourtant tous les monuments doivent attester la piété filiale envers les dieux et les ancêtres morts, puisque c’est sur elle qu’est fondée le culte quotidien et partant l’ordre cosmique, ne peut s’expliquer que si la fonction de signature, remplie pour les particuliers par les formules *in s:f (s:t.f, etc.) / ir n.f* et variantes, l’est dans le cas du roi, par la seule formule archaïque *nsw-bit NN / ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f/mwt.f*, en effet omniprésente sur ses édifices cultuels. ‘Formule royale’ et ‘formule privée’ s’inscrivaient dans le même contexte religieux, de rapports fils vivant—père décédé, puisque le dieu, ancêtre mort, comme le père défunt, ne pouvait ‘vivre’, que dans la mesure où il avait été préalablement ressuscité par ‘son fils’, le pharaon, qui y puisait, de surcroît, sa légitimité. C’est pourquoi, d’ailleurs, à *s:f* dans la ‘formule privée’ correspondait (*n*) *it.f* dans la ‘formule royale’.

Astreinte à conserver son apparence archaïque sous peine de perdre l’efficacité magique propre au langage de la ‘première fois’ (*sp tpy*),⁴⁹ comme la formule *htp-di-nsw*, du reste également liée à la fonction démiurgique du Pharaon, ou la phrase *di.n.i n.k* des scènes rituelles d’offrandes, dont l’absence de *iw* assertorique témoigne de la haute antiquité,⁵⁰ la ‘formule royale’ se maintint sans variations sensibles de forme, malgré la tombée en désuétude de la construction de la ‘cleft sentence’ à valeur passé de l’ancien égyptien (*in*) *NN / sdm.n.f* au profit de celle du moyen égyptien (*in*) *NN / sdm* (participe perfectif).⁵¹ Elle en vint ainsi rapidement à se lexicaliser, comme en témoignent déjà, de manière très significative, les deux exemples de Cheikh Saïd, où *ir.n.f-m-mnw.f* est traité comme un vulgaire nom composé. Mais, la différence de langue entre ancien et moyen égyptien étant peu importante, et l’existence de phrase coupée sans *in* continuant d’être bien attestée pendant toute la période,⁵² ne fût-ce que dans l’anthroponymie,⁵³ elle demeura certainement toujours suffisamment compréhensible pour des scribes contemporains, et ce au moins jusqu’à la généralisation de l’emploi du néo-égyptien dans les textes écrits.

Cette lexicalisation de *ir.n.f-m-mnw.f-n* et sa fossilisation dans une graphie bien reconnaissable, en particulier dans le cas d’une inscription verticale, facilitèrent certaine-

⁴⁷ *Urk.* IV, 143, 5–6 et 11–12; pour une autre dédicace de ce type, du même Thoutmosis II à son père Thoutmosis I^{er}, voir Castle, ‘Appendix 4. Some Epigraphic and Grammatical Observations’, dans C. Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels Khian through Tuthmosis IV* (New York, 1995), 63 sqq.

⁴⁸ Castle, *JEA* 79, 112, ex. (36).

⁴⁹ Vernus, ‘Supports d’écriture et fonction sacralisante dans l’Égypte pharaonique’, dans R. Laufer (ed.), *Le texte et son inscription* (Paris, 1989), 23–34.

⁵⁰ Cet emploi de la forme *sdm.n.f* semble, en effet, devoir être rapproché de celui du *sdm.n.f* indépendant (non-emphatique), la plupart du temps non précédé du *iw* assertorique, dans les Textes des Pyramides (Allen, *Inflection*, §432).

⁵¹ La nouvelle construction apparaît déjà dans les Textes des Pyramides (voir, par ex., la première des 3 variantes de Pyr., §1428e, *supra*, p. 56).

⁵² Vernus, *RdE* 38, 179.

⁵³ Cf. le nom Ramsès, à analyser (–) *Rr / ms s(w)*, ‘c’est Rê qui l’a enfanté’ (Vernus, *RdE* 38).

ment les développements ultérieurs de la formule, lesquels si on exclut l'adjonction de la mention *it.f* ou *mwt.f* devant le nom du dieu ou de la déesse bénéficiaire, portèrent exclusivement sur le nom royal. Celui-ci put, en effet, comprendre désormais les cinq noms de la titulature complète, éventuellement pourvus d'épithètes laudatives plus ou moins étendues, ce qui—remarquons le—n'altéra pas essentiellement la structure syntaxique de base de la 'formule royale', telle qu'on la connaissait depuis l'Ancien Empire. Ainsi, s'expliquent les formes les plus élaborées de la formule dédicatoire, datant des thoutmosides ou ramessides, rassemblées par Vittman et Castle, dont une des plus extraordinaires est peut-être celle rencontrée sur la grande stèle du temple funéraire d'Amenhotep III (Castle, *JEA* 79, ex. 52), où le protocole royal complet apparaît surchargé d'une série d'épithètes, et où une glose introduite par *ist* vient de surcroît s'insérer entre les deux membres de la 'cleft sentence' originelle, ce qui constitue probablement la meilleure preuve que le tout continuait à être compris comme une phrase coupée:

*Hr ... , Nbtj ... , Hr-nbw ... , nsw-bit ... mry 'Imn ... , ntr nfr nb rwt-ib rs-tp wrt n ms sw 'Imn nsw ntrw, šꜣꜥ pr.f, šhꜣp nfr.f m ir.t mrrt kꜣ.f (ist hꜣp ib n hm.f hr ir.t mnw ꜣꜣw wrt nn sp hꜣr mitt dr ꜣꜣwt tꜣwy !) / ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f 'Imn ... , ir.t n.f hꜣwt-ntr šꜣst hr imy-wrt Wꜣst,*⁵⁴

'C'est l'Horus ..., Celui des Deux Maîtresses ..., l'Horus d'or ..., le roi de Haute et Basse Égypte ..., aimé d'Amon ..., le dieu accompli seigneur de la joie, le très vigilant pour Celui qui l'a enfanté, Amon roi des dieux, celui qui agrandit Sa demeure et satisfait Sa perfection par l'exécution de ce qu'aime Son ka (de fait, Sa Majesté se complaît à réaliser des monuments extrêmement grands dont la pareille n'a jamais existé depuis l'origine des deux pays) qui a fait (cela) comme sien monument à son père Amon ..., la confection pour Lui d'un temple auguste à l'Occident de Thèbes ...'

Que la formule *ir.n.f-m-mnw.f* ait eu, quelles que fussent les époques, pour rôle de mettre l'accent sur le nom de pharaon, à l'exclusion de tout autre de ses éléments, rend compte de sa multiplication frénétique à la surface des bâtiments construits par les derniers ramessides. En la gravant profondément sur toutes les surfaces disponibles de son temple de Médinet Habou, Ramsès III entendait, en effet, laisser sa marque indélébile sur ce monument, un peu comme les 'taggeurs' de nos villes actuelles 'signent' sur tous les espaces disponibles des murs de nos mètres.

2. *NN* (= dieu) // *di ꜣnh (wdꜣ, snb, ...)* (*n*) *X* (= nom de particulier)

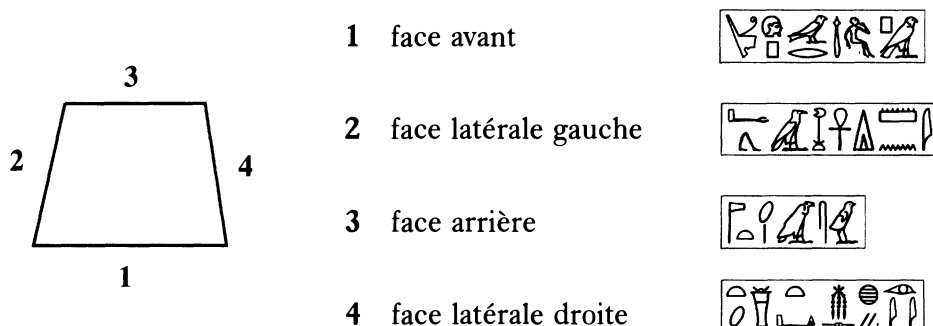
Cette formule se rencontre sur les ex-votos en bronze de Basse Époque, tels ceux qui ont été découverts en grandes quantités dans la favissa de la Cour de la Cachette de Karnak. Comme exemple pour mon propos, je choisirai une jolie statuette d'Harpocrate, encore inédite, aperçue récemment dans une collection particulière bruxelloise.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Urk.* IV, 1647, 13–1648, 7 sqq.

⁵⁵ Statuette de bronze brun foncé à belle patine lisse, haute de 10,7 cm, sa base en forme de parallélépipède rectangle mesurant à sa face antérieure 2,3 cm et 1,7 cm à sa face postérieure, sur un côté de 2,1 cm et une hauteur de 0,5 cm. Elle pèse 154 grammes. Son état de conservation est parfait, et elle semble être complète, puisqu'on ne relève au sommet de son crâne aucune trace de socle ou de cheville à mettre en relation avec une éventuelle couronne. Elle a été acquise dans le marché d'art européen en 1991. Je remercie vivement ses propriétaires, qui m'ont donné la possibilité de l'étudier et de la publier.

Cette pièce représente le dieu dans la pose traditionnelle des enfants, assis nu, les pieds posés à plat sur la base, le bras droit écarté du corps, coude fléchi, avec l'index de la main à hauteur de la bouche, et le bras gauche allongé le long du corps, paume de la main tournée vers le bas. Harpocrate porte une calotte à uraeus, qui lui enserre étroitement le crâne. La mèche de l'enfance, dont les nattes tressées sont figurées avec soin, prend naissance au-dessus de l'oreille droite, pour retomber en spirale sur l'avant de l'épaule. A en juger par son sujet (Har(prê) 'l'enfant, le très grand, le premier (fils) d'Amon', qui avait un temple à Karnak Nord)⁵⁶ et au moins, par deux des noms de particuliers qui y sont gravés (*H₃rw-s-Mwt*⁵⁷ s₃ [s₃t?] *it-ntr* 'Iry-iry',⁵⁸ 'Khaâoues-Mout, fils (fille?)⁵⁹ du père divin Iry-iry'), ou par son style soigné, ce bronze est d'origine thébaine, et peut-être attribué au début de la XXVI^e dynastie.

Sur les côtés de la base, est incisée une inscription de hiéroglyphes assez élégants malgré leur taille forcément réduite. Cette inscription est ainsi répartie sur les quatre faces du socle:



Elle débute donc au coin droit de la face antérieure, par l'identification du dieu représenté, pour se poursuivre sur la face latérale gauche, la face postérieure et la face latérale droite, de manière à faire le tour complet de la base. Il s'agit d'un type de formule fréquemment rencontré sur ce genre d'objet:⁶⁰ un nom de dieu (ou de déesse), suivi de la mention *di nh*, parfois développée en *di nh, wd₃, snb, hr q₃i*, et d'un anthroponyme masculin ou féminin, généralement complété par le nom des parents. En l'occurrence, nous lisons, en effet, (1) *Hr-p₃-hrd* *r₃ wr tpy n* (2) *'Imn / di nh / H₃r* (3) *w-s-Mwt s₃ (s₃t?) it-ntr* (4) *'Iry-iry, ms(.n) T(3)-di-B₃stt*.

Le sens exact de cette formule et, en particulier, l'interprétation de la mention *di nh*, apposée au nom de la divinité, continue cependant toujours à poser problème, comme l'a reconnu encore récemment Jan Quaegebeur, à propos d'un objet semblable.⁶¹ Ainsi, s'explique, du reste, les divergences entre traductions proposées, 'given life'⁶² ou 'qui

⁵⁶ PM II,² 10–11.

⁵⁷ Ranke, *PN*, 262, 21 (*H₃rw-s-n-Mwt*).

⁵⁸ Ibid., 41, 9; pour des exemples thébains de ce nom, datables des époques éthiopienne et saïte, voir par ex., K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (Oxford, 1973), §190.

⁵⁹ D'après le Prof. de Meulenaere, qui je remercie pour ces précisions, le nom *H₃r-s(wt)-n-Mwt*, connu par des exemples tous thébains et datables de l'époque saïte, peut s'appliquer aussi bien à des hommes qu'à des femmes (lettre du 31/1/1991).

⁶⁰ Voir par ex., G. Daressy, *Statues de divinités*, I (CGC) (Caire, 1906), *passim*; G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Bronzewecke* (Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim, Wiss. Veröff. 3; Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1937), *passim*; id., *Ägyptische Bronzefiguren* (Staatl. Museum zu Berlin, Mitt. aus der äg. Sammlung 6; Berlin, 1956), *passim*.

⁶¹ 'Somtous l'Enfant sur le lotus', *CRIPPEL* 13 (1991), 116.

⁶² Ibid., 117 (6).

donne la vie',⁶³ qui font soit du dieu soit du particulier le bénéficiaire de la 'vie' et des éventuels souhaits annexes.

Je pense toutefois que cette construction peut, comme la 'formule royale' *ir.n.f m mnw.f*, prendre un sens parfaitement satisfaisant si on y voit une phrase coupée bâtie sans l'opérateur énonciatif *in*. De fait, l'étude de Vernus déjà citée à propos de l'anthroponymie, a montré qu'en néo-égyptien tout particulièrement, ce type de 'cleft sentence' est bien attesté, comme variante des constructions habituelles '*m (= in) NN / (i.)stp* (participe perfectif)⁶⁴ (sens passé) ou '*m (= in) NN / stp.f* (prospectif non-autonome)⁶⁵ (sens futur), surtout si le premier membre de la phrase est constitué par un nom propre,⁶⁶ élément syntaxique à haut degré de spécificité devant lequel l'opérateur énonciatif est aussi souvent absent en ancien et moyen égyptiens.⁶⁷

Or, parmi ces variantes de la 'cleft sentence' sans le *in* devant le nom propre, nombreux sont, précisément, les exemples qui concernent des noms divins, dans les formules stéréotypées reproduites sur le mobilier funéraire. Ainsi, le souhait formulé pour le défunt 'c'est Hâpy qui lui donnera de l'eau, Népri qui lui donnera du pain, Hathor qui lui donnera de la bière (et) Hésat qui lui donnera du lait' est-il documenté tant par des exemples avec l'opérateur énonciatif *in*, éventuellement ré-orthographié *m* à l'époque ramesside sous l'influence de la langue vernaculaire,⁶⁸ que par la variante suivante, sans le *in/m* introductif, *Ø Hꜣp di.f n.k mw*, *Ø Npri di.f n.k tꜣ*, *Ø Hwt-Hr di.s n.k ḥ(n)qt*, *Ø Hsꜣt di.s n.k irtt*, rencontrée sur un collier de faïence du Musée archéologique de Naples, de provenance memphite, à dater de la XVIII^e ou XIX^e dynastie,⁶⁹ ainsi que sur un coffret à viscères tardif du Musée de Turin,⁷⁰ pour ne citer que les exemples qui me tombent directement sous la main.⁷¹

C'est pourquoi je verrais volontiers dans l'inscription gravée sur les bronzes tardifs, une formule comparable à celle attestée à même époque dans l'anthroponymie pour attribuer à un dieu ou à une déesse le mérite exclusif⁷² d'avoir 'donné' l'enfant à ses parents ou de l'avoir 'mis au monde': une autre phrase coupée, à peine plus développée, à traduire 'c'est (tel dieu ou telle déesse) qui a donné la vie (la prospérité, la santé, une durée d'existence élevée)' et autres bienfaits éventuels à Untel, le particulier mentionné sur ces objets en étant à l'évidence le destinataire. En l'occurrence, l'absence de

⁶³Ibid. 116.

⁶⁴J. Černý et S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (Rome, 1975), §57.12.12 (Type III).

⁶⁵Erman, *Grammar*, §701; le néo-égyptien vernaculaire de la fin de la XX^e dynastie préférant la tournure périprastique correspondante *m NN i.iri.f stp*, cf. Černý et Groll, *LEG*, §57.12.9 (Type II).

⁶⁶*RdE* 38, 175–8 (dans la majorité des exemples rassemblés, un nom propre—de particulier ou divinité—, éventuellement précédé dans le cas d'une personne, du titre qui en complète l'identification, constitue le premier membre de la 'cleft sentence').

⁶⁷Supra, pp. 57–8.

⁶⁸*Urk.* IV, 1808, 3; *KRI* VII, 413, 9–11.

⁶⁹P. Testa, 'Un "collare" in faïence nel Museo Archeologico di Napoli', *JEA* 72 (1986), 91–9.

⁷⁰*Ø Hꜣpy, di.f n.t mw*, *Ø Npri, di.f n.t tꜣ*, *Ø Hwt-Hr, di.s n.t ḥ(n)q(t)*, *Ø Hsꜣt, di.s n.t irt(t) wꜣb(t) rdwy.t hr wꜣt ḥd (im)*, 'c'est Hâpy qui te donnera de l'eau, Népri qui te donnera du pain, Hathor qui te donnera de la bière et Hésat qui te donnera le lait (au moyen duquel) tes pieds ont été lavés sur le chemin blanc!' (Turin, Inv. 2433, d'après photo aimablement communiquée par Marie-Cécile Bruwier du Musée de Mariemont).

⁷¹Voir aussi le coffret à viscères Londres BM EA 8532, face 2: *Ø 'Inp(w) tp(y) dw.f, di.f ḥt (n) Wsir NN ... m kꜣw n didi.f, ḥmḥ.f (sw)*, 'c'est Anubis qui-est-sur-sa-montagne qui accordera la glorification (à) l'Osiris NN..., au moyen des aliments qu'il dispense, et qui (le) rendra parfait!' (d'après photo aimablement communiquée par Marie-Cécile Bruwier du Musée de Mariemont).

⁷²Vernus, *RdE* 38, 178–9.

l'opérateur énonciatif *in*, d'ailleurs banale dans la langue contemporaine, comme l'a montré Vernus par des exemples abondants, trouverait sa justification principale dans la taille souvent réduite de ces objets, qui imposait de faire l'économie de tous les éléments syntaxiques non indispensables à la compréhension de la phrase.

De là, en outre, l'omission du *n* du datif devant la mention du bénéficiaire des bénédictions divines, que l'on observe sur une majorité de ces bronzes, mais non sur tous.⁷³ À en juger par les pièces du mobilier funéraire, cette omission est, en effet, fréquente à Basse Époque, puisqu'on la relève sur quantité d'objets contemporains (voir par ex., stèles Caire JE 9407, 2: ... *di.f pr.t-hrw (m) t3-ḥnqt, k3w, 3pdw Ø k3 n Wsir nbt-pr* ...; ⁷⁴ Caire S.R. 9405 [JE 25108], 4: ... *di.f ... ḥt nbt bnrt, ndmt Ø k3 Wsir it-ntr* ...; ⁷⁵ coffret à viscères BM EA 8532, face 2: ... *di.f 3ḥt Ø Wsir NN* ..., supra). À moins qu'elle ne soit simplement imputable à la négligence de l'artiste, peut-être, son origine s'explique-t-elle par le fait que dans les textes d'Ancien Empire, fréquemment copiés ou pastichés sous les dernières dynasties, le *n* du datif manquait souvent, l'usage ancien étant d'indiquer le destinataire des grâces divines ou royales en inversant complètement le nom par rapport au reste du texte ou à un de ses éléments (le titre de document *wḏ-nsrw*, par exemple), comme l'a noté Fischer.⁷⁶

Je proposerais, par conséquent, de rendre notre texte: 'c'est Horus-l'enfant, le très grand, le premier (fils) d'Amon, qui a donné la vie (à) Khaâoues-Mout, fils (fille?) du père divin Iry-iry, né de Tadibastet', façon de traduire qui pourrait être adoptée aussi pour toutes les légendes d'objets similaires,⁷⁷ lesquels auraient donc constitué, dans la pratique, des ex-votos offerts à la divinité à l'occasion de la naissance, d'un péril heureusement surmonté en cours d'existence ou simplement dans l'espoir d'en obtenir les bienfaits énoncés.

⁷³ Quaegebeur cite cependant deux exemples avec *n* devant le nom de particulier (CRIPEL 13, 116, n. 16), mais semble estimer, à cause de l'abondance d'exemples sans le *n*, qu'il s'agit d'une erreur; à ces deux exemples, L. Limme en joint cinq autres relevés sur des bronzes du Musée du Caire, auquel il convient d'ajouter encore celui de la statuette de stéatite de Bruxelles MRAH Inv. E. 530, qu'il publie (dans *Aegyptus museis rediviva: Miscellanea in honorem Hermanni De Meulenaere* (Bruxelles, 1993), 112 n. 23).

⁷⁴ A. Abdalla, 'Two Wooden Stelae of the Early Saite Epoch', *GM* 99 (1987), 10, 12.

⁷⁵ P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), pl. 3, fig. 12.

⁷⁶ H. G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, I. Reversals* (New York, 1977), 58–9 ('... the dative *n* regularly appears in examples of the Twelfth Dynasty and later, which do not show any reversal in the preceding signs, whereas the *n* is omitted in all but one of the Old Kingdom writings since the reversal sufficed to convey the dative idea.').

⁷⁷ Une solution de cet ordre avait été pressentie pour la lecture de la formule presque identique '*dd mdw in* + nom de divinité + *di nh n* + nom de particulier' par P. Ramond (*JEA* 69 (1979), 170 note b), qui justifiait cependant cette lecture en rattachant le *in* de *dd mdw* à ce qui suivait pour en faire l'opérateur énonciatif de la phrase coupée, et non en reconnaissant dans la 'cleft sentence' sans *in* une structure spécifique, comme je le propose ici. C'est cette solution (donc correcte en pratique) de Ramond que Limme adopte pour sa lecture du texte du pilier dorsal de la statuette MRAH E 530, formulée dans les mêmes termes: 'Prononcer (la formule: c'est) Néferhotep qui donne la vie à ...' (*Aegyptus museis rediviva*, 112).

AMENHOTEP III AND AMARNA: SOME NEW CONSIDERATIONS

By W. RAYMOND JOHNSON

The monuments of Amenhotep III at Amarna have long perplexed scholars by their ambiguous nature. In the first section of this paper the deification of Amenhotep III is examined through his votive sculpture, which appears after his Year 30 rendered in a new artistic style featuring unusual solar iconography. In the second section a new identification of a statuette group excavated by Petrie at Amarna, UC 004, is proposed, and the criteria for that identification examined. The paper concludes with a discussion of the theological relationship between Amenhotep III and Akhenaten expressed in their art, where Amenhotep III's later iconography reflects his identification with the sun's disk and the creator-god Atum-Re, while Akhenaten's iconography emphasizes his role as Atum's firstborn, Shu. It is suggested that the two kings ruled together in the ritual roles of Atum and Shu as an integral part of Amenhotep III's deification programme, and that the senior king was the original focus of his son's Aten cult.

FOR many years there has been spirited debate over exactly what role, if any, Akhenaten's father Amenhotep III played in the Amarna Period. A tidy corpus of material inscribed for Amenhotep III, consisting of diplomatic correspondence, jar sealings, faience and precious jewellery, and sculpture of various types, has been excavated throughout Akhenaten's city at Amarna from the beginning of work there.¹ These inscriptions and representations of Amenhotep III, often accompanied with the later form of the Aten's name found only after Akhenaten's Year 9, suggest that he was a presence at Amarna, although the exact nature of that presence has always been ambiguous.

For those who believe that the two kings ruled consecutively, Amenhotep III's presence at Amarna is in memory only, perhaps a mark of Akhenaten's ancestral piety, indicated by additional references to 'houses' or 'chapels' of Thutmosis I, Amenhotep II, and Thutmosis IV also found there.² Those who believe that the Amenhotep III material from Amarna is evidence that Akhenaten and his father shared the throne during this time have difficulty explaining away the contradiction of the older king's well-known piety toward Amun-Re and his son's notorious antipathy toward that deity. It has been suggested that Amenhotep III must have been weak and ineffectual during his last decade, possibly even in poor health, to allow his son such destructive licence. At first glance a number of Amarna-style sculptures of Amenhotep III from his last years, such as Metropolitan Museum of Art 30.8.74 (pl. IV, 1–2, and see below, pp. 70–1), which show him corpulent and dressed in the gauzy, loose-fitting robes associated with his son, seem to support this view. Artistic representations and other evidence, such as the poor physical condition of the mummy traditionally identified as Amenhotep III, have sug-

¹For summaries see H. Fairman, in J. D. S. Pendlebury et al., *The City of Akhenaten*, III (London, 1951) (hereafter, *COA* III), 152–7; F. J. Giles, *Akhenaton: Legend and History* (London, 1970), 66–84; and E. F. Campbell, *The Chronology of the Amarna Letters: With Special Reference to the Hypothetical Coregency of Amenophis III and Akhenaten* (Baltimore, 1964), 6–30.

²Fairman, in *COA* III, 200; W. J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies* (SAOC 40; Chicago, 1977), 127–9.

gested to some scholars that in his later years an ailing Amenhotep III handed over the affairs of state to his son, whose religious zeal was held in check until the death of the older king.³ Others hold that later in his reign Amenhotep III essentially abandoned the affairs of state for affairs of the harem, and spent his last decade in indolent, voluptuous retirement, while Akhenaten was allowed to pursue his religious reforms without interference.⁴

Given Amenhotep III's well-known penchant for grandiose architectural expressions of his piety towards Amun-Re and the other gods of Egypt, the grandest of which, the great Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple, was still under construction at the time of his death,⁵ the idea that he abandoned all that at the end of his reign is too contradictory to be satisfactory and therefore has been widely, and correctly, rejected. This rejection has logically led to the opposite view, that Amenhotep III must have died before Akhenaten ascended the throne of Egypt, or very shortly thereafter. The monuments and inscriptions of Amenhotep III in an Amarna style or context in the consecutive-reign model are then considered *post-mortem* homages to Akhenaten's highly-regarded father, heirlooms brought to the new city, or in the case of diplomatic correspondence addressed to Amenhotep III but found at Amarna, archival references.⁶

Current research suggests that the truth might be more complex. Hourig Sourouzian has recently pointed out that the 'gauzy robes' of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten, far from being the frivolous attire of voluptuaries, were another iconographic innovation of Amenhotep III associated with the jubilee rites, a modernized *heb-sed* costume that henceforward replaced the archaic jubilee cloak on all royal statuary, through the Rameside period and later.⁷ Additional new material pertaining to Amenhotep III's deification while alive, an event which evidence suggests occurred at the culmination of his first jubilee rites, has an equally important bearing on the problem of the initial impetus of Akhenaten's religious 'revolution' and the extraordinary theological relationship of the two kings.⁸ By way of an introduction to these matters, the first part of this paper is devoted to a brief overview of the nature of Amenhotep III's deification and some of the tangible remains that were generated by that theological event.

³C. Aldred, *Akhenaten, Pharaoh of Egypt: A New Study* (London, 1968), 62–3, 104; Aldred felt that Akhenaten's fury against Amun might have been unleashed only at the very end of his reign (p. 195).

⁴E. Bille-De Mot, *The Age of Akhenaten* (New York, 1966), 37ff.: 'Prematurely worn out by his excesses, he died at 51, after reigning thirty-eight years' (p. 38); W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 280.

⁵W. Raymond Johnson, 'Honorific Figures of Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple Colonnade Hall', in D. P. Silverman (ed.), *For his Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer* (SAOC 55; Chicago, 1994), 133–4; idem, 'Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions', in L. M. Berman (ed.), *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis* (Cleveland, 1990), 26–31; The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple, I: The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall* (OIP 112; Chicago, 1994), preface.

⁶For reviews of the chronological questions posed by the diplomatic correspondence, see W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore, 1992), xxxiv–ix; D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten the Heretic King* (Princeton, 1984), 185–203; and Giles, *Ikhmaton*, 141–202.

⁷Sourouzian, 'Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l'Époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III', in C. Berger et al., *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, I (BdE 106/1; Paris, 1994), 499–524; idem, 'A Bust of Amenophis II at the Kimbell Art Museum', *JARCE* 28 (1991), 59. Two-dimensional representations of the archaic cloak continue to be found throughout the period of Amenhotep III and later.

⁸See n. 5; also Johnson, 'Monuments and Monumental Art Under Amenhotep III: Evolution and Meaning', in D. O'Connor and E. H. Cline (eds), *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on his Reign* (University of Michigan Press, forthcoming), n. 26; idem, 'The Deified Amenhotep III as the Living Re-Horakhty: Stylistic and Iconographic Considerations', *Sesto Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia. Atti* (Turin, 1993), II, 231–6.

Aspects of the deification of Amenhotep III

Reliefs preserved in the temple of Soleb in Nubia which depict Amenhotep III worshipping figures of himself as the god 'Nebmaatre Lord of Nubia' indicate that this king experienced living deification, or worship as a god while he was still alive, at some point during his reign of almost 39 years.⁹ I have suggested elsewhere that textual and artistic criteria from Amenhotep III's last decade pinpoint this event to the celebration of his first jubilee in Year 30.¹⁰ In a dated scene commemorating the first jubilee preserved in the Theban tomb of Kheruef, Amenhotep III is depicted in the barque of the sun god, thus identified as the sun god while still alive, a state of being traditionally that of deceased kings as described in the Pyramid Texts.¹¹ The exceptional nature of the event is underscored in the accompanying text where it is stated that these particular jubilee rites had not been celebrated since 'the time of the ancestors', and that the king decreed they be enacted 'in accordance with writings of old'.¹²

A new rebus writing of his prenomen appears after Amenhotep III's first jubilee, where a figure of the king himself stands for *nb*, the feather in his hand represents *mꜣꜣt*, and the disk on his head (and the name as a whole) spells out *Rꜣ*.¹³ A variant of this name occurs on wine-jar stoppers at Malqata and Amarna enclosed within a large sun-disk in the solar barque sailing on the hieroglyph *pt* ('heaven'), beneath it the hieroglyph *thn* ('dazzling'). The whole group spells out 'Neb-maat-Re is the Dazzling Aten'.¹⁴ A shorter form of this epithet is found on public and private monuments throughout the later part of Amenhotep III's reign.¹⁵

⁹See P. Pamminger, 'Zur Göttlichkeit Amenophis' III', *BSEG* 17 (1993), 83–92 for a discussion of 'Nebmaatre, Lord of Nubia'; also B. Bryan, in B. Bryan and A. Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and his World* (Cleveland, 1992), 106–8, 133, 135–6, 194, 196.

¹⁰Above, nn. 5 and 8.

¹¹PT 222; see R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford, 1969), 50–1; E. F. Wente, 'Hathor at the Jubilee', in R. Anthes et al., *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (SAOC 35; Chicago, 1969), 90.

¹²The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192* (OIP 102; Chicago, 1980), 43, pl. 24. This ritual undoubtedly took place on the Birket Habu and its eastern mate across the river.

¹³Johnson, in Berman (ed.), *Art of Amenhotep III*, 38, drawing 4. The rebus name is usually found without a cartouche, in the manner of that of a deity; see L. Bell, 'Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun', in P. Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (BdE 97; Cairo, 1985), I, 42, n. 6. This rebus appears on seal documents, stamped bricks, and wine-jar labels dating to Amenhotep III's three *sed*-festivals in Years 30, 34, and 37 from his *heb-sed*-palace in Western Thebes (present-day Malqata); see Hayes, 'Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III', *JNES* 10 (1951), 157–83. It also appears on private and royal monuments from Memphis to Aswan, such as the famous biographical inscription found on the block statue of Amenhotep III's chief steward of Memphis, Amenhotep, in W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London, 1913), 32–6, pls. lxxviii–lxxx, and a rock inscription at Aswan mentioning the statue 'Neb-maat-Re is Re of the Rulers'; A. Varille, 'L'inscription dorsale du colosse méridional de Memnon', *ASAE* 33 (1933), 94.

¹⁴Johnson, in Berman (ed.), *Art of Amenhotep III*, 39, drawing 5; Hayes, *JNES* 10, fig. 25. E, F; Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), pl. xxi. 22, 57; T. E. Peet and C. L. Woolley, *City of Akhenaten*, I (London, 1923) (hereafter, *COA* I), pl. 55. K, L; H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, II (London, 1933) (hereafter, *COA* II), pl. lvii. F; *COA* III, 164. (c) 1.

¹⁵The epithet 'the Dazzling Sun-Disk (Aten)' is first encountered in the Lake Scarab inscription dated to Amenhotep III's Year 11, as the name of the royal barge. 'Neb-maat-Re is the Dazzling Aten' is also found on the front architrave on the west side of his late-second-decade Luxor Temple proper; A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor* (MMAF 15; Paris, 1894), 15. In the tomb of Neferssekheru (TT 107), the chief steward of Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata, the palace is referred to as 'the Palace of the Dazzling Aten': A. Hermann, 'Das Grab eines Nachtmin in Unternubien', *MDAIK* 6 (1936), 38. Amenhotep is referred to by that name on numerous stelae belonging to other members of the palace staff found at Thebes and Abydos; Hayes, *JNES* 10, 179, and also in the texts of canopic jars belonging to some of his minor wives: G. Legrain, 'Fragments de canopes', *ASAE* 4 (1903), 145.

Innovations in his titulary, dramatic changes in the style and iconography of his subsequent statue and monument decoration, and the simultaneous appearance of votive sculpture of Amenhotep III in a multitude of divine forms indicate that his living deification was a consequence of his expanded jubilee rites. The accumulating evidence indicates that during his last decade, Amenhotep III was officially considered to be a living manifestation of the creator god Re, particularly in his manifestation as the sun's disk, *Aten*, and hence was a living embodiment of all the gods of Egypt, their 'living image' on earth.

During the decade leading up to Amenhotep III's first *heb-sed*, vast quantities of sculpture were commissioned and executed in preparation for that event, in numbers probably not seen since the Middle Kingdom:¹⁶ statues of the king and his family; multiple images of all the gods in the likeness of the king; hundreds of lion-headed Sekhmet statues; and kilometres of sculptures of the king in animal form, such as recumbent androsphinxes, criosphinxes, rams, jackals, lions and even falcons, vultures, and serpents, which guarded the broad avenues leading to his numerous temple complexes.¹⁷ Inscriptions, style, and iconography indicate that the bulk of this sculpture was prepared *before* the king's thirtieth year, in preparation for his jubilee; many pieces are inscribed with references to it. Betsy Bryan has suggested that in assembling sets of these statues in his mortuary temple, Luxor Temple, Soleb, and elsewhere, Amenhotep III took on the role of Ptah, creator of the gods as defined in the Memphite Theology, gathering the images of the gods and uniting with them as part of his jubilee celebration/deification.¹⁸ Indeed, he was worshipped as the embodiment of Ptah in the 'Temple of Nebmaatre-United-with-Ptah' at Memphis, described in detail in the autobiographical inscription of his High Steward of Memphis, Amenhotep, who was responsible for its construction.¹⁹ The conspicuous veneration of the king as a manifestation of specific deities continued into the Ramesside period, particularly during the reign of Ramesses II, who also appears to have initiated this specialized worship at the time of his first jubilee.²⁰ Labib Habachi pointed out years ago that when Ramesses II experienced his own living deification, he was essentially emulating his illustrious ancestor, Amenhotep III.²¹

Several series of sculptures commemorating the deified Amenhotep III, datable by their unusual style, were executed after his first jubilee. One of these, a remarkable

¹⁶The mortuary complex of Amenemhet III at Hawara was undoubtedly one of the prototypes for Amenhotep III's statuary programme; see PM IV, 100–1 (Labyrinth. Amenemhet III); and Petrie et al., *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London, 1912).

¹⁷For the best overview of the royal statuary production of Amenhotep III's reign, see Bryan, in Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 125–228.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 135–6. A partial, inscribed back support in dark blue faience of a lifesize figure of Amenhotep III as the god Ptah was recovered by the EES at Saqqara; see G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka* (London, 1979), 40 no. 118, pl. 36. For a smaller inscribed votive figurine of Amenhotep III as Ptah, also in faience, see H. Schlögl (ed.), *Geschenk des Nils: Aegyptische Kunstwerke aus Schweizer Besitz* (Basel, 1978), 56–7 cat. 178.

¹⁹R. G. Morkot, 'Nb-M:at-Rr- United-with-Ptah', *JNES* 49 (1990), 325–35; Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 32–6, pls. lxxviii–lxxx.

²⁰See the study by M. Eaton-Krauss, 'Ramesses-Re Who Creates the Gods', in E. Bleiberg et al. (eds), *Fragments of a Shattered Visage: The Proceedings of the International Symposium on Ramesses the Great* (Monographs of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology 1; Memphis, 1991), 21, where the role of Ramesses II as the creator-god Re is discussed.

²¹*Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (ADAIK 5; Glückstadt, 1969), 48–50.

quartzite statue of the king excavated at Luxor Temple in 1989 and now on prominent display in the lower 'Cachette' gallery of the Luxor Museum,²² depicts him in the 'rejuvenation' or 'deification' style of his last decade. Standing on a sledge, with the powerful body of a young man and exaggerated, overlarge eyes that heighten the effect of his new youthfulness, Amenhotep III wears the double crown and an elaborate, pleated kilt festooned with disk-crowned uraei and falcon feathers at the back, all features of the new style and all solar-related. The statue is essentially a representation of the king's body as solar deity, and is named, 'Ruler of the Nine Bows, *Dazzling Aten* of all lands, whose Uraeus (*ꜥḥt*) illuminates the Two Banks'. This statue was set up in Luxor Temple and was undoubtedly the focus of Amenhotep III's cult there, just as other statues of the deified king in many different forms and scales were set up at this time in all the major cult centres of Egypt, most of them in quartzite, a stone associated with the sun god.²³ Chief among these quartzite statues are the well-known Colossi of Memnon, or 'Ruler of the Rulers', that still flank the entrance to Amenhotep III's long-vanished mortuary complex in Western Thebes;²⁴ fragments of a colossal striding statue named 'Montu of the Rulers' erected against the south side of the Tenth Pylon at Karnak;²⁵ a series of colossal baboons excavated at Hermopolis which portray Amenhotep III in the guise of the moon-god Thoth;²⁶ two colossal standing sculptures of the god Ptah from Memphis now in the foyer of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo;²⁷ a small head of the king in Cleveland (61.417) with a short, rounded and curled wig, fillet, and missing double crown that associates him with the god Khonsu Neferhotep;²⁸ and one of the most remarkable of all, a slightly over-lifesize seated statue in the *Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels (E. 5188), which depicts the king with the head, wings, and tail feathers of a solar falcon and the body of a man.²⁹ A surprising number of small votive statuettes of Amenhotep III and his family survive: Brooklyn Museum 48.28 is one of the finest, made of ebony, gold, and glass.³⁰ The figure wears an elaborate gilded kilt with falcon-tail sporran, and

²²Luxor M 838; see Mohammed el-Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple* (Mainz, 1991), 21–7, figs. 45–59.

²³The association may have derived from the close proximity of the major quartzite quarries at Gebel Ahmar to the cult centre of Re in Heliopolis.

²⁴Style and iconography, such as the panther head at the top of the sporran of the southernmost colossus, suggest a late date for their erection; see Sourouzian, 'La statuaire royale sous Amenophis III dans les grands sites d'Égypte', in *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 180 (March 1993): *Amenophis III: L'Égypte à son apogée*, 10.

²⁵Habachi, *Deification of Ramesses II*, 48; also P. Clère et al., 'Le socle du colosse oriental dressé devant la X Pylône de Karnak', *Karnak V, 1970–1972* (Paris, 1975), 159–66.

²⁶They were found in pieces in later foundations of Philip Arrhidaeus; see A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein*, II. *The Temple Area* (London, 1989), pls. 93–4; D. M. Bailey et al., *British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt, Ashmunein (1980)* (British Museum Occasional Paper 37; London, 1982), 6–10, pls. 7a–11b, 24a–27c.

²⁷Cairo JE 38439 and one other, both usurped by Ramesses II. Note that the faces were recut by Ramesses II to reflect his own features; my thanks to Betsy M. Bryan for that observation.

²⁸Height 17.3 cm, width 17 cm, depth 25.3 cm; Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 159–61.

²⁹Height 1.99 m. E. 5188 has recently been published in two studies by B. Van Rinsveld, who suggests that although found in the Khonsu Temple at Karnak, the statue was originally set up in Amenhotep III's mortuary temple: 'Le dieu-falcons égyptien des Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire', *BMRAH* 62 (1991), 15–45; idem, 'Redating a Monumental Hawk Sculpture in the Musées royaux, Brussels', *KMT* 4/1 (Spring 1993), 14–21.

³⁰The inscription on the plinth mentions Amenhotep III's jubilee palace at Malkata, and it probably came from there. R. Fazzini et al., *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum* (London, 1989), no. 44; Hayes, *JNES* 10, 86 n. 75, 178.

originally had an elaborate collar, now missing, probably the *shebyu*-necklace of gold disks (another iconographic device utilized during his final decade to indicate his uplifted, 'deified' status), fastened to a pin still preserved at the back of his neck.³¹ From a similar statuette, the superb head identified on stylistic grounds as Queen Tiye, Berlin 21834, made of yew wood, gold, silver, and glass, ranks among the masterpieces of the genre.³² The headless statuette MMA 30.8.74 (pl. IV, 1–2) is another of this type in dark serpentine, where in jubilee/'Amarna' attire, his hands clasped before him, Amenhotep III with the *djed*-pillar at his back is associated with the god Osiris.³³ British Museum EA 2275 in black steatite³⁴ and Berlin 17020 in white limestone,³⁵ both headless, each depict Amenhotep III in a long pleated kilt an elaborate sporran grasping a *heqa*-sceptre in his right hand held vertically against his right shoulder. The wide belts and sporran sashes, the looped sash, the cords tipped with papyrus umbels suspended from the belt, and the panther head at the top of the sporran on the Berlin piece, which represents an archaic form of the sky goddess,³⁶ are all iconographic innovations found in the 'deification' style of the king's last decade. The Berlin statuette also holds a long staff, probably originally topped with the ram-head of Amun, now broken away.³⁷

A small diorite head of the king in Chicago, OIM 16687 (pl. V, 1–4), may have come from another of these votive sculptures. Found by Uvo Hölscher in his excavations at Medinet Habu, the uninscribed head exhibits Amenhotep III's thick neck (lacking a back support), broad face, and wide *khefresh*-crown. The nose and lips are damaged, but enough remains to indicate that both were small, in contrast to the large, narrow, almond eyes which dominate the face. The eyes have traces of a cosmetic line outlining the upper edge, and the eyebrows are indicated with a characteristic raised plastic line that arches over the eye. Because of its findspot there will always be some question that this head might have been from an ushebti of Amenhotep III since unpublished fragments of others were found elsewhere in the Medinet Habu complex,³⁸ but it is equally possible

³¹ From the time of Amenhotep II onwards, the king is often depicted in private tombs enshrined and wearing these accoutrements, referred to as the god Re, and accompanied by the goddess Hathor. The *shebyu*-collar, which represented an elevation in status when presented to a private person, here reflected a change in the king's state of being after his potential death, the result of his assimilation and identification with the sun-disk. See E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca, New York, 1982), 139; A. Radwan, *Die Darstellung des regierenden Königs und seiner Familienangehörigen in den Privatgräbern der 18. Dynastie* (MÄS 21; Berlin, 1969); Wente, in *Studies . . . Wilson*, 83–91. For the *shebyu*-necklace, see Eaton-Krauss, in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom. 1558–1085 B.C.* (exh. cat., 1982), 238–9 no. 316.

³² Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 209–10; D. Wildung, 'Métamorphoses d'une reine: La tête berlinoise de la reine Tiye', *BSFE* 125 (October 1992), 15–28.

³³ Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 204–6; E. Chassinat, 'Une statuette d'Amenophis III', *BIFAO* 7 (1909), 169–72.

³⁴ Height 14 cm, inscribed with Amenhotep III's name; H. R. Hall, 'Objects of Tut'ankhamun in the British Museum', *JEA* 14 (1928), 76–7, pl. 11.

³⁵ H. Schäfer, 'Die Simonsche Holzfigur eines Königs der Amarnazeit', *ZÄS* 70 (1934), pl. 3.

³⁶ Bryan, in Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 201.

³⁷ For a study of the genre, see Eaton-Krauss, 'Concerning Standard-Bearing Statues', *SAK* 4 (1976), 69–73; also Bryan, 'Portrait Sculpture of Thutmose IV', *JARCE* 24 (1987), 13–20.

³⁸ The ushebtis are perhaps additional evidence that the rewrapping of the royal mummies in the Twenty-first Dynasty occurred at Medinet Habu. For other evidence in the form of inscribed linen docketts, see E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropolis of Thebes* (Princeton, 1966), 265 n. 7; C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings: The Decline of a Royal Necropolis* (London, 1990), 230.

that it is another example of a votive statuette from an earlier house or palace shrine in the vicinity.³⁹

A large percentage of Amenhotep III's votive statuettes were made of glazed, light-coloured steatite,⁴⁰ such as the headless CG 42084 in Cairo, which is in the same attitude as the British Museum and Berlin statuettes but also features a double *shebyu*-necklace and a falcon-tail sporran topped with a panther head and flanked by cobras crowned with sun-disks (one missing).⁴¹ This piece and others of the same material are often inscribed on the back plinth for Amenhotep III in his mortuary temple; others are dedicated specifically to Amenhotep III's 'living image' (*hnty nht*) in his mortuary temple, were probably offered to it, and then distributed as votive offerings to temples elsewhere, such as Karnak, where CG 42084 and several others were found at the turn of the century in the Karnak statue cachette.⁴² In function they should perhaps be regarded as the successors to the large glazed steatite commemorative scarabs so popular with Amenhotep III before his Year 30. The statuettes may have served to proclaim the event of his deification while simultaneously being an extension of it.

Although many of the smaller votive statuettes depict Amenhotep III with a thickened waist, a number of them were executed in what can only be described as a naturalistic style, seemingly at odds with the mannered, 'deification' style with its exaggerated youthfulness. The Brooklyn ebony statuette and the corpulent serpentine figure in New York, while featuring iconography associated with the deification style, are set apart by the naturalistic rendering of the royal physiognomy and physique. The Brooklyn statuette depicts the king with a full round face, unlined lips, thick neck, double chin, and mature, stocky body with enlarged stomach, while the long, gilded kilt and sporran display elements of the deification iconography: falcon-tail sporran, sashes, and pendant cords tipped with papyrus umbels and lily flowers hanging from the wide belt. The thick-necked, corpulent statuette in serpentine sports an elaborate floral *wah*-collar, associated with Osiris, and often found around the necks of Amenhotep III's relief figures in his last decade.⁴³ These statuettes are readily assumed to be posthumous productions because of their naturalism, usually associated with Akhenaten and Amarna, and their funerary iconography. This assumption should be questioned in the light of our growing understanding of the nature of Amenhotep III's all-encompassing divinity, which embraced the gods of the dead as well as the living, and whose deification iconography

³⁹The Medinet Habu complex was built over the northern part of the Malqata palace settlement. OIM 16687: height 6.9 cm; width 5.2 cm; depth 5.2 cm. 1929 excavation records indicate that the head was found at Section E/5, the stratum with the 'small walls', ('therefore 21–22nd Dynasty') with two pots, an alabaster cosmetic vessel, a diorite grinding stone, and an alabaster beaker. My thanks are due to the Oriental Institute Museum for permission to publish OIM 16687 here, and to Emily Teeter for information from the excavation records. A similar head found at Faras in Nubia and now in the Khartoum Museum (Khartoum 5829) is also attributable to Amenhotep III by its style; see J. Karkowski, *Faras, V: The Pharaonic Inscriptions from Faras* (Warsaw, 1981), 139, Appendix II.

⁴⁰Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 193–208.

⁴¹Schäfer, *ZÄS* 70, 6, pl. 8; Bryan, in Kozloff and Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 201–2, n. 7.

⁴²'He made [it] as his monument for his living image in the temple of [Neb]maatre', from Cairo JE 38596; Bryan, in Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 200–1; also idem, 'Steatite figures of Amenhotep III: An Example of the Purposes of Minor Arts', in E. Goring et al. (eds), *Chief of Seers. Studies for Cyril Aldred* (forthcoming).

⁴³For the Osiride association of the *wah*-collar, see Martha Bell, in S. D'Auria et al. (eds), *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), 133–4 cat. no. 68, and 139 cat. no. 77.

borrows heavily from funerary iconography.⁴⁴ There are other factors to consider as well, such as the almost total lack for any other Egyptian king of documented examples of votive sculpture of this sort, commissioned during his immediate successor's reign.⁴⁵ It should also be noted that a growing corpus of naturalistic sculpture of Amenhotep III from Thebes and elsewhere, ranging in scale from diminutive to colossal, firmly dates the inauguration of the style to the end of Amenhotep III's own reign and not the end of Akhenaten's reign.⁴⁶

Amenhotep III's monuments at Amarna

The indirect or circumstantial evidence of Amenhotep III's presence at Amarna consists of a wide range of monuments of the older king found at that site, including statuary and relief work. Much has been written about this material, so it is not necessary to go into detail here. One of the best examples is the often-discussed lintel scene preserved in the tomb of Huya, the Steward of Queen Tiye, recorded by Norman de Garis Davies at the turn of this century and dated after Akhenaten's Year 9 by the late form of the Aten's name.⁴⁷ The lintel is split into halves which depict the two royal families back-to-back: on the left Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and four royal daughters, and on the right Amenhotep III, Tiye, and an enigmatic young princess called Baketaten, whose mother is left unnamed, and who was either their youngest daughter or granddaughter.⁴⁸ Amenhotep III is represented living and is even rendered somewhat larger in scale than Akhenaten's figure to the left, as is his throne. Amenhotep III and Nefertiti both extend their right hands towards their respective families in a distinctly active manner, a gesture utilized extensively in Amarna art to indicate active communication between different figures. The right hands of Queen Tiye and Baketaten raised in worship have often been interpreted as an indication that Amenhotep III is dead, but the gesture might instead commemorate their reverence for Amenhotep the living, deified king, just as the daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti worship their divine parents with fans in the pendant scene. It is significant that Tiye is shown wearing the double plumes and horned disk of Hathor, a detail that underscores her own deification and identification with that goddess in this scene. The jambs of another doorway in the same tomb are inscribed with

⁴⁴See, for instance, Radwan, 'Amenophis III., dargestellt und angerufen als Osiris (*wnn-nfrw*)', *MDAIK* 29 (1973), 71–6.

⁴⁵Commissioned anew, as opposed to completing a monument initiated during his predecessor's reign. A rare example is the Abydene chapel of Ramesses I built for the perpetuation of his father's cult by Sety I. For a list of votive statuettes of earlier kings, see Bryan, in Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 193.

⁴⁶The present author is preparing a study of this corpus, which includes two larger-than-lifesize grey granodiorite sculptures of the corpulent Amenhotep III in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 33900 and 33901), excavated at Kom el-Hetan by G. Daressy; a head with naturalistic features that matches the body of CG 33900; a quartzite colossus *in situ* in Amenhotep III's mortuary precinct north of Kom el-Hetan; and a number of related granite pieces.

⁴⁷Norman de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, III. *The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes* (London, 1905), pl. xviii.

⁴⁸Marc Gabolde ('Baketaten fille de Kiya?', *BSEG* 16 (1992), 27–40) has proposed that Baketaten was the daughter of Akhenaten and the disgraced Kiya, and was later 'adopted' by Tiye. He cites the fact that Baketaten's mother's name is nowhere written, which implies disgrace, and points out that in texts where Kiya's and her daughter's names have been erased, the space left for the daughter's name would fit Baketaten's name. This is not entirely true; the space allowed for the name of Kiya's daughter in the examples Gabolde cites is too small, even if one leaves off the female determinative, which is always found with her name elsewhere.

the names of both kings, also in association with the late name of the Aten, with no indication in the inscriptions that Amenhotep III is deceased.⁴⁹

An equally important monument of Amenhotep III from Amarna is the carved stela BM 57399 excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society in the private residence of Panehsy, High Priest of the Aten.⁵⁰ The stela is executed primarily in painted raised relief, and features a portly figure of Amenhotep III seated with Queen Tiye before a large pile of offerings, while the Aten disk above them and its titulary are executed in sunk relief. The king and queen, rendered naturalistically, are represented in a pose of relaxed intimacy. Because the upper body of Tiye is damaged, there are two possible positions for the arms of the royal couple. In the first, the king rests his left arm on the lap of his queen, who caresses it with her left hand and embraces him with her other arm, the fingers of which can be seen on the king's shoulder, just under his chin. The alternative possibility is that they each have their arms around each other's shoulders, their other arms on their respective laps. The stela has been interpreted both as evidence that Amenhotep III was still alive, and possibly even residing at Amarna, and the reverse, that the stela is an *hommage* to the deceased king. One might wonder, however, what a monument of this quality and nature was doing in the private residence of such a high functionary of the Aten cult.

These and other such objects from Amarna are discussed extensively in the studies of Fairman, Aldred, Giles, and others.⁵¹ But there are uninscribed objects as well pertinent to the problem of Amenhotep III's presence at Amarna. One of these was excavated in the workshop of the sculptor Thutmosis in the South Suburb, the same workshop where the painted bust of Nefertiti now in Berlin was found.⁵² This uninscribed, lifesize plaster head, Berlin 21299, probably cast from a statue, bears no resemblance to the numerous portraits of Akhenaten found at Amarna, yet the short, broad neck, wide face and distinctive features match the British Museum stela and make its identification as another portrait of Amenhotep III certain.⁵³ A temple dedicated to Queen Tiye at Amarna called the 'Sunshade of Tiye', featured in the tomb reliefs of her Steward, Huya, was decorated with named, alternating pair statues of Amenhotep III and Tiye and Akhenaten and Tiye, so we know that monumental sculpture of Amenhotep III was to be found at the site.⁵⁴ The plaster head of Amenhotep III may have been cast from one of these statues.

⁴⁹ Davies, *Rock Tombs III*, pl. xxi.

⁵⁰ Height 30 cm; width of cornice 30 cm. The stela was found in fragments in the north and west loggias of house R.44.2; some of the pieces, including the upper left and sections of Tiye's upper body, were not recovered; F. Ll. Griffith, 'Stela in Honour of Amenophis III and Taya, from Tell El-'Amarnah', *JEA* 12 (1926), 1–2, pl. i; Bryan, in Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 213–14. For an excellent colour photograph of the stela, see Bille-De Mot, *The Age of Akhenaten*, 36, pl. 4.

⁵¹ See above, nn. 1–4, and in addition, Eaton-Krauss, 'Akhenaten versus Akhenaten', *BiOr* 47 (1990), 542–59.

⁵² For this workshop, see R. Krauss, 'Der Bildhauer Thutmose in Amarna', *Jahrbuch preussischer Kulturbesitz* 20 (1983), 119–52.

⁵³ B. Fay, *Egyptian Museum Berlin* (Berlin, 1990), 80, cat. 41; Maya Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons* (Basel, 1988), pl. 11a–b.

⁵⁴ Davies, *Rock Tombs III*, pls. viii–xi; note the details of the statuary in pls. x and xi. Note also pl. xi, where in the back sanctuary two royal couples appear to be ascending a set of stairs leading to the back altar. They cannot be statues, because they are not shown with back supports or plinths as are the other statues in the complex; see new study by Giles, forthcoming.

A small limestone head in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1933.1207) was found by the EES in the precinct of the Great Temple of the Aten and identified by the excavators as Amenhotep III.⁵⁵ Examination of the piece, however, has revealed that the broken chin, mouth with distinct naso-labial lines, long neck, and elongated skull shape all point to an identification of the subject as Akhenaten. The broken chin gives the head a rounder appearance than would have been the case when the head was intact, but a bit of surviving upper lip allows a reconstruction of the head's true shape. Evidence of partly-carved roundels on the *khepresh*-crown suggest that the limestone head was covered with a thin layer of fine gypsum plaster before the finishing details were added. Stylistically the head belongs to the earlier artistic period at Amarna.

Because it is certain that sculpture in the round of Amenhotep III existed at Amarna, it is also probable that among the thousands of fragments excavated at that site, now in the reserves of museums around the world, there survive unrecognized pieces from his statuary. A small monument that belongs to this category is in the collection of the Petrie Museum, University College London, UC 004 (pl. VI, 1–3).⁵⁶ This well-known, uninscribed group statuette was excavated by Petrie at Amarna and belongs to the category of votive statuette commonly found in the private house and garden shrines at Amarna, usually depicting Akhenaten and Nefertiti, separately, paired, and sometimes in the company of one or more daughters.⁵⁷ The preferred material for these statuettes was limestone, sometimes with faience wigs or crowns, although harder stones such as granite and quartzite were also utilized, and the size varied from quite small to almost a metre in height. UC 004 is among the smallest known, only 14.5 cm in preserved height, 8.3 cm in depth, and 11.2 cm wide. The headless group statuette depicts a royal couple accompanied by a diminutive princess and is cut from a single piece of fine limestone. The king and queen hold hands, and the child originally held the right hand of her mother. The three figures stand against a substantial back plinth which stops just below the top of the queen's broken head and continues slightly higher behind the missing head of the king, where it supported the back of his crown. All three figures stand with their left foot forward in active, striding position. Both king and queen wear sandals, while the princess is barefoot, and the costume of the king consists only of a simple undecorated apron or sporran. The queen wears a tripartite wig and little else; she and the tiny princess give the impression of being nude.

Petrie excavated the triad at Amarna in a sculptor's workshop which he describes not very precisely as being 'near the south end of town'. Julia Samson (see below) observes that this workshop was probably the same atelier of Thutmose III where additional masterpieces of sculpture, including the plaster head, Berlin 21299, were discovered during later German excavations. Petrie identified the group as 'Akhenaten, queen, and princess', and suggested that it was a trial piece, 'perhaps a sketch for the design of some larger group'.⁵⁸ Aldred accepted the Akhenaten/Nefertiti identification and proposed in the catalogue of the Brooklyn Museum exhibition of 1973 that the plumpness of the figures was due to the fact that they were unfinished, and would eventually have been

⁵⁵ Height *c.* 16 cm. Pendlebury et al., *COA III*, 17, no. 12, pl. lvii.1. I am very grateful to Helen Whitehouse and the Ashmolean Museum, for permission to examine the piece firsthand.

⁵⁶ My thanks are due to Barbara Adams and the Petrie Museum for permission to publish UC 004.

⁵⁷ PM IV, 199–207; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York, 1973), 47.

⁵⁸ *Tell El Amarna*, 30–1, pl. i.1.

carved with pleated garments similar to the closest parallel, Louvre E. 15593 (pl. VII, 1–2) and painted as well.⁵⁹ The Louvre statuette is inscribed in paint with the names of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and the later names of the Aten in two columns on the back of the plinth, indicating a date of manufacture after Akhenaten's Year 9.⁶⁰ Because both statuettes display a relaxed physical rendering of the human form noticeably softer than the severe, exaggerated style of Akhenaten's earlier years, Aldred dated the Louvre group to late in Akhenaten's reign, and UC 004 to the same time or a little earlier by association. He compared them to a similar statue of Nefertiti alone, also excavated in Thutmosis' workshop, Berlin 21263, which although considerably larger (40 cm) displays the same later characteristics.⁶¹ The seemingly nude body with its tell-tale flared sleeve would have been carved with the pleats of a tight-fitting gown had it been finished.

Julia Samson, in her study of Amarna objects in the University College Museum, interprets UC 004 quite differently.⁶² She identifies the statuette as Akhenaten and Nefertiti, but sees in the fleshiness of their figures an indication of an earlier date for the piece. She describes the queen's figure as the 'taut upright body of a young woman' while the king's is 'fleshy like his father's in his later years'. She points out that the queen wears a Theban tripartite wig, with the lappets pendent over the breasts, a wig which Nefertiti consistently wears throughout the Karnak Aten complex, but only in her very earliest representations at Amarna. Samson identifies the small princess as probably Meritaten, the eldest of the royal couple's six daughters, and suggests that the statuette commemorates the arrival of the royal family at Amarna. Samson's iconographic analysis makes sense when viewed strictly within the parameters of Akhenaten's immediate family, but there are some interesting problems. Aldred is correct in associating UC 004 with votive statuettes that are stylistically late. The relaxed nature of the king's and queen's bodies displays no hint of the severe distortion of Akhenaten's earlier style;⁶³ rather, the artist has represented two mature adults with the fuller, softer bodies of middle age, in the style of Berlin 21263 which represents an older Nefertiti. How then do we explain the seeming contradiction of iconography and style?

Samson notes two other details of the queen's figure unique to this statuette, which not only set it apart from other votive statuettes at Amarna, but also provide important iconographic clues to the identity of the person being portrayed. First are the two upward-curving lines at the base of the abdomen, just above the pubic area. Although Samson does not discuss it further, this artistic device is undoubtedly intended to indicate the effects of repeated childbirth on the female body, and thus underscores the maturity of the woman being represented. On other statues, Nefertiti, who bore at least

⁵⁹ *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 63–4, fig. 41.

⁶⁰ Louvre E. 15593 (= E. 22746); height 22.2 cm, width 12.3 cm, depth 9.8 cm; *ibid.*, figs. 39–40; Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt* (London, 1988), figs. 20–1; profile view, J. Monnet, *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1963), 92; for an excellent colour photograph, see J. Leclant et al., *L'Empire des Conquérants* (Paris, 1979), 175. The statuette is included in this study with the kind permission of the Louvre Museum.

⁶¹ Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 66, fig. 44; K.-H. Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum* (Museuminsel Berlin) (Mainz am Rhein, 1991), 108–10 no. 66.

⁶² *Amarna, City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Nefertiti as Pharaoh* (Warminster, 1978), 21–2, fig. 5a.

⁶³ Compare with Berlin 21835, excavated at Amarna (house N48,15), white calcite, height 12 cm: Fay, *Egyptian Museum Berlin*, 92 cat. no. 47; and the Karnak colossi of Akhenaten: Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 29–31, figs. 9–12.

six children, is usually shown with only a single curving line at the abdomen, as on the mature Berlin 21263 (in paint), or none at all, as on Louvre E. 15593.

The discrepancy becomes more significant when weighed with the second detail: the presence of a double line under each breast. No other known statue of Nefertiti has this detail, nor does any other published statue from Amarna. There are only two other monuments I can recall where the device occurs, and these are not at Amarna at all, but in Western Thebes, on the two Colossi of Memnon which still guard the entrance to Amenhotep III's great mortuary temple (pl. VII, 3). Queen Tiye, clearly named, standing at the side of her seated lord on each colossus, displays an identical double line under either breast.⁶⁴ The detailing on the colossal statues is even clearer; between the two lines is a subtly raised area representing a discreet fold of fat. Whether this fold reflects a real physical attribute of Queen Tiye, or is simply an iconographic device to underscore her mature status, is not clear. But its presence on the mature queen figure of UC 004, combined with the double line under the abdomen and the tripartite goddess's wig that Tiye consistently wears at Amarna,⁶⁵ strongly suggests that the queen represented here is not Nefertiti, but Tiye.

What then of the king and princess? The king's figure also exhibits stylistic peculiarities that set it apart from similar statuettes which represent Akhenaten. The most conspicuous is the shape of the thick upper body with its prominent breasts, and the unusual stomach, which is large and squarish. Statues of Akhenaten such as Brooklyn Museum 29.34 and Louvre E. 15593 (pl. VII, 1–2) represent the king with a flatter chest and a distinctive stomach shape that in profile resembles a teardrop; narrow at the diaphragm and gradually swelling out as it descends until, at a point past the navel, it curves in again at the belt line, protruding slightly over it.⁶⁶ All of Akhenaten's statues display this teardrop stomach, from his colossal figures at Karnak in the early severe style, to the softened statuary of his later years.⁶⁷ The king on UC 004 displays a markedly different upper body shape which Samson notes as being unusual for Akhenaten. The thick torso, stocky stomach of an older man, and round navel, details noticeably at variance with Akhenaten's teardrop stomach shape and triangular navel,⁶⁸ suggest that the king represented is not Akhenaten at all, but his father Amenhotep III. One is immediately reminded of some of this king's later 'corpulent' sculpture, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art's black statuette 30.8.74 (pl. IV, 1–2),⁶⁹ and two inscribed, larger than lifesize statues in Cairo, JE 33900 and 33901, found by Daressy in Amen-

⁶⁴The figures stand on the south side of each colossus, while those of Amenhotep III's mother stand on the north. The figure of Queen Tiye on the northern colossus is mostly destroyed, but a small section of her right breast preserves the double line.

⁶⁵See the figures of Tiye carved on the side panels of her gilded funerary shrine from KV 55, which originated at Amarna; T. M. Davis, *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi* (London, 1910), pls. xxix, xxxii–iii. See also the representations of the queen in the tomb of her steward Huya at Amarna; Davies, *Rock Tombs III*, pls. iv, vi, viii, ix, and xviii.

⁶⁶Brooklyn Museum 29.34: height 21.9 cm, width 4.8 cm, depth 4.4 cm (the feet are restored); excavated by the EES in 1923 in House Q44.1, room 8; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 168 cat. no. 96; R. A. Fazzini, *Art from the Age of Akhenaten* (Brooklyn, 1973), 15, fig. 11.

⁶⁷The statuary and relief work of Akhenaten is remarkably consistent in the teardrop stomach detail; for the best compilation, see Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*.

⁶⁸Eaton-Krauss, 'Miscellanea Amarnensia', *CdE* 56 (1981), 258–64.

⁶⁹See n. 33.

hotep III's mortuary temple⁷⁰ where the king is rendered with the same distinctive physique. The confusion over the identity of the royal couple of UC 004 has been exacerbated by the missing heads which would have exhibited physiognomies unlike those of Akhenaten and Nefertiti. Fortunately, the bodies contain enough diagnostic information to provide an identification without the heads.

I originally thought that I might have located the missing head of the king in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁷¹ BMFA 11.1506 (pl. VIII, 1–4) is a tiny limestone head of a *kheprsh*-crowned king, 3.75 cm in height. The *kheprsh*-crown is squat, preserves traces of blue paint and gold leaf at the diadem bands, and is supported at the back by a narrow plinth. The face of the king is broad, jowly, and features a 'shadow' eye,⁷² only partly carved to provide a platform for a painted eye. The nose has been flattened sometime after the manufacture of the piece, as has the upper lip, but the preserved lower lip is full, and two shallow depressions descend from the corners of the mouth. The king's ears are large with fleshy, pierced lobes, and exhibit remarkable interior detailing for their diminutive size. Finally, the king sports a prominent double chin and a noticeably thick neck. The distinctive features of the Boston head compare well with portrait sculpture and relief work from the last decades of Amenhotep III's reign, including the Amarna material. The profile of the king's head and crown is comparable to its two-dimensional counterpart on the British Museum stela BM 57399, where Amenhotep III's *kheprsh*-crown is also noticeably squatter than Akhenaten's, and his neck is quite thick. The head bears no resemblance at all to the thin-necked, long faces of Akhenaten, even in the late statuettes, such as Cairo JE 43580.⁷³ The carving style of the Boston piece with its shadow eye and detailing of the crown and uraeus is essentially identical to the Louvre statuette of Akhenaten and Nefertiti and was very possibly produced at the same Amarna workshop.

A comparison of the broken underside of the Boston head with a plaster impression of the neck break of the king on UC 004, kindly provided by Barbara Adams of the Petrie Museum, revealed corresponding break lines that suggested a match between the two pieces. In June 1993 Rita Freed of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts generously sent the Boston head to London for comparison with the body, and it became clear that although the scale of the two pieces is practically identical, the back pillar of the Boston head was too broad by a few millimetres. UC 004 and MFA 11.1506 then, represent fragments of *two* votive statuettes of Amenhotep III manufactured for veneration at Amarna.

Several conclusions can now be drawn. First, iconographic details linking UC 004 to statuary of Amenhotep III and Tiye suggest that the University College votive statuette represents Amenhotep III, Tiye, and a young princess, in all probability Baketaten, based

⁷⁰M. Trad and A. Mahmoud, 'Amenophis III au Musée Égyptien du Caire', *Les Dossiers d'Archéologie* 180, 45–7; G. Daressy, 'Les Costumes d'Aménôthès III', *BIFAO* 11 (1914), 25–8, pl. iii.

⁷¹The identification of Boston MFA 11.1506 as Amenhotep III was first proposed by Edna R. Russmann at the Cleveland Museum of Art Symposium, 'Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis', November 20, 1987, in a paper entitled 'Palace and Tomb: The Nature of Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian Painting'. I am most grateful to her and to Rita E. Freed and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for permission to publish it here.

⁷²The 'shadow' eye is often carved, as it is in Boston MFA 11.1506, with a raised bevel that creates the illusion of an eyelid without an actual carved line. The device occurs on Louvre E. 15593 and a *kheprsh*-crowned head of a larger statue of Akhenaten in the Egyptian Museum, Turin, 1398 (limestone; height 10 cm); A. M. Donadoni Roveri, *Museo Egizio* (Turin, 1991), 19, upper left.

⁷³Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 65, fig. 42; J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, III. *Les grandes époques: La statuaire* (Paris, 1958), pl. 110, no. 1.

on her association with the couple elsewhere at Amarna. As such, UC 004 is essentially a three-dimensional variation of the lintel scene in Huya's tomb, and received the same veneration at Amarna that statues of Akhenaten and his family received in house and garden shrines devoted to the cult of the royal family. The style of the sculpture is Aldred's 'late' style,⁷⁴ exhibiting a relaxed, naturalistic rendering of the ageing bodies of the older royal couple. The small Boston head, MFA 11.1506, belonged to a painted and gilded statuette of Amenhotep III executed in the same style and at approximately the same scale, and may also have been part of a family group. The gilding and superb quality of the carving show that the statuette, despite its size, was an important object of veneration. Similarities of style and workmanship link UC 004 and the Boston head with the inscribed Louvre statuette of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, E. 15593. It is possible that all three pieces were produced in the same workshop, perhaps that of the sculptor Thutmosis, sometime after Akhenaten's Year 9, although the archaeological evidence indicates that votive statuettes of this sort were produced at various sculpture ateliers across the site. A fragment of a similar, unfinished sculpture group in limestone in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1936.658 (TA 35/563) (pl. VIII, 5), was excavated at Amarna by the EES in the 'Sculptors' area' of the Great Palace.⁷⁵ Preserved is Nefertiti's roughed-out head with distinctive flat-topped crown and the complete width of the back pillar (7 cm across) with the attachment point for another head beside hers. Unlike Louvre E. 15593 and UC 004, Nefertiti's head is on the right.

The statuette UC 004 raises some other interesting questions, particularly concerning the identification of the tiny princess as Baketaten. The latter is known to us primarily from the tomb of Huya, Steward to Queen Tiye, where she is shown in the company of Amenhotep III and Tiye in the famous lintel scene, and with Tiye alone on several other occasions. A scene in the same tomb shows the overseer of the sculptors of Queen Tiye, Iwta, putting the finishing touches to a small statue of the princess.⁷⁶ Baketaten is always shown relatively small in relation to Amenhotep III and Tiye in these scenes, consistently smaller even than Akhenaten and Nefertiti's eldest daughter Meritaten when they appear in the same scene. Her appearance as a toddler on UC 004, produced at least after Akhenaten's Year 9, and in the company of both Tiye and Amenhotep III, suggests a number of possibilities. Baketaten must have been born sometime after the beginning of Akhenaten's reign, after the point when some believe that Amenhotep III had died. Whether Baketaten was their daughter or granddaughter, all three are represented as alive in Huya's tomb and in the UC 004 statuette nine to twelve years after the beginning of Akhenaten's reign, and nine to twelve years after Amenhotep III's supposed death. Amarna art is famous for its sometimes painful truthfulness; it does not make sense that Amenhotep III would be depicted alive, holding hands with the living Queen Tiye and Baketaten, if he were actually dead. There were specific artistic conventions for depicting

⁷⁴ Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 58–66. It is even possible that UC 004 is a finished piece, never intended to receive the carved pleats of robe and kilt.

⁷⁵ Height 7 cm; *COA* III, 81. I thank Helen Whitehouse for this reference and for permission to include it here. For some additional unfinished pieces of votive sculpture found at Amarna, see R. Anthes, 'Werkverfahren Ägyptischer Bildhauer', *MDAIK* 10 (1941), 86–9, pl. 18 (Berlin 21254; queen or princess, quartzite), pls. 19–20 (Berlin 21238; genuflecting king, limestone).

⁷⁶ Davies, *Rock Tombs* III, pl. xviii. A statuette in the Nelson Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri, 47.13, height 39.6 cm, is the three-dimensional equivalent of the statuette depicted in Huya's tomb, minus the gown; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 131 cat. no. 53.

deceased individuals at Amarna: lying on a bier, as the deceased princess Maketaten and another individual are shown in the royal tomb;⁷⁷ standing upright in statue form and crowned with a cone of scented fat in a vine- and papyrus-bedecked shrine, as is Maketaten⁷⁸ and another individual in the royal tomb;⁷⁹ and last, (at least for non-royal nobility) in mummified form crowned with a cone of scented fat.⁸⁰ The figures of Amenhotep III from Amarna display none of the characteristics of a deceased individual found elsewhere in Amarna art.

There is now evidence that life-size or larger figures of Amenhotep III were to be found in certain stone Aten temple or palace scenes as well. A late-style limestone block from Amarna reused at Hermopolis, now in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1991.240.1) preserves most of the neck and shoulder of a slightly over-lifesize king that has recently been identified as another Amarna representation of Amenhotep III.⁸¹ The lower part of the king's short curled wig, fillet, and diagonal back streamers from which a sun-disk-crowned cobra rears, protecting the king's back, remain.⁸² Three distinguishing characteristics identify the figure as Amenhotep III. First, the king wears a double *shebyu*-necklace of gold disk beads which neither Akhenaten nor any other member of his immediate family is ever shown wearing in his Aten complexes, yet which is one of the major iconographic devices utilized by Amenhotep III to indicate his deification.⁸³ Second, the neck of the king is short and thick, stylistically unlike the slender necks of Akhenaten (or Nefertiti) but comparable to the characteristic thick neck of Amenhotep III.⁸⁴ Third, the sunk relief of the king's body is cut considerably deeper into the stone than any other known sunk-relief figure of Akhenaten or his family,⁸⁵ yet this deeper cutting is another hallmark of the sunk-relief carving of Amenhotep III's last decade, just as his raised-relief carving for this time is unusually high.⁸⁶ It seems

⁷⁷ G. T. Martin, *The Royal Tomb at El-Amarna*, II (London, 1989), pls. 58, 61, 63, and 64.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pls. 25, 68, and 69.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. 25, possibly Queen Tiye.

⁸⁰ Davies, *Rock Tombs III*, pl. xxii.

⁸¹ MMA 1991.240.1, length 53.7 cm: Dorothea Arnold, *BMMA* 50/2 (Fall 1992). 7 (ill.); also G. Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis, Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis 1929-1939*, II (Hildesheim, 1969), pl. 185 (PC 94), right half of block; R. Hanke, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis: Neue Veröffentlichungen und Studien* (HÄB 2; Hildesheim, 1978) 216 fig. 4.9, left half of block. I originally thought the block represented a late portrait of Akhenaten who had assumed the deification iconography of his deceased father, but have since been convinced by the arguments of Dorothea Arnold that the relief represents Amenhotep III himself; see Johnson, in Berman (ed.), *Art of Amenhotep III*, 45-6, drawing 8.

⁸² This wig is the one worn by Amenhotep III in votive figures where he is associated with the god Khonsu Neferhotep; see Bryan, in Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 159-61, 198-202.

⁸³ I have observed one unpublished Re-Horakhty block from the Tenth Pylon at Karnak where (presumably) Amenhotep IV wears the *shebyu*-necklace (with undifferentiated beads) in a doorway scene, but he is not attested wearing it on any other monument at Thebes (outside of private tomb scenes), Amarna, or elsewhere, although the necklace does appear on papyrus stands in offering scenes; see Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pl. 156. 42-VIII A. Another block from Hermopolis, Louvre E. 11519, preserves the middle sections of two princesses (?) playing with (but not wearing) a *shebyu*-necklace; see Roeder, *ibid.*, pl. 198 (PC 185).

⁸⁴ Arnold, *BMMA* 50/2, 7. Cf. figures of Akhenaten wearing the same wig: I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.*, VIII (British Museum, London, 1939), pl. xxiii, BM 24431; Roeder, *Amarna-Reliefs aus Hermopolis*, pl. 37. 108-VIII A. For a figure of Nefertiti wearing the wig, see *ibid.* pl. 172. PC 28 (Brooklyn Museum 60.197.8); J. D. Cooney, *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections* (Mainz am Rhein, 1965), 20 no. 12.

⁸⁵ Dorothea Arnold, personal communication.

⁸⁶ For the 'deification' relief style of Amenhotep III's fourth decade, see Johnson, *AHi VI CIE*, 231; *idem*, in Berman (ed.) *Art of Amenhotep III*, 35.

extraordinary that the rules governing Amenhotep III's relief carving would be found in scenes featuring him at Amarna, yet this appears to be the case. One can only speculate as to the nature of the scenes that featured the older king, but they were undoubtedly similar to those found in Huya's tomb and on the BM stela. Another Hermopolis block in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1991.237.85) preserves the deeply carved, sandal-shod feet of a striding king on a ground line and probably also belongs to a figure of Amenhotep III. There is no certainty that the two blocks preserve parts of the same figure, but it should be noted that the feet are not standing on a dais, as one would expect for the representation of a deceased king.

The votive statuette of Amenhotep III in the Petrie Museum and others like it represent a new preoccupation with the divinity of the living royal body separate from the divinity of the king as the sun's disk and other gods, an important aspect of Amenhotep III's deification programme. Based on examples found *in situ* at Amarna, statuettes of Amenhotep III's and Akhenaten's families were set up there and elsewhere in Egypt by honoured members of the court in palace, house, and garden shrines, and were worshipped as gods in their own right.

Conclusions

The 'circumstantial evidence' of Amenhotep III's presence at Amarna is growing with every passing year and obliges us to reconsider his role in the Amarna episode. The identification and worship of Amenhotep III as the sun's disk must have made a tremendous impression on Akhenaten before he came to the throne. If the two kings ruled consecutively, Akhenaten's devotion to and preoccupation with the sun disk, the Aten, certainly had its origins in the eventful last decade of his father's rule and at the very least should be viewed as an evolving continuation of those momentous events. If the two kings ruled together, then there is now a possible *theological* motivation or rationale for that state of affairs that is gradually emerging.

Just as Queen Tiye participated in the deification ritual of her husband, became the living manifestation of all of Egypt's goddesses, and was represented thereafter in the tripartite wig and plumed/horned crown of the sun god's consort Hathor in numerous reliefs and statuary, even at Amarna, so might the presence of Shu, the firstborn child of the creator god, have been ritually required in Amenhotep III's deification programme in order to complete his own divine triad. The iconography of Akhenaten's monuments, particularly in the earlier work, stresses the king's role as the god Shu, the embodiment of air, light, sunbeams, and all life. On an early Amarna relief from Brooklyn, 41.82, Nefertiti offers to the Aten a figure of Shu crowned with his distinctive four feathers.⁸⁷ A number of the sandstone colossi of Akhenaten found at East Karnak were originally crowned with these same four feathers of Onuris-Shu,⁸⁸ while Akhenaten's exaggerated female characteristics in his sculpture and relief work underscore Shu's dual nature *at creation* as inherently both male and female. Nefertiti shared this role as Tefnut, the female counterpart of Shu.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Cooney, 'An Architectural Fragment from Amarna', *Brooklyn Mus. Bull.* 12/2 (1951), 1-12; Petrie, *Tell El Amarna*, pl. xiii. 2.

⁸⁸ See M. H. Abd-ur-Rahman, 'The Four-Feathered Crown of Akhenaten', *ASAE* 56 (1959), 247-9, pls. i-ii.

⁸⁹ J. Baines, 'Egyptian Twins', *Or* 54 (1985), 474-5.

Hermann Te Velde has described how in the Coffin Texts it is Shu's birth, or separation from his father Atum, that causes them both to come to life and consciousness.⁹⁰ Their separation initiates creation itself, and causes Atum to open his eyes, which become the sun and the moon. Because Shu and his father essentially create each other and cannot exist without each other, the deified Amenhotep III in his role of creator god may have required the presence of Shu in the form of his coregent son, Akhenaten, as the means to attain and perpetuate his exalted state. Thus the coregency of Amenhotep III and Akhenaten may have had a theological basis, and was intentionally patterned after the unique relationship of Atum and Shu. The two kings, as dictated by Amenhotep III's deification programme, would have been separate yet pendant to each other, linked theologically, every day recreating each other, every day recreating creation. The significance of the god Atum to Akhenaten is nowhere more evident than when, in his later fury against Amun and the gods of Thebes, figures of Atum are generally spared.

The style of Amenhotep III's momentum decoration underwent sweeping changes at the time of his first jubilee in Year 30, from the traditional Thutmoside style to an exaggerated art style which emphasized his new youthfulness and introduced solar-related iconography that communicated his assimilation with the creator god and the sun's disk. The style of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten's monument decoration underwent similar changes at the same time, from a traditional style in his first year or two to an exaggerated art style which emphasized his unique nature as the first born of the creator god, male and female in one.⁹¹ The long coregency model allows the kindred artistic and iconographic innovations of both kings to have occurred simultaneously in order to emphasize their ritual Atum/Shu relationship, while the separation of the two courts was dictated by the nature of that relationship. This model would also suggest that the stimulus for Akhenaten's divine father, the 'Living Re-Horakhty/Aten', was his actual father, the living, deified Amenhotep III, the 'Dazzling Aten', the most extraordinary of all of Amenhotep III's many deified forms.⁹²

According to this model, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten became junior coregent by Amenhotep III's Year 29 and immediately inaugurated the worship of the senior king in the form of the falcon-headed Re-Horakhty at Karnak prior to and in preparation for Amenhotep's first jubilee. After his jubilee in Year 30 the newly deified Amenhotep III's living apotheosis as the sun god was commemorated by the inauguration of the Aten complex at Karnak, with Amenhotep IV acting as high priest, and the representation of the deified king as the rayed orb. Additional Aten temples were set up simultaneously in Heliopolis, Memphis, and elsewhere, and the cult, primarily royal, was simply one among the many traditional cults. Amenhotep IV changed his name to Akhenaten in his Year 5, which coincided with the celebration of Amenhotep III's second jubilee (also the jubilee of the Aten),⁹³ and founded Akhetaten, the 'Horizon of the Aten', present-day Amarna, at the directive of the Aten himself, to be the primary cult centre of the Aten

⁹⁰ 'Schu,' *LÄ* V, 735.

⁹¹ Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons*, I-106-112; Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 48-57.

⁹² Battiscombe Gunn commented long ago on Akhenaten's divine 'coregent' in his 'Notes on the Aten and His Names', *JEA* 9 (1923), 168-70.

⁹³ J. Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed-Festival at Karnak* (London, 1992); Aldred, 'The Beginning of the El-Amarna Period', *JEA* 45 (1959); 31-3.

alone.⁹⁴ Akhenaten and the court moved to the new city by Year 9,⁹⁵ coinciding with Amenhotep III's third jubilee, and it is to this period that most of the monuments of Amenhotep III found at Amarna belong, dated by the later spelling of the Aten's name. Egypt's other cults contributed goods to the Aten cult⁹⁶ and coexisted peacefully with it until Amenhotep III's death around Akhenaten's Year 11. Soon after he assumed sole rule in Year 12, and possibly in reaction to the unexpected death of his father, Akhenaten issued the almost incomprehensible order to hack out every reference to or representation of Amun and the Theban pantheon throughout Egypt, an act that was to damn him to the same fate shortly thereafter.

In summary, Akhenaten's new solar cult was not only rooted in the deification programme of his father, but was probably the culmination of that deification programme. Amenhotep III's deification and worship as the sun's disk supplies a theological rationale for the joint rule of the two kings, a subject long in dispute. In this discussion of sculpture of Amenhotep III from Amarna and elsewhere, some of it long assumed to be that of Akhenaten, I hope the need has been demonstrated to re-examine other such previously excavated material with a critical eye. Circumstantial or not, the indirect evidence of Amenhotep III's active participation in the Amarna period is accumulating, and providing vital clues to one of ancient Egypt's most fascinating and complex periods.⁹⁷

⁹⁴For the certain founding of Akhetaten in Year 5, see Murnane, 'The "First Occasion of the Discovery" of Akhet-aten', *SAK* 14 (1987), 239–41.

⁹⁵Aldred, *Akhenaten, King of Egypt*, 273.

⁹⁶C. Traunecker, 'Données nouvelles sur le début du règne d'Aménophis IV et son oeuvre à Karnak', *JSSSEA* 14/3 (August, 1984), 62–9.

⁹⁷As this article was going to press, it was brought to my attention by Christina Karlshausen, Brussels, that a fourth statue of Queen Tiye exists with the double lines under her breasts, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, inv. no. 22. This larger-than-lifesize grano-diorite statue was appropriated by Ramesses II who reinscribed it for his mother Tuya, and went so far as to recarve the face. The folds beneath the breasts can only be seen from the sides.



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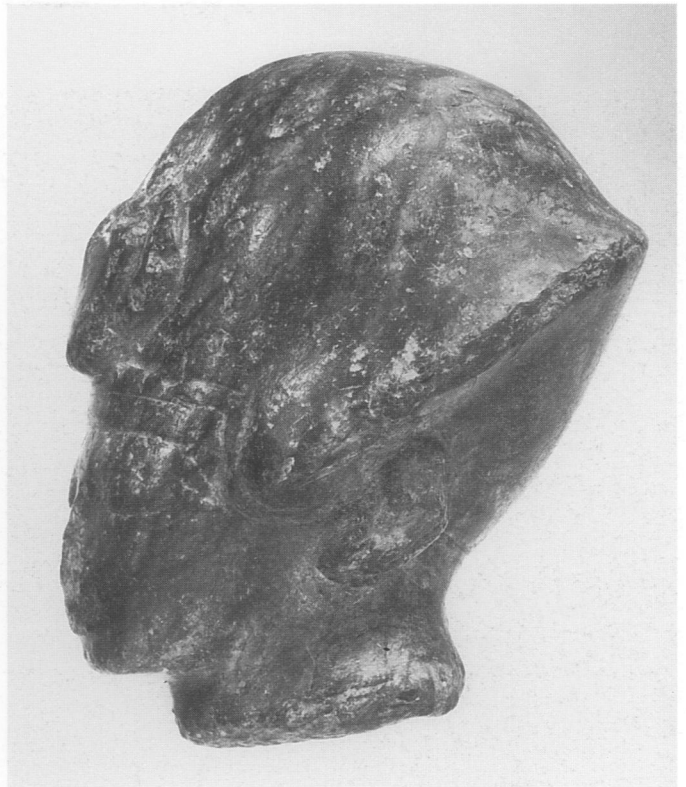
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(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915)

AMENHOTEP III AND AMARNA (pp. 65–82)



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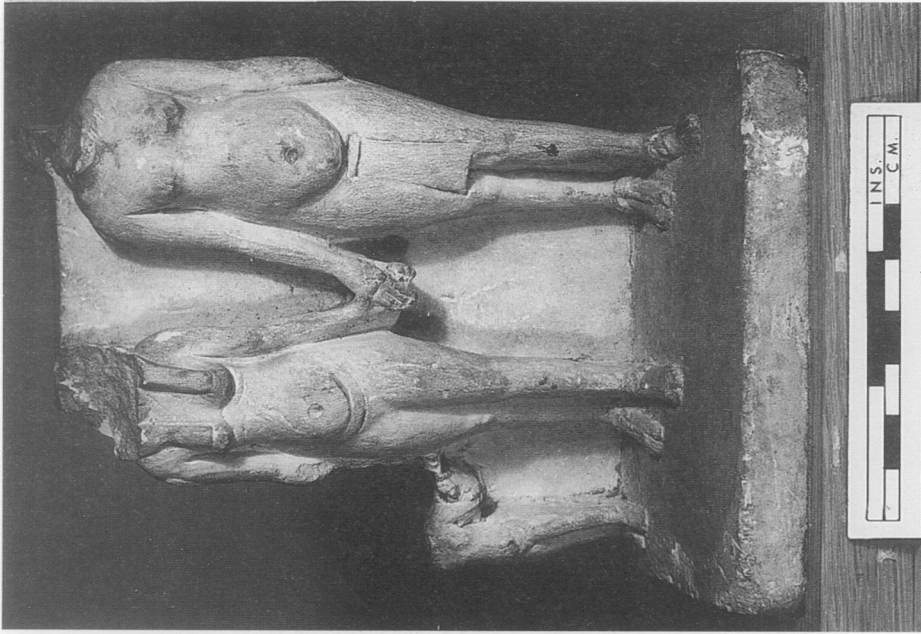
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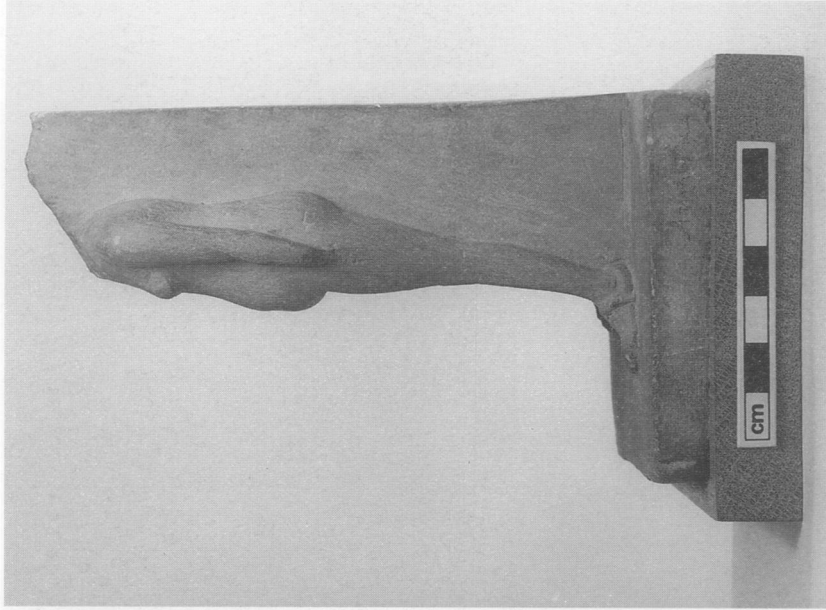
AMENHOTEP III AND AMARNA (pp. 65-82)



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(Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College London)

AMENHOTEP III AND AMARNA (pp. 65–82)

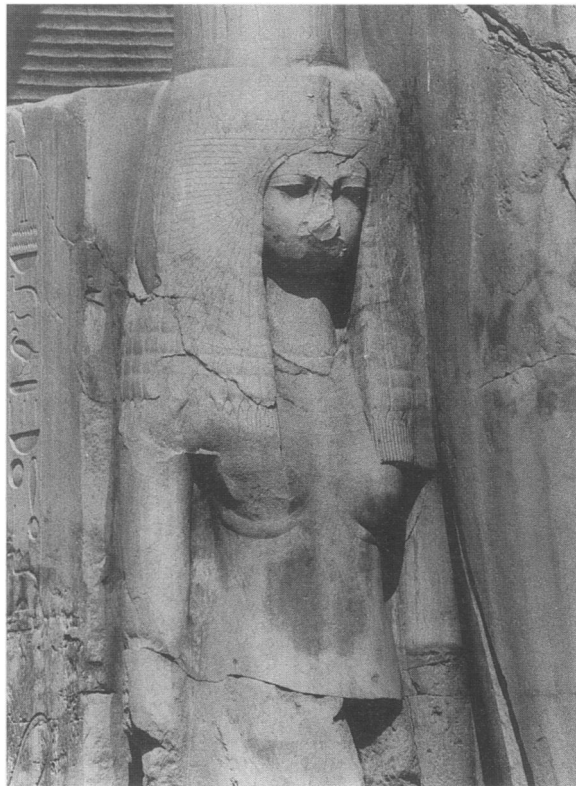


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Louvre E 15593
(Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)



3.

Queen Tiye, detail, southern Colossus of Memnon, Luxor
(Author's photograph)



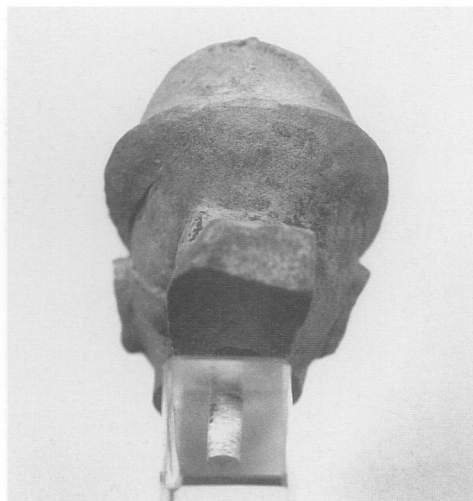
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(Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: photographs by P. Der Manuelian)



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Ashmolean Museum 1936. 658

(Courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

LA QUÊTE DE LA LUMIÈRE AU MOIS DE KHOIAK: UNE HISTOIRE D'OIES

Par CATHERINE GRAINDORGE

In the second court of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, the feast of Sokar, which occurs on the 26th of Khoiak, is represented on the south and south-east walls. The procession of the *henu*-barque is the main episode of the Sokarian feast, as in all other iconographic documents. However, at Medinet Habu, the divine barque of Sokar is also accompanied by five other ships which belong to the goddesses Hathor, Wadjet, Shesemtet, Bastet and Sekhmet. Behind these ships, a priest brings a chest containing five birds. In this article, the author tries to explain why five goddesses, daughters of Re, and five birds are exceptionally associated with the Sokarian ceremonies, and how they meet together on the 26th of Khoiak.

Le contexte

LA deuxième cour du temple *de millions d'années* de Ramsès III à Medinet Habou présente sur ses parois sud et sud-est le déroulement de la fête de Sokar. Les célébrations ainsi figurées reposent essentiellement sur la sortie en procession de la barque-*henou* du dieu Sokar le 26 Khoiak. Les reliefs des parois se développent d'ouest en est et peuvent être divisés en six scènes:¹

1. élévation des offrandes devant Sokar-Osiris;
2. Ramsès III encense trois dieux memphites Khnoum 'qui-préside-à-ses-murs', suivi de Herremenoufy 'qui-réside-dans-la-Grande-Maison' et Chesmou 'qui-préside-au-*pr-wr*';
3. litanie d'offrandes à Sokar en tous ses noms;
4. la barque-*henou* fait le tour des murs du temple;
5. l'emblème de Nefertoum est porté en procession;
6. la dernière et plus grande scène est divisée en deux registres. Devant le roi et un groupe de prêtres-*ouab*, se répartissent cinq barques divines associées chacune à l'emblème de Nefertoum. Les deux barques du registre inférieur sont suivies par un prêtre portant un coffre contenant cinq oiseaux dont seule la tête dépasse (fig. 1). L'ensemble des barques est précédé de deux prêtres battant la mesure et d'autres accomplissant l'encensement et la libation. Au registre supérieur prennent place les barques des déesses Hathor, Ouadjyt et Chesemtet; au registre inférieur, les embarcations de Bastet et de Sekhmet sont portées en procession.

Deux faits semblent exceptionnels. D'une part, Sokar n'est jamais accompagné aussi explicitement et solennellement de cinq entités féminines lors de l'accomplissement de son culte, même si l'on retrouve l'association des cinq déesses dans d'autres sources

¹ The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu, IV. Festival Scenes of Ramses III* (OIP 51; Chicago, 1940), pl. 196 C-D; G. A. Gaballa et K. A. Kitchen, 'The Festival of Sokar', *Or* 38 (1969), 52-67; C. Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire* (GOF 4/28; Wiesbaden, 1994), 239-58.

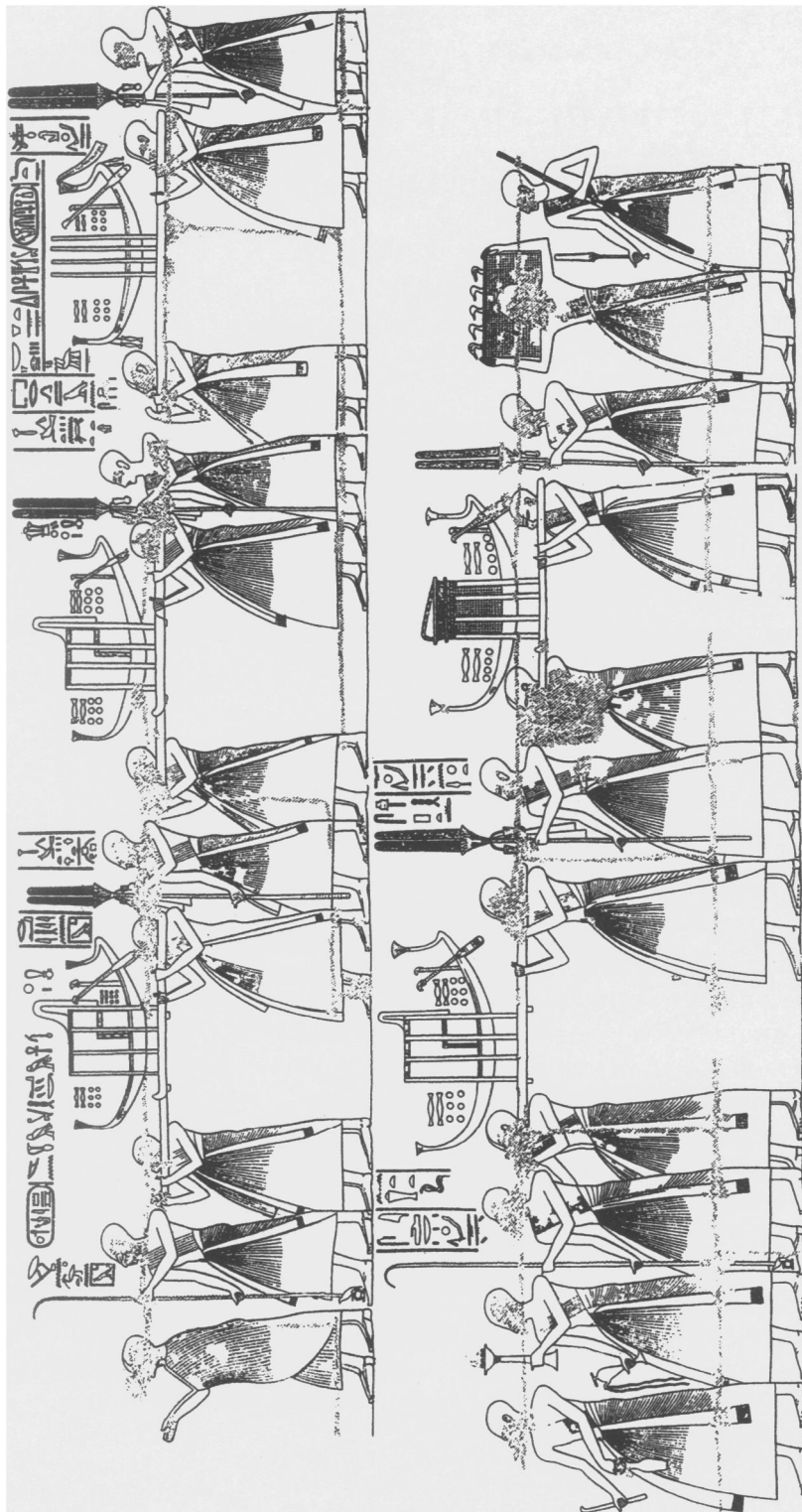


FIG. 1. D'après *Medinet Habu IV*, pl. 196.

iconographiques et textuelles.² D'autre part, Medinet Habou est le seul temple, dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances, à représenter cinq oiseaux dont la tête est visible hors du coffre les retenant prisonnières au cours de la sortie en procession de la barque-*henou*. Traditionnellement, lorsque des volatiles sont destinées à être offerts, ils sont entièrement enfermés dans une cage. Ainsi, l'offrande d'oiseaux des marais capturés au cours d'une chasse fréquemment associée aux traditionnelles scènes de pêche, est suivie du sacrifice des oiseaux destinés à garnir les autels des temples et des particuliers dans le cadre du culte funéraire. On ne développera pas cet aspect connu de l'offrande attestée dès l'Ancien Empire.³

Les participants: les cinq vaisseaux et les cinq oies

Des cinq embarcations qui accompagnent la barque-*henou*, trois d'entre-elles possèdent un trône (Hathor et Ouadjyt au registre supérieur, Bastet au registre inférieur). La barque de Chesemtet est munie de quatre montants (évoquant ceux d'un *pr-nw*), celle de Sekhmet abrite une chapelle entièrement close. Chaque barque contient deux fois deux 'lingots' ∞ suivis de quatre ou six cercles chacun. Ces derniers ne sont pas sans évoquer les *gꜣwt* 'biens', 'paquets (de marchandise)' ou 'tributs divers'.⁴ Cependant, leur déterminatif ○○○ peut suggérer l'appartenance du matériau au règne minéral (sable, pierre ou métal précieux).⁵ Dans ce sens, il semble permis de se demander si les barques de formes différentes et leur contenu (minéraux) ne traduiraient pas les divers aspects de la personnalité solaire des déesses filles de Rê et/ou leur rôle dans la fête de Sokar.⁶

Les volatiles intervenant dans la procession semblent être des oies ou des canards qui comptent parmi les oiseaux migrateurs les plus caractéristiques qui s'abattent sur le territoire égyptien dès l'automne et qui y demeurent durant tout l'hiver. Seule, leur tête dépasse du coffre, et il semble impossible de vouloir apposer un nom égyptien à l'oiseau sur cette seule base iconographique en l'absence de légende. En outre, le problème reste entier car il n'est pas rare que des oiseaux portant des noms différents soient extérieurement très semblables.⁷ Deux faits encouragent cependant à reconnaître ici des oies. Le premier et le dernier volatiles possèdent sur la tête et autour du bec des marques

²P. Derchain, *El Kab, I. Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de Ouady Hellal* (Bruxelles, 1971), 16–31.

³Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom* (Londres et New York, 1987), figs. 76, 79, 128; E. Brunner-Traut, 'Zur Tübinger Mastaba Seschemnofers III', *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 26–31. Pour l'association aux scènes de pêche: M. Herb, 'Das durch die Luft wirbelnde Wurfholz in den Bildern der Vogeljagd des fürstlichen Grabherrn', dans U. Verhoeven et E. Graefe (eds), *Religion und Philosophie im alten Ägypten. Festgabe für Philippe Derchain (=Fs Derchain)* (OLA 39; Louvain, 1991), 165–77 (cf. compte-rendu de L. Pantalacci, *BiOr* 50 (1993), 346).

⁴C. J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals* (Numen 13; Leiden, 1967), 88–9.

⁵*Wb.* V, 153 (3–7); D. Meeks, *ALex* I, 77.4606; II, 78.4428–4429; III, 79.3265–3266.

⁶S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (BdE 55; Le Caire, 1991), 369, 382 pour Hathor et l'or dans le 'Cérémonial pour Faire Sortir Sokar du Sanctuaire-*štꜣyt*'; 543, 756 pour Ouadjyt et les minéraux verts; 134–5, 244 n. (f), 541–2 pour Chesemtet, lionne propriétaire des minéraux précieux (dont la malachite) des déserts du Sinaï; 704 pour un éventuel lien entre Bastet et l'albâtre; 565–6, 592, 654 pour Sekhmet en relation avec le silex, mais aussi la résine et l'hématite rouge.

⁷J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, V (Paris, 1969), 400–6; *ALex* I, 77.2316, 77.4954, 77.3706, 77.3596; II, 78.2902. Voir également: J. Boessneck, *Die Tierwelt des alten Ägypten* (Munich, 1988), 101–3; W. J. Darby, P. Ghalioungui et L. Grivetti, *Food: The Gift of Osiris* (Londres, New York et San Francisco, 1977), I, 284–5; O. Mahmoud, *Die wirtschaftliche Bedeutung der Vögel im Alten Ägypten* (Bern, 1991), 47–61, 71–6 (et le compte-rendu de ce livre par M. Herb, *BiOr* 50 (1993), 644–5).

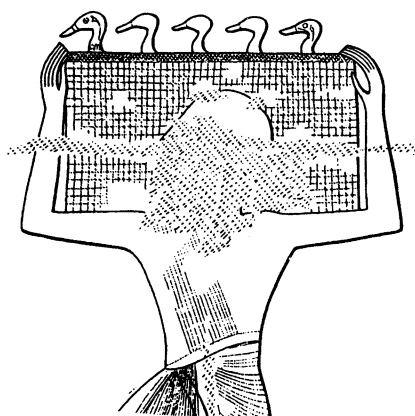


FIG. 2. D'après *Medinet Habu IV*, pl. 196 (détail).

distinctives pouvant être caractéristiques de certaines espèces d'oies (fig. 2). Et ces dernières jouent un rôle important dans différents mythes.

Différentes espèces d'oies sont connues dans l'Égypte ancienne,⁸ mais leur nom égyptien ne semble pas toujours pouvoir être établi avec certitude. Parmi ces espèces, l'*Anser anser* (l'oie-*rs* et peut-être *sr*) est un visiteur occasionnel en hiver. Volatile très sociable en captivité, elle a pu être facilement domestiquée. L'*Anser albifrons* (l'oie-*trp*), qui apparaît occasionnellement dans l'art égyptien, semble cependant avoir été l'oie la plus régulièrement présente dans le Delta en hiver. Également sociable et paisible, probablement domestiquée assez tôt, sa chair semble appréciée comme l'attestent les découvertes archéologiques.⁹ L'*Anser fabalis* est également peu figurée dans l'art égyptien, peut-être parce que son mode de vie dans le Delta a été peu remarqué. Cependant, des os de cet oiseau, beaucoup plus large que les deux espèces précitées, et par conséquent, caractéristiques, étaient présents dans la tombe de Toutankhamon.¹⁰ Tout aussi peu représentée dans l'art égyptien, l'oie *Branta ruficollis* est un petit volatile qui vit surtout au sol, au milieu d'herbacées.¹¹ La cinquième et dernière espèce que l'on mentionnera est l'*Apolochen aegyptiacus* L. dite 'oie du Nil' (*smn*), résidant et se reproduisant durant l'hiver dans l'ensemble de la Vallée du Nil, mais principalement dans la partie sud de celle-ci qu'elle quittera au mois de mars. Son comportement a été largement étudié:¹² elle se distingue des autres oies par son port qui est plus proche de

⁸A. E. Brehm, *Tierleben. Vögel*, I (Leipzig et Vienne, 1911), 250–60; P. F. Houlihan et S. M. Goodman, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster, 1986), 54–65, 150–1.

⁹C. Gaillard et G. Daressy, *La faune momifiée de l'antique Égypte* (Le Caire, 1905), 115–16; L. Lortet et C. Gaillard, *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte*, I (Lyon, 1905), 297–8, III (1907), 95–7 et S. M. Goodman, 'Victual Egyptian Bird Mummies from a Presumed Late 17th or Early 18th Dynasty Tomb', *JSSSEA* 17/3 (1987), 68 sq.

¹⁰R. Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds of Egypt* (Londres, 1930), I, 63; II, 459–60; S. M. Goodman et P. L. Meininger, *The Birds of Egypt* (Oxford et New York, 1989), 153–4; cf. compte-rendu de L. Keimer sur H. E. Winlock, *Materials Used at the Embalming of King Tut-Ankh-Amun* (New York, 1941), *BiOr* 3 (1946), 129–30 (pour des os d'*Anser fabalis* et d'*Anser albifrons*).

¹¹Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds*, 460–1; Goodman et Meininger, *Birds*, 155.

¹²C. Kuentz, *L'oie du Nil (Chenalopex aegyptiaca) dans l'ancienne Égypte* (AMHNL 14; Lyon, 1926); et compte-rendu de L. Keimer, *OLZ* 30 (1927), 353–4; Houlihan et Goodman, *Birds*, 62–5; Meinertzhagen, *Nicoll's Birds*, 63, 462–3; Goodman et Meininger, *Birds*, 156–7.

celui d'un canard; elle place souvent son nid dans un arbre creux ou le dépose sur un lit de roseaux avant d'y pondre quatre à huit oeufs blancs. Rendue célèbre par des représentations remarquables, elle doit également sa réputation, semble-t-il, à son tempérament vicieux et son attitude belliqueuse.¹³ Passant beaucoup de temps durant la journée à patauger dans des mares ou à offrir son plumage aux rayons du soleil sur des bancs de sable le long des rives du Nil, elle envahit le soir les champs où elle s'avère capable de causer de grands dommages dans les cultures. Ses ailes de grande envergure lui permettent, outre des stations au sol ou des plongeurs dans l'eau, un vol puissant et prolongé sur de grandes distances. Enfin, en dépit de son fort tempérament, elle apparaît sagement en compagnie des hommes, sous le siège des notables, dès la 18^{ème} Dynastie.

Parmi ces espèces d'oie, celles dont le nom égyptien est établi avec certitude (l'oie-*smn*, l'oie-*r3* et l'oie-*trp*), l'oie *Chenalopex aegyptiacus* L. (*smn*) et l'oie *Anser anser* (*r3* et, peut-être, *sr*)¹⁴ sont les acteurs les plus importants dans les sources textuelles et iconographiques.¹⁵

L'oie-*smn*

Dès les PT, l'oie-*smn* apparaît avec le faucon¹⁶ et le milan, tandis que le roi se confond avec le *smn*.¹⁷ Cette assimilation reprise dans les CT permet à tout Osiris de voler.¹⁸ En même temps, dès le Moyen Empire, l'oie-*smn* disparaît des scènes et des tableaux d'offrandes. Elle sort de sa condition de produit de consommation pour évoluer dans des domaines particuliers qui laissent apparaître les premiers indices de transformation de cet animal en 'support' divin.¹⁹ Ainsi, le chapitre 723 des CT indique:²⁰ 'Toutes sortes de bonnes offrandes alimentaires sortent pour toi en présence de l'oie-*smn* dans le sanctuaire-*tnnt*, et ce n'est certes pas cette N. qui demande à te voir dans cette forme dans laquelle tu es, c'est Horus qui a demandé à te voir dans cette tienne forme dans laquelle tu es, lors de la sortie de Methour ...' L'oie représenterait ici une manifestation du soleil Rê, son envol hors des eaux primordiales représentées par Mehet-Ouret. En outre, l'action se déroule dans un sanctuaire appartenant au nome memphite, et lié à Sokar. Enfin au Nouvel Empire, l'oie-*smn* apparaît dans les vignettes du Tb, les scènes des papyrus 'mythologiques', les stèles votives ou des ex-votos comme celui de Deir el-

¹³R. A. Caminos, *LEM*, 381-2 (pLansing 3,5 à 3,8).

¹⁴C. Wolterman, 'On the Names of Birds and Hieroglyphic Sign-List G 22, G 35, and H 3', *JEOL* 32 (1991-1992), 124.

¹⁵L. Störk, 'Gans', *LÄ* II, 373-5; A. E.-A. el-Adly, 'Amun und seine Nilgans', *GM* 126 (1992), 47-57.

¹⁶PT 463b, 746a, 1484b, 1530d, 2042d.

¹⁷Kuentz, *L'oie du Nil*, 45.

¹⁸CT 24 (I, 74a-b), 190 (III, 98j), 203 (III, 130g), 205 (III, 144c), 278 (IV, 23b), 287 (IV, 38-9), 335 (IV, 311a), 516 (VI, 104a), 581 (VI, 196c), 583 (VI, 199k), 771 (VI, 405m).

¹⁹*smn* aurait pu signifier 'La Grasse' selon P. Lacau, *Études d'Égyptologie* (BdE 41; Le Caire, 1970), 36, d'où son rôle important comme offrande de choix, avant de devenir aussi l'oie d'Amon. Le premier aspect n'exclut pas le deuxième: J. Vandier, 'L'oie d'Amon. À propos d'une récente acquisition du Musée du Louvre', *Mon Piot* 57 (1971), 20 sq. Pour un avis contraire, cf. R. Hari, 'Le poisson-scarabée comme amulette: deux documents inédits', *Genava* n.s. 31 (1983), 5. Pour l'auteur, l'oie est un 'animal-fétiche' exclu de la divinisation, car on le mange. La seule forme animale d'Amon est le bélier.

²⁰CT VI, 353k-n. La traduction de P. Barguet (*Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire* (LAPO 12; Paris, 1986), 374) retient 'chapelle' pour le sanctuaire-*tnnt* et ne précise pas qu'il s'agit de l'oie-*smn*. Cf. B. Altenmüller, *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten* (GOF 4/7; Wiesbaden, 1975), 306.

Medineh, en calcaire et datant de la 19^{ème} Dynastie.²¹ Dans le Tb, l'assimilation du défunt faucon à l'oie-*smn* permet à celui-ci non seulement de voler mais aussi de devenir un dieu.²²

Comme volatile 'divin', l'oie-*smn* entretient des relations privilégiées avec certains dieux, parmi lesquels Amon et Horus semblent être les plus présents.²³

Amon peut se manifester dans son support animal-*smn* qui accompagne volontiers le *bꜣ šps* du dieu en sa forme de bélier.²⁴ Outre ces éléments connus du culte d'Amon, un autre document est à retenir: sur la stèle de Metternich, l'oeuf de l'oie-*smn* sera celui du sycomore. Ainsi, l'oie-*smn* serait la fille d'Amon-Rê et de Nout, ou la fille de Geb et de Nout.²⁵ Cependant, Tb 189 indique déjà: 'J'ai jargonné comme un jars et je me suis posé sur le beau sycomore qui est au milieu de l'île d'Ageb (du flot); celui qui sort et qui se pose sur lui, il ne peut pas être laissé de côté; quant à celui qui est sous lui, il est un dieu'.²⁶ Dans ce chapitre, l'oie est avant tout un volatile qui s'est manifesté sur un tertre entouré d'eau. En effet, depuis le Nouvel Empire, le dieu créateur Amon est assimilé au 'Grand Caqueteur' primordial.²⁷ Et le jeu de mots entre *smn* et *imn* ne peut à lui-seul expliciter ce fait: dans la cosmogonie héliopolitaine, le dieu Geb, la terre, est une oie.²⁸

Ce rôle créateur du *smn* selon le schéma oie/terre-Geb dans la cosmogonie héliopolitaine et Amon-'Grand Caqueteur'/butte dans la cosmogonie hermopolitaine ne doit pas masquer la participation de l'oie-*smn* dans l'univers déjà créé et organisé. Dans le 'rituel de la confirmation du pouvoir royal', une oie du Nil vivante est requise afin d'étendre ses ailes au-dessus de la tête du roi ointe pour la circonstance de l'onguent-*md*. Huit autres oiseaux intervenant dans ce rituel sont désignés, avec l'oie, 'oiseaux de Rê': ils assurent une vie renouvelée au roi.²⁹

Cependant, l'oie-*smn* vient des marais, lieux qui ont dans certains contextes un rôle religieux: là sont mis hors d'état de nuire les ennemis du mort royal, des dieux, et sans

²¹ B. Schmitz, *Vögel im alten Ägypten. Informationen zum Thema und Kurzführer durch die Ausstellung* (Hildesheim, 1987), 26–7; H. Kayser, 'Die Gänse des Amun', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 193 et *Das Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1966), 33, pl. 43; B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir El-Medineh (1945–1947)* (FIFAO 21; Le Caire, 1952), 56–7, fig. 41.

²² Tb 54 (reprenant les Chapitres 208 et 223 des CT), 82, 98, 149 (11^{ème} butte), 169, 189. Cf. A. Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* (OBO 86; Fribourg et Göttingen, 1989), 146 fig. 39.

²³ En excluant Geb sur lequel on reviendra par la suite. Cf. Vandier, *Mon. Piot* 57, 21–5, 32–3 et T. Hopfner, *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter* (DKAW 57; Vienne, 1913), 122–4.

²⁴ W. Guglielmi et J. Dittmar, 'Anrufungen der persönlichen Frömmigkeit auf Gans- und Widder-Darstellungen des Amun', I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (eds), *Gegengabe: Festschrift für Emma Brunner-Traut* (Tübingen, 1992), 119–20; G. A. Wainwright, 'Some Aspects of Amun', *JEA* 20 (1934), 149.

²⁵ C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstèle* (AnAe 7; Copenhagen, 1956), 41 l. 62.

²⁶ P. Bargaet, *Le Livre des Morts des anciens Égyptiens* (LAPO 1; Paris, 1967), 274; S. Sauneron et J. Yoyotte, 'La naissance du monde selon l'Égypte ancienne', in *Sources Orientales*, I. *La Naissance du Monde* (Paris, 1959), 61.

²⁷ Kuentz, *L'oie du Nil*, 45; Guglielmi et Dittmar, *Fs Brunner-Traut*, 121.

²⁸ Ibid. 142. Et cf. A. Piankoff, *The Shrines of Tut-ankh-Amon* (BS 40/2; Princeton, 1955), 59, pl. xix et A. P. Kozloff et al., *Aménophis III, le Pharaon-Soleil* (Paris, 1993), xvii et 292: le défunt peut apparaître désormais sous l'aspect du dieu Geb-oie.

²⁹ Les huit autres volatiles sont un faucon, un vautour, un milan, un oiseau d'eau-*msyt*, un oiseau d'Horus-*cont*, une hirondelle, une grue et un oiseau-*i-by*: J.-Cl. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An* (BdE 52; Le Caire, 1972), 30–2, 79–80; J. F. Borghouts, *Nieuwjaar in het oude Egypte* (Leiden, 1986), 36; S. Schott, 'Falke, Geier und Ibis als Krönungsboten', *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 54–65 et Meeks, *La vie quotidienne des dieux égyptiens* (Paris, 1993), 281–2.

doute d'Osiris. Elle jouera donc un rôle ambigu: garante de la protection du défunt royal, ou acolyte des forces séthiennes. Dans la première perspective, on trouve dans les dépôts de fondation des temples cinq oiseaux identifiés à l'oie du Nil-*smn* (les oiseaux sont déposés là après avoir été sacrifiés), ou des plaquettes en faïence émaillée représentant cinq oies en relief se substituant aux volatiles.³⁰ Il en est de même dans les tombes royales. Dans le deuxième cas, l'oie du Nil-*smn* intervient dans le 'Rituel de l'Ouverture de la Bouche' où elle est sacrifiée par Thot avec un chevreau-*ib*, les deux animaux étant identifiés à des puissances séthiennes. De même, lors du rituel du couronnement, une oie du Nil et un bouc sont offerts en holocauste.³¹

L'oie-*smn* entretient également des relations particulières avec Horus enfant dans *Semenou-Hor* ('Les oies d'Horus'): l'origine de ce toponyme tardif du XXI^{ème} nome de Haute-Égypte pourrait résider dans une épithète plus ancienne se rapportant au dieu bélier local 'La maison de Khnoum, maître des oies d'Horus' qui serait devenue à Basse-Époque 'Les oies d'Horus'.³² Mais, l'association des oies avec Horus pourrait puiser sa source dans des textes plus anciens. PT 2042 rapporte: 'tu es accueilli par Sokar ... le roi s'élève comme un faucon divin, le roi vole veillant sur le ciel comme un héron, le roi s'élance comme une oie...'³³ De plus, le maître du lieu est Khnoum de *Semenou-Hor*, mais il joue déjà dans le sanctuaire osirien local le rôle d'Horus. Par ailleurs et beaucoup plus tard, Khnoum protégera Isis et Horus dans les marais. Faut-il réunir ici, et dès le Nouvel Empire, l'oie, prototype-oeuf de tout être vivant, liée à la naissance de la lumière et Khnoum potier créateur de corps dans ce contexte de Haute-Égypte? Les données de Dendera iront dans ce sens: Khnoum y sera le 'créateur de l'atmosphère lumineuse' et la 'fabricant des oiseaux', et sa contrepartie féminine sera Isis 'Dame du tour qui modèle les chairs de celui qui l'a créée et qui en élève les perfections dans la barque-*henou*'.³⁴

L'oie-*r3*

Les faits se précisent avec la présence du deuxième protagoniste, l'oie-*r3*, dans le contexte de l'offrande du papyrus et des oies, offrande spécifique d'Horus pour commémorer sa naissance à Chemmis; il est 'en sa forme de petit faucon' ou 'Horus né

³⁰Houlihan et Goodman, *Birds*, 65 et Vandier, *Mon Piot* 57, 13-14: cas du temple funéraire de Thoutmosis III et de Tausert. Cf. W. M. F. Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (Londres, 1897), 14-15, pl. xvi. 18; A. M. Blackman et H. W. Fairman, 'The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple According to the Use of Edfu', *JEA* 32 (1946), 77 et 83 n. 44 et P. Barguet, 'Une liste des Pehou d'Égypte sur un sarcophage du Musée du Louvre', *Kémi* 16 (1962), 10-11.

³¹J.-Cl. Goyon, *Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte* (LAP0 4; Paris, 1972), 121 sc. xxiii et 123 sc. xxiv (Haute-Égypte), 136 sc. xlIII et 137 sc. xliv (Basse-Égypte) = E. Otto, *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual* (ÄA 3; Wiesbaden, 1960), I, 43-51, 96-101; II, 73-8, 102-5. Pour l'oie du Nil et le bouc, cf. H. Kees, *Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik* (NAWG 2; Göttingen, 1942), 73. Enfin, le sacrifice de l'oie est lié, semble-t-il, au fait que l'animal peut porter des accusations devant un tribunal après la mort du roi. Elle fait ainsi partie des animaux sacrifiés lors des funérailles afin de détruire leur caractère hostile, car accusateur: J. G. Griffiths, 'The Accusing Animals', *Fs Derchain*, 149-54.

³²J. Yoyotte, 'Études géographiques I. La "cité des acacias" (Kafr. Ammar)', *RdE* 13 (1961), 83-4.

³³F. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen als Grabbeigaben in den ägyptischen Königsgräbern der 18. und 19. Dynastie* (ÄA 35; Wiesbaden, 1979), 94-5.

³⁴Yoyotte, *RdE* 13, 90, 92 et 'La science sacerdotale égyptienne à l'époque gréco-romaine (Pap. Géogr. de Tanis)', *Bulletin de la Société Ernest Renan* n.s. 9 (1960), 136.

d'Ouadjyt'.³⁵ Ici, Ouadjyt est une manifestation d'Isis: le rapprochement s'opère naturellement par la présence du papyrus, symbole de Ouadjyt et fourré où Isis a caché Horus. Cette offrande se réfère volontiers à la succession royale. Le roi est alors fils de Khnoum, les oies symbolisent l'holocauste des ennemis d'Horus³⁶ et le papyrus fait reverdir la face du dieu en étant l'image de la poche végétale de la naissance d'Horus. Horus bénéficiaire de l'offrande prend alors volontiers la forme d'un lion. Par ailleurs, cette offrande présente certaines analogues avec le *shṯp-shṯmt*. Les volatiles sont le substitut des hommes que Sekhmet devait massacrer. Ils sont égorgés pour la circonstance.³⁷

De plus, l'offrande du bouquet composite de la *shṯ*, des oiseaux des marais (dont des oies-*rw*), des papyrus et des lotus est un symbole de régénération et de végétation et/ou une référence cosmologique. La *shṯ* est la 'mère des oiseaux'.³⁸ Le lotus renvoie au mythe cosmogonique de création de la lumière. Il est par ailleurs particulièrement présent dans la procession de Sokar le 26 Khoiak avec, outre le grand emblème de Nefertoum porté solennellement sur son traîneau sur les épaules des prêtres avec la barque-*henou*, cinq autres petits emblèmes de Nefertoum tenus comme des enseignes, et accompagnant les cinq barques des déesses Hathor, Ouadjyt, Chesemet, Bastet et Sekhmet.

L'oie-sr

L'oie-*sr* est particulièrement présente dans les rituels. Dans PT 1224, elle traverse en la survolant la mer de l'au-delà, et est le messager divin par excellence. Le roi défunt parcourt le ciel sur ses quatre oiseaux-*srw* (PT 1777). On connaît par la suite une oie-*sr* à la 18^{ème} Dynastie et son pseudo-doublet-*srt* écrit avec le déterminatif de l'oie et celui d'une déesse lionne: la déesse-*srt* serait une forme de la déesse léontocéphale de Memphis, Sekhmet, sans rapport avec l'oie.³⁹ Cependant, même si le déterminatif de l'oie est seulement dû à l'homophonie avec *sr* 'oie', la relation ainsi établie entre l'oie et Sekhmet n'est peut-être pas fortuite.

On retrouve également le volatile-*sr* au Nouvel Empire dans les cérémonies religieuses, spécialement au cours des fêtes de Min au Ramesseum et à Medinet Habou, lors du lâcher de quatre oies-*srw* vers les quatre points cardinaux comme messagères annonçant l'avènement d'un nouveau roi et la victoire d'Horus sur le chaos.⁴⁰ Les quatre oies seraient les quatre fils d'Horus (elles sont clairement identifiées avec eux encore à

³⁵ L'offrande du papyrus et des oies-*rw* est donc particulièrement fréquente dans le temple d'Horus à Edfou: M. de Rochemonteix et E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou* (14 vol., Paris, 1892-1934) I², 306-7; I³, 374-5; I⁴, 476; III, 193; IV, 120-1; IV, 276-7; IV, 391-2; VII, 101-2. Cf. J. Vandier, 'Ouadjet et l'Horus léontocéphale de Bouto', *Mon Piot* 55 (1967), 56. Tb 169 met déjà en relation l'oie (ou le jars) en relation avec le faucon Horus, héritier de Geb, dans le domaine du Qebhou. Le défunt rencontre dans ces marais Ouadjyt: Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, 250-1.

³⁶ Dans le même esprit, le roi et les dieux chassent au filet les oiseaux des marais, ennemis du roi: M. Alliot, 'Les rites de la chasse au filet aux temples de Karnak, d'Edfou et d'Esneh', *RdE* 5 (1946), 57-118.

³⁷ A. Gutbub, 'Remarques sur les dieux du nome tanitique à Basse-Époque', *Kêmi* 16 (1962), 54-9; P. Germond, *Sekhmet et la protection du monde* (AH 9; Genève, 1981), 257.

³⁸ W. Guglielmi, 'Zur Symbolik des "Darbringens des Straußes der Shṯ"', *ZÄS* 103 (1976), 103-5.

³⁹ E. Brovarski, 'Seret', *LÄ* V, 879-80; Vandier, *Mon Piot* 57, 14 et C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leyde, 1951), 386.

⁴⁰ H. Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (RAPH 2; Le Caire, 1931), 220-2; O. Keel, 'Zum Bild einer Festung mit Vögeln', S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology, Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1991), II, 626; C. Leitz, *Tagewählerei* (ÄA 55; Wiesbaden, 1994), 334.

l'Époque Ptolémaïque, pouvant être alors associées aux veillées d'Osiris). De plus, ces oies-*srw* pourraient correspondre à quatre noms d'oies (*rꜥ*, *trp*, *st* et *sr*) mentionnées dans les PT 84c-86d.⁴¹ Au Ramesseum, la légende de l'envol des oiseaux apporte encore quelque précision: l'essor des volatiles y est assimilé à l'apparition d'une flamme qui terrasse Seth, faisant triompher Horus sur le trône.⁴² À l'Époque Ptolémaïque, on gardera le souvenir des oies dans une autre fête qui semble s'appuyer sur le triomphe sokarien du 26 Khoiak: la Fête de la Victoire se déroulera du 21 Méchir au 25 Méchir. Au cours de cette fête, la barque-*henou* est portée en procession dans le dernier acte de la liturgie qui se déroule comme suit: sacrifice de l'hippopotame, gavage d'une oie-*sr* qui ne semble pas être sacrifiée par la suite. Puis, ont lieu les acclamations et la sortie de la barque-*henou*. La même succession d'actes rituels est reprise durant les quatre jours suivants jusqu'au 25 Méchir. Ces actes pourraient donc faire intervenir également cinq oies vivantes, si l'on considère qu'une oie différente est amenée chaque jour. Cette intervention des volatiles permet aussi de se resituer dans le temps de la création: au temple d'Horus à Edfou ce sera le triomphe de l'Horus solaire Horakhty, vainqueur de Seth; au Nouvel Empire à Thèbes, c'est déjà la victoire de Sokar 'petit soleil'.⁴³

Le rôle tenu par les protagonistes

L'oie-*smn* est donc un animal lié au destin royal, l'oie-*rꜥ/sr* participe à la naissance de l'astre solaire avant d'être son messenger, l'envoyé de Rê, la flamme destinée à détruire les ennemis d'Horus. Les oies n'ont pas pour autant des rôles interchangeable. Cette juxtaposition d'oiseaux *smn*, *rꜥ*, *sr* est destinée à circonscrire les différents champs d'action des oies. De plus, l'oie-*smn* agit toujours seule et les oies-*srw* se manifestent le plus souvent par groupe de quatre. Et aucune représentation, aucun texte affirment de façon explicite une équivalence entre les cinq déesses Hathor, Ouadjyt, Chesemtet, Bastet et Sekhmet d'une part, et les cinq oies, d'autre part. Néanmoins, les éléments donnés auparavant tissent un réseau de relations entre les déesses et les oies.

Hathor est la fille de Rê par excellence et l'héroïne du mythe de l'oeil solaire en 'maîtresse de la flamme', mère, patronne de la naissance et de la mort.⁴⁴

Ouadjyt est l'oeil de Rê associé à la couronne rouge; au Nouvel Empire, elle est serpent-uraeus, oeil d'Horus au contact des marais de Chemmis et devient lionne-uraeus qui crache des flammes contre ses ennemis en Haute-Égypte.⁴⁵

Chesemtet est la lionne-uraeus qui intervient contre l'ennemi d'Osiris par sa chaleur destructrice. Nourrice du roi, elle défend le principe royal. Dans le temple de Séthi I^{er}

⁴¹ *Pyr.* I, 48-9. *sr* pourrait aussi évoquer le port altier de l'oie: Aufrère, 'De l'influence des luminaires sur le croissement des végétaux', *Memmonia* 6 (1995), 121 n. 45.

⁴² Gauthier, *Les fêtes du dieu Min*, 223.

⁴³ M. Alliot, *Le culte d'Horus à Edfou au temps des Ptolémées*, II (BdE 20; Le Caire, 1954), 791-3; Meeks, *Le grand texte des donations au temple d'Edfou* (BdE 49; Le Caire, 1972), 70-1 n. D. Sur le choix et l'importance du nombre cinq, cf. J.-Cl. Goyon, 'Nombre et univers: réflexions sur quelques données numériques de l'arsenal magique de l'Égypte pharaonique', L. Kákosy and A. Roccati (eds), *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraoni* (Modena, 1987), 58-9.

⁴⁴ S. Cauville et al., 'La chapelle de la barque à Dendera', *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 163 n. 21. Hathor est façonnée à partir du corps même de son père créateur: K. Sethe, *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge, das in der Fremde war* (UGAÄ 5; Leipzig, 1912), 19-20, 30 sq.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 10 sq.

à Abydos, elle est ainsi ‘destructrice des ennemis en face d’Osiris’.⁴⁶ Cette action est fréquemment menée par l’uraeus se manifestant ici en lionne dont l’origine semble avant tout memphite.

Bastet intervient dans la protection de l’aspect solarisé d’Osiris. Cette protection s’étendra par la suite à ‘Horus dans son nid’. Cette douce chatte peut cependant exprimer un aspect particulièrement sauvage, voire démoniaque.⁴⁷

Enfin, Sekhmet est l’œil de Rê, lionne-uraeus, ‘maîtresse de la flamme’, mère de Nefertoum. Soutien monarchique, elle étend sa protection à Horus qui devient son rejeton. Mais elle est aussi ‘la déesse du mois de Khoiak’, moment où se détermine l’abondance des futures récoltes et ‘celle qui ouvre le sable’, sous l’aspect des torrents qui dévalent les flancs des ouadis après les pluies, ravinant ainsi les sols sablonneux.⁴⁸

Les déesses-uraei, entretenant chacune des relations avec les marais du Delta et les ouadis désertiques, deux pôles dangereux, se répartissent ainsi la domination de l’univers en assurant la protection du roi. L’association des quatre déesses Ouadjyt, Chesemtet, Bastet et Sekhmet avec la cinquième, Hathor, existe dès le Moyen Empire. Elle puise peut-être son origine dans le ‘Rituel des quatre boules’ identifiées aux quatre déesses.⁴⁹ Le roi frappe à l’aide d’un bâton quatre boules ainsi projetées vers les quatre points cardinaux, tandis que des formules destinées à protéger le corps du roi contre les serpents et tout autre reptile (animaux hostiles à toute forme de résurrection, et particulièrement solaire) sont prononcées. Les quatre boules seront identifiées dans le ‘Livre de Protection du Roi’ pendant les douze heures de la nuit à Edfou comme les *bnmt*, protections spécifiques d’Osiris en Abydos.⁵⁰ L’oraison à prononcer sur les quatre boules indique que celles-ci sont les ‘protections de Rê, issues de lui’. Ainsi, avons-nous une association de quatre divinités qui se retrouvent toujours dans le cadre d’une protection solaire d’Osiris dans son cénotaphe. Cette protection des quatre lionnes pourrait être l’écho tardif de la protection de Sokar dans le chapelle-*štyt* de la barque-*hnw* au Nouvel Empire du 18 au 25 Khoiak. Mais alors que le cénotaphe-*hn* contient un corps enveloppé dans une peau de lionne afin de garantir sa renaissance solaire, la barque de Sokar est faite d’une dépouille d’antilope, ennemi de la solarisation. L’animal décapité devant Sothis-Satis garantit le retour de la crue en Thot,⁵¹ il est ainsi déjà maîtrisé et anéanti à nouveau en Khoiak, afin que les outils assurant la solarisation de Sokar soient efficaces. Ces derniers, le poisson-*int* et les faucons/hirondelles veillent à la proue de la barque-*hnw* avant d’annoncer la venue de ce nouvel astre solaire.⁵²

⁴⁶A. M. Calverley, M. F. Broome et A. H. Gardiner, *The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos*, III (Londres et Chicago, 1938), pl. 29a.

⁴⁷J. Vandier, ‘Iousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet. XIII. Nébet-Hétépet à Memphis’, *RdE* 18 (1966), 79–80; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 89.

⁴⁸Germond, *Sekhmet*, 15, 112–13; Aufrère, *L’univers minéral*, 675.

⁴⁹Ce rituel remonterait à l’Ancien Empire, comme l’attestent des boules de terre crue provenant d’un mastaba d’Abydos: J.-Cl. Goyon, ‘Textes mythologiques II. Les “révélations des mystères des quatre boules”’, *BIFAO* 75 (1975), 349–95; C. Ziegler, ‘À propos du rite des quatre boules’, *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 439 n. 4 et Aufrère, *L’univers minéral*, 683.

⁵⁰Goyon, *BIFAO* 75, 352 n. 5; E. Chassinat, *Le mammisi d’Edfou* (MIFAO 16; Le Caire, 1939), 112, 9; Germond, *Sekhmet*, 150–4 et 159–60; A. Parker, J. Leclant et J.-Cl. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak* (Brown Egyptological Studies 8; Providence, 1979), 61 sq., pl. 25.

⁵¹J. Yoyotte, ‘Héra d’Héliopolis et le sacrifice humain’, *EPHE* 89 (1980–1), 44.

⁵²Meeks, ‘Les oiseaux marqueurs du temps’, *Bulletin du Cercle Lyonnais d’Égyptologie* 4 (1990), 44–5; Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar*, 17–33.

Les cinq oies, qui pourraient être cinq oies de la même espèce ou cinq sortes différentes d'oies, interviennent donc dans la destinée du roi, son existence terrestre, pour le rendre immortel. Les cinq déesses lionnes situent cette action dans le cosmos, puisqu'elles participent à la solarisation du roi défunt Osiris. Leur contrepartie masculine est représentée par quatre génies léonins présents sur la base du reliquaire abydnien où ils figurent les quatre dieux protecteurs d'Osiris, adoré lui-même sous la forme d'un cinquième lion (forme animale originaire du Delta, traduisant l'aspect Bousirite d'Osiris).⁵³ Les quintuples manifestations léonines ont donc bien le pouvoir 'd'activer' les mécanismes de renaissance.

La cohabitation des oies et des déesses lionnes autour de Sokar à Medinet Habou serait donc destinée à mener une double action: les oies génèrent la destinée solaire du roi en Sokar-Osiris, les déesses lionnes protègent cette création au bénéfice du roi, devenu nouvel Horus 'petit soleil'. Cette double action est renforcée par la présence répétée de Nefertoum. Exceptée Hathor, les quatre autres déesses ont une teinte memphite. Le groupe des quatre se resserre ainsi autour de la personne d'Hathor, au centre de ce quatuor, lors de la fête de Sokar. Hathor déesse du ciel, traditionnellement vache, devient lionne et l'entité divine qui concentre en elle toutes les potentialités des quatre autres déesses. Ceci n'est pas sans évoquer un schéma de création héliopolitaine, 'quatre + un'.⁵⁴

Les légendes relatives aux porteurs de barques et à celles-ci apportent peu d'indications et ont rendu l'interprétation de la procession des cinq barques difficile. Selon P. Derchain,⁵⁵ 'les cinq barques transportaient les déesses énumérées, dont la place, en tête de la procession s'accorde sans doute avec leur caractère apotropaïque'. L'auteur admet que la relation qui unit les barques-déesses à Nefertoum lui échappe, mais qu'elle 'ne peut sûrement pas être limitée à un lien qui l'unirait à une seule des déesses'. Et il se demande s'il convient de chercher ce lien dans le mythe de l'oeil d'Horus ou de l'explicitier par le groupement de divinités représentant le territoire memphite. D'autres auteurs⁵⁶ soulignent cette association curieuse et inhabituelle, ou se demandent si ce rapport 'barques-Nefertoum' doit être perçu comme une séquence particulière ne relevant pas directement des autres épisodes de la fête de Sokar.

Quelques éléments de réponse se trouvent peut-être dans certains textes. Le chapitre 653 des CT propose une liste de manifestations divines parmi lesquelles on retrouve les cinq déesses de Medinet Habou: Hathor, Chesemtet, Bastet, oeil d'Horus, oeil de Rê, Ouadjyt, Sekhmet, Oeil-*oudjat*, Chonsou, Hou, Sia, Nefertoum et Thot.⁵⁷ Il s'agit vraisemblablement d'une litanie des formes d'Hathor dans laquelle les regroupements suivants s'imposent: Chesemtet-Bastet, les deux lumineux (l'oeil d'Horus et l'oeil de Rê), Ouadjyt-Sekhmet. L'oeil-*oudjat* mentionné en dernier, avant les cinq dieux, résume l'ensemble, la totalité de la déesse-uraeus Hathor. Ici, l'énumération qui suit la mention

⁵³ Pour les oies, cf. Abitz, *Statuetten in Schreinen*, 91–108. Pour les lions, cf. P. Barguet, 'La base du reliquaire abydnien', *RdE* 9 (1952), 153–5.

⁵⁴ W. Westendorf, 'Die geteilte Himmelsgöttin', *Fs Brunner-Traut*, 341, 356 et Goyon, dans *La magia in Egitto*, 58–9 (*supra* n. 43).

⁵⁵ Derchain, *El Kab* I, 20–1.

⁵⁶ S.-E. Hoenes, *Untersuchungen zu Wesen und Kult der Göttin Sachmet* (Bonn, 1976), 207 et Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 86.

⁵⁷ Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, 591 (CT VI, 274m–y).

du nom d'Hathor développe certains aspects divins d'Hathor personnifiés par Chesemtet, Bastet, Ouadjyt et Sekhmet.

Sur l'ostracon CG 25338 provenant de la Vallée des Rois sont successivement citées, par un 'Grand Prêtre de la Couronne' et 'Organisateur des processions de tous les dieux' dans une invocation à Mâat, les déesses 'Sekhmet, Bastet, Ouadjyt, Chesemtet et (Hathor)-Nebet-Hetepet' (groupe identique à celui de Medinet Habou) suivies de l'énumération 'L'oeil-Oudjat, l'oeil-Sechemet (lunaire), l'oeil-(Akhet), l'oeil unique (du Maître de l'Univers), l'oeil de Rê'.⁵⁸ Là encore, le groupe des quatre premières déesses mentionnées définit les différents aspects réunis en Hathor.

Une litanie des noms d'Hathor énumère également plusieurs de ces déesses dans le pBremner-Rhind ('Cérémonial pour faire sortir Sokar du sanctuaire-štyt').⁵⁹ Et plus tard à Edfou, dans la première chambre de Sokar, neuf déesses rendront hommage à Osiris: Isis, Nephthys, Tefnout, Nout et Sekhmet, Bastet, Ouadjyt, Chesemtet et Iousâas-Hathor.⁶⁰ Dans tous les cas, les cinq déesses demeurent ensemble et sont associées à des divinités liées à la création solaire et à des manifestations de l'oeil d'Atoum-Rê et d'Horus.

Par ailleurs, au Nouvel Empire, le groupement de ces déesses a souvent pour corollaire le partage d'épithètes: ce phénomène devient même une règle pour les filles de Rê.⁶¹ Qu'elles soient lionnes, cobras, vautours, et par là-même personnifications des couronnes royales,⁶² elles représentent la pupille de l'oeil de Rê, protégeant par la lumière qu'elles émettent Osiris devenu l'astre solaire dans le monde nocturne d'en-dessous.

Ces dernières attestations permettent de reconsidérer la présence affirmée de Nefertoum dans la procession du 26 Khoiak: le dieu n'est pas seulement la contrepartie de Sokar, mais est aussi l'illustration du jaillissement de la lumière hors des ténèbres et du transport de l'oeil d'Horus dès le Nouvel Empire. De plus, les cinq emblèmes de Nefertoum associés aux cinq barques des déesses et aux cinq oies sont accompagnés d'un groupe de quatre autres emblèmes qui sont ceux d'Anubis, de Khonsou, d'Horus et de Thot. Or, ces derniers jouent un rôle important dans le mythe de l'oeil d'Horus, tandis que les premiers acteurs (les cinq emblèmes de Nefertoum, les cinq barques et les cinq oies) pourraient évoquer la création de l'oeil-Akhet de Rê, puis la quête de cet oeil.⁶³ Les données des calendriers 'religieux' et celles des calendriers 'des Jours Fastes et Néfastes'⁶⁴ semblent apporter quelques hypothèses d'interprétation pour replacer ce qui semble être une des 'clefs' de la présence des oies: le mythe de l'oeil sous ces deux aspects principaux schématisés ainsi:⁶⁵

⁵⁸ G. Daressy, *Ostraca* (Le Caire, 1901), 86-7, pl. lx, cité par J. Vandier, 'Iousâas et (Hathor)-Nébet-Hétépet', *RdE* 16 (1964), 86 qui a lu par erreur Satis au lieu de Chesemtet, fait signalé par Derchain, *El Kab* I, 18.

⁵⁹ Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar*, 87-90.

⁶⁰ *Edfou*, I², 201.

⁶¹ J. Yoyotte, 'Une monumentale litanie de granit: les Sekhmet d'Aménophis III et la conjuration permanente de la déesse dangereuse', *BSFE* 87-88 (1980), 52.

⁶² Dans la stèle Louvre C 10 de la 13^{ème} Dynastie, Ouret-Hekaou est associée à Chesemtet, Sekhmet et Bastet: P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1874), 34.

⁶³ Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 88 et P. Munro, 'Nefertem und das Lotos-Emblem', *ZÄS* 95 (1968), 34-40.

⁶⁴ Il y a une connexion entre les textes des 'calendriers des Jours Fastes et Néfastes' et l'histoire de l'Oeil qui prend place dans le temps de transition entre l'ancienne et la nouvelle année, période particulièrement dangereuse: L. Troy, 'Have a Nice Day', in G. Englund (ed.), *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (Boreas 20; Uppsala, 1989), 131.

⁶⁵ S. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire* (OBO 134; Fribourg et Göttingen, 1994), 91-2.

—L’oeil d’Horus est arraché par Seth lors de son combat contre Horus. Puis, il est guéri et restitué par Thot à Horus qui désormais est en possession de son héritage, ses deux yeux ou deux luminaires: le soleil et la lune.

—L’oeil solaire, celui de Rê ou d’Atoum, dont la puissance et l’émission de lumière s’exprime à travers une entité féminine, est envoyé par le créateur solaire pour combattre les hommes rebelles ou Apopis. Rê peut également le placer sur son propre front, alors que l’oeil est devenu uraeus protecteur et qu’il est représenté par une déesse fille de Rê. Enfin, lorsque l’oeil de Rê en colère abandonne Rê en quittant l’Égypte, il est recherché, apaisé et ramené par un dieu (Thot ou Chou, et plus tard, Onouris). De même, si Chou et Tefnout quittent leur père Rê, ils sont recherchés par l’oeil d’Atoum-Rê.

En reprenant ces deux quêtes de l’oeil, il semble possible de déterminer à quel moment et de quelle manière les oies rencontrent les lionnes-uraei-filles de Rê. Deux phases de recherche et de quête de l’oeil sont perceptibles: la première serait réalisée au mois de Thot et concernerait l’oeil d’Horus; la deuxième serait achevée au mois de Khoiak et s’appliquerait à l’oeil de Rê. Il conviendra, à travers ces deux temps forts de l’année, d’analyser les mécanismes et la signification de ces deux quêtes parallèles reposant par ailleurs sur des rythmes annuels et des correspondances entre le mois de Thot et celui de Khoiak.

Le moment où les oies et les lionnes se rencontrent

Le mois de Khoiak

Les représentations évoquant la pérégrination de la barque-*henou* autour des murs du temple ‘au matin divin’ du 26 Khoiak sont le point d’aboutissement d’un rituel entamé dès le début du mois de Khoiak lors d’un premier cycle de sept jours. Pour l’essentiel, rappelons que le 1^{er} Khoiak dans le calendrier ‘des Jours Fastes et Néfastes’, indique: ‘Marche de la Grande et Petite Ennéade pour apaiser la Majesté de Noun dans sa source ... Chaque oeil, chaque nez, chaque lion et chaque serpent-*nhyt*, les dieux et les déesses, les esprits-*hw* et les morts, les formes du temps primordial et ta suite sont dans chacune de tes images’.⁶⁶ Le 1^{er} Khoiak, l’inondation atteint son maximum: cette masse d’eau est difficile à contrôler et il est nécessaire d’apaiser le Nil. Le 7 Khoiak correspond à la fête-*dnit* (premier quartier de la lune ascendante) qui marque le début des cérémonies sokariennes: à cette occasion, des offrandes vespérales sont présentées aux rois défunts. Et les particuliers reposant dans les nécropoles sont associés à cet hommage rendu aux rois-ancêtres.⁶⁷ Le 12 Khoiak, le défunt navigue tel le phénix-*benou* vers Abydos. Cette navigation est assimilée à la course nocturne du soleil. Cette date correspond à la mise en oeuvre de rituels en Abydos qui conduiraient le 23 Khoiak à l’emmaillotement de Sokar-Osiris dont les chaires ont été reconstituées.⁶⁸

Le 20 Khoiak est le jour de ‘scruter les deux yeux dans la maison de l’oeil-*Akhet*’ selon le calendrier ‘des Jours Fastes et Néfastes’. Et celui qui est né ce jour-là mourra

⁶⁶Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 147–9.

⁶⁷Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar*, 172 sq.

⁶⁸Ibid. 178–81.

aveugle.⁶⁹ Le 21 Khoiak, les ‘Grands sortent vers la chapelle-*chetyt*’, tandis que l’on continue à chercher l’oeil-*Akhet* dans le calendrier ‘des Jours Fastes et Néfastes’.⁷⁰ Du 23 au 25 Khoiak, la solarisation du support sokarien est réalisée à travers deux étapes: les glorifications-*sakhou*, puis l’action de porter des oignons autour du cou durant la nuit du 25 au 26 Khoiak. Le 24 Khoiak, aucune oie est offerte durant la fête de Sokar selon le calendrier de Medinet Habou, alors que tous les autres jours appartenant aux célébrations sokariennes sont associés à des offrandes d’oies,⁷¹ et la journée du 25 Khoiak correspond à la navigation vers Abydos à bord de la barque-*nechemet*. À cette occasion, les ennemis de Sokar sont exterminés virtuellement. En d’autres termes, le dieu est justifié et triomphe de ses ennemis. Puis, la nuit du 25 au 26 Khoiak est la nuit où l’on restaure les pouvoirs de Sokar-Osiris momifié et placé dans sa tombe. Pendant ce temps, les vivants nouent des guirlandes d’oignons autour du cou pour être prêts à faire le tour des murs avec la barque-*henou* de Sokar et ils offrent des compositions d’oignons à anses aux défunts. C’est la nuit-*ntryt*, ‘nuit divine’ par excellence puisqu’elle est le point d’aboutissement de la récupération des facultés mentales et physiques de Sokar avant la proclamation des résultats le lendemain à l’aube du 26 Khoiak. Sokar-Osiris démembré est devenu un Osiris solarisé. Cette mutation a été réalisée par le ‘Rituel de l’Ouverture de la Bouche’ qui débouche sur la reprise d’un coeur solaire le 26 Khoiak lors du rituel ‘apporter le coeur du dieu au dieu’. Sokar triomphant jaillit de l’Occident pour parcourir l’univers oriental du ciel diurne, tel Rê. Et Orion apparaît dans le ciel nocturne pour une durée de quatre-vingt-dix jours.⁷² Le pLeiden T 32 pourrait associer l’apparition d’Orion à la soumission de la ‘multitude’ et à l’anéantissement des ennemis: ‘Tu t’informes au côté de Chentayt, en ce jour de repousser (?) Orion. Tu adores Celui qui préside à sa civière, brillant dans son temple, en cette nuit de perturber les paroles; ton bras est violent pour assujettir (?) la multitude, le jour de saisir les ennemis’.⁷³

Les oignons sont intervenus lors de cette ouverture de la bouche pour nettoyer et purifier la bouche, puis pour illuminer le visage d’un être se levant glorieusement comme le soleil. Cette phase de la résurrection débouche sur l’apparition d’un nouveau Sokar lumineux auquel est associé le roi régnant. Les oignons-*hdw* ont annoncé la lumière-*hd* d’hiver et ont chassés les Apopis et autres reptiles, tous ennemis du soleil. Le calendrier agraire intervient ici. Les oignons de Sokar ont été plantés en septembre, cueillis pour le 26 Khoiak avant d’être transplantés dans la terre, associés à l’hibernation des serpents en les rendant inopérants et donc inoffensifs, pour être prêts à être consommés pour la fête de Bastet le 4 Pharmouti, au début du mois de février, au moment où tous les serpents sortiront de leur hibernation. Le pLeiden T 32 indique ainsi: ‘Tu exhaltes le dieu auguste (*Ntr šps*) quand viennent à lui les Deux Nenet (*Nnty*), le jour de “mâcher

⁶⁹Leitz (*Tagewählerei*, 175–6) retient pour sa traduction la version de pSallier IV: *gm* ‘trouver’ (les Deux Yeux), alors que la version de pKairo 86637 donne *gmh* ‘scruter, observer, chercher du regard’, action qui semble plus logique, étant donné que le 21 Khoiak, on continue à chercher l’oeil!

⁷⁰Ibid. 177–9.

⁷¹The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu*, III. The Calendar, The ‘Slaughterhouse’, and Minor Records of Ramses III (OIP 23; Chicago, 1934), pl. 158.

⁷²C. Graindorge, ‘Les oignons de Sokar’, *RdE* 43 (1992), 87–105.

⁷³Traduction F. R. Herbin, *Le Livre de Parcourir l’Éternité* (OLA 58; Louvain, 1994), 60, 193.

les oignons'' (*wšꜣ ḥḏw*).⁷⁴ Ici, *Ntr šps* serait un dieu serpent d'après le déterminatif. La manifestation de ce serpent est associée au ciel inférieur et au ciel supérieur (les *Nnty*) et à l'acte de mâcher, puis d'ingérer des oignons.

Dans les CT et le Tb, le premier élément, le serpent est mentionné en relation avec l'oeil de Rê ou d'Atoum, et l'on peut se demander si ce reptile est en rapport avec l'uraeus ou s'il est une manifestation d'Atoum sous forme de serpent, comme dans Tb 175. Dans ce texte, Atoum se réimmerge dans les eaux du Noun, 'ramenant ainsi la création dans un état comparable à celui de la préexistence'.⁷⁵ Ici, le serpent d'Atoum est une menace de chaos. Et l'émergence de tous ces êtres chthoniens à cette période de l'année a pu être perçue par les prêtres égyptiens comme un grand danger.

De plus, dans la cosmogonie hermopolitaine, le démiurge se crée lui-même avant de donner naissance à des serpents qui vont l'assister dans la création jusqu'à l'achèvement de celle-ci. Le deuxième élément, les *Nnty*, pourrait faire allusion à cet état de préexistence de l'univers créé par l'intervention du serpent *Ntr šps*.

Le troisième élément, l'acte de mâcher les oignons, doit annihiler l'action potentiellement dangereuse du serpent, lorsque la création est en marche. Il ne s'agit plus d'oignons primeurs comme pour la fête de Sokar, mais de gros oignons ayant germés pendant la période hivernale et témoins d'une vie chthonienne, source de renaissance à l'image de Sokar vivant dans une caverne.

Le temps de la commémoration: le rappel du mois de Thot

Ainsi, la procession de la barque-*henou* le 26 Khoiak, rappelle le temps de la création originelle de la lumière et en vient à être une des clefs de la relance de l'année. Trois mois auparavant, le premier jour du mois de Thot est marqué par la naissance de Rê-Horakhty et par le début de l'inondation (*mw nw ḥꜣt ḥꜣꜣj*) dans le calendrier 'des Jours Fastes et Néfastes': C'est le commencement du règne de Rê.⁷⁶ Puis, le 7 Thot est le 'jour de recevoir le flot' (*ḥrw ꜣwi n šꜣꜣ ꜣtrw*), l'eau qui s'écoule, pure et fertilisatrice.⁷⁷ Le 12 Thot correspond au jour de la révolte des hommes contre le créateur solaire selon les mêmes sources.⁷⁸ Le 20 Thot est le jour de ceux qui reposent dans le sommeil de la mort, et est peut-être à mettre en relation avec la fête-*haker* qui célèbre la victoire d'Osiris sur ses ennemis et associe les Bienheureux à ce triomphe marqué par l'apport

⁷⁴ Ibid. 66, 234; Graindorge, *RdE* 43, 103: l'acte de porter des colliers d'oignons autour du cou pour la fête de Sokar (Khoiak) est différent du rituel d'ingérer par mastication (*wšꜣꜣ*) les oignons pour la fête de Bastet (Pharmouti). On retrouve ici l'association entre l'action de mâcher les oignons et la présence d'un serpent, force de création. Il y aurait donc deux interprétations pour le passage du pLeiden T 32. Ce dernier se réfère ou bien à la fête de Bastet en Pharmouti, ou bien à celle d'Épiphî. Dans les deux cas, ce rituel pourrait être la commémoration de la création de Rê-Atoum en Thot, avec la présence du serpent, et constituerait la phase finale du circuit suivant: naissance de l'astre solaire en Thot, protection et rappel de cette création lumineuse en Khoiak, commémoration de ces actions en Pharmouti et Épiphî.

⁷⁵ Cf. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 229–30, en rajoutant aux références de l'auteur le passage du Tb 78 (Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, 115: 'Je suis l'un de ces serpents qu'a créés l'oeil du Maître Unique...').

⁷⁶ Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 13–14.

⁷⁷ Ibid. 19, pour la signification de *šꜣꜣ ꜣtrw* qui demeure incertaine: The Epigraphic Survey. *Tomb of Kheruef* (OIP 102; Chicago, 1980), 18 n. 8. Quoi qu'il en soit, il s'agit de festivités liées à l'arrivée de la crue.

⁷⁸ Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 23–5 pour le 12 Thot.

d'offrandes sur les autels d'Osiris et la récitation de rituels de protection et de glorification.⁷⁹ Le 21 Thot, on fait une offrande à la suite de Rê.⁸⁰

Le mauvais comportement de l'humanité révoltée prend fin avant le 23 Thot, jour de la naissance du soleil sous la forme d'une oie-*r3* hors de l'oeuf primordial avec l'aide de l'ogdoade.⁸¹ Il faut en moyenne 27–28 jours d'incubation pour une oie-*r3* ou *smn*, ce qui situerait la ponte de l'oeuf de Rê (ou son apparition spontanée ?)⁸² le premier des cinq jours épagomènes, en 'dehors du temps'. Ce mode de création hermopolitain s'accompagne d'interdictions formelles. Ce jour là, on ne doit pas manger d'oie-*r3*, tuer de serpent, de chèvre, de lion ou d'oiseau. Leitz propose deux raisons au choix de l'oie-*r3* comme oiseau cosmogonique uniquement dans le calendrier 'des Jours Fastes et Néfastes', et seulement le 23 Thot: Il existerait un jeu de mots reposant sur une homophonie entre Rê et *r3* (comme entre *imn* et *smn*). Ou Tb 109 pourrait être une explication: 'Je connais la porte septentrionale du ciel, dont le Sud est le lac des oies-*h3r* et le Nord l'étendue d'eau des oies-*r3*, là ou Rê navigue à la voile ou à la rame...'⁸³

Même si le lieu de l'aube est très proche du nord à cette époque de l'année, et si l'oie-*r3* est un volatile qui a pu rester éventuellement toute l'année en Égypte, la toute première apparition de l'astre solaire semble reposer ici sur l'oie-*r3* le premier des cinq jours épagomènes, car l'impulsion de cette création solaire est ainsi donnée par un oiseau migrateur. De plus, l'absence possible de l'oie migratrice au mois de Thot n'empêche pas nécessairement la ponte de l'oeuf, puisque celle-ci se situe en dehors du temps. Plus tard, durant le mois de Khoiak, le vol des oies interviendra pour confirmer la 'première fois' de la création solaire.⁸⁴ Ainsi, on ne tue pas de serpent, pouvant incarner l'oeil de Rê, le jour de la naissance du jeune Rê. L'interdiction de tuer une chèvre, animal séthien, serait en relation avec le combat qui a lieu à ce moment là, ou qui aura lieu quelques jours plus tard, entre Seth et Horus (les confédérés de Seth sont transformés en chèvres dans le Tb 18). Le lion, animal pouvant incarner l'oeil de Rê, mais pouvant également représenter le phallus d'Osiris, ne doit pas être chassé et tout oiseau est protégé le jour de la naissance du soleil sous forme d'oie.

Le 24 Thot, dans le calendrier 'des Jours Fastes et Néfastes', Rê paraît à bord de la barque du soir et brille dans la barque du jour: un nouveau cycle de vie pour l'astre solaire commence ainsi. Et dans la version du pSallier IV, les dieux memphites Sekhmet, Sokar et Nefertoum sont associés à cette journée.⁸⁵ Le 25 Thot, selon ces mêmes calendriers, est le jour où Sekhmet se rend dans le désert de l'est (ou la montagne de l'est) à l'endroit où se trouvent les confédérés de Seth transformés en troupeaux. C'est aussi, d'après le papyrus Jumilhac, le jour où le phallus d'Osiris est retrouvé et, selon

⁷⁹ Ibid. 34–6 et Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar*, 305–6.

⁸⁰ Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 37–8.

⁸¹ Ibid. 46–50.

⁸² Ibid. 49.

⁸³ Barguet (*Livre des Morts*, 143) traduit 'porte septentrionale' (*sic*) pour 'porte orientale'. Les oiseaux migrateurs dont la patrie serait la douat située au nord pourraient pourtant être en relation avec une porte septentrionale: cf. E. Edel, 'Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der "Weltkammer" aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niuserre, II', *NAWG* 4 (1963), 109–10. En outre, Tb 109 est à mettre en parallèle avec un passage de Tb 149, non cité par Leitz (Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, 209, 212), où il est dit: 'Je connais la porte médiane du Champ des Souchets, d'où sort Rê à l'orient du ciel, dont le sud est le lac des oies-*h3r* et le nord le bassin des oies-*r3*, lieu où Rê navigue dans un vent de tempête'.

⁸⁴ Leitz, *Tagewählerei*, 46–7.

⁸⁵ Ibid. 50–1.

une glose du Tb 17, le phallus du dieu apparaît sous la forme d'un lion: En d'autres termes, Osiris peut maintenant procréer et avoir un successeur Horus (le combat entre Horus et Seth prendra ainsi fin à partir du 26 Thot). Parmi les interdictions du 25 Thot, les grappes de vigne évoqueraient l'oeil d'Horus, c'est à dire son héritage.⁸⁶ Le 26 Thot le combat entre Horus et Seth est terminé et la paix entre les frères ennemis, désormais 'enfants de Nout' est scellée le 27 Thot.⁸⁷ Ce jour-là, il ne faut pas tuer de serpent 'de vie': ce dernier, représenté dans la onzième heure du Livre des Portes avec deux têtes d'homme, joue un rôle important. La mort du serpent mettrait fin à la paix entre Horus et Seth rendu par la forme de *hrwy.fy*. À partir du Nouvel Empire, le 'serpent de vie' possède une coloration solaire et représente peut-être un aspect d'Horakhty.⁸⁸

La création de Rê au mois de Thot (lumière estivale ou solaire sortant de l'oeuf cosmique sous la forme d'une oie) dans le monde divin a comme contrepartie la sortie de Sothis qui revient après 70 jours de disparition (selon un comput idéal) au temps de la plus forte chaleur du mois de Thot. Trois mois plus tard, en Khoiak, la lumière ainsi générée est commémorée et confirmée par le roi terrestre Horus à travers la quête de l'oeil-*Akhet*. La recherche de l'oeil-*Akhet* est concomitante de la solarisation de Sokar-Osiris préparée par les oignons et reposant sur la sortie de Sokar en Henou (lumière hivernale ou nocturne). Mais il est désormais indispensable d'affirmer la venue de Sokar 'petit soleil' durant cette période de l'année incertaine, moment où toutes les graines en gestation dans le sol doivent donner leurs fruits. Les oignons, 'accessoires' destinés à faire triompher la nature et faire jaillir hors du sol et vers la lumière les récoltes en gestation ne suffisent plus. Les oies, actrices et témoins de la création de la lumière en Thot, demeurent en contact avec le sol, tout en ayant le pouvoir de voler haut et loin, et prolongent ainsi l'action des oignons au mois de Khoiak: durant ce mois, les reptiles disparaissent, tandis que les oies arrivent. Trois mois plus tôt, les serpents apparaissaient, tandis que l'oeuf contenant une oie était créé.⁸⁹

L'oeuf du mois de Thot contenant l'oie

Tb 17 associe l'image du faucon Horus, possesseur de l'héritage osirien à l'oie créatrice de l'astre solaire Rê à partir d'un oeuf.⁹⁰ À Hermopolis, l'univers tout entier est issu d'un oeuf posé sur la butte originelle.⁹¹ Cet oeuf avait déjà été placé sur le dos de *Mehet-Ouret*,

⁸⁶ Ibid. 53; Troy, dans Englund, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 134; R. Krauss, 'Vorläufige Bemerkungen zu Seth und Horus/Horusauge im Kairener Tagewählkalender nebst Notizen zum Anfang des Kalendertages', *BSEG* 14 (1990), 53.

⁸⁷ Troy, *ibid.* 135.

⁸⁸ E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, II (AH 8; Genève, 1980), 228–9, 257; Meeks, 'Le nom du dieu Bès et ses implications mythologiques', dans U. Luft (ed.), *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákósy (Fis Kákósy)* (StudAeg 14; Budapest, 1992), 427; Troy, dans Englund, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, 137.

⁸⁹ G. Delchevalerie, *Calendrier égyptien du jardinier et du cultivateur avec éphémérides et observations anciennes tirées du calendrier copte* (Chaumes, 1898), 14, 17, 31, 33; R. L. N. Michell, *Egyptian Calendar for the Year 1295 A. H. (1878 A. D.) Corresponding with the Years 1594–1595 of the Koptic era* (Alexandria, 1877), 15–16, 23–4, et *An Egyptian Calendar for the Koptic Year 1617 (1900–1901 A. D.) Corresponding with the Mohammedan Years 1318–1319* (London, 1900), 12–13, 15–17.

⁹⁰ Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, 62 et H. Milde, *The Vignettes of the Book of the Dead of Neferenpet* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 7; Leiden, 1991), 39 fig. 10.

⁹¹ Sauneron et Yoyotte, *SourcesOr* I, 52, 59–62; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 66–7; B. Menu, 'Les cosmogonies de l'ancienne Égypte', in F. Blanquart (ed.), *La création dans l'Orient ancien. Congrès de l'ACFEB, Lille, 1985* (Paris, 1987), 106–7 et 'Les récits de création en Égypte ancienne', *Cah. Bib.* 25 (1988), 69–70.

lieu de repos et être divin sous forme de vache ou de femme, et Rê a pu ensuite s'envoler sous la forme d'oie-*smn* lors de 'sa sortie de *Mehet-Ouret*'.⁹²

Pour cela, il a fallu fendre la coque de l'oeuf rappelant la coque-*bjj* qui englobe le firmament: là, navigue le soleil dans sa barque. 'Fendre *bjj*', 'briser la coque' de l'univers entraîne le surgissement du soleil. Cette explosion lumineuse est par ailleurs caractéristique d'un mode de création sokarien. L'oeuf duquel est issu le soleil provient, selon les traditions, soit de l'océan primordial, soit du ciel.⁹³ Cependant, les variantes du thème de la naissance des choses à partir d'un oeuf n'empêchera pas l'idée à Hermopolis que l'apparition première du soleil se fasse sous la forme d'un jeune enfant jailli d'un lotus, Nefertoum, l'action prenant place sur 'l'île de l'embrasement' ou 'île de l'oeuf'.⁹⁴ En effet, l'oie est, selon les sources, antérieure à l'oeuf et le dépose à Hermopolis, ou bien est issue de l'oeuf sous forme de jars se posant sur la butte 'des deux sycomores' ou 'des danseurs',⁹⁵ tel le créateur solaire.

Sans vouloir évoquer le lotus primordial qui fit émerger le soleil naissant, et l'oeuf qui fit éclore le créateur comme des 'éléments proto-créateurs' bien avant le Nouvel Empire,⁹⁶ il est probable que la présence des cinq filles de Rê, associées aux cinq oies lors de la procession de Sokar-Osiris est un rappel de ce *sp tpy*. Au Nouvel Empire, cette 'Première Foix' entraîne la séparation du ciel et de la terre et provoque l'éloignement du créateur solaire.⁹⁷ Ainsi, une oie est présente dans les papyrus lors de la séparation de Geb et Nout, conjointement à Chou et dans la même position intermédiaire que ce dieu, entre le ciel et la terre. Et dans Tb 98, le défunt caquette encore comme une oie (laquelle), vole comme un faucon, avant d'affirmer: 'Rosée du Grand, je parcours (l'espace de) la terre au ciel; je tiens la place de Chou, et j'affermis le Lumineux sur les deux bras de l'échelle qui fait monter les Étoiles Infatigables loin de la décapitation...'⁹⁸

Il était donc indispensable de commémorer ces faits et de confirmer le temps de la création solaire à l'occasion de l'apparition de Sokar sur son traîneau et de la manifestation lumineuse que ce dieu suscite: Nefertoum. Thèbes ici se veut l'héritière de cette tradition au moment où Amon lui-même devient 'celui qui associe sa semence et son corps pour donner l'être à son oeuf en son sein mystérieux', 'celui qui a tiré son oeuf

⁹²Cf. CT 723 VI, 353n et CT 74 I 311g-h pour Osiris.

⁹³E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Wortfamilie bjj* (Köln, 1971), 46, 62, 66; Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar*, 313 sq., pour le mode de création sokarien; Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 186.

⁹⁴Sauneron et Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde*, 52, 56-7; J. Yoyotte, 'Thèmes cosmogoniques', *EPHE* 76 (1968-9), 110.

⁹⁵Cf. Chapitre 771 des CT: Barguet, *Textes des sarcophages*, 412.

⁹⁶P. P. Koemoth, 'Du chat à l'uraeus "qui délimite" l'arbre de l'horizon oriental pour Rê et pour Osiris', *VA* 9 (1993), 21-3, 25: Les deux sycomores pourraient être aussi des 'végétaux cosmogoniques' qui abritent l'uraeus, serpent ou lionne, garantissant par sa présence dans l'arbre la naissance du soleil en éloignant ses ennemis potentiels. Ici, les deux sycomores seraient l'image de l'horizon, traduction religieuse d'un biotope connu de l'Égypte ancienne: les oies, les serpents et les lionnes se rencontrent volontiers dans les frondaisons des sycomores et des acacias. Voir en dernier lieu: P. P. Koemoth, *Osiris et les arbres* (*Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 3; Liège, 1994), 53 sq. Cf. Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 69, 305.

⁹⁷*Ibid.* 305-6.

⁹⁸Barguet, *Livre des Morts*, 131. Cf. P. Derchain, 'Sur le nom de Chou et sa fonction', *RdE* 27 (1975), 110-16 et 'Miettes', *RdE* 30 (1978), 57.

de lui-même'.⁹⁹ L'oeuf est désormais son oeuvre et contient son souffle.¹⁰⁰ Si les sources du Nouvel Empire sont unanimes à affirmer que l'oeuf originel est rattaché à la butte primordiale d'Hermopolis et à l'ogdoade (même si Amon ou Ptah créent désormais aussi l'oeuf),¹⁰¹ elles mettent clairement l'oeuf en relation avec Héliopolis car le soleil lors de son apparition brise la coque de son oeuf en même temps qu'il fend le firmament-*bj*. On a donc intégré un mode de création héliopolitain selon un schéma anciennement hermopolitain dans la théologie amonienne de Thèbes. Un bloc des 22–23^{èmes} dynasties, provenant du Ramesseum mentionne '...*b* à côté de Sokar comme l'oeuf-*r* à côté de l'ibis d'Osiris...' ¹⁰² Le début et la fin de la phrase manquent, mais une mise en parallèle entre le *b*, manifestation du mort solarisé dans la Douat, et l'oeuf-*r*, actrice dans la création du soleil, d'une part, et entre Sokar, soleil nocturne, et l'ibis d'Osiris, en relation avec les phases de la lune et la reprise d'un coeur solaire, d'autre part, est manifeste. L'ibis est aussi un oiseau migrateur en relation avec la lune et ses phases en raison des données du Livre de la Vache du Ciel. Ce texte d'origine thébaine pourrait évoquer, à travers la relation oeuf-*r*/Sokar, l'alternance sans cesse renouvelée de la lumière diurne et nocturne, mais aussi les deux phases principales de la création solaire à Thèbes: la création de Rê au mois de Thot, puis le rappel du triomphe de la lumière au mois de Khoiak (voir tableau récapitulatif). La première phase concerne les forces créatrices représentées par les dieux ancêtres; la deuxième la restauration de ce premier dieu solaire avec la procession de Sokar auquel est associé le roi régnant ainsi confirmé dans l'exercice de sa charge.

Vers un nouvel horizon

La fête de Sokar par ces éléments nous livre Thèbes comme l'autre visage d'Héliopolis. L'entité divine, Sokar, y devient un outil théologique qui véhicule toute une série de données concernant le surgissement de la butte de la 'Première Fois'. La *štyt* représenterait ce tertre et la procession de la barque-*hnw* sur laquelle se trouve la *štyt* donnerait l'impulsion nécessaire à la réapparition de l'astre solaire né au mois de Thot. Le traîneau de la barque-*hnw*, habituellement nommé *msh*, deviendrait ici le '*šsp*' qui 'reçoit'/'apporte' la lumière.¹⁰³

Pour parachever cette action, la barque-*hnw* est accompagnée des cinq oies, rappel de la création solaire de Rê et de la transmission de l'héritage du créateur à Horus à travers la quête de l'oeil d'Horus durant le mois de Thot, ainsi que de l'oeil-*ht* de Rê personnifié

⁹⁹ Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 234.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. 235; S. Sauneron, 'Copte $\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\zeta\eta$ ', in *Mélanges Maspero* I/4 (MIFAO 66; Le Caire, 1961), 114–17. Le thème de 'l'oeuf du souffle' déposé dans Ounou et celui de l'oeuf de Rê sont déjà associés dans les chapitres 1058 et 1168 des CT: VII, 310b; VII, 510f.

¹⁰¹ R. Parker et L. Lesko, 'The Khonsu Cosmogony', J. Baines et al. (eds), *Pyramid Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (Londres, 1988), 169–70; E. Cruz-Urbe, 'The Khonsu Cosmogony', *JARCE* 31 (1994), 173–4 et Bickel, *La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 237–8.

¹⁰² J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (Londres, 1898), 8 (11), pl. xxii. Cf. G. Posener, 'Un dieu écrivain: le Thot égyptien', *Annuaire du Collège de France* 1961–62, 289–90, et J.-Cl. Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* (BdE 42; Le Caire, 1966), 57 n. 8, 58 n. 1. Pour le signe du faucon ayant la valeur *b*: Meeks, 'Oiseaux des carrières et des cavernes', *Fs Derchain*, 240 n. 59.

¹⁰³ A. Spalinger, 'A Religious Calendar Year in the Mut Temple at Karnak', *RdE* 44 (1993), 174, sur l'expression 'recevoir', 'révéler' la lumière.

par ses filles, lionnes-uraei envoyées en mission le 26 Khoiak pour soutenir l'intervention de Sokar-Henou. Les oies redeviennent les volatiles originels qui permettent de légitimer le pouvoir du roi possesseur du trône d'Horus.¹⁰⁴ Cette action fait appel à plusieurs accessoires qui relèvent de différents codes: végétal héliopolitain pour les oignons, et de

Tableau récapitulatif

Thot: Création de Rê et quête de l'oeil d'Horus

1^{er}: Naissance de Rê-Horakhty en relation avec l'oeuf pondu le 1^{er} des 5 jours épagomènes; début de l'inondation; apparition des serpents dans l'Incréé.

7: Jour de recevoir le flot de l'inondation.

12: Révolte des hommes contre le créateur Rê-Horakhty.

13-14: Apparition de Sothis. Activation des serpents témoins de la création.

20: Fête-*haker*. Victoire d'Osiris sur ses ennemis. Tous les bienheureux sont associés à ce triomphe.

21: Offrande à la Suite de Rê.

23: Naissance du soleil sous forme d'oie-*r* issue de l'oeuf pondu le 1^{er} jour épagomène.

24: Rê navigue désormais sur ses deux barques du jour et de la nuit. Le cycle solaire commence.

25: La succession d'Osiris est assurée. Son phallus est retrouvé.

26: Fin du combat entre Horus et Seth. L'héritage est transmis à Horus-Rê-Horakhty qui apparaît à l'est du ciel muni de ses deux yeux.

Victoire des forces créatrices des dieux ancêtres. Organisation de l'univers et mise en place de la royauté divine.

Khoiak: Rappel du triomphe de la lumière originelle. Quête de l'oeil-Akhet de Rê

1^{er}: L'eau de l'inondation atteint son niveau maximal.

Les serpents hibernent.

7: Fête-*denit*, culte funéraire aux rois ancêtres.

12: Les défunts bienheureux naviguent tels des *benou* vers Abydos: cette navigation est assimilée à la course nocturne du soleil.

Milieu du mois de Khoiak: les oies arrivent.

20: On cherche les Deux Yeux dans 'la maison de l'oeil-Akhet'.

21: La quête des yeux de Rê se poursuit. Et les Grands vont vers la *chetyt*.

23: Début de l'embaumement de Sokar-Osiris.

24: Fin de l'embaumement.

25: Navigation sur la barque-*nechemet*. Les ennemis de Sokar-Osiris sont anéantis. Solarisation du dieu et des défunts par les oignons.

26: Sokar-Osiris surgit hors de l'occident en 'petit soleil', jeune Horus représenté sur terre par le roi régnant. C'est l'apparition d'Orion qui active cette solarisation royale.

Victoire du roi terrestre Horus qui commémore ainsi la création de la lumière par les dieux-ancêtres et associe les rois ancêtres à cette action.

¹⁰⁴J.-Cl. Goyon, 'Aspects thébains de la confirmation du pouvoir royal: les rites lunaires', *JSSSEA* 13 (1983), 8; Meeks, *Bulletin du Cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie* 4, 37-45.

Moyenne-Égypte pour le lotus provenant de 'l'île de l'embrasement',¹⁰⁵ animal memphite pour les lionnes et hermopolitain pour les oies qui se rencontrent à cette date de l'année. Ce dernier code zoologique permet de faire intervenir des animaux médiateurs nécessaires à une communication entre les dieux et les hommes. Cette fonction d'intermédiaire pouvait être assurée uniquement par des créatures 'anti-serpents', à la fois chthoniennes, terrestres et célestes. En choisissant des chthoniens volatiles et des volatiles chthoniens, acolytes des uraei, le passage entre les différents niveaux de l'univers devient une réalité.¹⁰⁶ L'ensemble est ordonné selon un mode astronomique dans lequel l'apparition d'une constellation dans le ciel est le signal et le marqueur d'une période de déséquilibre (le 26 Khoiak, Orion réapparaît, comme Sothis vers le 13-14 Thot).

Thèbes ici réussit une habile synthèse: au mois de Thot, l'eau de l'inondation est apparue en même temps que la lumière solaire. Ce phénomène est marqué par la réapparition de Sothis. Ce flot nouveau puise sa puissance de création dans la Douat auprès de serpents dont l'activité serait à mettre en relation avec la naissance de Rê qui façonne des serpents juste après la création de lui-même le 1^{er} Thot, puis avec l'apparition de Sothis, quelques jours plus tard: dans ce sens, les serpents ne sont pas seulement réanimés périodiquement par la réapparition de Sothis, mais sont aussi les intervenants entre la fin d'un cycle, et le début d'un autre en préparation, puisqu'ils sont presque contemporains de la création de Rê, et qu'ils sont acteurs dans la poursuite et l'achèvement de la création du monde au mois de Thot. Ils constituent le lien entre le non-créé et le monde organisé dans lequel la terre et le ciel sont différenciés. Il convient donc de canaliser les forces de ces 'serpents astraux' en les associant au faucon.¹⁰⁷

À la fin de la saison de l'inondation, le 26 Khoiak les terres élevées commenceront à poindre hors de l'eau.¹⁰⁸ Cette réalité est la matérialisation du surgissement de 'l'île de l'embrasement' qui apparaît alors, ainsi que les serpents présents en son sein qui se manifestent, dès la neuvième heure, comme dans le Livre des Portes, selon un comput horaire toujours lié à une phase de transformation ou de création dans les rites sokariens.¹⁰⁹ En outre, le cobra vivant présent dans l'embarcation divine de la neuvième heure du Livre des Portes semble être le réceptacle du 'visage du disque solaire'. Le cobra devient le transporteur du soleil. On retrouve le schéma suivant: le roi en jeune Sokar, faucon victorieux, transporte sur sa barque-*henou* le jeune soleil, qui s'élève en cobra-

¹⁰⁵ Même si 'l'île de l'embrasement' acquiert une grande importance dans la cosmogonie funéraire d'Hermopolis et si elle développe certains liens avec Thot dès les CT, sa localisation dans le bois sacré d'Hermopolis, lieu de création solaire pourrait être secondaire: Yoyotte, *EPHE* 76, 111.

¹⁰⁶ Bickel (*La cosmogonie égyptienne*, 69) souligne avec justesse que certaines suggestions de H. Kees ('Die Feuerinsel in den Sargtexten und im Totenbuch', *ZÄS* 78 (1942), 41) s'apparentent parfois à des extrapolations. Cf. M. Détienné, *Les jardins d'Adonis (la mythologie des aromates en Grèce)* (Paris, 1972), vi (préface de J.-P. Vernant), 42, 234-5 pour les volatiles chthoniens.

¹⁰⁷ Cette association du cobra et du faucon relève peut-être de l'observation des faucons qui comme d'autres rapaces consomment des reptiles en plongeant sur eux avant de les emporter dans les airs prisonniers de leurs serres. En ce sens, il est normal que le cobra soit la seule créature chthonienne qui soit capable de s'élever dans les sphères célestes.

¹⁰⁸ J.-F. Pécoil, 'Les sources mythiques du Nil et le cycle de la crue', *BSEG* 17 (1993), 109-10; L. Kákosy, 'The Astral Snakes of the Nile', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 255-60 et le pLeiden T 32 (supra n. 74).

¹⁰⁹ E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, I (AH 7; Genève, 1979), 299 sq.; II, 208 sq.; R. Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (AA 20; Wiesbaden, 1970), 101-3 et Graindorge, *Le dieu Sokar*, 194, 206, 218, 220, 291, 424.

uraeus ainsi triomphant de l'Incréé. Le cobra, comme tous les serpents, est en relation avec le monde primordial d'où est issu l'astre solaire.

Le déplacement de tertre, celui de 'l'île de l'embrasement', a suivi le vol des oies qui sont venues du nord en octobre au moment de la fête de Sokar et qui se sont posées sur cette butte. À l'Ancien Empire, d'après les textes, les oies demeurent en permanence avec le faucon dans le ciel; au Nouvel Empire, elles se posent sur la terre de Haute-Égypte à Medinet Habou pour matérialiser et prolonger l'action chthonienne de Sokar, pour pousser le soleil sur le tertre,¹¹⁰ hors de l'eau et haut dans l'atmosphère.¹¹¹ Chaque année, en hiver, les oiseaux migrateurs triomphent de la frontière eau/terre, terre/atmosphère et pénètrent dans les marais du Delta, où la limite entre l'eau, la terre et le ciel est parfois difficile à discerner, avant de s'abattre sur la partie méridionale de la Vallée du Nil. Cette manifestation a pu ainsi être associée au passage des oiseaux mystérieux provenant de la Douat, située au nord, qui prennent leur forme et leur véritable existence lorsqu'ils se posent sur la terre ferme.¹¹² Comme les serpents ovipares, les oies surgissent de l'Incréé et apparaissent dans le monde organisé de la création par l'intermédiaire d'un oeuf, enveloppe-*qerehet* qui protège ou transporte les chairs de Rê.

Cette interprétation semble être le reflet d'une réalité ornithologique: les oiseaux migrateurs viennent à l'automne du nord (Delta) et du nord-est de l'Égypte (Sinai), et descendent vers le sud jusqu'à Thèbes, allant à la rencontre de l'eau du Nil recouvrant encore partiellement le Pays. Cette trajectoire est coupée par le circuit de l'astre solaire d'est en ouest selon un schéma qu'illustre parfaitement le cheminement de la barque de Sokar.¹¹³ Par ailleurs, les oies sont associées à des phénomènes célestes comme le montre Tb 98. Elles se posent sur 'l'île de l'embrasement' qui est l'horizon oriental, le lieu de combat de Rê contre Apopis qui se manifeste alors sous la forme de nuages ou de brumes qui font obstacle à la progression du créateur: L'horizon est toujours un point de communication entre le monde terrestre et celui de la Douat. Enfin, 'on ne saurait dire si elle (l'oie du Nil) était un être solaire ou chthonien', mais lorsque les Égyptiens consacrent une section aux oies comme dans un des papyrus de Tebtynis, ils ne manquent pas d'indiquer la couleur du plumage et, surtout, de signaler le comportement de l'oiseau migrateur qui vient à la saison de l'inondation: le phénomène migratoire est ainsi clairement mentionné.¹¹⁴ Ces particularités permettent aux oies d'intervenir à différents niveaux. Sous terre ou dans l'oeuf-matrice, pondu le premier jour épagomène, sur le tertre au mois de Thot lorsque les terres inondées se signalent par la présence d'acacias ou de sycomores, biotopes servant souvent de résidence aux lions, lionnes et

¹¹⁰En concrétisant l'énergie lumineuse, les oies deviennent les gardiennes de l'intégrité des astres de la voûte céleste. Cf. Kees, *ZÄS* 78, 46.

¹¹¹R. Schlichting, 'Vom Entenvogel zum Entenvogelboot. Überlegungen zur Entensymbolik in der ägyptischen Kunst', dans H. Behlmer (ed.), *Quaerentes Scientiam. Festgabe für Wolfhart Westendorf zu seinem 70. Geburtstag (Fs Westendorf)* (Göttingen, 1994), 184; Derchain, 'Des hirondelles et des étoiles', *Cahiers du CEPOA* 2 (1985), 106-7, 110; G. Roquet, 'Migrateur et flamant rose dans l'Égypte dynastique et copte: milieu, image, signe', *ibid.* 112.

¹¹²Meeks, *Dieux égyptiens*, 141-2 (supra n. 29).

¹¹³Edel, *NAWG* 4, 109-10; Meeks, *Bulletin du Cercle Lyonnais d'Égyptologie* 4, 40-2; Graindorge, *RdE* 43, 102 n. 104.

¹¹⁴Sauneron et Yoyotte, *La naissance du monde*, 61; Schlichting, *Fs Westendorf*, 187; J. Osing, 'Vocabulaires et manuels sacerdotaux à l'époque romaine', *Aspects de la culture pharaonique. Quatre leçons au Collège de France* (Mémoires de l'AIBL 12; Lille, 1992), 43.

serpents (la présence de la fille de Rê dans ces arbres sacrés puise son origine dans l'observation de l'environnement animal et végétal), et dans l'air au mois de Khoiak dont la première semaine est justement placée sous la protection de Sekhmet.¹¹⁵ En effet, pendant ce temps, les lionnes-filles de Rê ont veillé à ce que l'action soit conforme à la création initiale et la protègent, elles traduisent aussi le rappel de l'émission des premiers rayons de Rê.¹¹⁶ L'action est parfaitement intégrée au temps de la saison agricole. Les terres émergées du mois de Khoiak regorgent de prémices de récoltes. Les serpents sommeillent, chassés par la lumière hivernale éclairant le territoire thébain. La catastrophe a été évitée de peu et les oies peuvent désormais poursuivre leur chemin plus au sud de l'Afrique...

¹¹⁵ Schmitz, *Vögel*, 3; Koemoth, *VA* 9, 24–5.

¹¹⁶ Chaque déesse céleste peut-être le transporteur du soleil; les lionnes rentrent dans cette catégorie: W. Westendorf, *Altägyptische Darstellungen des Sonnenlaufes auf der abschüssigen Himmelsbahn* (MÄS 10; Berlin, 1966), 23–4 n. 9.

A NEW 'ROBBERY' PAPYRUS: ROCHESTER MAG 51.346.1

By OGDEN GOELET, JR.

First publication of Papyrus Rochester MAG 51.346.1, dated to the fourth month of *Peret*, day 15 of the first year of the 'Repeating-of-Births', corresponding to Year 19 of Ramesses XI. It lists the thefts by the Chief Doorkeeper of the Karnak Temple, Djehuty-hotep, and reads as if it were an abridgement of a much longer and more detailed report. New light is shed on Djehuty-hotep, who is mentioned in other related manuscripts as one of the chief culprits in the extensive plundering of royal and temple property at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. By providing evidence that even the Karnak temple had been plundered, the Rochester papyrus suggests that the 'Repeating-of-Births' presented Herihor with the need to conduct an extraordinary anticorruption campaign in the early part of this period.

In the spring of 1994, I received a request from Dr Candace Adelson of the Memorial Art Gallery of Rochester University to make a preliminary evaluation of their collection of Egyptian objects before the reinstallation of their ancient art galleries. The collection includes a hitherto unpublished late Ramesside hieratic papyrus, with the date-line 'Year 1 (of) the "Repeating-of-Births"'—the so-called 'Renaissance Era' of the Twentieth Dynasty. My initial impression that this papyrus was related to the corpus of 'tomb robbery' documents has been confirmed by further study, and a primary edition of this remarkable text is here presented.¹

Papyrus Rochester MAG 51.346.1 measures 44.6 cm in width and 41.2 cm in height; its colour is a light tan and its state of preservation is quite good. Careful examination shows that the sheet, which is mounted and framed, is composed of at least three smaller pieces. At some point prior to its acquisition by the Gallery, the papyrus was affixed to a piece of very fine cloth, possibly cotton; during this process, a few loose fragments of this or another papyrus adhered to the surface. These can be seen in col. A, between lines 18 and 19, and in col. B, superimposed over the middle of line 6. The mounting process caused minor misalignments at the beginning of the lines along the right-hand edge of col. A and in the middle portion of col. B. The hand is a large and rather clear example of late Ramesside hieratic, written in two columns of horizontal lines. The handwriting is unlike that of any other found in the corpus of 'tomb robbery' papyri or among the documents known as the Late Ramesside Letters, but the script is comparable to other hands from this period. It is uncertain whether Rochester MAG 51.346.1 represents the entirety of the original document or whether it continued on further sheets to its left.

Because the papyrus has been firmly affixed to the cloth backing on which it is now mounted, it was uncertain whether there were any traces of writing on the back. In the spring of 1995, I examined the papyrus with the aid of Dr John S. Arney of the Imaging

¹I should like to thank Dr Adelson and the Memorial Art Gallery for permission to publish this papyrus. I am grateful to Dr Andrea McDowell and the anonymous *JEA* reviewers for vetting my hieratic transcription, pointing out several errors, and offering some very helpful suggestions. Any mistakes remaining in this paper are, of course, my personal responsibility.

Laboratory of the Rochester Institute of Technology, 'reading' the back by means of different light sources and subsequent use of a series of computer imaging techniques. The process revealed that there is no writing on the verso of the papyrus.²

All the records connected with this document are sketchy and uninformative. The Gallery's accession card simply states: 'Gift of the Rochester Theological Seminary, 1951. Formerly loan number 2.1919L', indicating that the Egyptian collection had held the papyrus for nearly 32 years before it became a permanent acquisition. Attempts to trace the history of the papyrus have thus far proved fruitless. Dr Richard Henshaw, Professor Emeritus of Babylonian and Hebrew at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School (the successor institution to the Seminary) kindly searched for further records, but to no avail; he suggests that information concerning gifts of this sort was either not recorded, or else has long since been discarded. The papyrus was probably donated to the Seminary at the beginning of this century or before, perhaps as a gift from a missionary who had acquired it in Egypt.

Translation

Column A (pl. IX, fig. 1)

1. Year 1 (of) the 'Repeating-of-Births', fourth month of *Peret*, day 15.
2. Copy^a of the documentation of the thefts which the Chief Doorkeeper committed (lit. did),
3. Djehuty-hotep,^b of the temple of Amun, in the Great Court of Amun-Re, King of the Gods,^c
4. which was delivered concerning him after a report had been delivered (lit. spoken) to the vizier^d by the mayor of the city.^e
5. Inspection on this day by the Scribes of the Treasury of the Temple of Amun, King-of-the-Gods.^f
6. The face (?) of the stern of the divine barque of Amun,^g which Nebmaatre (Rameses VI ?)^h made, that rests
7. on the left of the court of Amun-Re, King-of-the-Gods.
8. Inspection: what was found in it: gold, inspection of an earⁱ—2 palms, width 1 palm:^k
1
9. gold: inspection of a horn of an *stf*-crown^l—2 palms, width 3 fingers: 1
10. gold: inspection of the back of a sun-disk of an *stf*-crown—3 palms, width 2 fingers:
1
11. gold: tail of a uraeus^m—1 cubit, width 1 palm: 1
12. copper, damaged: inspected and found damaged: 1;ⁿ 3 palms, width 2 palms, 3 fingers: 1
13. the Renuftet-serpent—copper, damaged, inlaid^o with gold; the [great] court of Amun
14. lying to the left of the shrine of this god:
15. gold which has been overlaid and inlaid upon the body of the uraeus: 1; the back of the uraeus: 1
16. copper implement^p of the uraeus: 1; making as a total, 5

²The procedure is one which deserves further attention, and I hope to describe such image-enhancing techniques in a future article.

17. [*rdw*]-garment of fine linen,^a left side: (length) 18 (cubits ?), width 3 fingers: 1;—the one which had been at the side of this face(?) of the divine barque
18. The left-hand stela^r which bears the name of^s King Horemheb:
19. gold hammered:^t the eye of the figure^u of Amun: 1. It was found to be wood overlaid with gold
20. gold, hewn^v and damaged—the figure of Khonsu: 1
21. The left-hand stela which bears the name of King Menmaatre Sety:^w
22. gold, hammered: 8;—the figure of Amun: 1. It was found to be wood overlaid with gold
23. gold, in a restoration^x of the uraeus of the figure of Mut: 1;—the figure of Khonsu: 1;—the figure of the Lord: 1
24. white gold:^y the *hbs*-garment^z of the figure of Khonsu—1 palm, 3 fingers, width 1 palm: 1;—1 palm, width 1 palm: 1
25. gold, inspection of the crescent (lit. lip) of the moon—1 palm: 1;—2 fingers: 1

Column B (pl. X, fig. 2)

1. The left-hand stela which (bears) the name of^{aa} King Horemheb:
2. white gold, inspection of the *hbs*-garment of the figure of Khonsu—2 palms, width 2 palms: 1
3. white gold, inspection: 4—1 palm, 3 fingers, width 1 palm: 1
4. copper, damaged, wound about and painted (?)—1 cubit, 3 palms: 1
5. gold, hewn and damaged—the figure of the Lord: 1
6. [The] right-hand stela which (bears) the name [of King] Menpehtyre (Ramesses I):
7. copper, damaged, overlaid with gold: a *tbt*-jar, damaged, Khonsu (?): 1
8. The right-hand door-jamb^{bb} of the portal^{cc} of Amun [Great-of-(?)] Awe:^{dd}
9. copper overlaid with gold: total copper: 6
10. The left-hand door-jamb of this place: 3
11. The right-hand door: the screen(?) of the movable screen wall^{ee} which is at the side of the Ogdoad(?):^{ff}
12. gold, inspection of the door—4 palms, width 2 fingers: 1;—3 palms, width 3 fingers:
13. —3 palms, 2 fingers, width 3 fingers: 1;—3 palms, 2 fingers, width 1 palm: 1;—2 palms, 3 fingers, width 1 palm, 2 fingers: 1
14. —1 palm, 2 fingers, width 3 fingers: 1;—3 palms, 2 fingers, width 1 palm: 1;—1 palm, width 1 palm: 1;—1 palm, 2 fingers, width 2 fingers: 1
15. —1 cubit, width 1 palm: 1;—1 palm, 2 fingers, width 2 fingers: 1;—1 palm, width 1 palm: 1;—2 palms, 2 fingers, width 2 fingers: 1
16. —3 palms, 1 finger, width 3 fingers: 1;—1 cubit, width 2 palms: 1
17. Total: 2 shares, each pure gold. Total: 2, making up as a total, 4.
18. The left-hand door of this place: inspected and found upon it:
19. gold, inspection—3 palms, 2 fingers, width 1 palm: 1;—1 palm, 2 fingers, width 1 palm: 1;—1 palm, width 1 palm: 1
20. —1 palm, width 3 fingers: 1;—2 palms, width 1 palm: 1;—2 palms, 2 fingers, width 1 palm, 2 fingers: 1;—2 palms, width 1 palm: 1

Rochester MAG 51.346.1

Column A

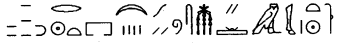
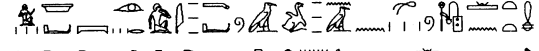

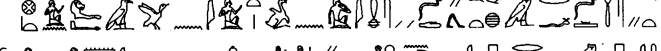
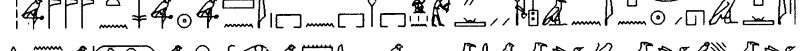
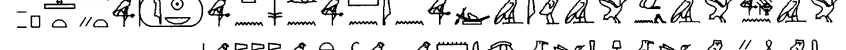



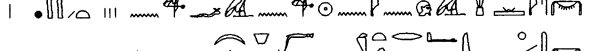

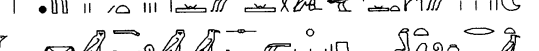
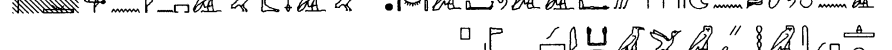



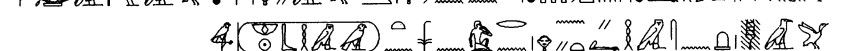
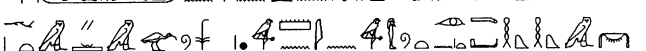

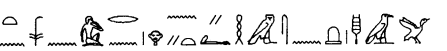

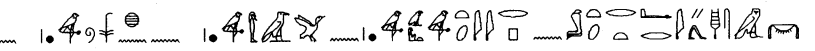



- (1) 
- (2) 
- (3) 
- (4) 
- (5) 
- (6) 
- (7) 
- (8) 
- (9) 
- (10) 
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- (14) 
- (15) 
- (16) 
- (17) 
- (18) 
- (19) 
- (20) 
- (21) 
- (22) 
- (23) 
- (24) 
- (25) 

FIG. 1.

Rochester MAG 51.346.1

Column B

- (1)
- (2)
- (3)
- (4)
- (5)
- (6)
- (7)
- (8)
- (9)
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- (27)
- (28)
- (29)
- (30)

FIG. 2.

21. —1 palm, 2 fingers, width 1 finger: 1;—3 palms, width 3 fingers: 1;—1 palm, 2 fingers, width 3 fingers: 1
22. —1 palm, width 1 finger: 1;—3 fingers, width 1 finger: 1;—3 palms, width 1 palm, 3 fingers: 1;—3 palms, width 4 palms: 1
23. —1 cubit, 1 palm, 2 fingers, width 3 fingers: 1;—1 cubit, 4 palms, width 1 finger: 1;—4 palms, 1 finger, width 3 palms: 1
24. Total: 1 share. Total (for) each: gold as a total: 2, making as a total: 3. 5.
25. The great door^{sg}—gold—the right-hand side of the great door-jamb of
26. Usermaatse-setepenre (Ramesses II), the Great God, which is near the Ogdoad(?):
27. found on it and inspected: white gold, total of the locks(?):^{hh} 1
28. The right-hand door-jamb of this place:
29. copper, inspected—1 cubit, 2 palms, width 4 palms, 1 finger: 1;—4 palms, 1 finger, width 1 palm: 1; (metal) coffers(?): 6
30. The left-hand door jamb: copper, inspected—1 cubit, width 2 palms, 3 fingers: 1;—1 palm, 2 fingers, width 4 palms, 1 finger: 1

Notes

- (a) *mitt*, 'copy'. The same term appears in the date-lines of the Abbott Dockets, which also contain mostly lists and no narrative component.³ As noted below, the present papyrus is probably a summary of the most important facts resulting from a lengthy procedural matter. The culprit has already been caught, and, as we learn shortly, a report of the court's findings has been made to the vizier. At this point the investigators appear to be concerned chiefly with ascertaining from where Djehuty-hotep's loot had come, and the text summarizes their findings.
- (b) *hry iryw-c3w Dhwtj-htp*. The god's name has a rather unusual, flattened form in the hieratic (cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 18 no. 207). The Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep is known from several other documents; see below.
- (c) *pr-'Imn m p3 wb3 c3 n 'Imn-Rc niswt-ntrw*, 'the Temple of Amun, in the Great Court of Amun-Re, King-of-the-Gods'. The location of the inspection tour mentioned here is discussed in the remarks below. The term *wb3* is discussed by P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), 4–13. Spencer observes (p. 10): 'Obviously the exact meaning of *wb3* in any text can only be determined if it refers to a surviving monument with which the description can be compared.' She states further (p. 13): 'The one translation which is always inaccurate is the previously accepted "forecourt" and, for the majority of texts "temenos" would be an acceptable translation.' A more recent study of *wb3* by C. Wallet-Lebrun (*GM* 85 (1985), 67–88) would lay greater stress on the basic meaning of the root *wb3*, 'to open'. A *wb3*, then, would be something which 'opens' or provides an entry point into a structure. Such an entrance could take any number of forms—a court, a doorway, or a pylon. Taken together, these discussions would suggest that the *wb3* mentioned here was the area of the Karnak temple into which one first entered—almost certainly the same place as the 'great *wb3* of Amun-Re, King-of-the-Gods' where the High Priest of Amun, Amunhotep, was installed earlier in the reign of Ramesses IX.⁴ This official





³See T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), 130. For the use of *mitt* in official documents, see W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. and 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (MÄS 31; Munich and Berlin, 1974), 129 and J. J. Janssen, 'Requisitions from Upper Egyptian Temples (P. BM 10401)', *JEA* 77 (1991), 82–3. The expression *mitt (n) sš* also appears in the Late Ramesside Letters, see G. S. Grieg, 'The *sdm = f* and *sdm.n = f* in the Story of Sinuhe and the Theory of the Nominal (Emphatic) Verbs', in S. I. Groll (ed.), *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* (Jerusalem, 1990), I, 339 n. 298.

⁴G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep* (Paris, 1929), 63, Inscr. XV, b, 3–6 with pl. 2; Spencer, *Temple*, 13.

continued in this position well into the reign of Ramesses XI, when he fell from power in unclear circumstances. The turmoil surrounding the 'suppression' of the High Priest Amenhotep, in fact, apparently contributed significantly to the lawless climate in which many of the thefts of tomb and temple property took place (see below).

- (d) *tjty*. From other 'tomb-robbery' material it seems that this unnamed vizier is Nebmaatrenakht. The fact that such important persons as the vizier and the mayor of the west bank appear without names in this document suggests that it was drawn up primarily to summarize the findings of an inspection done in response to the charges brought against Djehuty-hotep. Even the Abbott Dockets, which are similarly called a 'copy', contain the name of Nebmaatrenakht and other important officials. The report in the Rochester papyrus, by contrast, reads more like a confirmation of some previous document, which had perhaps contained the culprit's full confession of his crimes. The use of the verb *sip*, normally translated as 'to inspect', is interesting. In this instance and elsewhere in this document, it seems as if the 'inspection' was performed with the intent of eventually restoring the damages caused by the thefts. A more fitting translation of *sip* here would be 'to inventory'.⁵

The treatment of the gold here primarily in terms of length and width is unusual. By contrast, the weight, which under most circumstances would provide a better indication of the value of a golden object, seems to have had little importance in this case.

- (e) *hsty-c n nixwt*. The unnamed mayor is presumably Peweraa, who is more correctly *hsty-c n imnty nixwt*, 'the mayor of the West of the City (Thebes)'.
 (f) *nꜣ sšw n pr-hꜣ n pr-'Imn-Rꜣ niswt-ntrw*, 'the Scribes of the Treasury of the Temple of Amun-Re King-of-the-Gods'. The reading of *sšw* is uncertain. The first sign in the group is certainly  (Sign-list Y3) and not the similar  (T12), since the hieratic sign in question lacks the characteristic cross stroke of the latter.⁶ Judging from the rest of the word, it appears as if there has been an odd mixture of the words  *sšw*, 'scribes', and  *rwꜣw*, 'agents'⁷ here. A. McDowell notes that the term *rwꜣw* means broadly 'anyone exercising authority on behalf of others' (*Jurisdiction in the Workmen's Community of Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 5; Leiden, 1990), 59–65). New Kingdom ostraca and papyri mention several such groups of officials, frequently qualified by some specification of the region, institution or individual they represent: e.g. *n tjty*, 'of the Vizier'. Agents of the treasury or of a temple, however, would be otherwise unattested outside of the current passage, leading one to suppose either that the scribe has substituted a familiar term for an unexpected word or else that these inspectors represented an *ad hoc* group invested with the responsibility of investigating the places which Djehuty-hotep had robbed. In line 8 (see note (j) below), we can see a similar type of error when the scribe wrote a familiar word instead of an unusual one encountered in the document he was copying.



The presence of this unique commission in the Rochester papyrus contributes towards explaining the document's nature. The involvement of the 'Scribes of the Treasury' in this affair seems to be limited to making an inspection tour of sorts through various parts of the Amun temple. Although the circumstances seem unclear, their task is a *sip*, 'inspection' or 'inventory', at the sites Djehuty-hotep looted, in order to ascertain the extent of his depredations. Unlike the 'Agents' in the famous inspection of royal tombs in the Abbott Papyrus, the scribes in the Rochester papyrus never seem to 'inspect' a place and find it intact. At the time of the inspection, Djehuty-hotep had apparently already made a detailed confession, and the papyrus reads like a damage report in which the focus was more on

⁵P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)* (BdÉ 109; Cairo, 1994), I, 95–6, notes that the phrase *sipꜣ wrt*, 'grand inventaire', is used to describe large portions of the Harris Papyrus. For a discussion of the term *sip* in administrative papyri, see *ibid.* II, 130, 147–8.



⁶I would like to thank the *Journal's* anonymous referee who pointed out this salient feature to me. Compare Möller, *Paläographie* II, 48 no. 537 (Y 3) with 39 no. 438 (T 12).

⁷Compare the various forms of this word given in L. H. Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (Berkeley and Providence, 1982–90), III, 59.

ascertaining the physical extent and location of the thefts rather than the value of the material stolen.

Not much is known about the Treasury of the Amun temple, but it must have been a rather important place which was in charge of considerable wealth.⁸ The most common title associated with this treasury was, in fact, that of simple 'scribe', yet it seems to have been an occupation important enough to supply several of these men with the means to build a tomb.⁹ The translation as a singular 'Treasury' is offered with some hesitancy. It is often unclear whether or not such writings as  should be interpreted as *prwy-hd*, 'the Double Treasury', or simply *pr-hd*, 'the Treasury', where the second *pr*-sign would act simply as a determinative or a graphical variant, like  for *pr-rj*. In several scenes in the tomb of the Eighteenth Dynasty vizier Rekhmire, that official is shown inspecting the activities of the Treasury of the Amun temple.¹⁰


Even men attached to the Treasury of the Amun Temple participated in the various robberies at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. In the Abbott Dockets, a 'scribe of the Treasury of the Temple of Amun' by the name of Tetisheri heads the list of thieves in List 1, and occurs again in List 2, col. B, 4 (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 132-3). This individual is also found in every list of criminals in which Djehuty-hotep appears.

- (g) *hr(?) n pꜣ phw n pꜣ wis*, 'the face(?) of the hind-section of the divine barque'. The reading of the first sign in this expression is not certain, but is apparently paralleled by the variant *pꜣ hr(?) pꜣ wis* a little later at the end of line 17. In both instances the initial group is apparently , *hr*, rather than , *tp*. On the other hand, the alternative rendering 'the head (*tp*) of [the hind-section of] the divine barque' would be reminiscent of the terminology for pieces of the Userhat barque in the *Report of Wenamun* 2,38—*pꜣ tp n hꜣst* and *pꜣ tp n phw*—clearly referring to parts of the prow and stern (A. H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (BiAe 1; Brussels, 1932), 70.15). In the Rochester papyrus, the 'face of the hind-section' of the barque is followed in the next line by a description of material apparently removed from an *ꜣtf*-crown. In light of this, this *hr* most likely was the *hr šfyt* 'ram's-head' prow which is so frequently depicted at the prow and stern of divine barques (see the discussion of the term, with an illustration, by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I, II*, 38-9 n. 151). On the other hand, as *Wenamun* indicates, *tp* and *hr* seem to be used synonymously in this context. The *tp* of a sacred bark is mentioned twice in one of the Abusir papyri as the place where a divine emblem might be affixed (P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai* (*Les papyrus d'Abousir*) (BdÉ 65; Cairo, 1976) I, 99 and 104). H. Goedicke (*The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore, 1975), 94-5) has suggested translating *tp* as 'top', but this would fit the sense of both the passage in *Wenamun* and the Rochester papyrus poorly.
- (h) *Nb-Mꜣꜣt-Rꜣ*. This king could be either Amenophis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, or, as seems more likely, Ramesses VI of the Twentieth Dynasty. If the barque mentioned here had been made by Amenophis III, it would have been over 250 years old at the time of the inventory. In either case, its most likely location would be in the triple barque shrine of Sety II (but see below for the problem of tracing the itinerary of the inspection team). We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that the divine barque was stationed within one of the chapels of Ramesses III's temple located at the right of the court.


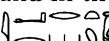
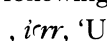
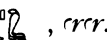
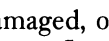

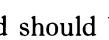

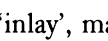

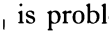
⁸Only a handful of individuals associated with this institution are known, most of whom styled themselves simply 'scribes' of this treasury, yet in some instances were wealthy enough to own tombs in the Theban necropolis; see M. Abd el-Raziq, 'Bemerkungen zu Grab 178 in Theben-West und zu dem *Pr-hd* des *Pr-fmn*', *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 409-16.

⁹Ibid. 409-12.

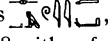
¹⁰*Urk.* IV, 1140 ff.; see also W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 3; Leiden, 1958), 184-5.

- (i) *gmyt*. The general meaning of the verb *gmi* in this papyrus is 'to verify'; for a similar usage in connection with an inspection, see Posener-Kriéger, *Archives du temple funéraire* I, 212.
- (j) *msdr*, 'ear'. A possible explanation for this incongruous word here may be that the scribe misinterpreted the original document from which he was copying. In the hieratic text one may perhaps see a rough resemblance between *msdr* and some of the signs in the group *n šsp 2 wsh 1* which follow directly.
- (k) *n šsp 2 wsh 1*. The  *n* that appears before the dimensions here and in other places throughout the rest of the papyrus might better be interpreted simply as a spacing line rather than the hieratic form of this preposition. For a similar use of a horizontal stroke as a spacing device, see J. Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters* (BiAe 7; Brussels, 1939), xxiii; an *n*-like hieratic sign as a spacing dash is also attested in Gardiner, *AEO* II, 110.



The dimensions given here set a pattern followed throughout the rest of the document. Although valuable metals, especially gold, are involved, neither the thickness nor the weight of most items seems to be of much interest; presumably such figures were difficult to establish when the gold had been stolen. Furthermore, the frequent appearance of various words for 'overlay' and 'hammer' leads one to suspect that most of the objects mentioned here are strips of gold foil or inlay.

- (l) , *stf*. This writing is similar to Gardiner, *The Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (London, 1931), pl. xx, 22, but here the complex sign for the crown has been replaced by a stroke; for similar writings, see Lesko, *DLE* I, 12, s.v. Another version of the same word appears in line 10 below, also without the crown determinative. The *stf*-crown had a wide variety of forms and was worn by the king as well as several deities. It had a number of components: a pair of ram's horns, a sun-disc and uraei, all of which are mentioned here and in the following two lines.¹¹
- (m) , *irrr*, 'Uraeus serpent', most likely arising from a confusion between , *icrt* and , *crer*. The same writing of this word appears in lines 15, 16 and 23. Uraeus-serpents appear as temple equipment as early as the Old Kingdom in the Abusir Papyri: Posener-Kriéger and J. L. de Cenival, *The Abusir Papyri* (London, 1968), pl. 18.
- (n) *gmh wš 1*. 'Found damaged, one'. The group  here is clearly a misreading of the hieratic group  in the original document. This is reminiscent of a similar type of error encountered in line 8 above. The expression *gm wš*, 'found damaged/ruined', is encountered in several royal and private inscriptions: *Wb.* I, 368, 9–11, 'etw. zerstört finden'.
- (o) *scmw*, 'inlay'. The word occurs several times in this document: col. A, lines 13, 15; col. B, line 7. It appears that the word should be transcribed either as , the option chosen here, or, less likely, ; however, no known writing of this word contains either an extra *m* or *š*.¹² The verb *scmw*, 'inlay', may well be derived from , *scm* (*Wb.* IV 44, 9–45, 9), 'to swallow'; according to the *Wb.*, this latter word is occasionally written with an *š*: .
- (p) *hmty hyhy*, 'copper implement'. An object of this sort may also appear in P. BM EA 10383 (Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 126.3). The reading of , is problematic in this papyrus: under

¹¹For recent discussions of the *stf*-crown and its various forms, see K. Myśliwiec, 'Quelques remarques sur les couronnes à plumes de Thoutmosis III', in Posener-Kriéger (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar* (BdÉ 97; Cairo, 1985), II, 149–60, and G. M. Scandone, 'La corona *stf*', *Studi classici e orientali* 25 (1975), 23–36.

¹²The writing in Papyrus Harris I 45,5 is , with a flourish beneath the *s* connecting the *ayin* with the *m*: Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, II, 167 n. 678 with references.

normal circumstances this ambiguous group nearly always means *hmty*, ‘copper’, but in describing temple implements, especially those of the Karnak temple, the possibility that an object is made of bronze (usually *hsmn*) cannot be dismissed out of hand.

- (q)  *smꜣw*-[*rdw*], ‘*rdw*-garment of fine linen’. The dimensions of this cloth show that it must have been a long and narrow strip, unlike other garments of this type discussed by J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 284-6; see also id., *JEA* 77, 89 n. (ff), noting that this type of cloth was not particularly luxurious. One possibility is that the cloth acted as a type of curtain hanging along the side of the shrine housing the divine barque. *šmꜣ* is here better translated as ‘fine’ or ‘thin’, rather than ‘Upper Egyptian’: see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I, II*, 67 n. 241 and 96 n. 373; the word *šmꜣ* is used with materials other than cloth, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 140 n. 43.
- (r) *ḥꜣ*. In this instance the word appears to mean ‘(stone) stela’, judging from the determinative.¹³ However, there are a number of places in the papyrus where the translation ‘stela’ seems to fit the context awkwardly. For instance, in the present case, the next line of the text continues with a description of the eye of a figure (or image) of the god Amun which was apparently made of wood overlaid with gold. On the other hand, the use of gold and other precious metals on objects called *ḥꜣ* in this papyrus should not surprise us, because, as R. Caminos remarked: ‘It is well ascertained that *ḥꜣ* denotes a stone stela (we do not know how wooden ones were called), which might occasionally be ornamented with gold and precious stones (e.g. Cairo 34025, rt. 5)’ (*LEM*, 267; the text cited by Caminos, *Urk.* IV, 1646-57, appears on the stela of Amenophis III which was reused by Merneptah to inscribe his famous ‘Israel Stela’, Cairo JE 31408). In the ‘tomb robbery’ material the word for stela seems to be , *wꜣ(w)*, a term whose basic meaning is ‘decree’ (Z. Zába, ‘Deux mots du Wörterbuch réunis’, *Ar.Or.* 24 (1956), 272-5). This expression was used to describe the famous ‘Dog Stela’ located outside the tomb of King Intef, mentioned in P. Abbott 2, 9. In that passage, as well as in *Wenamun* 2, 45, *wꜣ* appears to refer to a commemorative stela rather than a royal decree or triumphal inscription. In *Wenamun* 2, 55, however, *wꜣ* is also used to describe the type of stela on which a private individual would recount his deeds. In a number of texts from Deir el-Medina, *wꜣ* appears to be the major word for stelae of all kinds belonging to private people.¹⁴ The major difference between *ḥꜣ* and *wꜣ* might be

¹³The word *ḥꜣ* is not attested as a word for ‘stela’ until the Eighteenth Dynasty, see G. Lapp, ‘Die Stelenkapelle des *Kmꜣ* aus der 13. Dynastie’, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 240-3. During the Ramesside period this term is used several times to mean a free-standing commemorative stone stela placed in a temple. For example, the texts on a stela of Sety I in the Buhen temple (*KRI* I, 38, 10) and an alabaster stela from the Karnak Temple (*KRI* I, 39, 13) both state specifically that they are made of stone. Similarly, two ‘rhetorical’ stelae of Ramesses II (*KRI* II, 288, 5; 363, 16) say that they are ‘of stone’. In addition, the first of these two inscriptions says that the stela is *ḥꜣ m*, ‘bears the name’, of a monarch, the same phrase used in the papyrus. The term *ḥꜣ* is occasionally used to describe a stela of a private person as well, e.g. the stela of the Eighteenth Dynasty vizier User (*Urk.* IV, 1032, 11).

¹⁴Stelae, wooden and otherwise, were fairly common at Deir el-Medina. The word *mꜣꜣt* has been suggested as a term for ‘(wooden) stela’, but Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 388 doubts this proposal without stating his reasons. For a discussion of types of stelae at Deir el-Medina, see Janssen, *ibid.*, 388 and 389 n.6, and R.J. Demarée, ‘“Remove your Stela” (O. Petrie 21 = *Hier. Ostr.* 16, 4)’, in Demarée and Janssen (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medina* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 1; Leiden, 1982), 101-7. Janssen believes that *wꜣ* was the chief word for ‘stela’, wooden or otherwise, at Deir el-Medina. A suggestion has also been made that the word *ḥꜣ* might in some cases refer to a small shrine or tomb, see Demarée, *op. cit.* 106. The term *wꜣ* is also used for boundary and donation stelae, objects which are normally of royal origin: S. Morschauser, ‘Using History: Reflections on the Bentresh Stela’, *SAK* 15 (1988), 215 n.51, and Zába, *Ar.Or.* 24, 272-5. The term is used as well to describe other types of stelae with royal inscriptions, such as the ‘Sphinx Stela’ of Amenophis II (*Urk.* IV, 1283, 13), which was *ḥꜣ m m*, ‘engraved with the name’ of the king.

that, by late Ramesside times, the former word had come to be associated primarily, but not exclusively, with royal stelae.¹⁵

- (s) *hr m*, 'in the name of, bearing the name of'. This expression occurs several times in P. Harris I (4. 2, 47. 4, and 57. 8), but is known from the Eighteenth Dynasty as well (*Urk.* IV, 766.2: a stela of Tuthmosis III in the Karnak Ptah Temple, later restored by Sety I). A variant of this phrase without the preposition occurs twice in this text, see n. (aa) below.
- (t) *qhqh*, 'hammered (metalwork)', literally, 'beaten (work)'. The word is rare, except in P. Harris I, and is possibly related to the Coptic $\kappa\alpha\lambda\kappa\lambda$, $\chi\alpha\lambda\chi\lambda$ (W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965–77), 73, 411). It is hard to imagine to what part of an inlaid glass eye this might refer, except for the metal sheathing which held the eye in the socket. The same term appears a few lines below in connection with things from the stela of Sety I. In that case the 'beaten' work might represent inlaid figures on the stela, but exact parallels are lacking.
- (u) *twt*, 'figure'. In most instances in this papyrus it is unclear as to whether the text is referring to a two-dimensional relief image or a figure in the round; even when *twt* appears in the same context as a stela, one cannot exclude the possibility that what is being described is a three-dimensional object in its vicinity.
- (v) *mdh*, 'hewn'. This uncommon word appears twice in the papyrus, here in col. A, line 20, and also in col. B, line 5, both times between *nbw*, 'gold', and *wš*, 'damaged', as an expression applied to *twt*, 'figure'. 'Hewn' here might mean 'hewn off', a description of the damage rather than the method of the figure's manufacture.




A less likely possibility would be to take *mdh* as the noun 'fillet', perhaps referring to the headband of a divine figure and its hanging appendage, such as found with the ithyphallic figures of Amun or Min; it is not, however, a particular attribute of the god Khonsu.

- (w) *Mn-Mꜣt-Rꜥ Sty*. The unusual inclusion here of both the prenomen and the nomen in the cartouche was probably intended to distinguish between the famous ruler of the Nineteenth Dynasty, Menmaatre Sety I, and the reigning king, Menmaatre Ramesses XI. A similar writing of this royal name can be found in the corpus of 'tomb robbery' papyri (P. BM EA 10403, I, line 9: Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 171 with pl. 26).
- (x) *m schꜥ*. This expression appears in connection with gold in one other place, but the meaning is obscure.¹⁶ I would suggest 'in (a) restoration' or, a less likely alternative, 'on the uprising (part)'. The verb *schꜥ* is not common, but seems to be a causative of the verb *chꜥ*, 'to rise' (*Wb.* IV, 53.2–54.8; Lesko, *DLE* III, 18). However, the writing here without the terminal — is unattested elsewhere. The verb is used in the *Contendings of Horus and Seth* 10,10 with the meaning 'to raise up', perhaps in the sense of 'restore' (Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Papyri, No. I* (Oxford, 1931), 21). Another possibility would be to interpret the term as some part of a uraeus serpent's body, perhaps the hood.
- (y) *nbw ḥd*. 'White gold' appears quite often in some of the 'tomb robbery' papyri, sometimes as the second in a sequence of three types of precious metals, between *nbw nfr*, 'pure (lit. 'good') gold' (Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications* (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 6; London, 1991), 38 n.1) and *ḥd*, 'silver', thus indicating a metal whose value presumably lay between these two: see, for example, P. BM EA 10068, r. 2.3, 2.10, 2.16, 2.26, 3.3, 3.12, 3.18, 5.22, 5.26.
- (z) *ḥbs*. See Lesko, *DLE*, II, 107–108. Since the item is made of white gold, perhaps it would be better to translate this word as 'covering', rather than identifying it as a specific type of

¹⁵See K. Martin, 'Stele', in *LÄ* VI, 1–6, where it is suggested that the distinction may lie in the type of text inscribed, a conclusion which does not seem supported by the evidence discussed above. D. B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-books. A Contribution to the Study of History* (Mississauga, 1986), 67, makes a similar suggestion, essentially based on the form of the monument involved: *wꜥd*, 'monumental text', and *chꜥ*, 'standing inscription'.




¹⁶Outside of the present papyrus, the word appears only in P. Harris I in several examples of the phrase *nbw-nfr m schꜥ* or variants: 13a,6; 13b,6; 46,9; 47,5. *Wb.* IV, 54,8 suggests 'Gold in. ... Verarbeitung (in Drahtform o.ä.)', but Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, I, 240 renders the expression as 'Or parfait, armé (?)' and *ibid.* II, 76 n. 261, states that *schꜥ* is based on 'faire de dresser'.


garment. Another *hbs*-garment, also on a figure of Khonsu, is connected with the stela of Horemheb in the description shortly after this in col. B, line 2.





- (aa) *nty m*. This phrase, which also occurs in line 6, appears to be a variant of the expression *nty hr m*, 'which bears the name of ...', found in col. A, lines 18 and 21: see n. (s).¹⁷
- (bb) *bnš*. 'Door-jamb', or 'doorpost': see Spencer, *Temple*, 190-92.
- (cc) *tri*. 'Portal', but more literally, 'door', 'door-jamb', or 'door-leaf'. The writing with  is otherwise unattested, perhaps read \equiv instead? *tri* is an uncommon word which appears in the badly-damaged inscription of Djehuty-nakht, a Nineteenth Dynasty official who was in charge of several doorways and divine barques (Kitchen, *JEA* 60 (1974), 168-74). The word has been plausibly connected with the Semitic term *dl*: Kitchen, *ibid.* 173 fig. 1.4, and see also L.-A. Christophe, 'Le vocabulaire d'architecture monumentale d'après le Papyrus Harris I', in [ed.] *Mélanges Maspero* I, 4 (Cairo, 1961), 17-29; Spencer, *Temple*, 212-16; J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), 357-8 no. 529.
- As Spencer (*Temple*, 214 and cf. 191-2) points out, *bnš* and *tri* occur together in the *Tale of the Two Brothers* (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 26.11): 'He let two drops of blood fall beside the door-jamb (*bnšw*) of his Majesty, l.p.h., one on the one side of the great portal (*tri*) of Pharaoh, l.p.h., and the other on the other side'.
- (dd) *'Imn-[wr (?)]-šfy*. It would be tempting to identify this group with the name of the Fifth Pylon, *'Imn-wr-šfy*, 'Amun-Great-of-Awe', but the remains of the damaged signs do not support this reading. Neither do they fit another, rarer, but virtually synonymous form of Amun, *'Imn ʿ3-šfyt*, 'Amun-Great-of-Awe'.¹⁸
- (ee) *t3yt sbht*. Reading uncertain. The leading unit looks something like a version of  (Sign-list O 11, Möller 348) in which the *hkr*-frieze on the *ḥ*-building has become separated from its bottom portion, hence the suggested transcription here. According to Spencer, *Temple*, 165, 212, a *sbht* can be 'a screen porch in front of an entrance'. It occurs three times in hieratic in P. Harris I, each time with  (Sign-list O 17) as the determinative.¹⁹ In the present document, it appears almost as if the word and its determinative have switched places. If, however, we are correct in reading the two parts of this hieratic group in the order in which they are now written in the transcription, it should be noted that the word *t3yt* seems to have been a type of structure closely related to a *sbht*. The two words are even found in parallel in one text, leading Spencer to suppose that a *t3yt* could be a screening device as well.²⁰
- (ff) *ḥmnyw* (?). Although it is possible that simply any group of eight divine images might be mentioned here, it is more probable that the Theban Ogdoad is involved. The word *ḥmnyw* appears again below in line 26. The forms of the initial signs in the word are close to those shown in Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II (Leipzig, 1927), 60 no. 663.

¹⁷The stela of Horemheb mentioned here might be the so-called 'Restoration Stela' of Tutankhamun. This stela, which was located in the north-east corner of the Hypostyle Hall, was later usurped by Horemheb, so that it effectively bore that ruler's name at the time of the inspection. Significantly, fragments of the Restoration Stela were also found along with a stela of Ramesses I, possibly the same object mentioned in col. B, line 6. However, the 'Restoration Stela' has no figure of Khonsu upon it, and the reference to the inlaid eye of the figure of Amun would likewise be hard to explain. Another candidate might be a badly damaged stela of Tutankhamun, also reused by Horemheb, and located in the Hypostyle Hall: *Urk.* IV, 2034-36 (no. 774).

¹⁸This uncommon form of Amun apparently had its own priestly administration during the Ramesside period, see L. Manniche, 'Amun ʿ3-šfyt in a Ramessid Tomb at Thebes', *GM* 29 (1978), 79-83.

¹⁹P. Harris I 16b,8; 19b,8; and 65b,12. This word was transcribed by Erichsen as  *sbhn*, but Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, II, 86 n. 321, suggested instead *sbht*, but thought the determinative to be  (Sign-list O 17). Möller, *Paläographie* II, 54 no. 584, a and b, interpreted the determinative as Sign-list O 17 rather than the similar . For the *t3yt*-structure see Spencer, *Temple*, 211-12.

²⁰In a series of epithets of an unknown vizier, see O. Gardiner 303, verso 9-10, in J. Černý and A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, I (Oxford, 1957), pl. XCII, 1; quoted by Spencer, *Temple*, 212. The word appears once in P. Harris I 45, 7, where the term is written : Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, I, pl. 45 with II, 168 n. 679.

- (gg) *sbꜣ ꜣꜣ*. This 'Great Doorway' can be confidently associated with Ramesses II because of the attribution of its *tri*, 'door-jamb', to that ruler in the following line. This recalls the full name of the northern doorway of the hypostyle hall: *sbꜣ ꜣꜣ niswt-bity Wsr-mꜣꜣt-Rꜣ sꜣ Rꜣ Rꜣ-ms-sw-mry-'Imn ꜥꜥ m pr-'Imn*, 'the Great Doorway (called) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermare, son of Re, Ramesses-beloved-of-Amun is glorious in the temple of Amun' (P. Barguet, *Le Temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse* (RAPH 21; Cairo, 1962), 61).
- (hh) *mꜣꜣt*. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 394 §145, thinks this represents a metal object which is either part of a door or its lock. The word *mꜣꜣt* is relatively rare (see Christophe, 'Le vocabulaire d'architecture monumentale', *Mélanges Maspero* I, 24, where no meaning is assigned); Grandet (*Papyrus Harris I*, II, 192 n. 795) suggests 'barre de verrouillage'.
- (ii)  , *tpw* (?). Reading uncertain, given the form of the sign here transcribed as *t*. The rare term *d/tp*, 'coffer' (?), does not occur in the *Wörterbuch*; elsewhere it is attested in the forms  ,  , and  .²¹

Commentary

The scribe and the nature of the document

The key to understanding this document may be the phrase in its introductory lines (col. A, line 2): 'copy of the documentation of the thefts which the Chief Doorkeeper committed'. The text often reads as if it were an abridged edition of a more carefully executed and complete document that had recorded the results of an inspection. Unlike the 'tomb robbery' papyri, the Rochester papyrus contains virtually no connective narrative, and no description of the interrogation of suspects or the confession of crimes. It is equally odd that no place 'inspected' was ever found intact. If the scribe was primarily interested in relating from where Djehuty-hotep's loot had apparently been removed and recounting the extent of the damage, this would explain the often abrupt shift from one topic to another.

One of the most striking aspects of this 'copy' is that the names of all the functionaries mentioned have been omitted, even when such important figures as the king, the vizier, and the mayor are involved. Similarly, the scribe who copied this papyrus remains anonymous. These peculiar omissions indicate that this document was intended as an abridgement for accounting purposes. The handwriting is unlike that of any other among the corpus of 'tomb robbery' texts, but is somewhat comparable with the script of P. Berlin 10460.²² The unnamed scribe of the Rochester papyrus was clearly unused to working with accounts-records of this type. At several places he has made errors which most likely arise from his lack of familiarity with this type of material (nn. (f), (j) above).

The site and nature of the activity

Since this document seems to represent the edited recapitulation of an inspection tour, it is important to understand where the examiners were and what they were trying to accomplish. The first and most important clue appears in the opening portion of the

²¹ See J. Černý, 'The Will of Naunakhte and the related Documents', *JEA* 31 (1945), 39, and Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, II, 117 n. 480. Grandet notes that in a caption accompanying an illustration of treasure at Medinet Habu, *tpw*-coffers are said to be made of gold and silver.

²² See S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, I (Tübingen, 1973), 275–6 with pls. 78 and 79.

document with the specification of the place to which the culprit Djehuty-hotep was supposedly attached (col. A, line 3): *n pr- 'Imn m pꜣ wbꜣ n 'Imn-Rꜥ niswt-nꜥrw*, 'of the Temple of Amun, in the Great Court of Amun-Re, King-of-the-Gods'.

Although the commentary above has identified the institution with the Karnak temple, there are other possibilities. Either the places this document mentions are located within the Karnak temple, or else the thefts were connected with one of the royal mortuary temples located on the West of Thebes. In order of probability, the alternatives are:

(1) A site within the Karnak temple.

This is by far the most likely of the three possibilities, primarily because of the epithets of the deity, and the possibility that the Fifth Pylon may be specifically mentioned (n. (dd) above). Furthermore, it is not necessary to connect Djehuty-hotep's crimes with the place in which he worked. He may have been involved chiefly as a middleman attempting to dispose of the stolen goods. Since several kings seem to have donated goods to the places which were despoiled, it also seems likely that so much material could only come from a fairly large temple or chapel.

(2) A temple devoted to the cult of the deceased Amenophis I.

This interpretation would require that the temple name here is a miswriting of *pr- 'Imn- <hꜥp > n pꜣ wbꜣ*, thus yielding 'The Temple of Amen < ophis > of the Court', perhaps the same temple mentioned in P. Abbott I 2, 8.²³ In two of the records cited above which mention Djehuty-hotep, he is said to have gold objects which belong to *pꜣ hr*, a term which can be translated as 'the (Royal) Tomb', or else refer to 'the Necropolis' in a broader sense. The temple of Amenophis of the Court, which was probably located somewhere near Deir el-Medina, has yet to be found.²⁴ Černý felt that this chapel was located in the present-day cultivation, somewhere to the south of the tomb of Intef I.²⁵ In addition to the Abbott papyrus, the temple is listed among several others in P. Bologna 1094, 11, 1, which dates to the reign of Merneptah. However, the use of the additional epithet *niswt-nꜥrw* after the name of Amun makes such an identification quite improbable. Furthermore, the *sꜣw*, 'scribes', who are performing the inspections recorded on this papyrus are attached to 'the treasury of the temple of Amun, King-of-the-Gods', which increases the probability that the Karnak temple was the injured institution.

(3) Some other temple on the West Bank, such as Medinet Habu, to which various shrines, statues, and stelae, etc. mentioned in this text had been moved in order to prevent thefts or other damage during the period of unrest which led to the 'Renaissance Era' and the imposition of the rule of Herihor.

The subject matter

The first five lines of the text reveal to us a hitherto unknown dimension of the rampant corruption and disorder at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, the very decadence which seems to have led to the imposition of General Herihor as the virtual coregent in the South and the beginning of the 'Repeating of Births' or Renaissance Era. Not only did this action bring about a re-establishment of order, but the beginning years of the

²³ See Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 38.

²⁴ See Černý, 'Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine', *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 162–5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 164.

Renaissance were also accompanied by a 'clean-up campaign' aimed at punishing those who had despoiled the royal tombs and Theban temples. The title of Djehuty-hotep, a major culprit and, significantly, the only person named in the Rochester papyrus, tells much: 'the Chief Doorkeeper of the temple of Amun in the Great Court of Amun-Re, King of the Gods'. We can now see that the notorious thefts, the subject of many of the 'Tomb Robbery' papyri, may even have taken place in the most important temple of all Egypt. Scholars have long realized that the 'tomb robbery' papyri were not solely concerned with the plundering of the royal tombs of Western Thebes, but apparently involved thefts in other areas as well.

The chief culprit

The Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep is known from several other documents;²⁶ all are dated to Year 1 and 2 of the 'Repeating-of-Births' era. His title is otherwise unattested. It should also be noted that he was amongst the highest-ranking of all the thieves mentioned in these papyri, and was the one most likely in a position to implicate more important individuals. In the Abbott Dockets dated to 'first month of Akhet, day 19' of Year 1, Djehuty-hotep is listed third among the 'thieves of the Necropolis and the thieves of the portable chests'. He is said to be 'of the Temple of Amun', without any further specification, yet at the same time he also seems to be classed among the robbers 'of the (*p; hr*) Necropolis' rather than those who had despoiled the portable shrines. Djehuty-hotep occurs twice in these dockets—in col. A, line 5 as 'the Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep, son of Perpethewemope, of the Temple of Amun', and similarly in col. B, line 17. His father, who bore the relatively humble title of 'trumpeter', appears in a great number of places in the 'tomb robbery' papyri, and must have been one of the chief culprits.

Djehuty-hotep appears again in Papyrus Mayer A, a record of a group of trials and investigations which began in the fourth month of *Shemu*, day 15 of Year 1 of the 'Repeating-of Births'. Here he is treated rather circumspectly: in col. 5, line 15,²⁷ identified as a simple *iry* ⲓ, 'doorkeeper', he is mentioned among the criminal trials for the thefts, an event which took place in 'the fourth month of *Shemu*, day 17' of Year 1. The interrogation in this section deals with 'the rest of the thieves of the Necropolis'. Djehuty-hotep is brought in as the next-to-last person, but instead of recounting the usual beatings and confessions, the record simply states: 'There was brought the doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep'. He is also mentioned in col. 12, line 26, a later summation of results of the trials drawn up on 'the first month of *Akhet*, day 13 + [x] of Year 2' under the title: 'the name-list of the thieves who were brought from the place in which One (i.e. the king) was and examined, though the thieves said they were not with them (i.e. among the necropolis thieves), and who are going to go northwards'.²⁸ Once again,

²⁶A summary appears in Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 132, in connection with List 1, line 5, in the Papyrus Abbott Dockets. For the absence of such a name at Deir el-Medina, see Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramessid Period* (Cairo, 1973), 163.

²⁷Peet, *Papyrus Mayer A & B* (Oxford, 1920), 11–12.

²⁸P. Mayer A 12, 13. Peet's translation (*ibid.*, 17) of the relative clause *nty iw.w hd* as 'who went downstream' is incorrect. The tense here is a Third Future, see K. Ohlhafer, 'Zum Thronebesteigungsdatum Ramses' XI. und zur Abfolge der Grabräuberpapyri aus Jahr 1 und 2 *whm-mswt*', *GM* 135 (1993), 68, n.1, and compare J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*³ (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 4; Rome 1984), 501, 53.11.1, Ex. 1516, also from the same papyrus.

Djehuty-hotep appears to have merited special attention. He appears at the end of this list of thirteen criminals with the remark: 'The Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep. He was brought before Pharaoh. He was not brought to us in writing'. In this succinct note we can see that Djehuty-hotep was considered of such importance in this affair that he was personally brought before the monarch. Could he have turned 'State's Evidence' by this point?

Djehuty-hotep is also mentioned three times in P. BM EA 10052, a lengthy document which contains another record of interrogations conducted in the fourth month of *Shemu*, day 15, but in this instance, during Year 1. These interrogations were concerned with 'the great enemies, the thieves who had trespassed in the Great Tombs'.²⁹ In this document he is mentioned towards the end of the testimony of a certain 'incense-roaster' by the name of Shed-su-Khonsu, who states (3, 20–21):³⁰ 'I heard that a basket(?) full of gold belonging to the Necropolis was in possession of the Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep'. Shortly thereafter, the same accusation is repeated during the examination of a man whose name has been lost (4, 4–5):³¹ 'He was examined again with the stick. He said, I heard that a basket (?) was in the possession of the Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep, full of gold belonging to the Necropolis'. At the end of the papyrus, in a damaged section, we learn of an examination of Djehuty-hotep (16, 18–21):³² 'The Chief Doorkeeper Djehuty-hotep was again examined. He was given the oath [by the Ruler] ... (19) of your going to the Tombs. He said, I did not go ... (20) There were brought the herdsman Bukhaaf, the trumpeter Perpethew, son of ... (21) He was remanded for further examination'. It is notable that the sole surviving fragments of Djehuty-hotep's speech contain a denial that he was connected with the tomb robberies.

With so much conflicting evidence, it is difficult to arrive at a precise estimation of what role Djehuty-hotep played in these crimes, but overall it seems that he must have been one of the major figures involved in the plundering of Theban royal tombs and temples at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty; certainly, anybody who merited the personal attention of the Pharaoh must have been considered pivotal in this case. The Rochester papyrus confirms that at least some of the accusations made against him were correct, since gold constitutes a large part of the thefts there listed as his. He need not have been one of the actual thieves, but could have acted simply as the receiver of some of the stolen goods.

The Rochester papyrus also casts some light on the speed with which the inquiries were proceeding. This is the first record among the 'tomb robbery' papyri to be dated in the *Peret*-season. As such, it shows that the authorities were actively pursuing their investigations at a steady rate throughout the first year of the Renaissance; Herihor was perhaps charged with settling matters in Thebes with dispatch so that he might have some exemplary punishments to use as a means for discouraging further disorder in the south, before he was able to pursue Panehsy into Nubia.

²⁹ Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 142.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 146.

³¹ *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

³² *Ibid.*, 158.

What did Djehuty-hotep steal?

Some aspects of the Rochester papyrus are puzzling at first glance. Although gold objects play a central role in the accounts, no weights seem to be given for this valuable metal. Instead, it is generally recorded here in terms of units of length and width. Some phrases in which the word 'gold' appears help explain why the metal is so frequently treated as a two-dimensional object. For example, in col. A, lines 19 and 22, we encounter *nbw m qhqh*, 'gold, hammered', a description followed in each instance with 'it was found to be wood overlaid (*dgꜣ*) with gold'. Similarly, there are several instances where a royal stela (*chr*), a doorway, or a movable screen is mentioned, then followed by a description of golden figures (*twt*) of a deity in terms of measurements of width and length alone (col. A, lines 18–25; most of col. B). At the base of these citations is the common use of gold foil or gold leaf on a wide variety of objects in Egyptian art and architecture.³³ In P. BM EA 10054, recto 3, 7–17 and P. BM EA 10053, recto 2 and 3, there are lengthy descriptions of thefts of gold from precisely the same sort of temple properties mentioned in the Rochester papyrus.³⁴ It seems likely that such thefts would have been rather obvious, an indication of either official neglect, complicity or extensive civil disorder that prevailed in the Theban nome at the time. It is also quite possible that several of the other incidents which we have come to associate with 'tomb robberies' may actually have involved depredation of the Karnak temple and other important religious or mortuary establishments.

Tracing the route of the inspectors and problems of orientation

At first glance, it seems as though it might be possible to trace the actual itinerary which the inspection party took and use descriptions in the text to identify places and objects in the Karnak temple as it stands today. Unfortunately, even though we can be reasonably confident that Karnak was the site involved, we cannot identify much of what appears in this text with any certainty. The Karnak temple underwent almost constant restoration, renovation, and reorganization throughout its history, with the consequence that many things mentioned in this papyrus must have been altered, moved, or destroyed in later years. The large find of sculpture from the so-called 'Cour de la Cachette' alone bears eloquent witness to the constant rearrangement undergone by this temple. Above all, it suffered extensive damage when the Assyrians looted it in 664/663 BC.

A major difficulty in tracing the route of the scribes is that we are most likely dealing with excerpts from a more detailed document which may have recorded many intervening steps. As it stands now, this text frequently confronts us with sudden shifts in focus. Equally confusing are problems arising from the way in which the ancient Egyptians

³³See L. Borchardt, 'Metallbelag an Steinbauten', in *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Leipzig, 1933), 1ff.; Dieter Arnold, 'Goldverkleidung', in *LÄ* II, 754–5; and S. Aufrère, *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne* (BdÉ 105; Cairo, 1991), II, 377–97, with notes. I would like to thank Dr Arnold for supplying me with these references.

³⁴Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 62–3, with the note on the term *qq* on p. 68 (n.24); 117–19; and 174, n.7.

described the orientation of things. The words *smhy*, 'left', and *wnmy*, 'right', appear many times in this text, but often in ways which at first sight are quite contrary to our expectations.

A good example of the problems involved in reconstructing the probable itinerary comes at the very beginning of the text (col. A, line 7), where a divine barque of Amun is said to rest on the left side of the court of the temple. The place fitting this description best would be the triple barque shrine of Sety II which, in fact, is situated on the inside left of the court between the First and Second Pylons as the observer faces the back of the temple. Since the First Pylon had not been constructed when the papyrus was written, this would be the most likely place for the Amun barque to have been stored. Unfortunately, as Černý has remarked:³⁵

...the ancient Egyptian's stand-point, while orienting himself in the royal tombs, was different from that of the modern visitor or archaeologist. These call right and left of the tomb the sides lying right and left of them as they enter and progress towards the end of the tomb. The ancient Egyptian, however, viewed the situation as if standing in the last room of the tomb and looking towards the entrance.

If Černý's observations are relevant to P. Rochester, then the probable location of the barque would have to be Ramesses III's temple which stands on the observer's right and further back, certainly a less convenient site. We should perhaps make similar adjustments at many other points in the description.

Nonetheless, it is hard to resist speculation. Were it not for the difficulty just noted regarding 'right' and 'left', I would place the divine barque of Ramesses VI in the triple barque shrine of Sety II. It may, however, have lain instead in Ramesses III's small temple that lies on the right of the layout of Karnak. I would also suggest that the papyrus thereafter describes the great Hypostyle Hall, on the basis of the name of a doorway built by Ramesses II (col. B, lines 25–6: n. (gg) above), and that the stela mentioned in col. B line 1 is the famous 'Restoration Decree' of Tutankhamun later usurped by Horemheb (n. (aa) above). Unfortunately, there are elements of the description which do not fit. I would also like to identify tentatively the 'Ogdoad' cited twice in the text with a damaged relief located near that doorway in the Hypostyle Hall, depicting a group of gods that might have been mistaken for an ogdoad.³⁶ However, all of these proposed identifications are problematic.

The date of the Rochester papyrus and some remarks on the 'Renaissance Era'

The Rochester papyrus will probably contribute more confusion to the controversy surrounding the dates and events of the 'Repeating-of-Births' era at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty rather than providing any definitive evidence to resolve these ques-

³⁵ *The Valley of the Kings. Fragments d'un manuscrit inachevé* (BdÉ 61; Cairo, 1973), 30.

³⁶ PM II.2, Plan X, (152), see H. H. Nelson and W. J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak I, 1. The Wall Reliefs* (OIP 106; Chicago, 1981), pl. 202. Of course, this identification would require several misinterpretations on the part of the Egyptian observer and is rather improbable.

tions.³⁷ Although the document is clearly dated to 'Year 1 of the "Repeating-of-Births", fourth month of *Peret*, day 15', this may merely mark the moment at which the *mitt*, 'copy', was made. This was most likely at the same time or shortly after the original document was drawn up. As pointed out above, the term *mitt* appears also in the Abbott Dockets, which likewise seem to be chiefly aides-mémoire, but, unlike the Rochester papyrus, they at least contain both the names and titles of the Mayor of the West and the vizier. Since the nature of the 'Repeating-of-Births' has a direct bearing on the interpretation of the Rochester papyrus, a brief discussion of some aspects of that period seems in order.

Dates in the 'Repeating-of-Births' are never clear due to uncertainties over the accession date of Ramesses XI. Recently, K. Jansen-Winkeln has proposed, among other things, that the institution of the 'Repeating-of-Births' had nothing to do with Herihor and his supposed term as the virtual ruler of Upper Egypt, as had previously been thought.³⁸ J. von Beckerath has answered these arguments convincingly, showing that the central props for these theories, the dates on official documents during the 'Renaissance Era', conform to the reign of Ramesses XI.³⁹ In general, much of what is questionable with Jansen-Winkeln's theories stems from an underestimation of the enormous respect the Egyptians held for the institution of kingship, even when the current office-holder was no longer the effective power in the land.⁴⁰ Contrary to what Jansen-Winkeln implies, official documents during the 'Repeating-of-Births' are very precise in relation to the royal protocol when it appears.⁴¹ The sole exception seems to be Herihor's self-appointed 'kingship', which appears to be confined to a few inscriptions at the Karnak temple, but is nonetheless a startling assertion of his political power by the end of the 'Renaissance'.⁴²

Two of the most informative papyri on the nature of the 'Repeating-of-Births' are the Abbott Dockets and the *Report of Wenamun*. The first of these twice states that an

³⁷ On these events and the main protagonists of the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, see Černý, 'Egypt: From the Death of Ramesses III to the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty', *CAH*³ II, 2 (Cambridge, 1975), 606–57, esp. 636–43; E.F. Wente, 'The Suppression of the High Priest Amenhotep', *JNES* 25 (1966), 73–87; K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period (1100–650 B.C.)*, 2nd ed. (Warminster, 1986), 245–54; M.-A. Bonhême, 'Hérihor fut-il effectivement roi?', *BIFAO* 79 (1979), 267–83; K. Jansen-Winkeln, 'Das Ende des Neuen Reiches', *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 27–31; and J. von Beckerath, 'Zur Chronologie der XXI. Dynastie', in D. Kessler and R. Schulz (eds), *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta* (MÄU 4; Frankfurt am Main, 1995), 49–55. Several other studies are concerned as well with the thorny problem of the dates on these papyri and the order of the events described upon them: see W. Helck, 'Drei Ramessidische Daten', *SAK* 17 (1990), 205–214; C. Cannuyer, 'Brelan de "Pharaons" Ramsès XI, Thoutmosis III, et Hatshepsout', in *Fs. Lichtheim* I, 98–115; *idem*, 'Encore la date de l'accession au trône de Ramsès XI', *GM* 132 (1993), 19–20; K. Ohlhafer, *GM* 135 (1993), 59–72; and A. Niwinski, 'Bürgerkrieg, militärische Staatstreich und Ausnahmezustand in Ägypten unter Ramesses XI. Ein Versuch neuer Interpretation der alten Quellen', in I. Gamer-Wallert and W. Helck (eds), *Gegengabe. Festschrift für Emma Brunner Traut* (Tübingen, 1991), 235–62.

³⁸ Jansen-Winkeln, *ZÄS* 119, 22–37, esp. 24 (7).

³⁹ J. von Beckerath, *Fs. Barta*, 50–2.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴¹ For convenient synoptic lists of the protocols and datelines in documents from this period, see Kitchen, *TIP*², 417, 379–380; J. von Beckerath, *Fs. Barta*, 50–2.

⁴² Herihor's 'kingship' appears only in a few inscriptions in Karnak proper and the Khonsu temples, see M.-A. Bonhême, *BIFAO* 79, 267–83. In the words of Černý, *CAH*³ 638: 'He [Herihor] ruled Upper Egypt, with Thebes as his residence, like the king whose titles he appropriated in the inscriptions of the temple of Khons, though always under the supremacy of Ramesses XI, who, however slight might have been his power and influence, had not ceased to be the pharaoh'. Kitchen, *TIP*², 251, n. 43, suggests Herihor's assumption of royal protocol as a means of advancing his right to succeed Ramesses XI ahead of any other claimant, such as Smendes.

otherwise unspecified Year 1, which can only be in the *whm-mswt*, 'corresponds' (*hft*) to a Year 19, which likewise can only be that of Ramesses XI.⁴³ Significantly, in one instance, the original document is said to have been given over to 'Pharaoh', even if he is not named. Thus, at least theoretically, the 'Repeating-of-Births' was a special dating system nevertheless directly connected with the reigning king. Exactly when the new system was initiated is unknown, but it seems likely that a 'Repeating-of-Births', with its associations with cosmic renewal, would logically have begun with the New Year in Year 19.⁴⁴ For whatever reason this new era may have been instituted, it still implicitly recognized Ramesses XI's kingship.

Since it is critical for any evaluation of the Rochester papyrus to understand what dating system was being employed and what political arrangements were in force at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, a discussion of another piece of evidence is in order. The *Report of Wenamun* is arguably not as exclusively a fictive or satirical work as Jansen-Winkeln seems to imply,⁴⁵ but rather a Twenty-first Dynasty copy of an official document recording events in the later part of the 'Repeating-of-Births' era.⁴⁶ *Wenamun* shows that when its protagonist was sent to Byblos to fetch timber for the Userhat barque in 'Year 5', certainly in the Renaissance, he was acting primarily on behalf of Herihor as the effective ruler of Upper Egypt, but apparently also needed the assistance and support of Smendes, as the governing power in Lower Egypt. This situation confirms what has long been assumed concerning the distribution of power in Egypt at this time, showing once again the questionable probability of Jansen-Winkeln's theories. Although by this point Ramesses XI had become something of a shadow king and is never mentioned by name anywhere in the narration, the document nevertheless shows how even his much-weakened kingship still received the respect due it. Whenever the names of Herihor, Smendes, or Tantamun occur in *Wenamun*, they do so without any titles or any other indication of their status; their names are never placed in cartouches. Zeker-Baal, the Biblite prince, seems to be well-informed about the current state of affairs in Egypt. He remarks several times that all previous timber orders had been made on behalf of 'Pharaoh'. Zeker-Baal's arguments with Wenamun are centred largely around his worries about the validity of purchase orders from Herihor in the absence of a pharaonic authorization, and about receiving payment for the sizeable amount of timber he is being asked to provide. Consequently, he initially refuses to offer any credit without a down payment and a firm commitment from the Egyptians' side.⁴⁷

Bearing in mind both the relationship between the 'Repeating-of-Births', Ramesses XI's regnal dates, and Herihor, we are now better able to assess the Rochester papyrus in the context of the Tomb Robbery papyri. Given the instability that appears to have

⁴³Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, pl. xxiii, 1 and 11. For the identification of the unnamed king with Ramesses XI, see Niwinski, in *Fs. Brunner-Traut*, 235–6.

⁴⁴R. Gundlach, 'Wiederholung der Geburt', *LÄ* VI, 1261–4.

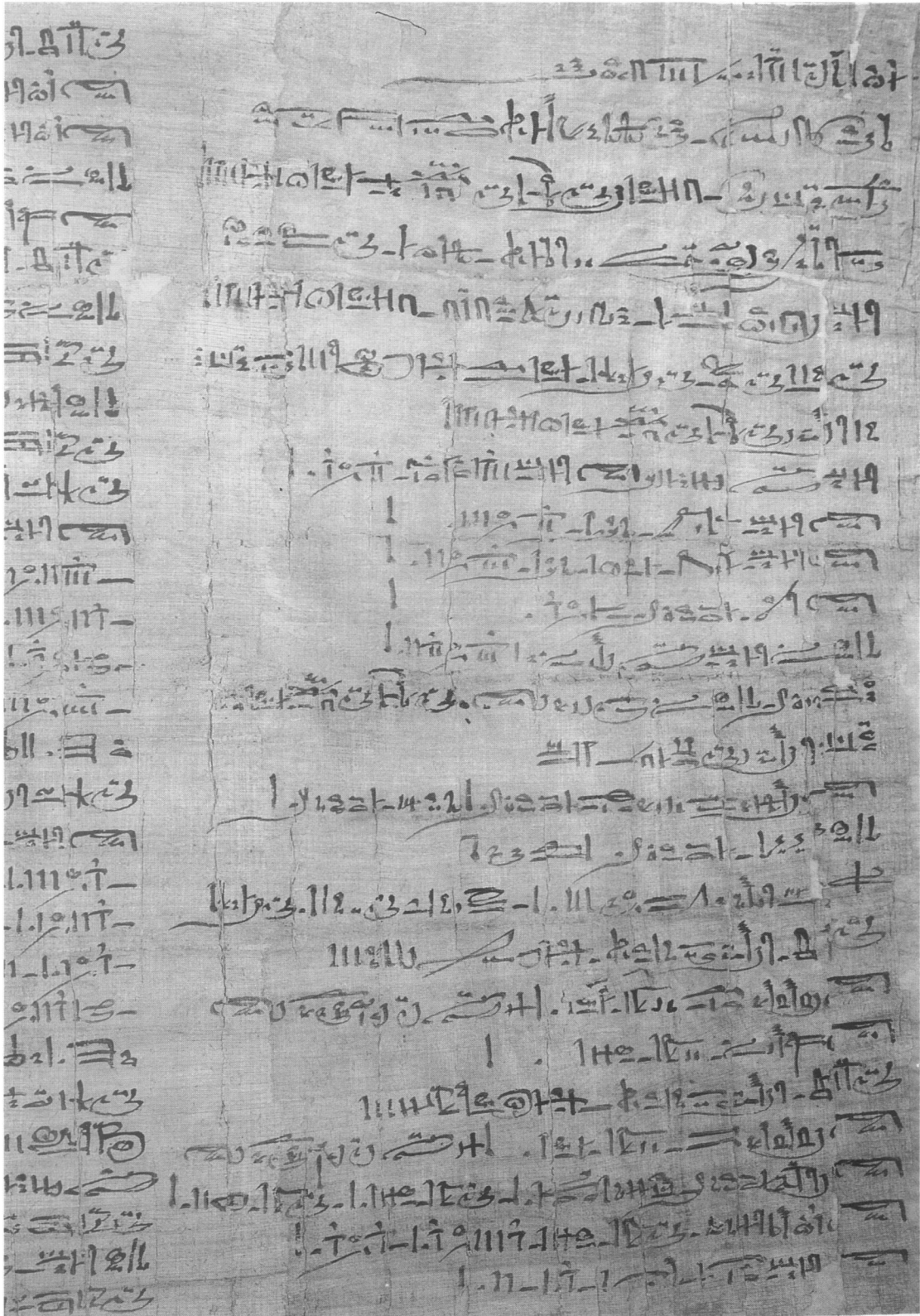
⁴⁵Jansen-Winkeln, *ZÄS* 119, 25–6.

⁴⁶H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore and London, 1975), 1–11. A case for the documentary, rather than literary, nature of this papyrus has also been made by Grieg, *Fs. Lichtheim*, 336–40. Grieg points out that the grammar and vocabulary of *Wenamun* are completely in keeping with the language of non-literary Late Egyptian in the latter part of the Twentieth Dynasty and avoid certain constructions commonly found in literary works. In addition to this, *Wenamun* is written with the text running across the vertical fibres of the document, the normal fashion for an official document, but rather unusual for a literary papyrus.

⁴⁷M. Liverani prefers to see negotiation techniques underlying the testy discussions between Wenamun and Zeker-Baal, see *Prestige and Interest* (HANES Studies 1; Padova, 1990), 247–54.

prevailed in the Theban nome, it is quite likely that Ramesses XI was not in Thebes for much of the 'Renaissance Era'. His location elsewhere is confirmed by the remark in List B4 of P. Mayer A that some of the culprits have been sent to Thebes from where the Pharaoh is and are being dispatched northwards, presumably back to the Residence. Somebody with special powers must have been charged with re-establishing order in the south, and Herihor both as an outsider and as a high-ranking military official was a likely person to have led such a campaign of renewal in the king's absence. If Ramesses XI's accession date fell on the third month of *Shemu*, day 20, as Cannuyer and Ohlhafer have argued,⁴⁸ then the Rochester papyrus would be among the earliest of the known documents from 'Renaissance', predating the events recorded on P. BM EA 10052 by about 20 or so days. From the brief statement at the beginning of the Rochester papyrus, it seems probable that the investigations into the various robberies were then in their initial stages, perhaps before any of the trials had begun, all of which would be well in keeping with the terse nature of this text. The Rochester papyrus most likely records the beginnings of a complex and embarrassing matter for all the Theban authorities, perhaps leading to the eventual dishonouring of many of the most important functionaries there.

⁴⁸See n. 37 above.



P. Rochester MAG 51.346.1: column A

A NEW 'ROBBERY' PAPYRUS (pp. 107-27)

I. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 II. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 III. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 IV. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 V. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 VI. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 VII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 VIII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 IX. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 X. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XI. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XIII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XIV. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XV. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XVI. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XVII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XVIII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XIX. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XX. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXI. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXIII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXIV. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXV. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXVI. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXVII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXVIII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXIX. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXX. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXXI. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXXII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXXIII. *[Hieroglyphs]*
 XXXIV. *[Hieroglyphs]*

P. Rochester MAG 51.346.1: column B
A NEW 'ROBBERY' PAPYRUS (pp. 107-27)

TWO ORACLE PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO HORUS- KHAU WITH SOME NOTES ON THE ORACULAR AMULETIC DECREES*

(P. BERLIN P. 8525 AND P. 8526)

By HANS-W. FISCHER-ELFERT

Publication of two oracle petitions from the papyrus collection in Berlin, dating to the late Twentieth or early Twenty-first Dynasty and addressed to the hitherto unknown Horus-khau. Despite some typical Thinite personal names, their place of origin seems to be el-Hiba in the 18th Upper Egyptian nome. Further reflections on other oracle texts from this Theban stronghold follow as well as some considerations on the Oracular Amuletic Decrees.

THE two papyri published here for the first time were acquired in 1896 by Dr Reinhardt for the papyrus collection in Berlin. They derived from an antiquary in Cairo, and their exact provenance remains unknown. They were bought with numerous hieratic manuscripts whose place of origin is certainly el-Hiba in the 18th Upper Egyptian nome, and so it may be assumed that they also came from there.¹ The Museum inventory, however, has 'Thisis?'. This problem will be investigated below.

Both papyri display a marked resemblance to a pair of oracle petitions in the Boston Museum that have recently been published by Kim Ryholt in this *Journal*.²














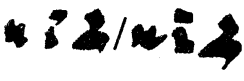
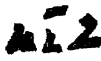





Description

P. Berlin P. 8525 (pl. XI, 1) measures 10.7×10 cm. Apart from a break of 1×5.5 cm in the upper half and some small lacunae, it is almost completely preserved. The damage

*I would like to express my sincerest thanks to the curators of the Ägyptisches Museum and Papyrussammlung Berlin, Dietrich Wildung and Ingeborg Müller, for permission to publish the papyri. To Mirjam Krutzsch I owe some important observations concerning the fibres of recto and verso; contrary to my previous assumption, the two papyri never belonged to a single sheet. The documents have been described briefly by G. Burkard and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert in *Ägyptische Handschriften*, 4 (Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland [= VOHD] XIX.4; Stuttgart, 1994), nos. 2 and 3. To G. Burkard I owe a primary transcription of these texts as well as of P. Berlin 23303, transcribed anew in the Appendix to this article (see below). There is also a rather rapid transcription by A. H. Gardiner in his notebook 122, 5; I thank J. Málek for permission to consult this material. Some useful comments have been kindly furnished by Karl Jansen-Winkel, Shafik Allam and Rolf Wassermann. The English version of this paper was polished by Steve Vinson and Richard B. Parkinson. My thanks also go to the *JEA*'s referees for their useful comments which have been gratefully incorporated in this paper. I should like to express my gratitude to all these colleagues; any surviving flaws and inconsistencies remain the author's responsibility.

¹Cf. also nos. 1 and 4–69 in Burkard and Fischer-Elfert, VOHD XIX.4.






²'A Pair of Oracle Petitions Addressed to Horus-of-the-Camp', *JEA* 79 (1993), 189–98, pl. xvii.

	P. 8525/8526	P. Boston A and B	P. Strasbourg	Parchemin Louvre AF 1577
				
<i>p3y = j-nb-nfr</i>	8526,1	B 1		
				
<i>tw = k-dd</i>	8525,1	A6 B5		
				
<i>hc</i>	(8525,3); 8526,1		22 I rt. 4	
				
<i>b3k</i>	8525,3		39 rt. 3	1. 4
				
<i>d3jw</i>	8525,4			1. (17); 18
				
<i>hnw.t</i>	8525,6		25 rt. x + 4	
				
<i>p3j</i>	8526,2/8530 rt. 3		23 II rt. 2; (cf. 39 rt. 4; vs. 2)	1. 4
				
<i>t3j</i>	8525,2 (lig.)/8529 vs. x + 3		26 vs. 2; (32 rt. 3)	
				
<i>sht</i>	8525,6; (8534 vs. x + 4)*		33 vs. 6; (31 rt. 7; 23 I vs. 3)	

*The same 'analytical' version appears in some of the papyri published by A. Gasse, *Données nouvelles administratives et sacerdotales sur l'organisation du domaine d'Amon XX^e-XXI^e dynasties* (Cairo, 1988), I, pl. 35 = P. Louvre A 6346 (rt. B 2, 16; the presumed title *whc* in ll. 13-15, 20, 22 and *passim* is to be read *mh*, 'tenant-farmer', throughout). The regular form of *sht*, 'weave, weaver', occurs on pl. 27 in P. Louvre A 6345 + (vs. V 16).

affects the text of line 4. The writing is on the horizontal fibres ('recto') and the back of the sheet is blank. The colour is light yellow.

P. Berlin P. 8526 (pl. XI, 2) measures 10.7×4.3 cm. The writing, which is not affected by a tiny lacuna in line 2, is on the horizontal fibres ('recto') and the back has been left blank. The colour is light yellow.

The palaeography of both texts is extremely similar to that of the el-Hiba papyri in Strasbourg, published by Spiegelberg in 1917 (n. 3; cf. the accompanying chart). The following sign groups may be regarded as particularly distinctive:  (G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II [Leipzig, 1909], no. 464);  (id., no. 211). The group  in P. Berlin P. 8525,6 can be compared to P. Strasbourg 25 rt. 3. The Berlin form, however, can be attributed to individual handwriting and should not by itself be taken for dating purposes. The same also applies to  in the Berlin and Strasbourg papyri (l. 4,5 (B) and 3 (Strasbourg) respectively). The group  in P. 8525,2 also differs slightly from its equivalent in P. Strasbourg 26 vs. 2; 32 rt. 5 and 39 vs. 5.

The table opposite is not restricted to separate signs but draws on ligatures and complete words from the Berlin papyri as well as from other contemporaneous hieratic texts. First of all, the Boston papyri published by Ryholt have to be taken into account. The Strasbourg papyri from el-Hiba come next,³ and finally, the approximately contemporaneous Parchemin Louvre AF 1577 can be compared.⁴ The other el-Hiba papyri cited in the table (*sub* P. 8525/8526) remain unpublished.⁵

The paleography of both Berlin texts is thus clearly in favour of a date in the late Twentieth to early Twenty-first Dynasty. It remains uncertain if they belong to the same priestly archive of the Twenty-first Dynasty from el-Hiba, as the Strasbourg papyri (edited by Spiegelberg and others).⁶

In the following commentary mention is made of P. Berlin P. 23303, which could be a fragment from a letter addressed to the same oracle god Horus-khau who is addressed in P. 8525 and 8526. A detailed analysis of this small fragment, whose dimensions are 5.5×7 cm, would be out of place here.⁷ P. Berlin P. 23303 is mentioned only because it cites the same form of Horus who is addressed as an oracle god in P. 8525 and 8526 (see the transcription of P. 23303 in the Appendix), and this letter may help decide if the element *hr.w/hr.wj* in the oracle petitions of P. 8525 and 8526 belongs to the name of the god or is merely an epithet of Horus. With these three texts we would have a hitherto unknown form of Horus who could be consulted in the Twenty-first Dynasty in the case of juridical matters.⁸

³W. Spiegelberg, 'Briefe der 21. Dynastie aus El-Hibe', *ZÄS* 53 (1917), 1–30, pls. i–vii.

⁴J. Černý, 'Parchemin du Louvre n° AF 1577', in [P. Jouguet] (ed.), *Mélanges Maspero*, I.1 (MIFAO 66; Cairo, 1934), 233–9 and one plate.


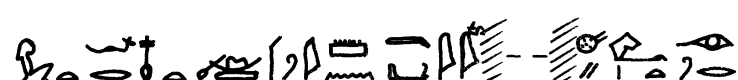




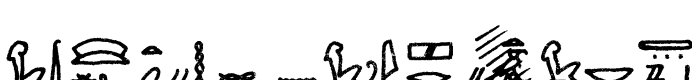
⁵Cf. Burkard and Fischer-Elfert, VOHD XIX.4.

⁶See the new edition of P. Strasbourg 39 by S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen 1973), pl. 105.5, text, 307–8; G. Posener, 'Un papyrus d'El-Hibe', in *JEA* 68 (1982), 134–8, pl. xiv; Fischer-Elfert, 'Zwei Akten aus der Getreideverwaltung der XXI. Dynastie (P. Berlin 14.384 und P. Berlin 23098)', in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer (eds), *Miscellanea Aegyptologica, Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Hamburg, 1989), 39–65, pls. i–iii.

⁷Such an analysis would be useful in the context of a complete edition of all the Berlin hieratic papyri from el-Hiba. This is a desideratum of the utmost importance, not least for palaeographical reasons.

⁸For its occurrence as a personal name see A. H. Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (Oxford, 1948), 33,6 = P. Gurob fragment M, l. 4; id., *The Wilbour Papyrus* (Oxford, 1948), text A 90,13 (from Hardai) = Ranke, *PN* II, 307,4. I do not know what to make of the personal name *Hrw-hr = f* in P. Wilbour.

P. 8525

	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6
	7

Translation

1. Horus-khau, my good lord!^a You say:^b
2. 'Go forward! Go forward!^c [Seiz]e *Mhj.t-nfr.t*,^d
3. this maidservant of [*Mhj.t*]-*hꜥ.tj*,^e this (female) worker of the domain
4. of Mehit,^f and do not [...]g these 17 *dꜣꜣw*-loincloths^h as(?) an
5. arrear of/by (?) *Mhj.t-m-sꜣ-nꜣ-ph* = *s*,ⁱ this
6. weaver,^k who had been the husband of *Hnꜣw.t-n-*
7. *tꜣ-nb*, this daughter of *Mhj.t-hꜥ.tj*!^l

- (a) According to P. Berlin 23303 rt. 2 and P. Berlin 8526,1 (see below) we have here a special form of Horus, to judge from the element *hꜥ.w/hꜥ.wj*. The interpretation of this element as a separate invocation 'Appear!' or 'may (my good lord) appear!' seems to be excluded, especially, since *Hꜣw* in P. 23303 has a 'falcon-on-perch'-determinative (Gardiner Sign-list no. G7). I do not know of any other occurrence of this specific Horus; for its use as a personal name, see above n. 8.

The address *pꜣy = j-nb-nfr* is 'la manière la plus habituelle de s'adresser au dieu consulté', according to J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (Brussels, 1986), 44; see also J. Černý, *BIFAO* 35 (1935), 52; 54–5; id., *BIFAO* 41 (1942), 19; id., *BIFAO* 72 (1972), 67; Ryholt, *JEA* 79, 193.

The name of the god and the following address unmistakably prove this papyrus (and P. 8526) to be an oracle petition that was to be submitted to Horus-khau.

- (b) This is the answer the god is expected to give. The grammar shows it to be an initial First

Present construction; there is no need to take it as a question. This point will be dealt with in more detail in the General Comments below.

Determination of pronominal elements like *mtw* = referring to divine beings by means of a 'falcon-on-perch'-sign is not unknown in the priestly archive from el-Hiba; see G. Posener, *JEA* 68, 137. The same applies here to *tw = k*.

- (c) The sign after *h₃t* is 𓆑 -*zp-sn*, certainly not ρ . A reading *h₃tj* 'heart' can thus be excluded, as 𓆑 as the first determinative would be expected as well as 𓆑 instead of 𓆑 .

The idiom *jrj-h₃t* (*Wb* III 21,11–12) means 'to outface; to make the front (of somebody); to conquer; to vanquish somebody' according to A. Massart, *The Leiden Magical Papyrus I 343 + I 345* (OMRO Supplement 34; Leiden 1954), 72 n. 2 (rt. VI 2, 3, 6 and vs. IV 10). The text in rt. VI 2–3 reads: *mk-jr.n = j-h₃t = k P₃-smn ...* 'Behold, I have outfaced thee, O *smn ...*'

If the phrase in our passage is not to be identified as this idiom, a slight emendation to **jr < r > -h₃t* 'go ahead; to the front' might be preferable. The god seems to urge somebody to 'seize' the maidservant mentioned in the following text. Steve Vinson suggests (pers. comm.) taking *jr* existentially and understanding 'be foremost', i.e. 'you win' (the lawsuit).

However this may be, Horus-khau is requested to take action, in a manner specified in the next sentence.

- (d) I consider the restoration $\text{𓆑} \text{𓆑} \text{𓆑}$ certain, as it fills the lacuna perfectly. In the Strasbourg letters from el-Hiba, mention is made of people who had been 'seized' (*t₃j*) and sometimes were to be 'detained' (*šfd*). In no. 26 (rt. 4–5) the addressee is asked to '[seize(?)] the servants that have fled' (*jw = k-[t₃jj]-n₃-b₃kj.w*). He is to 'arrest' or 'detain' them (*šfd*); see now E. F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, Georgia, 1990), 206 (no. 333). The restoration there can be regarded as confidently as that in P. Berlin 8525; both deal with *t₃j-n₃-b₃kj.w / t₃j-b₃k.t*. This clause implies a foregoing flight of the maidservant *Mnj.t-nfr.t*.

Other parallels are as follows: P. Strasbourg 24 (V rt. 4) has: [...]= *f h₃m.wt j₃.wt t₃-b₃kj.t n-[...]*. The damage on both sides of the papyrus renders this interpretation uncertain. This also applies to the verso of no. 24 (l. 3): [...]= *msy(?) t₃y n₃-rmt.w jmj-[...]*. See also P. Strasbourg 39 (vs. 5): ... *mtw = k-t₃y.tw = w r-[...]*. This fragment seems to refer back to *n₃-rmt.w* in l. 4; see now Wente, *Letters*, 206 (no. 332). P. Strasbourg 26 (rt. 4–5): *jw = k-[t₃jj(?)] (5)-n₃-b₃kj.w n-P₃-dj-šmnw p₃-jtj-ntr n-šmnw j.wcr ...* '(As soon as my letter reaches you), you shall [seize (?)] the fugitive servants of P'. P. Strasbourg 22 (II rt. 4) remains unclear: [... *w]r[= w] m-p₃-ddh [...]*. Are we to understand that people 'have fled from prison/detainment'? The addressee of P. Berlin 8534 (unpubl.) is asked to 'detain' (*šfd*) seven *b₃kj-n-rmt*; see Burkard and Fischer-Elfert, *VOHD XIX.4*, no. 12.

The name *Mnj.t-nfr.t* does not occur in Ranke, *PN* I, or in his 'Nachträge', *PN* II. This is remarkable as the name *Mhy.t-m-s₃-n₃-ph = s* (P. 8525,5) was deciphered by Spiegelberg and in fact appears in Ranke *PN*; see below n. (i). For the placement of the feminine *t* after the determinative of the first element of the name, see B. Gunn, *JEA* 41 (1955), 90 (*ad* § IV n. 2); this article concerns the Decree of Amonrasother for Neskhons which dates to almost the same period as P. Berlin P. 8525.

- (e) The name occurs again at the end of l. 7; see Ranke, *PN*, I, 164,8. For the interrelationship of the persons involved in this affair see the general comments. *Mhy.t-h₃c.tj* as the *nb.t-pr.w* appears to be the employer of the 'maidservant' *Mnj.t-nfr.t*.
- (f) The title of *Mnj.t-nfr.t* is *rmt < .t >*. I owe the reading to Rolf Wassermann (Würzburg). For *rmt/rmt.t* + name of a temple and/or domain + name of a god see D. Meeks, in E. Lipinski (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (OLP 6; Leuven, 1979), 645 n. 177. Both the name of this servant and the 'domain' (*pr*) of the goddess Mehyt relate to Thinis.

The cult of Mehyt was centered at Behedet, modern Naga el-Mashayikh, near Thinis in the 8th Upper Egyptian nome, where she was the consort of Onuris. She

is attested in cultic context in inscriptions from Bubastis and Sebennytos, south to Dendera, Abydos, Edfu, Kom Ombo, and Philae; see C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951). El-Hiba or *Tjy = w-dy* is not so far represented in this list. Here in el-Hiba Horus was worshipped in his form of *Hrw-pj-n-pj-jhꜣy*, 'Horus-of-the-Camp', and as *Hrw-jhꜣ.tj*, 'Harakhte'; see Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53, 25; Ryholt, *JEA* 79, 195–8.

The fact that Mehyt is mentioned repeatedly in this short text must account for the entry 'Thinis(?)' as its possible place of origin in the Museum's inventory; see below.

- (g) Despite the trace at the lower left edge I cannot fill the lacuna after *jw-m-*. The grammatical construction, however, must be a negative imperative following the particle *jw-* for which cf. J. Černý and S. I. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar*² (= *LEG*) (Rome, 1978), 360 (25.4.1).
- (h) *dꜣjw* garments were regular working-clothes. As such they occur often in ostraca and other texts from Deir el-Medina: see J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 265–71. Those texts show the same abbreviated writing of the word as in P. 8525. ODeM 49,3 and 183,3 describe a *dꜣjw* as having been *šht*, 'woven'.
- (i) The name *Mhy.t-m-sꜣ-nꜣ-ph = s* was added by Spiegelberg to Ranke *PN* I, 421,26. Its meaning, 'Mehyt-is-behind-those-who-attack-her', could refer to her sending 'bad winds' (*nꜣw*) to her victims by means of arrows and causing ailments. This is attested in late temple inscriptions e.g. in Edfu: see S. Cauville, 'L'Hymne à Mehyt d'Edfou', *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 105–25, esp. 116–20. For further theophoric names with the element *Mhy.t* see M. Thirion, 'Notes d'onomastique', *RdE* 36 (1985), 138 and 140 (*ad* Ranke, *PN* II, 264,24); for demotic names, K.-Th. Zauzich, *OLZ* 73 (1978), 136. In P. Berlin 8530 (rt. x+4; unpubl.), nine sacks of *zn.t*-corn are to be handed (*swd*) to a man named *Ns-mhy.t*.
- (k) For the writing of the sign *šht* / *šhtj*, 'weave; weaver', compare the table on p. 130. This form is very similar to one in P. Mayer A, *passim*, and P. Boulaq IV (Anii), 16,15.
- (l) *m-dr.t* must be for *m-dj-*.

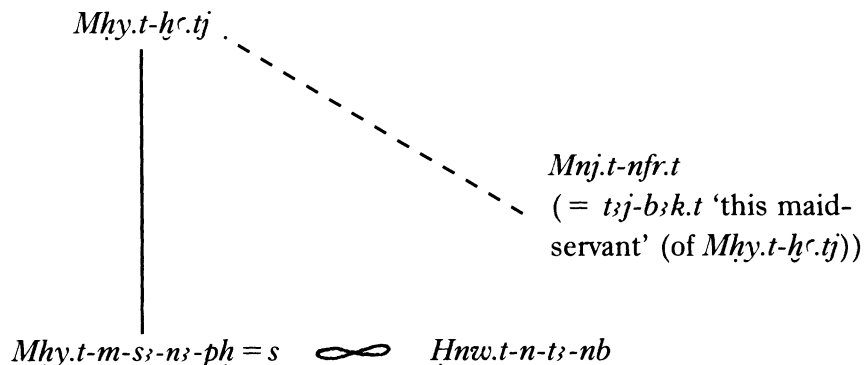
Grammatically we have (\emptyset).*wn* as active participle with pluperfect meaning, see Černý and Groll, *LEG*, 468 (48.3.4). The grammar indicates that their marriage had been dissolved in the past.

N¹ *wn-n*(for *m*)-*hꜣy m-dr.t-N*² corresponds to *jw = s-m-dj-N* 'she being (together) with N' or *jw = s-m-hjm.t / hbs.t n-N* 'she being the wife of N'; cf. C. J. Eyre, 'Crime and Adultery in Ancient Egypt', *JEA* 70 (1984), 94 n.17, who remarks that 'no convincing legal distinction' can be drawn between these two designations of matrimonial relations.

The name *Hnw.t-n-tꜣ-nb* is listed in Ranke, *PN* I, 244,10.

Commentary

The genealogical and social relations implicit in this text can be reconstructed as follows:

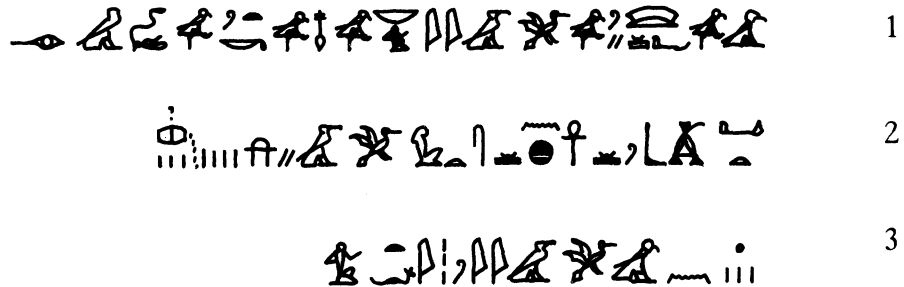


The god Horus-khau is called upon to ‘arrest’ (*tj*) the maidservant *Mnj.t-nfr.t*. She seems to have escaped from the household of *Mhy.t-hc.tj*, her mistress. There are sundry references to ‘fugitive servants’ in the correspondence from el-Hiba; see n. (d) above.

Lines 4–7 have a second request that seems unconnected with that of the first lines. The sentence starts with a negative imperative (*jw-m-[-.]*), but since the decisive verb is almost completely destroyed, we cannot be certain as to the exact measures Horus-khau is expected to abstain from. Since the weaver *Mhy.t-m-sj-nj-ph = s* is the former son-in-law of *Mhy.t-hc.tj*, it seems reasonable to suggest that the seventeen *djw*-clothes mentioned in lines 4–5 constitute a debt he has to pay to this *Mhy.t-hc.tj*. This debt is called a *wdj.t*, ‘remainder, arrear’, which *Mhy.t-hc.tj* feels obliged to call in. The pair of oracle petitions published by Ryholt (*JEA* 79) concern an ‘arrear’ that has still to be paid for a cow.

I assume both affairs—the fugitive maidservant and the missing clothes—to have been directly connected with *Mhy.t-hc.tj*, and for this reason she must be the petitioner of this oracle text, and is the person addressing the god Horus-khau.⁹

P. 8526



Translation

1. Horus-khau, my good lord! You say: ‘Do not cause^a
2. *nh* = *s*^b to pay these four sacks of grain(?)^c
3. to *Hrw-pjy = w-jtj*!^d

- (a) *m-jr-dj.t-dbꜣ-S* is the pattern treated in Černý and Groll, *LEG*, 362–3 (25.6.2). For *dbꜣ n-* see M. Malinine, *BIFAO* 46 (1947), 108 (a): ‘Acquitter, rembourser (une dette)’.
- (b) For the name *nh = s* see Ranke, *PN*, I, 67,13. The masculine counterpart *nh = f* appears e.g. in P. Strasbourg 39 (rt. 4 and vs. 2) and 44 a. In P. Berlin 14384 (rt.(?) 3) a scribe with this name is mentioned.
- (c) I owe the uncertain reading *jt*, ‘corn’, at the end of l. 2 to K.-Th. Zauzich. I can suggest no alternative. Gardiner’s notebook (122,5) has a blank at this point. Cf. P. Strasbourg 32 (rt. 3).
- (d) I know of no other occurrence of the name *Hrw-pjy = w-jtj*, but the hypocoristicon *Pjy = w-jtj* may be comparable; see J. F. Borghouts, in J. J. Janssen and R. J. Demarée (eds), *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna* (Leiden, 1982), 58 n. 113; Ranke, *PN* I, 420,6. The same elements occur in reverse order in *Pjy = j-jtj-Hnsw*, Ranke, *PN* I, 420,5. Cf. also *Hrw-pjy = j-wn* in Parchemin Louvre AF 1577 *apud* Černý, *Mélanges Maspéro* I, 234–5

⁹The masculine suffix of the first person singular is no argument against this deduction, as it is statistically the regular or ‘normal’ form in this expression.

(l. 5; 17 and 19); Ranke, *PN*, II, 306,19; see further $P\text{;}-R\text{c.}w\text{-}p\text{;}y = w\text{-}jtj$ in Ranke, *PN*, I, 114,12.

Commentary

Instead of assuming a third party as petitioner, not mentioned in the text of P. 8526, I take $\text{c}nh = s$ to be the person for whom the text has been laid before the god. She might have been optimistic that Horus-khau would spare her the 'reimbursement' ($\text{d}b\text{;}$) in kind to $Hr\text{w-}p\text{;}y = w\text{-}jtj$. I fail to see what interest $Hr\text{w-}p\text{;}y = w\text{-}jtj$ could have had in not getting his $\text{d}b\text{;}$ if he were the petitioner.¹⁰

In the 'Banishment Stela', the approval of the god is reported with the words $\text{c}h\text{c.n-p;}-ntr\text{-c;}-hn\text{ r-wr.t r-wr.t}$ 'and then the god approved exceedingly' (Louvre C 256, *passim*). The pair of complementary petitions from Boston (Ryholt, *JEA* 79) is the first of its kind in hieratic, where one version represents the positive answer of the god (approval), and the second one the negative response (disapproval). The negative version is written in black with its text underlined in red from the beginning to the end.

Nothing of this kind occurs in the Berlin papyri edited here. We cannot say whether there ever were positive or negative counterparts to these texts, in other words, whether each of these oracle petitions originally was part of a pair. Applied to P. 8525 this would have involved a positive version $*tw = k\text{-}\underline{\text{d}d}\text{ }\underline{\text{d}b\text{;}}\text{-}\text{c}nh = s \dots$

General comments and some notes on the Oracular Amuletic Decrees

Provenance

Before a general discussion of the importance of the two Berlin papyri within the corpus of oracle petitions, we should return to the grammar of the very first sentence of both texts, as the correct definition of $tw = k\text{-} <hr > \text{-}\underline{\text{d}d}$ is vital for the understanding of the underlying relationship between speaker/petitioner and addressee/god.

The First Present pattern $tw = k\text{-} <hr > \text{-}\underline{\text{d}d}$ in line 18 of the 'Banishment Stela' (Louvre C 256) has been rendered interrogatively by J. von Beckerath: 'Und willst du sagen ...?'¹¹ He describes it, however, as a First Present pattern with the constituents ' $tw = k\text{-}(r)\text{-}\underline{\text{d}d}$ ', that is completely unknown. The same holds true of his 'Präsens II— $jw = k\text{-}(r)\text{-}\underline{\text{s}dm}$ '. Here one might compare the early Late Egyptian future construction $tw = k\text{-} <r > \text{-}\underline{\text{s}dm}$, that has been dealt with by B. Kroeber,¹² but this construction had died out completely at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty at the latest, and was replaced by $jw = f\text{-} <r > \text{-}\underline{\text{s}dm}$.

For the Late Egyptian First Present see now the study of J. Winand.¹³ He remarks that the preposition hr is lacking particularly when it is being used dependently, as e.g. after jw , ntj and in the subordinate use of the First Present pattern (see table on pp. 415–16). In contrast to this, hr occurs more regularly in independent sentences (id., § 642); for the combination with $\underline{\text{d}d}$ see his § 644.

In l. 17 of the 'Banishment Stela', the address to Amonrasonther ($p\text{;}y = j\text{-}nb\text{-}nfr$) is

¹⁰As a *JEA* referee remarks.

¹¹*RdE* 20 (1968), 13, 24.

¹²*Die Neuägyptizismen vor der Amarnazeit* (Tübingen, 1970), 93–7.

¹³*Études de néoégyptien*, I. *La morphologie verbale* (Liège, 1992), 401–39, especially 415–19.

followed by a Third Future construction, $jw = k- < r > -jr.t-wd.t-ct$, in von Beckerath's translation: 'Mein guter Herr, willst Du ein großes Dekret erlassen ...?' This may also hold true for the Oracle of Djehutimose (D 12) although Kruchten opts for a circumstantial $jw = k- < hr > -dd$.¹⁴ The remaining instances of $jw = k \dots sdm$, following the address of the god, Kruchten interprets as an initial main sentence pattern.¹⁵

A First Present construction cannot be used as an interrogative sentence as some translations would suggest (see below).¹⁶ The First Present does occur after the interrogative particle (j) n , or after the particles $js-bn$.¹⁷ H. Satzinger lists a special use of the First Present that does not indicate a 'präsentische Handlung', but an 'unmittelbar bevorstehende'.¹⁸ He cites an oracle inscription from Karnak which reads: 'Again he said (to the oracle): $tw = tw- < hr > -dj.t = fr-zh3.w n-šnc n-pr-[šmnw]$, 'He will be appointed to be a scribe of the magazine of the [Amun]-temple'.' C. F. Nims remarked in his commentary to this inscription that 'there are absent the interrogative particles such as occur in the questions addressed to oracles on the ostraca published by Černý ... Their absence, however, does not mean that the sentences could not be questions.'¹⁹

Instead of its being an indicative statement as in the text just mentioned and also in the Oracle of Djehutimose (A 16ff), I prefer to take the First Present pattern in the address, as well as in the rest of the petition as the answer of the god himself.²⁰ According to H. M. Schenke, oracle petitions can have the 'Form von Aussagen, die man dann gewissermaßen als Vorschläge betrachtet, denen der Gott zustimmen kann, oder die er ablehnt.'²¹

I hope to have shown that the petitions do not have the linguistic form of questions introduced by appropriate particles, but that they are confirmations the god was expected to approve. The pair of oracle petitions published by Ryholt (*JEA* 79) even contains the alternative option, allowing the god to deny his approval.²²

M. Römer differentiates three classes of oracle texts:²³

1. oracle protocols ('Orakelprotokolle'),
2. oracle decrees ('Orakeldekrete'),
3. oracle petitions ('Orakelanfragen').

These three classes are in a complementary relationship to each other. The so-called "Anfrage[n]" [sind] selbst schon eine vorformulierte Rede des Gottes ... They deal with what the god says, 'was ihm vorformuliert wurde'.²⁴

¹⁴*Djehoutimose*, 240 (G).

¹⁵*Djehoutimose*, 278–80 (D).

¹⁶Černý and Groll, *LEG*, 280–1 (19.5)

¹⁷*LEG*, 554 (61.2.4) and 308 (20.3.2) respectively; see also F. Hintze, *Untersuchungen zu Stil und Sprache neuägyptischer Erzählungen*, I (Berlin, 1952), 224, with reference to the Late Egyptian story of *Truth and Falsehood* 5,7–8: $tw = k-hr-ptr \dots$ 'Siehst du den ...?'

¹⁸*Neuägyptische Studien* (Wien, 1976), 126 (2.3.1.1).

¹⁹*JNES* 7 (1948), 160 (q).

²⁰See M. Römer, *BiOr* 47 (1990), 624 n. 31.

²¹*Orakel im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin, 1960), 36.

²²Kruchten has opted for the understanding of the impersonal subject $-tw$ in the Djehutimose text as a reference to the High Priest of Amun: *GM* 142 (1994), 101–2.

²³*Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen* (Wiesbaden, 1994), 160–6.

²⁴*Ibid.* 163; for those writings presented to the god/gods that were not prepared after his/their decision, see §§ 245, 266 and 378.

The two Berlin papyri P. 8525 and P. 8526 are addressed to *Hrw-ḥr.w*, Horus-khau. This form of Horus is almost completely unknown from other sources; we will return to this question below. The other divine being mentioned in P. 8525 is the goddess *Mhy.t*, Mehyt. Her name occurs in connection with a 'domain' (*pr*) of hers, as well as being a component in the personal name *Mhy.t-ḥr.tj*.

Since both papyri were bought together with a large bundle of hieratic manuscripts deriving from the Twenty-first Dynasty priestly archives of el-Hiba, it seems reasonable to assume their place of origin to have been this particular fortress in the 18th Upper Egyptian nome. In their palaeography, there are numerous correspondences with those letters to and from el-Hiba, and these also support a common origin. As already noted, P. Berlin P. 23303, which mentions *Hrw-ḥr.w* and whose transcription is given in the Appendix, certainly derives from this archive. Thus, the evidence collected so far speaks strongly in favour of el-Hiba as the ultimate place of origin of P. Berlin P. 8525 and P. 8526. As a result of this, we would have to conclude that at least two different forms of Horus were worshipped and addressed as oracle gods there: *Hrw-pꜣ-n-pꜣ-jhꜣy* and *Hrw-ḥr.w*.²⁵

With regard to the goddess Mehyt, we would have to grant her a hitherto unattested place of worship.

The exact provenance of P. 8525 and P. 8526, however, remains uncertain. The Boston oracles published by Ryholt (JEA 79) are addressed to *Hrw-p(ꜣ)-n-pꜣ-jh(ꜣy)*, Horus-of-the-Camp, and thus clearly derive from el-Hiba. The circumstances of their discovery, nevertheless, remain unclear. They were described by G. A. Reisner as having come to light in Tomb 5002 in the necropolis of Sheikh Farag near Naga ed-Deir.²⁶ A cult of Horus-of-the-Camp is completely unknown at this site. I agree with Ryholt that the Boston pieces were transferred to Sheikh Farag secondarily, but at what time this transfer happened is a moot point. Horus-of-the-Camp belongs to el-Hiba, and the Boston and Berlin papyri are written in a strikingly similar style. For all these reasons I propose el-Hiba as the place of origin of P. 8525 and P. 8526.

The only evidence that speaks in favour of Thisis is the name of the goddess *Mhy.t* in the personal names *Mhy.t-ḥr.tj* and *Mhy.t-m-sꜣ-nꜣ-ph* = *s*²⁷ as well as the reference to a 'domain' (*pr*) of hers (P. 8525,3–4). I do not take this *pr-Mhy.t* domain to be her main temple at Thisis in Eastern Behedet, but an estate separate from her central place of worship.²⁸ The phenomenon of temple estates, distributed all over the country, is well known; mention of the Wilbour and the Great Harris Papyri may suffice here. In this context mention should perhaps be made of the letter of the god's father and scribe of

²⁵ A third form of Horus may be seen in the syncretistic (Amun-Re)-Harakhte in P. Strasbourg 31, 33 and 34: see Spiegelberg, *ZAS* 53, 25 no. 4. In the texts of Kom Ombo, 'Monographie' 193, there also occurs a *Hrw-ḥr.w*, and this in addition to his other names or epithets, like 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt' and *wbn m-nn.t*, 'arising in heaven': see A. Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* (BdÉ, XLVII/1; Cairo, 1973), 92, 94 n. (i). This reference was kindly supplied to me by Rolf Wassermann, whom I would also like to thank for our discussion on this subject. We also have the personal name *Hrw-ḥr.w* in P. Gurob M (see n. 8) whose provenance is only a few kilometres from el-Hiba. It dates to the Nineteenth Dynasty; thus, this name is attested from at least this period until the Twenty-first Dynasty.

²⁶ Ryholt, *JEA* 79, 190–1.

²⁷ Here also belongs the name *Ns-mhy.t* attested in P. Berlin 8530 (x + 4; unpublished; see VOHD XIX.4, no. 8).

²⁸ For Eastern Behedet (Naga el-Mashayikh) as the cult centre of Mehyt, see P. Derchain, *Le Papyrus Salt 825*, I (Brussels, 1965), 44–5; S. Cauville, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), 105–25, esp. 116.

Onuris, Bakkhons, to the god's father and scribe of Horus-of-the-Camp, Horakhbit, in P. Strasbourg 39,1: was this letter sent from Thisis to el-Hiba, and were there continuous relations of a religious and/or economic nature between these two places at this particular period?

The Oracular Amuletic Decrees

Together with the Boston oracles, the Berlin papyri constitute the earliest extant oracle petitions addressed to the god Horus. His particular name, *Hrw-ḥr.w*, may indicate his specific function as delivering oracle decisions. The verb *ḥj*, among other things, means 'appear' with regard to a king or god. Thus, we might translate 'Horus-has-appeared', i.e. to proclaim his oracle, but this is not fully convincing.²⁹ His epithet may simply refer to his rôle as a divine king, and so perhaps we could understand the name as 'Horus-has-been-crowned'.³⁰

Horus' involvement in oracles is attested in one of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees.³¹ In L6 (vs. 74) Thoth promises, among other things, to keep the owner of the amulet safe from the interventions of different gods and goddesses, including Horus:

(57) <i>jw = j- < r > -shr-n = f</i>	I shall propitiate for him
[...] <i>ḥmn.w Pꜣ-jhꜣy.?.[... (75).]</i>	[...] Amun, He-of-the-Camp .?. [. (?).]
<i>Hrw-pꜣ-nfr</i>	(and) Horus-the-Good(?).

This sequence of names might be taken as evidence for worship of these three gods in the same place, but it may be that only Amun and He-of-the-Camp are involved. I am unaware of the epithet *pꜣ-nfr* with regard to Horus at el-Hiba. Ryholt has convincingly disputed the existence of Amun-of-the-camp.³² All occurrences of the god *Pꜣ-n-pꜣ-jhꜣy* seem to refer to Horus, not to Amun. Let it be noted, however, that the Oracular Amuletic Decree L6 does not speak explicitly of an oracle of Horus, Amun or He-of-the-Camp, but it appears that Thoth promises to prevent any negative oracular decisions from these gods.

As already noted, the Berlin papyri date from the Twenty-first Dynasty, that is, from the turn of the second to the first millennium. These predate the first Greek mention of oracles delivered by Apollo (as the Greeks called Horus) by 500 years (Herodotus II, 83).³³

If the Berlin and Boston petitions both derive from el-Hiba, this would imply that two different forms of Horus must have been addressed as oracle gods. From P. BM EA 10335 it follows that there were at least three different forms of Amun on the west bank of Thebes who could be consulted as oracles by a single person.³⁴ As a working hypothesis, I suggest that there were two forms of Horus at el-Hiba: *Hrw-pꜣ-n-pꜣ-jhꜣy* in the Boston papyri may have been responsible for matters of the inhabitants of the

²⁹ *Wb* III, 240 iii. Jansen-Winkel (pers. comm.) proposes 'Horus-des-Erscheinens = des Festes' and refers to the well established connotation of 'feast' for *ḥj*. One cannot deduce a specific oracular form of the god Onuris from the personal name *ḥn-ḥr.t-ḥr.w*.

³⁰ Cf. Kom Ombo, 'Monographie' 193 (n. 25 above).

³¹ I. E. S. Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, I-II (London, 1960); for L6 see I, 43-4; II, pl. xva.

³² *JEA* 79, 195-8. Edwards reads 'Amun of Pohe': *OAD* I, 44 with n. 54.

³³ A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II, Commentary on Chapters 1-98* (Leiden, 1976), 346-8. With regard to Horus, L. Kákósy also refers only to Herodotus in his article on oracles in *LÄ* IV, 600-6.

³⁴ See now Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, §§ 325 and 330.

fortress proper, whereas *Hrw-hꜥ.w* may have dealt with the affairs of the rest of the people at el-Hiba, living outside the fortress.

The phraseology of the Boston papyri is different from that of the Berlin pieces. After the address to the god plus the epithet ‘my good lord!’, the Boston papyri present some preliminaries of the affair the petitioner is concerned with: ‘As for the matter X, ...’ This serves as a kind of heading. Then follows the positive or negative answer of the god, introduced by the words *tw = k- <hr > -dd*. The Berlin texts, however, enter the matter in question more directly: address—epithet—*tw = k- <hr > -dd*. If these petitions were one half of a once-complete set or pair of oracle petitions, just like the Boston pair, the question arises as to the possible wording of their negative (P. 8525) and positive (P. 8526) counterparts respectively. P. 8525 starts with an imperative (*j-jr-hꜥ.t* ...), but proceeds with a negative imperative in l. 4 (*jw-m-[...]*), and P. 8526 starts with a vetitive (*m-jr-dj.t-dbꜥ* ...). Thus, imperative and vetitive should have been arranged in the opposite distribution in their lost counterparts. The phraseology of the Boston petitions may be accounted for by their being written as a pair, whereas the Berlin papyri may not have been composed as pairs.

There are now in total seven extant oracle petitions and texts referring to oracles from el-Hiba and dating to the Twenty-first Dynasty. These are:

- 1 P. Berlin 8525
- 2 P. Berlin 8526
- 3 P. Boston a + b
- 4 P. Louvre 25359³⁵
- 5 P. Strasbourg 51³⁶
- 6 P. Strasbourg 21³⁷
- 7 P. Moscow 5560³⁸

1 and **2** are addressed to *Hrw-hꜥ.w* by a single person, **3** to Horus-of-the-Camp, **4**, **6** and **7** to Horus under his name ‘He-of-the-Camp’. The god’s name of **5** is not preserved.

The Berlin and Boston papyri have in common their direct address to the god in the second person singular. In **4** the local god’s father and temple scribe *Hrw-m-jꜥhj-bj.t* is requested to have a general named $\epsilon_3 = f-n-Hrw$ and his brothers appear before *Pꜥ-n-pꜥ-jhꜥy: jw = k-dj.t-ꜥhr-pꜥ-hꜥwtj* $\epsilon_3 = f-n-Hrw$ *nꜥy = f-sn.w m-bꜥh-P*. The text is concerned with a ‘portion, division’ (*pšnw*) that has been ‘contested by some servants’ (*nꜥ-bꜥk.y ntj-st-md.t-hr = w*).

The text of **5** requests the god ‘to have (certain people) appear before the god’ (*jmj-ꜥhr = w m-bꜥh-ntr*). This phrase is also applied to a single person: *mtw = k-dj.t-ꜥhr = f m-bꜥh-[ntr]*, ‘and you shall cause him (a groom of Amun; cf. rt. x + 4) to appear before the [god]’. The name and title of the addressee are destroyed. The text makes use of the same expression as **4**: *ꜥhr m-bꜥh-ntr* (god’s name).³⁹

³⁵J. L. de Cenival, in *Naissance de l’écriture* (Paris, 1982), 285–6. For the name $\epsilon_3 = f-n-Hrw$ see M. Thirion, ‘Notes d’onomastique’, *RdE* 42 (1991), 236.

³⁶Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53, 22–3.

³⁷Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 53, 13–14; Wente, *Letters*, 208 (337).

³⁸Posener, *JEA* 68, 134–8, pl. xiv.1; Wente, *Letters*, 208–9 (338).

³⁹This idiom has gone unnoticed by the *Wörterbuch*, but see R. A. Parker, *A Saite Oracle Papyrus* (Providence, 1962), 8–9 with n. 1 on p. 9. A tiny fragment in Berlin (P. 8545 = VOHD XIX.4, no. 23) with the remains of the last three lines on its recto side has [...] ... *m-bꜥh-pꜥ-ntr* ϵ_3 (?)[...] which may be a reference to an oracle.

4 and 5 are both addressed to middlemen who are asked to make arrangements to obtain the oracle decision from the god, who is expected to judge the affairs of a third party, the client. The god is $P_3-n-p_3-jh_3y$ and p_3-ntr respectively, which in all probability refers to Horus.⁴⁰

6 has been written by or on behalf of the High Priest of Amun, Masaharta, by calling in the local prophet of $P_3-n-p_3-jh_3y$. The god of el-Hiba is expected to cure him and his brother from an ailment. The name of his brother remains unknown, although it is probable that he is to be identified as the next (or next but one?) representative of the office of High Priest of Amonrasonther, Menkheperre. According to 7 he seems to be grateful for 'those positive decisions' ($n_3.w-shr.w-nfr.w$) of his divine helper.⁴¹ The oracle god is in both cases (6 and 7) $P_3-n-p_3-jh_3y$.

There are a number of lexical correspondences between P. Strasbourg 21 (6) and the aforementioned Oracular Amuletic Decrees. The High Priest Masaharta requests in his letter healing for himself as well as for his brother; the nature of their ailment is unfortunately not specified.⁴² The god is asked 'to heal him and make him healthy' ($\check{s}d-szw snb-szw$). Masaharta calls himself $p_3y = f-\check{s}rj$ $p_3y = f-shpr$, 'his (i.e. the god's) son, his offspring'. His brother is called $p_3y-b_3kj-s_3wj$, 'this servant of his (i.e. the god's)'.⁴³ Now, $shpr$ and b_3k are exactly those terms or 'titles' which are used of the beneficiaries of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees by their protective gods.⁴⁴

We have also noted that P. Moscow 5560 (7) might represent the receipt or confirmation of Menkheperre—the anonymous brother in P. Strasbourg 21 (6)—where he recognizes 'those positive decisions' ($n_3.w-shr.w-nfr.w$) that have been made by $P_3-n-p_3-jh_3y$ with respect to him ($m-cq_3 = j$).⁴⁵ I have the strong impression that the whole correspondence between Masaharta and Menkheperre on the one hand, and Horus-of-the-Camp on the other, has been threefold:

1. Petition to the god = P. Strasbourg 21 (6);
- [2. 'Decisions' ($shr.w$) by the god via an oracular decree; not preserved (?)];
3. Letter of thanks for these 'decisions' (cf. the phrase $sdm = j-p_3-hr$) = P. Moscow 5560 (7).

⁴⁰ Ryholt, *JEA* 79, 195–8.

⁴¹ See Posener's remarks, *JEA* 68, 138. T. Bardinot considers the possibility that Masaharta intervened for his brother who was then subject to quarantine; according to him, Menkheperre might have suffered from a contagious skin disease: *RdE* 39 (1988), 30; H. M. Schenke, *Die Orakel im Alten Ägypten* (dissertation: Berlin, 1960), 82ff., interprets P. Strasbourg 21 as an oracle concerning incubation. There is, in addition, another document of Menkheperre that was sent by him to el-Hiba: P. Berlin 8527 (unpublished; see VOHD XIX.4, no. 4). This letter is written in an uncial hand, just like P. Moscow 5560.

⁴² His mummy shows him to have been rather corpulent; cf. H. Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (Leiden, 1964), 44 n. 4; see above n. 38.

⁴³ Cf. also the 'Banishment Stela', l. 20: Menkheperre is called $j.hwnw n-n.t = k shpr m-df_3.w = k$, 'a youth of your city, an offspring of your sustenance'; J. von Beckerath, 'Die Stele der "Verbannten" im Museum des Louvre', *RdE* 20 (1968), 7–36, esp. 13 and 25.

⁴⁴ Edwards, *OAD* I, xiv–xv; 9 n. 13 with reference to P. Strasbourg 21.

⁴⁵ Could $m-cq_3$ -PN be the counterpart of $m-b_3h$ -GN, pointing in the opposite direction? Menkheperre, according to the 'Banishment Stela' (l. 8), has received 'many positive oracles' from his god: $sr.n = f-n = f bj_3.wt-qnw nfr.w$.

This reconstruction implies the production of the oracular decree on individual request. As an illustration of this, a royal example can be cited (see below).⁴⁶ We have to take into account that all the texts of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees published by Edwards were written and delivered to their respective beneficiaries with the aim of preserving their *bꜥk* (servants) and *shꜥr* (fosterlings) from numerous ailments and demons. In those decrees *šdj* ‘rescue, save’, and *snb* or *dj.t-snb*, ‘heal (somebody)’ are among the most frequently-used verbs.

There is another aspect worth mentioning. In P. Moscow 5560 (7) Menkheperre makes use of one of the central terms of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees, *shꜥr*, ‘decision (of a god)’ or ‘(evil) design’ in Edwards’s translation: *sdm = j-pꜥ-hꜥr nꜥ.w-shꜥr.w-nfr.w* [...], ‘I have taken notice of those positive decisions/designs [...]’. Contrary to the usage of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees, however, Menkheperre specifies this word by means of the adjective *nfr*, ‘positive’, perhaps in this particular case also with the notion of ‘benevolent’. Throughout the Oracular Amuletic Decrees, the *shꜥr.w* of the gods are unqualified by any adjective like *nfr*; see e.g. L6 (rt. 67–8):


jw = j-šd = f j(for r)-nꜥy.w-bꜥw j(for r)-nꜥy.w-shꜥr.w

‘I shall keep him safe from their⁴⁷ manifestations and from their contrivings.’


In T 1 (rt. 71–2) the decreeing gods assure the owner of the amulet:

jw = n-šd = s r-shꜥr.w-nb < ntj > -m-bꜥh = w

‘We shall keep her safe from all (evil) designs < which > are before them⁴⁸ (i.e. of those gods and goddesses mentioned previously).’

According to NY (rt. 22) these *shꜥr.w-nb* perhaps derive from ‘all the gods of the sky, the earth, and the underworld’, the word *shꜥr* being determined here by  (G 37) as, for example, in Ch (l. 19).

A statue of Osorkon II must be considered in this context. It was published by H. Jacquet-Gordon in the same year as Edwards’s edition of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees.⁴⁹ On this statue exactly the same formula as in NY (rt. 21–24) occurs, but this time it is styled as a request of Osorkon and addressed to a god whose name is lost in a lacuna. Lines 3–6 read:

⁴⁶In P. Strasbourg 21 (rt. 2) the god is to ‘say (*dd*): “Preserve him, make him well, remove all illness that is in him completely!”’ (translation: Wentz, *Letters*, 208). Instead of  (Spiegelberg) we should read *dd*, with E. D. Bedell, *Criminal Law in the Egyptian Ramesside Period* (Diss. Brandeis, 1973), 195, 322 n. 8. J. D. Ray has compared this prayer with the demotic request to Sobek in P. Carlsberg 67 (JEA 61 (1975), 186), but this text has been identified as a curse for somebody’s illness: W. J. Tait, in P. J. Frandsen (ed.), *Carlsberg Papyri, I. Demotic Texts from the Collection* (Copenhagen, 1991), 137; see M. Smith, JEA 80 (1994), 260.

⁴⁷These are the manifestations of the two baboons of Khons-in-Thebes-Nefertotpe.

⁴⁸I.e. ‘designs, plans, contrivances’ that could cross the minds of all those gods.

⁴⁹JEA 46 (1960), 12–23, pls. vii–viii; cf. also the postscript on p. 23. Her reference to the formula of protection in L 1 (rt. 42–3) does not agree with the wording of the statue. This statue derives from Tanis and has the number Cairo JE 37489; cf. K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)*² (Warminster, 1986), § 276, nn. 408–9. A partial new translation by P. Vernus is published in M. J.-P. Rosier (ed.), *Tanis: l’or des pharaons* (Paris, 1987), 108 (7, ‘La politique d’Osorkon II soumise à l’oracle’). I am very grateful to K. Jansen-Winkel for his reference to the comments by J. Yoyotte, in *Mélanges Maspéro*, I.4 (Cairo, 1961), 136–7. The text is also discussed by Römer, *Gottes-und Priesterherrschaft*, 165–6 (§ 144) and *passim* (= V 22.a); he also interprets it as an oracle petition that was erected in the forecourt of the Amun temple in Tanis and was thus submitted to the god whenever he passed his precinct in procession.

- 3 $jw = k\text{-}\check{s}d = j\ r\text{-}shd(+ \text{𐀀})\ n\text{-}jmn.w\ P\text{-}Rc.w\ [Pth]$
 4 $B\text{-}s.t\ Wsjr\ Hr.w\ \text{-}z\text{-}s.t\ ntr\text{-}nb\ ntr.t\text{-}nb\ nw\text{-}p.t\ t\text{-}jw = k\text{-}\check{s}d[= j\ r]\text{-}$
 5 $[n\text{-}y] = w\text{-}shr < .w > r\text{-}n\text{-}y = w\text{-}b\text{-}w\ jw = k\text{-}phr\text{-}h\text{-}tj = j\ r\text{-}jr.t\text{-}md.t\text{-}[nb.t\text{-}nfr.t]$
 6 $[ntj\text{-}jw]\text{-}jmn.w\ \dots\dots hr\text{-}n = j\text{-}n.jm = w$

The ancient sculptor must have misread his hieratic model since he engraved *shd* instead of *shr*. The text can be rendered as follows:

³'You shall keep me safe from all (evil) decisions of Amun, Pre, [Ptah], ⁴Bastet, Osiris, Harsiese, of every god, of every goddess of the sky and the earth. You shall keep [me] safe ⁵from th[eir] (evil) decisions, from their manifestations. You shall turn my heart to performing [everything good], ⁶[in order that] Amun ... may be content with it for me.'

The text on this statue constitutes an oracle petition, and in my opinion Osorkon here asks for the delivery of an oracular decree. All the Third Future constructions might be understood, if not grammatically, at least implicitly, as questions.⁵⁰

To show the source of Osorkon's phraseology, a transliteration of the respective passage in NY (rt. 21–5) will suffice:

- 21–2 $jw = n\text{-}(22)\text{-}\check{s}d = s\ r\text{-}shr(+ \text{𐀀})\text{-}nb\ n\text{-}ntr\text{-}nb\ ntr.t\text{-}$
 23 $nb.t\ nw\text{-}p.t\ t\text{-}d\text{-}t\ m\text{-}rn = w\text{-}nb.w$
 24 $jw = n\text{-}\check{s}d = s\ [r]\text{-}n\text{-}y = w\text{-}b\text{-}w$
 25 $jw = n\text{-}shr = w\text{-}n = s$

The verb *hr*, 'calm, quiet', on the statue corresponds to the causative *shr* in the papyrus.

From the foregoing observations we can conclude that Osorkon II, just like Masaharta and Menkheperre before him, requests an oracular decree from his god by means of a temple statue or a papyrus letter. A number of terms specific to both of these texts, i.e. the statue as well as the papyrus, prove them to have a common origin. Such a decree seems to have been called *s\text{-}nfr*, 'perfect protection' or 'effective amulet', as J. Ray has surmised.⁵¹

According to the Oracular Amuletic Decrees, any *shr* of a god is denoted negatively throughout, no adjunct like *dw* or *bjn* being necessary. Menkheperre (and perhaps also Masaharta⁵²) must have received an answer from the god in the form of an oracular decree. This was *interpreted* as consisting of *shr.w-nfr.w*, 'positive design/decisions'. No matter if such a document mentions *shr* or *shr.w-nb.w*, the divine protection of 'negative, malevolent designs' (with the determinative 𐀀) by means of an oracular decree equals a *shr-nfr*.

There is yet another connection between P. Strasbourg 21 (6), P. Moscow 5560 (7) and the Oracular Amuletic Decrees. None of these documents is addressed directly to the god or gods. Masaharta mobilizes the local prophet of *P\text{-}n\text{-}p\text{-}jhy*, and Menkheperre I is also assumed to have received the divine response by an intermediary.⁵³ It is exactly

⁵⁰See above n. (b) to P. 8525, with the reference to Kruchten, *Djéhoutymose*.

⁵¹*JEA* 58 (1972), 252. The amulet case published by him is thus named.

⁵²He may even have died in el-Hiba according to Kitchen, *TIP*², § 217 n. 91; for the Menkheperre oracle see *ibid.*, § 503; Kees, *Hohenpriester*, 44, proposes that he was stationed there temporarily.

⁵³See Posener's reconstruction of the introductory line in P. Moscow 5560: *JEA* 68, 136.

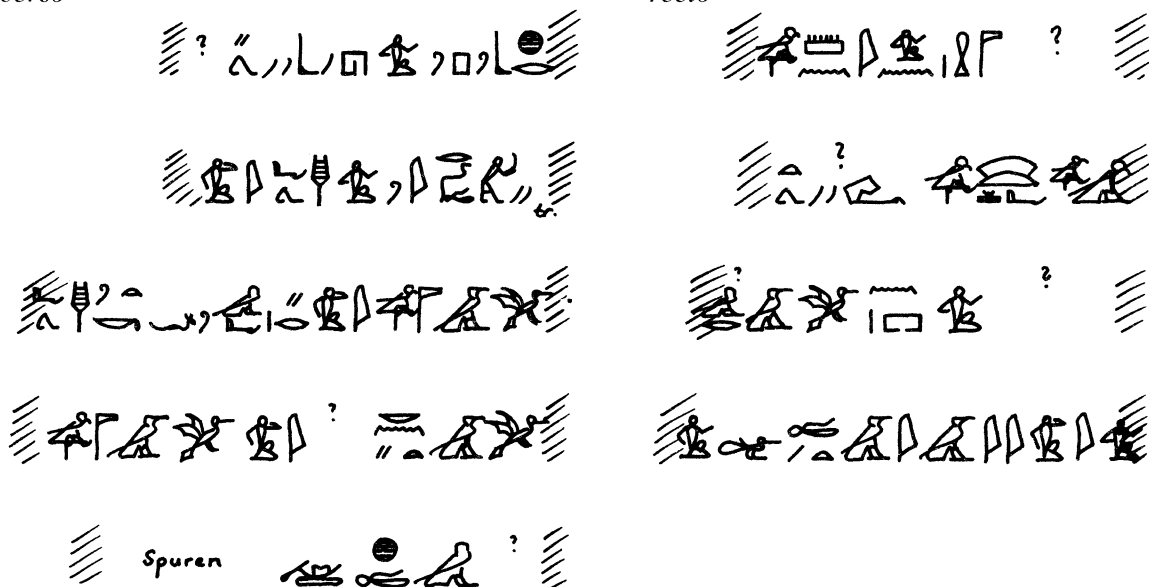
this use of a third party as intermediary that the two documents from el-Hiba have in common with the Oracular Amuletic Decrees. Edwards notes: 'Since the owner is not addressed in the second person, but always either by name or in the third person, it may be assumed that the deity was not speaking directly to him or to her and that an intermediary was the actual recipient of the oracle, possibly, because the owner was usually too young to appear in person before the god.'⁵⁴ Age does not seem to have been a factor in the case of Masaharta, although it may be true that some of the Oracular Amuletic Decrees were produced specifically for very young people.⁵⁵ Masaharta held his office as High Priest of Amun for only eight years and seems to have died in his forties.⁵⁶ One year after Masaharta's death, at the latest, Menkheperre succeeded to the position which he was to hold for 53 years. When he took over, he was thirty-five years old.⁵⁷

Assuming the sequence of Masaharta's and Menkheperre's writings as proposed above, the period between these documents can have been only a very brief one, as Menkheperre is already writing in his capacity of General and High Priest. He took over these offices either as his brother's direct successor or, after a one-year-interval, as successor of Masaharta's brother Djedkhonsefankh.⁵⁸ Although there is no proof that Masaharta was High Priest when he wrote P. Strasbourg 21—this is Spiegelberg's speculation: neither the introduction nor the address is preserved—the almost uncial handwriting suggests that the sender had a rather high position.

Appendix: Transcription of P. Berlin 23303 rt. and vs.

verso

recto



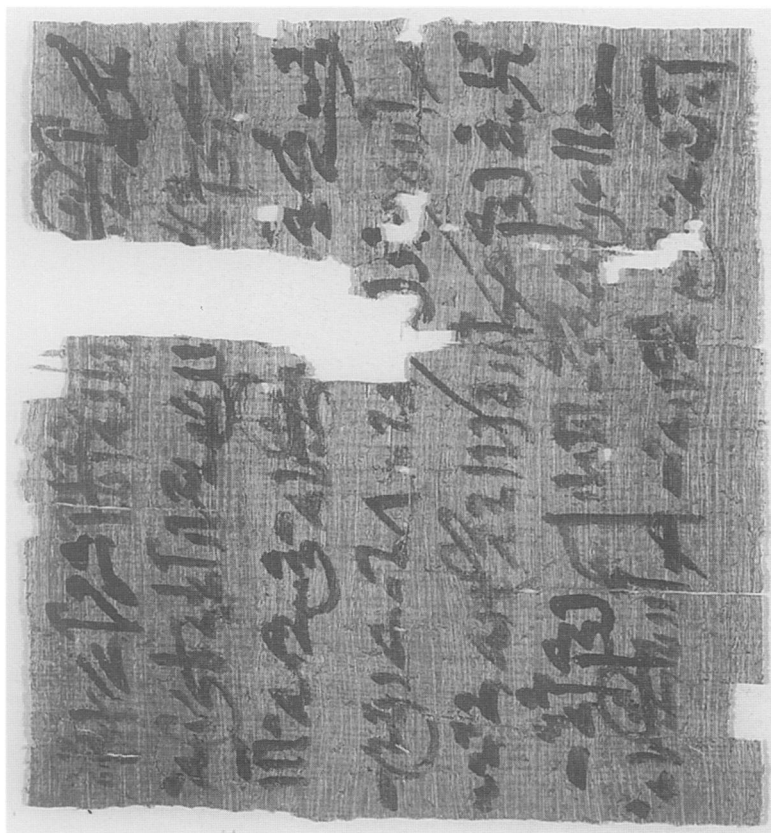
⁵⁴ OAD I, xvii.

⁵⁵ Edwards, OAD I, xvi. D. Montserrat has compared these Oracular Amuletic Decrees to pictorial representations of amulet cases on some of the so-called Fayum portraits: 'The Representation of Young Males in "Fayum Portraits"', JEA 79 (1993), 215–25, esp. 224.

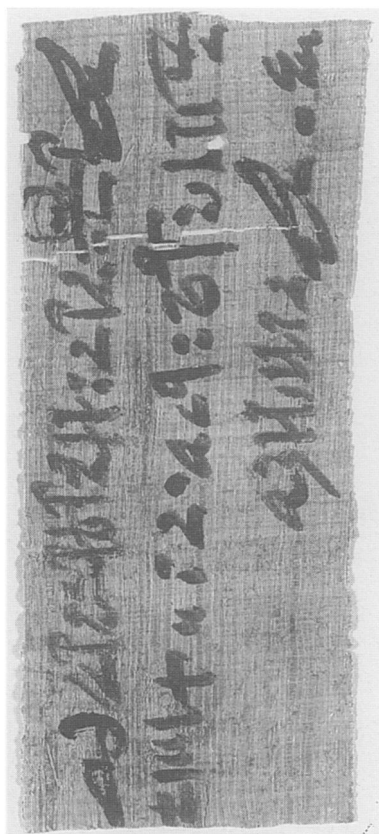
⁵⁶ Kitchen, TIP², § 63.

⁵⁷ Kitchen, TIP², § 65.

⁵⁸ Kitchen, TIP², § 62.



1. P. Berlin P. 8525



2. P. Berlin P. 8526

TWO ORACLE PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO HORUS-KHAU (pp. 129-44)

1. P. Berlin P. 8525

THE ADOPTION OF ANKHNESNEFERIBRE AT KARNAK*

By ANTHONY LEAHY

A new edition of the stela (Cairo JE 36907) recording the adoption of Ankhnesneferibre as heiress to the god's wife of Amun at Karnak and her subsequent accession. The physical context in which the stela might have been set up, and the Theban environment of its composition are fully considered, as are the age of the princess and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty historical background.

IN April 1904, in the now famous cachette at Karnak, Legrain discovered a statue of Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of Psammetichus II, and a stela recording her adoption as 'heiress' by Nitocris, daughter of Psammetichus I, and her subsequent enthronement as god's wife of Amun.¹ The text of the stela and a translation were published by Maspero in the same year² and an English rendering by Breasted appeared very shortly afterwards.³ Although its value for chronology was immediately recognised and the main events it commemorates have been noticed, with varying degrees of emphasis, in general histories since then,⁴ there has been no subsequent edition of the stela⁵ and it has never attracted the attention accorded to the inscription which describes the adoption of Nitocris herself 60 years earlier.⁶ While it is not concerned with happenings as dramatic as those which form the backdrop to the latter inscription, the stela of Ankhnesneferibre is by no means without interest for the history of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. It provides

*The visit to Cairo during which this text was first collated was made possible by a grant from the British Academy. I am grateful to Dr Mohammed Saleh and his colleagues in the Cairo Museum for access to the stela. I am also much indebted to Prof. H. De Meulenaere, who suggested a number of valuable improvements in readings and references.

¹ G. Legrain, 'Renseignements sur les dernières découvertes faites à Karnak', *RT* 27 (1905), 81–2.

² G. Maspero, 'Deux monuments de la princesse Ankhnesneferibre', *ASAE* 5 (1905), 84–93; the statue was later republished in the Cairo catalogue as Cairo CG 42205. See further PM II², 154 (statue), 166 (stela).

³ *BAR* IV, 503–6, §988A–J.

⁴ E.g. W. M. F. Petrie, *A History of Egypt*, III² (London, 1918), 338–9, 356–7; J. Breasted, *A History of Egypt* (New York, 1909), 488; F. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende* (Berlin, 1953), 52; M. F. Gyles, *Pharaonic Policies and Administration, 663 to 323 B.C.* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 5, 31; A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford, 1961), 354–5; W. Helck, *Geschichte des alten Ägypten* (Leiden-Cologne, 1968), 253–4; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *Egypte*⁵ (Paris, 1975), 578, 617, 622; A. Lloyd, in B. G. Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 303; N. Grimal, *Histoire de l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris, 1988), 361; T. G. H. James, *CAH* III² (Cambridge, 1991), 733. Specialist studies in which the text has been examined more closely are referred to below as appropriate.

⁵ C. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amun* (Copenhagen, 1940), Textanh. 4 Z 6f., provided a copy of the text in an appendix to his study. As noted by E. Graefe, *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit* (ÄA 37; Wiesbaden, 1981), I, 150, this is based on Maspero's version without collation. The stela is briefly considered, on the basis of Maspero's copy, in the important new study of Saite inscriptions by Peter Der Manuelian, *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-sixth Dynasty* (London, 1994), 6–7.

⁶ This has been analysed in detail by R. A. Caminos, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50 (1964), 71–100, and by Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 297–321.

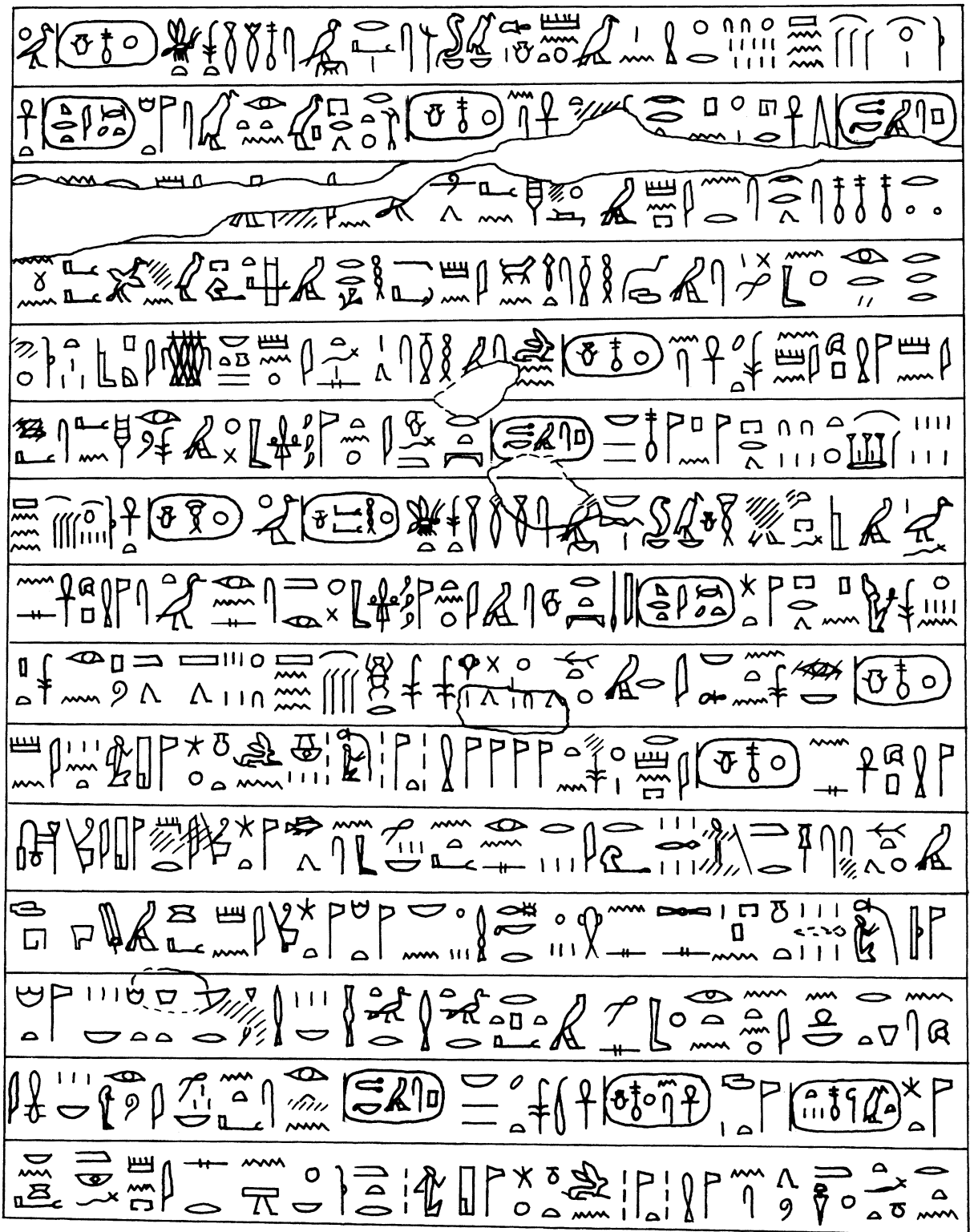


FIG. 1. The stela of Ankhnesneferibre (not facsimile): main text.

a valuable complement to the Nitocris text for our understanding of the position of god's wife of Amun, and a reconsideration of it in the light of knowledge acquired since 1904 is overdue.⁷

The stela was given the Karnak cachette number K.155. It subsequently entered the Cairo Museum as JE 36907 and is currently on display in a case in the Late Period gallery.⁸ The stela is of alabaster, the different degrees of translucency of the stone giving a streaked effect to the surface, and its dimensions are 74 cm high by 42 cm wide and 13 cm thick. It was recovered in two pieces, and much of the text of the second half of the third line in particular is obscured or destroyed by the roughly horizontal break. Elsewhere, small portions of the text have become detached and been replaced; the surface is scarred and generally rather fragile. Apart from the third line, however, the inscription is not difficult to read. No certain traces of ancient colour survive; some red pigment on the top and spreading onto the front is probably not original. The incised area comprises an arc with figured decoration and fifteen lines of shallowly-cut hieroglyphic text below it, reading from right to left (fig. 1 and pl. XII).⁹

At the top of the arc is an elongated and curved *pt*-sign, with stars inside, above a winged disk with elaborately-cut plumage. Below, two scenes are distinguished by their orientation, although not formally divided. On the left, facing inward towards Amun and Mut is a king Wahibre. He wears the *atef*-crown, a short, projecting kilt and the animal's tail, while extending his right arm towards the deities, and holding a mace and staff in his left hand. In return, Amun offers a slender fan as symbol of protection, and *sed*-festival emblems.¹⁰ On the right, the god's wife Ankhnesneferibre, wearing the characteristic two-feathered crown, uraeus and a voluminous garment, shakes sistra before Amun and Khonsu. Behind her is a slightly smaller figure, in short kilt and diaphanous longer overskirt, acting as fanbearer and identified as her chief steward Sheshonq.

Translation

Texts of arc (l-r)

Behind the king: 'All protection and life is behind him like Re forever.'

Above the king: 'The King of Upper and Lower Egypt Wahibre,^a given all life, stability, and dominion like Re.'

In front of the king:^b 'Words spoken: (I) give to you control of Upper Egypt and the Delta,

⁷For a summary of what is known of Ankhnesneferibre and her monuments, see J. Leclant, 'Ankhnesneferibrê', *LÄ* I, 264–6; for a possible ushabti fragment, see H. D. Schneider, 'Disparate events of one time', in L. Limme and J. Strybol (eds), *Aegyptus Museis Rediviva. Miscellanea in honorem Hermanni De Meulenaere* (Brussels, 1993), 156. Her titles and epithets are conveniently listed by L. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History* (Boreas 14; Uppsala, 1986), 178 GW.8.7.

⁸The stela has sometimes been referred to by the exhibition number 681 given in G. Maspero, *Guide to the Cairo Museum* (Cairo, 1915), 185. The other Journal d'Entrée number, 36750, attributed to it by Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 403, belongs in fact to the basalt statue of Ankhnesneferibre (n. 2 above).

⁹Perhaps misled by Maspero's arrow indicators, Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 62 fig. 17, includes this among the small number of Saite royal texts written from left to right.

¹⁰The 'short-handled fan' (Gardiner S.37) is a variant of that held by Sheshonq on the right of the arc. Attested as determinative of the word *hw*, 'fan', as early as the Middle Kingdom (*Wb.* III, 246), it is also used to write *hwi*, 'protect', from at least the Twenty-second Dynasty onwards (K. Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie* (ÄAT 8; Wiesbaden, 1985), 615).

all lands and all foreign lands forever.' 'Words spoken: (I) give to you the celebration of millions of *sed*-festivals.'

Above Amun: 'Amun-Re lord of the thrones of the two lands, lord of the sky.'

Above Mut: 'Mut the great, lady of Isheru,^c who gives all life, stability and dominion.'^d

Above Khonsu: 'Khonsu in Thebes, Neferhotep, who gives all life, stability and dominion.'^d

Above Amun: 'Amun-Re king of the gods, great god.'

Above the god's wife: 'god's wife Ankhnesneferibre, living forever.'

Above the chief steward: 'chief steward of the divine adoratress, Sheshonq.'

Above all these, within the span of the winged disk: 'He of Behdet, great god, lord of heaven, variegated of feather, who comes forth from the horizon, who gives life.'^e

Main text

(1) 'Year 1,^f third^g month of Shomu, day 29 under the majesty of the Horus Menekh-ib,^h the Two Ladies User-aa, the Horus of Gold Snefer-tawy, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Neferibre, the son of Re (2) Psammetichus, given life. On this day arrival of the king's daughter Ankhnesneferibre in Thebes. Her mother, the god's wife Nitocris, may she live,ⁱ came forth^j (3) to see her beauty. They went together^k to the temple of Amun. Then there was brought^l the divine image (?) from the temple of Amun to the place (4) where they were (?)^m in order to make her titularⁿ as follows: great songstress of the residence of Amun, the one who carries the flowers in the chapel,^o chief of the enclosure of (5) Amun,^p first prophet of Amun, king's daughter Ankhnesneferibre. She met^q her father Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, foremost in Karnak.

Year (6) 7, first month of Akhet, day 23.^r This god, the good god, lord of the two lands, Psammetichus went to the sky, he was united with the sun disk, the limbs of the god being merged with him who created him.^s Then (7) his son was caused to appear^t on his throne, the Horus Wah-ib, the Two Ladies Neb-khepesht, the Horus of Gold, Sewadj-tawy, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Haaibre, the son of Re, Wahibre, may he live.^u



Year 4, fourth month of Shomu, (8) day 4 of this king. The god's wife Nitocris, justified,^v went to the sky, she was united with the sun disk, the limbs of the god (i.e. Nitocris) being merged with him who made her. Her daughter, the first prophet Ankhnes- (9) neferibre, did for her everything which is done for every beneficent king. Now when twelve days had elapsed after this in the fourth month of Shomu, day 15,^w the king's daughter, (10) first prophet Ankhnesneferibre went^x to the temple of Amun-Re, king of the gods, prophets, god's fathers, *wab*-priests, lector priests, the priesthood of the temple of Amun (11) following her, great courtiers at their head. There was performed for her every ritual of initiation of a divine adoratress of Amun into the temple by the scribe (12) of the divine book and great *wab*-priests of this temple.^y There were tied^z for her the amulets and all the adornments of a god's wife and divine adoratress of Amun, who appears with the two-feathered crown (13) (on) her head^{aa} to be mistress of everything which the Aten encompasses. There was made^{bb} her titular^y as noblewoman, great of kindness, great of praises, lady of grace, sweet of love, mistress of all women,^{cc} god's wife,

(14) divine adoratrix Heqat-neferu-mut,^{dd} hand of the god Ankhnesneferibre, may she live, king's daughter of the lord of the two lands Psammetichus. There was performed for her every ritual^{ee} and every ceremony as (15) was done for Tefnut in the beginning. On every occasion of her going to the temple of Amun at his every festival of appearance, there shall come to her prophets and god's fathers and the priesthood of the temple.^{ff}

Notes on readings and translations¹¹



(a) The king has sometimes been identified as Psammetichus I (PM II², 166; Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 6), presumably because the *nsrw bity* title traditionally precedes a prenominal. However, it is clear from the four dates in the text, two from the reign of Psammetichus II and two from that of Apries, that the Wahibre depicted in the arc must be Apries, in whose reign the stela was actually carved, here designated by his nomen.

(b) The orientation of these two columns is the reverse of that expected, since the words must be those of Amun.

(c) Maspero read  (*sic!*) here. Although the signs are small and not well carved, one can nevertheless read , completing the toponym 'Išrw.



(d) It is not quite clear where these two texts, 'who gives all life, stability and dominion', belong. I have taken them as continuing the legends of Mut and Khonsu respectively, but they could be an extension of the *Bhdy* text just above.

(e) The same text is given in both directions, with a central *rnḥ* common to both. This *ankh* itself stands directly beneath the disk, and immediately above the *nbt* common to the epithets of Mut and Khonsu.

(f) Here and in l. 7, probably also in l. 5, the word 'year' is spelt with  rather than Maspero's , as often in the Libyan to Saite Periods: see A. Leahy, 'Two Donation Stelae of Necho II', *RdE* 34 (1982–3), 80 a, for references. Other examples from the mid-Twenty-sixth Dynasty can easily be added: Louvre A.83, temp. Necho II (J. Yoyotte, *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, fascicule 31 (1958), 368 and fig. 609, and O. Perdu, 'Prologue à un corpus des stèles royales de la XXVI^e dynastie', *BSFE* 105 (1986), 24–6 incl. fig. 1); the Tanis stela of Psammetichus II (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pls. 8, 18, the latter a drawing including a previously unpublished fragment); a donation stela from the reign of the same king, Cairo JE 36863 (D. Meeks, 'Les donations aux temples dans l'Égypte du 1^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.', in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (OLA 6; Leuven, 1979), II, 677 no. 26.3.3); another from the reign of Apries, Moscow I.1.a.5645 (S. Hodjash and O. Berlev, *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow* (Leningrad, 1982), 173 no. 114).

(g) For another example of the numeral 'one' written with a kink at the top, also found in l. 7, see E. Graefe and M. Wassef, 'Eine fromme Stiftung für den Gott Osiris-der-seinen-Anhänger-in-der-Unterwelt-rettet aus dem Jahre 21 des Taharqa (670 v. Chr.)', *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 104 and pl. 17, line 1.





(h) The *-t* attached to *mnḥ* is superfluous. Here and in l. 9, the *mnḥ*-sign is shown facing in the wrong direction in Maspero's version.

(i) Maspero omitted a  beneath the *ankh*-sign at the end of l. 2. In l. 14, the third person singular feminine stative ending appears as .

(j) Here and in l. 9, the stela yields two examples of the *sdm pw ir(w).nf* construction. Although the first has a *-t* ending to the *irw.nf* which might suggest that the antecedent was understood as feminine, neither has the classical *-t* ending for the weak verb infinitive, which is consistent with Late Egyptian treatment of it as masculine. Only two instances of this construction are found in the corpus studied by Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 136–7, 291 n. 686, but there

¹¹I have not commented on the numerous misgroupings in Maspero's presentation of the text, which mostly derive from the limitations of the hieroglyphic font used.



are others in, for example, the 'Saite' stela fragment from Behtim (E. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (MEEF 7; London, 1890), pl. xxi.12, l. 5) and on the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre (I. Nagy, 'Remarques sur le souci d'archaïsme en Egypte à l'Époque Saïte', *Acta Antiqua* 21 (1973), 60 n. 86).



(k) Whereas *spr* in l. 1 can be taken as a narrative infinitive, *spr.sn* here must be a *sdm.f*, probably nominal, expressing the past in a main clause: Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 193 ff. There are other examples below. In the adverb phrase that follows, the sense is clear even if the reading is doubtful. The grouping is  rather than with the disk centred as in Maspero. Maspero read *m sp wr*, but there are no internal markings to the circle, so  is a possible alternative. The lost sign balancing it above the harpoon-sign above could be  rather than , yielding *m ht wr(t)*.

(l) *ch.n sdm.f* is passive here and perhaps also in l. 6–7. The only use of this auxiliary form in the Saite royal inscriptions studied by Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 279–80, is on the fragmentary Tanis stela of Psammetichus II. At first glance (cf. n.(j)), this might suggest a particular fondness for literary forms in the author of Ankhnesneferibre's text, but such an inference is subject to caution. Although Manuelian's study greatly facilitates the evaluation of Twenty-sixth Dynasty royal stelae, the corpus remains a very small and possibly unrepresentative one. A measure of this is the occurrence of the construction *ch.n sdm.f* three times on a very small fragment of an inscription from Edfu, recording a Nubian campaign of either Psammetichus I or II (L. Habachi, 'Psammétique II dans la région de la première cataracte', *Or Ant* 13 (1974), 325); cf. also the Elephantine stela of Amasis (G. Daressy, 'Stèle de l'an III d'Amasis', *RT* 22 (1900), 2 col. 18).

(m) Read *stꜣ pꜣ [hnty?] m pr 'Imn...irw*. Maspero did not translate this, but Breasted seems to me to have established the essence of the passage in his version: 'Then was conducted the [divine] [image] from [the House of] Amon, to...in order to make her titulary as follows:'. Breasted's suggestion of *hnty?* as the word for 'image' was tentative, the signs being quite unclear; the verb *stꜣ* does, however, favour a statue that was pulled on a sled rather than one carried in a sacred boat. The reference would be to oracular approval of the titulary.

(n) *ir(r)y*: I take this as an unusual writing of the infinitive, paralleled for this period on the Tanis stela of Psammetichus II (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 214), and assume that the governing preposition *r* has coalesced with the preceding *irw*. Classical Middle Egyptian does occasionally show a *-y* ending and writing out of *r* in the passive *sdm.f* (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, §420), but the latter form appears as *ir* without either feature several times later in the present text. For *nhb(t)*, '(royal) titulary', here and in l. 13, see M.-A. Bonhême, 'Les désignations de la «titulature» royale au Nouvel Empire', *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 347–60; M. Gitton, 'Variation sur le thème des titulatures de reines', *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 401. The term, which usually designates the five titles of the king, is here extended to the god's wife of Amun, and it may not be coincidental that this passage gives Ankhnesneferibre five titles or epithets.

(o) This is the only example of this epithet given by Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 185 A4/11. The determinative of *cht* is  not , *pace* Maspero. The reference must be to (some part of) the temple, the 'divine palace' (*Wb.* I, 214, 8). *cht* here shows the feminine ending it often has in the first millennium (*Wb.* I, 214, 22; R. A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), 83 (r); S. Sauneron, 'Remarques de philologie et d'étymologie (en marges des textes d'Esna)', in *Mélanges Mariette* (BdE 32; Cairo, 1961), 231–2; Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 350 n. 233), rather than a 'superfluous' *-t*.

(p) Breasted did not translate this passage. Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 196 D2/5, has no parallels among the epithets attested for queens and god's wives. She reads *pꜣ ꜥwy n šn n 'Imn*, and translates 'Governess of the arms of the encirclement of Amun', but the text clearly has  and not . Maspero's suggestion, 'celle qui marche à la tête de la lignée (?) d'Amun', brings out the etymology of *hꜣwty*, and the sense of 'leader of a procession' may be appropriate here. The crux of the second part of the epithet, *pꜣ ꜥn n 'Imn*, is not known to me elsewhere in this form. Neither context nor determinative suggests a connection with *in*, 'baboon', whereas reasonable

sense is obtained by deriving it from the rare *ꜥny*, known only from campaign texts of the New Kingdom (*Wb.* I, 170, 1–2; R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1962), 39). It appears there as a noun (det. \square), meaning ‘enclosure’, and as a verb (det. 𓂏), with the sense of ‘confine’. See further W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17–22* (Berlin, 1961), 36; James K. Hoffmeier, ‘Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East’, *Newsletter SSEA* 7/3 (May, 1977), 16; P. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II* (HÄB 26; Hildesheim, 1987), 224, 228.

The determinative used here is appropriate enough to this general sense. However, as it is not normally used for words to do with building, and as the word does not seem to occur elsewhere in the lexicography of temple architecture, it may refer to an abstract notion rather than to a physical structure such as the precinct of Karnak.

(q) The determinative Δ for *hs* suggests this translation.

(r) Sander-Hansen erroneously has ‘day 24’.

(s) line 6: Maspero introduced an imaginary and incomprehensible 𓂏 after *ꜥbh m*, and miscopied the *w* of *sw* as the quail chick rather than the coiled rope. That the former was an error has been surmised by W. Schenkel, ‘Beiträge zur mittellägyptischen Syntax’, *ZÄS* 92 (1965), 70 n. 2. The description of a royal death occurs again with reference to Nitocris in l. 8 with only minor graphic variations (*hnm.f.s m* and *m ir sw/s(t)*); the stative ending of *ꜥbh* is not modified despite the feminine reference. The close similarity between this and earlier descriptions of the death of kings in the story of *Sinuhe* and the Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb of Amenemhab has also been commented on by Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 6–7. The earlier passages read: *shr.f r pt hnm m itn hꜥw ntr ꜥbh m ir sw*. Among the differences in the Saite version, Manuelian notes the use of initial *pri* instead of *shr*, and the fact that *pt* is spelt in Late Period fashion (𓂏). There is also the substitution of a circumstantial *sdm.f* for the stative *hnm* of the earlier versions.

The two earlier versions are decidedly closer to each other than either is to the present text. Nonetheless, there must be a connection. This might be seen as evidence that the text of *Sinuhe* was extant in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Schenkel, *ZÄS* 92, 70). This would fit with the view of N.-C. Grimal, ‘Bibliothèques et propagande royale à l’époque éthiopienne’, in J. Vercoutter (ed.), *IFAO Livre du centenaire (1880–1980)* (Cairo, 1980), 37–48, esp. 42, and *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ꜥankh)y au musée du Caire* (MIFAO 105; Cairo, 1981), 284, 350), that there are numerous quotations from *Sinuhe* in Twenty-fifth Dynasty monumental texts; for the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, see also Nagy, *Acta Antiqua* 21, 56 n. 31. A more cautious view is taken by J. Baines, both on this passage (‘Interpreting Sinuhe’, *JEA* 68 (1982), 32 n. 12), and on the general point (‘Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society’, *Man* 18 (1983), 585). He does not discuss the Ankhnesneferibre stela, but suggests that Amenemhab and *Sinuhe* may have a common source in stock terminology, a conclusion also contemplated by Manuelian. The appropriate inference is surely that all three passages are quoting a standard euphemism for the death of kings, somewhat modified with the passage of time and here extended to the god’s wife. The use of *pri* instead of *shr* invites comparison with the records of contemporary Apis burial: cf. *pr.n hm n ntr pn r pt* (stela of Year 12 of Apries, cf. stela of Year 20 of Psammetichus I; see n. 13).

At all events, this should be distinguished from the similar phraseology used to describe the merging of the god’s wife with Amun during her lifetime, such as *sm:yt m hꜥw ntr* or *hnm m Imn*: L. A. Christophe, *Karnak-Nord III (1945–1949)* (IFAO 23; Cairo, 1951), 46; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* (BdE 36; Cairo, 1965), 369.

(t) On *shr*, ‘cause to appear’, with particular reference to formal, processional appearance, see J.-M. Kruchten, *Le grand texte oraculaire de Djéhoutymose* (MRE 5; Brussels, 1986), 77–8. Or is this the intransitive use of *shr*, ‘appear in glory’, which has been recognised for the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (*Wb.* IV, 237, 19–20; Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ꜥankh)y*, 68–70 n. 174)?

(u) *ꜥnh.ti* stands instead of the *ꜥnh dt* which one expects to follow the name of a king, an error perhaps influenced by the cartouche of Nitocris earlier in the text.

(v) The description of Nitocris as *mꜛ-ḥrw* whereas the longer dead Psammetichus II is not so called despite the identical context is an inconsistency of a kind which undermines confidence in any argument based on the presence or absence of the epithet (see below, p. 160).

(w) ‘Twelve days’, as read by Maspero, seems certain despite a chip in the stone, but Maspero then recorded ‘day 16’, whereas the text clearly has ‘15’. He was perhaps influenced by the fact that 4 *šmw* 15 is only eleven days later than 4 *šmw* 4, unless parts of both the first and last days are counted separately.

(x) The legs of the biliteral *šm* are clearly detached here, *pace* Maspero; contrast the normal writing in l. 15. This unusual spelling is not given in *Wb.* IV, 462. At the end of l. 9, Maspero copied a *nb*-basket instead of the *n* beneath *ir*.

(y) Maspero, *ASAE* 5, 87, followed by Graefe, *Untersuchungen* II, 90, read and translated ‘nine’ priests here, but, as De Meulenaere points out to me, the correct reading is ‘great *wab*-priests’, paralleling ‘great courtiers’ in the previous line. For a similar passage describing the induction of Nitocris on the stelephorous striding statue of her steward Ibi, see E. Graefe, ‘Der autobiographische Text des Ibi, Obervermögensverwalter der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris, auf Kairo JE 36158’, *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 87 l. 6.

(z) Although this passage has been translated as active—describing an act performed by Ankhnesneferibre—by Maspero (*ASAE* 5, 87), Breasted (*AR* IV, §988H) and, more recently, Troy (*Patterns of Queenship*, 129), the passive rendering given here (so too Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib*, 30, and N.-C. Grimal, *Les termes de la propagande royale égyptienne de la XIX^e dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre* (MAIBL n.s. VI; Paris, 1986), 620–1 n. 335–6), is more in keeping with the general notion of initiation. The active translation would also require a *sdm.n.f* to be read, a form used nowhere else in this text.

(aa) I take *ḥꜛ m šwty* as participial.

(bb) I read *ir.t(w) nḥb.s*, rather than a narrative infinitive.

(cc) For this series of epithets, introduced by *iryꜛ pꜛt* and common to royal women generally, see Gitton, *BIFAO* 78, 389–90 ff.

(dd) I.e. ‘Mut is regent of beauty’. The variant writing of the prenomen with an initial \equiv sign on her statue, CG 42205, is read *ḥqꜛ(t)-nfrw-Mwt-mrj[-Mwt]* by J. Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (MÄS 20; Berlin, 1984), 277. The consistency of this interpretation, which assumes the same addition of a *mry Mwt* epithet to a cartouche as attested for other god’s wives, is preferable to alternatives. G. Vittmann, ‘Die Familie der saïtischen Könige’, *Or* 44 (1975), 380, reads *Mwt-ḥqꜛ(t)-nfrw* and *ḥqꜛ nfrw mry Mwt* respectively. The latter has been read *Mrj-Mwt-ḥqꜛ(t)-nfrw*, ‘Aimée de Mout régente de beauté’, by Leclant, *LÄ* I, 264–6.

(ee) I read *ir.t(w).n.s nt-ꜛ nb* (cf. l. 11 above and Graefe, *MDAIK* 50, 87 l. 8). For *nt-ꜛ*, ‘ritual’, see J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI–XXIII^{mes} dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l’initiation des prêtres d’Amon* (OLA 32; Leuven, 1989), 92 n. 2, to which add J.-C. Goyon, ‘Le cérémonial de glorification d’Osiris du papyrus du Louvre I.3079 (colonnes 110 à 112)’, *BIFAO* 65 (1967), 109 (i).

(ff) *iw* shows the lack of gemination apparently typical of the nominal *sdm.f* in Saite practice: Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 206. The sense seems to require a shift in tense.

Commentary

Context and composition

The physical aspects of the stela and its setting are worth considering briefly. The choice of alabaster is unusual, but has no obvious significance. The original context in which the stela was erected is unknown. The basalt statue of Ankhnesneferibre found with it was of approximately the same height and they may have been created at the same time to stand together, as Legrain and Maspero suggested.¹² At 74 cm high, the stela is modest

¹²Legrain, *RT* 27, 81–2; Maspero, *ASAE* 5, 90.

in size—larger than the majority of funerary or donation stelae of the time, but smaller than, for example, the official Apis stelae of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.¹³ It is decidedly smaller than most of the commemorative stelae issued by the kings of the dynasty, and would have been dwarfed by the adoption stela of Nitocris, which at 1.45 m is three and a half times wider, and was originally perhaps four times as high.¹⁴

The discrepancy in size does not preclude their once having stood close to each other nor does the fact that the Nitocris stela was found near the shrine of Seti II in the first court at Karnak, whereas Ankhnesneferibre's monuments were buried in the cachette beneath the court north of the seventh pylon. The latter objects were relatively portable, whereas a red granite stela weighing an estimated 6000 kilos¹⁵ would not have been moved lightly. The Nitocris monument was therefore probably erected in the first court, where other Saite stelae fragments—of Psammetichus II and perhaps Necho II—have been found.¹⁶ Both Legrain and Caminos thought that Nitocris' stela had an architectural setting, although neither offered a specific suggestion as to where this might have been. The former certainly, and perhaps Caminos, envisaged the original form of the stela as a rectangular slab. Legrain's idea, based on the observation of a presumed bolt-hole on one edge of the stela, was that it formed 'le montant gauche d'une porte monumentale'.¹⁷ Caminos deduced from the fact that only the front of the stela had been smoothed that it was 'a panel embedded in a wall'.¹⁸ Yet Egyptian door-jambes normally had vertical columns of text, not horizontal lines, while the back and sides of a free-standing stela were not usually given the smooth final finish reserved for the area to be carved.¹⁹ In my view, it remains most likely that the stela of Nitocris was originally a free-standing,

¹³The heights of the extant official stelae of the period are as follows: Year 20 Psammetichus I, 0.49 m; Year 52 Psammetichus I, 1.05 m; Year 16 Necho II, 1.05 m; Year 12 Apries, 0.87 m; Year 23 Amasis, 1.07 m. The figures are taken from M. Malinine et al., *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis* (Paris, 1968), 146, and E. Chassinat, 'Textes provenant du Sérapéum de Memphis', *RT* 22 (1900), 20–1, 166–7. Note, however, that, when complete, the Tanis stela of Psammetichus II was about the same size as Ankhnesneferibre's (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 365).

¹⁴The view expressed by Caminos, *JEA* 50, 71, that 'There is no way of ascertaining how much is lost at the top', is unduly pessimistic. If one assumes that this was a conventional round-topped stela, a rough calculation can be made. A height–width ratio of approximately 2:1 characterises Saite royal stelae. The Saqqara VII stela of Psammetichus I measures 1.96 × 1.01 m, the Shellal stela of Psammetichus II 2.55 × 1.23 m, the Memphis stela of Apries 3.14 × 1.58 m (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 323, 337, 373 respectively): the other Saqqara stelae of Psammetichus I are 2.20 × 1.09 m (Perdu, *BSFE* 105, 29). The Elephantine stela of Amasis is somewhat smaller at 1.75 × 0.95 m (Daressy, *RT* 22, 1). The 1.45 m width of the Nitocris stela would therefore imply an original height of about 2.90 m, compared with its maximum preserved height of 1.88 m. In all the preserved examples except the Elephantine stela, the lunette occupies at least one third of the total height, which might suggest that only a few centimetres of the horizontal text have been lost from the inscription of Nitocris. As the average height of the lines on the stela is 5.7–6 cm (Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, 297), this may mean only one line. Given the length of the lines and the very compact and dense carving of the text (*ibid.* pl. 13), this could comfortably have accommodated a date formula and/or a titulary as well as a few words placing the king in his palace addressing his courtiers, which is all that is needed to complete the sense. A brief introduction of this kind begins the 'royal' stela dated to Year 1 of Necho II and held in front of the body on Louvre A. 83, a private steleporous statue from Thebes (n. (f) above).

¹⁵*JEA* 50, 71.

¹⁶PM II², 37–8. Stela fragments are there assigned to Year 6 of Necho II without reservation. G. Legrain, *Les temples de Karnak* (Brussels, 1929), 140, was more circumspect: 'Le nom gravé dans les cartouches paraît être celui de Nekhao (?) La date paraît être l'an VI'.

¹⁷'Deux stèles trouvées à Karnak en février 1897', *ZÄS* 35 (1897), 16.

¹⁸*JEA* 50, 72.

¹⁹It is evident even from the photograph in Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pl. 1, that the sides of the stela were given a preliminary smoothing.

round-topped stela of the conventional type characteristic of the period. Wherever it stood in the first court, it would have been a prominent symbol of both the establishment of Saite authority at Thebes, and the northern king's recognition of the prestige of Amun. It could well have served as a focal point around which related, if more modest, monuments such as the statue and stela of Ankhnesneferibre were subsequently clustered.

The next question to consider is the kind of composition represented by Ankhnesneferibre's stela. Manuelian includes it among 'Saite secular royal' inscriptions, although it is not one of those he studies in detail and he recognizes that it does not sit entirely comfortably in such company.²⁰ The one respect in which it does is its language, which is the 'Saite Middle Egyptian' characteristic of the dynasty as a whole. It combines emulation of the classical phase of the language (*sdm pw ir(w).n.f*, *ḥr.n sdm.f*) with slight traces of Late Egyptian (definite article *pꜣ*, feminine *ḥt*) and of orthography characteristic of the New Kingdom and later (*mꜣꜣ*, *pt*). The avoidance of the *sdm.n.f* for past narrative is also noteworthy. Overall, the text fits well with Manuelian's hypothesis that the mid-Twenty-sixth Dynasty saw an increase in the use of literary forms, and a reduction in the Late Egyptianisms discernible in the Nitocris stela.²¹

In the treatment of the arc, however, the stela differs from most Saite royal stelae. From the reign of Psammetichus I through to that of Amasis, the king was usually not depicted, but represented emblematically by his Horus name in the *serekh* and by one or both cartouches, recalling Middle Kingdom practice.²² Parallels for the anthropomorphic representation of the king seem to be limited to the reigns of Necho II and Psammetichus II, but include examples from Tanis and Tura as well as Thebes.²³ This geographical spread combined with the concentration around the turn of the seventh to sixth century BC might imply a mid-dynasty fashion, but other stelae of Psammetichus II, including the records of his Nubian campaign at Shellal and Karnak, belong to the emblematic tradition²⁴ and the corpus is too small to allow such an inference to be drawn with any confidence.

The principal factor in determining the detail of the arc and the content of the text is the creation of Ankhnesneferibre's stela in a Theban workshop. It belongs, specifically, to a local iconographic tradition which was well-established by the early sixth century BC and well-represented in the numerous small Karnak chapels built in the joint names of the god's wife and the contemporary monarch. In these, balanced symmetrical scenes like

²⁰ *Living in the Past*, 6–7, 57 n. 133, 62 fig. 17.

²¹ *Living in the Past*, 403–6.

²² Several examples are illustrated in Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pls. 2, 4–6, 7, 9–11. See also H. Goedicke, 'Psammetik I. und die Libyer', *MDAIK* 18 (1962), pl. 1, and M. Basta, 'Excavations on the desert road at Dahshur', *ASAE* 60 (1968), 57–63, pls. 2–3, 5–6. The practice had already been revived under the Twenty-fifth Dynasty: H. Altenmüller and A. Moussa, 'Die Inschriften der Taharkastele von der Dahschurstrasse', *SAK* 9 (1981), 64 and pl. 1.

²³ Tanis stela of Psammetichus II (n. (f) above). Tura stela of Necho II: G. Daressy, 'Inscriptions des carrières de Tourah et Mâsarah', *ASAE* 11 (1911), 259. Louvre A.83 (n. (f) above). Fragmentary stela from Karnak ascribed to Necho II (n. 16 above).

²⁴ For the Shellal and Karnak stelae, see Manuelian, *Living in the Past*, pls. 16–17. The official Apis stelae of the dynasty exemplify both traditions: those of Year 16 Necho II and Year 12 Apries are emblematic, those of Year 20 Psammetichus I and Year 23 Amasis anthropomorphic, while the arc of the fifth (Year 52 Psammetichus I) was never carved: see n. 13 above for references. With rare exceptions, such as Cairo JE 36863 (n. (f) above), the donation stelae of the dynasty depict the king anthropomorphically.

that on the stela, in which both appear before deities, were the standard way of conveying their shared responsibility for relations with the gods.²⁵ Since the stela is a retrospective record of her initiation into the highest priestly office, Ankhnesneferibre's title in the arc is that of god's wife of Amun, and her *whole* name is written in a cartouche. The latter is just one of a number of indications in the inscription of a regal status practically indistinguishable from that of the pharaoh. Others include the use of words and phrases such as *ntr*, *hmt*, *nsw*, *nhbt*, *ꜥnh dt*—all normally reserved for the king—as well as the divine parentage expressed in the description of the death of Nitocris in terms identical to those used for Psammetichus II.²⁶ The only indication of the pre-eminence of the monarch is the fact that it is Apries who is rewarded by Amun-Re for having ensured the smooth succession of his sister to shake the sistra before the god's face. A second feature of this Theban iconographic tradition is the depiction of the chief steward—here the newly-appointed Sheshonq A²⁷—as a smaller figure standing behind the god's wife. The pose with fan is the characteristic expression of the relationship between the two from Akhamenru in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards.²⁸

Confirmation that the inscription records a Theban perspective on the events described is provided by comparison with the Nitocris stela. The latter begins with the king in council in the north as the central figure, initiating and controlling the sequence of events which follows. Its focus then shifts, first to a lively account of Nitocris' journey upstream, followed by her reception at Thebes by the incumbent god's wife and the local priesthood, and finally to the establishment of her legal rights and specification of her endowment. The latter probably amounted almost to a refoundation of the institution with funding from throughout the country and was a symbol of the king's generosity to Amun and, indirectly, to his priesthood. Its economic, social and political importance is reflected in the fact that fully half the inscription is devoted to an account of the provision made, with a degree of detail usually absent from monumental inscriptions. The viewpoint throughout is that of the royal court. It is the king's titulary that is given at length, not that of Nitocris, and he, through the donations he has himself provided or secured from others, remains the central figure.

In the stela of Ankhnesneferibre, by contrast, the concerns are almost parochially Theban. At the time the text was composed, Ankhnesneferibre had just been inducted, so her arrival nine years earlier is mentioned only briefly in annalistic form, and there is no reference to any endowment. In the light of the dowries which accompanied ordinary members of the residence of Amun,²⁹ it is highly probable that Ankhnes-

²⁵ See, for example, Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, pls. viii, lxiii.

²⁶ On the various royal attributes of the god's wife under the Kushites, see Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 374–83, and M. Gitton and J. Leclant, 'Gottesgemahlin', *LÄ* II, 800–1.

²⁷ This is the earliest attestation of this official, for whom see Graefe, *Untersuchungen* I, 149–51 s20.

²⁸ PM II², 6 (Akhamenru), PM II², 13 and 14 (Pabasa), 16 (Ibi), 17 (Padihorresnet), 19 (Ibi and Sheshonq B), 192–3 (Sheshonq B), 193–4 (Sheshonq A). The pose can also be found on stelae (BM 835, Sheshonq A?, PM II², 194) and, in the case of Pabasa at least, in the tomb of the official in question: PM I², 358 (12) and (17); for (12), see K. Myśliwiec, *Royal Portraiture of the Dynasties XXI–XXX* (Mainz, 1988), pl. lii.a. P. Barguet's suggestion ('Un aspect religieux du grand-majordome de la Divine Adoratrice', *BSFE* 20 (1956), 7–9) that these scenes show the steward in the same relation to the god's wife as the royal *ka* to the king, reads into artistic symmetry a religious significance that is not warranted.

²⁹ J. Yoyotte, 'Les vierges consacrées d'Amun thébain', *CRAIBL* 1961, 50. The gift of land to a *hs hmw n 'Imn* by her father recorded in P. Louvre 10.935, although not explicitly an endowment, may be relevant here: see P. W. Pestman (ed.), *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* (Brussels, 1994), I, 40–1.

neferibre was given one by her father, if only as a matter of prestige and even though her eventual inheritance of Karnak's wealth would make it unnecessary—but by the time of the stela it was a thing of the past, in no need of mention. The two kings, her father Psammetichus II and her brother Apries, appear in the inscription only as datum points. Neither is credited with any active role, although the initial adoption of the princess must have been her father's decision, and her later accession presumably required her brother's sanction. The emphasis of the text is on the initiation at Thebes of the new incumbent—something almost entirely lacking from the Nitocris stela—and in that sense it continues the tradition of the Karnak priestly annals of an earlier period.³⁰

The stelae have two things in common. The first is a concern to establish legal entitlement. In the Nitocris stela, this is represented both by Psammetichus I's insistence on respecting the rights of the existing heiress, and by reference to the drawing up of an *imyt-pr* for his daughter. In the Ankhnesneferibre text, it is the reason for the reference to her adoption nine years earlier, with which the inscription begins.³¹ The second common element—the description of the arrival of the princesses at Thebes—also emphasises the difference in perspective: the subdued, matter-of-fact retrospective account of Ankhnesneferibre's contrasts sharply with the detail of noise and jubilation of Nitocris' arrival. One is an administrative record, the other a celebration of national rejoicing.

These differences in iconography and orientation reflect the different political circumstances brought about by seventy years of Saite rule. They also suggest different compositional environments. Nitocris' text commemorated an event of epoch-making importance for the whole country and would have been composed at the king's court at Sais or Memphis. As a record of one of the great royal decisions, it was given a suitably magnificent permanent form. Copies of it may well have been set up in a number of temples with minor modifications to make it relevant to different local deities, as with Psammetichus II's Karnak and Shellal records of his Nubian campaign.³² The inscription on Ankhnesneferibre's monument was a Theban priestly creation, and the example we have is probably the only one ever carved. That the installation of a new god's wife, the first in over fifty years, and so the first in most people's lifetime, could seem to pass so quietly may be testimony to the success of the Saite kings in establishing their influence at Thebes, but it is also a function of the type of record to have survived. One cannot preclude the possible future discovery of a stela commemorating in suitably glorious terms Psammetichus II's decision to send his daughter south, and presenting the matter in an entirely different light.

³⁰Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 354–5, noted the way in which the text dwells on the installation of Ankhnesneferibre rather than her endowment. For the annals of the Theban priests, see Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*.

³¹This has been noted by Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib*, 30 and L.-A. Christophe, 'Les trois derniers grand majordomes de la XXVI^e dynastie', *ASAE* 54 (1957), 88–9.

³²Manuelian's juxtaposed comparison of the Karnak and Shellal texts (*Living in the Past*, 361–3) shows that the only significant difference occurs in col. 2 where the names of the deities differ according to site: the former is dedicated to the Theban, the latter to the Elephantine triad. In other respects, the Karnak version is identical where preserved, and must follow the same master layout. Both could have been carved at the granite quarries, then one sent north.

Process of investiture

Four stages are described:

1. Year 1, 3 *šmw* 29 of Psammetichus II (= 13 December 595 BC): the arrival of Ankhnesneferibre at Thebes and her adoption as successor to Nitocris.
2. Year 7, 1 *ḥt* 23: the death of Psammetichus II followed by the accession of Apries (10 February 589 BC).
3. Year 4, 4 *šmw* 4 of Apries: the death of Nitocris (16 December 586 BC).
4. Year 4, 4 *šmw* 15: the installation of Ankhnesneferibre as god's wife (27 December 586 BC).

These dates combine with Serapeum stela data to provide the framework for early sixth century BC regnal transitions and for wider Saite chronology.³³ The retrospective record of four distinct points in the adoption and succession procedure, covering a period of nine years from 595 to 586 BC, is reminiscent of contemporary Apis stela, on which the birth, enthronement, death and burial of the bull are successively described.³⁴

Ankhnesneferibre arrived at Thebes only twenty days after a new Apis had been brought to Memphis. Given that Nitocris had taken sixteen days to make a similar journey south, there is a remarkable degree of coincidence between these two events, which are the earliest recorded for the reign of Psammetichus II,³⁵ and this may be testimony to the priority accorded them by the new king. The text of Ankhnesneferibre's stela represents the only written account extant from this period of the ritual aspects of the investiture of the god's wife. Ankhnesneferibre arrived at Thebes in 595 BC as a humble princess, *syt nsw* (l. 2). After being greeted by her adoptive mother and taken to the temple, her acquisition of the titles of 'great songstress of the residence of Amun' and 'first prophet of Amun', as well as two epithets of lesser importance, was approved by the oracle of Amun (ll. 3–5). The fact that the statue of the god was brought out implies a semi-public location for this confirmation. The text which describes the bestowing of the name of god's wife on the daughter of Ramses VI states that it took place in *pꜣ wꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ*.³⁶ Conventionally translated 'forecourt', this term seems most often to refer rather to the area outside the temple proper but within the precinct or temenos, thus an area to which there would be general access, as befits the etymology of the word and the fact that petitions could be made there.³⁷

³³The Julian calendar dates follow the tables of Pestman (ed.), *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor I*, 174–83.

³⁴The Apis stela (cf. n. 13 above) are not the only examples of the period with more than one date: the Nitocris stela (n. 6) preserves two, and probably had a third, while the Elephantine stela of Amasis (n. 14) and the Saqqara stela of Psammetichus I (Perdu, *BSFE* 105, 27) both have two.

³⁵The date of installation of the bull, recorded on the stela of Year 12 of Apries (Chassinat, *RT* 22, 167, xc) is Year 1, 3 *šmw* 9 (23 November 595 BC). The two donation stela of Psammetichus II's Year 1 (Meeks, in Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy II*, 26.3.1 a and b) have no more precise date. I am grateful to Dr L. Limme for confirmation of this for the former, Brussels MRAH E. 8326; the latter, UC 14536, has now been published by H. M. Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, III (Warminster, 1983), 7 no. 14, pl. 3.

³⁶See Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib*, 29.

³⁷On the meaning of *wꜣꜣ ꜣꜣ*, see P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), 4–13; J. Quaegebeur, 'La justice à la porte des temples et le toponyme Premit', in C. Cannuyer and J.-M. Kruchten (eds), *Individu, société et spiritualité dans l'Égypte pharaonique et copte = Mélanges égyptologiques offerts au Professeur Aristide Théodoridès* (Ath–Brussels–Mons, 1993), 204 n. 17. It may have been a common location for public pronouncements.

The two titles define her position, with responsibility for the household and for functions carried out by the previously male 'first prophet'. The first, held previously by Nitocris, placed her at the head of a body of women who were celibate devotees of Amun.³⁸ The second represented a significant transference of priestly power to the hierarchy of the god's wife. Ankhnesneferibre is the first woman known to have held the title of first prophet of Amun, the only other certain female incumbent being her eventually-adopted heiress, Nitocris B, daughter of Amasis.³⁹ The last-known previous bearer was Harkhebi, grandson of Shabako, who was among those who received Nitocris on her arrival at Thebes, and who is last attested in the Saite Oracle Papyrus of 651 BC.⁴⁰ Exactly when this change occurred is uncertain. Both a period of vacancy and unattested male successors have been suggested for the half century between Harkhebi and Ankhnesneferibre.⁴¹ There is also an absolute minimum of seventeen years with no attested first prophet between the elevation of the latter in 586 BC and the appointment of Nitocris B as heiress in 569 BC at the earliest.⁴² The position could, however, have been held by unattested heiresses (see below) or have been retained by the god's wife herself when there was no heiress. It could even have been taken over by Nitocris A, if Harkhebi died before she became god's wife, and could have been mentioned in the broken beginning of Ibi's text.

Whatever the case, the absorption of the title into the hierarchy of an institution linked personally to the crown built on measures taken by the Kushite pharaohs to reduce the powers of the office, and was an important stage in securing control of Thebes for the Saites.⁴³ The kings of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty had weakened the local roots of the office by appointing from their own family, and had diminished its power-base by denying its holders the military function their predecessors had combined with it since the end of the New Kingdom.⁴⁴ The relative decline in its importance at the advent of the Saites is apparent from the 'pecking order' of the Thebans listed as making donations to Nitocris, with Montuemhat and his family preceding the first prophet. This secondary status is subsequently evident from the fact that the title was not held by the god's wife herself, but by her subordinate.

When Ankhnesneferibre went to the temple after the death of Nitocris in 586 BC, she was still only princess and 'first prophet of Amun' (ll. 9–10), and she then underwent the initiation rituals appropriate to a god's wife at the hands of the scribe of the divine book and the *wab*-priests (ll. 11–12). The crucial word, *bsi*, describes passage from one sphere to another.⁴⁵ Specifically, the *bs nsw r hwt-ntr* describes the king's entry into the

³⁸ For the title *hs(yt) r(t) nt hmw n 'Imn*, see Graefe, *Untersuchungen* II, 48 §20b. For the women of whom Ankhnesneferibre was thus head, see Yoyotte, *CRAIBL* 1961, 43–51; S.-A. Naguib, *Le clergé féminin d'Amon thébain* (OLA 38; Louvain, 1990), 206–7, 224–5, 235; Pestman (ed.), *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor* I, 40–1.

³⁹ H. De Meulenaere, 'La famille du roi Amasis', *JEA* 54 (1968), 186.

⁴⁰ G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit* (BA 1; Vienna 1978), 62–3.

⁴¹ Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte*, 62–3; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*² (Warminster, 1986), 480 Table 13.

⁴² On Amasis and Thebes in his first year, see A. Leahy, 'The Earliest Dated Monument of Amasis and the End of the Reign of Apries', *JEA* 74 (1988), 197–8.

⁴³ This point is made by Lloyd, in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 303, although he confuses the issue by stating that Nitocris was sent 'to become "god's wife" of Amen-Ra and eventually High Priestess'.

⁴⁴ D. O'Connor, in Trigger et al., *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, 243.

⁴⁵ Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, ch. 4, especially pp. 166–75.

sacred parts of the temple, with particular reference to the rituals of purification and coronation. That the same significance attaches to the term in reference to the god's wives is nicely illustrated by a partial representation of the *bs r hwt-ntr nt 'Imn* of Ankhnesneferibre's predecessor, Nitocris, in a columned building constructed in her name and that of Psammetichus I near the precinct of Montu at el-Malqata.⁴⁶ The scene so labelled shows Nitocris being led by Montu and Atum into the presence of Amun, before whom she then shakes her sistra. Less well-preserved scenes on the opposite wall show other parts of the ceremony: the purification by Horus and Thoth, and the coronation of a kneeling female figure by Amun.

This leads on to the next stage in Ankhnesneferibre's enthronement, in which she is said to be adorned with the regalia of a god's wife and divine adoratrix, including the two-feathered crown, and given a new titulary, which consists of a series of epithets culminating in the titles, not previously held, of god's wife, divine adoratrix and god's hand (ll. 12–15). Significantly, at this point in the text, her whole name—and not just her father's component of it—was for the first time written in a cartouche, thus completing her transference to regal status.⁴⁷

Comparison with the Nitocris stela fails at this point because, although Nitocris too set forth only as *syt nsw*—albeit in her case designated as the 'eldest' (*wrt*) daughter and provided with a 'beautiful name' with the intention that she should eventually become god's wife—her induction as heiress is not described in ritual or titular terms. However, a partially preserved description of her later investiture on the Cairo statue of Ibi confirms the two distinct stages of the Ankhnesneferibre text. Nitocris is first referred to as 'great songstress of the residence of Amun'. This is followed by a clause which, though damaged, must describe her elevation to the position of divine adoratrix of Amun (*r hmt ntr dwyt ntr 'Imn*).⁴⁸ The scribe of the divine book again conducted the ceremony, accompanied on this occasion by lector priest, magician and various other priests.

There is thus a sharp distinction which should not be blurred.⁴⁹ These texts indicate unequivocally that the status of the two princesses as heiress was formally different from their position after induction as god's wife, as, no doubt, were their responsibilities. There was only one god's wife at a time. This rules out the idea of an overlap in the exercise of power, a coregency in effect, between Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre. This was suggested by Monnet on the basis of a bronze statuette with only partly preserved inscription, apparently dedicated by a northern official *'Ir-ꜥꜣ-n-Hr* on behalf of his daughter when she became one of the songstresses of the residence of Amun.⁵⁰ The text describes both Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre as divine adoratrix, and neither as *mꜣꜥ-hrw*, while Ankhnesneferibre is also called god's wife. Monnet argued that this proved that the two held office at the same time, and consequently concluded that the stela of Ankhnesneferibre records only a confirmation of a state of affairs which already existed. But other explanations are possible. The statue base could have been dedicated early in

⁴⁶ Christophe, *Karnak-Nord III*, 99–100, 102–3, pl. xlv, 36–40.

⁴⁷ As noted by Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib*, 11 n. 2, and Vittmann, *Or* 44, 380 n. 39.

⁴⁸ Graefe, *MDAIK* 50, 87 l. 5, 96.

⁴⁹ Graefe, *MDAIK* 50, 97.

⁵⁰ J. Monnet, 'Un monument de la corégence des divines adoratrices Nitocris et Ankhnesneferibré', *RdE* 10 (1955), 37–47, esp. 46–7. Her interpretation has been followed by Leclant, *LÄ* I, 264, and Gitton and Leclant, *LÄ* II, 799 n. 86.

the reign of Ankhnesneferibre on behalf of a songstress who had been initiated late in that of Nitocris, and therefore included both in the decoration. Or Nitocris could be mentioned simply because she was the adoptive mother and predecessor of Ankhnesneferibre.⁵¹ The absence of *mꜛ-hrw* is a criterion of dubious value (cf. n. (v) above), and is not sufficient in my view to outweigh the evidence of the stela.

The age of the princess

From 586 BC Ankhnesneferibre held the office of god's wife of Amun for over 60 years, being last depicted with Psammetichus III in the temple of Osiris Pameres at Karnak.⁵² Her age on appointment is unknown although her survival to 525 BC would of itself suggest that she was not very old when made heiress in 595 BC. Her name, 'Ankhnesneferibre'—'Neferibre lives for her'—is interesting in this context. Like many other basiliphorous names of the period,⁵³ it revives an earlier pattern, in this case of the Sixth Dynasty, although one which had been used once more recently, when one of the kings of the Libyan Period, probably Sheshonq III, named a daughter Ankhnessheshonq.⁵⁴ Ankhnesneferibre is the only other later example known, and she was also the only member of the Saite royal family to have a basiliphorous as distinct from a merely eponymous royal name. Because it incorporates Psammetichus II's prenomen, her name could not have been bestowed before his accession.

Ankhnesneferibre's journey to Thebes took place within the first seven and a half months of her father's reign, the period that separates the highest known date of Necho II, Year 16, 4 *ꜣht* 16 (5 May 595 BC),⁵⁵ from the arrival of Ankhnesneferibre at Thebes in Year 1, 3 *šmw* 29 of Psammetichus II (13 December 595 BC). If the name was given at birth, therefore, we have to envisage an infant only a few months old being sent hundreds of miles upstream. She would then subsequently have been installed as god's wife at the age of nine. Given the likely infant mortality rate in ancient Egypt, the appointment of offspring who had not yet passed through the most dangerous stages of early childhood is unlikely to have been normal, as it would have led to a succession of heiresses who died before they could inherit.⁵⁶ Political circumstances will have had a role to play, however, especially early in the reign of a king anxious to make his mark, and both a desire to ensure control of Thebes and a perceived threat from Nubia have been suggested as catalysts for the early date of Ankhnesneferibre's installation.⁵⁷ It is not inconceivable that the near coincidence of his accession and the birth of a daughter,

⁵¹ Cf. Cairo JE 29251 bis (PM II², 17), on which Shepenwepet II, Amenirdis II and Nitocris are all shown. Only the first of these is called *mꜛ-hrw*, although the lintel is dated by the depiction of the chief steward Padihorresnet to the end of the reign of Psammetichus I at the earliest (Graefe, *Untersuchungen* II, 80). One assumes Amenirdis II was long dead by then.

⁵² PM II², 19.

⁵³ H. De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque* (Istanbul, 1966).

⁵⁴ A. Leahy, "'May the King Live': the Libyan Rulers in the Onomastic Record", in A. B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), 157 n. 46.

⁵⁵ Cf. the Apis stela of Year 16 of Necho II (Chassinat, *RT* 22, 20–1, lxiv).

⁵⁶ Both dedication at an early age and childhood mortality are evident from the Berlin coffin of a child *hs(yt)nt hnw n 'Imn*, noted by Yoyotte, *CRAIBL* 1961, 51.

⁵⁷ S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, 'La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique', *BIFAO* 50 (1951), 204; J. Yoyotte, 'Les adoratrices de la Troisième Période Intermédiaire', *BSFE* 64 (1972), 38, respectively. It is similarly possible that the accession of Psammetichus II accelerated the identification and arrival at Memphis of a new Apis (cf. n. 35).

combined with the fact that Nitocris was by then $61 + x$ (where x = age at adoption), provided Psammetichus II with an opportunity which he was happy to seize and led him to despatch an unusually young child as heiress within months of his accession.⁵⁸

The alternative, and on balance this is more likely, is that Ankhnesneferibre was an older child or adolescent in 595 BC, who was given a new name on the accession of the king or on his decision to appoint her. Renaming on, for example, marriage, may have been more common than is apparent, and two points can be made in favour of the hypothesis in this particular case. Firstly, there is the introduction and widespread use of a basiliphorous *rn nfr* as a secondary name among high officials in the reign of Psammetichus II.⁵⁹ Against this, 'Ankhnesneferibre' is nowhere described as a *rn nfr* and no other name except the prenomen she took in 586 BC is known for her. Secondly, there is Yoyotte's suggestion that renaming accompanied entry to the group of songstresses of which Ankhnesneferibre's appointment as 'great songstress of the residence of Amun' made her head.⁶⁰ The evidence is circumstantial, but Yoyotte was able to point to the frequency of the otherwise uncommon name *Diesehebsed* among the songstresses, as well as other individuals with the same name as a god's wife, or with a name expressing a wish in favour of one of the latter.⁶¹ Ankhnesneferibre's own name was copied among her retinue during her lifetime.⁶² Interestingly, the same name pattern, 'Ankhnes-KN', was also used in renaming in the Old Kingdom. The non-royal sisters who became the mothers of Merenre and Pepy II were both called Ankhnesmeryre after their husband Meryre Pepy I, presumably on marriage.⁶³

A particularly relevant example of such a practice is the *rn nfr* recorded for Nitocris when she sailed south to Thebes, and which must have been bestowed in this connection. This was 'Shepenwepet', a name previously borne by two god's wives of different dynasties, otherwise rare and distinctively Theban.⁶⁴ This *rn nfr* was probably a diplomatic gesture on her father's part towards his new Theban subjects, and is not to be confused with the prenomen she subsequently took on elevation to the position of god's wife, which associated her with Mut as the consort of Amun. By contrast, if Ankhnesneferibre is indeed a second name, this princess was given a name commemorating her own father rather than one redolent of the milieu into which she was passing. Subsequent

⁵⁸ On Psammetichus II generally, see Grimal, *Histoire*, 435–6.

⁵⁹ On the basiliphorous *rn nfr* as an innovation of Psammetichus II, see De Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien*, 27–30, and 'Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque (Addenda et Corrigenda)', *OLP* 12 (1981), 127–34.

⁶⁰ *CRAIBL* 1961, 49.

⁶¹ For *Diesehebsed*, see A. Leahy, 'More Light on a Saite Official of the God's Wife of Amun', *JEA* 74 (1988), 238–9. For wish-names of the type 'Ankh + name of god's wife (Amenirdis/Nitocris/Shepenwepet)', see *ibid.* 239 n. 1.

⁶² Vittmann, *Or* 44, 379 n. 36; *DN* I, 102.

⁶³ For this and other instances in the Old Kingdom, see Eyre, 'Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography', in C. Eyre et al. (eds), *The Unbroken Reed. Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore* (London, 1994), 113 n. 69.

⁶⁴ The name 'Shepenwepet' was bestowed on a daughter of Osorkon III who became god's wife as Shepenwepet I, and on the Kushite princess Shepenwepet II before it was adopted by Nitocris. If it was a birth name in the first case, it is unlikely to have been so in the second. Two other bearers of it are known from monuments certainly or probably from Abydos. A stela published by A. Mariette, *Catalogue générale des monuments d'Abydos* (Paris, 1880), 482 no. 1279, records a songstress of Amun and mother of a scribe of an unnamed lord of the two lands. Another stela, Turin 1632, was dedicated by a daughter of a high priest of Amun Osorkon (P. Munro, *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Glückstadt, 1973), 261, fig. 98; on this Osorkon, see Kitchen, *TIP*², §485). An isolated earlier example seems to occur in a graffito copied by Daressy at Luxor, 'Notes sur les XXIIe, XXIIIe et XXIVe dynasties', *RT* 35 (1913), 133; for dating to the early Twenty-second Dynasty, see Kitchen, *TIP*², §265.

practice was also different in the two cases. Nitocris' original name continued to be given precedence over her later one, whereas Ankhnesneferibre's secondary name supplanted her birthname completely.

Whether these were infants, or merely children, they will have needed maternal care. The emphasis on the role of the adoptive mother in the inscriptions of the god's wives need not exclude a role for the natural mother. It may be, for example, that Mehitemweskheth, mother of Nitocris, was sent south with her child. Although she does not feature on her daughter's adoption stela, she is mentioned in the text of Ibi concerning Nitocris' installation in 639 BC, and—if her monument at Medinet Habu is her tomb and not just a memorial chapel—her interment at Thebes so far from her husband at Sais seems best explained by the assumption that she accompanied Nitocris to Thebes and died there at a relatively early age.⁶⁵ If Mehitemweskheth was also the mother of the future Necho II,⁶⁶ a male child and prospective heir, her departure from court would be particularly remarkable in that it would seem to attach greater importance to her role as mother of the future god's wife than to her position as mother of the crown prince or indeed wife of the king. There may be a precedent in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty when Amenirdis I was accompanied from Napata to Thebes by her sister as well as her mother, who both then remained in Egypt.⁶⁷ Ankhnesneferibre's mother, Takhuit, was also the mother of the heir to the throne, Apries, and she seems to have been buried at Athribis, perhaps her place of origin.⁶⁸ If she went south with her daughter, therefore, her sojourn was not a permanent one. Mehitemweskheth is the only queen of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty for whom there is reason to suppose an interment south of Memphis.⁶⁹

The historical background

Also uncertain are the measures taken by the Saite kings to ensure a smooth succession at Thebes. Only three god's wives, and two other heiresses, are known for the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Between them, the Kushite Shepenwepet II, daughter of Piye, Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre held office for the whole period. The heiresses are the Kushite Amenirdis II, daughter of Taharqa, and Nitocris B, daughter of Amasis. It is not certain whether either succeeded to office. A case for Amenirdis having done so in the 640s has recently been made by Graefe.⁷⁰ If Nitocris B did so at the very end of the dynasty or after the Persian invasion, when there was a hiatus in the Karnak monumental record, it was in a much reduced position.⁷¹ In any case, Nitocris and Ankhnesneferibre successively held the highest office for a combined period of at least 113 years. This

⁶⁵ That it was her tomb seems to be generally accepted (e.g. Kitchen, *TIP*², §492; Vittmann, *Or* 44, 376 n. 11) but a modicum of caution is appropriate as no burial equipment was found.

⁶⁶ For this question, see Yoyotte, *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, 365, and Vittmann, *Or* 44, 376–7. The evidence urged, that Nitocris was *snt nsw* as well as *syt nsw*, need imply no more than a half-sibling relationship with Necho II.

⁶⁷ S. Wenig, 'Pabatma-Pekereslo-Pekar-tror: ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte der Kuschiten', *Meroitica* 12 (1990), 345. For the funerary monuments of these ladies in Egypt, see also A. Leahy, 'Kushite Monuments at Abydos', in Eyre et al., *The Unbroken Reed*, 171–92.

⁶⁸ P. Vernus, *Athribis* (BdE 74; Cairo, 1978), 84 no. 91.

⁶⁹ The curious scattering of Saite royal female burials has been noted by Vittmann, *Or* 44, 386–7, and Schneider, in *Aegyptus Museis Rediviva*, 154.

⁷⁰ *MDAIK* 50, 96–7.

⁷¹ See Gitton and Leclant, *L'Égypte* II, 800–1, on the post-525 BC history of the office. While there is no evidence that the Persians actually suppressed it, one may be sure they did not nourish it.

longevity, particularly combined with the 54 year rule of Psammetichus I, was undoubtedly an asset in terms of stability for the dynasty, but it cannot have been foreseen.

Nitocris, made heiress in 656 BC, had succeeded Shepenwepet II by 639 BC at latest. Although the exact date of her investiture is not known, Graefe has persuasively argued that it cannot have been long before Ibi's appointment as chief steward, which occurred on the third day of the third month of Akhet in Year 26 of Psammetichus I.⁷² Nitocris will then have been a young woman of 17 + x, whose father had governed Thebes only for a decade and a half, and only indirectly. His hold cannot have been entirely secure and the still relatively new dynasty ought to have felt an urgent need to ensure a smooth succession in the south most strongly.⁷³ By the time of Necho's accession in 610 BC, Nitocris was 46 + x, yet on the evidence we have, no heiress was appointed until 595 BC. Psammetichus I had nearly 30 years in which to act, and at least one daughter other than Nitocris, while Necho II had 16 years and at least three daughters.⁷⁴

One possibility is that heiresses *were* appointed by either or both of these kings, but either died young or were displaced. That they are unattested would not be surprising since although incumbents may be shown with their predecessors, heiresses do not seem to have been represented on monuments before they took office as god's wife. Nitocris B, for example, may have occupied the position of heiress for some forty years if, as the circumstances of Amasis' seizure of the throne made desirable, she was appointed early in his reign. She is nonetheless only known for certain from two objects.⁷⁵ Similarly, Nitocris A and Ankhnesneferibre are not attested before accession to the position of god's wife except on their adoption stelae. It has been suggested that Amasis might have put aside an unknown daughter of Apries in installing his own daughter Nitocris B.⁷⁶ The same fate for a daughter of Necho II could be consistent with the evidence for the unexplained replacement of the latter's name by that of his son, Psammetichus II, on a number of monuments,⁷⁷ although this would mean that the latter removed his own sister from her position. Particularly intriguing here is the fact that the earliest dated inscription of Necho's reign evidently recorded some decision of his concerning Thebes.⁷⁸ Unfortunately, it is reported to be too damaged to yield much detail, but one element could have been the appointment of an heiress.

Alternatively, it may be that there were no such appointments, in which case we need to consider what factors might explain what would seem to be a curious neglect of their own interests on the part of Psammetichus I and Necho II. The ability of the kings to appoint heiresses will have been constrained by the availability of daughters and by

⁷²MDAIK 50, 96–7.

⁷³On Psammetichus I and Thebes, see H. De Meulenaere, 'La statue du général Djed-ptah-iouf-anh (Caire JE 36949)', *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 28–32.

⁷⁴Vittmann, *Or* 44, 378.

⁷⁵De Meulenaere, *JEA* 54, 186.

⁷⁶De Meulenaere, *JEA* 54, 187; see Graefe, *Untersuchungen* I, 11 on this and on the expectation that each king would want to install a daughter.

⁷⁷For recently identified instances and references to earlier literature, see M. Eaton-Krauss, 'A Falsely Attributed Monument', *JEA* 78 (1992), 285–7; E. Rogge, *Statuen der Spätzeit* (CAA Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna 9; Mainz, 1992), 9, 49.

⁷⁸Louvre A.83 (n. (f) above). This date of Year 1, 4 *pri* 11 corresponds to 31 August 610 BC, and, following the new interpretation of the eclipse recorded as having marked the death of Psammetichus I proposed by M. Smith, 'Did Psammetichus I die abroad?', *OLP* 22 (1991), 101–9, would be some five months into Necho's reign.

whatever conventions applied to the office of god's wife. What is known of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty royal family has been well summarised by Vittmann.⁷⁹ There are, however, several questions which cannot be resolved on the basis of the evidence at our disposal but which nonetheless need to be aired because they affect perceptions of the period and the role of individuals.

No clear statement of the conventions governing the appointment of the god's wife has survived.⁸⁰ The distinctive requirement was one of celibacy. That girls could be dedicated as heiresses at an early age has been inferred from the advanced ages at death of the two Saite incumbents, both $70 + x$, and from the celibacy factor, but nothing precise is known of any age limits. The requirement to be celibate may well have meant that appointment at puberty was the norm and made daughters who had passed that age when a vacancy occurred ineligible. The example of Nitocris, who was *syt nsw wrt*, with a mother who was *hmt nsw wrt tpt*, might suggest an ideal according to which the first-born or eldest surviving daughter of the chief wife, if such there were, was appointed. But such arrangements could be overthrown by the lack of such an ideal, or by lack of a vacancy at the right time, although Psammetichus I's appointment of Nitocris in 656 BC when there was already an heiress shows that even a lack of vacancy was not an insuperable obstacle to a determined king. Long reigns are particularly likely to result in the breakdown of patterns of succession, and what may have been a genetic tendency to longevity in the family of Psammetichus I—indicated by the fact that he himself must have reached the age of 75, while his daughter and greatgranddaughter both passed 70—is an important factor.⁸¹ Finally, since no king is known to have appointed more than one daughter to be god's wife, the possibility that there was a convention against such a practice might be envisaged as an explanation for Psammetichus I not appointing an heiress to Nitocris.

The available pool of candidates will have been affected by three factors:

1. The size of the family. It is not known whether Saite kings had several contemporaneous wives and thus the possibility of generating large families on the scale of their New Kingdom predecessors. Only Amasis is known to have had more than one wife, and given his maturity at accession and 44 years of rule, these could have been consecutive. The title *hmt nsw wrt tpt*,⁸² attested for the only known wives of Psammetichus I and II, may imply the existence of others, whose subordinate position makes them less likely to be recorded. However, the highest number of children attested is only four, for Necho II and Amasis. In Necho's case, all four are named on a statue of their tutor.⁸³ If that

⁷⁹ Or 44, 375–87.

⁸⁰ For the general picture, see the survey of Yoyotte, *BSFE* 64, 31–52.

⁸¹ Yoyotte, *BSFE* 64, 50, concludes the study in which he identifies a sequence of six god's wives between the New Kingdom and the Kushite Period by suggesting that fifty years may have been the average tenure of the incumbents, and that their freedom from the dangers of numerous births and (perhaps) their quiet lifestyle, as well as the young age at which they were adopted, explained such regularly long reigns. The childbirth aspect is certainly important, but the documentation on these women is less substantial than for the Kushite and Saite successors, the list is almost certainly incomplete, and we do not have direct information on their ages or length of tenure. The fact that the two Saite princesses held office for almost twice as long as their two Kushite predecessors suggests an additional factor specific to their family.

⁸² This title is not common: Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 194 C2/9, has earlier examples only from the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

⁸³ R. el-Sayed, 'Quelques éclaircissements sur l'histoire de la XXVI^e dynastie, d'après la statue du Caire CG.658', *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 35–6.

represents the total number at that time, rather than simply defining the limits of one tutor's responsibility, it would indicate a very small family compared with some kings of earlier periods. Yet royal children other than the intended heir have a tendency to invisibility throughout Egyptian history. The large families of Rameses II and III and even Herihor are known from collective temple representations, not individual monuments. Individual scions of the Libyan dynasties are better attested precisely because they were entrusted with priestly or military offices, a practice largely abandoned by the Twenty-sixth Dynasty with the notable and easily-explicable exception of the post of god's wife of Amun.

2. The age of family members at crucial times. The starting point must be that Psammetichus I was old enough to be a ruler in his own right under the Assyrians and so to father children.⁸⁴ If Necho II was his eldest son,⁸⁵ or at least one of the eldest, then he could have been born as early as 664 BC, been 54 on accession and 70 at death. In that case, Psammetichus II could have been born in the mid-640s BC and himself 50 on accession in 595 BC. Given the evidence for longevity in the family, this is quite conceivable. However, long reigns such as that of Psammetichus I must often have meant the death of intended heirs before that of the reigning king.⁸⁶ If Necho II were born in the middle of his father's reign, then both he and Psammetichus II could have been much younger than just suggested. The ages of their offspring at any given point are thus not easy to calculate.

3. The marriage practices of the dynasty. There is no evidence for 'incestuous' marriage, the two wives whose origins are known being from outside the royal family.⁸⁷ This might be partly explained by the fact that senior females were channelled into the position of god's wife. Although the marital status of most Saite princesses is unknown, it seems likely that the kings' need to maintain support through alliances would have meant that not all daughters could be kept celibate as prospective god's wives. One princess is known to have married into an influential Heracleopolitan family, a second into the Theban priesthood,⁸⁸ while a role for others in royal diplomatic policy is suggested by Herodotus' confused story about the marriage of a daughter of Apries or Amasis to either Cyrus or Cambyses.⁸⁹

In this state of uncertainty, no clear conclusion is possible on the appointment of heiresses in the period from 639 to 595 BC. Both Psammetichus I and Necho II should have wanted to install a successor to Nitocris, and they may have done so, but one can also imagine a combination of circumstances which prevented them from carrying out such a wish.

⁸⁴Petrie, *History of Egypt* III², 339.

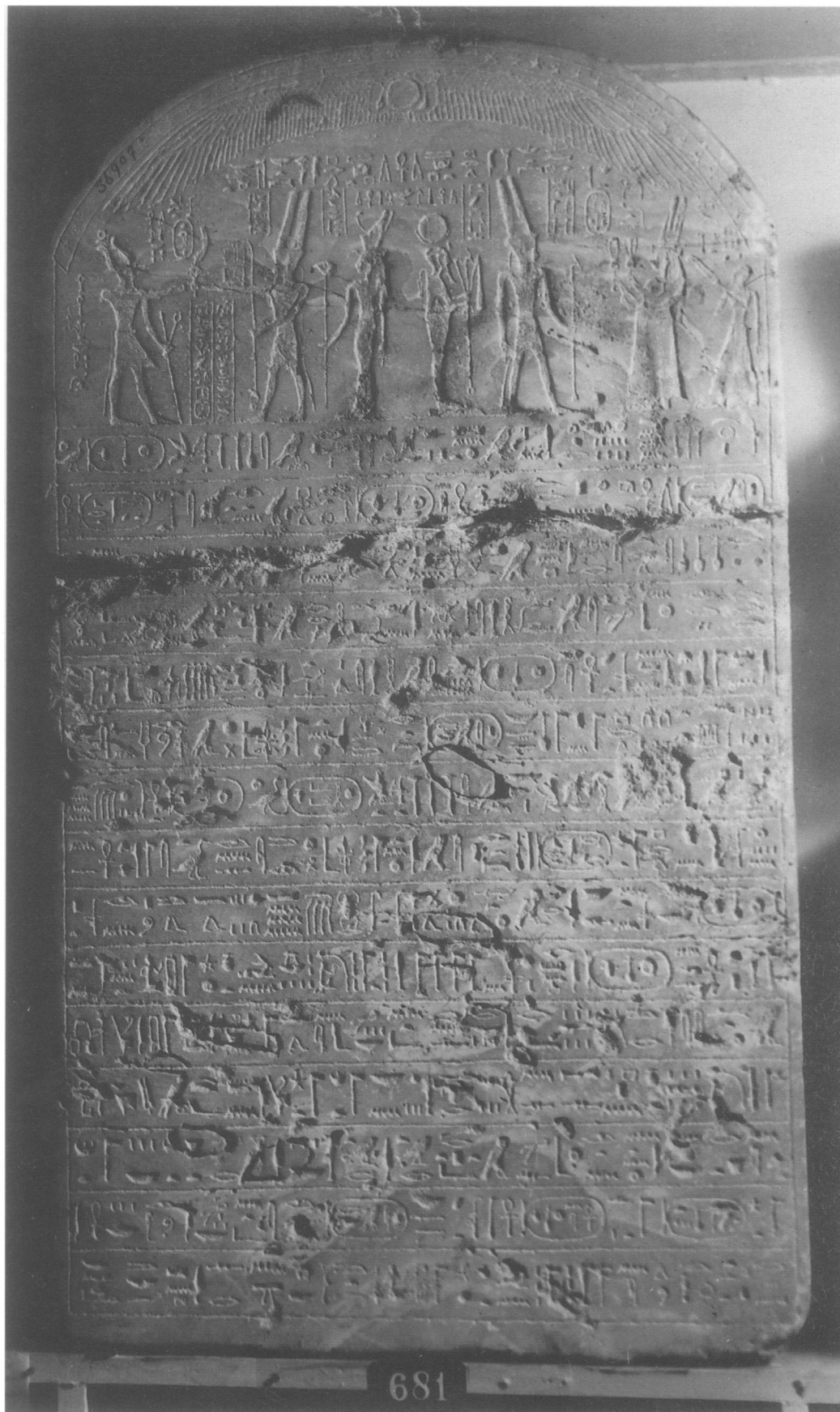
⁸⁵Yoyotte, *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément*, 365, argues for Necho II as Psammetichus I's eldest son because he shared the name of his grandfather, but this could be a 'replacement' name.

⁸⁶Vittmann, *Or* 44, 377 n. 15.

⁸⁷Vittmann, *Or* 44, 376 (Mehitemweskheth, wife of Psammetichus I) and 379 (Takhuit, wife of Psammetichus II).

⁸⁸Vittmann, *Or* 44, 383: Tasherientaihet and Diesehebsed.

⁸⁹Herodotus III, 1-4; cf. also his account of the marriage of Amasis and a Cyrenian princess (II, 181).



Cairo JE 36907: The stela of Ankhnesneferibre

THE ADOPTION OF ANKHNESNEFERIBRE AT KARNAK (pp. 145–65)

OSIRIS BRICKS*

By ANGELA M. J. TOOLEY

Discussion of rectangular pottery containers ('bricks') with a recessed image of Osiris, together with a catalogue of extant examples. These are related to the Festival of Khoiak, when images of Osiris were made of soil and grain. The containers are defined as matrices for the creation of such Osiris figures. Their date and a western Theban provenance are suggested through discussion of Osirian cult activity, particularly at Medinet Habu, during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.

SEVERAL studies have attempted to create a chronological framework for, and plausible explanation of, two categories of related objects, namely Osiris sheaths (so-called Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figures) and corn-mummies (mummiform figures of Osiris made of soil, sand and cereal grains, wrapped in linen and placed inside wooden falcon-headed anthropoid coffins).¹ In his article on the latter type of figure, Raven touched briefly upon a category of related objects, which he termed 'moulds'.² These are pottery brick-shaped objects, with an image of Osiris recessed into the upper face. Presented below is a catalogue of the few known examples of this genre of object, followed by a discussion of their form, provenance, use, and date.

Catalogue

The following catalogue lists the examples known to the author. Dimensions are given as length × width × depth, where known. 'Left' and 'right' refer to the viewing direction, not the figure's left and right, unless explicitly stated.

1. Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum, Inv. Nr. 4550 (pl. XIII, 1)
Dimensions: 21.5 × 10.5 × 5.5 to 6 cm; depth of recess *c.* 2.5 cm.
Material: Pottery, fired. Traces of pale wash on the upper face.
Contents: None.
Provenance: Unknown. Purchased in the 1960s.

*I would like to thank Dr Maarten Raven for drawing my attention to several of the bricks here listed and for discussing them with me. Acknowledgement is also made to Dr Raven's work on corn-mummies; many of the references he cites are necessarily repeated here to place the pottery Osiris bricks in their correct context. Thanks are also due to Dr H. Whitehouse and Dr P.R.S. Moorey of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for permission to carry out scientific tests on the fabric of brick no. 7. The following are gratefully acknowledged for their assistance with information and photographs: Mrs E. Delange, and particularly Dr C. Bridonneau of the Musée du Louvre, Paris; Dr B. Schmitz of the Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim; Ms M. Hill of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Dr B. George of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm; Dr S. Schoske of the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, Munich; Dr F. Nicosia of the Museo Egizio, Florence; Dr E. Feucht of the Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität, Heidelberg. Thanks are also due for references to Dr J. Taylor, Dr C. Eyre, Dr E. Teeter, and the referees of *JEA*. I dedicate this article to the memory of Prof. A.F. Shore.

¹M.A. Raven, 'Papyrus-sheaths and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris Statues', *OMRO* 59–60 (1978–9), 251–96; id., 'Corn-mummies', *OMRO* 63 (1982), 7–38; D.A. Aston, 'Two Osiris Figures of the Third Intermediate Period', *JEA* 77 (1991), 95–108.

²Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29.

Comments: Irregularly formed, brick-shaped object with some cracking visible on the upper face near the legs and crown of the Osiris image. The upper face is flat, with a crisply defined image cut into it. The figure of Osiris faces right and carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right. Several circular depressions, probably made by pushing a finger into the clay, are to be found along the body, arms and top of the flail and crown, but do not pierce the bottom of the recess.

Bibliography: H. Kayser, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim* (Hildesheim, 1973), 104; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29; C. Seeber, 'Kornosiris', *LÄ* III, 744-6, particularly 745 n. 7; D. Wildung, in 'Berichte der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen. Neuerwerbungen', *MjBK* 34 (1983), 211 n. 22; W. Seipel, *Ägypten. Götter, Gräber und die Kunst 4000 Jahre jenseitsglaube*, I (Linz, 1989), 154 no. 119; Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim, *Suche nach Unsterblichkeit. Totenkult und jenseitsglaube im alten Ägypten* (exhibition catalogue, 1990), 82 T28.

2. Heidelberg, Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität, Inv. Nr. 322 (pl. XIII, 2)

Dimensions: 29.5 × 10.2 to 10.9 × 5.8 to 7.5 cm; depth of recess 3.4 to 4.1 cm.

Material: Pottery, fired. Traces of pale wash on the upper face extending into the recess.

Contents: Soil and sand mixed with cereal grains.

Provenance: Thebes, Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud, south of Biban el-Banat. Purchased by Borchardt in 1913.

Comments: Contains an ungerminated mixture of soil and grains. The brick is flat-topped, irregularly formed with some cracking to the sides and foot of the Osiris image. The recessed image is depicted facing left, apparently with arms crossed but lacking the crook and flail carried by the figure in all the other known pottery Osiris bricks. The image appears to be standing on a plinth. Purchased with other Osirian objects from a dealer who stated the provenance as the 'Affenfriedhof' of the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud.

Bibliography: E. Dondelinger, *Der jenseitsweg der Nofretari* (Graz, 1973), 126, line drawing; Keramik-Museum Westerwald, Höhr-Grenzhausen, *Meisterwerk altägyptischer Keramik Höhr-Grenzhausen* (exhibition catalogue, 1978), 186 no. 314; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29 n. 262; Seeber, *LÄ* III, 745 n. 7; Wildung, *MjBK* 34, 211 n. 22; E. Brunner-Traut et al., *Osiris, Kreuz und Halbmond* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984), 111 n. 88, where the illustration is printed back to front; E. Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar* (Berlin and Heidelberg, 1986), 140 no. 312; Seipel, *Ägypten*, 153 no. 117.

3. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 20.2.30 (pl. XIII, 3)

Dimensions: 24.3 × 10.6 × 6.3 cm; depth of recess 2.5 cm.

Material: Pottery, fired. Pale wash over the upper face and interior of recess.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Said to be Thebes; purchased from locals at Thebes in 1920.

Comments: Regular brick shape with a slight foot to the lower face. Shallow rebate in the upper face. The recessed image of Osiris faces right, carrying the crook to the right and the flail to the left.

Bibliography: W.C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, II (New York, 1958), 429.

4. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, MME 10988 (pl. XIII, 4)

Dimensions: 24 × 11.2 × 6.8 cm; depth of recess 4.3 cm.

Material: Red pottery, fired. Patches of white wash and unidentified dark substance on the upper face.

Contents: Cereal grains and linen strips.

Provenance: Unknown. Purchased in 1934, formerly in the Gayer Anderson Collection.

Comments: Irregularly formed brick, with a flat upper face and a deep crack below the feet of the Osiris image. The recessed image faces right and carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right. The recess has been filled with grains and plugged with strips of linen from the soles of the feet to the top of the crown.

Bibliography: Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm, *5000 år Egyptisk Kunst* (exhibition catalogue, 1961), 121 no. 202.

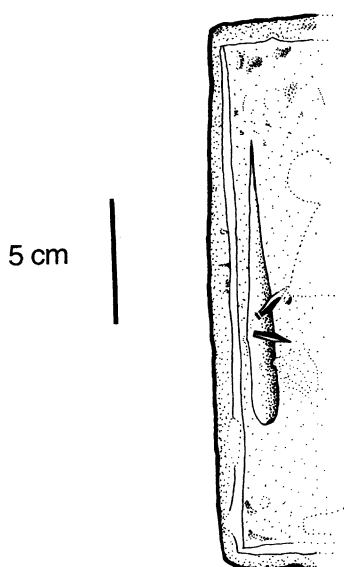


FIG. 1. Stockholm, MME 1966.1 (no. 5): detail of groove.

5. Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, MME 1966.1 (pl. XIII, 5 and fig. 1)

Dimensions: 22.5 × 13.5 × 6 cm; depth of recess 4.5 cm.

Material: Red pottery, fired.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Said to be Thebes; purchased in 1966 at Luxor.

Comments: Rather more square than other examples, this brick has a shallow rebate in the upper face and a crack below the feet of the image. The off-centre, recessed image of Osiris faces left and carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right. There are no dividing walls between these emblems and the figure of Osiris himself. Markings on the upper face include a groove to the left of the figure (fig. 1), formed by a finger and traversed by two lines with a V-shaped cross section, made with a sharp tool; and a circular depression below the figure's right arm. These are of unknown significance; the groove, which is approximately 11.5 cm long, may represent an offering.

Bibliography: None.

6. Munich, Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, ÄS 6787

Dimensions: 27.5 × 14 × 7.5 cm.

Material: Red-brown Nile silt, fired. Patches of thick wash to left of recess.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Said to be Thebes. Purchased in 1982.

Comments: Irregularly formed brick, with rebated upper face which is damaged on the lip. Recessed into the uneven upper face is a crisply defined image of Osiris facing right, carrying the flail to the left and the crook to the right.

Bibliography: Wildung, *MjBK* 34, 206-7, fig. 8; Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar*, 140 footnotes.

7. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, 1991.18 (pl. XIV, 1)

Dimensions: 24.9 × 12.4 × 6.1 cm; depth of recess 2.8 to 4 cm.

Material: Red-brown Nile silt, fired. Pink-grey wash within the rebate and recess.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Said to be Thebes. Purchased in 1991, formerly in a private collection.

Comments: A well-formed rectangular brick with a deep rebate in the upper face. There is a slight crack across the body of the brick which has been repaired. The recessed image of Osiris faces right. The bottom of the recess is not flat, perhaps the result of using a round-ended tool to scrape out the clay. Circular areas of recessing, such as the top of the crown and the crook head, appear to have been scooped out with a finger-tip or spatula. The image carries the flail to the left and the crook to the right.

Bibliography: A.M.J. Tooley, 'He who is the grain of the gods', *The Ashmolean* 21 (Christmas, 1991), 6-9.

8. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 11374 (pl. XIV, 2)

Dimensions: 19.7 × 9.9 × 5.1 cm.

Material: Red pottery, fired. Pale pink wash to upper face and recess.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Gebel el-Tarif(?). Purchased by Bénédite in 1913.

Comments: Very irregular brick, with a flat upper face. The recessed image of Osiris faces right; its head is disproportionately large for the body. It has a fissure running from the knees to the chin. The image carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right. This object and 9 were acquired together.

Bibliography: None.

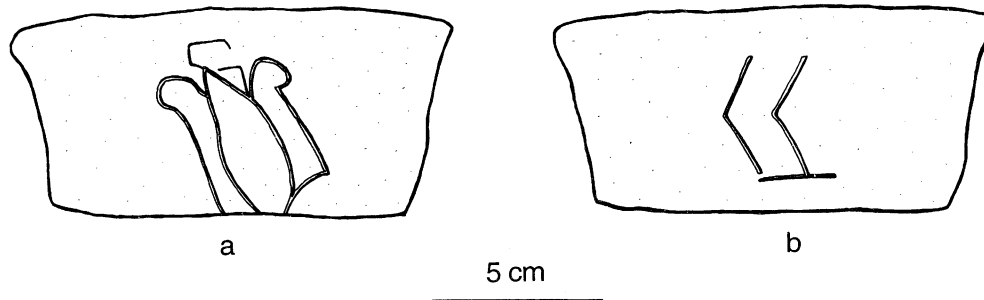
9. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 11375 (pl. XIV, 3)*Dimensions:* 25 × 14.5 × 7 to 6.5 cm.*Material:* Red pottery, fired. Patch of pale wash survives in the recess.*Contents:* None.*Provenance:* Gebel el-Tarif(?). Purchased in 1913.*Comments:* Well-formed rectangular brick with a rebated upper face. The recessed image of Osiris is off-centre and faces right. Particularly well modelled, this image resembles **11**, with the feathers of the crown and flail beads cut more shallowly than the rest of the recess. The image carries the flail to the left and the crook to the right. Like **5**, this example has no dividing walls within the recessed image between the body, crown and carried emblems. A small hole in the upper face to the right of the figure is probably a firing fault.*Bibliography:* Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais, *La vie au bord du Nil au temps des pharaons* (exhibition catalogue, 1980), no. 146.**10.** Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 21022 (pl. XIV, 4)*Dimensions:* 24 × 13.5 × 5.5 cm.*Material:* Red pottery, fired. Patches of white wash on upper face, sides blackened with bitumen.*Contents:* None.*Provenance:* Unknown. Acquired in 1948, formerly Musée Guimet no. 3523.*Comments:* Well-formed brick shape with rebated upper face, which is cracked in places. The recessed image of Osiris is off-centre and faces right. Resembling **7**, the image carries the flail to the left and the crook to the right. There is no dividing wall between the figure's right arm and the flail. Accompanying this object is a flat lid which fits into the rebated upper face. The lid (21.5 × 11.7 × 1 cm) has been restored from ten pieces. Acquired with **11**, **12** and **13**.*Bibliography:* None.

FIG. 2. Paris, E 21023 (no. **11**): (a) head end with an *atef*-sign; (b) foot end with a stylised *rdwvy*-sign. Note the trough-shaped profile unique to this brick. (Drawn after original tracings by Catherine Bridonneau.)

11. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 21023 (pl. XIV, 5 and fig. 2)*Dimensions:* 27 × 13.5 cm.*Material:* Pink pottery, fired. Blackening to the recess.*Contents:* None.*Provenance:* Unknown. Acquired in 1948, formerly Musée Guimet no. 3524.*Comments:* Rectangular in form, this brick has bevelled sides like a basin or trough, with a deep rebate to the upper face. The fabric is fine but friable. The recessed image of Osiris is crisply defined, particularly in the area of the feathers on the crown, which are shallower than the crown itself. The image faces left and carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right. There is no dividing wall between the figure's left arm and the flail. Cut into the head end of the brick is an incised *atef*-crown hieroglyph (fig. 2a), with the double leg-sign *rdwvy* at the foot end, incised with the same chisel-like tool (fig. 2b). The top part of the *atef*-crown hieroglyph has been more lightly incised, apparently with a smaller, more pointed tool.*Bibliography:* None.

12. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 21024 (pl. XIV, 6)

Dimensions: 20.7 × 11.5 × 6.3 cm.

Material: Red pottery, fired. Localised patches of pale wash surround the recess.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1948, formerly Musée Guimet no. 3525.

Comments: A well-formed brick shape with flat upper face. The recessed image of Osiris is roughly finished. It faces right and carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right, resembling closely **13**, with the exception of the beard, here lacking.

Bibliography: None.

13. Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 21025

Dimensions: 19.7 × 11.5 × 5.9 cm.

Material: Red pottery, fired. Traces of pale pink wash survive on the upper face and interior of the recess.

Contents: None.

Provenance: Unknown. Acquired in 1948, formerly Musée Guimet no. 3526.

Comments: Regular brick with a flat upper face. The recessed image of Osiris faces right. The sharply defined image is badly cracked along the length of the recess. It carries the crook to the left and the flail to the right. The recess forming the base of the flail beads encroaches on the edge of the brick, which is damaged at this point.

Bibliography: None.

Form and nomenclature

There is some doubt as to what these objects should be called, the terms ‘mould’ or ‘bed’ not being apposite. They can only be considered ‘moulds’ in the sense of a form or matrix: a container into which substances were laid, but not turned out. The term ‘Osiris bed’ implies the laying of a figure on top of a bed-like structure. These terms are correctly applied to related, but different, objects. Since the objects under discussion here do not truly correspond to either type of Osiris relic, the term ‘Osiris brick’ has been used to avoid confusion, describing their shape rather than function, and marking them out as a distinct group of objects.

Osiris bricks are little known. They appear most frequently in exhibition catalogues,³ with little discussion.⁴ Typically, they are of fired red pottery, are rectangular in shape, and resemble ordinary bricks, on average 24 cm long, 12 cm wide and 6 cm deep. Although they are remarkably consistent in shape and dimensions, all the bricks are individual and handmade. Roughly half of the known bricks have a shallow rebate in the upper face, probably to accommodate a separate lid (see **10**), while the remaining examples are flat-topped.

Recessed centrally or off-centre into the upper face of each brick is an image of Osiris between 18 and 25 cm long and 2 to 4 cm in depth. He is shown in profile, wearing the *atef*-crown and long ceremonial beard, and carrying a crook and flail, except for **2** (no crook and flail) and **12** (no beard). No internal details are modelled, leaving the image purely in silhouette and relatively flat-bottomed. In some examples (**9** and **11**) the recesses forming the crook and flail, and the feathers on the crown, are cut shallower than the body of the Osiris image. Other examples (**5**, **9**, **10** and **11**) have no demarcation between the crook and flail and the arms of the figure. The edges of the Osiris recess

³E.g. Hildesheim 4550, Heidelberg 322, Munich ÄS 6787: for bibliography see catalogue entries **1**, **2**, and **6**.

⁴Seeber, LÄ III, 745.

are clean cut, suggesting the use of a sharp, scraping tool. Marks of this tool are clearly seen in the base of the recess in 7. Certain of the contours of the image, like the top of the crown, appear to have been scooped out with a finger-tip (although no fingerprints are apparent), or perhaps with a spatula.

Surface treatment consists generally of a light red or pinkish wash to the upper face and the interior of the recess. Several Osiris bricks preserve evidence of the tools used to cut and smooth the upper face, in the form of marks consisting of shallow incised lines, made by a pointed tool, running from various parts of the recessed image outline: from the feet (6, 12, 13); from the crown (2, 12); from the crook or flail (8, 9). Osiris brick 5 has a groove (fig. 1) formed by a rounded tool or finger-tip running from bottom to top to the left of the recessed image. This groove is cut by two short oblique lines made by a sharp tool with a chisel-like blade. It is unclear whether these marks are accidental or intentional; if the latter, then possibly they indicate some sort of offering placed before the god, since the Osiris recess is offset to the right to accommodate such an offering. Brick 11, however, differs from others in that its section is narrower at the base than at the upper face, resembling a trough. It is deeply rebated, which suggests the addition of a separate lid. The hieroglyphs incised on the short ends (fig. 2) marked the head and foot ends of the recessed Osiris figure, which would have been rendered invisible once the lid had been introduced. Marking out the orientation of the deity in this way may have aided the priests and officials using the brick, perhaps during its burial in the desert (see below).

Provenance

Of the thirteen known pottery Osiris bricks, seven are said to have come from the Theban area. The remaining six are unprovenanced. The most specific evidence for provenance is that provided for 2. This was bought by Ludwig Borchardt on 3 May, 1913, from a Qurna dealer who stated that it had come from the 'Affenfriedhof südlich von Bibân el-Banât', that is the Valley of the Monkeys at the opening of the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud, some 2 km west of Medinet Habu.⁵ Bought with this brick were two small clay figures of Osiris (pl. XV, 1-2), Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 323⁶ and 324.⁷ The latter has the head of a falcon, perhaps representing Sokar-Osiris, and came in a double coffin.

The earliest recorded visitor to the Valley of the Monkeys was Gardner Wilkinson, who was there between 1821 and 1833,⁸ and who mentioned the numbers of animal mummies and corn-mummies which were found in the wadi mouth. Charles Lortet worked in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud in 1905, finding not only corn-mummies but also other types of Osiris figures.⁹ In 1916 Howard Carter rediscovered the wadi, noting that the wadi mouth contained 'mimic' burials comprising mummiform figures in faience, wood, and stone in pottery coffins, as well as many corn-mummies placed below large boulders;

⁵PM I², 593.

⁶Seipel, *Ägypten*, 153 no. 118.

⁷Feucht, *Vom Nil zum Neckar*, 139 no. 311, given in error as Inv. Nr. 323.

⁸The visit is cited by V. Loret in L. Lortet and C. Gaillard, *La faune momifiée de l'ancienne Égypte*, II (Lyon, 1905), iii; see also Raven, *OMRO* 63, 8 for a history of activity in this area and bibliography cited there.

⁹Lortet, 'Momies de singes et nécropole du dieu Thot', *BIE* sér. 4, 6 (1905), 43-6; Lortet and Gaillard, *La faune momifiée*, 248, fig. 118; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 9, 18.

many of these found their way into the shops at Luxor.¹⁰ The Osiris figures placed in pottery coffins (Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 323 and 324) match Carter's description of such objects in the Valley of the Monkeys. Additionally, he noted that the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud yielded from its mouth three rough, mummiform figures of clay lying on a cushion stuffed with seeds, the whole being covered by matting.¹¹

Two of the Louvre's pottery Osiris bricks, **8** and **9**, were purchased at Thebes by Georges Bénédite, also in 1913, from a Qurna dealer named Mohammed Hagag. These examples were acquired with a pottery Osiris mould, E 11376 (pl. XV, 3), which instead of being brick-shaped, is in the form of a silhouette of Osiris, 26 cm long and 4.6 cm wide. It is of red pottery and depicts Osiris facing left with arms apparently crossed over the breast but lacking the crook and flail, and wearing the *atef*-crown. The dealer gave the provenance of these items as 'Gebel Tarir'. Such a location is not known, and is probably a mistake for the Theban area known as Gebel el-Tarif.

The cult of Osiris flourished during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods through to Graeco-Roman times both at Karnak¹² and in Western Thebes, particularly at Medinet Habu¹³ which was known as the 'mound of Djam',¹⁴ a burial place of Osiris located at the north-west corner of the eastern High Gate of the mortuary temple of Ramesses III. Although *d̄j̄m* itself is not named, Thebes as a burial place of Osiris is attested by the

¹⁰H. Carter, 'A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut and Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes', *JEA* 4 (1917), 109–10; see also C.R. Williams, 'The Egyptian Collection in the Museum of Art Cleveland, Ohio', *JEA* 5 (1918), 166–78, particularly 173–5; Raven, *ibid.*

¹¹Carter, *ibid.*; Lortet and Gaillard, *La faune momifiée*, 248; see also Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *Mummies and Magic. The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (exhibition cat., 1988), 245 no. 212 for another, similar figure.

¹²The temple of Amun at Karnak contains several small shrines dedicated to Osiris in various guises, located near the north gate of the Hypostyle Hall and in the north-east corner of the temple enclosure wall: PM II², 17ff., 193, 202ff., 278; P. Barguet, 'Karnak', *LÄ* III, 341–52, particularly 347; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne* (BdE 36; Cairo, 1965), 27, 41ff., 99ff., 216ff., 246, 267ff., 274, 281; Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak* (Cairo, 1962), 15. The supposed tomb of Osiris at Karnak is located in the latter of these shrine groups, comprising a group of subterranean brick vaulted structures containing clay and sand figures of Osiris, similar in form to corn-mummies, and above ground a gallery of niches for the deposition of bronze Osiris statuettes, H. Chevrier, 'Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak 1949–1950', *ASAE* 50 (1950), 429–42, pls. viii–ix; Leclant, 'Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1950–51. I. Karnak-nord', *Or* 20 (1951), 453–75, particularly 459–60; see also Barguet, *LÄ* III, 341–52; *id.*, *Temple d'Amon-Rê*, plan 1 for a map of the area, and F. Leclère and L. Coulon, 'Fouilles dans la nécropole osirienne du secteur nord-est du temple de Karnak', *Abstracts of Papers. Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*. Cambridge, 3–9 September, 1995 (Oxford, 1995), 104–5 for re-excavation of this site. Papyrus Louvre N.3176(S) of Graeco-Roman date is an account of the Festival of Khoiak as celebrated in the temple of Amun at Karnak, Barguet, *Le papyrus N.3176(S) du Musée du Louvre* (BdE 37; Cairo, 1962); L. B. Mikhail, 'Dramatic Aspects of the Osirian Khoiak Festival. An Outline (V)', *GM* 81, 29–54.

¹³R. Stadelmann, 'Medinet Habu', *LÄ* III, 1255–71, particularly 1255; U. Hölscher, *Medinet Habu. II. The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty* (OIC 5; Chicago, 1939), 43. Medinet Habu was notable during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty for the chapels of the Divine Adoratrices within the temple precinct, before the southern wing of the First Pylon: Hölscher, *Medinet Habu, V. Post Ramessid Remains* (Chicago, 1954), 16–30. An unpublished group of pottery votive beds, presently being studied, which were found in Third Intermediate Period houses at Medinet Habu attests to a local tradition of making small-scale pottery religious objects at this site, further supporting the theory that Western Thebes, if not Medinet Habu itself, is the place of origin of pottery Osiris bricks: see E. Teeter, 'Votive Beds from Medinet Habu', *Abstracts of Papers. 7th ICE*, 185–6.

¹⁴Originally the locality was known as *ist t̄j̄m*, later as *d̄j̄m*: H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, VI (Cairo, 1929), 65 (as *t̄j̄m*), 66 (identified with the funerary temple of Ramesses III), 105 (a district of Karnak), 106 (as the southern end of the Theban necropolis); Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, 26, 44–5, 154ff., 161–7; *id.*, 'Sur les divers "aspects" d'Osiris thébain à l'époque dite éthiopienne', *Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Orientalists*. Cambridge 21–28 August, 1954 (Cambridge, 1957), 74–5; Hölscher, *Medinet Habu* II, 43 and n. 2; Stadelmann, *LÄ* III, 1255.

Edfu geographical list which names the sanctuaries of Egypt where the Divine Members of his body were to be found.¹⁵ The cult of Osiris is also attested during the Third Intermediate Period by the stela of Amenirdis I and Kashta found in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud,¹⁶ emphasising the importance of this locality for the deposition of Osiris relics.

Western Thebes, in particular the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud, seems a likely provenance for Osiris brick 2. Whether any reliance can be placed on the dealer's provenance for 8 and 9 (Gebel el-Tarif(?), to the north) is uncertain, but a general Theban provenance seems plausible. The uniformity in material, dimensions, and modelling of all the bricks would suggest that they originated from one locality in Western Thebes.

Purpose and use

Bricks 2 and 4 preserve evidence of use, in the form of soil mixed with cereal grains, and linen, inside the recessed image. Several texts, both in papyri and on temple walls, refer to the Festival of Khoiak in the fourth month of Inundation, during which time figures of Osiris were made from soil and grain in moulds. Although largely of Graeco-Roman date, the origins of these texts lie in earlier traditions.¹⁷ The earliest detailed references to Osiris revived through this festival are preserved in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Neferhotep (TT 50).¹⁸ Here a depiction of a mummy lying on a bier is accompanied by a text giving instructions on the making of an Osiris bed. The ceremony took place on days 18 to 25 of the fourth month of Inundation and comprised 'the day of moistening the barley and spreading the bed' and a 'formula for enchanting the bed'.¹⁹ These rituals associate the revivification of Osiris in a funerary context with that of the deceased, emphasising the importance of this ritual for the dead.²⁰ From the Middle Kingdom, the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus²¹ provides some evidence of the connection between Osiris, grain and revivification.²² The Medinet Habu calendar of Ramesses III, although not directly referring to the Osirian Festival of Khoiak, nevertheless lists the rites of the Memphite Ptah-Sokar, including the raising of the *dd*-pillar during the Festival of Sokar,

¹⁵H. Beinlich, *Die 'Osirisreliquien': zum Motiv der Körperzergliederung in der altägyptischen Religion* (ÄA 42; Wiesbaden, 1984); id., 'Zur Deutung der sogenannten Osirisreliquien', *GM* 54 (1982), 17–29.

¹⁶Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, 181; Lortet, *BIE* sér. 4, 6, 45.

¹⁷Numbers of Middle and New Kingdom stelae refer to the Osiris mysteries: M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom* (Göttingen, 1988), 65ff., 98–100; M.-C. Lavier, 'Les mystères d'Osiris à Abydos après les stèles du Moyen Empire et du Nouvel Empire', *BSEG* 3 (1985), 289–95.

¹⁸G. Bénédite, *Le tombeau de Neferhotepou* (Paris, 1893), in particular pl. iii; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 15, 32.

¹⁹Translated in N. de G. Davies and A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London, 1915), 115. See J.G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden, 1980), 167–9 for a discussion of this text.

²⁰Raven, *OMRO* 63, 15, 32.

²¹Dated to the reign of Senwosret I: H. Altenmüller, 'Zur Lesung und Deutung des dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus', *JÉOL* 19 (1965–6), 421–42; id., 'Dramatischer Ramesseumpapyrus', *LÄ* I, 1132–40. See also E.F. Wente, 'Hathor at the Jubilee', in R. Anthes et al., *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson* (Chicago, 1969), 83–91, particularly 90.

²²Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris* (MÄS 9; Berlin, 1966), 106; id., *Plutarch's de Iside et Osiride* (University of Wales, 1970), 37; see also id., *Osiris and his Cult*, 77, 113, 163–6 for the incident where Seth beats or threshes Osiris by driving calves who trample the barley. Appearing first as a royal ceremony (under Sahure), the 'driving of the calves' is later taken into the Osiris myth.

which occurred in the fourth month of Inundation between days 21 and 30, a rite found in later texts associated with Osiris.²³

From the Graeco-Roman Period a wealth of textual and illustrative material has survived in connection with the Osirian Festival of Khoiak. The most important and complete record of the Khoiak Festival comes from the Osiris roof chapels in the temple of Hathor at Dendera.²⁴ Here the rites continued from days 12 to 30 of the fourth month of Inundation, during which time (days 12 to 22) figures of Khenty-Imentiu, Sokar, and the Divine Members (*spy-ntr*) were made from various substances in two-part moulds of gold, silver, and bronze.²⁵ The moulds were fashioned to make the right and left halves of the figures, which when joined, were wrapped in linen and laid in coffins. These were three-dimensional representations of Osiris, apparently made of soil. The Dendera text prescribes that the Khenty-Imentiu and Divine Members figures were to be composed of barley and sand,²⁶ while the Sokar figure was made of a complex mixture of fourteen elements which did not include barley.²⁷

Papyrus Jumilhac describes the Festival of *ḥbs-tj* or 'hacking the earth', during which ten-day period grains and water were mixed with soil in a frame or mould of layered sticks, watered daily, anointed, and wrapped in linen.²⁸ The vignettes of the Dendera text (treatise no. 2) and those on a Thirtieth Dynasty coffin from Hawara,²⁹ depict the Osiris mould lying on a garden grid which is termed *ḥsp-ḥm(w) šnty* and *ḥwt ḥsp*, terms meaning 'garden'. Clearly the moulds, troughs, and frames in which corn-mummies were made were thought of as gardens and were tended as such.³⁰ Tangible remains of the Festival of Khoiak are the numbers of corn-mummies, apparently made annually during the festival, found at various sites throughout Egypt.³¹ Probably also to be seen in this

²³ B. van de Walle, 'L'érection du pilliers djed', *La nouvelle Clé* 5–6 (1954), 283–97, particularly 291ff.; C.J. Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals. Enactments of Religious Renewal* (Leiden, 1967), 1–76, particularly 82ff.; G.A. Gaballa and K.A. Kitchen, 'The Festival of Sokar', *Or* 38 (1969), 1–76, particularly 38ff.; E. Brovarski, 'Sokar', *LÄ V*, 1055–74, particularly 1060; Mikhail, 'Raising the Djed-pillar. The Last Day of the Osirian Khoiak Festival', *GM* 83 (1984), 51–69, particularly 51, 55–65; J. van Dijk, 'The Symbolism of the Memphite Djed Pillar', *OMRO* 66 (1986), 7–20.

²⁴ E. Chassinat, *Les mystères d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak*, I (Cairo, 1966), 54–56, 71 and *passim*; S. Cauville, 'Les mystères d'Osiris à Dendera—Interprétation des chapelles osiriennes', *BSFE* 112 (1988), 23–36 and fig. 1 for vignette; A.F.A. Mariette-Bey, *Denderah*, IV (Paris, 1873), pls. 35, 38 for vignettes; J.G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II (London, 1914), 86–8; Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals*, 50–6, 75; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 28ff.

²⁵ The moulds are called *bti*. Osiris/Khenty-Imentiu: Chassinat, *Les mystères d'Osiris*, 54; Cauville, *BSFE* 112, 25; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 28. Sokar: Chassinat, *ibid.*; F. Daumas, 'Choiakfeste', *LÄ I*, 958–60, particularly 959. Divine Members: Chassinat, *ibid.*, 56–7.

²⁶ Chassinat, *ibid.*, 41; Cauville, *ibid.*, 25, 26: 1 *hin* of barley, 4 *hin* of sand; Raven, *ibid.*

²⁷ Chassinat, *ibid.*, 37; Raven, *ibid.*; Mikhail, *GM* 81 (1984), 33.

²⁸ J. Vandier, *Le papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, 1961), particularly 100, 135–7, 252 and illustration III:1–10; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 28. The papyrus was probably found near Hardai (Cynopolis), Griffiths, *de Iside et Osiride*, 40. A similar papyrus with an illustration of the corn-mummy is illustrated in Musée des Beaux-Arts, Calais, *La vie au bord du Nil*, 79 no. 145.

²⁹ W.M.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London, 1889), 9, pl. ii for vignette; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29.

³⁰ For evidence of watering cf. the scene in the Osiris chapel of the temple of Isis at Philae, H. Bonnet, *Ägyptische Religion* (Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte 2–4; Leipzig, 1924), 155; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 30. For the cultivation of the Dendera corn-mummy see Chassinat, *Les mystères d'Osiris*, 53, 54; Cauville, *BSFE* 112, 25, 28, and also 29 where the germination of the seeds is termed the 'gestation' of the god. At Dendera the tank or trough (*ḥsp*) was of schist, three palms and three fingers long (67.5 cm). In its base was a drainage hole for the evacuation of fluids during the nine-day germination process. See also Griffiths, 'Osiris', *LÄ IV*, 623–33, particularly 630. For archaeological evidence of the garden grid, see B.J. Kemp, *Amarna Reports*, IV (1987), figs. 4.2, 4.5–6, 5.2–5.

³¹ Raven, *OMRO* 63, 18–27, found at Thebes, Tihna el-Gebel, el-Sheikh Fadl, Tuna el-Gebel. Others are unprovenanced.

light are the small Osirian mud figures (Heidelberg Inv. Nr. 323 and 324) found in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud.

That the rite of making an Osiris figure in a mould or receptacle occurred at sites other than Dendera (where no moulds have yet been found) is confirmed by the discovery at Abydos by Amélineau of a pottery container³² in the form of a profile silhouette of Osiris facing right and wearing the white crown, in the region of Umm el-Qa'ab (near the 'tomb of Osiris').³³ The container, Louvre E 11031 (pl. XV, 4), is 71.5 cm long with four holes in the base for the evacuation of fluids during the watering of the grains and soil. Another similar, though fragmentary, example, also from Abydos (Louvre E 21905) faces left, lacks its head and has two surviving drainage holes.³⁴ Amélineau described the discovery of several such pottery containers or pieces thereof between December 1897 and January 1898, from the vicinity of the central and southern tombs.³⁵ These containers are bigger than the moulds prescribed in the Dendera texts (1 cubit or 52 cm), which are themselves comparable in size to surviving corn-mummies (between 45 and 50 cm).³⁶

Earlier manifestations of a similar rite are the Osiris beds of wood and matting from royal and privileged tombs in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes.³⁷ These New Kingdom beds³⁸ form two distinct groups in terms of construction. The earlier examples are of linen, reeds or matting resting on a lattice frame of wood. On the linen cover is drawn an outline or silhouette of Osiris in profile with arms crossed, wearing the white crown. Filling the image is a soil mixture with germinated seed plants. The later examples, from the tombs of Tutankhamun and Horemheb, are shaped wooden cases in the form of a profile silhouette of Osiris comprising bases and lids, lined with linen and filled with soil and germinated seed plants. In the case of Tutankhamun's bed, the lid had been

³²E. Amélineau, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos 1897-1898* (Paris, 1904), probably to be identified as no. 12 on page 203; Hôtel Drouot, Paris, *Antiquités égyptiennes trouvées à Abydos*. Catalogue de vente de la collection Amélineau, 8-9 February 1904, lot 138 (my thanks are due to Catherine Bridonneau for bringing this reference to my notice); C. Noblecourt, *Musée du Louvre. La crypte de l'Osiris du département égyptien* (Petit guide 61; Paris, 1979), 11 given in error as E 11375; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29. The Middle and New Kingdom sources concerning the Osiris mysteries as enacted at Abydos do not, however, mention the production of a corn-mummy or Osiris bed, but a statuette of the god in gold or gold foil: Lavier, *BSEG* 3, 291; A.R. David, *Religious Ritual at Abydos* (Warminster, 1973), 245, 249, 290.

³³See A. Leahy, 'The Osiris "Bed" Reconsidered', *Or* 46 (1977), 424-34 for finds in this area, mostly votive pottery, and their dates. See also Griffiths, *LÄ* IV, 630 section XI.

³⁴Dimensions: 53 × 17.5 × 8.5 cm. Formerly in the Musée Guimet, no. 4406 (Ab206); Noblecourt, *La crypte de l'Osiris*, 11 given in error as E 3089; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29.

³⁵*Les nouvelles fouilles*, 146 no. 20, 204 no. 28, 213 no. 48.

³⁶Raven, *OMRO* 63, 28.

³⁷Even earlier manifestations may include the wood and matting litter spread with grain from a Second Dynasty tomb at Saqqara (no. 2498): J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1912-1914): Archaic Mastabas* (Cairo, 1923), 1, pl. 25.2; and the practice of strewing grains over the corpse in Merimde culture burials: H. Junker, *Vorläufiger Bericht über die zweite Grabung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf der vorgeschichtlichen Siedlung Merimde-Benisalâme* (Vienna, 1930), 51f. Neither of these instances appears to have an Osirian connection; see further Griffiths, *Osiris and his Cult*, 169-70; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 9-10; A. Scharff, 'Frühe Vorstufen zum "Kornosiris"', *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 21-23 (Berlin, 1947), 38-9.

³⁸Raven, *OMRO* 63, 12-14; see also Griffiths, *Osiris and his Cult*, 167-70; id., *Origins of Osiris*, 109-12. Osiris beds have been found in the following tombs: KV 36 (Maiherpre: G. Daressy, *Fouilles de la vallée des rois 1898-1899* (Cairo, 1902), 24ff., pl. vii); KV 35 (Amenhotep II: Daressy, *ibid.* 170, pl. xxxvi); KV 35 (unidentified owner: Daressy, *ibid.* 170, 173, pl. xxxviii); KV 46 (Yuya: T. M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* (London, 1907), 45); KV 46 (Thuya: Davis et al., *ibid.*); KV 62 (Tutankhamun: Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh. Amen*, III (London, 1933), 81, pl. lxii); KV 57 (Horemheb: Davis et al., *The Tomb of Harmhabi and Touatânkh-amanou* (London, 1912), 105 no. 28, pl. lxxxviii).

replaced, the whole wrapped like a mummy and placed inside a black varnished wooden box. Like the Abydos pottery containers, these wooden silhouette beds have drainage holes in the base.

The construction of a wooden silhouette is mirrored in a small, unprovenanced object now in Florence.³⁹ Made of carved wood, this container (pl. XV, 5) is in the form of a profile silhouette of Osiris wearing the *atef*-crown, arms crossed and facing left, similar in dimensions to the recess in Osiris bricks (20 cm long). Contained within a black painted trapezoidal box, the silhouette has perforations for drainage down its centre, and contains ungerminated grains of corn and barley. The underside of the figure (pl. XV, 5, right) is roughly decorated with an ink outline representation of Osiris. It is tempting to see this object, which was brought to Florence by Ippolito Rosellini's Spedizione Franco-Toscana of 1828-1829, as a Late Period successor to the New Kingdom Osiris beds. Although its provenance is unknown, it may have come from Thebes since the expedition discovered a number of Third Intermediate and Late Period tombs in the Asasif region of Thebes.⁴⁰

Pottery Osiris bricks are in the tradition of the royal wooden silhouette beds of the New Kingdom. In both cases a profile silhouette of Osiris is found. Where contents remain in the pottery bricks, an amount of linen is present. The seeds, however, are ungerminated, unlike those in the New Kingdom beds. Osirian relics of the Festival of Khoiak survive from two different contexts. On the one hand there are the New Kingdom beds found in tombs, and the wooden container now in Florence which may have come from a tomb, and on the other hand there are the corn-mummies, mud Osiris figures, and pottery bricks found buried in the desert. The function in both contexts is the same: the revivification of the god Osiris. That the pottery Osiris brick formed part of the Khoiak Festival as celebrated in Western Thebes, possibly at Medinet Habu, is indicated by the discovery in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud of other Osirian objects and, more importantly, of corn-mummies which were made annually as part of that festival during Graeco-Roman times. The dating of brick 7 (see below) suggests that pottery Osiris bricks are earlier than corn-mummies. They too were probably made annually, filled with soil and grains, then ritually buried in a place still held sacred by the makers of the corn-mummies. Pottery Osiris bricks may best be explained as containers or plant pots used during the Festival of Khoiak as the image of *Osiris-végétant*, a type of garden as is suggested by the garden grids in vignettes of the corn-mummy ritual. That some examples have their contents intact shows that the figures were not turned out. Although flat silhouette figures were found in the Wadi Qubbanet el-Qirud,⁴¹ these are larger (38

³⁹ Museo Egizio, no. 2195: A.M. Migliarini, *Indication succincte des monuments égyptiens du musée de Florence* (Florence, 1895), 69 given in error as 2194. The container measures 20 × 12.5 × 2.5 cm and the trapezoidal box 55 × 18 × 8 cm.

⁴⁰ The Asasif region of the Theban necropolis was favoured by the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. During its time there in 1828-9, the Italian expedition discovered the coffins Florence 2159-2161: Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, 177, 179. See also Raven, *OMRO* 63, 16-17 concerning deposits of corn-mummies and pseudo-mummies in Third Intermediate and Late Period private burials. It is possible that some Late Period tombs incorporated into their structure a type of Osiris bed in the form of a shallow rectangular pit in the 'Lichthof'. Some of these have been found to contain the remains of soil and organic material: M. Bietak and E. Reiser-Haslauer, *Das Grab des Anchhor, Obersthofmeister der Gottesgemahlin Nitokris*, I (Vienna, 1978), 88; D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der thebanischen Nekropole* (Vienna, 1984), 163-83, especially 169-74, fig. 133.

⁴¹ Lortet and Gaillard, *La faune momifiée*, 248, fig. 118, made of linen, resin, sand and barley grains (*Hordeum vulgare*); Raven, *OMRO* 63, 29.

cm) than the recessed images in the pottery bricks. That the cereal grains are ungerminated in both the pottery bricks and the Theban corn-mummies may be due to local practice.⁴² Pottery Osiris bricks, unlike the Abydos containers and wooden Osiris beds, do not have perforations in their bases. The lack of drainage holes is irrelevant since good drainage is not required if simple germination is the object, rather than the growing of seed plants. However, the cereal grains appear to have been left intentionally ungerminated. In addition, **10** has a lid which fits exactly into the rebated upper face of the brick. It is likely that lids were provided for each brick, but are now lost.

The function of pottery Osiris bricks was to contain the elements necessary for the creation of an *Osiris-végétant*: soil, sand, cereal grains, and linen. Such a creation could be achieved through magic to provide the correct conditions for the revivification of Osiris. The flat-bottomed nature of the Osiris image in pottery bricks and the Abydos containers, with their lack of internal detail, would seem to imply that they were planted with soil and seeds, and that this mixture was not necessarily turned out, but might be left inside as a kind of containerised pot plant. These objects would seem to indicate that figures of Osiris in the round (corn-mummies) are not the only manifestation of the Khoiak Festival to be found, and that each region produced differing forms of Osiris relic according to local traditions.

Dating

In the absence of archaeological or textual evidence, pottery Osiris bricks have generally been assigned to the Late Period, the term being used loosely to cover the period from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to Roman times. This dating has been based on the artistic style of the Osiris images, their similarity to three-dimensional corn-mummies, which are generally Graeco-Roman, and the texts prescribing the making of such figures in moulds.

One example, **7**, has, however, been subjected to scientific dating by thermoluminescence.⁴³ A result of $2,400 \pm 500$ years, i.e. *c.* 909 BC to AD 91, was obtained, the uncertainty margin of 20% being due to the fact that no information is available on the original context of the brick: thus the environmental contribution could not be taken into account, and correction for water uptake and anomalous fading could not be made. Assuming that the brick had remained relatively dry, this and other factors suggest that the true age is towards the upper limit of the date range, placing it in the Third Intermediate Period (Twenty-second Dynasty) or possibly the Late Period, contemporary with the earliest known corn-mummies.⁴⁴

⁴²Raven *ibid.* 29 and n. 161. For the significance of water, particularly Nile water, in the process of mummification and revivification (and thence germination in the context of Osiris bricks and corn-mummies), see A.F. Shore, 'Human and divine mummification', in A.B. Lloyd (ed.), *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths* (London, 1992), 226–35, particularly 228.

⁴³The analysis, using the fine-grain method of measurement, was undertaken at the Research Laboratory for Archaeology and the History of Art, University of Oxford, by Dr Doreen Stoneham. This was essentially an authenticity test from which dating evidence was obtained.

⁴⁴The sarcophagus of the Divine Adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre contains a text referring to the manufacture of a corn-mummy as part of the funerary ceremonies of the Late Period: C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Ankhnesneferibre* (Copenhagen, 1937), 99–109, 113–14; Bonnet, *RÄRG*, 391; *LÄ* III, 745 and n. 5; Raven, *OMRO* 63, 16ff.

Conclusions

The assumption must be that Osiris bricks were filled with soil and sand, and planted with grains in the same manner as New Kingdom Osiris beds and in accordance with the later instructions of the Dendera texts regarding the creation of the Khenty-Imentiu corn-mummy. The fact that examples of pottery bricks have been found with their original contents indicates that they cannot be regarded as moulds for a three-dimensional figure. It seems much more likely that these are receptacles with lids, perhaps a variation of New Kingdom Osiris beds. The date of the Dendera text and the exact materials cited therein may not have wider application, since it is clear from extant evidence that local customs determined these factors.

The form of Osiris bricks is essentially that of the mummified Osiris (the recess), placed inside a rectangular sarcophagus (the brick), analogous to the wooden Tutankhamun bed. In this New Kingdom example the mummiform shape, wrapped in linen, was then deposited inside its own rectangular coffin. The same treatment is seen in the smaller Osiris container in Florence. In one object, the makers of these pottery bricks have combined a receptacle to contain the soil, sand, and cereal grains, the Osirian shape or Osiris mummy, and the outer rectangular coffin of the god. The small size of these objects is to be expected, since the Khoiak Festival was a dramatisation of the Osiris myth, and the 'stage props' used during it were of small scale.⁴⁵ The process of producing an *Osiris-végétant* is the same for corn-mummies, Osiris beds, and Osiris bricks. The difference lies in the construction of the receptacle for the finished product. Pottery bricks were evidently left ungerminated: their function was inherent in their form. Whether Osiris bricks were made annually like corn-mummies is unknown.

It has been noted that there are two formats for Osiris bricks. One is entirely flat-topped, the other with a more or less shallow rebate in the upper face. All right-facing figures on rebated bricks carry the crook on the right and the flail on the left; the reverse or mirrored positioning of these attributes is found only on flat-topped images which also face right, thereby making the joining of such images impossible.

	Flat-topped (six examples)	Rebated (seven examples)
Right-facing	1, 4, 8, 12, 13	3, 6, 7, 9, 10
Left-facing	2	5, 11

The lid provided with **10** and the linen plugging of **4** suggest the intention of retaining the soil, sand, and grain mixture inside the bricks' recesses, as do the orientation marks on the short ends of **11**. The lack of any drainage holes and the apparent attempts to paint the upper faces of the bricks do not preclude their use as plant pots, since all that was required was for the grains to germinate: a process taking a matter of days (in the case of the Dendera text, nine days are allowed). In any event, the seed mixture has been left intentionally ungerminated. These enigmatic objects were probably simply filled with the materials necessary for the revivification ritual of Osiris and buried in the desert in Western Thebes during the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.

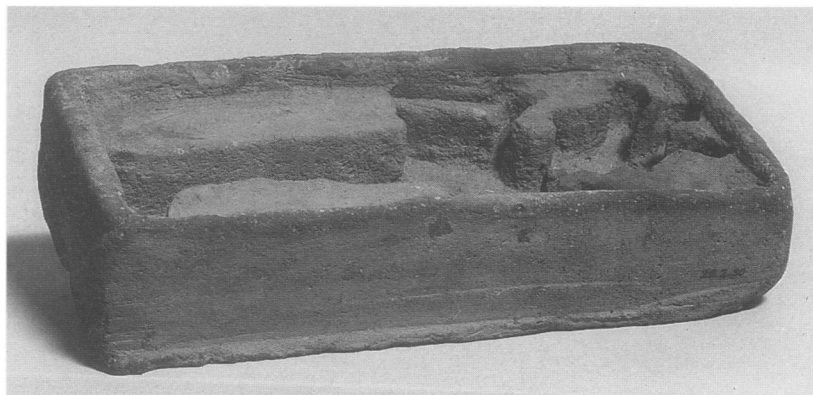
⁴⁵Lavier, *BSEG* 3, 290; Mikhail, *GM* 81, 33, 34; id., *GM* 83, 61.



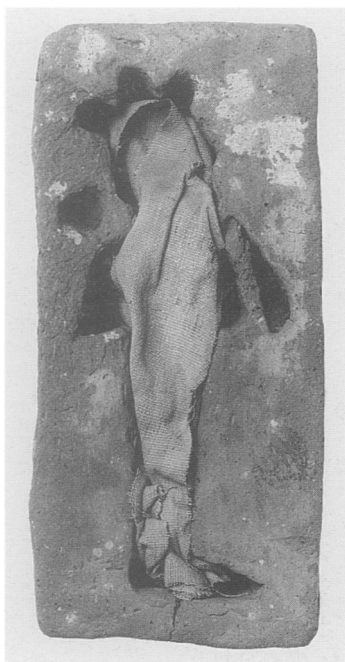
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(Courtesy of the Pelizaeus-Museum)



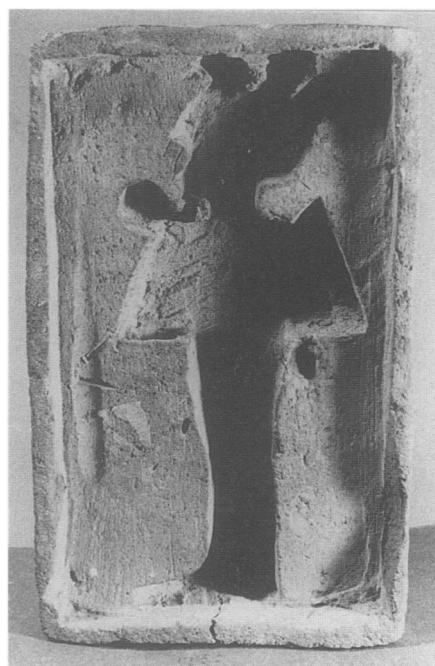
2. Heidelberg, Inv. Nr. 322 (no. 2)
(Courtesy of the Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität)



3. New York, MMA 20.2.30 (no. 3)
(Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art)



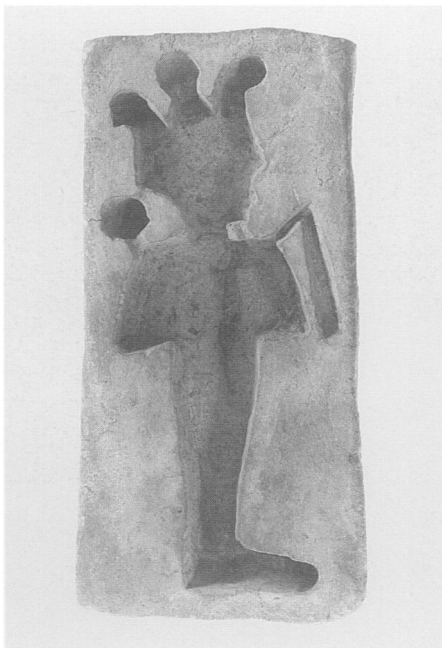
4. Stockholm, MME 10988 (no. 4)
(Courtesy of the Medelhavsmuseet)



5. Stockholm, MME 1966.1 (no. 5)
(Courtesy of the Medelhavsmuseet)



1. Oxford, 1991.18 (no. 7)
*(Courtesy of the Visitors of the
Ashmolean Museum)*



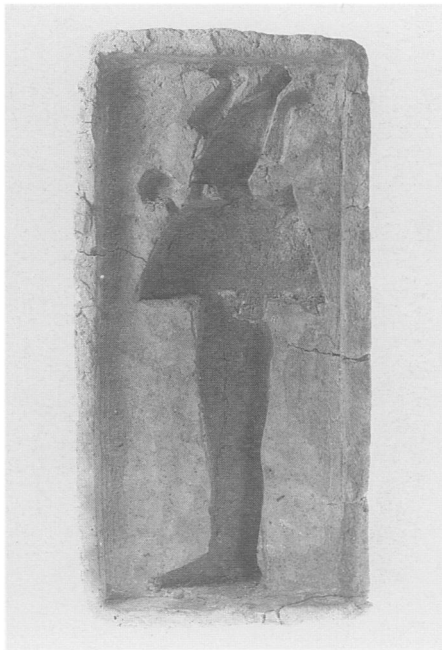
2. Paris, E 11374 (no. 8)



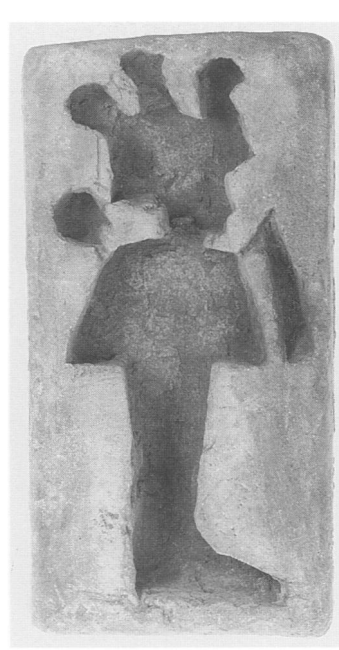
3. Paris, E 11375 (no. 9)



4. Paris, E 21022 (no. 10)



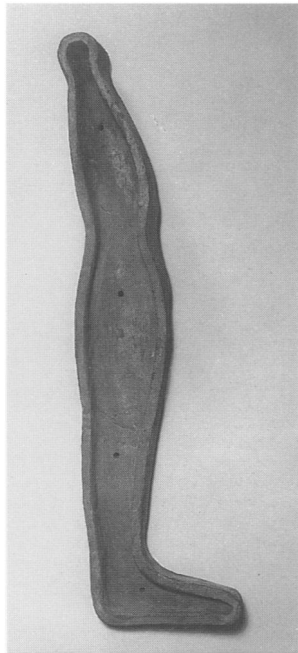
5. Paris, E 21023 (no. 11)
(Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)



6. Paris, E 21024 (no. 12)



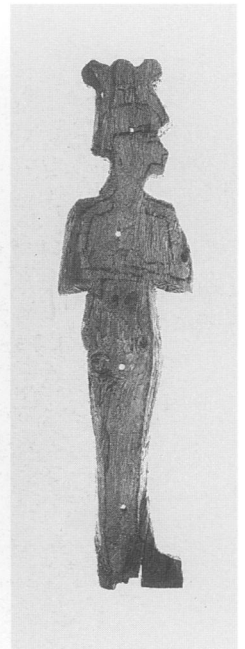
1-2. Heidelberg, Inv. Nr. 323-4
(Courtesy of the Sammlung des Ägyptologischen Instituts der Universität)



3. Paris, E 11376

4. Paris, E 11301

(Courtesy of the Musée du Louvre)



5. Florence, 2195; detail of figure to right
(Courtesy of the Museo Egizio)

NEWLY DISCOVERED SITES IN THE EASTERN DESERT*

By STEVEN E. SIDEBOTHAM

Preliminary report of a survey of the Eastern Desert between the ancient Abu Sha'ar–Nile road in the north and the modern Quseir–Nile highway in the south. A number of hitherto unknown ancient sites have been recorded including road segments, road stations on the Abu Sha'ar–Nile road, gold mines, and hard stone quarries. A Latin inscription at one of these, associated with quarrying activities in the region and naming Flavius Diadumenus and Flavius Fortunatus, is here published.

DURING surveys conducted in the Eastern Desert between 1991 and 1995, the author recorded six sites previously unknown to scholars, some hitherto unknown road sections, and a Latin inscription in the area between the ancient Abu Sha'ar–Nile road in the north and the modern Quseir–Qift (Coptos) highway in the south (fig. 1). What follows are preliminary notes only; full publication will necessitate more detailed study of these sites in the future.

Two of these sites were stops on the ancient Abu Sha'ar–Nile road, two were associated with gold mining, and two were quarry sites. There were new route sections south of Ghuzza and along the Abu Sha'ar–Nile road. The Latin inscription was associated with quarrying operations at Mons Claudianus. The ancient names of the sites are unknown. The survey plotted all locations using the Magellan Global Positioning System (GPS) NAV 5000 D receiver.¹ A minimum of four readings was taken at each site and these were then averaged to arrive at the coordinates reported here. All coordinates have been rounded off to the nearest one-thousandth of a minute. Cairns were recorded using single waypoint readings from the Magellan GPS NAV 5000 D.

Sites on the Abu Sha'ar–Nile Road

Bir Salah

Our guide claimed that this place had no name; as bedouin custom dictates, we named it after him: the Well of Salah. Located at 26° 49.440' N/32° 58.784' E, Bir Salah was a

*These surveys were conducted under the auspices of major excavations at Abu Sha'ar (1987, 1990–3) by the University of Delaware, and at Berenike (1994–5) by the University of Delaware and Leiden University. The University of Delaware, Dumbarton Oaks, the National Geographic Society, paying volunteers, and private donors made this fieldwork financially possible. Dr John A. Riley, of Farnham, Surrey, and Dr Roberta S. Tomber, of the Museum of London, studied the pottery collected by the survey and provided the dates given here. Prof. James A. Harrell, Department of Geology, University of Toledo, Ohio, made all stone identifications. Dr R. S. O. Tomlin, Oxford, kindly provided the reading and translation of the Latin inscription, and the assistance and advice of Prof. Roger S. Bagnall and his papyrology seminar at Columbia University, New York, and Dr Alan K. Bowman, Oxford, are also gratefully acknowledged. The author is deeply indebted to our Ma'aza bedouin guide Mr Salah Ali Suwaylim who showed us all the sites discussed in this paper. J. A. Harrell drew the map (fig. 1). S. E. Sidebotham took the photographs and drew the plan of the building at Umm Huyut (fig. 2) which was inked by B. Cannon.

¹Magellan GPS NAV 5000 D, on which see *Magellan Systems Corporation User Guide GPS NAV 5000 D* (San Demas, California, 1992).

stop on the Abu Sha'ar–Nile road between the small watering point at Bab el-Mukhenig ($26^{\circ} 52.118' N/33^{\circ} 02.050' E$) to the north-east and, to the south-west, el-Saqqia ($26^{\circ} 44.137' N/32^{\circ} 52.788' E$), the station at the juncture of the Abu Sha'ar–Nile and Mons Claudianus–Nile roads.²

Overall dimensions for Bir Salah were *c.* 79.5 m N–S \times *c.* 90 m E–W. Bir Salah had no fort or other discernible major structures, but rather heaps of sand, gravel, and

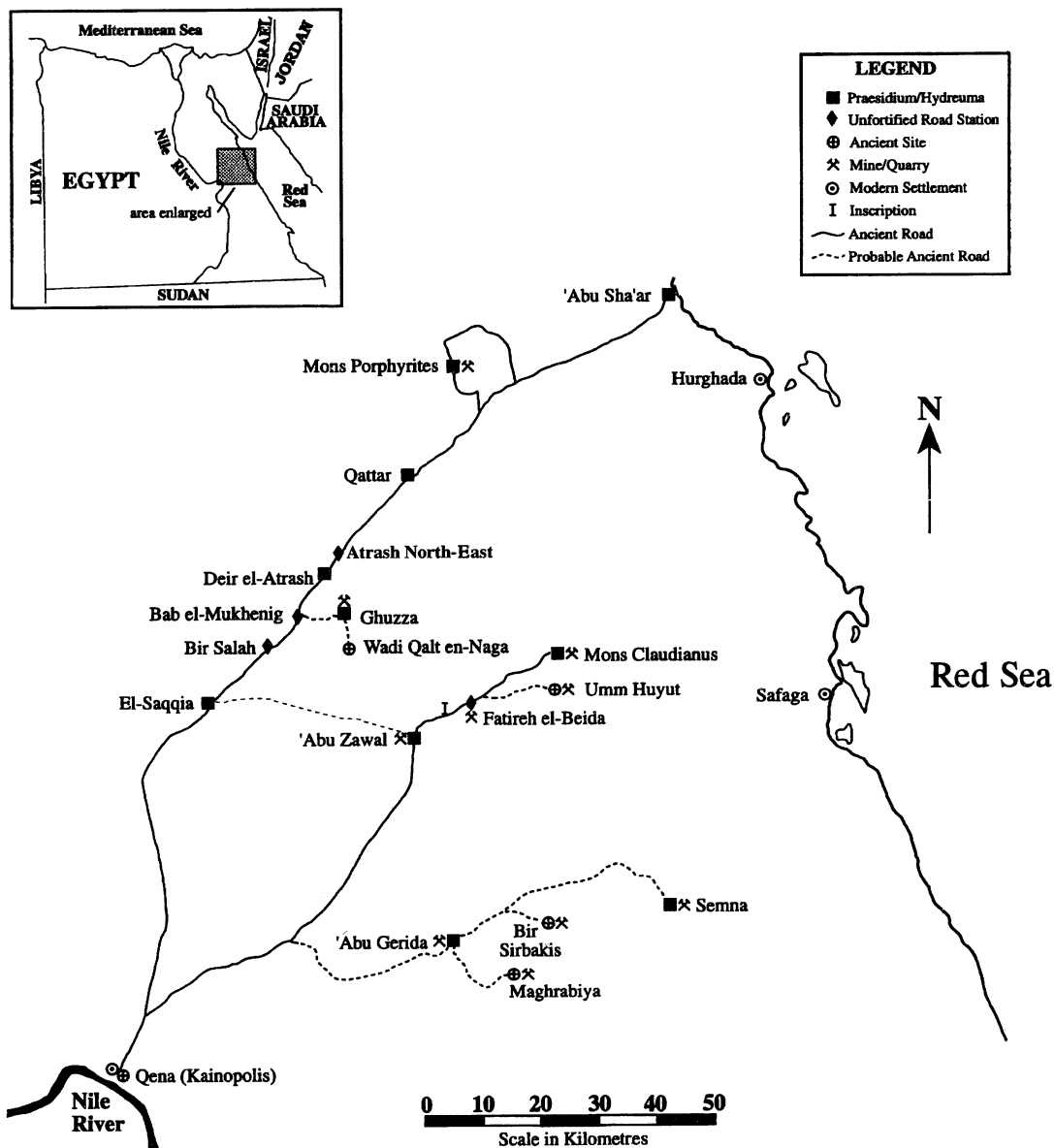


FIG. 1. Map of the Eastern Desert with sites mentioned in the text.

²For el-Saqqia see S. E. Sidebotham et al., *AJA* 95 (1991), 588–91.

cobbles piled up to the south, south-east and west of two wells partially filled in with sand, a larger one to the west of a smaller. Circular graves and other very dilapidated structures lay on the northern side of the site (pl. XVI, 1). There was a low hill west and north of the site and on a hill c. 300–400 m to the south-west was an ancient route-marking cairn.

The site produced iron slag and pieces of terracotta hydraulic piping. Diagnostic pottery comprised Nile amphora bases including a flanged one, a Nile amphora handle and a corrugated cooking pot all suggesting dates of activity of the third–fourth century AD on.

Numbers of well-preserved Roman wagon ruts lead off from the site towards el-Saqqia. Two sets measured 2.20 m and 2.30 m wide respectively; there was evidence of a three- (or multiple of three) wheeled cart with a gauge of 4.0 m. These measurements were similar to others made of Roman wagon ruts in this area of the Eastern Desert.³

If the surface pottery accurately represents the span of occupation at this site, then it is clear that Bir Salah was not part of the early infrastructure supporting traffic between the Nile and the imperial porphyry quarries at Mons Porphyrites which were in operation by the first century.⁴ Bir Salah may have come into existence only after the construction of the fort at Abu Sha'ar. That military installation, established in the early fourth century on the Red Sea coast, initially accommodated an *ala* of mounted troops, probably dromedary.⁵ Facilitation of communication between Abu Sha'ar and its parent garrison at Luxor via Qena (Kainopolis) may have been one of Bir Salah's functions.⁶ The presence of wagon ruts leading from the site suggests, however, that Bir Salah also supported operations at Mons Porphyrites in the third/fourth century as wagons were used to ship stone from those quarries; there is no evidence of wagon use at Abu Sha'ar.

Atrash North-East

A short distance north-east of the major *hydreuma* at Deir el-Atrash (26° 56.131' N/33° 04.821' E) and some distance south-west of the station at Qattar (27° 05.332' N/33° 13.654' E)

³For wagon ruts elsewhere in the region see L. A. Tregenza, *The Red Sea Mountains of Egypt* (London, 1955), 106, near loading ramp at Wadi Umm Sidri; 208, near Bab el-Mukhenig; 212–13, in the Naqa el-Teir Plain; 220, near el-Saqqia station; 237–8, where the Wadi Qreiya flows into the Wadi Qena; G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925), 140, near Bab el-Mukhenig and 147, in the Wadi Naqa el-Teir; G. W. Murray, *Dare Me to the Desert* (New York, 1968), 120, in the Naqa el-Teir Plain near Bab el-Mukhenig; D. Meredith, *JEA* 38 (1952), 102, near Bab el-Mukhenig and in Wadi Naqa el-Teir; Sidebotham et al., *AJA* 94, 597 fig. 26 and 598, 600 for the region between Bab el-Mukhenig and Deir el-Atrash and Bab el-Mukhenig and el-Saqqia.

⁴For bibliography on Mons Porphyrites see Sidebotham et al., *AJA* 95, 575–6 n. 14; see now D. Peacock and V. Maxfield, *Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1995), 24–6; eadem, *The Roman Imperial Porphyry Quarries: Gebel Dokhân, Egypt. Interim Report, 1994, 1995, and 1996* (unpublished); also this *Journal*, 16–20.

⁵R. S. Bagnall and J. A. Sheridan, 'Greek and Latin Documents from Abu Sha'ar, 1990–1991', *JARCE* 31 (1994), 159–63.

⁶Publications on Abu Sha'ar include Sidebotham et al., *JARCE* 26 (1989), 127–66; Sidebotham, *NARCE* 153 (1991), 1–6; id., in V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson (eds), *Roman Frontier Studies 1989. Proceedings of the XVth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies* (Exeter, 1991), 494–7; id., *Minerva* 3/2 (March/April 1992), 5–8; id., *Archaeological News* 17/1–4 (1992), 31–4; id., *NARCE* 161/162 (1993), 1–9; id., *JARCE* 31 (1994), 133–58; Bagnall and Sheridan, *JARCE* 31, 159–68, and *BASP* 31 (1994), 109–120; Sidebotham, *DOP* 48 (1994), 263–75; W. Z. Wendrich and W. van Neer, in W. van Neer (ed.), *Fish Exploitation in the Past. Proceedings of the 7th Meeting of the ICAZ Fish Remains Working Group. Annales du Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, Sciences Zoologiques* 274 (Tervuren, 1994), 183–9; Sidebotham in K. Bard (ed.), *The Archaeology of Ancient Egypt; An Encyclopedia*, forthcoming. The final volume on the Abu Sha'ar excavations (1987–1993) is in preparation.

was a small stop on the road at $26^{\circ} 58.116' \text{ N}/33^{\circ} 06.297' \text{ E}$ which the author named Atrash North-East. The installation comprised an edifice or edifices of cobbles, sand, and rubble in very ruined condition with overall dimensions of *c.* 28 m N–S \times *c.* 12.5 m E–W. About 200 m south of the site was a small rectangular building. Roman wagon ruts ran immediately past the site. Sherds from here were few in number and dated first to third centuries AD.

The placement of a small stop this close to the major *hydreuma* at Deir el-Atrash may, possibly, be explained by the need for additional manpower to assist vehicular traffic travelling from the quarries at Mons Porphyrites in traversing a particularly sandy section of the road. There was evidence very near the stop that wagons became stuck in the sand and required assistance in ‘digging out’ in order to resume their onward journeys.

As a result of these discoveries the course of the road between el-Saqqia and Bab el-Mukhenig and between Deir el-Atrash and Qattar now must be plotted slightly farther north than has been indicated on previous maps. These route segments are clearly marked by cairns usually in pairs but sometimes singly, in groups of three or, rarely, four, both of the piled stone variety and of the squared tower type. The former tend to appear on open ground and the latter on or near mountains beside the road. Some of these have dense scatters of ancient sherds associated with them.⁷ The accompanying tables provide GPS waypoint readings of the cairns/towers between el-Saqqia–Bir Salah–Bab el-Mukhenig (Table 1) and between Atrash North-east and Qattar (Table 2).

The cairns marked with an asterisk just south of Bir Salah seem oddly out of place *vis-à-vis* the location of Bir Salah. This may be explained in part by the fact that the road

TABLE 1

<i>Station/cairn</i>	<i>GPS waypoint reading</i>
el-Saqqia station	$26^{\circ} 44.137' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 52.788' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 44.064' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 52.917' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 44.660' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 53.592' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 45.286' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 54.300' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 45.934' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 54.976' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 46.504' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 55.692' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 47.104' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 56.415' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 47.740' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 57.111' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 48.331' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 57.839' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 48.928' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 58.604' \text{ E}$
Bir Salah station	$26^{\circ} 49.440' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 58.784' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 49.407' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 59.405' \text{ E}^*$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 49.982' \text{ N}/33^{\circ} 00.212' \text{ E}$
3–4 tower cairns	$26^{\circ} 50.551' \text{ N}/33^{\circ} 01.030' \text{ E}$
pair of (piled) cairns	$26^{\circ} 51.390' \text{ N}/33^{\circ} 01.477' \text{ E}$
(piled) cairn	No GPS taken, <i>c.</i> 400 m north of Bab el-Mukhenig
Bab el-Mukhenig station	$26^{\circ} 52.118' \text{ N}/33^{\circ} 02.050' \text{ E}$

⁷See Sidebotham et al., *AJA* 95, 598 chart; note that we list no cairns between km 11 and 23 between Qattar and Deir el-Atrash. These now appear in Table 2 here.

TABLE 2

<i>Station/cairn</i>	<i>GPS waypoint reading</i>
Atrash North-East stop	26° 58.116' N/33° 06.297' E
pair of (piled) cairns	26° 58.427' N/33° 06.493' E
pair of (piled) cairns	26° 59.220' N/33° 07.037' E
pair of (tower) cairns	26° 59.912' N/33° 07.624' E
pair of (tower) cairns	27° 00.569' N/33° 08.504' E
3 (tower) cairns	27° 01.208' N/33° 09.274' E
pair of (tower) cairns	27° 01.904' N/33° 10.014' E (from here the road runs as it appears on earlier maps)
pair of (tower) cairns	27° 02.421' N/33° 10.608' E
3 (piled) cairns	27° 03.197' N/33° 11.498' E
single (piled) cairn	27° 03.554' N/33° 11.887' E
pair of (tower) cairns	27° 03.744' N/33° 12.052' E
3 (tower) cairns	27° 04.457' N/33° 12.777' E
single cairn, cleared road section ancient grave, modern hut	27° 05.055' N/33° 13.539' E
Qattar station	27° 05.332' N/33° 13.654' E

predated the site. Later, after the creation of Bir Salah, the most readily available source of potable ground water and the most durable location for the road surface did not coincide; the road had to make a sudden jog due north to accommodate traffic wishing to stop at Bir Salah.

Mining and quarrying sites

Wadi Qalt en-Naga

An installation in Wadi Qalt en-Naga (26° 49.130' N/33° 07.100' E) comprised a single building of approximately seventeen rooms with overall dimensions of *c.* 17 m N–S × *c.* 16.4 m E–W.⁸ Walls were built of dry laid stones (pl. XVI, 2). Situated on low ground, a *seyl* wash on the southern side of the structure may have destroyed part of the building; wadi wash may also have slightly damaged the northern side of the edifice. The presence of grinding stones closely resembling those seen elsewhere in the Eastern Desert at known centres of gold-mining activity suggested that this site, too, may have been involved in some nearby mining operation in antiquity. The existence of numerous ancient gold-mines stretching from near here north to the settlement at Ghuzza reinforces this hypothesis.

The pottery found here has been dated Ptolemaic to early Roman. In the area were several cleared road sections which the bedouin guide said joined the edifice and mines in the Qalt en-Naga area with the installations at Ghuzza, but the author was unable to verify this claim.

⁸The site is not recorded by R. Klemm and D. D. Klemm, 'Chronologischer Abriß der antiken Goldgewinnung in der Ostwüste Ägyptens', *MDAIK* 50 (1994), 189–222.

Umm Huyut

South of the quarry complexes at Mons Claudianus was the site of Umm Huyut ($26^{\circ} 44.771' \text{ N}/32^{\circ} 28.060' \text{ E}$). At the southern mouth of a small wadi where it joined with Wadi Umm Huyut were fourteen buildings of dry laid stone (pl. XVII, 1) including one which seemed to be the primary structure on the site, perhaps some kind of administrative building, or a temple.⁹ Extra effort had been taken in constructing this edifice. The masonry was more carefully laid than in the other buildings. The work which went into placing it at a higher elevation than the other extant structures on the site, when it would have been more easily situated in the wadi below with the other buildings, also suggests that it was the most important edifice there.

This structure (excluding the squared apse) measured *c.* 9.3–9.4 m N–S \times *c.* 7–7.3 m E–W (fig. 2, A–I). It was built of stacked stones a short distance up the side of a hill,

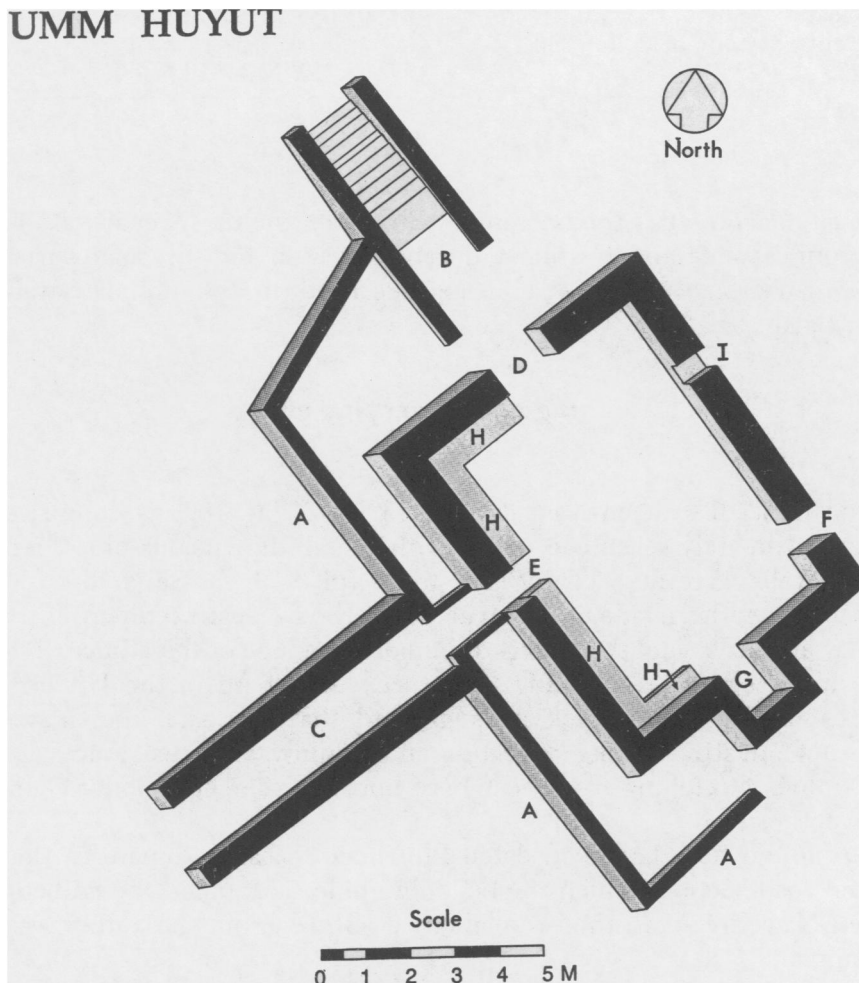


FIG. 2. Plan of the administrative building or temple at Umm Huyut.

⁹The Temple of Serapis at Mons Porphyrites also has a staircase approaching the structure from the side. Cf. T. Kraus et al., *MDAIK* 22 (1967), 174, fig. 17.

and rested partially upon an artificially levelled terrace with terrace retaining walls *c.* 0.3–0.4 m thick on the north-west, west, south-west and south sides (**A**). Two staircases approached the building; the better preserved one, *c.* 4.3–4.7 m long \times *c.* 2.2 m wide, ascended to the north-western (**B**) the other, *c.* 5.4 m long \times *c.* 2.6 m wide, to the south-western side (**C**) of the edifice. The entrance on the north-western side was *c.* 1.4 m wide (**D**), on the south-western side it was difficult to discern, but was between *c.* 0.95–1.4 m wide (**E**). A door lintel remained fallen amidst tumble at this south-western entrance. A third smaller portal *c.* 0.7 m wide pierced the eastern wall at its southern end (**F**). A squared-off apse *c.* 2 m \times *c.* 1.3 m faced south-east (**G**). There was a low bench *c.* 0.6 m wide abutting the interior face of the main edifice walls on the north-western, western and south-western sides (**H**). The purpose of this bench is uncertain. Remnants of a window *c.* 1.4 m above ground level and *c.* 0.5 m wide survived on the eastern wall at its northern end (**I**). The highest extant wall section was here at the window and was *c.* 1.8–1.9 m high. The presence of at least one window and the lintel for the south-western door suggested that the building originally had a roof, though nothing identifiable as roofing material survived; most likely it was of timber and matting which has long since disappeared.

The largest single building on the site measured *c.* 34.9 m N–S \times *c.* 8.3 m E–W and comprised eleven rooms. It was north-west of the putative administrative building/temple. Other structures, except for the ‘administrative building/temple’ were substantially smaller, either of a roundish or a rectilinear design. Most abutted the sides of the wadi walls; only four, including the ‘administrative building/temple’, were free-standing. Seven buildings had three rooms, three had single rooms and two had three rooms. Two of the three-roomed buildings also had external courtyards. In addition, there were two courtyards seemingly unassociated with any buildings.

There was a great deal of diagnostic pottery from the area around the settlement at Umm Huyut, including double-barrelled amphora handles and Dressel amphora types 2–4 which dated activity to the first and second centuries AD, contemporary with activity at Mons Claudianus.¹⁰

North of the site up a small wadi were four quarries. The most prominent quarry (26° 45.254' N/33° 27.981' E) (pl. XVII, 2) had a raised road or ramp leading to it varying in width from 3.3 to 5.1 m. A well-preserved hut built of dry-laid stone sat above and behind this quarry to the north. Pierced by a door *c.* 0.80 m wide, the hut’s overall dimensions were *c.* 2.8 \times 2.7 m; maximum preserved wall height was *c.* 1.8 m. The excellent view of the entire region from this vantage point suggested that it may have served as a guard post.

Two partially finished quadrilaterally shaped blocks (one 0.60 \times 0.62 \times 0.22 m, the other 0.67 \times 0.65–66 \times 0.26 m), two pedestals (one 0.60 m high) and parts of what appeared to be unfinished column drums or, possibly, grinding stones (*c.* 0.48/49–0.50/52 m in diameter \times *c.* 0.11–0.12 m high) lay amidst and north of the settlement and between

¹⁰On Mons Claudianus see J. Bingen, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 45–52; *BIFAO* 90 (1990), 65–81; *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 15–36; id. and J. S. Ole, *BIFAO* 93 (1993), 53–66; P. Posener-Kriéger, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 204–5 and *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 310–11; N. Grimal, *BIFAO* 91 (1991), 293–7; Bingen et al., *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina, I (O. Claud. 1 à 190)* (DFIFAO 29; Cairo, 1992), *passim*; L. B. Jørgensen, *Acta Hyperborea* 3 (1991), 83–95; D. P. S. Peacock, *Rome in the Desert: A Symbol of Power* (Southampton, 1992), *passim*; Bingen et al., *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina, II (O. Claud. 191–416)* (DFIFAO; Cairo, forthcoming).

the settlement and the quarries. From the condition and position of these abandoned stones it was clear that crews hauled semi-completed blocks to the settlement for onward transport.

Stone from the four Umm Huyut quarries varies slightly in composition. Three of the four quarries produced a mottled light grey and greenish-black, medium-grained tonalite gneiss, virtually identical to that quarried at Mons Claudianus. The difference between the samples from the two locations was in their foliation. The dark minerals at Umm Huyut occur mainly in long wavy folia; those from Mons Claudianus appear as straighter folia and irregular patches. The tonalite gneiss from the fourth quarry at Umm Huyut differs slightly from that in the other three; the folia are longer and nearly straight and cut by numerous granitic veins which the Romans probably considered unsightly. The stones from the three other quarries at Umm Huyut and those from Mons Claudianus do appear a little different and this may be one reason why both were quarried simultaneously.¹¹

The Romans referred to the stone from Mons Claudianus as *marmor Claudianum*; later Italian stonemasons termed it *granito del Foro*. It is likely that the stone from Umm Huyut would also have been known by these names because it was so similar in appearance to stone from Mons Claudianus.¹²

Given the slight difference in appearance, however, one wonders why a quarry producing a similar kind of stone to that obtainable at Mons Claudianus would have begun operations so close to the latter site in the same period. From what remains in the area, it seems that stone products from Umm Huyut were only smaller stone accoutrements and not the massive monolithic columns and large tubs produced at Mons Claudianus. This difference in the size and types of stone architectural elements being produced at two sites in such close proximity may also explain their complementary, contemporary operations.

Previously scholars have not recognized the Umm Huyut stone which may have been misidentified as stone from Mons Claudianus. Harrell, Brown and Lazzarini located three examples: a basin from Ostia, now on the Via dei Fori Imperiali in Rome, two drums in the right colonnade of the Basilica di Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, and a few pieces, possibly cut from columns, now used as kerbstones in the Piazza di San Pietro in the Vatican.¹³ A systematic search should reveal other examples of Umm Huyut stone products throughout the Roman Empire.

While there was no evidence of an ancient road into the site, it would be prudent to conclude that there was some type of communication artery with the larger quarry operations at Mons Claudianus to the north. There must also have been a route which ran from Umm Huyut westward to join up with the Mons Claudianus–Abu Zawal–Nile road just north of Fatireh el-Beida. This would have been the logical route for transport

¹¹V. M. Brown and J. A. Harrell in *ASMOSIA III, Athens: Transactions of the 3rd International Symposium of the Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones Used in Antiquity* (London, 1995), 221–34.

¹²Information from J. A. Harrell; see R. Gnoli, *Marmorata romana* (rev. edn., Rome, 1988), 58, 148–50, 212; G. Borghini, *Marmi antichi* (Rome, 1992), 222; Peacock, *Rome in the Desert*, 21–8; Peacock et al., *Antiquity* 68/259 (June 1994), 209–30.

¹³Harrell et al., *ASMOSIA IV*, forthcoming.

of the stone products from Umm Huyut to the Nile¹⁴ if, indeed, the stone from here was destined for export and not simply used locally.

Maghrabiya

South of the modern highway joining Safaga to Qena were additional quarries in Wadi Maghrabiya. The site was south-east of the fort at Abu Gerida (26° 21.495' N/33° 17.320' E) and south-west of the fort (26° 25.077' N/33° 39.557' E) guarding the gold-mining/quarry installations at Semna. The few edifices associated with this quarry were built of dry-laid stones located at 26° 18.903' N/33° 23.451' E (pl. XVIII, 1). There were three buildings; two lay close together, with a third to the east. The two western ones, designated north and south, had the following characteristics. The northern building comprised five rooms served by a corridor and measured *c.* 19.8 m E–W × *c.* 6.05 m N–S. A gap of *c.* 3.6 m separated this structure from a smaller building to the south which comprised six rooms with overall dimensions of *c.* 10.65 m E–W × *c.* 7.75 m N–S. Part of the western face of this latter building had been washed away by water running through the adjacent wadi. The building to the east comprised eight rooms with an overall size of *c.* 27.2 m (N–S) × *c.* 5.65 m (E–W); a single room jutted from the centre of the east wall making the overall E–W dimensions of the edifice *c.* 8.1 m.

The quarries at Maghrabiya (minimum of twelve in total) stretched down a wadi to the south. A partially-preserved winding ramp built of stone, *c.* 4.3 m wide, approached the quarry (26° 18.710' N/33° 23.686' E) closest to the above-mentioned settlement (pl. XVIII, 2). There was no evidence of modern quarrying activity.

Four varieties of gabbro, distinguished by their texture and colour, were quarried at Maghrabiya. The first was coarse-grained with mottled light-grey, dark-green and greenish-black coloration. The second was medium-grained with mottled white, light-grey and dark-green coloration. The third was coarse- to mainly medium-grained with coloration like that in the first and second varieties but with pegmatic zones. The fourth was medium-grained with mottled light-grey and moderate green coloration.¹⁵ The first through third varieties correspond to the *gabbro eufotide* and the fourth to the *granito verde plasmato* recorded by Mielsch, Gnoli, and Borghini.¹⁶ Although these scholars did not know the source of these stones, petrological analysis now confirms that they definitely derived from Maghrabiya.¹⁷

The survey recovered only small quantities of chronologically non-diagnostic pottery here which included the ubiquitous Nile amphorae, but based on the occurrence of this stone in dated pavements elsewhere in the Roman world, we estimated activity at Maghrabiya in the first and second centuries AD, at least.¹⁸ The wadi in which the buildings were situated is, today, very sandy and difficult for vehicular traffic to traverse.

¹⁴In general, quarries and mines in the Eastern Desert seem to have shipped their products to the Nile rather than to the Red Sea. Cf. Sidebotham, *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa 30 B.C.–A.D. 217* (Leiden, 1986), 63–4.

¹⁵For the petrographic descriptions, see Brown and Harrell, *ASMOSLA III*, 221–34.

¹⁶Cf. H. Mielsch, *Buntmarmor aus Rom im Antikenmuseum Berlin* (Berlin, 1985), 70 nos. 815–19 and pl. 24; Gnoli, *Marmora romana*, 158–60 & fig. 116; Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 210, and 231 for other references.

¹⁷To be published by Harrell et al., in *ASMOSLA IV*, forthcoming.

¹⁸Mielsch, *Buntmarmor*, 70; Gnoli, *Marmora romana*, 158; Borghini, *Marmi antichi*, 210.

Most likely, this quarry transported its stone along the Wadi Maghrabiya to Abu Gerida and onwards to the Nile.

Bir Sirbakis

The gold-mining settlement at Bir Sirbakis (26° 23.563' N/33° 27.181' E) comprised grinding stones and numerous small structures, probably domestic dwellings, on both sides of the wadi (pl. XIX, 1).¹⁹ Abundant pottery from here dated to the Ptolemaic Period and first century AD. The bedouin guide said that mining resumed here in about 1955–63, but the author could not confirm this. A number of dilapidated modern buildings and a well lay west of the main concentration of ancient buildings. On the south side of the wadi, c. 300 m west of the centre of the ancient site, was a mining-related inscription dated 1904.

Latin inscription

South-west of the quarries at Mons Claudianus and on one of the roads travelled by quarry crews to the Nile, just south-west of the road stop at Fatireh el-Beida (26° 43.923' N/33° 19.434' E) and north-east of Abu Zawal (26° 40.225' N/33° 14.409' E) was a six-line Latin inscription (pl. XIX, 2). It was carved on the north face of a rock outcrop and not visible from the nearby road at 26° 43.138' N/33° 16.966' E. Overall dimensions of the inscription were 0.52 m high × 1.20 m wide, with a letter height ranging from 5 to 8 cm, and the longest line (1.5) measuring 1.09 m. Some of the text was effaced. The following transcription and commentary have been provided by Dr R. S. O. Tomlin, working from the photograph:

The text is cut in a well-formed 'rustic capital' bookhand characterised by unbarred A, cursive B, and long descenders for F and R. Word-endings are marked with interpunct, except at the end of lines. Before being cut, the text looks as if it was first written with a brush or similar instrument. The placing of EIVS (line 6) suggests that care was taken during this laying-out to centre each line, an impression strengthened by the indenting of CAES (line 2) and the leftward extension of line 5 which corresponds to its rightward extension. This allows us to calculate the approximate length of each line and number of missing letters.

1	IMP·NERVAE·TRAIANO
2	CAES·AVG·G[ER]M[·DA]C
3	[P·]M·[TR·P·COS·P·P]
4	[P]ROÇ·FL·DIADVMENO·AVG·LIB
5	[P]ER·FL·FORTVNATVM·CLIENTEM
6	EIVS

¹⁹This may be the site which Meredith, *JEA* 38, 107, 110 fleetingly refers to as Garahish, but this is uncertain; Klemm and Klemm (*MDAIK* 50, 189–222) do not seem to record this site.

*Imp(eratori) Nervae Traiano | Caes(ari) Aug(usto) G[er]m(anico) [Da]c(ico) |
 [p(ontifici)] m(aximo) [tr(ibunicia) p(otestate) co(n)s(uli) p(atri) p(atriciae) |
 [p]roc(uratore) Fl(avio) Diadumeno Aug(usti) lib(erto) | [p]er Fl(avium) Fortuna-
 tum clientem | eius*

‘For the Emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus, Conqueror of Germany, Conqueror of Dacia, Chief Pontiff, with Tribunician Power, Consul, Father of his Country; in the procuratorship of Flavius Diadumenus, freedman of the Emperor, by the agency of Flavius Fortunatus, his dependant.’

Commentary

1. The final letter is unclear, but it can only be I (genitive) or O (dative); the dative is much more usual in such dedications, and the surviving traces look too wide for I.
- 2-3. The width can be calculated from the indenting of CAES and [P] M. This and the surviving letters indicate a summary list in abbreviated form of Trajan’s usual titles after becoming *Dacicus* in AD 103, but before he became *Optimus* in AD 114 and *Parthicus* in AD 116. There is no space for numerals after TR P and COS, or for the addition of IMP with numeral.
4. The width must have been approximately the same as that of line 5. Before DIADVMENO are two letters with interpunct before and after them, which closely resemble the better-preserved FL in 5. The shared gentilicium is to be expected: Fortunatus like his patron gained citizenship from a Flavian emperor, his patron being well-placed to intervene on his behalf; alternatively Fortunatus was once the slave of Flavius Diadumenus and, when he became a Roman citizen after manumission, as usual adopted the gentilicium of his former owner whose *cliens* he now became. In the period AD 103/13, an imperial freedman would have been either *Flavius* (abbreviated to FL), or *Cocceius*, or *Ulpus* (abbreviated to VLP), and since the surviving traces exclude the latter two names, *Fl(avio)* must be read.

Since DIADVMENO is either dative or ablative, Flavius Diadumenus cannot have been the dedicator. (A preceding *sub* or a present participle like *curante* / *agente* is grammatically possible, but a nominative-case dedicator, that is a military unit or a superior officer, would then be required in line 5. In any case, neither the space available in line 4 nor the surviving traces admit these possibilities.) If DIADVMENO were dative, Flavius Diadumenus would be a second dedicatee, but this is inherently unlikely; moreover, the linking ET cannot be restored, and a nominative-case dedicator would still be required. So DIADVMENO must be ablative. In view of Flavius Diadumenus’ quasi-official high rank as freedman of the Emperor, the obvious force of this ablative is that his tenure of some office is being used to put the inscription into context of place or date. The most likely office for an imperial freedman in the provinces is a procuratorship, such as the supervision of imperial property like mines or quarries; and indeed there are acceptable but uncertain traces of ROC before FL. In this period the civilian in charge of the quarries at Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus was an imperial freedman procurator: at Mons Claudianus under Trajan, the procurator Encolpius (*JGR* I, 1254 = D. Meredith, *CdE* 29 (1954), 109 no. 27 = *I. Pan* 38; cf. *O. Claud.* 19); and at Mons Claudianus on 23 April 118, Chresimus ‘procurator of the quarries, freedman of the Emperor’ (*JGR* I, 1255 = Meredith, *CdE* 29, 103 no. 22 = *I. Pan* 42). The parallel text

from Mons Porphyrites (*IGR* I, 1256 = Meredith, *CdE* 28 (1953), 126 no. 1 = *I. Pan* 21) gives his full name, Marcus Ulpus Chresimus, which can be restored in fragmentary dedications from Ephesus (*SEG* IV 531) and Tralles (*CIL* iii 7146). The ablative-absolute dating formula [*p*]roc(uratore) Fl(avio) Diadumeno Aug(usti) lib(erto) of the present text is simply an abbreviated Latin version of the formula ἐπιτρόπου τῶν μετᾶλλων Χρησίμου Σεβαστοῦ ἀπελευθεροῦ in the Chresimus text from Mons Claudianus.

Flavius Diadumenus is therefore a predecessor in office of Ulpus Chresimus, hitherto unattested. Chresimus has already been noted (by P. R. C. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris* (Cambridge, 1972), 269) as an example of a freedman procurator who was manumitted some years before his promotion; Diadumenus, a *Flavius* in the reign of Trajan, is another. The name *Diadumenus* is frequent among slaves and freedmen at Rome, including members of the imperial household (H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom: ein Namenbuch* (Berlin, 1982), 858–60), and Weaver (*ibid.*, 260 n. 6) has noted four inscriptions of Julio-Claudian freedmen of the Emperor called Diadumenus. Note also the Trajanic Marcus Ulpus Aug(usti) l(ibertus) Diadumenus, procurator of an imperial estate outside Rome (*ILS* 9024). There is a homonym of our Diadumenus, (Flavius) Diadumenus Aug(usti) l(ibertus) who died in AD 130; his administrative career began in AD 80, but his tombstone (*ILS* 1850) unfortunately records no further details. He might be the same man.

Well below EIVS (line 6) and off-centre to its right are at least two letters(?). They are illegible, but they look as if they are unrelated to the carefully ordered inscription above.

It is clear from extensive surveying in the area between the Abu Sha'ar–Nile and Quseir–Nile roads that there are a number of heretofore unrecorded ancient sites. Some of these have been briefly discussed here, but many others undoubtedly await discovery by scholars. Our bedouin guide indicated that there were numerous preserved stretches of ancient road, ancient mines, settlements, and at least one fort in this region which appear on no maps of the area. Continued intensive surveying of this portion of the Eastern Desert should shed light on these yet-to-be-discovered remains.



1. Station at Bir Salah on the Abu Sha'ar—Nile Road



2. View of edifice in Wadi Qalt en-Naga



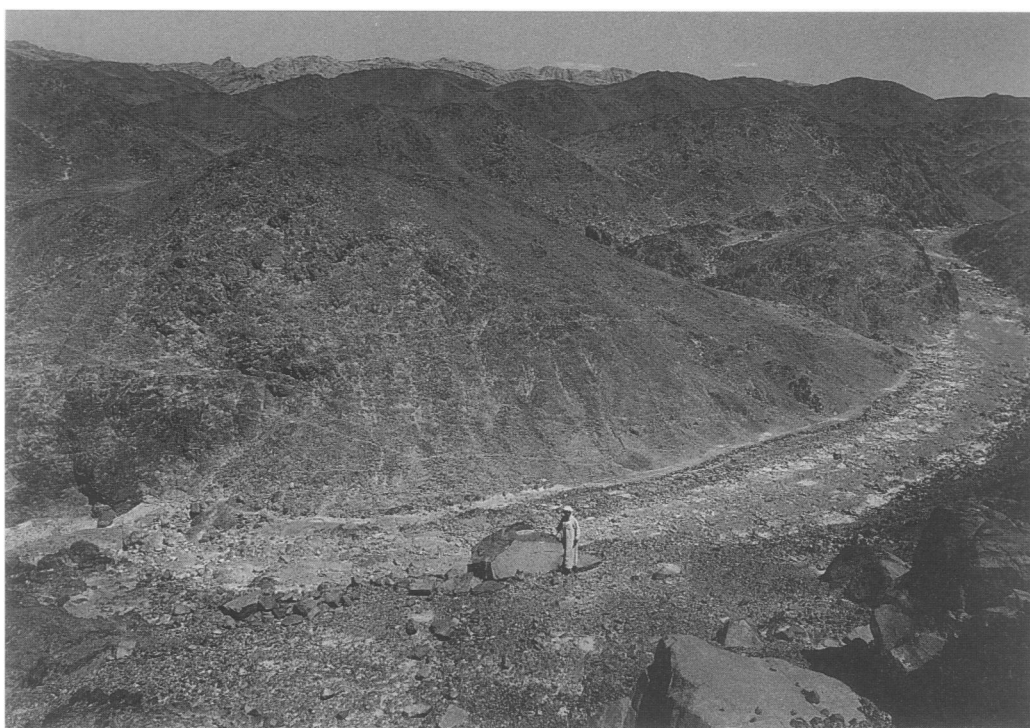
1. Settlement at Umm Huyut



2. Quarry and lookout post at Umm Huyut



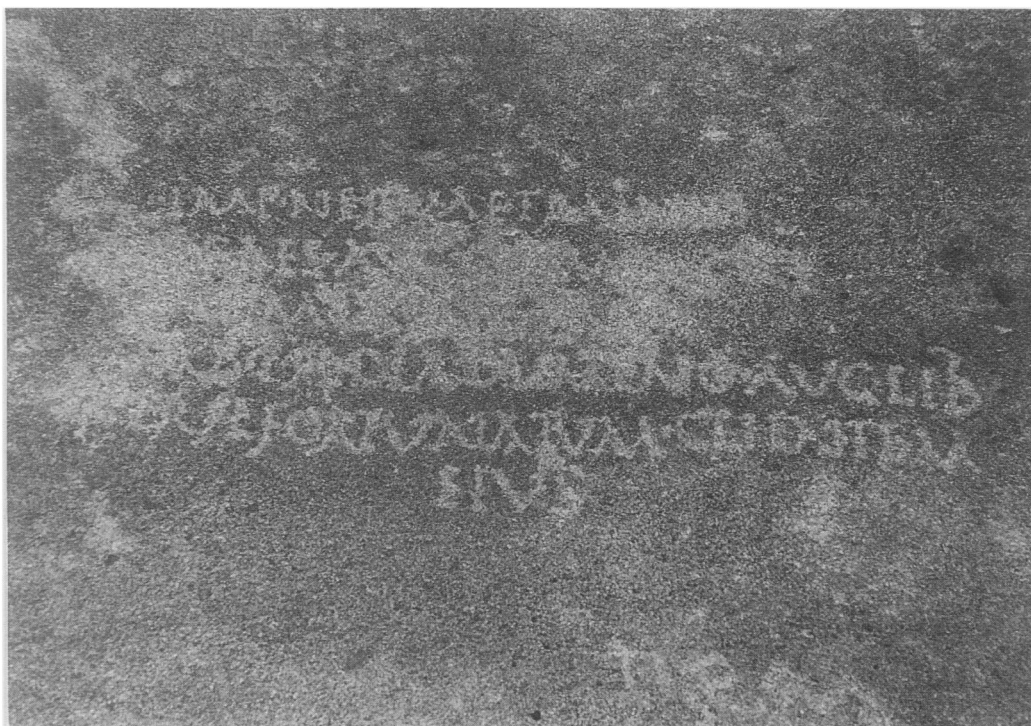
1. Settlement at Maghrabiya



2. Quarry closest to settlement at Maghrabiya



1. Settlement at gold-mining camp of Bir Sirbakis



2. Latin inscription near Fatireh el-Beida

MUSEUM ACQUISITIONS, 1994

EGYPTIAN ANTIQUITIES ACCESSIONED IN 1994 BY MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

Edited by ELENI VASSILIKA

Predynastic Period

1. Two flint arrowheads, part of a surface collection from Gebel Gar, Fayum (see no. 5, below), Fayum Neolithic A, Ashmolean Museum 1994.75–6. Given by Mrs J. Crowfoot Payne.

Old Kingdom

2. Pottery model vessels, British Museum EA 74127–34, 74239–42, and a coarse ware vessel, EA 74244. Given by Mrs E. C. Bagnall.

3. Pottery sherds, British Museum EA 74246, 74249. From Buhen. Given by Mrs E. C. Bagnall.

4. Flint knives, blades, and an end scraper, surface collection *c.* 1910 from Gebel Gar, Fayum (see no. 1, above); Old Kingdom and later, Ashmolean Museum 1994.77–88. Given by Mrs J. Crowfoot Payne.

5. Samples of stone (quartz, limestone, calcite, breccia, granodiorite), British Museum EA 74250–60, and copper slag samples, EA 74247–8. From Buhen. Given by Mrs E. C. Bagnall.

First Intermediate Period

6. Gold button seal, back with small figure of squatting man, suspension ring behind, underside engraved with stylized jackal, falcon and plant motifs, British Museum EA 74316.

7. Two steatite stamp seals, backs with small human figures, undersides with geometric motifs, British Museum EA 74320–1.

Middle Kingdom

8. Steatite vessel of open rectangular form, with a crouching man at one end, British Museum EA 74328.

New Kingdom

9. Wooden shabti of the king's scribe and steward Khay, British Museum EA 74720. Nineteenth Dynasty. Given by Antonia Spowers.

10. Steatite antelope figures, underside incised in one case with motif of a seated king, in the other with motif of a lion attacking an ibex, British Museum EA 74318–9.

11. Pottery meat-storage jar with hieratic text identifying contents, British Museum EA 74751. From Tell el-Amarna. Late Eighteenth Dynasty.

12. Dark blue faience spacer bead of seven fused cylinders, front decorated with *ankh*- and *djed*-hieroglyphs, British Museum EA 74323. Late Eighteenth Dynasty.

Third Intermediate Period

13. Blue-green faience figure of a woman and monkey with dark spots. British Museum EA 74325.

14. Faience shabti of Queen Karomama, British Museum EA 74324. Twenty-second Dynasty.

Late Period

15. Faience New Year's vessel sherd, falcon, and *wedjat*-eye, British Museum EA 74723–5; pottery sherds, EA 74730, 74733–4, 74736; bone awl and pin, EA 74728–9; bronze nails and pins, EA 74726–7; fused bronze objects, EA 74749; flint scrapers, EA 74743–4; worked stone fragments and vessel cores and fragments, EA 74738–42. From Tell el-Farain (Buto): see also nos. 21, 26. Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

16. Steatite figure of Ptah the dwarf (Pataikos) on two crocodiles, British Museum EA 74322.

17. Two faience balance bowls, British Museum EA 74317.

18. Pottery sherds from one vessel, British Museum EA 74213. Given by Mrs E. C. Bagnall.

Ptolemaic Period

19. Plaster mask of head of Bes with leopard's head modelled on chin. Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1994. Ex Damais Collection.

20. Faience kohl vessel, British Museum EA 74327.

21. Faience vessel sherds, British Museum EA 74747, and pottery sherds, EA 74731–2, 74735. From Tell el-Farain (Buto): see also nos. 15, 26. Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

22. Papyrus fragment from the Book of the Dead for Horemakhbit son of Tabeheset, other fragments including British Museum EA 10272 from the Libri sales of the 1860s, British Museum EA 74329.

23. Terracotta figure of a Gaulish warrior. British Museum GR 1994.10–1.2. Late third or early second century BC. Published: D. M. Bailey, 'A Gaul from Egypt', in B. Raftery (ed.) *Sites and Sights of the Iron Age* (Oxbow Monograph 56; Oxford, 1995), 1–3.

Roman Period

24. Egyptian Barbotine Ware cup. British Museum GR 1994.4–11.2. First–second century AD.

25. Faience figure of a hedgehog, British Museum EA 74326.

26. Pottery sherds, British Museum EA 74737, 74746. From Tell el-Farain (Buto): see also nos. 15, 21. Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

27. Pottery sherds, British Museum EA 74209, 74211, 74212, 74225. Given by Mrs E. C. Bagnall.

28. Palm fibre and leather sandal and a coiled basket, Roman or later, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery 58/1994 ref. nos. 84.2.1/42 and 64/229; and iron implements (arrowhead; needle or bodkin), 58/1994 ref. nos. 80.2.28/19; 82.2.15/14. From Qasr Ibrim (see below, nos. 29, 31). Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

Coptic Period

29. Pottery cup, bowl, and lamp, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery 58/1994 ref. nos. 63/117, 69/179, and 78.1.16/1. From Qasr Ibrim (see also nos. 28, 31). Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

Meroitic

30. Sandstone head from a *ba*-bird statue, British Museum EA 74200.

31. Terracotta female figurine, Bristol Museums and Art Gallery 58/1994 ref. no. 78.3.2/54 and textile fragments (cotton pile weave; fringe and Roman stripes), 58/1994 ref. nos. 78T/402; 78T/424; 80T/85. From Qasr Ibrim (see above, nos. 28–9). Given by the Egypt Exploration Society.

BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

A remarkable 'hedgehog-ship' from Tell Ibrahim Awad

Publication of a recently discovered 'hedgehog-ship' model from Tell Ibrahim Awad in the Eastern Delta.

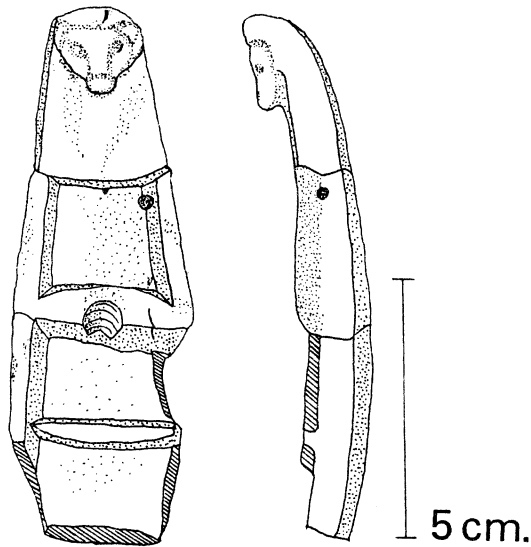


FIG. 1. Model of a 'hedgehog-ship': top and side views. Drawings by T. Sherkova, inked by the author.

IN 1993, an uncommon object was found in one of the rooms which formed a part of the construction situated under the foundations of the Middle Kingdom temple in Tell Ibrahim Awad, already unearthed in previous seasons.¹ Several groups of ritually deposited cultic and votive objects were found in these rooms; a number of small votive objects were scattered among them. The model published here belongs to the latter category. After cleaning and restoration it was seen to be a so-called 'hedgehog-ship',² made of pottery (fig. 1, pl. XX, 1–2). In contrast to the normal position of a figure-head, in this case the hedgehog is looking back. The cross-beams on the deck and the rudimentary railing are clearly indicated. A shallow hole in the middle of one of the beams might be intended to take a mast, although one would expect it to be deeper. Another small hole in the right side runs through the thickness of the hull. About 25 per cent is missing at the stern end.

Stratigraphy, context, and parallels with other 'hedgehog-ships' suggest a date in the late Old Kingdom. Model ships of this kind are relatively rare, and most of them are made of faience. All date to the Old Kingdom. By far the biggest concentration was found in comparable deposits at Elephantine.³ This piece is different from the majority of known specimens in that its execution is more careful than most of these, and the ship's deck is indicated. 'Hedgehog-ships' are known from representations in Old Kingdom tombs as well, mainly at Saqqara and Giza.⁴ An apotropaic function seems likely, pertaining to the defensive nature of the hedgehog. This would explain the fact that the figure-head faces backwards, like a hedgehog in the act of rolling itself up face-first, the shape suggesting an association with a ship's hull as well.

¹D. Eigner, 'A Temple of the Early Middle Kingdom at Tell Ibrahim Awad', in E. van den Brink (ed.), *The Nile Delta in Transition* (Tel Aviv, 1992), W. M. van Haarlem, 'De opgravingen in Tell Ibrahim Awad in 1993', in *Phoenix Ex Or Lux* 40 (1994), 33–43.

²Excavations of the 'Netherlands Foundation for Archaeological Research in Egypt', find no. A 140/190/80; h. 3.6 cm, l. 9.8 + x cm, w. 3.6 cm. Material: Nile clay I A, upper part polished (Munsell 10 R 4/6).

³W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, II (MEEF 24; London, 1903), 28, pl. xi. 241; A. Fakhry, *The Monuments of Seneferu at Dahshur*, II/2 (Cairo, 1963), 14, pl. xlix; G. Dreyer, *Elephantine*, viii: *Der Tempel der Satet* (AVDAI 39; Mainz, 1986), 76–9, pls. 37–9.

⁴V. von Droste zu Hülshoff, *Der Igel im alten Ägypten* (MÄS 11; Munich, 1980), 95–115.

Other possible associations may be derived from the role of the hedgehog as a forecaster of changing winds (important for ships sailing upstream),⁵ or as a geographical indicator of the Lower Egyptian origin of precious oils carried by ships sailing southwards,⁶ but these connections seem less likely.

WILLEM M. VAN HAARLEM

The hero of Retjenu—an execration figure*
(*Sinuhe* B 109–113)

THE well-known episode of Sinuhe's meeting and combat with the 'hero of Retjenu' has already been the subject of several literary-critical and psychological studies, so that further comment may seem superfluous.¹ The characterization of this hero, however, contains certain features that seem to have been neglected in the course of these studies. These aspects deserve a short note that may add a further element to the literary criticism of the text. The wording of Sinuhe's description betrays use of the genre that is known in Egyptology as the Execration Texts. For this context the Berlin and Cairo Execration Texts, edited by K. Sethe² and G. Posener respectively, are especially relevant.³

Sinnuhe's designation of his opponent as *nht*—'strong one, hero'—cannot be fortuitous, inasmuch as 'besondere Zugehörige der betroffenen Völker' are called thus according to the Berlin texts (c1; g1), apart from *sjn.w*, 'runners', *smꜣ.w*, 'confederates', etc.⁴ This correspondence and the following were not overlooked by Sethe.⁵ The text in B 111 ff. continues: *dd.n = f-ꜥꜣ = f-hꜣꜣ = j hmt.n = f-hwtf-wj kꜣ.n = f-hꜣꜣ q-mmmn.t = j hr-sh n-why.t = f*—'he planned to fight with me, he intended to kill⁶ me, he meant to seize my cattle at the behest of his tribe'.⁷ Although *hmt* does not occur in the Execration Texts, it suits the context well and may be regarded as a literary amplification of their phraseology on the part of the author of *Sinuhe*. Instead of Sinuhe's verbal *kꜣ.n = f*, those texts have the nominal *kꜣ.t-(nb.t dw.t)*, '(every evil) plan/idea'. As a sign of Sinuhe's superiority, the hero's 'planning' is turned into its opposite to the advantage of Sinuhe in B 144–5:

⁵Von Droste, *Der Igel*, 24 ff.; Dreyer, *Satet*, 78f.

⁶H. Altenmüller, *SAK* 4 (1976), 29.

*I would like to express my sincerest thanks to Richard B. Parkinson for correcting my German English.

¹The latest discussions known to me are P. Behrens, 'Sinuhe B 134 ff oder die Psychologie eines Zweikampfes', *GM* 44 (1981), 7–11; E. Blumenthal, 'Zu Sinuhes Zweikampf mit dem Starken von Retjenu', in M. Görg (ed.), *Fontes atque pontes. Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner* (Wiesbaden, 1983), 42 f.; G. Fecht, 'Sinuhes Zweikampf als Handlungskern des Dritten Kapitels des Sinuhe—"Romans"', in F. Junge (ed.), *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf*, I (Göttingen, 1984), 465–84; G. Posener, *Cinq figurines d'envoûtement* (Cairo, 1987), 41 (E1); Y. Koenig, *Les textes d'envoûtement de Mirgissa*, *RdE* 41 (1990), 110(b). The latest continuous translation of the whole tale is by E. Blumenthal, in O. Kaiser (ed.), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, III, 5: *Mythen und Epen*, III (Gütersloh, 1995), 884–911.

²*Die Ächtung feindlicher Fürsten, Völker und Dinge auf altägyptischen Tongefäßscherben des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin, 1926).

³See n. 1.

⁴Posener, *Cinq figurines*, in the 'section égyptienne'; Koenig, *RdE* 41, 107 f. A *JEA* referee recalls the fact that 'Sinuhe's children also become *nht* [B 92–93]', and suggests that this might be a translation of some Canaanite title, although it should be noted that Sesostri I is also called a *nht* (B 51), just like private individuals in Egypt; see J. Janssen, *De Traditioneele Egyptische Autobiografie vóór het Nieuwe Rijk* (Leiden, 1946), I, Ag.

⁵*Die Ächtung*, 41 (c1). See also his note on d 4 on pp. 42 f.

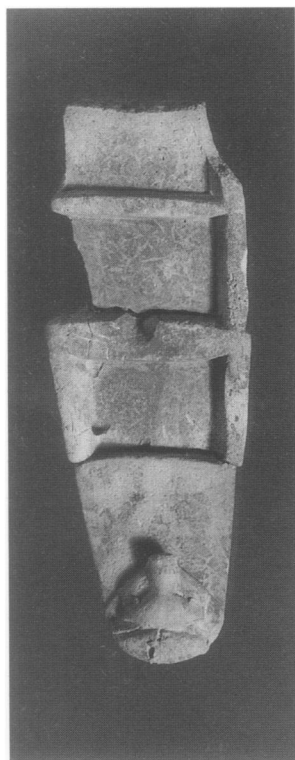
⁶This meaning and reading of *hwtf* has been proposed by M. Defossez, *RdE* 38 (1987), 187–90.

⁷Translation adapted from M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, I (Berkeley, 1973), 227. For *dd.n = f-ꜥꜣ = f-hꜣꜣ = j*, see Sethe, *Die Ächtung*, 43 (d4; h4) and Posener, *Cinq figurines*, 43 (F5).

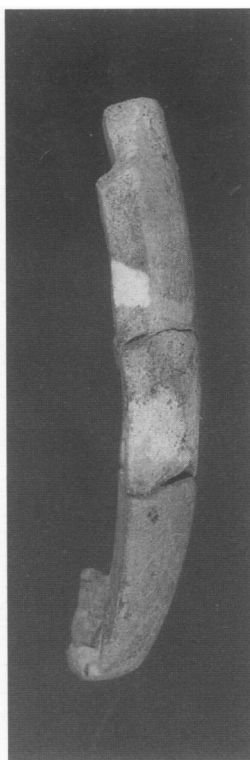


3.

THE STELA OF NEFERHOTEP (pp. 199-202)



1.



2.

Model 'hedgehog-ship', top and side views
(Photographs by J.-R. Perez-Accino Picatoste)

A REMARKABLE 'HEDGEHOG-SHIP' (pp. 197-8)

k3.t.n = f-jr.t-s.t-r = j jr.n = j-s.t-r = f—‘what he had planned to do to me I did to him’. Thus, the sequence of lexical elements turns out to be the same in *Sinuhe* as in the Execration Texts.

There is another detail worth mentioning. In contrast to the ruler (*hq3*) of Retjenu, Amunenshi, Sinuhe’s hero of Retjenu remains anonymous. Since he is not credited with a name, he does not have any identity.⁸ He shares this anonymity with the *nht.w* of the Execration Texts, who, in turn, differ in this respect from the *hq3.w*. Those ‘rulers’ not only have a personal name, but may also be identified by their filiation; this particular feature, on the other hand, is lacking from the portrayal of Amunenshi.

Sinuhe’s opponent, nevertheless, is presented in an almost ‘civilised’ way. He combines his challenge to Sinuhe with an announcement that he is going to fight with him the next day. He does not attack Sinuhe like a guerrillero but allows him time enough to prepare his weapons until dawn. His behaviour conforms to the Egyptian way of waging war, compared to the *Charakteristik* of the *3mw*-Asiatic in the *Teaching for Merikare* (E 94; ed. Helck, 1977, 34g–j); that vile Asiatic ‘fights since the time of Horus, not conquering nor being conquered, he does not announce the day of combat, like a thief who darts about a group’.⁹ While the *3mw* may not be ‘conquered’, Sinuhe proves the contrary by killing his adversary with the first blow. Announcing the day of combat in advance is also ascribed to the ‘Egyptianized’ foreigner Piye in his famous stela (l. 10), where he admonishes his soldiers accordingly (*sr.n = f h3 m-w3*, ‘challenge him to battle from afar’).¹⁰

These correspondences may be common property to those Egyptologists interested in the literary style of *Sinuhe*, although they are unmentioned in almost all of the relevant commentaries. Other literary genres like narratives, autobiographies, royal hymns, etc. have long since been identified. But it seems that still another genre, i.e. the Execration Texts, can be added to this list. Furthermore, Sinuhe’s hero of Retjenu seems to be the only execration figure treated in any of the literary texts known so far. In contrast to the Execration Texts, however, he is not annihilated by mere magical means, but by an Egyptian’s intelligent action.

HANS-W. FISCHER-ELFERT

The stela of Neferhotep from the Sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine Island¹

Report of the discovery on Elephantine of a Thirteenth Dynasty limestone stela from the Sanctuary of Heqaib. The owner, the Elder of the Portal Neferhotep, born of Nubhertjen, is otherwise unknown.

THE stela which is the subject of this paper (pl. XX, 3; fig. 1) was shown to me in January, 1995. It had recently been removed from a private house in Siou village, the most northern of the two villages of Elephantine Island, Aswan. There it had been employed as the upper section of a window sill. The house was reported to be of traditional Kenzi Nubian design, made of mud brick with vaulted ceilings. In order to facilitate the flow of air through such a dwelling a small window (known in Kenzi/Metoki as a *washî*) was constructed high up in the room’s short-end walls. The

⁸With regard to Amunenshi, A. Loprieno remarks that we are here in front of the ‘erste Präsentation eines Ausländers als «Person» mit einer ihm eigenen Identität in der ägyptischen Literaturgeschichte’; see his *Topos und Mimesis: Zum Ausländer in der ägyptischen Literatur* (Wiesbaden, 1988), 42 f. This very anonymity also applies to Sinuhe’s wife and children.

⁹Lichtheim, *AEL* I, 104.

¹⁰I owe this reference to F. Hoffmann (Würzburg). See also P. Kaplony, *CdE* 92 (1971), 265.

¹I wish to express my thanks to Carol A. R. Andrews for commenting on my translation, and to the *Journal*’s referees. Any remaining errors are mine.

stela shows signs of burn marks in the fifth line of text and in parts of the scene depicting its owner. These marks were reportedly caused by lit candles having been placed on the lower sill of the *washî*, their smoke and heat causing discoloration on the block above. Obviously the stela's carved face faced downwards in the *washî*, and its visibility was said to have led to curiosity on the part of the current house owner and its subsequent removal. The location of the stela is now unknown to me, but it probably remains in private hands.

Description

The material of the stela is limestone, and the dimensions are $35.4 \times 22 \times 5$ cm. The height of the register with a scene of two figures is 12 cm. There are five horizontal lines of text, and three vertical ones beside the two figures.

The stone is very well preserved apart from the burn-marks noted above, which have caused damage to the name of Neferhotep's father, and some chips on the left-hand side (which at the extreme left have obliterated the sign at the end of l. 5).

Translation

Horizontal text:

- 1 A boon which the king gives (to) Satet, Khnum, Anuq[et]
- 2 and prince Heqaib that they give invocation-offerings of bread and beer, flesh and fowl,
- 3 incense, alabaster vessels and linen garments, every good pure thing which a god lives
- 4 upon, for the *ka* of the Elder of the Portal, Neferhotep, the justified, begotten by
- 5 the Chief Officer of the City [Nemtihotep(?)]² the justified, born to Nubhertjen.³

Vertical texts:

- 1 The Elder of the Portal, Neferhotep, the justified.
- 2 The Mistress of the House SatHat[hor(?)], the justified,
- 3 his wife.

Discussion

From the inscription there can be little doubt that the stela of Neferhotep was originally erected within the sanctuary dedicated to Pepinakht-Heqaib on Elephantine Island. The name of the local 'god-hero' Heqaib is listed along with those of the Elephantine Triad in the inscription, and the stela's textual formulae and artistic quality are paralleled by stelae found *in situ* within this sanctuary.⁴

In the Thirteenth Dynasty numerous officials, of both high and lower ranking, placed devotional and commemorative objects within the sanctuary precinct. It is to this period that the stela of Neferhotep belongs. The offering formula invoking the triad of Elephantine Island and the 'noble Heqaib' is typical of stelae and statues that date from the end of the Twelfth to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵

As far as I know Neferhotep, born of Nubhertjen and husband of Sat-Hat[hor], is otherwise unknown; there are, however, some namesakes of his.⁶ His title (*smsw h:jjt*), and that of his father (*ꜥꜣw ꜥ n njwt*) are not attested among those claimed by any of the contemporaneous officials whose monuments were discovered within the sanctuary of Heqaib.

²Reading uncertain; this possibility was suggested by the *Journal's* referees.

³Not in Ranke, *Personennamen*. Note that the element *tnj* occurs in Heqaib's second name, Tjeni.

⁴See L. Habachi, *The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz, 1985); D. Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine: Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich* (Heidelberg, 1994).

⁵See Franke, *Heqaib*, 147ff., e.g. nos. 36, 64, 89, 92, 93.

⁶See Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.)* (Wiesbaden, 1984), esp. no. 318 (with the title *smsw h:jjt*).

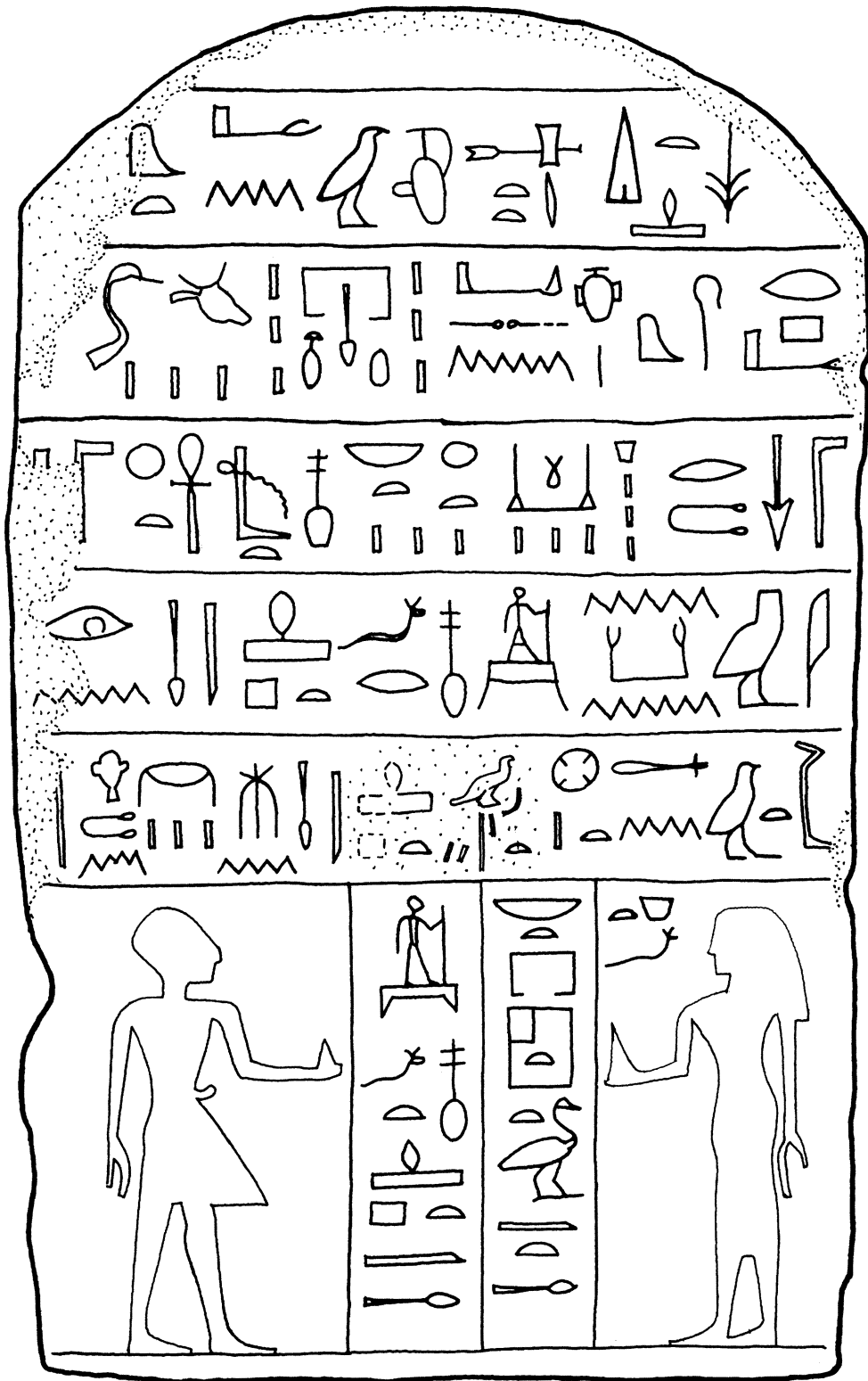
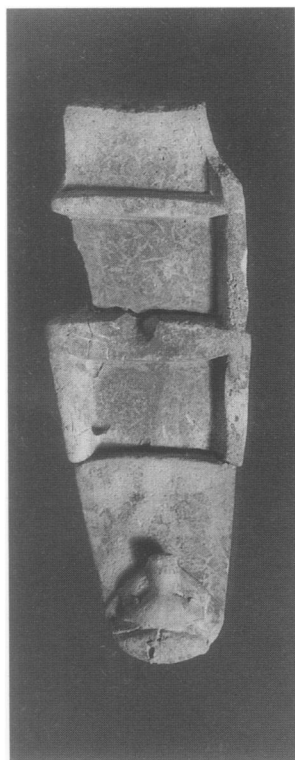


FIG. 1. Transcription of the stela.

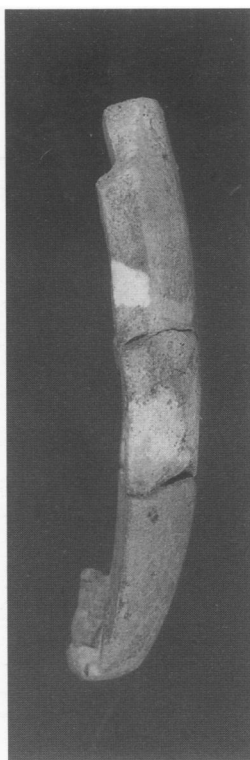


3.

THE STELA OF NEFERHOTEP (pp. 199-202)



1.



2.

Model 'hedgehog-ship', top and side views
(Photographs by J.-R. Perez-Accino Picatoste)

A REMARKABLE 'HEDGEHOG-SHIP' (pp. 197-8)

While the Elder of the Portal Neferhotep obviously possessed both sufficient rank and wealth to commission and erect this stela, it is a modest devotional piece in terms of its scale and artistic quality. The style and layout are not of the 'classical' Elephantine style. The hieroglyphs have generally been rendered with some care, but the figures are crudely executed and lack any attempt at modelling.

MICHAEL R. JENKINS

A fragment of the Book of the Dead in Waseda University Library, Tokyo¹

Publication of a papyrus fragment of the Book of the Dead, dating from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, preserved in the collection of Waseda University Library, Tokyo.

THE papyrus fragment published here was acquired by Waseda University Library in 1989, and is now preserved in its collection under the accession number F 242–34. There is no information available about its provenance.

The fragment, measuring 66 × 19.5 cm, is now mounted on a sheet of wine-red paper. It is a part of the upper portion of a Book of the Dead, containing sections from the text of Chapters 72 (columns $x + 1 - x + 8$), 83 (columns $x + 27 - x + 30$), 84 (columns $x + 31 - x + 42$) and 124 (columns $x + 9 - x + 26$) and the vignettes illustrating the rubrics of Chapters 72 and 124 (pls. XXI, XXII).

The text is written vertically in cursive or linear hieroglyphs and hieratic, to be read in the retrograde fashion. The vertical columns are separated by rules, except for the rubric of Chapter 124 and the legends of the vignettes.

Commentary

Column x + 4: The first half reads $[m] - m \text{ thnt } hft \text{ spr.f } s(y)$. A parallel expression is attested in the same chapter of Louvre 3073. Cf. E. Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin, 1886), (subsequently: Naville, *Todtenbuch*) II, 156 (Pa). The writing of thnt , 'faience', here is unique, and similar to that of nbw , 'gold'.

Column x + 5: One would expect $t \text{ hnqt}$, 'bread and beer', or the like preceding $wr \text{ n iw}$, 'a chunk of meat', but the reading is uncertain. It might read $wnmt$ (or $wnmw$) 'food' (cf. *Wb.* I, 321, 15; R. O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 1976) (subsequently: Faulkner, *Dictionary*), 62) or $st;t$, 'aroura' (cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, II, 157 (Pb), 232 (Ca); I. Munro, *Die Totenbuch-Handschriften der 18. Dynastie im Ägyptischen Museum Cairo* (AA 54; Wiesbaden, 1994) (subsequently: Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften*), *Textband*, 163, n. 1) followed by illegible signs.

Column x + 10: The phrase $nt-r \text{ r sht } hps$, 'ritual practice (?) for chopping off a foreleg', is out of place here, and clearly a corruption. The word $nt-r$, 'rite, ritual, custom' (cf. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 142) is attested in Chapters 15 (in P. BM EA 10470: cf. E. A. W. Budge, *The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day or the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead* (London, 1910), I, 42, 1.23), 127B (in P. Busca: cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 142, col. 9) and 183 (in P. BM EA 9901: cf.

¹I would like to thank Dr Richard Parkinson, who read the draft of this paper and made valuable comments, and Prof. John Baines, for his kind encouragement and suggestions. I am greatly indebted to Mr Sanjeev Bagga, who checked the English of the draft. Responsibility for the contents, however, remains mine. I am also indebted to Waseda University Library for permission to study and publish the fragment.

Budge, *ibid.*, III, 107, l. 24). The expression *šḫ ḥpš*, 'to chop off a foreleg', is attested in Chapter 172: cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch I*, 194, col. 31.

Column x + 11: The name of the owner of this papyrus has been left blank here, while it is written as 'so-and-so' in the vignette of Chapter 64 (see below). This indicates that the papyrus was an unused ready-made one, or a kind of 'blank cheque' to be used by anybody: cf. T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth By Day* (SAOC 37; Chicago, 1974), 3; R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (London, 1985) (subsequently: Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*), 11 (in the 'Introduction', written by C. Andrews). See also H. W. Fischer-Elfert, 'Drei Personalnotizen', *GM* 119 (1990), 15–16; L. Limme, 'Derechef le "nom du propriétaire" du Papyrus Vandier (verso)', *CdE* 59(1994), 5–8.

Columns x + 13–x + 16 and x + 20–x + 24: Fragments of a seemingly inverted text are preserved at the lower edge of these columns. Dr R. Parkinson suggests that these fragments clearly belong to the same Book of the Dead, but have been accidentally mounted upside-down. Such inverted mountings are, according to him, not unknown among the fragmentary manuscripts in the British Museum's collection. He also suggested that the inverted fragment in columns x + 14–x + 16 might continue columns x + 34–x + 36.²

Column x + 22: One would expect *t ḥnqt*, 'bread and beer' or the like, at the top, but the reading is uncertain. Dr Parkinson pointed out that the first sign (𐀓) is the same sign as the one at the top of column x + 25. I suspect that this portion is a corruption of the word discussed in the comment on column x + 5 above.

Column x + 28: The name of Seth is written as *Št*, an unattested and clearly corrupted writing. For variant writings of this god's name, see H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1977), 1–3; I. Munro, *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie* (London and New York, 1987) (subsequently: Munro, *Untersuchungen*), 251–4, List 18.

Columns x + 34–x + 36: These columns should be followed respectively by the inverted fragments in columns x + 16 (including the signs *ḥ* and *ḥ*), x + 15 (*ntrw ḥr wꜣwt [.sn]*) and x + 14 (*Nnw*). See the comment above on columns x + 13–x + 16 and x + 20–x + 24.

Column x + 38: The word 'red deer(?)' (*mꜣs*) is erroneously written as *smꜣs* here. In reference to this animal, see T. G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (OIP 82; Chicago, 1960), 160, n.r.

Column x + 42: The word *mꜣrt*, 'Truth', is erroneously omitted, and the verb *ḥp*, 'hasten', is written with a book-roll determinative and plural strokes as if it were a noun.

Vignettes

There are two coloured vignettes preserved on the fragment, each of which is contained in a compartment above the columns of text. Both of these vignettes are placed in the right half of their respective compartments, and a red vertical line, clearly an unfinished partition line,³ is drawn to the left, leaving a blank space beyond.⁴ The unfinished partition line seems to indicate that another vignette was originally intended to be drawn in the blank space to the left.

The vignette in the left compartment, over the columns of Chapter 124, shows a man, evidently the deceased owner of this papyrus, standing in front of the radiating sun. This vignette,

²Dr R. Parkinson (pers. comm.).

³Such partition lines are attested in some papyri of the Book of the Dead, e.g. Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 39, 50–1, 66, 86 (P. BM EA 10470); 58–9, 62, 99 (P. BM EA 10471).

⁴The rubric of Chapter 124 (columns x + 9–x + 11) is written in the left blank space of the right compartment.

representing the concept of 'going forth by day', can be identified as the vignette of Chapter 64.⁵ It probably illustrates here a part of the rubric of Chapter 72 in columns $x + 4 - x + 5$, in which the same concept is expressed, although this type of vignette is unparalleled for Chapter 72.⁶

The sun on the right is shown radiating three rays. Its circumference and rays are painted in white and outlined in red, while the inner disk is painted red. Part of it, particularly the upper section, is damaged and lost.

The deceased is shown standing on the left, facing right and looking at the sun. He wears a short, plain kilt ending just above the knees. Although the back of his head is lost, it is likely that he wears a short wig, the preserved outline of which can be seen descending to the nape of his neck. Although his ear has not been preserved, its existence might be indicated by a break of the wig's outline at the appropriate point. His skin is painted brown and outlined in black, while his kilt is white with a red outline. His hair is painted dark grey and outlined in black, and his eyebrow and the outline and pupil of his eye are black. The white of his eye is also painted.

On the left of the deceased's shoulder, beyond a partition line (see above), a hieratic sign *mn*, 'so-and-so', is drawn in red, as the identification of the deceased.⁷ This shows that the papyrus was an unused ready-made one, or a 'blank cheque', also indicated by the fact that the name of the deceased is left blank in the rubric of Chapter 124.⁸

The vignette in the right compartment, over the columns of Chapters 83 and 84, shows the deceased adoring in front of a shrine-like object behind which Osiris is seated beside an offering table. It can be identified as the vignette of Chapter 125 (B or A + B),⁹ but probably illustrates here part of the rubric of Chapter 124 in columns $x + 9 - x + 10$, the title of this Chapter 'for going down to the Court of Osiris'. This use of the vignette for Chapter 124 is unparalleled.¹⁰

The shrine in the vignette of Chapter 125 has been assumed to be a representation of the Hall of Two Truths, the place of judgement of the deceased.¹¹ Such a shrine has a flat roof with a cavetto cornice, and its significance as the place of judgement is often indicated by the text of the 'Negative Confession' drawn in it, and some symbolic elements associated with it, such as *mꜣrt* feathers in the frieze, two Maat goddesses, the scene of weighing the heart of the deceased, and so on.¹²

The 'shrine' on our papyrus, painted yellow and outlined in red, has a flat roof with a cavetto cornice, but seems to have no other decoration except two legs with supports widening downward. Such legs indicate that our 'shrine' is actually a screen similar to those which are sometimes attested in the vignette of Chapters 144 and 146 in association with the portals of the House of

⁵Cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 76 (Pe) (= Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 82, E). The deceased can also be shown adoring the sun over the top of a sycamore, or turning his back on the sun above his tomb: cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 75 (Pb) (= Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 82, D); M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den Thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches* (Mainz am Rhein, 1984) (subsequently: Saleh, *Totenbuch*), 36, fig. 39 (TT 359). Cf. also H. Milde, *The Vignettes in the Book of the Dead of Nefertempepet* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 7; Leiden, 1991) (subsequently: Milde, *Vignettes*), 131-2.

⁶The same concept is also expressed in the title of Chapter 72; cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 84, col. 1. For the vignette of Chapter 72, see Naville, *ibid.* 84; Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 84; Milde, *Vignettes*, 140-3.

⁷The *mn*-sign here has an elongated form, and is similar to a hieratic form of the *grh*- sign (→).

⁸Cf. the comment on column $x + 11$.

⁹For the other examples of this vignette showing the deceased adoring in front of a shrine, see Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 105 (Tb 125 B, A₁), 106-7 (A₁₀), 107 (A₁₅); Saleh, *Totenbuch*, 65-6, figs. 76a-c (TT 290(10-11)) (figs. 76b-c are erroneously labelled as 'Grab 296 (5)'). Cf. also C. Seeber, *Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Totengerichts im Alten Ägypten* (MÄS 35; München and Berlin, 1976) (subsequently: Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*), 11-12; Milde, *Vignettes*, 84-92; Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften, Textband*, photo-pl. 60.

¹⁰For the vignette of Chapter 124, see Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 132; Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 104-5; *idem*, *Totenbuch-Handschriften, Textband*, photo-pl. 42.

¹¹Cf. Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 64.

¹²Cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 134-5; Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 54-6, 64-7; Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 28-9; Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 105-7; R. O. Faulkner and O. Goelet, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth By Day* (San Francisco, 1994) (subsequently: Goelet, *Book of the Dead*), 167, pl. 31; Munro, *Totenbuch-Handschriften, Textband*, photo-pls. 27, 51, 60, 79.

Osiris and their guardians,¹³ although such a screen seems to have no parallels in the vignette of Chapter 125. It seems to indicate that the screen on our papyrus has a close relation to Osiris and his place of judgement, and such a relation is also indicated by the figure of this deity on its right.¹⁴ Osiris is seated on a square throne, facing left in his close-fitting shroud, holding the flail and the shepherd's crook, and wearing the crown of Upper Egypt. His face and wrists are lost, and the central portion of the crook has faded away, or has perhaps been left undrawn. The figure of the god and his regalia are outlined in red, while his crown and shroud are painted white and his crook and flail yellow. The throne of the god, outlined in red, is coloured with yellow, red, and possibly black, while a mat hanging over the back is painted white with a red outline.

The name of Osiris, in cursive hieroglyphs, is written vertically in front of his face, while a table of offerings with loaves of bread is depicted by his legs. The table of offerings is painted white and outlined in red, while the loaves are brown with a black outline.

The standing figure of the deceased on the left of the screen is shown raising his hands in adoration. His attire and colouring is the same as in the other vignette except that he does not wear a wig here but has short hair, the colour of which, perhaps grey, is now faded. An unfinished partition line (see above) is preserved behind the deceased's figure.

The date of the papyrus

Some hieratic forms in this papyrus, namely those of φ in columns x+3, x+14 and in the inverted text of x+15, 𓂏 in x+1, x+5, x+24, x+36, x+40 and x+42, 𓂏 in x+5 and x+24, and \circ in x+24, x+27, x+29 and x+35, have close parallels in other Books of the Dead dating from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, before the reign of Amenhotep II.¹⁵ The order of Chapters 124-83-84 on our papyrus is also typical of the sequence of the Book of the Dead in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, as established by Munro.¹⁶

Munro also holds that stylistic transitions in the representation of humans in tomb decorations of the Eighteenth Dynasty are reflected in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead from the same period, thus providing one of the dating criteria for the latter.¹⁷ The representation of the deceased in our papyrus shows a few features particularly characteristic of the early Eighteenth Dynasty, such as the short wig shown in the vignette of Chapter 72.¹⁸ The short hair without a wig in the vignette of Chapter 124 is rare, but attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁹ The short, plain kilt worn by the deceased in both vignettes is not attested after the reigns of Amenhotep

¹³Naville, *Todtenbuch* I, 155. Cf. P. Spencer, 'Sbht as a term for a wooden screen', *JEA* 66 (1980), 161-4, especially 163-4.

¹⁴The seated figure of Osiris is attested at the right end of the shrine as the Hall of Two Truths: cf. Seeber, *Darstellung des Totengerichts*, 54-5, fig. 6; Goelet, *Book of the Dead*, pl. 31 (P. BM EA 10470).

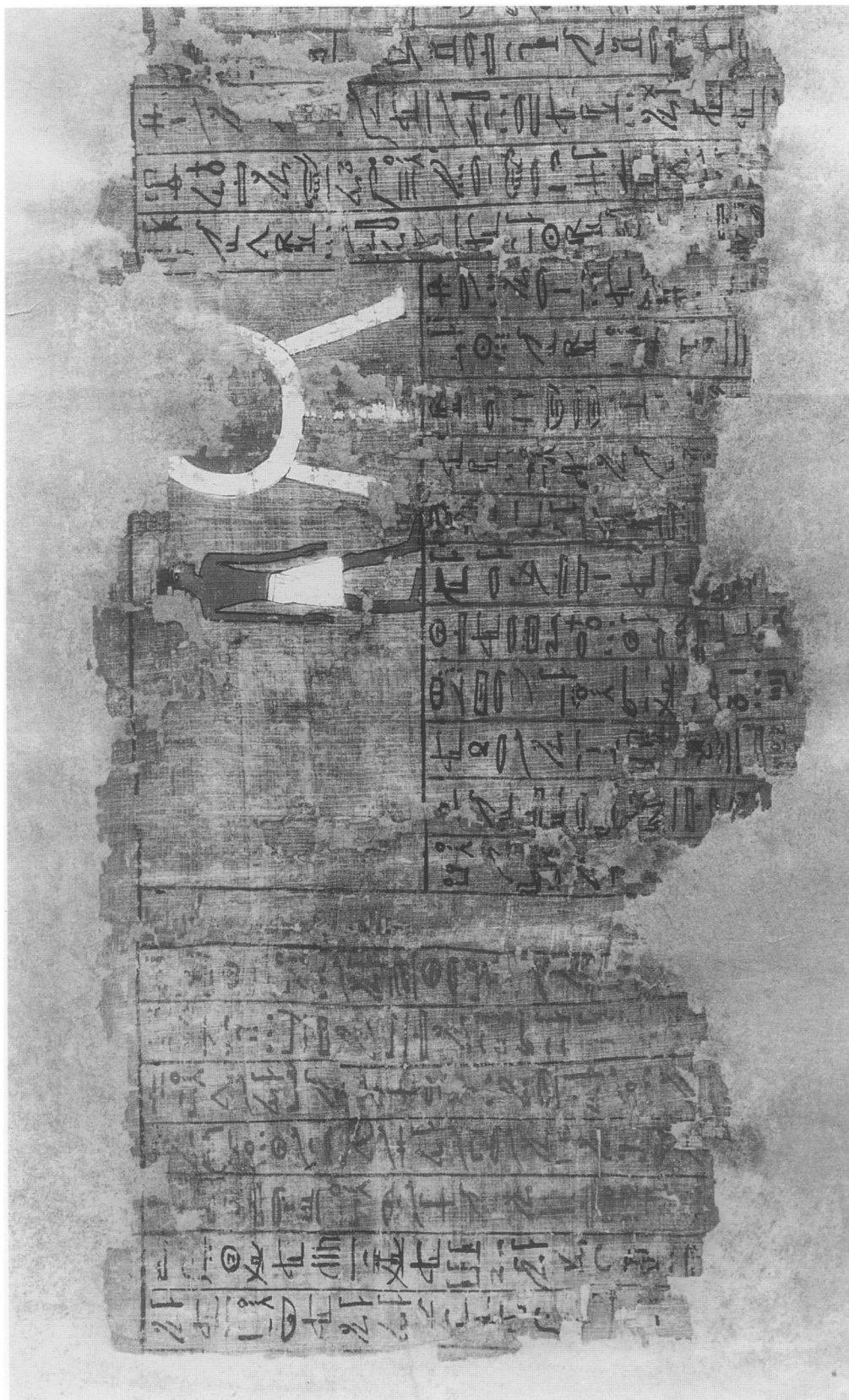
¹⁵Cf. Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 254-7 (List 19): nos. 7 (P. *Nfr-htp*), 9 (P. *Ms-m-ntr*), 25 (P. Brocklehurst), 27 (P. *'Imn-htp* Cd), for φ ; nos. 3 (L. Anonym. Berlin) and 4 (L. *Sni*), for 𓂏 and \circ ; nos. 14 (P. BM EA 10489) and 15 (P. BM EA 9913), for 𓂏 . For the date of these materials, see Munro, *ibid.*, 276, 11 (P. *'Imn-htp* Cd), 279-80, 24 (P. *Ms-m-ntr*), 283, 32 (P. *Nfr-htp*), 285, 40 (L. *Sni*), 288, 55 (P. BM EA 9913), 291, 67 (P. BM EA 10489) 294, 79 (L. Anonym. Berlin), 294, 80 (P. Brocklehurst). For L. *Sni*, see also J. McDonald, 'An Eighteenth-Dynasty Linen in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston', *JEA* 67 (1981), 60.

¹⁶Cf. Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 274, 2 (L. *sst nswt 'Ich-ms*), 274, 4 (L. *'Ich-ms s; Nb-sw*), 275, 6 (P. *'Imn-m-ipt*), 279-80, 24 (P. *Ms-m-ntr*), 280, 25 (P. *Nw*), 287, 52 (P. Cairo 2512), 288, 55 (P. BM EA 9913), 289-90, 63 (P. BM EA 9964). For P. Cairo 2512, see also *idem*, *Todtenbuch-Handschriften, Textband*, 214, photo-pl. 77 (= *Tafelband*, pl. 151). For the other examples, see *ibid.*, *Textband*, 14, photo-pl. 5 (= *Tafelband*, pl. 11) (L. *'Ipw*), *Textband*, 20, photo-pl. 6 (= *Tafelband*, pl. 15) (L. *Mntw-htp*), *Textband*, 38, photo-pl. 13 (= *Tafelband*, pl. 30) (L. *Tti-šri*). Also cf. Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 140-1, 144, 148-50; *idem*, *Todtenbuch-Handschriften, Textband*, 14 and fig. 1.

¹⁷Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 24-63. Cf. E. Dziobek, T. Schneyer, and N. Semmelbauer, *Eine ikonographische Datierungsmethode für thebanische Wandmalereien der 18. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1992).

¹⁸Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 26-7; Dziobek, *Datierungsmethode*, 29.

¹⁹Dziobek, *Datierungsmethode*, 28. Munro does not consider short hair without a wig as one of the dating criteria.



x + 1

x + 5

x + 7

x + 8

x + 12

x + 15

x + 20

x + 25

Columns x + 1-x + 8, x + 12-x + 26
(Courtesy of *Waseda University Library*)

A FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN WASEDA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, TOKYO (pp. 202-6)

x + 9 x + 10 x + 11



x + 25

x + 30

x + 35

x + 40

Columns x + 9-x + 11, x + 23-x + 45 (Columns x + 43-x + 45 are fragmentary)
(*Courtesy of Waseda University Library*)

A FRAGMENT OF THE BOOK OF THE DEAD IN WASEDA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, TOKYO (pp. 202-6)

II.²⁰ The coloured vignettes occur mostly later than the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.²¹ These observations suggest a date in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, possibly about the time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, for this papyrus fragment.

SUGIHIKO UCHIDA

A note on Puntite housing

Interpretation of the huts shown in the Deir el-Bahri reliefs as raised structures with enclosed ground-floor spaces, of potentially significant use.

THE unusual form of housing employed in the land of Punt was clearly the source of much interest to the ancient Egyptian artists who decorated the southern wall of the second portico of the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut: no less than seven individual dwellings, of essentially the same type, are shown. These houses, so far as we can tell, seem to have been rounded huts covered with an undulating pointed thatched roof and (their most interesting feature) raised on stilts or piles above ground level, so that they could be entered only by climbing the ladders depicted leaning against them, although no figures are seen in that activity. The logical, and indeed general, explanation is that the inhabitants lived on the 'upper floor' above ground level, the piles protecting them from marauding wild animals or other natural phenomena. A number of scholars have stated their opinion on Punt's location, many commenting on the appearance of these houses; most have been listed by R. Herzog.¹ Herzog's volume, which must be the most exhaustive study of the land of Punt from Egyptological sources, also documented a number of comparable examples of pile-dwellings in modern Sudan, Ethiopia, and elsewhere, as part of his quest to identify the location of Punt: his eventual conclusion was that it lay inland, rather than on the African coast. K. Kitchen, in two detailed and lucid recent discussions,² correctly emphasised the (at least partial) location of Punt on the coast, but did not comment in detail on these buildings—an omission shared by most other scholars, although A. H. Zayed³ suggested that a thorough study of Herzog's theories should be attempted.

It may seem superfluous nearly a century later to suggest a re-examination of the original publication of the Deir el-Bahri temple reliefs,⁴ but it seems from an overview of the later discussion that one important aspect of these houses was never commented upon, even by Naville. This detail not only alters our perception of their structure but also qualifies Herzog's discussion of ethnographic parallels, one of his arguments in favour of an inland location for Punt. Naville's pl. lxxi (pl. XXIII here) shows Howard Carter's 1896 watercolour illustrations of some relief fragments. Whilst we indeed find the pointed thatched roof, the raised piles, and the ladders leaning against the buildings, we also see that Carter includes the Egyptian convention for woven basketwork, indicating (as Naville states) the 'wickerwork, probably of palm-stalks' of which these huts were made.⁵ However, on both blocks, *the basketwork patterning is also found on the lower*

²⁰ Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 29; Dziobek, *Datierungsmethode*, 16.

²¹ Cf. Munro, *Untersuchungen*, 269, List 27.

¹ *Punt* (Glückstadt, 1968), 25–54 and *passim*; Herzog's own discussion of the houses is on pp. 67–71, with pls. 3–6.

² 'Punt and how to get there', *Or* 40 (1971), 184–207; idem, 'The Land of Punt', in T. Shaw et al. (eds), *The Archaeology of Africa: Food, Metals and Towns* (London and New York, 1993), 587–608. The first part of the former is essentially a critical review of Herzog's arguments and conclusions.

³ 'Egypt's relations with the rest of Africa', in G. Mokhtar (ed.), *General History of Africa, II: Ancient Civilizations of Africa* (London/Paris/Berkeley, 1981), 145, n. 24.

⁴ E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, III (London, 1898).

⁵ *Ibid.* 12.

level, where it extends over and between the piles themselves, indicating that the basketwork was something supported by the piles and that the lower level too was an enclosed space like the upper level. The line drawings of these same two fragments on the preceding pl. lxx, if one examines them closely, also indicate this basketwork superimposed over the piles on the lower level, although it is not shown for the housing on the more complete scene *in situ* on pl. lxxix that is most commonly cited. Naville himself seems to have missed the significance of this basketwork, since he proposed only that the houses 'are built on poles, with ladders giving access to them, evidently in order to protect the inmates against wild animals'.⁶ If, as seems evident from the painted reliefs, the 'ground floor' of the dwellings was also enclosed, a different purpose may be suggested for it, again with some ethnographic parallels: the Puntites lived above, and used the lower enclosed space as a stable for their domesticated animals, or possibly for storage of food or other goods. That they had domesticated animals is clear from the reliefs and, given the sheer quantity of their trade goods, storage space must have been a constant necessity, not only for their household goods.

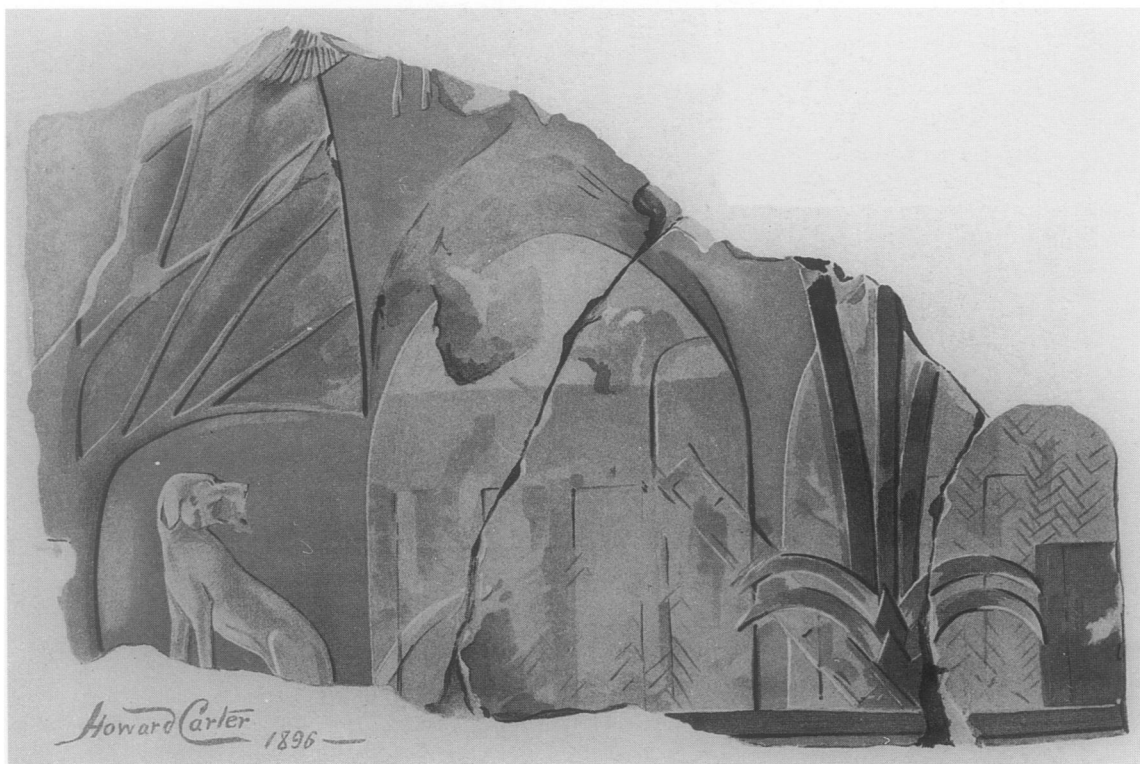
This spatial arrangement in which the stables or household storage areas are located below the living quarters of the inhabitants is fairly common, and appears in locations as diverse as present-day Yemen, Switzerland, Greece and Nepal, colonial Australia, mediaeval Europe, and ancient Palestine.⁷ The reasons for the arrangement are similarly diverse in modern times, but generally fall into three basic groups: protection from the weather (rain, snow, heat) or theft (marauding animals or humans); generation of animal body heat that would rise to the living quarters immediately above; and limited familial space in a densely populated urban environment. If any of these can be projected to the Puntite structures, the most likely reason is protection against the torrential summer rainfall experienced throughout the 'Horn of Africa' (wherever one specifically places Punt within it: Kitchen's identification seems the most logical). Other possible reasons are the generation of body heat at night when the temperature drops considerably (especially if the scene is located away from the coastal area and at a fairly high altitude), a covered space for animals or inanimate stored goods to escape excessive sunlight and heat, and possibly protection from marauding animals such as those shown on the relief. Since no entryways are indicated at ground level of the Puntite buildings, a single space between the piles may have been left unenclosed for use as an entry, although the remaining painted detail shown in Carter's watercolours provides no evidence for or against this. Alternatively, and only if the space was used for goods storage, the only means of entry may have been on the floor above; this would provide additional protection against theft, although it would be more inconvenient for moving goods in and out.⁸ If the 'village' depicted is little more than a trading point, and not a 'village' proper, each Puntite there may simply have used the ground-floor space for the goods he himself intended to trade. All this is speculation, however, until a specific location for the scene is identified—if, indeed, we are ever able to do this.

JACKE PHILLIPS

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Some modern examples include: R. E. Blanton, *Houses and Households: A Comparative Study* (New York and London, 1994), 71 fig. 2.19, 123 fig. 4.3 (Nepal), 72 fig. 2.20 (Yemen); P. Oliver, *Dwellings: The House Across the World* (Oxford, 1987), 171 fig. (Greece); A. Atkinson, 'Bernese Middle Land Farmhouses', in P. Oliver (ed.), *Shelter and Society* (London, 1969), 63 (Switzerland).

⁸ This method of entry, employing a ladder up to the roof from the exterior and then entering the ground floor inside, from above, is used in some traditional housing in the south-western United States. At Acoma, a village in New Mexico which is apparently the oldest continuously inhabited site in the US, access was by ladder to the roof of the ground floor, where a trapdoor led to the interior: see Oliver, *Dwellings*, 188 and fig. below.



Howard Carter's watercolour copies, after Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari* III, pl. lxxi
(Middle Colonnade, southern wall)

A NOTE ON PUNTITE HOUSING (pp. 206-7)

Some more 'fierce lions', and a 'marriage' scarab: the large commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III*

Four newly-recorded examples which entail alterations or additions to the published corpus of known commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III.

SINCE the appearance of C. Blankenberg-van Delden's publications of 1969 and 1976 on the large commemorative scarabs of Amenophis III,¹ three specimens have come to light which may be additions to categories A and C of the corpus, and an opportunity has also arisen to supply further documentation and illustration of the particularly fine example of the 'lion-hunt' type recorded as C62 in her 1969 catalogue. As some confusion seems to have crept into the published statistics relating to the 'lion-hunt' scarabs, this is also an apt point at which to clarify the record.

Blankenberg-van Delden noted a total of 131 specimens, of which 113 were extant and 18 were 'lost' scarabs,² and then added a further 5,³ making a total of 136. However, in the catalogue of the recent Amenophis III exhibition, the total of 'lion-hunt' scarabs is recorded as 123.⁴ In the sale-catalogue descriptions of the two examples of 'lion-hunt' scarabs recently offered at auction and noted below, the total was given as '137 known specimens', but if these two were previously unknown specimens, the total would in fact be 138.

Scarab C62, recorded by Blankenberg-van Delden in the Philips-de Jongh collection in 1969, was seen again in the art market in March 1996. As she observed, it was one of only four meriting the description 'in perfect condition' at the time her catalogue was compiled (the others being C25, Liverpool Museum; C34, British Museum; and C81, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). It is illustrated here in both front and back views (pl. XXIV, 1–2). In his review of Blankenberg-van Delden's catalogue, G. T. Martin drew attention to the lack of illustrations of the backs of the scarabs,⁵ a problem which she recognized as one impossible to overcome given the photographs at her disposal. She noted that as far as she could 'ascertain from the photographs—always a precarious basis for study—the types did not change'.⁶ It is hoped that the inclusion here of the back view of C62 will provide a basis for future comparisons.

To the published catalogue entry for C62, the following details may now be added:

C62.

Provenance: Ex Philips-de Jongh collection, subsequently in American and Swiss private collections, now in America.

The two additional specimens of category C are listed here in chronological order of their appearance in the art market, and numbered as continuations of Blankenberg-van Delden's C numbers, for future ease of reference. Although they have certainly not been previously recorded in the C category, it is possible that C115 may have been noted in the 'lost' (LSC) category as LSC9 (ex MacGregor). None of the other LSC specimens illustrated matches C115, nor do the

*I am grateful to Mr Steve L. Rubinger for bringing the reappearance of C62 to my attention, and to Miss Carol Andrews for help in the preparation of this paper, including making comparative examples in the collection of the British Museum available for examination.

¹*The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III* (Leiden, 1969); 'More Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III', *JEA* 62 (1976), 74–80, pls xii–xiii.

²*Large Commemorative Scarabs*, 62–128: C1–108, 153–60: LSC 1–18.

³*JEA* 62, 76–8: C109–13.

⁴L. M. Berman, in A. P. Kozloff and B. M. Bryan, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun. Amenophis III and His World* (Cleveland, 1992), 67. Curiously, the exhibition did not include any specimens of the 'lion-hunt' scarabs, only one example each of the 'wild bull hunt', 'lake' and 'marriage' scarabs (Blankenberg-van Delden's categories A, B and E).

⁵*JEA* 58 (1972), 317.

⁶*JEA* 62, 74.

descriptions of the unillustrated scarabs tally (LSC 6, 7, 15, and 16 are ruled out by differences of size).

C114.

Description: steatite; bright blue-green glaze.

Dimensions: 68 × 47 × 25 mm.

Type: double line between the wing-cases, double line between the wing-cases and prothorax, with triangular notches below these lines at the outer corners. Pierced longitudinally.

Preservation: in perfect condition.

Provenance: unknown; sold in New York, 11 December 1991.

Bibliography: Numismatic Fine Arts, *Scarabs and Design Amulets: A Glimpse of Ancient Egypt in Miniature* (New York, 1991), lot 115 (illustrated in colour on the front and back covers, in black and white in the catalogue); P. A. Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs: The Reign-by-Reign Record of the Rulers and Dynasties of Ancient Egypt* (London, 1994), 116, in colour.

C115.

Description: steatite; glaze faded to white.

Dimensions: 63 × 44 × 23 mm.

Type: triple line between wing-cases; double line between the wing-cases and prothorax, with triangular notches below this line at the outer corners. Pierced longitudinally.

Preservation: in fairly good condition; back, complete but weathered; base, text lost at beginning of first line, minor abrasions at the start of lines 2-3 and lines 6-8.

Provenance: as C114.

Bibliography: sale catalogue as C114, but lot 116.

The text on both these scarabs, as on C62, is the normal eight-line presentation for the 'lion-hunt' scarabs of Amenophis III, but with the minor variations in orthography usually found, since each scarab is cut individually and by different hands. A notable variant on these scarabs is the titulary of Queen Tiye. Her title before her cartouche is given sometimes as *hmt-njswt*, 'The Royal Wife' (as on C62), or as *hmt-njswt wrt* 'The Great Royal Wife' (as on C114 and C115, above). Of the 124 'lion-hunt' scarabs whose texts could be checked, physically or via Blankenberg-van Delden's illustrations, 73 read *hmt-njswt*, and 36 *hmt-njswt wrt*. A further 15 were not readable because of damage, and there were also 15 without a record illustration to check.

In terms of preservation, there can be no doubt that C114 can be added to the four already-noted examples 'in perfect condition'.

A 'marriage' scarab of Amenophis III

Blankenberg-van Delden catalogued 51 'marriage' scarabs plus 9 lost examples, and subsequently added one more.⁷ To this total of known specimens may now be added the scarab that appeared at auction along with C114 and C115, above.

A53.

Description: steatite; glaze gone.

Dimensions: 63 × 44 × 23 mm.

Type: two lines between the wing-cases, two lines dividing the wing-cases and prothorax, with triangular notch below the lower line at the outer corners.

Preservation: fairly good; back, weathered; base, edges chipped and most of last, tenth, line missing.

⁷ *Large Commemorative Scarabs*, 21-56: A1-A51, 149-53: LSA 1-9; *JEA* 62, 76: A52. Berman, however, gives a total of 56 (*Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 67), which, if accurate, would provide a current total of 57 examples.

Provenance: as C114, above.

Bibliography: sale catalogue as C114, above, but lot 117.

The possibility that this scarab might be LSA 2 (ex Dattari) or LSA 6 (ex Nash) should not be discounted; the lack of published details makes it impossible to verify this. The seven other examples in the LSA category can be excluded by comparing the illustrations or the recorded details of material or size.

PETER A. CLAYTON

An unusual canopic jar in the Royal Ontario Museum¹

Publication of a canopic jar acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto in 1994 (995.11.4). Its form and unusual text are discussed; it is dated to the Twenty-first Dynasty, and attributed to a northern context. A curious feature is that although finely made and quite finished, it omits any mention of the name of the deceased.

In the spring of 1994, the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto (ROM), acquired a pair of canopic jars, as the gift of the estate of Mrs Nora E. Vaughan (née Gray). They were accompanied by two human-headed lids. One jar (995.11.2) is of a common Late Period type, while the lids, one rather crude (995.11.3), the other much finer (995.11.4), seem to be of mid-Eighteenth Dynasty date; they certainly have nothing to do with the jars which accompanied them to Toronto.

The second jar (995.11.1: pl. XXIV, 3), which forms the subject of this note is, however, less susceptible to immediate classification. It is 32.0 cm tall, with a maximum diameter of 17.8 cm, and 12.2 cm across the base. The latter has been broken at some time and subsequently repaired. Internally, the profile does not match that of the exterior, there being only a minimal expansion of the mid/upper part of the boring.

The fairly tall, narrow/flaring form is reminiscent of jars of the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, but it lacks the definite 'shoulder' that one usually sees, for example, on Cairo CG 51018 (Tjuiu)² and Boston MFA 03.1129 (Prince Amenemhat).³ It also lacks the 'waist' that can often be seen on such items, and continues to be found into the Ramesside Period.⁴ Certain Eighteenth Dynasty examples *with* round shoulders and straight sides, as in the present case, *do* exist, but are generally squatter in overall proportions. Good examples are Cairo CG 4095–7, belonging to one Nay.⁵ This squatness is characteristic of the vast majority of earlier vases, from the early Eighteenth Dynasty back through the Middle Kingdom.⁶ Much later, Kushite and Saite pieces

¹ My thanks go to Roberta Shaw for bringing this piece to my attention while I was in Toronto for the annual meeting of ARCE in April 1994, and for the provision of photographs and information. I must also acknowledge the customary friendly welcome from the staff of the ROM's Egyptian Department, and my gratitude to Nicholas B. Millet for permission to examine and publish the object.

² PM I², 563.

³ E. Brovarski, *Canopic Jars: CAA Museum of Fine Arts Boston* (Mainz am Rhein, 1978).

⁴ E.g. Cairo CG 4324–5 (Wepwawetmose): G. A. Reisner, *Canopics* (Cairo, 1967), 220–1.

⁵ Reisner, *Canopics*, 60–2.

⁶ High-status examples include Cairo JE 26255 (Queen Ahmose-Nefertiry: C. Lilyquist, 'Some Dynasty 18 Canopic Jars from Royal Burials in the Cairo Museum', *JARCE* 30 (1993), 111–12) and JE 30954 (King Hor: A. Dodson, *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London, 1994—henceforth *CEKE*), 115–16).

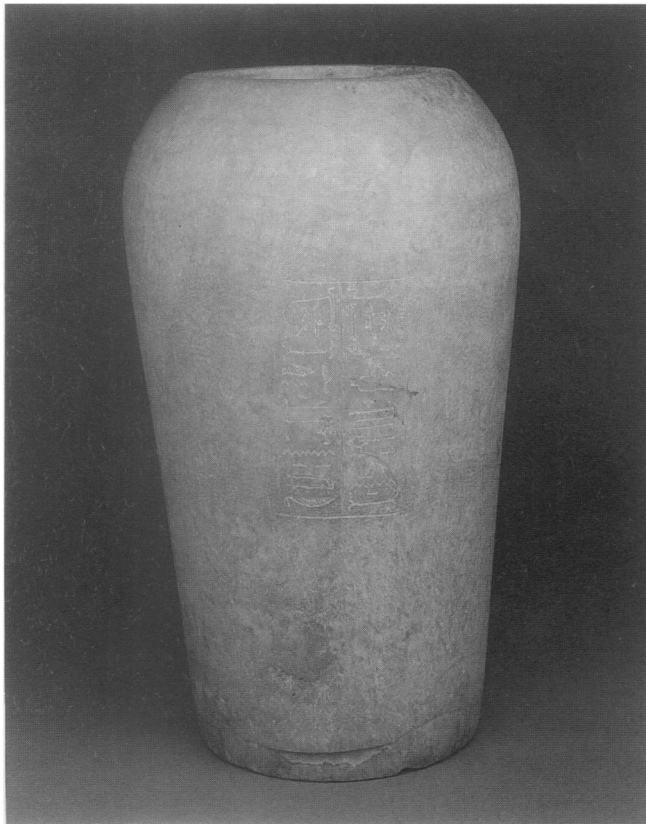


1.

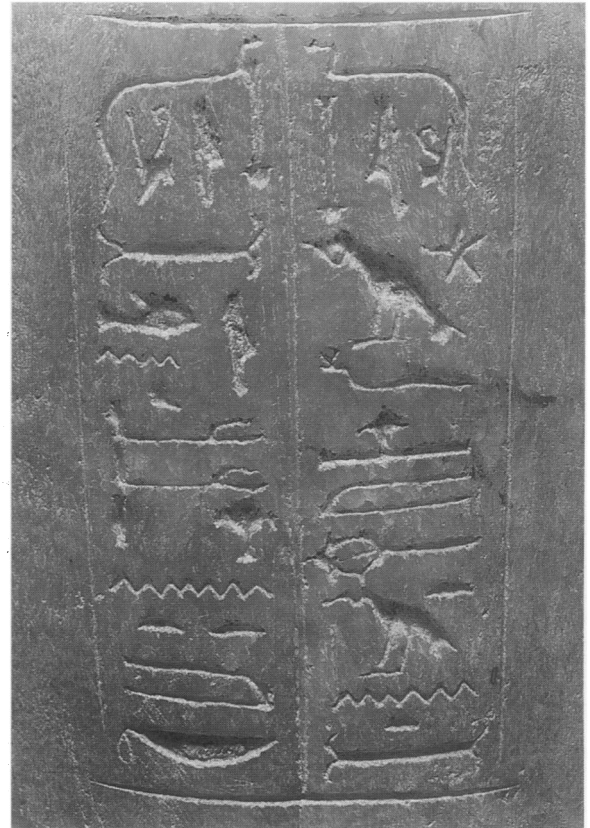


2.

Commemorative scarab of Amenophis III (Blankenberg-van Delden cat. no. C62)
SOME MORE 'FIERCE LIONS' (pp. 208–10)



3. ROM 995.11.4



4. ROM 995.11.4: the text

(Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum)

AN UNUSUAL CANOPIC JAR (pp. 210–12)

tend to bulge much lower down than is seen on the present piece, a trend, combined with an increased rotundity, that goes back to the middle of the Twenty-second Dynasty.⁷

The best parallels to the precise external form found on 995.11.1 are from the burials of Psusennes I and Amenemopet at Tanis (Cairo JE 85914–7, 860647).⁸ The ROM piece closely matches the size of the Amenemopet examples, which have an average height of slightly over 32 cm. A broadly-vertical boring is found within these jars, thus approximating to that of 995.11.1.


Two columns of text are inscribed on the front of the jar, facing one another and enclosed within a rectangular frame (pl. XXIV, 4). The upper border is a simple line, rather than the *pt*-sign sometimes found in that position from the New Kingdom onwards. The signs are generally well-carved, and present no problems in reading. However, the text itself is anomalous: with certain exceptions,⁹ the canopic formula is fairly standardized for the Middle and New Kingdoms, recording the physical protection offered to the canopic genii.¹⁰ The left column on this jar does indeed follow the pattern:

¹ 

dd-mdw in Nt: inq(.i) rwy(.i) hr ntt im.k

Recitation by Neith: I gather my arms around that which is in you.¹¹

In contrast, the right-hand column contains a wholly different scheme:

² 

dd-mdw in Dws-mwt.f: htp(.i) m ht mwt(.i) Nt

Recitation by Duamutef: I rest in the body of my mother Neith.

It is notable that neither column of text makes any mention of the name of the owner of the jar.

The content of the second column has no place in the standard canopic formulation, which again points to a Third Intermediate Period date for the jar. Various 'odd' formulations suddenly appear during the Twenty-first Dynasty, although complemented by the traditional ones.¹² Wide variations are henceforth found until late Kushite times,¹³ when new 'standard' types appear and continue in use into the Saite and Late Periods.¹⁴ These latter involve puns on the genii names which, although rare, are not unknown on Twenty-first Dynasty jars, specifically the totally

⁷The latter typified by Cairo JE 59900 (King Harsiese: *CEKE*, 136–7); from the Kushite Period there is Boston MFA 23.738–9 (King Taharqa, *CEKE*, 140–1) and a range of Saite pieces published in Reisner, *Canopics*, *passim*.

⁸*CEKE*, 129–31.

⁹E.g. Tuthmosis I and Yuya (*CEKE*, 50, 156–7).

¹⁰*Typus* I–XII in K. Sethe, *Zur Geschichte der Einbalsamierung bei den Ägyptern und einiger damit verbundener Bräuche* (Berlin, 1934), 1*–8*.

¹¹This should normally be 'in me', but may be correct, if the jar (or Duamutef, incarnate in the vessel) is being addressed.

¹²Cf. Sethe, *Einbalsamierung*, 9*–12* [*Typus* XIV–XVIII]; for two apparently unique compositions, see the jars of King Smendes (New York MMA 47.60 and Aubert Collection, Paris: *CEKE*, 79, 172–3); their texts are discussed by J. Yoyotte, 'Textes et documents de la nécropole royale de Tanis', *École Pratique des Hautes Études, section des sciences religieuses: Annuaire* 95 (1986–7), 170–2. In contrast, the jars of Psusennes I and Amenemopet bear perfectly traditional types of text (*CEKE*, 174–7).

¹³Cf. e.g. *CEKE*, 178–83.

¹⁴Sethe, *Einbalsamierung*, 12*ff [*Typus* XIX]. The other jar in the Vaughan bequest, 995.11.3, conforms completely to this pattern.

anomalous inscriptions on the two surviving jars of Smendes.¹⁵ In this context, it is possible that the reference in the second column to *Duamutef* being 'at rest' in the body of his *mother*, Neith, might fall into this 'punning' category.

On the basis of the foregoing, it would appear most likely that ROM 995.11.1 should be dated to the Twenty-first Dynasty; however, there is little evidence for the jar's provenance. The two best-known sources of Twenty-first Dynasty funerary material are Thebes and Tanis, but necropoleis of the period, of course, exist elsewhere.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the period apparently saw a sharp drop in the number of canopic jars produced, doubtless in consequence of the increasingly widespread practice of returning the internal organs to the body. The dating of this change in mummification practice is uncertain, but it may have begun during the first half of the Twentieth Dynasty;¹⁷ we are hampered in this by the dearth of burials datable to the latter part of the Ramesside Period.¹⁸ Certainly, (empty) canopics only seem to be found in the very highest status Twenty-first Dynasty burials, the vast majority being devoid of them.¹⁹

A number of canopic jars were found accompanying the Twenty-first Dynasty mummies in TT 320. They are an extremely motley collection, the majority of the 'sets' being wholly heterogeneous; for example, two of Henttawy A's are clearly of Eighteenth Dynasty origin and most unlike her other two, perhaps original Twenty-first Dynasty confections.²⁰ Those owned by Isetemkheb D, Nesikhonsu, and Nesitanebetashru are likewise of mixed sizes and shapes; of them, only one, of the latter set, has a form reminiscent of ROM 995.11.1.²¹ On this basis, the similarities in shape noted above between the Tanis jars of Psusennes I and Amenemopet and the ROM jar might suggest that the latter could have originated in a northern atelier, but, given the paucity of comparative material, this can only be speculation.

The final point to be considered is the jar's anonymity; while it is not uncommon for mass-produced pottery jars to bear no more than a brief invocation, I have difficulty in finding any example of a good-quality stone piece with a proper inscription that fails to give the name of its owner. There are, of course, fine coffins, and even tombs, that lack a name, but in these cases a gap appears in the relevant texts, for a name that was never filled in. This is not the case with ROM 995.11.1, whose texts are clearly complete.

The jar thus has two substantial points of interest, its anonymity and its apparently unique textual formulation. It is therefore particularly unfortunate that nothing seems to be known of its origins, which might have shed some light on these aspects of the specimen.

AIDAN DODSON

¹⁵ See n. 12 above.

¹⁶ Cf. J. Malek, 'Nekropolen. New Kingdom and 3rd Int. Period', *LÄ* IV, 427–40, although locales with easily-distinguishable Twenty-first Dynasty funerary deposits are surprisingly rare.

¹⁷ The thoracic cavity of the mummy of Ramesses V (Cairo CG 61085) contained both sawdust and portions of the internal organs: G. E. Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo, 1912), 90–2, cf. Dodson, 'A Canopic Jar of Ramesses IV', *GM* 152 (1996), 17.

¹⁸ Between the burials in TT 1 (Senedjem), datable to the time of Sethos I–Ramesses II, and those of the mummies of the High Priests of the Twenty-first Dynasty, we apparently have only the royal mummies recovered from TT 320 and KV 35, and Leeds D 426.1960 (*temp.* Ramesses XI). None of them provides a basis for a study of later Ramesside burial assemblages. A group of coffins found buried intrusively in TT 97 *might* date to this period (PM I², 676—misassigned to the Saite Period), but they are of low-status individuals, and thus of little help.

¹⁹ The Bab el-Gasus apparently had only one set of canopics, alongside well over a hundred sets of coffins (PM I², 642; note, however, that W. R. Dawson and P. H. K. Gray, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum, I. Mummies and Human Remains* (London, 1968), xiii, quote four sets, but cf. other errors in this book: *CEKE*, 78 n. 6); the Twenty-first Dynasty tombs excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Deir el-Bahari were also devoid of canopics (PM I², 628–30).

²⁰ British Museum EA 51814–7 (*CEKE*, 80).

²¹ Cairo JE 26254 and 26256; British Museum EA 59197–200 (*CEKE*, 83, pl. xxxvi).



1.

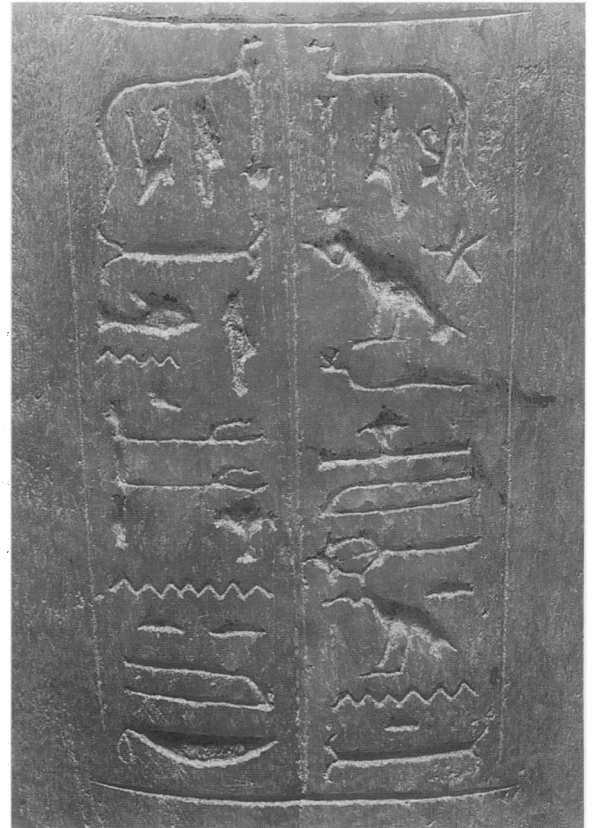


2.

Commemorative scarab of Amenophis III (Blankenberg-van Delden cat. no. C62)
SOME MORE 'FIERCE LIONS' (pp. 208-10)



3. ROM 995.11.4



4. ROM 995.11.4: the text




(Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum)
AN UNUSUAL CANOPIC JAR (pp. 210-12)

Remarks on 'An unusual private stela of the Twenty-first Dynasty from Coptos'

A few improvements are suggested to the translation of the stela Cairo JE 71902 published by Aly Abdalla in *JEA* 70 (1984), 65–72, pls. xvi–xvii.

Lines 1 and 2. From its use in similar contexts, the phrase *wn (.i) tp t₃* probably belongs to *qi*. The translation would then be 'I let you know my circumstances, when I was alive'.

In the following sentence, *nj wi gb.tjw hr it.i mw.t ms n wndw n pr.s, nj wi gb.tjw* should not be emended. It has a parallel in the Book of the Dead: *nj wi wndw.k*, which clearly means 'I belong to your associates'.¹ In the present case its meaning is therefore 'I belong to Koptos'. This translation is confirmed by the second half of the sentence, which cannot mean that Koptos was like father and mother to the speaker, but in perfect accordance with its use elsewhere,² must be translated 'On father's and mother's side I was a child of the associates of its house'. Here, as elsewhere in the inscription, *pr.s* refers to the temple of Koptos, which as a toponym is feminine. Owing to a clash of identical consonants, an *s* has been omitted in front of the following *hpr*, which is, therefore, as in line 3, the causative. The *w* is a passive indicator, and the translation is consequently 'I was educated as a child of the soil of its (the temple's) city'.

Lines 3–4. In spite of clear traces, the lacuna after *shpr* makes the reading of the following word impossible. The last word before  is quite clearly the well-established ideographic writing of *dp*, 'to taste', written . An *m* fits the traces of the next lacuna better than , and the entire sentence, *dp.i irtt n mw.t m n3j.sn mhn.w nw t3j.i mn(.t)* must mean 'I tasted mother-milk from the jugs of my nurse', and gives sense only if *mhn.w*, 'jugs', are taken as a euphemism for the breasts of the nurse.

Line 5. The use of *n h3t* instead of *r h3t* in *iri.i h3n3j n h3t ntr pn imj-r3 sb3.w m pr.s* implies the translation 'I acted as a prominent officer of this god, the headmaster of the teachers in its (the town's) temple'. An *n* has probably been omitted before *ntr*, and below *imj-r3* I see faint but unmistakable traces of *sb3.w*. The passage *č3 wp-r3 m wmt.sn³* can never mean 'who recites the ritual in front of them'. The translation is rather 'who recites the ritual in its entirety', literally 'in its thickness'. As the verb *irj* here, as elsewhere in the inscription, is used with the well-established meaning of performing an official or public function, it must, in this case too, signify the role played by Wennefer in the local mystery play. If the reading *hr* is correct the verb would be *shr*, thus proving him to be the one who wards off the associates of the evil one.

Line 6. In the sentence *irj.i hm-ntr rmn sšmw wdn m...m stj hb*, 'I acted as the priest who carried the statue', *wdn* is probably the verb *wdn*, 'to be heavy', which, constructed with *m*, means 'to be weighed down with something' (cf. R. O. Faulkner, *CD*, 73). The passage *m stj hb*, therefore, refers to the god and not to Wennefer.



Line 7. The sign after *h3* is clearly an *m*, not an aleph. The verb is therefore not *sh3*, to remember, but *sh₃m*, to forget. The translation of the passage is consequently simply 'I adored each god by his name without forgetting any of them'.

Line 8. The passage *nn hpr sw iw.d.t djdj tp-rd n wnnw rmt.w sšm ij hr s3.i* is probably an independent statement not connected with the previous sentence. With all reserve, it seems to mean 'It never happened, that there was dissent (*iw.d.t*: 'separation', i.e. 'dissent'?) about giving


¹ Naville, *TbI*. 7–8, quoted by G. Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique* (Cairo, 1940), 97 §182.

² E.g. M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (BAe 8; Brussels, 1938), 61.12 and 66.11: *ink whm hr it mw.t*, 'I was an orphan on father's and mother's side'.

³ If *sn* is the correct reading, it stands probably for the more correct *st*!

instructions to those who would be people of authority after me'. As already noticed by the editor, the scribe has written  instead of .

Line 11. The state of the inscription makes it impossible to settle the curious question about the mourning(?) gods. In the following *pꜣ whm nsw tpj n Skr nb r dr imi nis tw(.i) m bꜣh ntr ꜣꜣ*, 'The first royal herald of Sokar, the lord of All', is obviously a mythical figure, indicated as vocative by *pꜣ*. The translation is therefore 'Oh, first royal herald of Sokar, grant that I be summoned (*nis tw.i*) before the great god'.

Line 13. The sign beneath *dd* is probably not *f*, but , a reading confirmed by the first person singular suffix at the end of the line. That the small lacuna must have contained a variation of the formula 'coming after me', always used after *dꜣmw* elsewhere in the inscription, is clear, and the whole passage therefore reads *dd.i n tn dꜣmw iw.sn (im sꜣ.)i*, 'I say to you, the generations coming here after me', the reading of the signs in the lacuna being very doubtful.

ERIK IVERSEN

REVIEWS

The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt. By AIDAN DODSON, with contributions by OTTO J. SCHADEN, EDWIN C. BROCK and MARK COLLIER. 195 × 253 mm. Pp. xxii + 215, figs. 12, pls. 48. London, Kegan Paul International, 1994. ISBN 0 7103 0460 9. Price not stated.

This wide-ranging book is divided into two parts. The first, comprising six chapters, sets out, as it states on p. vii, to trace the development of the canopic elements which were included at the burial of an Egyptian king, from the point of view of their morphology (in which it fails) and archaeological content (in which it succeeds). Religious and philological aspects of the nature of these canopic elements are deliberately left aside. However, despite the book's title, Dodson does not confine himself to the kings, but also discusses the canopic equipment of the queens of Egypt, the Twenty-first Dynasty High Priests of Amun at Thebes, the Nubian kings which followed Tanwetamani, and selected others. The first chapter is devoted to the Old Kingdom, though since the earliest extant canopic equipment dates to the Fourth Dynasty (Queens Hetepheres and Merysankh III), much of this chapter is devoted to the architecture of royal tombs and the probable location of the now lost canopic equipment. Chapter 2 deals with the Middle Kingdom and again includes much discussion of the funerary monuments as well as the canopic equipment itself. Chapter 3 is devoted to the Second Intermediate Period, a slight misnomer as only the Seventeenth Dynasty is included. Up to this point, the work has been entirely written by Dodson; Chapter 4, dealing with the New Kingdom, however, is co-written by Dodson, Schaden and Brock. In this chapter most of pp. 50–6 and 62–7 is owed to Otto Schaden and pp. 71–3 and 75–6 to Edwin Brock. In essence this means that Schaden discusses the canopic equipment from the burials of Tuthmosis I down to Amenophis III, and from Tutankhamun to Horemheb, Dodson that from KV 55, and from Ramesses I to Ramesses II, and Brock that of Merenptah to Siptah, Ramesses IV and Ramesses VII. Since more New Kingdom royal canopic material is known than for any other period, this chapter is the most complete of the whole book. The remaining chapters are again the sole work of Dodson; Chapter 5 deals with the Third Intermediate Period and Chapter 6, the Kushite and Saite dynasties. In Chapter 5, Dodson not only discusses royal canopic equipment, but also devotes much space to the High Priests of Amun and, now and again, considers the canopic equipment of private individuals. Chapter 6 is devoted almost entirely to the canopic jars of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty down to Aspelta, since later extant royal canopic equipment consists only of two canopic jars of Apries and a set of jars made for Khedebneith-iretbeneret ii.

Throughout Part I there is great inconsistency in the choice of material. Chapter 4, for example, contains references only to the kings and queens—even the canopic equipment of Yuya and Thuya, although mentioned, is not described, whilst Chapter 5 deals with much more than just ruling monarchs. Indeed, the present reviewer wonders just what factors influenced the choice of material. A case in point is the mention of the canopic jars of Harnakht, son of Osorkon II (p. 91), and his sister, Tjesbastperu (p. 95), whilst those of their brother, Sheshonq D, (cf. A. Badawi, *ASAE* 54 (1957), pl. xiiA), and Tjesbastperu's husband, Takeloth B, and his sons

Pediese A and Harsiese are omitted: cf. A. Badawi, *Vies et Travaux* IV (Cairo, 1984), pp. 36, 41, 46, pls. 16, 24, 31. Of interest also, and surely worthy of discussion, but absent from Dodson's book, are three jars apparently inscribed for a king Takeloth, Leiden C.I.280–283-4 = R31 = E.VI.24–26: cf. W. D. van Wijngaarden, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden*, XIII. *Kanopen und Kanopenkasten* (The Hague, 1926), pp. 5–6, pl. v. These are odd. They are inscribed for a Takeloth, name in cartouche, but no *nsꜣw* sign precedes it. The inscriptions read 'revered before Duamutef [etc.] Takeloth, true of voice'. The possibility that this is an example of a basiliphorous name thus seems ruled out. It is also noteworthy that if these jars are genuine, this is the only instance of an inscribed Third Intermediate Period royal set not bearing the king's prenomen. If they are genuine, they presumably belong to Takeloth II or III—four uninscribed jars having been found with Takeloth I at Tanis.

The second part comprises, firstly, a catalogue of all extant royal canopic equipment with bibliography, and secondly, copies and translations of the texts, which owe much to the philological expertise of Mark Collier, and to a lesser extent, that of Otto Schaden. It is a little annoying, however, in view of what went before, that Part II is indeed confined solely to the *kings* of Egypt, hence much of the canopic equipment discussed in Part I is not included. The book is rounded off with an extensive bibliography, indices, and 84 photographs which vary somewhat in quality.

Naturally, in a book of this sort, not everyone will agree with all of Dodson's theorizing, particularly when he writes on his pet topics, the Thirteenth Dynasty, the Amarna Period and the Third Intermediate Period. Personally, I would like to see (p. 60, n. 75) a reference to J. D. Ray, *Antiquity* 49 (1975), 45–7, on Akhenaten as father of Tutankhaten (a reference also missing from Dodson's own quoted paper, *JEA* 76 (1990), 95); and I would disagree with Dodson's belief that the queen Ka(roma)ma buried at Tell Moqdam (p. 96) was a consort of a predecessor of the royal line of Iuput I, but would see her as Karomama B, wife of Osorkon II. Built into the tomb was a block of a certain Harmose (C. C. Edgar in H. Gauthier, *ASAE* 21 (1921), 23), a high official of Osorkon II, which is probably significant. This Harmose is known to have been active at Leontopolis, and among his titles one finds that he was 'Chief inspector and secretary of the estate of Queen Karomama': K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*² (Warminster, 1986), 319. If Karomama had an estate at Leontopolis, it is possible that she may have chosen to have her tomb built there rather than be buried near her husband at Tanis.

Overall, once the reader gets over the occasional strange statements such as 'each organ was traditionally identified with one of four genii' (p. 2—protected by?), and 'later Theban mummies, however, certainly contained canopic packages, many bodies thus being buried without canopic equipment' (p. 78), and the irritating use of the term 'canopics' (what is a canopic?), which Dodson uses indiscriminately to mean 'canopic jars' and/or 'canopic equipment', this is an eminently readable book and a useful gathering of material.

D. A. ASTON

The Tombs of El-Hagarsa, volume I. By NAGUIB KANAWATI. The Australian Centre for Egyptology: Reports 4. 215 × 290 mm. Pp. 68, pls. 46. Sydney, The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1993. ISBN 0 85837 805 1. Price not stated.

Naguib Kanawati has been working for many years now in the area of the eighth and ninth nomes of Upper Egypt. His publications of tombs at el-Hawawish presented the results of a

systematic survey and publication of the remaining decorated monuments at that site, and are now being followed by study volumes. As part of an ongoing programme of research into this part of Egypt, he and his team have now turned their attention to the site of Hagarsa.

Nothing of significance seems to have been done at this site since Petrie published some of the material in his *Athribis* in 1908, and Kanawati's volume illustrates two comparative samples of wall decoration, one as it was at that time, and one at the time of Kanawati's recording work. Plates 15 and 18 bear witness to the all-too-common damage suffered by Egyptian monuments this century, and stress just how important is fieldwork such as that in the present volume. Happily, pl. 18 shows also how epigraphic techniques have improved over the past 85 years, as far more detail is visible in the newer than the older drawing.

The tombs at the site seem to be later in date as one ascends the mountain, a phenomenon noted also at Hawawish. Kanawati identifies four main levels (A–D), and publishes some tombs from the first three, dating between the second half of the Fifth Dynasty and the later reign of Pepy II. The author does not indicate why the particular tombs he publishes were chosen, since there are clearly many chapels in the photograph of the hillside in pl. 1; presumably they are among the better-preserved ones, as they include some first published by Petrie. No plan of the site is given, which would have enabled the reader to locate the tombs in the book.

The tombs published (those of Kaiemnofret, Nefrether, Sobeknefer, Khui, Anankhi, Iufu, and Mery) are typical of the smaller type of provincial tomb of the Old Kingdom. Their owners hold honorific and administrative titles common among provincial administrators (e.g. *hꜣty-ꜣ*, *smꜣ wꜣꜣty*, *imy-r wꜣꜣt*, *imy-r hmꜣw-nꜣꜣr*), but with no examples of those of the highest rank. One (Nefrether) holds the only known example of the title *imy-r šꜣꜣwt* outside the Memphite region. The scenes in the chapels are largely of the basic and essential type—making offerings to the deceased and his wife, presentation scenes, and false doors. Any further comments on the scenes should best await publication of the rest of the site; I note only that there is an example in the tomb of Mery of the scene of fighting bulls, known only from provincial tombs in the Old Kingdom (pl. 43, comments on p. 60).

The quality of the documentation is good. Both photographs and drawings are presented for almost all walls, and a random check of some was generally satisfactory. Comparing pl. 7a with pl. 27, I feel that some of the unevenness of the carving is somewhat smoothed over in the drawing. It needs to be said that a different quality of paper should have been used for the photographic plates, since they lack contrast and sharpness and really look rather poor, when in fact the original prints may have been much better. I am pleased to see that the colours in the tombs have been considered. My only criticism in this area is that this aspect of the recording could have been slightly more objective, in that 'red', 'blue', and so on are used in place of measuring through some form of colour system. This would facilitate comparisons between the palettes of different tombs at the same site and indeed with contemporary tombs at other locations.

The excavation of the underground chambers merits only two or three mentions in the Preface, in particular 'The burial chambers of these were found empty of any grave goods'. Does this mean that the chambers were filled with debris which contained nothing of interest, or were they completely empty? More information is needed. There are also references to Coptic habitation of the tombs, but nowhere is there an attempt to summarise it in a systematic manner. In the 1990s, it is incumbent upon an epigraphic expedition to give readers more detail on the archaeological aspect of a tomb, even if this is not one of the main aims of the project.

The architectural descriptions appear to be comprehensive, but the plans and sections of the chapels make them look as if they were cut with perfectly straight and square walls. The not unreasonable quality of the rock as shown in the photographs makes this more likely than, say, at Thebes, but I wonder whether the straight edge has been employed a little too often. Perhaps a larger scale than 1:100 would have allowed more scope for illustrating the extent of the unevenness of the walls. Finally, basic indexes are provided and it is not difficult to navigate round the publication.

Kanawati is to be congratulated on adding to our knowledge of this site and providing yet more material on tombs of the provinces in the Old Kingdom. This volume presents the results of good

steady fieldwork, and I would hope that it will encourage other scholars to take themselves into the field and record monuments which have largely been ignored in the past 150 years.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

Balat II. Le mastaba d'Ima-Pépi (Mastaba II). By ANNE MINAULT-GOUT and PATRICK DELEUZE with contributions by PASCALE BALLETT and MICHEL WUTTMANN. Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire XXXIII. 246 × 320 mm. Pp. xii + 241, pls. 51, figs. 48, plans 1. Cairo, Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1992. ISBN 2 7247 0112 7. Price not stated.

The necropolis of Qila el-Dabba, along with the adjacent ancient town site of Ayn Asil, is probably the most important site in the oasis of Dakhla. The first modern explorations here were undertaken by Ahmed Fakhry between 1927 and 1973. Following his death, the concession was taken up by the IFAO in the mid 1970s, and the records of Fakhry were published in 1982 by J. Osing and others: *Denkmäler der Oase Dachla aus dem Nachlass von Ahmed Fakhry* (AV 28). Many reports on the French excavations have appeared in BIFAO, and the first of the tombs was published by M. Valloggia in 1986 (*Balat, I. Le mastaba de Medou-Nefer*).

The present book is concerned with the largest mastaba of the five tombs in the group, termed Mastaba II by the excavators. The preface by Jean Vercoutter presents a useful outline of the prosopography of this and the other principal tombs at the site. Vercoutter may confuse the reader by using the term 'Kôm 1' for the one isolated 'mastaba' or perhaps small group of mastabas to the south-east of that published here, which Minault-Gout refers to as 'Mastaba I'. After setting the scene and reminding readers of the work of Fakhry and others in Chapter 1, the first major part of the book (Chapter 2) deals with the architecture. The archaeology of most of the monument is here too. The presentation is extremely detailed, and illustrated with copious high-quality plans, sections, and photographs, which are essential to help understand a complex monument. Mastaba II consists of two courts, a mastaba core, and two sets of underground apartments. The mastaba's core contains three chapels and a corridor which runs round the entire structure. These chapels were originally decorated, but only a few traces now remain. There is also one chapel which was added later (§2.4.5). The outer court contains the entrances to the two sets of substructures and the remains of rooms which were probably magazines (§2.3.3).

The substructures are quite complex in their execution. Excavated into the soft clay of the oasis, they were created by a 'cut and cover' method, whereby pits were excavated over the intended site of the burial chambers and at the proposed entryway to these chambers, to facilitate excavation of the burial apartments and their access corridor; once cut, they were walled with mud brick and vaulted over. As the excavators decided the only safe way was to cut down through this brick, there is an immense amount of data here for study of the building techniques employed, carefully recorded and excellently presented.

Three magazines and one burial chamber were cut in the main underground area. Two of the magazines contained pottery, while the third contained decayed boxes, one of which left an imprint of a text it bore on the mud wall of this room. This, the only evidence for the name of the tomb owner, reads 'the ship captain, governor of the oasis, the overseer of priests Ima-Pépy'. Three inscribed stone vessels, two bearing inscriptions relating to the first *heb-sed* of both Pepy I and Pepy II, were placed with the burial of the governor (the body probably placed in a flexed position and dismembered). Following robbery, four further interments were made in this chamber.

The remaining secondary burials are considered in Chapter 3. No less than 74 persons were buried in the corridor and chapels of the mastaba, seven in the hole cut by robbers through the vault of the pit, and four in the passage to the chamber. The second set of underground rooms

(tomb C) seems to be contemporary with the main part of the tomb (perhaps for relatives), and there are some secondary burials above. The chapter concludes with comments on various practical aspects of the burials, but, alas, presents no analysis of the human remains.

Chapter 4 is brief but important, presenting the different phases of the construction of the tomb, six for the substructure and six for the superstructure. Finds from the excavations are presented in an exemplary fashion in Chapter 5, arranged by material and then by provenance, with a final section on material from later periods. Most objects are illustrated with superb drawings conveniently close to their catalogue entries, and there are excellent photographs of many of them.

Pascale Ballet has contributed Chapter 6 on the pottery. The material is grouped by technique (basically fine or coarse fabric), and then by shape, accompanied by notes on fabrics and surface treatments as appropriate. The documentation is again excellent. It appears that these vessels are to be distinguished from the corpus from Ayn Asil; see *Balat*, III. *Les ateliers de potiers d'Ayn Asil* (FIFAO 34, 1990). Although made of the same clay, their place of manufacture is presently unknown. The material dates to the end of the Old Kingdom, with a few vessels from the First Intermediate Period, probably from the secondary burials.

The last chapter deals with dating and conclusions. On the basis of the inscribed and uninscribed objects, together with the ceramics, the tomb was built and the burial made at some point in the reign of Pepy II. The robbery and subsequent reuse of the tomb was in the First Intermediate Period; there was then a long gap until its further reuse as a collective tomb in about the Twenty-second Dynasty. The position of the tomb of Ima-Pepy in the sequence of mastabas at Balat is regrettably still unclear (cf. Vercoutter's preface).

Every reviewer feels bound to look for ways in which a publication could be improved, but the fact that the present publication is so comprehensive makes this no easy task. The author has done a superb job in dealing with the architecture and finds: the only obvious gap is a report on the human remains, although footnotes indicate that it is to follow (I have been unable to locate it as of February 1996; I note, however, that two further articles on the mastaba have appeared in *BIFAO* 95 (1995): Ginsberg on feline remains (pp. 259–71) and Minault-Gout on the secondary burials (pp. 297–328)). An unusual feature of the tomb is that a number of vessels contain cakes of clay ('galettes d'argile') in imitation of, or as substitutes for, offerings (pp. 64–5, §3.7.3). Despite their rarity, they seem to be neither illustrated nor catalogued. I would like to see better cross-referencing between the description of objects in the catalogue and the indication of the other material with which they were found in the archaeological descriptions (the list on pp. 205–8 only gives catalogue pages). The conclusions regarding the history of the tomb are perhaps a little unadventurous, but the author is no doubt right not to stray too far from what is revealed by her material.

It should be clear that I have nothing but the highest praise for this volume—it is a first-class example of tomb publication. As an example of the methodology of site publication Mme Minault-Gout's book deserves to be read and absorbed by every Egyptologist, not just those interested in the Old Kingdom or the oasis of Dakhla. I await the rest of the Balat publications with great interest.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El-Qasr wa Es-Saiyad). By TORGNY SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH. 215 × 300 mm. Pp. 76, pls. 75. Stockholm, The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 1994. ISBN 91 7402 248 2. Price not stated.

Most Egyptologists know of the 1945 discovery of the Nag Hammadi Gnostic Codices. Fewer, including this reviewer, are perhaps aware that their exact find spot in the seventh Upper Egyptian nome was close to the group of Old Kingdom tombs at the location usually known as Qasr es-

Saiyed. As part of a project in the 1970s to examine the area in which the Codices were found, Professor Säve-Söderbergh was entrusted with documenting this Old Kingdom cemetery, and the volume under review is the result.

It consists of two main parts: a consideration of the nome in the Old Kingdom, together with dating and prosopography of its better known officials, and a description and documentation of the tombs, with publication of the finds from them. An important section of the first part clarifies the geographical location of the site: the name Qasr es-Saiyed is not correct, since it is an amalgamation of the names of two villages, El-Qasr and Es-Saiyad, and thus the correct form should be El-Qasr wa Es-Saiyad. In fact, the nearest village to the cemetery is Hamra Dom (see pl. 1), but Säve-Söderbergh concludes that, to avoid confusion, the site ought to continue to be known by the 'traditional' term, first employed by Champollion, albeit in the corrected form as above.

Previous work on the tombs is summarised on p. 24. The tombs have never been systematically published, although some scenes have been copied before and the texts analysed, most recently by Edel in his *Hieroglyphische Inschriften des alten Reiches* (Opladen, 1981). There are two main tombs at the site, those of the nomarchs Tjauti (tomb T73) and Idu Seneni (T66), in both of which Pepy II is mentioned, together with the smaller chapel of Idu Menza (T152). Idu Seneni is almost certainly a son of Tjauti, as probably is Idu Menza. To the opinions as to their date on p. 18 can now be added Kanawati in *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom*, I (Sydney, 1993), 117, suggesting the period of the reign of Merenre to the middle of that of Pepy II for both. There is no more data available from the site to indicate the persons who controlled the area after the demise of Idu, although we know that a stela of another nomarch Djaty was found at Abydos (Berlin 7765, published in Fischer, *JARCE* 1 (1962)), and that, late in the Old Kingdom, the nome was ruled by the nomarch Ab-ihu who resided at Dendera (Fischer, *Dendera*, Appendix B). Säve-Söderbergh makes several suggestions as to further relationships among those known from the site (p. 21), but it appears that the inscriptional evidence at present available from the cemetery does not attest a long period of use.

The plans of the chapels of the two principal tombs are quite different, that of Tjauti having three vaulted rooms, and that of Idu Seneni one plain rectangular chamber. Both chapels have sloping passages at the centre rear leading to the burial apartments. Those of Tjauti are almost unparalleled in the provinces in that they are decorated with offerings and offering lists; the main comparable examples are in the large tombs in the Teti pyramid cemetery at Saqqara (e.g. Mereruka) and in some of those at Meir (e.g. Pepyankh Heryib).

The decoration of the two tombs is also somewhat different. As the author points out on p. 40, Tjauti seems to have concentrated on the 'basic' scenes of offerings, while Idu Seneni incorporated scenes of daily life and marsh activities into his decorative programme. Säve-Söderbergh provides a careful description and commentary on the scenes and texts, making use of older records, such as those of Nestor l'Hôte, Prisse, and Lepsius, to provide information on scenes which are no longer clear or extant. The scenes are all cut in a mixture of raised and sunk relief. The quality of the carving is typical of good work of the reign of Pepy II, with few examples of the elongation of figures which hints at the characteristic forms of the very end of the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. As well as the smaller tombs T152, T154, T104, and slab T104A, Säve-Söderbergh has also incorporated the existing records of the tomb of Nefertai (perhaps a second wife of Tjauti) which has not been seen since the time of Lepsius. This is a most admirable feature, since it means that this book contains information about all Old Kingdom monuments located in the area of Hamra Dom.

The volume concludes with a description of some of the finds made in the excavations, and notes on some Greek texts. The former include fragments of sculpture and a very attractive funerary outfit and collar terminal. Of the names mentioned in Greek, none can as yet be linked with those associated with the Nag Hammadi library. There are no descriptions of the excavations, all the more regrettable since it appears that they ranged quite widely beyond the decorated tombs; in particular no explanation of the system used for locating a particular find is given (e.g. what is 'T8; locus 2.4.59' on p. 72?), nor indications of how much other material was found beyond that illustrated in this book.

One of the most important parts of any publication of a monument is the visual documentation. The generally excellent photographs are accompanied by drawings, and I am afraid that this line art is the weakest part of this book: many drawings of the walls look a little careless, and detail is often not shown, such as the omission of part of the headband and eyebrow in pl. 7 (compared with pl. 52b). They have the appearance of poor photocopies, as the lines are variable and frequently broken and faint. Photographs were used as the basis for these drawings, and while the author recognises that some distortion might result (pp. 24–5), it does not explain the other problems, since superb copies are frequently made from photographs. I note also a lack of clarity in the tomb and site plans, which look very much like field sketches badly in need of tidying up. I do wonder whether shortcomings in the original drawings were compounded by their reproduction, as I observed that some of the illustrations from other publications are much less clear than the originals (e.g. pl. 50c, compared with Dunham and Simpson, *Mersyankh*). Finally, I would question the wisdom of placing the plate numbers in the binding margins, and note that there are also a number of typographical errors in the English text and in the transliterations.

The appearance of this book is to be warmly welcomed. It adds more material to the still expanding corpus on the provincial tombs of the Old Kingdom, and forms a handy and complete reference on all the work done to date in a cemetery which, although well known by name, has until now remained poorly understood by Egyptology.

NIGEL STRUDWICK

L'Égypte et la vallée du Nil. Tome 2, De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire.
By CLAUDE VANDERSLEYEN. 148 × 217 mm. Pp. cxiii + 710, maps 5. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1995. ISBN 2 13 046552 8. FF 298.

In 1992 the first instalment of a projected three-part history of Egypt appeared under the aegis of the *Nouvelle Clio* series. The first volume, by Jean Vercoutter, traced the evolution of the culture from its origins to the end of the Old Kingdom. This second volume, almost double the size of the first, continues the story down to the 'Renaissance' which marked the transition from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-first Dynasty.

The latter part of Vercoutter's book treats Dynasties 3–5 and 6–8 together. In the present work, the scope is enlarged in proportion to the amount of information available; hence for the Middle and New Kingdoms almost every reign is given a chapter, or section of a chapter, to itself. In view of the enormous amount of new evidence for these periods which has become available in recent years the appearance of a book such as this, synthesising the available data and the current hypotheses, is timely. It will be welcomed not only by professionals and students, but also by the general reader seeking a convenient summary of the present state of knowledge on a particular reign or period. It is, however, essentially a 'political' history, concentrating on kings, dates, wars, royal building projects and the like, with relatively little attention paid to the evidence for, or the lives of, the non-literate population. In this it constitutes something of a reaction against the 'social histories' of Egypt written during the past twenty years; its appearance coincides with a renewed interest in the compiling of data on individual reigns which has given us in recent years valuable works on Senusret I (by Obsomer), Senusret III (by Delia), Tuthmosis IV (by Bryan) and Ramesses IV (by Peden). Claude Vandersleyen is of course well qualified to write such a book, since his own publication on the reign of Ahmose I remains the standard work on the foundation of the New Kingdom.

Under each reign are reviewed the king's family connections, his surviving monuments, the major 'events' (inside and outside Egypt, 'peaceful' and 'warlike'), and the officials of the realm. Vandersleyen adopts a carefully detached attitude, rigorously marshalling the relevant evidence and providing concise synopses of the arguments in matters of debate. One of the book's great

strengths is the wealth of bibliographical references, skilfully integrated into the text without disrupting the flow of the prose and enabling the reader to find the sources and essential publications with ease. One cannot but admire the way in which the author handles his material—he has digested and synthesised an enormous quantity of data, and has presented it with detachment and objectivity. His own particular interests are, of course, apparent—statuary is given a noticeably high profile among the source material, and the reign and family connections of King Ahmose are treated at considerable length—but these may be regarded as bonuses.

The book's comprehensiveness, then, makes it a first-class work of reference, but it is not merely a dry catalogue of names and dates. There are discussions of contentious issues, with the evidence for all sides of the argument concisely presented. Thus we find a digression (pp. 26–7) on the question of whether commercial contact with the Lebanon and Byblos can be legitimately inferred from references to the obtaining or use of *ash*-wood in Egyptian texts. Another (pp. 27–8; cf. pp. 80, 86) warns of the inadvisability of assuming that *Aamu* could only refer to inhabitants of Asia and the Eastern Mediterranean (the term was also applied by the Egyptians to Libyan groups). In a lengthy discussion of the date of the Exodus the claims for a 'high' date—in or about the reign of Ahmose—are given weight, and Vandersleyen emphasises the importance of considering the event in conjunction with the expulsion of the Hyksos, though not necessarily accepting that the Exodus derived merely from a Canaanite folk-memory of the expulsion, as suggested, for example, by Donald Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, 1992). In most of these passages the author adopts a cautious stance and is always wary of interpreting the sources too freely or without a firm understanding of significant terms.

On other matters Vandersleyen adopts a more partisan position. By ranging himself with those (including Delia, Helck and Graefe) who assert that the ten-year coregency between Amenemhat I and Senusret I is illusory, he perhaps dismisses the case in favour of the coregency rather too lightly. There is no mention, for example, of the suggestive fact that the construction of Amenemhat's pyramid was going on during the reign of Senusret I, whose own pyramid does not seem to have been begun before the tenth year of his reign; cf. F. Arnold, *The South Cemeteries of Lisht*, II. *The Control Notes and Team Marks* (New York, 1990), 30–1. Most remarkable of all, Vandersleyen subscribes to a 'minimalist' interpretation of Eighteenth Dynasty Egyptian authority in Syria–Palestine, based on radically new identifications of the toponyms on which the conventional reconstruction is based. Not everyone will agree with such a drastic rewriting of 'history', but it is important to find a scholar of Vandersleyen's calibre acknowledging the need to re-examine the evidence in an area of the subject wherein discussion is all too often limited to 'fine-tuning' of the traditional view.

The book is sometimes a little uneven in its approach. While some source material is criticised at length (for example the genealogy of Queen Nubkhas, pp. 153–6, and the 400-year stela, pp. 165–7), one would have liked a fuller discussion of some more general questions, such as the nature of Egypt's internal administration under Senusret III, and the arguments against the theory of the 'decline of the nomarchs' (considered briefly on pp. 97–8). Just occasionally the reasoning is unconvincing: Vandersleyen attributes Sekhemre-Smentawy Djehuty to the Thirteenth Dynasty instead of the Seventeenth, yet all known references to him come from southern Upper Egypt, and his wife was buried at Thebes. The fact that he is once depicted wearing the red crown surely cannot be interpreted at face value at a period when Theban rulers asserted, but could not actually maintain, their right to rule the north. The discussion of the ages of the rulers of the Twelfth Dynasty (pp. 117–18) is rather redundant, and is it significant that the noses of Senusret I's statues are more often found intact than those of Senusret III (p. 57)?

These, however, are very minor quibbles. Professor Vandersleyen has succeeded admirably in writing a thoroughly authoritative account of pharaonic Egypt at its height. His book will surely remain a standard work of reference for many years to come.

JOHN H. TAYLOR

Scarab Seals from a Middle to Late Bronze Age Tomb at Pella in Jordan. By FIONA V. RICHARDS. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 117. 234 × 155 mm. Pp. xi + 138, pls. 13. Freiburg, Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992. ISBN 3 7278 0813 6 (Freiburg), 3 525 53751 4 (Göttingen). Price not stated.

This volume is the work of a young scholar who here publishes a valuable group of 55 scarabs and scaraboids emanating from Tomb 62 at Pella, a site currently being excavated by Sydney University. Almost all the material falls into the classes 'Motto' or 'Design', though two scarabs are inscribed for Kings *ḳ3-wsr-rꜥ* and *Nwb-wsr-rꜥ*. Any hope that the group was an undisturbed one is dispelled on reading that the three rock-cut chambers of the tomb, housing some 150 burials, had suffered damage: the ceilings of two had collapsed, allowing rain-water to enter with a subsequent disturbance to the skeletal remains and the funerary objects, the latter practically 2,000 in number. Typologically and iconographically, almost without exception the scarabs are datable to the Egyptian Second Intermediate Period, most of the associated pottery being assignable to MB IIC to LB I.

As the present writer was working through the volume with interest and benefit, a detailed and appreciative review by Professor William A. Ward in *Bibl. Or.* 50 (1993), 640–2, came to hand. There seems no need to go over the same ground again, and the following remarks, by and large, are confined to details that are not covered in that review.

The author has clearly put considerable effort into her work, and it is good to have it in monograph form. The seals are illustrated by the three crucial diagnostic aspects: base, back, and side. While my overall impression is favourable, there is no doubt that the catalogue section of the study would have benefited from a rigorous editorial hand or proof-reading eye. Numerous misspellings (of 'uraeus', for example) would have been eliminated thereby, and certain infelicities in the bibliography would have been avoided (Engelbach for instance masquerades under the names Englebach and Engelhart, and Frankfort under Frankfurt; furthermore, O'Connor is adrift between Collon and De Clercq). The scientific analysis of the materials of which the objects are made is a real addition to knowledge, though it remains to be seen whether terms like 'enstatite' will take root in the literature. The physical descriptions of the pieces are full, and are welcomed as an addition to an ever-growing 'Hyksos' iconography. The 'facsimile' drawings do not, however, do justice to the originals, and some are positively misleading (cf. 10, 22, 24), necessitating constant reference to the photographic illustrations, which, on the whole, are good. The use of double lines in illustrating minuscule objects such as seals should be avoided, otherwise the drawings have a 'cluttered' appearance. Though it may be a contradiction in terms to write that a drawing can be 'too correct', there is a great deal to be said for avoiding or ignoring every minute mark made by the fine chisel or graving tool of the original craftsman, details which can in any case only be seen under magnification.

As regards the catalogue, the following observations are offered not in a spirit of carping criticism but as an indication that crudely inscribed sigillographic material of this sort is open to more than one interpretation. References are to catalogue numbers:

1: Wilting lotus rather than papyrus? Also 36, 37, 40, 46. 4: Female figure is nude; likewise 5. 7: Dress of female is cross-hatched. 8: The figure wears a long garment rather than a kilt; cf. 9. 9: Hatching of dress of figure should be mentioned for consistency; also 10. 12: Goat surely browses on herbage? 15: An heraldic animal is probably in question here; likewise 16. 20: A griffon? 21: Perhaps better, 'falcon' on a *nb* sign. 25: Fourth sign is *šn*. 26: I cannot see the *hṯp* in the central panel. The first sign is indeterminate, possibly *t*. 27: Hardly a 'butterfly' design; likewise 28. The motif is a well-known 'cross' pattern, originating as a flower. The cross-hatching in 27 should be mentioned for consistency. 29: Better, perhaps, circles with a dot in the centre. 30: The design is scarcely 'geometric', but a twisted rope or similar; also 31. 32: The central part shows two palm fronds or similar, flanked by double wavy lines. 34: 'Panels' of hieroglyphs are not really in question here. The lotus flower has five 'petals'. 35: The design comprises lotuses, a single *nfr* flanked by *nhš*, with an *r* or *nb* below. 37: The central design is surely flanked by 'wilting' lotuses? 39: Reference to the plate indicates that the sign could be a *nsw*. 41: The signs are not actually in panels. 42: The description does not seem to be quite correct. One of the signs

appears to be an S-spiral, both in the photograph and in the drawing. The red crown only, rather than the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, is depicted. **43:** Why not give a full list of the signs for consistency, all shown below a schematic winged disk? For *r* read *rr*. **44:** The photograph seems to show that the third row of signs consists of a central *wꜥd* flanked by *ꜥnhꜥ*, or just possibly alternating *wꜥd* and *ꜥnhꜥ* signs. **46:** Read 'pairs'. **47:** The design in the centre is similar to **48**, consisting of two *šns* flanked by 'wilting' lotuses. **49:** Here the drawing and the photograph are inadequate. Highly schematic winged disks above and below could be in question, rather than Horuses. **52:** An (early) Twelfth Dynasty specimen? The drawing does not capture the characteristic slight bulging towards the base, as seen from above.

A scarab of *ꜥ-wsr-rr* (Apophis) from Shamir near Dan in Upper Galilee is also published in the volume (p. 12, fig. 1, with pl. xiii, no. 56). Can it really be of 'baked clay'?

The richness of the scarab material stemming from lands beyond the Egyptian frontiers continues to astonish, and the present addition to it is welcomed.

GEOFFREY T. MARTIN

The Sarcophagus in the Tomb of Tutankhamun. By M. EATON-KRAUSS. 290 × 218 mm. Pp. xii + 32, figs. 4, pls. 20. Oxford, Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993. ISBN 090041 657 2. Price £26.

The quartzite sarcophagus lying in Biban el-Moluk tomb KV 62 is one of the finest of its kind and, together with the surrounding shrines and the inner coffins and mummy, forms an integral part of a unique example of the very kernel of a New Kingdom royal tomb. Like so much of the material from the sepulchre, it has hitherto escaped serious study and publication; the present slim volume repairs this omission.¹

Marianne Eaton-Krauss's study is divided into five sections. The 'Introductory Remarks' deal largely with the material of the sarcophagus and, in particular, its lid. The latter has frequently been noted as being of a different material (granite) to the coffer (quartzite), and various wafer-thin hypotheses have been formulated to explain this situation. Almost all those who have discussed it have explained the lid as being a secondary confection, replacing a damaged/never finished quartzite item; this view is shared by the authoress (p. 3; cf. p. 22). However, as she notes on the same page, Akhenaten employed different coloured granites for the two elements of his sarcophagus; accordingly, the reviewer would certainly not reject a view that different materials were always intended. The different workmanship could simply be due to production by different ateliers.

Attention is shifted in the next section to the comparison of Tutankhamun's sarcophagus with those of his immediate predecessor and successors. This group of four monuments is unique in New Kingdom royal practice in adopting the shrine-form used for wooden sarcophagi in various high-status burials from at least the reign of Tuthmosis IV,² and for canopic chests from the time of Hatshepsut or earlier.³ The author suggests that independent lines of development for, respectively, royal sarcophagi and canopics are indicated by the fact that, while the cavetto cornice is transferred from the lid of Akhenaten's sarcophagus to the coffers of those of Tutankhamun,

¹The shrines have long since been published by Alexandre Piankoff, *Les Chapelles de Tout-Ankh-Amon* (Cairo, 1951–2), *The Shrines of Tut-Ankh-Amon* (New York, 1955); and the mummy, inadequately, by F. Filce Leek, *The Human Remains from the Tomb of Tut-an-khamūn* (Oxford, 1966). The coffins, mask and related items will be dealt with in Dodson, *The Coffins and Canopic Equipment from the Tomb of Tutankhamun* (in preparation).

²The burial of Maihirpri; for its dating, see C. N. Reeves, *Valley of the Kings* (London, 1990), 146–7. A very early example of such a type is provided by the now-lost coffin of the Seventeenth Dynasty Queen Montjuhotpe (PM I², 605); a recent attempt to redate the latter to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (C. Lilyquist, *Egyptian Stone Vessels: Khian through Tuthmosis IV* (New York, 1995), 59–61) does not convince.

³Dodson, *The Canopic Equipment of the Kings of Egypt* (London, 1994), 49.

Ay and Horemheb, it remains there on the extant canopic chests. My feeling is, however, that this is more a practical feature leading on from the scale of the pieces: on a sarcophagus, such a complex lid-edge will have been unwieldy, and liable to damage while manoeuvring into position; on a much smaller canopic-lid it will have added strength. The important detail differences between the sarcophagi—lid-form, protective-figure orientation and identification—are described and sketched. The varying orientations of goddesses within the group are also explored.

Perhaps the most significant element of Eaton-Krauss's study of the sarcophagus is her demonstration that the coffer had undergone considerable recutting before finally coming to rest in KV 62. The goddesses, initially simply represented with outstretched arms, had acquired wings, while the texts had been erased and recarved. These changes are fully documented and clearly shown on marked photographs.

As to the meaning of these changes, the author discusses the various possibilities and finally comes down in favour of the coffer being yet another appropriation from the unused Osirian burial outfit of Smenkhkare/Neferneferuaten,⁴ joining the canopic coffinettes, second coffin, elements of the mummy trappings and various other items.⁵ In doing so, she rejects the possibility that the alterations could be concomitant on the change of the king's name from Tutankhaten to *-amun*. In particular, she does not allow a comparison with the redecoration of the second sarcophagus of Hatshepsut for Tuthmosis I (MFA 04.278: 'C'), since in that case 'the necessary changes involved not just the cartouches but feminine pronouns and endings as well ... Furthermore, "C"'s ownership *was* at issue, which would not have been the case in the alteration of Tutankhaten to Tutankhamun' (p. 21, n. 49).

In saying this, Eaton-Krauss overlooks the effect that a name change would have had on the inscriptions on the KV 62 sarcophagus. In addition to the change in the god's name, Tutankhamun's new nomen included an epithet which tended to lengthen the cartouche beyond the size needed for the old, even after deleting the phonetic complements from the ♀. To produce reasonably-proportioned cartouches would therefore require changes to preceding or following signs. Even if the signs could have been fitted into the interiors of the old cartouches, the sunken interiors would have been clearly visible; *this* is where the comparison between 'C' and the KV 62 item becomes valid. Simply recutting selected groups was perfectly acceptable inside 'C', out of sight and out of mind, but, as H. E. Winlock pointed out, '[on] the outside of the box such fillings and recarvings would probably have been far too evident'.⁶ Certainly, simple cartouche overwritings exist on many other monuments,⁷ but given the period and the availability of time, one would expect the more thorough and aesthetically-pleasing route to have been taken by Tutankhamun's workmen.

As to why the wings were added, the view of Christian Loeben, quoted on p. 22, that their incorporation was intended to 'identify them unequivocally as goddesses and thus to prevent them from being mistaken for a queen, as in the decoration of Akhenaten's sarcophagus box' seems persuasive. Indeed, one might go further by saying that they originally *were* queens, if the inception of the sarcophagus were to be attributed to the very beginning of Tutankhaten's reign, when the regime was at least nominally Atenist. The figures then would have been of Ankhes-enpaaten, playing the same cosmic role as had her mother on Akhenaten's coffer. This would also fit in well with Gay Robins's observation that the goddess figures from the KV 62 canopic canopy had apparently been first made as Amarna queens, and only later adapted to represent the tutelary goddesses.⁸

An interesting estimate of the time-scales involved in the manufacture and alteration of the coffer is provided, based upon the advice of a modern master mason. This is a valuable

⁴In the reviewer's opinion, which markedly differs from that of the author, their availability derived from Neferneferuaten's burial by Akhenaten with *Atenist* equipment: Dodson, in *VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, I (Turin, 1992), 135–9; id., *GM* 132 (1993), 21–8.

⁵For which see Dodson, *Coffins* (in preparation).

⁶H. E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 61.

⁷A close parallel would be the coffin and sarcophagus usurped by Psusennes I (Cairo, JE 86911 and 87297), where the replacement of names and titles is very obvious.

⁸*GM* 72 (1984), 22–3.

calculation, to be placed alongside the only other datum for the time required to manufacture such a hard-stone monument: the one-and-a-bit years that had left the sarcophagus of Ramesses I fully cut, but without relief decoration.

Eaton-Krauss considers that the alterations to the KV 62 sarcophagus took place during the period between Tutankhamun's death and his burial. Although the aforementioned estimates indicate that this could have occurred, I fail to see why it should have been the case—in particular on her construct that the coffer was formerly Neferneferuaten's. While it is perfectly possible that some of the taken-over material in the tomb was only reinscribed at the last minute, surely it would have made more sense to make the alterations as soon as the items came into Tutankhamun's ownership? The whole question as to when royal funerary equipment was manufactured remains open, but my feeling is that while (for example) some of the black-varnished pieces could have been put together after the king's death, the more elaborate material must have been prepared over the whole of the reign.⁹ Certainly a sarcophagus was prepared well in advance; the suggestion that one made for Neferneferuaten *over a decade earlier* was only altered for its new owner after the latter's death would seemingly argue that no provision for a sarcophagus for Tutankhamun had hitherto been considered. This I find wholly unconvincing.¹⁰

The final section of the book comprises transcriptions, textual commentaries and translations of the inscriptions on the sarcophagus, together with general notes. In particular, the apparent mixing of the genius/tutelary goddess pairings on the sarcophagus and canopic chest are remarked upon.¹¹

The volume is concluded by a comprehensive set of Harry Burton's unequalled photographs, together with copies of Howard Carter's records of the sarcophagus and hand-copies of the lid-texts by the authoress. It provides a sound publication of the item, with a good attempt at establishing its position within its *genre*; Dr Eaton-Krauss is to be thanked for putting the full results of her researches before the scholarly community.

AIDAN DODSON

The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan: A Study of Levels VII and VIII. By FRANCES W. JAMES and PATRICK E. MCGOVERN, with contributions by A. G. BONN, M. K. DABNEY, S. J. FLEMING, B. M. GITTLEN, W. D. GLANZMAN, V. HANKEY, G. HARBOTTLE, J. HUNTOON, H. MOYER, M. R. NOTIS, C. P. SWANN, J. M. WEINSTEIN and C. WNUK, 2 vols. 220 × 285 mm. Pp. xxix + 272 (vol. 1), pp. xv, figs. 168, pls. 63 (vol. 2). Philadelphia, The University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in co-operation with The University of Mississippi, 1993. ISBN 0 924171 27 8. Price not stated.

Following her publication of the Iron Age strata at Beth Shan—*The Iron Age at Beth Shan, A Study of Levels VI–IV* (Philadelphia, 1966)—Frances James turned her attention to the

⁹As must Smenkhkare's; the coffin, canopic coffinettes and the various other items were all completely finished before his premature demise resulted in burial in improvised Atenist equipment (cf. n. 4, above).

¹⁰Likewise the idea put forward that this applied to all ex-Smenkhkare material. It seems far more reasonable to assume that all this stored Osirian equipment (whether or not including the sarcophagus) was taken over as soon as Tutankhamun's return to orthodoxy was confirmed, and the inscriptions changed accordingly. They will thus have formed the core of the king's funerary outfit, the remaining items being manufactured over the next few years. Certain items which could not be directly reused were employed as scrap in this manufacture, for example certain parts of the mummy trappings. Contrary to Reeves' statement, *The Complete Tutankhamun* (London, 1990), 114, the *inlaid inscribed bands* from the mummy were not usurped: the cartouches of Tutankhamun are original. It is the *ornamental side straps* and those supporting the pendant scarab that were composed of scrap pieces that bore (or had borne) on their reverse texts including the names of Neferneferuaten (see Dodson, *Coffins*, in preparation).

¹¹For pairings on the canopics, cf. Dodson, *Canopic Equipment*, 63.

underlying Bronze Age levels, but the work remained unfinished on her death in 1983. The work, however, was rescued, apparently rewritten, and completed by one of her former students, Patrick McGovern, whose sole name appears on the spine. Although James had the intention to include Level IX in this book, this idea had to be abandoned owing to the difficulties of the stratigraphy and dating of that level.

The book under review is divided into several sections: I, the stratigraphic framework; II, the pottery; III, the Mycenaean pottery, by V. Hankey; IV, the Cypriot pottery, by B. M. Gittlen; V, the jewellery and silicate objects; VI, the special objects; VII, lithic, bone and shell objects; VIII, the metal objects, by G. Bonn, H. Moyer and M. R. Notis; IX, the scarabs, plaques and seals, by J. M. Weinstein; X, the cylinder seals, by M. K. Dabney; and XI, a historical and cultural synthesis. As such, this book provides a very good insight into the cultural life of an Egyptian garrison in Palestine during the Late Bronze Age, and, overall, McGovern and his collaborators are to be congratulated on such a well produced and clearly illustrated production. The present reviewer, however, has great difficulty in accepting the dating of Level VIII as given in this book.

Beth Shan was excavated by the University of Pennsylvania between 1921 and 1934, and although the cultural importance of the site was quickly realized, chronological difficulties of interpretation have abounded ever since. This is particularly true of the Iron Age levels, and James's own conclusions have been amended on a number of occasions, most notably by S. Geva, *IEJ* 29 (1979), 6–10; Y. Yadin and S. Geva, *Investigations at Beth Shean, The Early Iron Age Strata* (Qedem 23; Jerusalem, 1986); and A. Mazar, *IEJ* 43 (1993), 201–29.

Such chronological problems also bedevil the book under review. For instance, A. Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth Shan, The Temples and Cult Objects* (Philadelphia, 1940), p. ix, dated levels VII and VIII to Amenophis III and pre-Amenophis III respectively, based primarily on the evidence of imported scarabs. That Level VII should be later, however, is clearly indicated by inscriptional, and archaeological, evidence which would tie Level VI to the reigns of Ramesses III/IV (James, *op. cit.*, 4, 149; W. A. Ward in James, *op. cit.*, 161–79; Mazar, *op. cit.*, 204–16). Lower VI directly overlay Level VII without any signs of a hiatus (this book, p. 236), and thus the reign of Ramesses III provides a *terminus ante quem* for Level VII. The problem, however, is the dating of Level VIII, which McGovern, 'based on monumental inscriptions and pottery typology', dates to the reigns of Ramesses I and Sety I (p. 5) or solely to the reign of Sety I (p. 236). Level VII he then assigns to the period between Sety I and Ramesses III, or in large part the reign of Ramesses II (p. 5). He also defines a Late Level VII which he dates from the reign of Merenptah (p. 236). McGovern's Level VIII dates, however, cause problems, not only for this reviewer but also for the other contributors to this volume. This is nowhere better expressed than by Weinstein in the summary, p. 224, of his study on the scarabs, plaques, seals and rings, when he writes 'The Level VIII materials present an interesting problem. They do not offer direct support for dating this stratum specifically to the early 19th Dynasty. ... Without the ceramic and other evidence for an early 19th Dynasty date for this stratum, one could reasonably assume that Level VIII belongs primarily to the 14th rather than the early 13th century B.C.' This conclusion is also echoed, though not directly stated, by some of the other contributors. Dabney's study of the cylinder seals ends by concluding, p. 230, that 'the seals deposited in Levels VII and VIII might have been imported to Beth Shan at an earlier date'. Hankey's study of the Mycenaean pottery from both levels (pp. 103–10), shows that most of it dates between Late Helladic IIIA2 and early IIIB. For her, p. 109, LH IIIA2 dates between the reigns of Amenophis III and Horemheb, whilst IIIB is from before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty down to the reign of Ramesses III. To be consistent with McGovern's dates, then, in theory, everything should be LH IIIB, and not just early within this phase. The problem is resolved by arguing that 'allowance should be made for the gradual change of ceramic styles from one period to the next, for overlap in ceramic fashion, and for the possibility of heirlooms' (p. 109). Are we really expected to believe that all the Mycenaean pots are heirlooms? Additionally Gittlen, who annoyingly does not give the usual dates attributed to Base Ring I, Base Ring II, White Shaved and White Slip II wares, points out that 'the Cypriot pottery recovered from Levels VII and VIII represents a typical collection of forms found in other Palestinian assemblages belonging to the late fourteenth through mid thirteenth centuries B.C.' Base Ring I vessels are obvious antiques long before the reign of Ramesses I.

In view of this, McGovern's dating evidence needs to be re-examined. He writes that a *terminus post quem* for Level VIII is provided by two monumental stelae of Sety I (p. 236, with reference to the appendix nos. 1–2), but both stelae were found out of context in a higher level. Indeed one of them was found next to a stela of Ramesses II (both originating from locus 1016 in, according to James, *op. cit.*, 34–7, Lower Level V, reassigned to Upper Level VI by Mazar, *op. cit.*, 221), and McGovern's assignation of these Sety I stelae to Level VIII is completely without foundation—he could just as easily have assigned them to Level VII. This leaves just the pottery to be taken into consideration. Unfortunately, in the study of the pottery, McGovern made no attempt to separate that of level VIII from Level VII 'since there is very little to distinguish the two groups typologically and technologically, and since Level VIII appears to have been a relatively minor, early phase of Level VII' (p. 70). However, one wonders if this is not a chicken-and-egg problem, since if Level VIII should be dated to the reign of Sety I, with McGovern, then, of necessity, it must be a minor early phase of Level VII. If he had presented the material stratigraphically the reader would have a better chance of following his reasoning. One does wonder, for he tells us that the ceramic 'material assigned to Late Level VII, however, clearly belongs to a later horizon, and this corpus is treated separately' (p. 70). The pottery chapter is very hard to follow since the arrangement of the vessels on the plates is different to the arrangement in the text, and the reader is forced continually to jump from plate to plate. What is clear, however, is that whilst the Palestinian pottery is clearly Late Bronze II in character, it is not exclusively LB IIB, which is what it should be if Level VIII is no earlier than the Nineteenth Dynasty. LB IIA forms also occur, which would also point to a fourteenth rather than thirteenth century BC date. Cases in point include the cooking bowls, fig. 26—compare, conveniently, with R. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery from the Holy Land* (Jerusalem, 1969), pl. 42; the krater, fig. 39.6 with Amiran *op. cit.*, pl. 41; and the strainer, fig. 52.4 compare with *Pharaonen und Fremde* (exhibition catalogue, Vienna, 1994), 244, no. 310. There are others, but in view of the imported pottery, the scarabs and the seals, it is more likely that Level VIII should be assigned to the fourteenth century (late Eighteenth Dynasty), and the stelae of Sety I to Level VII.

D. A. ASTON

Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Twentieth Dynasty. By A. J. PEDEN. Documenta Mundi. Aegyptiaca 3. 255 × 175 mm. Pp. xix + 286. Jonsered, Paul Åströms förlag, 1994. ISBN 91 7081 0656. Price not stated.

This is the first volume on Ancient Egypt in a series which aims at 'making Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean texts available both to the specialist and the educated layman in transliterations and translations to fill the role similar to that of the Loeb and Budé editions of Greek and Latin translations', as the publisher writes in his brief preface. This is repeated by the author in his own preface. Nevertheless, it seems to this reviewer that the statement is incorrect. The famous editions of classical authors bear on one page the text in the original language and on the opposite page the translation. Those who are able to do so can read the original, but that is not the case with the present volume. It merely presents transliterations, which are not the original texts written in hieroglyphs or in hieratic script but interpretations of them by the author. Moreover, for the 'educated layman' they are useless, and I doubt whether many professional Egyptologists are able to understand line after line of pure transliterations. I at least need to see the hieroglyphic version in the case of rarer words or phrases.

A second point is the manner in which the transliterations are divided up over the lines. It appears that they run roughly parallel to the translation, which was thus taken as the basic text—an unusual way of presenting an Egyptian text that makes it none too easy to consult the left-hand pages.

All this is a matter of the design of the series, for which the author is not responsible. Let us

now turn to the contents of the volume. Peden presents in translation thirty texts, five of which are also found in the last chapter of his study *The Reign of Ramesses IV* (Warminster, 1994). These thirty are divided into four groups, called chapters, with the following titles: 'Wars and Diplomacy: the Pharaohs Abroad'; 'Mining and Quarrying: the Pharaohs Exploit the Deserts'; 'Piety of the Kings: Religious and Temple Dedicatory Inscriptions'; 'Royal Administrative, Historical, and Legal Texts'. These chapters are preceded by a brief introduction to the history of the Twentieth Dynasty and a note on the textual sources. At the end of the volume one finds a select bibliography.

Each text—in the case of the temple inspection of Year 15 of Ramesses III (pp. 187–94) actually a group of texts—is treated according to a fixed scheme: first, a bibliography listing text editions, studies and translations, followed by an introduction, together occupying one page; then the translation proper with its transliteration, and at the end one page with some notes on particular aspects of the text.

As regards the choice, that is by its very nature a personal matter. In general, everyone, I think, can agree with Peden, but there are some dubious points. Why, for instance, pick the very fragmentary oracle stela for Herihor from the Khonsu temple at Karnak (pp. 181–6), which is hardly understandable since half or more of most lines is lost? Why not, if an oracle inscription is selected, choose the famous one from Year 7 of the *Wḥm-mswt* period published by Nims, *JNES* 7 (1948), 157–62 (now also *KRI* VI, 702–3)?

The texts are labelled 'historical inscriptions'. I do not want to raise the question as to whether the papyri that are covered may be called 'inscriptions', but what exactly does 'historical' mean here? Is every text from Ancient Egypt 'historical' because it is millennia old? If not, what is 'historical' in the Abydos stela of Ramesses IV for Osiris and the gods (pp. 159–74)? Usually it would be placed under the heading 'religious'. And why are not some 'private' documents included, such as, for instance, the endowment for the statue cult of Ramesses VI by Penne at Aniba (*KRI* VI, 350–2), or the inscription of the royal favours to the High Priest Amenhotep of Year 10 (*KRI* VI, 455–6)? They would have made the whole more varied, and are certainly not less 'historical' than royal inscriptions. But, admittedly, every choice is debatable.

These critical remarks do not imply that the author has not presented us with a valuable publication. On the contrary, it is clearly a fine contribution to our science, well balanced between what is philologically correct and normal English. Of course, there are points on which the reviewer differs with him in opinion. A few of them should be mentioned.

In the translation of the Setnakhte stela, Peden renders (p. 3) the word *biꜣy* as 'marvels' and *sr* as 'proclaiming', so implicitly rejecting Altenmüller's suggestion (*JEA* 68 (1982), 108–9) that the king here appealed to the oracle and to a prophecy in order to strengthen his legitimacy. In a recent study of oracles in Egypt (Malte Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft am Ende des Neuen Reiches*, Wiesbaden, 1994) the author states (p. 149) that *biꜣ* designates the manner in which the gods distinguished a king and how his royal nature was revealed to his astonished contemporaries. That would perfectly fit the present sentence, as does the meaning 'to promise' for *sr* also defended by Römer (*op. cit.*, p. 152).

If one accepts these interpretations, the translation should be adapted, which shows that translating itself is always a matter of interpreting a text. Another instance occurs in the stela of Year 2 of Ramesses IV (pp. 86–7), where the words *bs.f sw* are rendered as 'he taught him'. In another recent study (J.-M. Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, Leuven, 1989) a long chapter (pp. 149–202) is devoted to this verb *bs(i)*. Clearly in the present sentence (translated by Kruchten on p. 172) it means 'to introduce' (a king or a priest into a sanctuary). Hence, the translation should be: 'He (the god) introduced him to be an inhabitant of the Palace'.

A third minor point is found in the translation of the IFAO papyrus (p. 105). In II line 13 Peden renders: 'Galena, 30 *deben*, from the works of the galena-prospectors'. Is *m bꜣkw* here not better translated as 'as the quota' (cf. *SAK* 20 (1993), 89: the quota of the fishermen and the potters)? Earlier in the same text (p. 103) the verb *gm* is twice rendered as 'mined'. That seems to be an interpretation rather than a translation. The gold was 'found' by the prospectors, but how it was procured is not stated.

In the next text, P. Egyptian Society of Papyrology, Doc. B, the key-word is *msdmt*, 'eye-paint'.

However, in the phrase 'fit (*šꜣw*) for *nꜣ sdmw*', which occurs twice, the translation also gives 'eye-paint', although here it is rather a verb-form which was meant, such as 'for the painting (of the eye)'.

Finally, in Pap. Turin 1896, line 11 (p. 113) a word *iwꜣ hr(?)* occurs, which the author translates as 'crystal'. In *GM* 127 (1992), 87–8, Karola Zibeliu-Chen convincingly, suggested that it should be read as *irḥ* and means 'vitriol'. But this article may have appeared too late for Peden to make use of it.

All these are mere quibbles. If careful checking of the translations could not produce more important points, it proves how good they are. There is only one text which requires some general remarks, namely what is here called 'The Historical Retrospect on the Reign and Achievements of King Ramesses III. P. Harris I, 75, 1-79, 12' (pp. 211–24). In the bibliography the author mentions Pierre Grandet's recent study of the text as 'forthcoming', which probably means that he was not yet able to consult it. If he had seen it, he would not have chosen this title, for Grandet argues (*Papyrus Harris I: BM 9999* (Cairo, 1994), II, 213; see also I, 77–9) that this last part of the papyrus is in no way more 'historical' than what precedes. It is explicitly said to be a 'discourse to men', as against 2–74, which is a 'discourse to the gods'.

This is perhaps the most difficult text that the author has chosen, and his translation diverges on numerous points from that of Grandet. That does not mean that the latter always found the correct solution to the problems, but studying the suggestions would certainly have led to different interpretations. For instance, at the end of the second paragraph on p. 213 we read: 'as Khepri, and Seth'. Grandet argues (n. 907 on his pp. 233–4 of vol. II) that this would be a unique expression. Therefore, he conceives *hpri* as 'manifestation', which seems correct.

On p. 215 Peden renders, in the second paragraph, *dꜣmw* as 'groups', although a few lines lower he translates 'conscripts'. This rendition 'groups' comes near to the concept 'classes', which has been applied earlier in Egyptology to this sentence, suggesting that Ramesses III reorganized the society. That can hardly be correct. *dꜣmw* is here, as Grandet (vol. II, n. 915 on p. 237) argues, no more than 'young people', those with whom Ramesses filled up the vacant places in various ranks. Again, this example shows how interpretation of the historical evidence could influence a translation.

One could continue in this fashion, also with remarks on the other texts, but the above may suffice to demonstrate how scholars can differ in opinion on the interpretation. On the other hand, they are all minor points. In general, Peden has produced a reliable, hence valuable and useful book, on which he should be sincerely congratulated.

JAC. J. JANSSEN

Un Livre des Morts sur bandelette de momie (Bruxelles, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire E.6179). By ALBERT DE CALUWE. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca XVIII. 215 × 275 mm. Pp. xxviii + 40, pls. 7. Brussels, Éditions de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1991. Price not stated.

This volume provides photographs and transcription of a mummy bandage 8.1 metres long with full Book of the Dead manuscript for one Nanefbast, with an introduction which constitutes a breakthrough in the study of the neglected corpus of such material. The author notes (p. xvi) that the Late Period practice of writing funerary texts on bandages is to be distinguished both from the early New Kingdom practice of writing a series of Book of the Dead texts over a linen shroud, with or without vignettes, and from the sporadically attested practice of writing a single text on a strip of linen as an amulet. He further separates bandages with vignettes alone (his type 4) or highly abbreviated selections of text in hieratic or hieroglyphic script (type 3) from those with both vignettes and a full selection of formulae from the Book of the Dead as in long funerary papyri. Abbreviated versions are written with large signs in one or two lines, in contrast to full

manuscripts which bear 'pages' of more often cramped hieratic lines (type 1) or columns of hieroglyphs (type 2). He suggests a range for full manuscripts in date from early fourth to second century BC, and in area the Memphite region and Middle Egypt. This proposed historical and geographical context for the corpus allows the material to be explored with greater precision both prosopographically and in the study of funerary text transmission.

No accurate records of unwrappings of bandages are known to me, but the question arises whether there was a system, implicit or otherwise, in the selection and location of Book of the Dead texts around the body; this might relate to the recurrent numerical marking of bandages. Without inspecting the original, it is difficult to assess the comments by De Caluwe that the Brussels bandage bears an almost illegible pair of signs on its verso, comparable to ordinal numbering on other examples; if the marks are indeed the traces of an ordinal, then more bandages may bear such marks concealed beneath the modern paper supports upon which many wrappings are mounted. Unmarked examples of surviving beginnings or ends of bandages help us to determine whether the numbering system was invariable or sporadic; possible instances of roll starts without mark are British Museum EA 10046.1, 10160, 10172 and 10349, and of roll end without mark 10171, although the reverse of these bandages cannot be checked without removing their nineteenth-century paper backing. There may have been variations in the system of notation; from my preliminary research, I would note that lower ordinal numbers relate to earlier portions of the Late Period standard sequence of formulae, and higher numbers to later portions. This does not reveal the way in which the various numbered bandages were then wrapped around the body; I can note only that in general bandages with BD 1–15 are double the width of bandages with later chapters. I know of the following marked bandages; the notes 'end' and 'start' refer to the location of the mark on the bandage, unknown on British Museum EA 10364 where the marked portion has been cut from the rest and mounted next to the right edge (start) of the main portion bearing the Book of the Dead text:

Bandage	Mark	Contents	Width
BM EA 10265	'1st' (start)	BD 1–3, 5, 6, 11–14	17 cm
Turin 1870.1	'1st' (start)	BD 1–6	19 cm
Madrid 1	'1st' (end) ¹	BD 9/10	14 cm
BM EA 10047.1	'3rd' (start)	BD 18	6.3 cm
Louvre 5161	'3rd'	BD 64, 63, 59, 60, 30, 17, 110	6.5 cm
BM EA 35256	'4th' (?)	BD 17, middle	4.5 cm
Uppsala 1.6	'4th' (start)	BD 17, middle	8 cm
BM EA 10047.5	'4th' (start)	BD 18–19	7 cm
BM EA 10065	'4th' (cut)	BD 39, end–47, 50–52	10 cm
BM EA 10364	'5th' (? cut)	BD 64	9.7 cm
BM EA 10712 part	'8th' (start)	BD 78–80	6.7 cm
Johns Hopkins A 18901(1)2	'8th' (end)	BD 136A	8.3 cm
BM EA 10363	'8th' (? start)	BD 21–24	8.8 cm
Uppsala 7.7	'18th' (start)	BD 155–158	10 cm

Note too the following example of a numbered single-line bandage with hieratic text:

Rendells 9	'6th' (start)	BD 164, middle	5.8 cm
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De Caluwe notes that the earliest dated full Book of the Dead manuscripts on mummy bandages, in hieratic, were discovered among intrusive burials of the fourth century BC at the Saqqara tomb of the vizier Bakenrenef, during nineteenth-century exploration and, giving precise provenance and date, the more recent Italian excavations under Edda Bresciani: E. Bresciani et al., *Saqqara, I. Tomba di Boccari. La Galleria di Padineit, visir di Nectanebo I* (Pisa, 1980). The burials appear to have contained no papyri. The other end of the timespan is marked in the surviving record, according to the author, by the set of bandages Turin 1870, and these will form the subject of a separate communication by the reviewer.

¹ The ordinal is written in hieratic and demotic.

From the funerary manuscripts in the British Museum, I have found little evidence, either in records of provenance or in the names and titles of the deceased, to contradict the view of the author that such manuscripts were produced primarily, if indeed not only, in northern funerary workshops. Names and titles on bandages with full Book of the Dead texts are, where connected with a particular location, without exception from the Memphite area, and specifically from between Letopolis and Heracleopolis. Below I list all manuscripts where a title indicates provenance, e.g. *wnr*, associated with Khem (Letopolis):

BM EA 10047.8–9, owner Djedbastiufankh
it-ntr nb-phty (epithet of Ptah)
 BM EA 10265–6, owner Hor
hm Pth wr bꜣw ndm sty, sh wdhꜣw m hꜣwt-ntr n pr Pth hr bꜣq.f sh mdꜣt-ntr Pth hr bꜣq.f
 Carlsberg 887, owner Ankhwahibra
..inb-hd wnr
 Louvre 3058, 3138, Wennefer
hm Pth wnr
 Louvre 5533, Tutu
bꜣy n Hꜣw-ꜣsir, sdm-ꜣš n Hꜣw-ꜣnh
 Turin 1870, Psamtek
hm-ntr n Pth, wꜣb ntrw hꜣwt inb-hd, wnr m hm, hm-ntr n ... rs mhꜣt hꜣft-hꜣr Pth, hm-ntr n Nfr-tm hꜣw-tꜣwy, hm-ntr n ꜣsir nb r-stꜣw, hm-ntr n ꜣst nbt smn-mꜣꜣt
 Turin 1871.2, Djedptahiufankh²
it-ntr nb-phty (epithet of Ptah)

The title *wr hꜣwtyw*, ‘chief of combatants’, is held by Wedjahorresnet, named on the large scrawled bandages BM EA 73675; that title appears to be associated with Horbeit, as in the case of Nesnebshedenu on a limestone block from that site now in Cairo—E. Naville, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 191–2 with two plates—but I know of no other organic material surviving from Horbeit cemeteries. The other sources suggest that the Memphite funerary workshops generated this distinctive mummifying practice. However, Malcolm Mosher, to whom I am indebted for discussion of the Late Period Book of the Dead, informs me that his detailed study of variants in the texts indicates the inclusion of Theban traditions of transmission, as if Theban workshops too produced mummy bandages bearing a full rather than just a small selection of texts from the Book of the Dead. The late and greatly lamented Jan Quaegebeur also told me that he knew of full Book of the Dead texts on mummy bandages from Thebes. It would be important to identify Theban instances where textual transmission is supported by other criteria such as title or prosopography. The geographical range thus requires further study. Perhaps the greatest value of the work by De Caluwe lies in its stimulus to such research, clarifying another chapter in the extraordinary history of mummification as part of the study of Egyptian religion.

STEPHEN QUIRKE

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hm Pth wr bꜣw ndm sty, sh wdhꜣw m hꜣwt-ntr n pr Pth hr bꜣq.f sh mdꜣt-ntr Pth hr bꜣq.f
 Carlsberg 887, owner Ankhwahibra
..inb-hd wnr
 Louvre 3058, 3138, Wennefer
hm Pth wnr
 Louvre 5533, Tutu
bꜣy n Hꜣw-ꜣsir, sdm-ꜣš n Hꜣw-ꜣnh
 Turin 1870, Psamtek
hm-ntr n Pth, wꜣb ntrw hꜣwt inb-hd, wnr m hm, hm-ntr n ... rs mhꜣt hꜣft-hꜣr Pth, hm-ntr n Nfr-tm hꜣw-tꜣwy, hm-ntr n ꜣsir nb r-stꜣw, hm-ntr n ꜣst nbt smn-mꜣꜣt
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The present volume takes us alphabetically from Demetrius of Phaleron to Musonius Rufus, by way of some 30 *autori noti* and some 500 pages of text. There are a few unavoidable *longueurs*: the 50 pages on a few pieces of Dio Chrysostom lack a vice-like grip. There are a few unavoidable disappointments: the new Strasbourg Empedocles was discovered too late for inclusion. There are a few quirks: Leo Academicus (who he?), on the strength of P.Oxy. 3683—which contains the last bit of the pseudo-Platonic *Halcyon*, ascribed by some ancients to Leo;¹ or Metrocles the Cynic, on the strength of P.Oxy. 3655—where at line 7 we read ‘μητ[’ (with three underdots for good measure). But as a whole the volume is engrossing—and indispensable.

I limit myself to three items.

(1) Diogenes of Sinope gets ten texts, of which one is substantial: P.Vindob. G 29946 [= 48.8T], six columns of Cynical anecdotes. *CPF* prints a fresh edition, by Guido Bastianini. There are several important new readings, and much of the text makes sense for the first time. There is also a new date: certainly third century BC (p. 101), probably about or before the middle of the century (p. 102). Thus this is the oldest surviving text to mention Diogenes. Its author seems to have been a follower, or at least a sympathiser (p. 104): at any rate, his work, which has modest literary pretensions, does not seek to make Diogenes a figure of fun. (Three of its anecdotes reappear in later authors: in our text—which perhaps was their ultimate written source—they are fuller in form and more serious in intent.) Now Metrocles—or μητ[...—wrote a volume of Χρηῖαι, which included anecdotes about Diogenes (Diogenes Laertius, VI 33): perhaps the papyrus is a fragment of this work (pp. 106–7)?²

(2) The chapter on Heraclitus collects five texts. One, O.Berol. inv. 12319 [= 57.5T], does not mention Heraclitus and probably has nothing to do with him.³ A second, P.Flor. 115 [= 2T], alludes to DK B 101, ‘I looked for myself’. A third, P.Oxy. 1808 [= 3T]—published in 1922 but hitherto unnoticed by Heraclitean scholars—is an annotated text of Plato’s *Republic*: one annotation, on the numerological nonsense at 546B, reads—after gentle editorial massage—‘Ἡράκλειτος ἔτη μ^ω. That is to say, it agrees with Censorinus’ figure (*die nat.* xviii 11) of 10,800 years for the Heraclitean Great Year.⁴ The two remaining texts are more substantial.⁵

In P.Derveni (col II 1–11 = 1T) the details are all obscure; but it is clear that the papyrus contains something answering to two known texts: the sun is ‘the breadth of a man’s foot’ (‘Aetius’, II xxi 4 = DK B 3); ‘the sun will not overstep its measures—or else the Furies, ministers of justice, will find it out’ (Plutarch, *exil.* 604A = DK B 94). Neither text is a fragment. The papyrus confirms that the sentiments expressed in these passages—neither of which quotes, or purports to quote, Heraclitus—are Heraclitean; and it is at least possible that we now have the sentiments in their original wording.⁶ And perhaps the papyrus offers something even more significant: scholars have often connected the two sayings; and the new text suggests that they had been connected by Heraclitus himself. This in turn adds force to the view that Heraclitus wrote continuous prose and tells against the common notion that he was a gnomologist.⁷

Finally, there is P.Oxy. 3710 (II 33–III 19 = 4T). The text, part of a commentary on *Od.* XX, cites Aristonicus who cites Aristarchus who cites Thales; then comes a citation of Heraclitus, followed by one of Diodorus. How these citations are related to each other is obscure. But it is

¹Athenaeus, 506C, citing Nicias of Nicaea; Diogenes Laertius, II 62, citing Favorinus. The papyrus has ‘Πλάτων[ος] Ἀλκυών’.

²But it is not mentioned under 69, Metrocles Cynicus. In general, there is little evidence of collaboration among the several contributors to *CPF*.

³See e.g. M. Marcovich, *Eraclito: frammenti* (Florence, 1978), 132.

⁴As against ‘Aetius’, II xxxii 3, who gives 18,000: see e.g. R. Mondolfo and L. Tarán, *Eraclito: testimonianze e imitazioni* (Florence, 1972), 129–34.

⁵The reference to Heraclitus discovered by Diels in anon. *in Th.* lxxi 12–26 [= DK B126b] is a phantom (p. 244, with a forward reference to *CPF* III).

⁶*CPF* classifies the text as a Heraclitean *testimonium*; but it uses the term ‘*testimonium*’ idiosyncratically. ‘n.mT’ does not mean that the mth text mentions rather than cites author n: it means that the papyrus containing the mth text is not a work written by n himself.

⁷See J. Barnes, ‘Aphorism and Argument’, in K. Robb (ed.), *Language and Thought in Early Greek Philosophy* (La Salle, Ill., 1983).

clear that we are offered at least one fragment of Heraclitus, at II 43–47. West discerned a second fragment at III 7–11.⁸ The editor for *CPF*—the noted Heraclitean scholar Serge Mouraviev—finds a third at II 51–54.

The case for II 51–54 is frail, resting only on some dubious marginal *sigla* (pp. 237–8). And in any event, the lines are too broken for comprehending. As for III 7–11, there are marginal *sigla*; and there is also the form ‘ἡμέρησι’ (11, and probably 9). Then who is quoting whom? Heraclitus is named at II 43 and quoted at II 43–47. The text continues: ‘Διόδωρος οὕτως αὐτὸ ἐξηγεῖτο.’⁹ What is the reference of ‘αὐτό’? That is to say, what did Diodorus interpret? (i) The words of Homer which are the official concern of the commentator? (ii) The remarks about solar eclipses which were cited from Aristarchus? (iii) The text of Heraclitus which has just been quoted? If the citation from Diodorus continues into col. III,¹⁰ then suggestion (iii) has the edge, and if Diodorus is commenting on Heraclitus, then the quotation at III 7–11 is likely to be a quotation from Heraclitus.

Heady stuff—two new fragments of Heraclitus, and a fragment of a hitherto unknown commentary on his work.¹¹ Indeed, II 43–47 is heady enough:

When the months conjoin, it [sc. the moon] does not appear for three successive days—eve, newmoon, second. Sometimes it changes in fewer days, sometimes in more.

Whatever we make of this,¹² one thing is plain: Heraclitus touched on technical matters in astronomy. No doubt this should cause no astonishment—after all, Heraclitus was an Ionian φυσικός. But in some quarters (ancient and modern) it is fashionable rather to make him a psychologist or a moralist or even, God help us, a political theorist. The new fragment is a further piece of evidence against these fads.¹³

(3) P.Berol. inv. 9780 v.¹⁴ dates from the end of the second century AD. It consists of seven long and legible columns, and fragments of five more. The columns contain the first few sections of a work on Stoic ethics which bears the heading ‘Ἱεροκλέους Ἠθικὴ στοιχείωσις. The text was published by von Arnim in 1906, a lavish and learned edition.¹⁵ It caused a flutter and was then forgotten. Recent scholars have refluttered.

For *CPF* Guido Bastianini and Tony Long have re-edited the text, faced it with an Italian translation (the first translation of the work), and equipped it with a substantial introduction and an extensive commentary. The commentary is divided into three aspects: ‘analysis’—which includes *inter alia* a penetrating essay on the Stoic notion of συναίσθησις; historical background; and detailed annotations, papyrological and philological and philosophical. In all nearly 200 pages: a major edition of an important text.

The editors pay appropriate tribute to von Arnim. But their text is substantially different. In the first ten lines of col. I (which is unusually well preserved) I counted no less than 24 new readings which have led to four novelties in the printed text—three of which are not insignificant.¹⁶ In addition to new readings, there are innumerable new restorations. Many of them make fundamental changes to Hierocles’ argument; if some are hazardous, none is idle—and there are

⁸See *ZPE* 67 (1987), 16.

⁹‘ἐξηγεῖτο’ is Mouraviev’s correction of ‘ἐξαγεῖτο’; ‘αὐτό’ is printed with dots under its first three letters, but it is difficult to imagine an alternative restoration.

¹⁰The last five lines of II and the first five of III are virtually illegible.

¹¹Written by an astronomer of the first century BC (*RE* 53), on the standard view (p. 235); but the grammarian, *RE* 51, or even Valerius Diodorus, *RE* 46, are candidates.

¹²For detailed—and enthusiastic—interpretation see pp. 239–41.

¹³But I confess that I find the pronounced dactylic rhythm of the second sentence disturbing. Mouraviev cites DK B136 and ‘Aetius’, I iii 11, as parallels (S. N. Mouraviev, *Heraclitea* IVA (Moscow/Paris, 1991), xxiv); but I doubt if either of these texts is genuine (cf. Marcovich, *Heraclito: frammenti*, 353). Note rather the ‘Heraclitean’ lines in pseudo-Linus (Stobaeus, I x 5). May the ‘new fragment’ after all be a paraphrase—or a forgery?

¹⁴The recto contains Didymus’ commentary on the *Philippics*.

¹⁵H. von Arnim, *Hierokles: Ethische Elementarlehre*, Berliner Klassikertexte 4 (Berlin, 1906).

¹⁶In most cases the editors have described traces of a letter where von Arnim saw nothing—and the traces serve to confirm von Arnim’s restorations.

strokes of genius. (I particularly like the toad which is introduced at II 34.) Scholars will continue to use von Arnim, for his introduction and for his *index verborum*; but his text is now obsolete.¹⁷

Who was Hierocles? Von Arnim identified him with the *Hierocles Stoicus, vir sanctus et gravis* whom Calvenus Taurus admired (Aulus Gellius, IX v 8), and also with the Hierocles whose moralisings are excerpted by Stobaeus and cited in the Suda.¹⁸ The identifications are accepted by the new editors;¹⁹ and they are plausible—but in truth they tell us little enough. In particular, the excerpts in Stobaeus, which probably do not come from the lost part of the Ἡθικὴ στοιχειώσις, neither illuminate our text nor are illuminated by it.²⁰ The title means *Elements of Ethics* in the sense of *Foundations of ...* rather than *Introduction to ...* (pp. 373–4); but the work is in fact an introductory work. It is written in decent prose, not without a touch of rhetoric; it tends to avoid technicalities, and it does not blink at terminological imprecision (e.g. pp. 414–15, 417). In sum, it is a protreptic manual on the foundations of Stoic moral theory (p. 283).

A work, then, of no originality? Well, the editors opine that ‘if he had little new to add to the Stoic tradition at the level of doctrine, the method of his exposition and the structure of his argument are his own personal contribution’ (p. 283; cf. p. 289). And they find half a dozen touches of novelty in the columns which survive. Thus he was perhaps the first Stoic to appeal to the development of human φαντασία in order to explain how οἰκειώσις might begin in self-interest and end in a concern for justice and humanity (p. 291). In arguing to the conclusion that ‘when an animal receives its first perception of itself, it immediately appropriates itself and its own constitution’ (VI 51–53), he proceeds in an unorthodox fashion, leaving ‘impulse’ to one side and giving a special role to perception (p. 379). The complex argument from four premisses at III 54–IV 53, which deals with the relation between body and soul, is most probably original (p. 410). And there is some novel terminology: Hierocles apparently coined the word ‘θικτός’ (p. 411);²¹ and he uses—uniquely—‘ἡγεμονία’ (IV 50) and ‘ἡγεμονικὴ δύναμις’ (VI 10) for the standard ‘ἡγεμονικόν’ (p. 435).

Some of these suggested novelties are more plausible than others, some more significant than others. But at the worst, it is not a bad list for the first dozen pages of an introductory manual.

This is not a definitive edition—the editors themselves have already published a supplementary article.²² But most of what has been written on Hierocles now stands in need of revision; and all future work must start from *CPF*.

JONATHAN BARNES

The Petrie Papyri, Second Edition (P. Petrie²), I: The Wills. Edited by W. CLARYSSE. *Collectanea Hellenistica II*. 235 × 180 mm. Pp. 266, pls. 33. Brussels, 1991. ISBN 90 6569 451 X. Price Hfl. 140.

The Petrie papyri were among the earliest Greek documents to be published and, although one cannot fail to be impressed by the quality of the editing by Mahaffy and Smyly who were pioneers in the field, it has long been apparent that a new edition of the texts was greatly to be desired.

¹⁷But it is superior in design inasmuch as it offers both an *Abschrift* and an *Umschrift*, the latter giving a legible text and the former a lucid presentation of the evidence. In *CPF* the two offices are combined: the text is ugly to look at and not easy to read, and it requires considerable mental effort to envisage the evidence.

¹⁸Texts collected in von Arnim, *Hierokles: Ethische Elementarlehre*, 48–64.

¹⁹See pp. 281–6—but note the (unexplained) doubts at p. 289.

²⁰See p. 286; but note also pp. 291–2.

²¹He seems to say so himself: ‘ἴν’ οὕτως εἶπω’ (III 57); but the parallel phrase at V 4 does not claim *terminological* invention.

²²In *Studi su codici e papiri filosofici: Platone, Aristotele, Ierocle* (Florence, 1992).

We are fortunate that the task has been entrusted to Willy Clarysse, whose competence as an editor of texts from the Ptolemaic period is unrivalled. The volume under review is the first of the series, to be known somewhat inconveniently as P. Petrie², and consists of all the wills in the collection.

There are in all 31 entries, but this does not mean that the volume contains 31 separate papyri. In fact we are dealing with one papyrus only, of which 31 separate fragments survive (in reality 30, since at a late stage Clarysse recognised that 10 was a part of 7). The papyrus contains copies of wills drawn up in the Arsinoite nome. The surviving fragments contain all or part of between 40 and 50 wills, drawn up between the years 238 and 226 BC. The fragments are now dispersed between four different collections: Trinity College Dublin (which has the largest share), the British Library, the Bodleian and Halle University. Three fragments are now lost and in two cases we are dependent entirely on Smyly's notes (15 and 23). In re-editing the texts Clarysse has visited all four collections, sometimes more than once. Clarysse's keen eye, especially for the minute palaeographical differences between the various scribal hands, has enabled him to identify some hitherto unrecognised fragments and to make many new joins between fragments. It hardly needs saying that in every text he has succeeded in improving on the earlier readings, often substantially.

The editions of the texts are preceded by a 55-page introduction, in which Clarysse discusses the physical make-up of the roll, its palaeography (well illustrated in the generous ration of plates), the language, and the various components of a typical will. His comments are particularly strong on the sociological evidence which the wills provide. The wills come entirely from a Greek milieu and, not surprisingly, represent the well-to-do. Clarysse stresses that it is incorrect to describe them as 'soldiers' wills': mostly they are wills made by the military but this is not always the case. Clarysse argues convincingly that they are notarial documents.

The texts themselves are presented in the usual format, with translations where possible and a complete concordance of differences from the *ed. pr.*, both those due to Clarysse himself and those proposed by others. A large proportion of the latter can now be rejected, as Clarysse demonstrates, though it is noteworthy that a substantial number of 'hits' were made by Wilcken and Uebel. Throughout Clarysse shows a thorough knowledge of parallels not only from papyri but from inscriptions and literary sources as well.

The work concludes with the usual indexes (though one misses an index of the numerous places where Clarysse suggests improvements to papyri not included in this volume), and a concordance. A few other points may be mentioned. There still remains some doubt over New Year's Day at this period; Clarysse opts for Dios 5 or, less probably, Dios 25 (pp. 30–1). There is some evidence that even at this date *kleroi* and *stathmoi* could be willed to wives and children as though they were private property (pp. 37–9). In his detailed discussion of the witnesses, who are always male and six in number (pp. 42–55), note in particular his comments that at this date scars were only mentioned if they were on the visible part of the person, head and neck (pp. 54–5). In 1 42 a new reading, ἰ[ερόν] for ἰ[σιδος], demolishes a complicated hypothesis built up by Otto and Bengtson (see p. 69). The clause 'I leave no debts' has been identified in several wills for the first time (pp. 139–40). Finally, an important comment on the make-up of a papyrus sheet is tucked away in n. 3 on p. 175.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Paphos, III. The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery. By J. W. HAYES, with a contribution by L. L. NEURU and a preface by INO NICOLAOU. 292 × 230 mm. Pp. xviii + 223, figs. 73, pls. 26. Nicosia, The Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1991. ISBN 9963 36 417 9. Price not stated.

The House of Dionysos at Nea Paphos was excavated by Dr Kyriakos Nicolaou between 1962 and 1978. Much pottery was found, particularly in deposits sealed by the construction of the

Roman-period house with its fine mosaic pavements. Most of the pottery presented is of Hellenistic date, from the third century BC on, into Roman times up to the end of the second century AD, but there is a wider spread of a few residual sherds from the Late Bronze Age, the Iron Age and the Classical period; there are also some Late Roman fragments post-dating the final destruction of the house in the late second century AD.

The work is divided into two parts, one describing the wares found, the other listing the many major deposits and their contents. Part I has important discussions, amongst many others, on the so-called Megarian bowls (by L. L. Neuru), on Eastern Sigillata A Ware and on Cypriote Sigillata, all of which might well be encountered by excavators in Alexandria and the Delta. Cypriote Sigillata, of uncertain source, displaced in Cyprus during Augustan times the very common Eastern Sigillata A Ware, and was itself superseded during the second half of the second century AD by African Red Slip Ware, a fabric very common indeed in Egypt. The site provides the major evidence for the sequence and dating of Cypriote Sigillata and also for early manifestations of Eastern Sigillata A Ware. Not only tablewares are included, but also cooking-pots and other household vessels, and indeed transport amphorae: the Hellenistic stamped amphorae will be published more fully in a later volume of the series, but the Roman jars are fully discussed. The various wares described in Parts I and II are illustrated in figs. I–XXXIX and pls. II–XXVI; figs. XL–LXVIII show the contents of the various sealed deposits (some with less integrity than others), and figs. LXIX–LXXIII indicate the material found in the destruction levels and also pottery of later date: these important groups are included in Part II.

The sealed deposits (some less sealed than one would hope: archaeology is never easy) were found under the floors of several rooms of the Roman house, and in pits, cisterns and wells; many of these are Hellenistic, but some were used when the house was inhabited. Activity occurred on the site from the late third century BC, and many deposits were laid down at the turn of the second and first centuries BC. After about 40 BC the house that preceded the House of Dionysos was built, and several contexts relate to that structure. A resumption of deposition late in the first century AD or early in the second appears to go with the construction of the House of Dionysos, an initially short-term building apparently destroyed by earthquake action late in the reign of Trajan or early in that of Hadrian. The final phase of the house, when mosaic pavements were laid, probably occurred after AD 140 and a late second-century final destruction seems likely. Later activity, including stone robbing, produced the few later sherds collected. The contents of the deposits defined by the excavators and the author of this report are fully described and illustrated, each giving a most useful overview of the pottery found. In some cases, particularly the wells, the contexts included more or less contemporarily discarded vessels; in others the well was used as a dump over a considerable period of time. A chronological chart is a handy guide to the deposits described in Part II and their validity as dating tools.

John Hayes is skilled at producing pottery reports and knows the fabrics of the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the east Mediterranean probably better than anyone: he has an enviable expertise, the result of years of looking at pots and sherds, remembering what he has seen, drawing them, and writing them up for publication. Those of us who spend a few weeks at most on site cannot compete. Many of the groups of fabrics that excavators find so useful to quote were put together and named by him. This Paphos volume is another of his products that will be used extensively. The drawings are clear and precise, though reduced to unusual but consistent scales: most of them have a ten-centimetre scale some 3.7 cm long; large vessels have twenty-centimetre scales reduced to the same length; the 'Megarian' bowls are at half size. The plates have a very adequate coverage of the material described: photographic images of pottery are a necessity in pottery reports so that an idea of the fabrics concerned can be gained. Some compilers of such reports see no need to show photographs in addition to drawings (or are inhibited by cost); they seem not to realise how much more useful is a report that is illustrated with photographs (Munsell numbers are no substitute).

So what is in the report for excavators in Egypt? It will be most useful for those working in the Delta. Alexandria is a short sail from Cyprus and prevailing winds help the traffic. Several of the pot shapes, if not always the fabrics, can be found on Delta mounds; the reviewer, during surface survey at Tell el-Balamun, found a number of sherds of Hellenistic fusiform unguentaria

and hemispherical bowls very similar to many from Paphos. Common both to Cyprus and Alexandria are Italian Gnathia-type wares, while Italian Terra Sigillata, found in some quantity at the House of Dionysos, is known in Egypt from as far upstream as Coptos. The many Hellenistic brazier fragments have parallels at, for example, Naukratis, where both imported and locally made versions have been found. Transport amphorae, too, are, of course, found everywhere, and jars such as pl. XXIV, 3–4, from Paphos, are very common at Marina el-Alamein on the north coast of Egypt. Much material of this kind, often closely dated at Paphos, has been and will be found in Egypt, and this report will aid many an excavator.

And pots going the other way? Not many, it would seem, and some, as the author suggests, could have been brought over by members of the Ptolemaic garrison at Paphos: as items of trade they are not convincing. Most of them are illustrated in figs. V and LXXIII. All are of Hellenistic date and include four casserole fragments and a lid amongst the cooking ware; they date between about 170–160 to the early first century BC. With these household wares is a red-slipped jar of the first half of the second century BC. Seven fragments of dishes and bowls of Egyptian Grey Ware came from a context of about 110–100 BC and twenty-seven sherds of Egyptian Black Slip Ware came from a deposit of a similar date: the two examples chosen for illustration may, however, be Cypriote versions of this fabric. Another black-slipped dish fragment is of a distinctive Delta, possibly Bubastite, fabric, and was found in a deposit of the second half of the second century BC. A complete Egyptian amphora is dated by its context to about 110–100 BC, and an amphora neck is similarly dated to the third or second century. These very useful dates for some coarse and fine wares of Egyptian Hellenistic manufacture will be most useful in a field that in Egypt itself has up to now had very little chronological information; the present Polish work at Athribis will add to that information and there may well be other good stratigraphic work being carried out elsewhere, but this Paphos publication is welcome for its (minor) Egyptian content.

D. M. BAILEY

L'Ophthalmologie dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine d'après les papyrus littéraires grecs. By MARIE-HÉLÈNE MARGANNE. Studies in Ancient Medicine, Vol.8. 160 × 240 mm. Pp. xii + 209. Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1994. ISBN 90 04 09907 7. Price not stated.

Mme Marganne has already written numerous articles on subjects to do with ancient medicine and in 1981 she published her very useful 'Inventaire analytique des papyrus grecs de médecine'. In the book under review she edits six Greek papyri relating to ophthalmology. This is preceded by an introduction which discusses ophthalmology in antiquity, and gives an outline survey of medical literature and medical papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt. As Marganne stresses, the texts she is editing here are important for several reasons: in particular they give us information from a period when little was known about ancient ophthalmology and which would not otherwise have survived, and supply us with texts which are much earlier (and often better) than surviving medieval manuscripts.

Of the texts themselves, which range in date from the third century BC to the third century AD, three (nos. 1, 2 and 6) are described by Mme Marganne as 'traités savants', two (nos. 3 and 4) as 'manuels d'enseignement', and one (no. 5) as an 'aide-mémoire personnel'. She has been able to see photographs of four of the texts (nos. 1, 2, 3 and 5) but not of nos. 4 and 6. All of them were previously known and appear to have been competently transcribed originally, so that the new editions do not for the most part show any substantial improvements on the earlier ones as regards the readings. No. 3 (P. Aberd. 11) is something of an exception, since it had escaped the first editor that this was a very similar text to P. Ross. Georg. I 20; from comparison of the two papyri, Marganne is able to make P. Aberd. 11 much more intelligible. Occasional improve-

ments are suggested for the other texts, but here the editor's chief contribution has been to reject as insufficiently justified supplements proposed by earlier editors. In general her cautious, not to say sceptical, approach is to be applauded. It is, however, less helpful to find her reading just a dot where earlier editors have read letters (as frequently happens). What the reader needs to be told is whether she regards the earlier reading as possible, doubtful or impossible.

It is rather misleading to cite no. 6 as P. Cairo Crawford 1: apart from the fact that the volume is normally referred to as P. Fuad Crawford or, better, P. Fuad I Univ., this text is not no. 1 in the volume, but appears as Cat. no. 1 in the Appendix on p. 87; furthermore, Crawford does not give a new edition but merely comments on the reading in a couple of places. Marganne is not quite fair to Nicole, who published the *editio princeps* of no. 6 in *Archiv* 4 (1908), 269–71, in simply quoting his original readings and then improvements suggested by Ilberg. It is clear from pp. 276–8 of *Archiv* that Nicole re-read the papyrus in the light of Ilberg's suggestions and accepted almost all of them. It is therefore of some importance that Nicole states there that he is unable to read εἰ[άν] (suggested by Ilberg and retained by Marganne) at I 19. Furthermore, Crawford (who saw the original) did not agree with Nicole's reading at I 25–7, so that there must be some doubt whether this reading, accepted by Marganne, is correct. Note also that on p. 132 she discusses at some length ὑποσπασθιμός in no. 4, lines 124–5, without making it clear that there is some doubt about the reading (see her critical note on p. 119).

After presenting the texts, together with translations, and critical and grammatical notes, Marganne discusses, often at length and with helpful illustrative drawings, the diseases, surgical practices, and the like, which are the subject of the individual papyri. It is very good to have this information presented by someone who has the requisite medical specialist knowledge and who at the same time is capable of describing it in a way which is intelligible to the layman. She shows here the same careful judgement and caution as in her editions of the texts. Note, for example, her sensible reluctance to speculate on the authorship of nos. 1 and 6 (pp. 95–6 and 164–5 respectively).

There is a brief conclusion in which Marganne makes the point that the papyri she here publishes show that the scientific discoveries made in Alexandria were soon well known in the Egyptian chora. She also stresses (p. 182) 'que la doctrine exposée dans ces papyrus est typiquement grecque et qu'elle n'atteste guère l'influence égyptienne'.

The few misprints are mostly confined to the accents or are otherwise trivial, but Marganne has been badly served by her printer in respect of spaces before and after square brackets, where the effect produced is often off-putting; cf. also the awkward printing of dashes at line ends in no. 6. There are no plates, but Marganne gives an extensive bibliography and an index of all key words in Greek, Latin and French.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Graeco-Roman Funerary Stelae from Upper Egypt. By ALY ABDALLA. Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies. 210 × 302 mm. Pp. xviii + 153, pls. 85. Liverpool University Press, 1992. ISBN 0 85323 125 7. Price £35.00.

Die große Anzahl ägyptischer Grabreliefs aus hellenistischer und römischer Zeit verleitet leicht zu der Annahme, daß diese Gattung einigermaßen gut erforscht ist.¹ Dieses Fehlurteil wird durch die vorliegende Publikation eindrucksvoll korrigiert. Aly Abdallas Aufgabe war die Erschließung größtenteils unedierter Grabstelen aus drei oberägyptischen Nekropolen: Abydos, Koptos und Dendera. Die Funde stammen größtenteils aus englischen Grabungen in den Jahren

¹ Die vorliegende Würdigung ergänzt meine Besprechung in *OLZ* 88 (1993), Sp. 259–262. Die darin gebotenen Einzelhinweise werden an dieser Stelle nicht wiederholt. Vgl. meinen Forschungsbericht in: G. Pugliese Carratelli et al. (eds), *Roma e l'Egitto nell' antichità Classica* (Atti del I Congresso Internazionale italo-egiziano; Rom, 1992), 265ff. mit sechzehn Proben verschiedener Relieftypen.

zwischen 1897 und 1918. Glücklicherweise hat sich, besonders in Liverpool, eine umfangreiche Dokumentation über diese Grabungen erhalten, die den Ausgangspunkt für die vorliegende Monographie bot: besondere Verdienste hat sich A. F. Shore erworben, der das Archivmaterial in Liverpool zur Verfügung gestellt hat und seine Auswertung betreute. Von diesem Material waren bisher nur relativ wenige Reliefs veröffentlicht, die keine erschöpfende Übersicht über die Typologie und Chronologie dieser Stelen vermitteln.² Eine repräsentative Auswahl wurde bei der Fundteilung dem Ägyptischen Museum in Kairo überwiesen, wo jedoch nicht mehr alle Exemplare nachweisbar sind. Der Verbleib der zahlreichen nach Großbritannien überführten Reliefs ist auch nicht mehr vollständig zu klären. Der Verfasser hat aber mit Hilfe der leider unvollständigen Verteilungslisten und umfangreichem Briefwechsel den gegenwärtigen Standort einer großen Anzahl dieser Monumente ermittelt; für diese mühevollen Recherchen gebührt ihm der ungeteilte Dank der Forschung. Leider verbot die sehr große Gesamtzahl eine vollständige Reproduktion aller im Original oder in alten Photographien ermittelten Grabreliefs.

Auffällig ist das relativ breite Spektrum der Stelen in künstlerischer Hinsicht. Die meisten Reliefs repräsentieren eine gewisse provinzielle 'Koine'. Überdurchschnittliche Arbeiten sind selten, doch gibt es daneben auch einige ziemlich rohe, fast bäuerlich wirkende Stelen. Bei der Stelenform ist der halbrunde Abschluß die Regel; es begegnet nur eine Ausnahme in Form einer Giebelstele (Cat. No. 49: pp. 31, 132, pl. 20.c).

Das typologische Spektrum der Darstellungen zeigt in der Mehrzahl zumeist nur wenig variierte Grundschemata. Inhaltlich handelt es sich in der Regel um das Geleit des Verstorbenen (oder mehrerer Toter) vor Osiris, also der Grundgedanke des Totengerichts. Dabei fällt eine Reihe von Abweichungen von der kanonischen Orientierung von rechts nach links auf. Die Zufügung weiterer Gottheiten ist variabel; Anubis als Totengeleiter oder Einbalsamierer ist häufig. Andere Gottheiten sind verschiedentlich typologisch ungenau wiedergegeben, wie ein Blick auf die Tafeln lehrt. So ist Anubis selbst gelegentlich verdoppelt und/oder wie der schakalköpfige Kanopengott Duamutef dargestellt.³

Die ikonographische Substanz der drei Stelengruppen wird im Katalog eingehend beschrieben und in kurzen Abschnitten der Synthese zusammengefaßt. Der Grundgedanke der meisten Darstellungen steht—wie bereits erwähnt—in Verbindung mit dem osirianischen Totengericht. Diese Vorstellungen spielen auch in der neueren religionsgeschichtlichen Literatur über die kaiserzeitliche Grabkunst Ägyptens eine wichtige Rolle. Auf diese Kontroverse ist der Verfasser nicht weiter eingegangen. Ausgangspunkt war eine Hypothese, die S. Morenz unter dem Stichwort 'Das Werden zu Osiris' mehrfach vertreten hat.⁴ Er insistierte auf der Deutung, daß beim Grundschemata der Verstorbenen bei den Geleitszenen zweimal dargestellt sei—rechts in der Tracht der Lebenden, links nach seinem 'Werden zu Osiris' in der Gestalt dieses Gottes. Bei der Widerlegung dieser These ging es mir nicht um Zweifel an dem gut belegten Faktum, daß jeder Mensch nach Ägyptischer Vorstellung im Tode wesensgleich mit Osiris wurde.⁵ Vielmehr

²Die besten Abbildungen bieten die Lichtdrucktafeln in W. Spiegelbergs Kairiner Katalogbänden, *Die demotischen Denkmäler. I, Die demotischen Inschriften* (Leipzig 1904), und *III, Demotische Inschriften und Papyri* (Berlin 1932). Dazu kommen einzelne Wiedergaben in den Bänden von Ahmed Bey Kamal, *Stèles ptolémaïques et romaines* (Kairo 1905) und J. G. Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* (Oxford 1905) sowie die ziemlich kleinen Wiedergaben in den relativ summarischen Grabungspublikationen von W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London 1896) und *Denderah* (London 1900) und verschiedene Einzelveröffentlichungen.

³Ergänzende Materialsammlungen von Funden anderer Orte Mittel- und Oberägyptens würde zweifellos weitere, interessante Varianten ergeben. Genannt sei an dieser Stelle nur ein singuläres Grabrelief aus Medamud im Louvre mit Darstellung von vier auf einer gemeinsamen Kline gelagerten Personen (Inv. E 12925: F. Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud* (Kairo 1926), 79 Abb. 47).

⁴FuB 1 (1957), 52–71 mit 9 Abb., und 'Das Problem des Werdens zu Osiris in der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens', in *Religions en Égypte hellénistique et romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg 16–18 mai 1967* (Paris 1969), 75–91 (= Morenz, *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, hrsg. E. Blumenthal und S. Herrmann (Weimar 1975), 231–47 Abb. 3–11 (in anderer Anordnung!) und 248–62).

⁵Zuerst Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden 1966), 171f.; ders., 'Osiris und Osirisglaube in der Kaiserzeit', in *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecques et romaines. Colloque de Strasbourg 1971* (Paris 1973), 98ff., und 'Bemerkungen zum ägyptischen Gräberwesen der griechisch-römischen Zeit', in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel*, Symposium Kairo 1982 (DAIK Sonderschrift 18; Mainz 1985), 99ff.

handelt es sich um das archäologische Problem; zur Diskussion stand ausschließlich die Deutungsfrage der betreffenden bildlichen Darstellungen. Die Tatsache, daß häufig mehr als nur ein Verstorbener von Anubis zu Osiris geleitet wird,⁶ zeigt, daß die Figur links tatsächlich den Gott selbst meint und nicht einen ihm anverwandten Toten. Gelegentlich vollzieht der Verstorbene sogar eine Trankspende oder ein Räucheropfer vor Osiris—natürlich nicht vor sich selbst. Eine faktische Identität beider Gestalten ist deshalb ausgeschlossen, zumal auch die Anwesenheit göttlicher Begleitpersonen bei der Mehrzahl dieser Stelen—besonders Isis—gegen eine solche Interpretation spricht. Außerdem bieten auch die Texte der Grabstelen keinen Anhaltspunkt für die Hypothese, auf ihnen sei das 'Werden zu Osiris' dargestellt (vgl. die von Abdalla zusammengestellten und interpretierten Inschriften und seine diesbezügliche Synthese, pp. 101ff, und 107).

Ein besonderes Problem bildet die chronologische Abgrenzung des behandelten Materials. Die ältesten datierten Reliefs des Katalogs stammen aus dem 1. Jahrhundert vor Chr. Es gibt offenbar auch Beispiele aus der früheren Ptolemäerzeit, die sich stärker an der von pharaonischen Traditionen geprägten Stilrichtung orientieren. Sie wurden anscheinend aus der Untersuchung teilweise ausgeklammert. Wie Stichproben lehren, ist von zwei ptolemäischen Stelen aus Dendera in Boston nur eine im Katalog enthalten (Inv. 98.1054 = Cat. No. 243).⁷ Eine Stele in Liverpool (Cat. No. 131 pl. 50) ist wegen des auffällig wiedergegebenen Kopfes des Toten spätestens in das frühe 2. Jahrhundert vor Chr. datierbar.⁸ Außerdem hat der Verf. die qualitätvolle, vermutlich frühkaiserzeitliche Stele aus Abydos(?) in Kairo CG 27541 nicht aufgenommen, wohl da sie in den beiden Catalogue-Général-Bänden ohne Herkunftsangabe publiziert ist.⁹

Abdallas Publikation ist jedenfalls ein wertvoller Beitrag zur Erschließung des reichen archäologischen Erbes aus den Jahrhunderten der griechisch-römischen Periode Ägyptens. Sie bietet darüber hinaus zahlreiche Anregungen zu weiteren Forschungen über dieses auch interdisziplinär wichtige Material.

KLAUS PARLASCA

Egypt in Late Antiquity. By ROGER S. BAGNALL. 235 × 150 mm. Pp. xii + 370, pls. 11. Princeton University Press, 1993. ISBN 0 691 06986 7. Price not stated.

This is an important and impressive book. The period it covers runs from the reign of Diocletian to the middle of the fifth century AD. Bagnall has already written much on this period, as well as publishing numerous fourth-century papyri, and has now produced an authoritative synthesis based on a huge amount of data. In some ways the title may imply more than the book in fact delivers. Because there is no evidence from Alexandria or the Delta, the book perforce deals almost entirely only with the Nile valley south from Memphis; indeed, it is largely a history of two cities, Oxyrhynchos and Hermopolis, and two Fayum villages, Karanis and Theadelphia, and no one can be sure how far these were typical of Egypt as a whole; Bagnall himself describes Theadelphia (p. 265) as 'a desiccated near-corpse of a village'. It is also an economic, social and cultural history of Egypt at this period; political and administrative history is for the most part ignored. Within these limitations, however, the book is admirably comprehensive. It is hard to

⁶Zuletzt Parlasca, *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel*, 100f., Taf. 7.2 = Brüssel Inv. E 8212, Stele mit fünf (!) zu Osiris geleiteten Toten. In den in Anm. 4–6 zitierten Beiträgen werden mehrere im Katalog von Abdalla enthaltene Reliefs besprochen und z. T. abgebildet.

⁷Vgl. S. D'Auria et al., *Mummies and Magic* (Ausstellungskatalog, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1988), 230 Nr. 186 mit Abb. (Inv. 98.1054 = Abdalla, *Stelae*, 94 Nr. 243) sowie 241f. Nr. 204 mit Abb. (Inv. 98.1055).

⁸Parlasca, *MDAIK* 31 (1975), 303ff., Abb. 1 und Taf. 94–95a (mit weiteren Nachweisen).

⁹C. C. Edgar, *Greek Sculpture* (Kairo 1903), 39f. CG 27541, Taf. 24 = Spiegelberg, *Die demotischen Inschriften*, 69f., Taf. 23; L. Castiglione, *ActaAntHung* 9 (1961), 217ff. Abb. 8 (mit Herkunftstangabe Abydos).

think of any shred of evidence which has not been used, and used to the full, though seldom if ever is it made to bear more weight than is proper. The evidence is of course overwhelmingly papyrological, but Bagnall uses literary sources, especially church literature, where possible; and although archaeology has contributed virtually nothing to our knowledge of the fourth century, he suggests ways in which it could prove useful in the future (pp. 6–7). Bagnall is always fully alive to the limitations of his evidence and constantly reminds the reader of them, attacking the use others have made of what he rightly calls ‘pseudo-statistics’, and showing a healthy scepticism of attempts to make bricks without sufficient straw (scepticism which is sometimes carried too far: it is not true that the view that Theophanes of Hermopolis was a member of a circle of pagans worshipping Hermes Trismegistus ‘rests on sand’ (p. 272)—it is a plausible deduction from the Greek). Bagnall is careful to avoid facile generalisations and is aware of the risks in treating his chosen period in isolation (see especially p. 13), risks which he seeks to reduce by frequent references to Egypt at other periods (particularly the sixth century) and to evidence from outside Egypt.

The best summary of the wide range covered by the book is that given by Bagnall himself on p. 4: ‘the relationship of the cities to their surrounding rural districts...; the extent of continuity and change in the basic realities of life...; the ways in which power was organized and used; the character of the urban economy and the extent to which the city is to be seen as a “consumer” or “service” center; the structures of landholding and the management of agricultural enterprises; the interactions of the international languages and cultures (Greek and Latin) with indigenous ones; and the paths by which the ancient world moved from being predominantly pagan to mostly (but far from entirely) Christian’. To have covered all these topics in nine chapters (the last mostly a summary of what has gone before) and a little over 300 pages is an astonishing achievement.

Chapters 2–4, concerned with urban and rural society, which incidentally are best summarized on pages 208 and 319, are perhaps the most central to Bagnall’s general argument, since, as he says (p. 14), they reflect his ‘conviction that the differences and relationship of the city and the village are absolutely crucial to understanding how Egypt from the third century on came increasingly to resemble other parts of the eastern Mediterranean world and differ from more ancient Egypt’. While all historians of the ancient world can read with profit Bagnall’s comments on methodology (pp. 8–13, entitled ‘Methods of Understanding’), readers of this journal are probably most likely to be interested in Chapter 7, ‘Languages, Literacy, and Ethnicity’, and Chapter 8, ‘This World and the Next’, a brief but judicious examination of the relation of Greek and Coptic, paganism and Christianity, and much else besides. Note in particular Bagnall’s comments that Coptic was not used for legal documents prior to the sixth century, and that literacy, which may have been widespread, required knowing Greek; Christian opposition was to Greek culture not to the Greek language. He insists that the drastic decline of Egyptian temples by the mid third century was not due to Christianity (p. 267). He also discusses the ‘invisibility’ of the Church in the late third century (pp. 279–80; inconclusive), and the number of Christians in the fourth century, by which time the evidence is quantifiable. In his final paragraph (pp. 324–5) he speaks of ‘a society consciously both Egyptian and Greek...enduringly united with Christianity’.

As the above comments illustrate, Bagnall often comes up with unexpected answers to some important and difficult questions, and his book is shot through with penetrating insights and stimulating suggestions. A few more examples: the inhabitants of the cities were mostly engaged in trade not agriculture (p. 86); there was not too much bureaucracy in fourth-century villages—in fact the danger was *undergovernance* (p. 133); there was no massive change in agricultural landholding leading to the formation of large estates (*passim*, especially p. 149); taxation was not crushing, not even for military purposes (which bulks large in our sources because it generated a great deal of paperwork, not because it was excessive: p. 172); there is no proof that the ‘middle ranks of the civic elite’ disappeared during the fourth century, or even by the sixth (p. 321).

Particularly impressive is Bagnall’s grasp of the vast amount of primary evidence. This is quoted extensively and appositely throughout, yet without ever obscuring the larger questions which he poses and seeks to answer. His argument is always clear, and the solid weight of the

mass of detail is lightened by numerous quotations from papyri with human interest and by occasional interjections of humour (e.g., in referring to cleaners, p. 34, he remarks that they 'were no more immune to destroying clothes than modern cleaners'). Equally impressive is his mastery of the voluminous secondary literature. The book concludes with four appendices (the one on 'money and measures' is especially useful), an extensive bibliography (from which it is apparent just how much work on this period has been done in the recent past—there are very few references to anything written before the 1960s), a general index (perhaps less wide-ranging than might have been wished in a book of this nature), and a list of texts discussed.

J. DAVID THOMAS

Coptic Manuscripts from the White Monastery: Works of Shenute. By DWIGHT WAYNE YOUNG. Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer), N.S. XXII. 295 × 210 mm. Textband: Pp. 200, Tafelband: pls. 66. Vienna, Verlag Brüder Hollinek, 1993. ISBN 3 85119 254 0. Price not stated.

Shenoute is far and away the most important indigenous Coptic author of the early Egyptian church. Although the bulk of his literary output was published at the beginning of the century by Leipoldt, and a French edition of his works by Amélineau appeared almost at the same time, further material has come to light over the years and research on Shenoute has continued. The dilapidated state of the parchment codices containing the Shenoute texts makes it exceedingly difficult to reconstruct the corpus of his writings. In recent years considerable progress has been made by T. Orlandi and S. Emmel in reconstructing the remains of almost one hundred codices from the library of the White Monastery which contain Shenoute material, and thus a new impetus has been given to the study of Shenoute. Nevertheless, a comprehensive critical edition of his works is still a long way off. The book under review contains the edition of 66 parchment leaves that once belonged to 21 codices of the White Monastery library and is another step towards this goal. The nucleus of the manuscript material here edited belongs to the University of Michigan Library, but related material has been added from the Cambridge University Library; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Strasbourg; and the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. All the manuscripts used in this edition are undated and Professor Young decided not to attempt to put a date to them. However, in his Introduction (p. 19), he distinguishes two groups of manuscripts, the biblical uncials which he assigns to the eighth and ninth centuries, and the rest which he assigns to the tenth and eleventh centuries. My own view is that the former group should be dated in the seventh and eighth centuries and the latter in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The edition of the Coptic texts, arranged in 30 sections, is preceded by a detailed physical description of each manuscript. Its measurements are given and its state of preservation is indicated. This is followed by an analysis of the script, the various diacritical signs used, and the decorations. Finally, wherever possible, references are given to parallel texts and related material. The excellent plates which cover all the edited material enable the student to see for himself how dependable these descriptions are and how useful they might be in identifying further unpublished fragments.

The transcription of the Coptic text follows the layout of the manuscripts. Again, the plates allow the reader to check the printed text which I have found highly reliable. A few corrections of printing errors in the Coptic text may be noted: p. 43, line 24, $\bar{\eta}\bar{\eta}\bar{\mu}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}\bar{\alpha}$; p. 56, n. 146, $\zeta\iota\omicron\upsilon\zeta\omicron\pi$; p. 71, line 44, in the conjectured reading the singular masculine definite article is required; p. 81, line 42, $\zeta\omicron\bar{\upsilon}$; p. 145, line 26, $\epsilon\kappa\rho\upsilon\phi\iota\alpha\varsigma$.

The translation of the works of Shenoute is no easy task. His language and style are notoriously difficult. Young has done his best to bring out the meaning of the abbot's writings, a task made

still more difficult by the fragmentary nature of the texts. In a few cases he is able to complete the argument of a fragmentary text by reference to material previously published. This is then given in translation only together with a reference to the published Coptic text on which it is based. But, as he says in the Introduction (p. 20), it has been his main concern to adhere closely to the Coptic grammatical constructions. The disadvantages of this procedure are recognized by the author himself, for he adds, 'Not uncommonly this has put a strain upon English style, oftentimes with awkward results but a more accurate reflection of the Coptic texts.' Some detailed notes and suggestions on the translation may be offered: p. 36, line 16, for 'woman's friend' read 'woman friend', i.e. courtesan, which links this passage to the following reference to the harlot Rahab; p. 37, line 5, read 'their brothers'; p. 37, line 8, for 'carnal desires' read 'relatives'; p. 59, line 5, read 'of a man's or woman's'; p. 59, lines 10–11, read 'who is designated to recite shall stand at the lectern at the last round (of prayers or psalms) which the first man is about to finish'; p. 72, line 22, for 'pressing' read 'buffeting' (cf. I Cor. 9, 27); p. 110, line 8, for 'ignorance' read 'disobedience' (and omit n. 444); p. 148, line 18, for 'puts forth sight' read 'puts them out'; p. 159, line 7, for 'in you' read 'in us'; p. 166, line 10, for 'is the same' read 'is different'; p. 167, line 20, for 'compassionate' read 'prudent'.

Both the Coptic text and the English translation are accompanied by footnotes. The notes to the text deal mainly with palaeographical details of the manuscript, corrections, and, wherever a parallel text is extant, variant readings. The notes to the translation are very wide-ranging. As the author explains in the Introduction (p. 20), and as is clear from his previous publications, he has a keen interest in the linguistic features of Shenoute's writings. This is reflected strongly in the notes to the translation which abound in linguistic information and in references to recent linguistic studies by Polotsky, Shisha-Halevy, Layton and others. In many cases, too, Young refers the reader to previously published Shenoute material to illustrate grammatical usage. But although the author's linguistic interest is the most prominent feature of the notes, other topics are by no means neglected. Explanatory notes on the subject matter are often given and attention is drawn to similar subject matter elsewhere in the writings of Shenoute. The author has been particularly assiduous in noting biblical references. Only a very few have been missed. He has not confined himself to pointing out biblical quotations and allusions, but very often draws attention to the merest echo of biblical language or vocabulary. There is no doubt that Shenoute's use of the Bible is illuminated by all these references, and it is a pity that there is no index of biblical references in the book. But in the case of the verbal echoes of the Bible the question arises whether the original readers of Shenoute's writings could have been expected to catch the biblical connections. Is it not perhaps rather the case that the Coptic translation of the Bible became a formative influence on literary Coptic much in the same way as the King James Bible influenced the development of the English language? Some of the echoes then are not conscious references which Shenoute made to the Bible but rather biblical echoes that entered the Coptic language and became part of it.

The book concludes with Indexes of Coptic Words, Greek Words, Personal Names, Geographical Names, and Month Names.

To sum up, this is an excellent edition of new Shenoute material which all students of Coptic literature will welcome and gratitude is due both to the author and to the publisher for these well produced volumes.

K. H. KUHN

La moisson des dieux. By JEAN-JACQUES FIECHTER. 220 × 170 mm. Pp. viii + 288, pls. 34 (unnumbered), maps 3. Paris, Julliard, 1994. ISBN 2260 01131 4. Price FF125.

Books on the 'heroic age' of Egyptology are legion, usually retelling the well-known stories. This one is based on original research and makes many new contributions.

The story opens with the arrival of de Lesseps and Drovetti as French diplomatic representatives in 1803 and ends with Champollion's epoch-making expedition in 1828. The narrative is dense, interweaving the many excavators who were at work from the 1810s, especially Drovetti's agents (Rifaud, Rossignani and Lebolo) and those of Salt (Beechey, Athanasi, and most notably Belzoni) with the many visitors to Egypt such as Colonel Boutin, Captains Mangles and Irby, Cailliaud, Lord Belmore, the Comte de Forbin, de Marcellus, Bankes and Vidua.

Fiechter stresses the great part played throughout this period by Drovetti, left without guidance from Paris in the earliest crucial days during Mehemet Ali's consolidation of power, his blocking of the beys who were backed by the English, the invasion of the last in 1807, and Drovetti's cardinal contribution to the modernisation of Egypt. There are not only new documents but also new insights on old ones: the so often reproduced drawing by Granger and Forbin of Drovetti's team at Thebes has almost always been given back to front. Fiechter also offers convincing identifications of all the figures in this famous engraving (p. 129f.). He emphasizes that the relations between Drovetti and Salt were based on esteem, respect and courtesy. One story which most of us will surrender only with the greatest regret is that of Salt's marriage (p. 157f.). Fiechter states that Salt met his bride through her brother, the banker Pietro Santoni.

The almost incredible achievements of Belzoni have to be retold: the salvaging of Memnon, the opening of Abu Simbel, the discovery of the tombs of Ramesses I and Seti I, and the opening of the second pyramid at Gizeh. There are, of course, many extracts from the *Narrative*, but most judiciously chosen, such as Belzoni's tribute to the fellahin (p. 67). The Italian's character and relations with others are convincingly analysed: at first a guest of Drovetti, then a rival collector and employee of the English, but antagonistic to Salt because of his dependence on him (p. 145f.).

There are interesting pages on the birth of the Louvre collection (p. 167f.) with the acquisition of the Durand, second Salt and second Drovetti collections. And although the volume in effect ends with Champollion in Egypt, there are two concluding chapters on the 'final fates' of the leading figures and of their discoveries, including Drovetti's and Jomard's work for the Egyptian School in Paris and their great sympathy for the native Egyptians and Ethiopians.

The new discoveries of Fiechter come from arduous work in many archives. In Cairo he found the family history of Drovetti's wife, Rosa Balthalon (p. 23). In Paris Fiechter has uncovered a fascinating story of mummies interred with the victims of the 1830 Revolution and the pillage of the Egyptian collection in the Louvre (p. 209f.). Most spectacular of all, however, is his discovery of the memoirs and other papers of Jean-Jacques Rifaud (1786–1852) in Geneva. He arrived in Egypt only in 1814, despite the claims of his publications. Rifaud was Drovetti's most productive agent, and Fiechter is now able to identify the provenance of many important pieces in Egyptian museums all over Europe and in Cairo; from excavations at Thebes (1817–1818), where Rifaud excavated more sites than anyone before or since, in the Faiyum (1823–1824), and at Tanis (1825–) (pp. 98f., 229f.). Also from Rifaud comes the account of the deaths of seven children working for Drovetti at Karnak in late 1818, when an excavation 10 m deep caved in (p. 148f.).

The two most delicate matters which Fiechter has set himself to untangle are the attack on Belzoni which forced him to leave Egypt, and Champollion's relations with Drovetti. Fiechter assembles all the witnesses for the first (p. 139f.) and concludes by declaring that it was simply a pretext for Belzoni to leave. The Italian's account, however, rings true—his life hung by a thread on that Boxing Day, 1818 (that is the date he gives, St Stephen's Day: *Narrative* II, 126, and Mayes agrees in his classic biography, p. 233; Fiechter on the other hand dates the attack to early 1819). In addition, recall Drovetti's 'joke' shortly before, that there was a dangerous figure lurking about and impersonating Belzoni.

As for Drovetti's reaction to the Franco-Tuscan expedition (p. 178f.) Fiechter very properly defends him from charges of jealousy or self-seeking, and stresses the warm welcome which he extended. When Champollion wrote a very threatening letter over excavation permits, instead of sending it on to Mehemet Ali, Drovetti ceded his own rights. Moreover, he treated the expedition to magnificent provisions, and finally obtained for Champollion another copy of the Canopus decree. In the last analysis, Fiechter is too mild: one must condemn Champollion's hypocrisy and ingratitude.

Documentation of all this indefatigable research is too often insufficient; perhaps the publisher is responsible for pruning the notes. Our disappointment here is much offset by a new form of documentation: every major object in museums mentioned is given its catalogue number. Fiechter's text thus becomes an invaluable handbook for identifying the many finds of this period, based on his own very laborious personal searches in museums (p. 98).

There is yet another missing corpus to be noted in addition to all the other letters omitted from Drovetti's *Epistolario*—see *JEA* 77 (1991), 238f. Fiechter reveals that the Turin Academy holds 24 letters of Drovetti to his son Giorgio: the *Epistolario* prints only one! On the matter of graffiti (p. 63), long before Flaubert's criticisms, see Champollion's *Lettres* II, p. 307: 'the idiots of all nations'.

This book is an extraordinary production by an historian whose many other books cover subjects ranging from the French Revolution to the First World War. It is also a delight to read. We can only hope that among the next publications of Fiechter will be an annotated edition of Rifaud's memoirs, together with Fiechter's corrected readings of Rifaud's letters to Drovetti.

R. T. RIDLEY.

Other books received

1. *Die Organisation des Handwerks im "Dunklem Zeitalter" und im I. Jahrtausend v.u.Z. im östlichem Mittelmeergebiet.* By MICHAEL HELTZER. History of the Ancient Near East/Studies III. 170 × 237 mm. Pp. xxix + 162. Padova, Sargon, 1992. ISSN 1120 4680. Price not stated.
2. *Egyptian Shabtis.* By HARRY M. STEWART. Shire Egyptology 23. 150 × 210 mm. Pp. 64, ill. (in text) 52. Princes Risborough, Shire Publications, 1995. ISBN 0 7478 0301 3. Price £3.95.
3. *Ancient Nubia. Egypt's Rival in Africa.* By DAVID O'CONNOR. 230 × 305 mm. Pp. xiv + 178, pls. 34 (excluding frontispiece), figs. in text. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1993. ISBN 0 924171 28 6. Price \$30.00.
4. *Hieratic Ostraca in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow (The Colin Campbell Ostraca).* By A. G. McDOWELL. 215 × 305 mm. Pp. 34, pls. 33. Oxford, Griffith Institute, 1993. ISBN 0 900416 59 9. Price £25.00.
5. *Das Längenmaßsystem im Alten Ägypten.* By ELKE ROIK. 215 × 298 mm. Pp. xiii + 404, figs. 106, tables 35, maps 1. Hamburg, Christian-Rosenkreutz-Verlag, 1993. ISBN 3 929322 00 5. Price not stated.
6. *Les dessins archéologiques et topographiques de l'Égypte ancienne faits par F. L. Norden 1737–1738.* By MARIE-LOUISE BUHL. 235 × 322 mm. Pp. 144, pls. 109, figs. 52, maps 2. Copenhagen, L'Académie Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark, 1993. ISBN 87 7304 239 2. Price not stated.
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